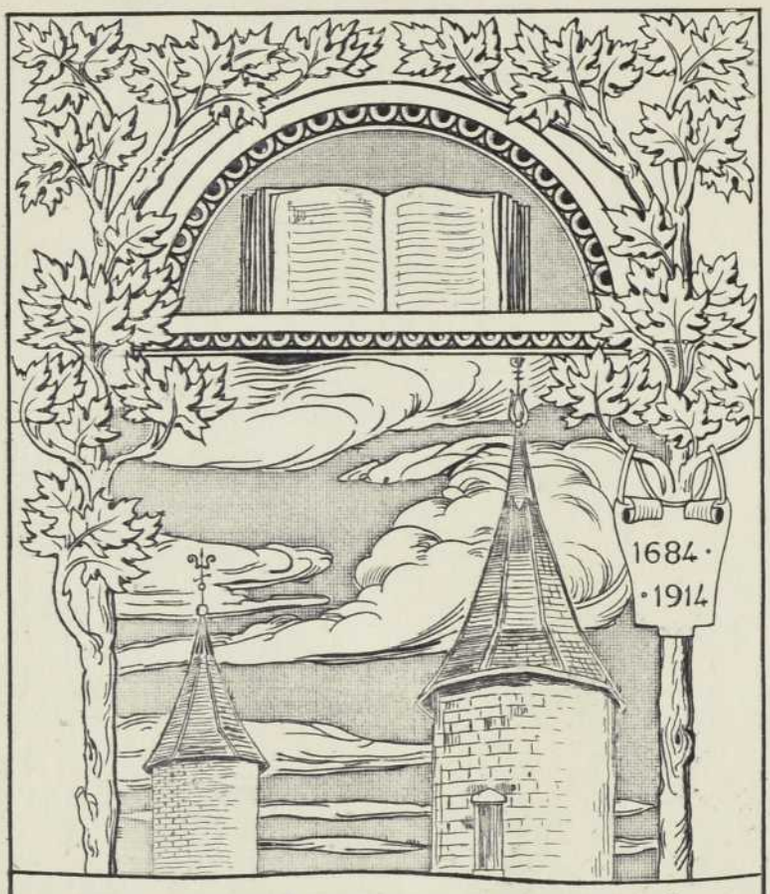

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DEDICATED
TO THE HONOURABLE JOHN NEILSON
JOURNALIST
BORN 1776
EDITOR OF THE *QUEBEC GAZETTE* FROM 1797
MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
THE FIRST ENGLISH-CANADIAN STATESMAN
TO UNDERSTAND FRENCH CANADA
HIS LIBRARY HAS BEEN MY INSPIRATION
HIS DESCENDANTS ARE MY FRIENDS

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CHAPTER I

Introducing the French Canadians

THE French Canadians, during the past few years, have elbowed themselves into the international spotlight with such energy that they do not need much introduction, yet perhaps there are some things still left unsaid. First of all, what are these French Canadians? Are they a people or are they only part of a people? Any number of orators have exhausted themselves defending one view or the other. "We should no longer speak of French Canadians—only of French-speaking Canadians" runs the cliché, and to those who dream of a completely unified Canada the words sound most satisfactory. But these particular speakers fail to recognize some facts, of which the most important is that the French Canadians were a homogeneous race before the English came to Canada and that nothing has happened since to alter that situation.

The early settlers in Canada came from several different provinces of France. They are still arguing among themselves whether or not they were mainly Norman—but in any case they left France long before the extensive additions of territory and immigration of other races which considerably altered the character of the French nation. The main racial strains of French Canada are all old ones; the latest admixtures to Norman and Breton were added hundreds of years ago. There have been no additions in Canada unless one includes a few Highland soldiers disbanded

after the Cession, who married French-Canadian wives, and a few immigrants from Ireland and the Channel Islands. What people of to-day can present such a pedigree? Reichsführer Hitler might well envy the Premier of Quebec if Canada were worth his attention.

The French Canadians are homogeneous culturally as well as racially, for there is a French-Canadian culture perfectly distinct from that of France and just as North American as is the culture of the United States. The main reason is probably that the French Canadian is and always has been isolated; his culture is his life. This culture has three main components, a religion, an education closely linked with religion, and a language; the Province of Quebec, French Canada's stronghold, has, besides all this, its own French law as distinguished from the English law of the rest of Canada. English and English Canadians have often failed to sympathize—indeed they have often enough attacked this cultural citadel, only to find the point of danger strengthened. They were not the first to discover its strength, the French who set up the colony learned before the Cession that the Canadians had ceased to be Frenchmen and had become something different.

More than a hundred and twenty-five years ago Denis Benjamin Viger, later an active supporter of French-Canadian rights and a noted political leader, declared that the French Canadians were a separate race.

> We are, by our geographical position, destined to form a people entirely different from the French and even from our neighbours . . . even when the French possessed this country, which they had established, one could see already in the character of the Canadians very evident trends and strongly marked characteristics which differentiated them

from their ancestors. These marks of difference are already so many that the French and the Canadian, although their separation is only half a century old, could hardly, except for their language, be recognized as the same people.[1]

The large group of French Canadians who live in the New England States, Franco-Americans as they generally call themselves, by reason of their citizenship, are far from completely separated from their brothers in Quebec and New Brunswick. A few years ago the school and the radio seemed to be Americanizing them. As soon as the trend was pointed out the obstinate spirit of the people began working in the other direction. To-day a powerful French station in Montreal supplies New England listeners with all the French programmes they want ; the automobile affords easy communication with Canada, where Vermont, Connecticut, and Rhode Island cars are everyday visitors ; French-speaking societies are on the increase ; the influence of the Catholic Church is a powerful factor in the survival in the United States of the Canadian mentality. An American diplomat once observed to a French-Canadian friend that no immigrants had ever shown such resistance to the melting-pot.

One of our most acute observers, Dr James Douglas, pointed out thirty years ago that another reason for the present-day solidity of French Canada lies in the system of land tenure which for nearly two centuries kept the whole people linked by a kind of family relationship. The Province of Quebec was divided into ' seigneuries ' and each seigneur was not only a landlord but an almost patriarchal head of his people. In addition to that the seigneurial families were almost all blood relations. The result was remarkable. ' The Canadian feudal system of land tenure,' says Dr Douglas, ' was, of course, repugnant to the English system of

[1] Denis Benjamin Viger, *Considérations* (Montreal, 1809).

individual ownership which under the influence of Protestantism was becoming the dominant principle of the land policy of the Teutonic nations. It had, however, the effect of creating what the great Cardinal (Richelieu) intended, namely, a distinctly French community with a nice graduation of dignities and interests, tending to bind together instead of dissociating the various elements of the social body. It did, in fact perform this service so effectually that all the forces of disintegration which have since been at work, have not availed to disturb the homogeneity of French Canada or obliterate the institutions of old France in America.' [1]

It is this underlying homogeneity that keeps the French Canadians united against the encircling tide of English-speaking people in spite of bitter quarrels between themselves. As Chesterton said of another race :

> Deep grows the hate of kindred
> Its roots take hold on hell
> No peace or praise can heal it
> But a stranger heals it well.

The present Government of Quebec enacted a law to facilitate the suppression of communism, the toleration of which to the Catholic eighty-five per cent of the people of Quebec is an unchristian action. The law was bitterly attacked by many English Canadians as constituting a ban on free speech. But when an English member of the Federal parliament at Ottawa demanded the disallowance of the Quebec legislation by the Federal Government a French-Canadian member, a political opponent of the party in power at Quebec, promptly told him to mind his own business. We

[1] James Douglas, *Quebec in the Seventeenth Century* (Burrows Bros., 1906), p. 23.

are forced to the conclusion that French Canadians are not and never have been only French-speaking Canadians ; they are also a people. They have remained separate, in spite of the sporadic efforts which have been made to anglicize them, in spite of the Americanizing forces of the radio and the press, a separate race, more French than the French themselves, just as the English people of New Brunswick are more English than the English.

English critics and some French critics will doubt whether homogeneity is an asset—Germans, Italians, and Japanese will disagree with them. It is curious and significant that this comparatively small people of North America finds itself aligned with the totalitarian states in its views on the value of racial purity.

It has generally been agreed that, subject to the maintenance of health, one measure by which a people may be judged is its capacity to increase and multiply. The wails of publicists in Britain and France over their diminishing rate of population growth are evidence that those nations at least feel the need for more people. The question of employment—what is to be done with the people there already—is a side issue. Italy and Germany are bonusing babies to provide airmen, soldiers, and sailors of the future ; they have no doubts whatever. A hundred years ago American statisticians were boasting that by 1930 their country would have 269,000,000 inhabitants ; they were of course expecting immigration as well as natural increase, and if they were still alive they would be much disappointed. In this field of activity French Canada has during the last hundred and fifty years been an easy leader in the Occidental world. Its birth as a nation took place in 1760 when France retired from her North American adventure to begin preparations for the Revolution and left in Canada sixty thousand people who already

called themselves Canadians. Now there are about five and a half million, if we include the French Canadians who live in the United States. With all their immigration the United States as a whole cannot touch that record—there would have been at least the 269,000,000 Americans hoped for by the 1830 statisticians even without the forty million or so immigrants on whom they were counting and who have provided half the present population. If Great Britain is judged by the same yardstick there ought to be about 500,000,000 English-speaking people in the British Empire, allowing for their contribution to the United States.

French Canadians are not keeping up such a pace in the twentieth century, but they are doing very well ; their increase in Canada alone between 1911 and 1931 was over 40 per cent. That figure does not include any immigrants, for the privilege of becoming a French Canadian is not extended by the French Canadians to newcomers—even Frenchmen.

In 1911 the population of Canada consisted of about 2,000,000 [1] French Canadians and just over 5,000,000 [2] others. Between 1911 and 1931 almost 3,000,000 [3] immigrants came to Canada and all became whatever French Canadians are not—English Canadians is hardly an accurate term. What happened next ? By 1931 there were nearly three million French Canadians in Canada and if expectations had been fulfilled there would have been sixteen million people [4] of other origin. Expectations were not fulfilled ; a very large proportion of English-speaking Canadians

[1] 2,054,890 (including a comparatively small number of recent French immigrants).

[2] 5,151,753 (includes 3,896,985 of British ancestry).

[3] 2,943,456.

[4] Allowing for normal increase and no immigration.

had been drawn off by the magnetic attraction of the United States ; in spite of the three million immigrants and in spite of the emigration of a large number of French Canadians as well as English to the United States the remainder of the Canadian population only just kept pace with the French-Canadian natural increment. The percentage of growth for 1911 to 1931 works out :

French Canadian . .	42 per cent.
All other . . .	44 ,,

People of British stock in Canada, including, correctly or not, the Irish, only increased 38.8 per cent in the same time. Since 1931 immigration has almost stopped and English Canada can no longer count on that source of additional population—which means that the next census will tell a different story.

In the Province of Quebec as a whole the recent change has been as follows :

	Natural Increase, Quebec, per 1000.
1926–1930 . . .	17
1931–1935 . . .	15·5
1933	15·2
1934	14·7
1935	13·9

If on the other hand we take Ontario as an example of the English provinces we have still more striking figures :

	Natural Increase, Ontario, per 1000.
1926–1930 . . .	9·8
1931–1935 . . .	8·2
1933	8
1934	7·4
1935	7·3

So far as these figures indicate anything they indicate that although the French Canadian rate of natural increase is falling it is not falling as quickly as the rate among the English and is still almost double the latter. The new Canadians of the Prairie provinces change the picture for Canada as a whole :

	Natural Increase, Canada, per 1000.
1926–1930 . . .	13
1931–1935 . . .	11·5
1933	11·3
1934	11·1
1935	10·6

In these figures the French Canadians are included—so it is quite easy to see that they still hold the Canadian record.

There is one more point of considerable importance, the French Canadian is politically minded. He is not peculiar in that ; there is a saying, ' In Ontario politics is a hobby, in the Maritime provinces it is a calling, in Quebec it is a religion.' But it is only lately that the international importance of the French-Canadians' political-mindedness has been appreciated. They completely control one province of the Dominion of Canada, they constitute one-third of the population of another, in more than one of the remaining seven their votes are worth getting, and they form a third part of Canada's total population. They have and always have had very definite views on the subject of Canada's relations with the British Empire and with the United States which do not vary with their political parties. A hundred years ago they were the main actors in a drama of rebellion against bureaucracy which culminated in the establishment of modern democratic government in Canada. They unitedly

supported the view that Canada should have something more than the status of a colony, and the logical result was a new set up of the British Empire, to which the Statute of Westminster gave legal effect. To-day they are violently opposed to participation in any military operation not necessary for the defence of Canada. Their views obviously affect those of the whole Dominion. Two recent by-elections were fought mainly on the theme of national defence ; in both, the defeated candidates declared that government policy was making Canada an adjunct to a war-minded Britain ; in both the representatives of the party in power at Ottawa declared that Canada's rearmament programme was only for the protection of Canadians in Canada. Canada's views on war naturally have some effect on Britain's policy—and so we have one of the strangest ironies of history. Britain took Canada from France, not because she wanted the country but to protect the Americans, and with the country she took 60,000 people, mainly small farmers and their children, to whom statesmen of those days hardly gave a thought. To-day the French Canadians through their power in their own country have a considerable voice in the British Commonwealth. It is not going too far to say that the descendants of the 60,000 farmers deserted by France in Canada are the most influential political minority in the modern world.

It is a curious fact that one people who on the whole do not seem to appreciate the French Canadians are the French. We find for instance this sort of statement :

> France lost her colonies in the eighteenth century because she peopled them with individuals, and not with a race. America remained English, for the Anglo-Saxon colonists established themselves as a group, stuck together, did not venture too far from one another, did not invent anything

very remarkable, and detested everything that was not like themselves. . . . In the end the two million Anglo-Saxons had no great difficulty in driving from the New World the sixty thousand French who were settled there and occupied four-fifths of the continent.[1]

A French Canadian might point out that France lost her colonies for a very different reason than the one suggested, that the French Canadians were a race before 1760, that the description given of the Anglo-Saxons, so far as it is accurate, fits the French Canadians very well, and finally that the descendants of the sixty thousand were not driven from the New World, but are to-day exactly where they were in 1760 except that a great many of them have overflowed into the sacrosanct Anglo-Saxon territory. The French-Canadian ends by observing that the motto of the Province of Quebec, translated into English, is 'I remember,' and adding 'Evidently France does not remember.' [2]

There have fortunately been some useful efforts in the other direction. The Comité France-Amérique in which the Canadian Senator Raoul Dandurand is a moving spirit has done much to keep a place for Canada in the French mind. M. André Siegfried has made careful and sympathetic studies of Canadian conditions, M. Gabriel Louis Jaray has carried on an excellent programme of education, while the Paris paper *Paris Canada* gives more Canadian news than any other European publication. One of the most impressive of recent pageants was the fourth centenary celebration at Gaspé in 1934 when a hundred fishing-boats, built on old Channel Island lines and decked with the flags of the French provinces, chugged out to meet the *Champlain* which brought M. Pierre Etienne Flandin

[1] Bernard Faÿ, *Roosevelt and his America*, p. 20.

[2] E. Vaillancourt, *La France peut-être heureuse sans Quebec*, p. 9.

S. N. R. Hodgins

Fishing Boats at Gaspé during the Cartier celebrations.

Canadian National Railways

At Barachois. 'Sturdy and seaworthy vessels.'

and the rest of the French delegation. The Frenchmen saw on the hill above the harbour a huge granite cross veiled by a Union Jack and the old French fleurs-de-lis. 'This is the old France,' said one. 'and we are the new.'

CHAPTER II

A People and a River

THERE are French Canadians throughout Canada, a few in British Columbia, fair-sized settlements in Alberta and Saskatchewan, considerable groups in Manitoba and Ontario, one-third the population of New Brunswick, more than one-tenth that of Prince Edward Island, and a smaller proportion in Nova Scotia. The French-speaking folk of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island are not, strictly speaking, 'French Canadians' at all; they are 'Acadians,' descendants of the colonists left behind in 1755 when Evangeline and her unhappy fellow exiles were carried off by force to the American colonies of Britain and of deportees who made their way back to the land they had left.

The Canadian census does not tell us exactly how many French Canadians there are. Canadian officials for some reason best known to themselves, refuse to recognize the existence of a 'Canadian' stock. In compiling tables showing the origins of the population the statisticians must lump all 'British' together and in these figures include the Irish, which probably satisfies neither; this, by the way, must not be taken to imply that Irish Canadians are not as loyal as either English or Scotch. Similarly the statisticians put newcomers from France and French Canadians together under the heading 'French' which certainly satisfies

neither and is quite inaccurate.[1] Recent immigration statistics are tabulated in the same way ; figures can be discovered to show how many immigrants were born in France, but we are left to guess that the remaining immigrants of 'French' origin were French Canadians returning from the United States. From the statistical point of view the matter is not very important, since there are only about 15,000 'French of France,' as the French Canadians call them, but it does illustrate an official attitude which has done and still is doing a great deal of harm.

With approximate adjustments made necessary by its insufficient figures, the 1931 census gives us the following origins of the Canadian population :

French Canadian (approximate) . .	2,910,000
British origin (excluding Irish) . .	4,150,263
Irish origin	1,230,808
Others	2,085,715

These figures may not make particularly welcome reading to those who like to think of Canada as an 'English' country, but they must speak for themselves. Another point is worth observing : it has been noted that, so far, immigrants have tended to join the English-speaking section of the community, but there is at the present moment a somewhat surprising trend in a new direction. The Latin peoples have recently discovered Canada and found a race which they think to be Latin. In line with their other activities some energetic followers of modern trends are now aiming at building up a Latin ideology among all Latin groups, in which they would include the French Canadians. The proponents of these notions have a newspaper of their own, in which we find Italians complaining in French of the

[1] This statement applies in Quebec but not to the same extent in Manitoba where many of the recent immigrants from France have become as good French Canadians as any one.

many speeches which call for immigrants 'of good British stock' and decry the 'foreigner.' How much of a breach they will make in the wall of the citadel which French Canada has so far kept inviolate is not yet clear. One main obstacle in their way is that the French Canadians, as has been observed, are not truly Latin, their admixture of Northern blood is considerable; their political notions are Norman rather than French. So far the success of the 'Latin Canada' movement has not been notable, but times change and people with them.

When we use that vague phrase 'French Canada' we mean all French Canadian people wherever they may be living. But we mean something more. The vast majority of the French Canadians, over 77 per cent of them live in the old Province of Quebec, and constitute 79 per cent of its population.[1] In a very special sense Quebec is 'French Canada,' the stronghold of the whole race, its keep the City of Quebec itself. The idea is sometimes difficult for the Englishman, the Frenchman, or even the English Canadian to understand. The average English Canadian feels that he still has some part in England and he would like the French Canadian to share the affection and respect in which he holds the centre of the Empire. The Frenchman thinks the French Canadian should look to France and is convinced that he would be much better off if he did. The French Canadian does neither—he looks around and remembers his fathers' song:

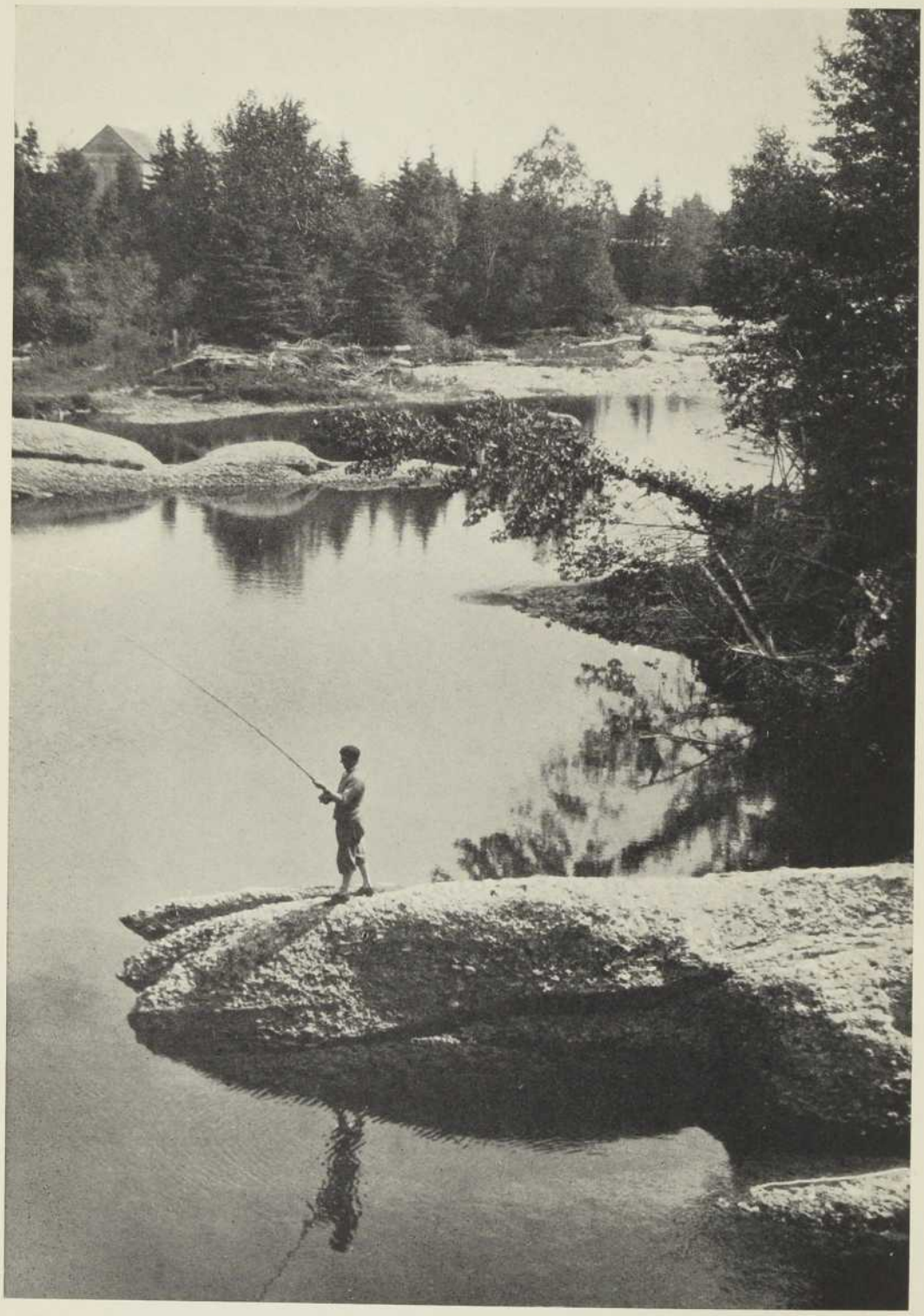
'O Canada, mon pays, mes amours.'[2]

If we look around with him we shall not wonder at his feelings.

Many artists have tried to portray the land of Quebec; many writers have echoed, each in his own

[1] Calculated total, 1937, 3,140,000.

[2] 'O Canada, my country, my beloved,' Sir Georges Etienne Cartier.



Canadian National Railways

Salmon fishing at Barachois River, Gaspé.

way, the wordless yet mighty voice of this great province. Artists and writers both have shown in their work a depth of feeling which it is hard for any stranger to understand. What is there about Quebec and the people of Quebec that sets place and people apart? What is the secret of the charm that Quebec weaves around those who learn to know her? It is not only the wide, slow St Lawrence, the white waterfalls of the St Maurice, the vast canyon of the Saguenay, the Laurentians and the Gaspé hills. It is not only the wonder of summer, the blaze of autumn, the green against winter snow. It is not only the French Canadians who have kept their language and their faith in the land they have made, not only the little houses with their open doors, the scent of wood-smoke and the sound of bells. But all these together are something great and unique ; the place and the people are one ; Quebec has a soul. That is the magic which has inspired so many an author and bewildered so many a politician. To some of our own people it has been given to catch a glimpse of the true Quebec ; few strangers have ever seen or understood her. One indeed there was, Louis Hémon, who came from France, and wrote a story which pictured the Quebec he knew and loved. His *Maria Chapdelaine* will live as long as Canada endures.

This Province of Quebec is almost six times as large as Great Britain, more than double the size of Texas, about twelve times as large as the State of New York. Through its southern section flows the great St Lawrence River, running from Lake Ontario to the Gulf of St Lawrence and the sea ; it is a thousand miles from the harbour at Montreal to the Atlantic Ocean ; the stream, itself a mile or so wide at Montreal and Quebec, spreads to twenty, forty, then sixty miles across as it nears the Gulf. North of and almost parallel with

the St Lawrence is an immense field of wild rocky hills rising in places to 3000 feet, their deep valleys studded with lakes and cut by violent rivers. These are the Laurentian Mountains, and they cover an area almost as large as do the Rocky Mountains in the United States. North of the Laurentians again is an almost treeless waste, inhabited by Indians and a few trappers, extending to the strait which separates the mainland of Canada from its Arctic Islands. The southern boundary of the St Lawrence valley is another range of mountains, the north-eastern end of the Appalachians. These wooded hills run north-eastward from the border of Vermont along the frontiers of New Hampshire and Maine, reaching summits of 3000 feet, then on into the Gaspé peninsula of which they form a double backbone.

The St Lawrence, " the Road of Canada," as it was called by the Indians, who in 1534 and 1535 piloted its French discoverer Jacques Cartier, is the main geographical feature of Quebec and along it, for three hundred years, the life of Quebec has been going on. Leave Montreal by ship on the morning of a summer day, you find yourself sliding down a broad, slow stream, flat grassy islands with browsing cows on either side of the channel, then farmlands stretching off towards wooded horizons. Every few miles a church tower marks the centre of some old village and seigneury linked with the story of North America.[1] Here is Longueuil, the home of those Le Moynes who fought the English from Hudson Bay to Newfoundland and founded Louisiana and New Orleans. There on the left is L'Assomption, home of the founder of Milwaukee. Here is the statue of Canada's most famous heroine, Madeleine de Verchères—at fourteen years old she defended her father's manor against the Iroquois ; later she married the Seigneur de Lanaudière and her

[1] See E. Vaillancourt, *Broadside* (Montreal, 1936), p. 55.

descendants played their part in the Great War. There is Contrecœur—its seigneur built the first fort on the site of Pittsburgh—and Sorel, named for a captain in the Carignan Regiment of France who built a fort there in 1665, now a busy little port with a ship-building yard and a grain elevator. At Sorel is the mouth of the Richelieu River, the outlet of Lake Champlain and for years the main channel of communication between Canada and the regions to the south. The Indians, in 1535, told Jacques Cartier that he might follow it 'to a land where there is never ice or snow, but that in that land there are continual battles—some people fighting against others—and that there are oranges, almonds, nuts, plums, and other sorts of fruit, all in great abundance.' [1] Not a bad description of the sunny South if you put Republicans and Democrats in the place of the Indians.

Now the islands become an archipelago, and we meet the wide level of Lake St Peter, too shallow for navigation except in the central channel. That channel once gave a good lesson in engineering. The river had chosen a dog-leg course and had used it since the ice left North America; engineers dredged a straight path, but St Lawrence would have none of it, he filled it with dirt and went back to his own. The engineers had to let him have his way; all they could do was to deepen his track from eleven feet to thirty-five.

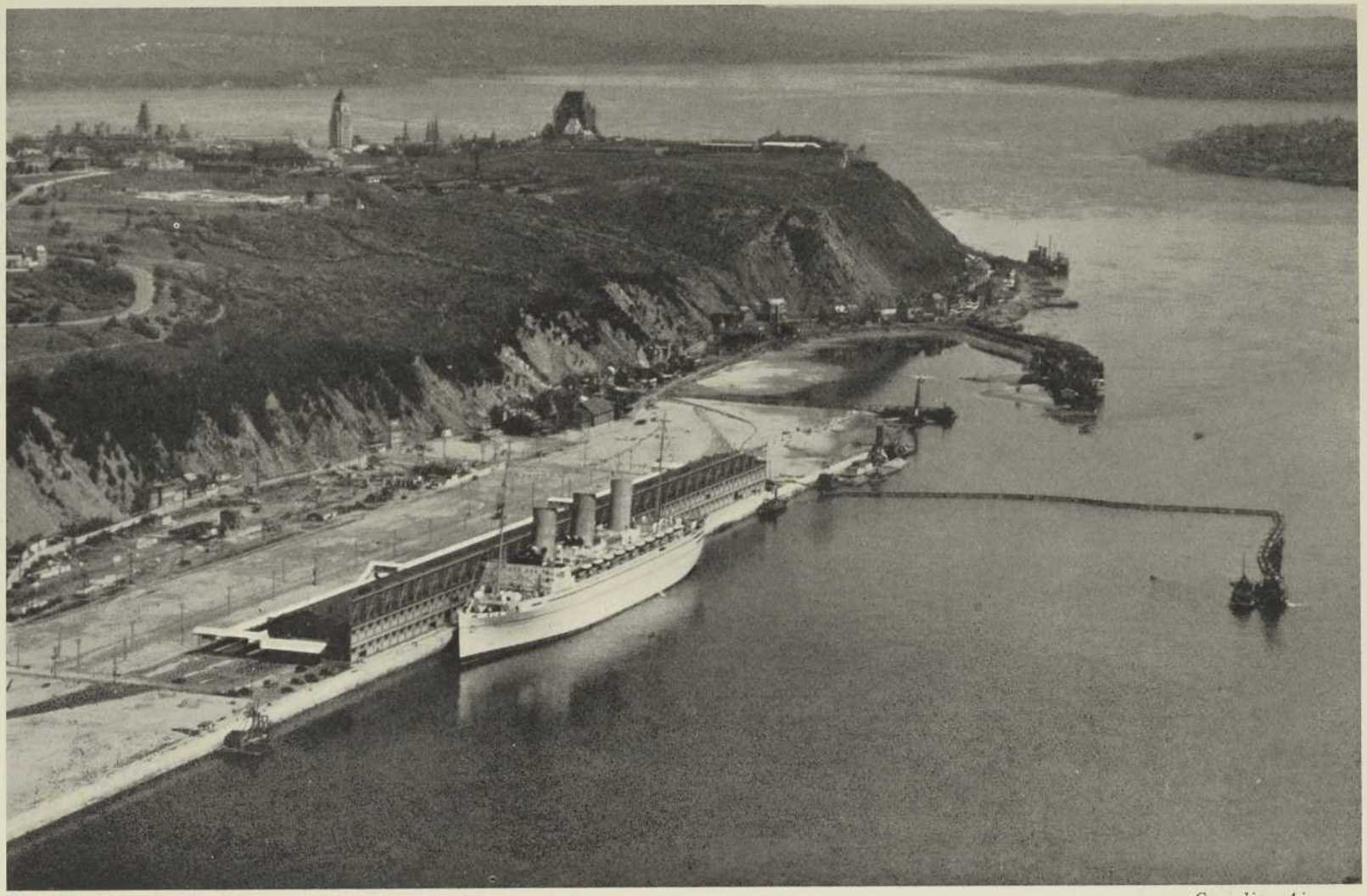
Beyond Lake St Peter we see on the left the busy port of Trois-Rivières with its huge pulp and paper mills and the mouth of the St Maurice River. Trois-Rivières was a great trading station of French Canada; here lived those La Verendryes who were the first explorers to reach the site of Winnipeg and the Black Hills of Wyoming.

Below Trois-Rivières the south side of the river is a

[1] *Relation Originale de Jacques Cartier*, Michelant (Paris, 1867).

high clay wall, green with trees, cut by occasional streams, with pretty towns, St Pierre les Becquets, Deschaillons, Lotbinière, perched on the bluffs ; off to the north we can see the blue line of the Laurentians, rising behind miles of green fields. Here on the left are two villages, Deschambault and Portneuf which once began a civil war. A gentleman from Portneuf called a bald gentleman from Deschambault by the opprobrious name of ' Peeled Head.' The Deschambault man had a ' peeled head,' but he had been scalped in the service of his country ; he disliked the name, and Deschambault declared war on Portneuf. Higher authority stepped in and announced that the two generals were to be arrested and that any one who went to the war would be fined $1.25. The reason for the war was just as good as the reason for some other wars—the method of stopping it was quite effective, and might be tried again.

The river makes a right-angled turn, straightens out and presently, far in the distance we see that engineering wonder the Quebec Bridge, first of the world's great bridges, 1800 feet long with a central span of 640 feet, high enough for a large liner to pass beneath it. A few minutes more and in the distance is Cape Diamond with its citadel, then the wharves and elevators of old Quebec. The buildings of the Lower Town, crowded between the cliff and the river are dominated by the huge Canadian Pacific hotel, the Château Frontenac, on the heights above. It is well worth while to go to the top of the Château tower—you will see one of the most wonderful of all panoramas. Across the river is the city of Levis, named for France's last great soldier in the New World ; there was the end of Arnold's heroic march up the Kennebec in 1775, on his way to help Montgomery with the unsuccessful siege of Quebec. Beyond Levis the farmlands stretch away to a hilly



Canadian Airways

Quebec, with *Empress of Britain* at dock. 'In the distance is Cape Diamond with its citadel.'

distance ; eastward the blue St Lawrence flows to the shimmering horizon—dividing a few miles away to embrace the lovely Island of Orleans—great ships, looking like toys, marking their lines on its waters. On the left the Laurentian mountains strike down towards the stream ; Mount Ste Anne looks at the world-famous shrine of Ste Anne de Beaupré, then comes the line of cliffs and capes that mark the north shore. See that view once, and you will never forget it.

Quebec is an odd combination of old and new, although most of the large buildings then existing suffered so badly from the English bombardment of 1759 that they had to be reconstructed. But many of their walls were left standing and some houses were intact so that you may still get an idea of what Quebec looked like when the English came. In the centre of it all are the Parliament and Government buildings, partly French Renaissance, partly something else.

We leave Quebec next morning and travel on eastward, on one side the high green shores of the Island of Orleans with its old villages and houses—the island was filled with farmers before 1700—on the other the mainland slanting upwards to a woody background. Once past the island the river widens out ; to the north is Cap Tourmente, nearly 2000 feet above the water ; from here onward the north shore is a line of rocky promontories with little hamlets in the gaps and on the lower steps of the cliffs. Presently, off the north shore, we see the low line of the Ile aux Coudres, Hazelnut Island, almost the last refuge of the earlier customs of Quebec. If you were to land and watch a boat-builder you would find him following the exact lines of the Viking ships of a thousand years ago. You would even see the high bow and stern posts—although he will cut them short when his vessel is launched. You will find him and his friends hunting the porpoise

and the white whale while their wives spin their own homespun, singing the old songs and telling the old tales.

On the south shore we pass by prosperous villages, St Jean Port Joli, St Roch des Aulnaies, Ste Anne de la Pocatiere, Kamouraska ; between them are long green ribbons of farms. In seigneurial days the first tenants on a seigneury were given strips of land running at right angles to the river ; the King's Highway ran near the shore. The next set of settlers would be given a ' second concession ' behind the first, the next a ' third concession ' and so on.[1] By degrees the original holdings were split lengthwise and new farmhouses were built ; now as you go down the river you see what look like parallel streets of white cottages with long line fences stretching southward to the hills that mark the American border. Every few miles the houses cluster into a village, a church spire, a hotel, and sometimes a convent or a college rising above the low roofs.

These houses gathered around the church show you another institution of French Canada, the parish. For purposes of government the Province of Quebec is divided into municipalities of various classes, rural and urban, grouped into counties. But beside this, and much more immanent to the ordinary person, is the religious division, the parish. If in the city he meets a neighbour from the country he will say ' he is of my parish,' or ' he is from the neighbouring parish.' It was in the days after the Cession, when the priest so largely replaced the seigneur, that the force of parish organization was first seen, and to-day nothing is more characteristic of French Canada or of the Franco-Americans. All kinds of organizations are based on the parish and the diocese. The Catholic Union of

[1] Each concession had a road of its own, and a cross-road, called a *montée*, gave access to the highway.

The Province of Quebec and Western Europe.
'Almost six times the size of Great Britain.'

Farmers has parish and diocesan committees ; the St Jean Baptiste Society has parish units, so has the charitable society of St Vincent de Paul. The young men's associations, the Association Catholique de Jeunes Canadiens everywhere and the Young Farmers' Clubs in Quebec, are all organized by parishes. It is on our journey down the St Lawrence that we realize why.

A hundred miles or so below Quebec we see to the north the gateway to the vast gorge of the Saguenay, a Grand Canyon of the Colorado half full of water, leading westward to the Lake St John valley among the Laurentians ; at one place its cliffs are a third of a mile high, the water at their feet a third of a mile deep.

Soon we pass the busy little city of Rivière du Loup on the south shore ; an outcrop of rocky tree-clad mountains topped by Cap à l'Orignal marks the shore at Bic ; we stop at Father Point to drop our pilot, then on towards the Gulf. Now on our right is a magnificent scene, the shore of the Gaspé peninsula, and the line of the Shickshock mountains, huge tree-clad spurs running out from the main range to meet the water. Mount Albert, solid green serpentine, has a level top more than three miles long ; Mount Jacques Cartier, a block of granite, is almost 5000 feet above the sea-level. Up and down, over the folds that reach the shore, linking the villages in the valleys, runs the highway, rising and falling 800 feet to the mile, such a road as only the Pacific Highway or the Italian Cornice can match for wonder.

Now the North Shore is almost out of sight ; we leave the mountains on the south and veer north-eastwards ; a low line marks the rockbound coast of Anticosti Island—recent rumour had it that the German public purse was trying to buy that island for a North American foothold—the river is behind us and we are in the broad spaces of a gulf that is an inland sea.

Canadian National Railways

Rivière du Loup.

That is the St Lawrence—and when you have seen it you will no longer be surprised at the Canadian's feeling for his river.

Let me see once again the stream which wrote our story,
Tale of a wondrous past—
Our great St Lawrence—rolling on in glory
Its waters proud and fast.
Our river, none is like it, its rich shoreland
Speaks of another day.
Its rocky islands, every crowning foreland
And every wooded bay.[1]

[1] O. Le Myre, *Les Voix* (trans.).

CHAPTER III

Dwellers on the Land

THOUSANDS of French Canadians are to-day town dwellers and Montreal boasts of being the second French-speaking city in the world. Sprawled at the foot of Mount Royal, straggling for twenty miles or so along the shore of the St Lawrence, Montreal has brought wealth to some of those who have sought it and unhappiness to more. Many shrewd observers see in this metropolitan area of a million and a quarter souls a threat to the best things in French-Canadian life.

Claude Henri Grignon has written the story of a farmer dazzled by city lights. *The Deserter* is one of the saddest of tales. Isidore Dubras was prosperous enough, but he sold out his farm and his stock to go to Montreal. He looked around his land for the last time. ' He dared not ask himself why he was deserting the soil which nourished him and which had repaid him a hundred-fold. Perhaps he had listened too much to his children, his daughter Adeline most of all. . . . Now it was too late.' In the city ' the house was just like so many others, uniformly dirty and ugly, pride of this populous quarter, so cosmopolitan, so full of movement, so crowded with prostitutes, drunkards, and vice.'

' There is never any time in the city. In the country we did not live so fast, but we had time to breathe and to answer letters.'

. . . . . .

' Isidore discovered that spring in Montreal was an

everlasting mixture of damp dust, manure, and the dirty snow from the edges of the sidewalks, piled by the sweepers in the middle of the street to refine the scent of the air and improve the view.'

. . . . . .

'Never once, since he lived in the city had he seen sunrise or sunset. No trees, no flowers, not a single cluster of green fruit, refreshing to the soul and to the eyes. Here he breathed nothing but the dust of the street, the smoke of factories : he was alone in the midst of noise, of indifference, of a dreadful struggle to gain daily bread.'

Six months later Isidore Dubras, 'formerly a farmer,' who had been the master of his own land, the dispenser of his own laws, was found guilty of homicide and condemned to seven years imprisonment.[1]

We turn from Claude Henri Grignon's somewhat pessimistic viewpoint to the words of another equally clear-sighted writer, Georges Bouchard, who looks at things from the other side. 'Our country will grow and prosper only if the clamour of the great cities does not dominate the traditional voice that rises from the fields, only if the plough continues to be recognized as the most essential and the most fruitful instrument of production. Let us picture the ploughman when the day is done, slowly making his way towards the house, when the shadows are creeping up from the dales to take the hills by storm. Does he dream of the important social role he is playing, of the noble task that he has accomplished ?' [2]

Mr Grignon and Mr Bouchard are both fervent believers in the rural tradition : other French Canadians can and do point to the success of their compatriots in many fields of urban activity as evidence that they

[1] Claude Henri Grignon, *Le Deserteur* (A. Leroux,), 1934.
[2] G. Bouchard, *Other Days, Other Ways* (Carrier,) p. 149.

are as well suited to city life as other people and that Mr Grignon's reflections must not be taken as of universal application.

From one point of view the town seems to have the same effect on French as on English Canadians. In the policed urban areas of Quebec the annual number of convictions for offences is equal to 5 per cent of the population, in the unpoliced country areas only 3 per cent. The corresponding figures for Ontario are 5 per cent and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It is an obvious argument that where there are more policemen there will be more offences but it does not explain away the figures.

When we endeavour to ascertain how far rural life persists in Quebec we find ourselves in a difficulty. The Canadian census shows nearly two million out of Quebec's almost three million people as 'urban.' This figure includes the population of a number of small country villages, people who are not and never will be 'urban' in the accepted sense of the word. If we take the population of cities and towns of over 5000 inhabitants we get another figure, 1,533,200; the population of policed areas is 1,435,110. On the whole we shall not be far off if we say that 50 per cent of the population is truly urban. In spite of this the French Canadians are still, in essence, a people of the land. They have never quite lost their feeling for the good earth; a trip through the countryside of Quebec will convince the hardest-headed observer, and to that extent Mr Bouchard and Mr Grignon are right. Quebec has kept a good deal of the philosophy which regards agriculture as a basis of life and education, which looks at the farm not merely as a factory for supplying city wants in return for city cash and thinks of the country school as a stepping-stone to the farm rather than to the city college. The persistence of that philosophy is the French Canadian's real strength.

Rural French Canada—Quebec included—tends to divide into districts with well-defined differences in economic structure, in general attitude, sometimes even in speech. In a general way all these settlements are related to river-valleys or seashores, and the most important are in the very places where the ancestors of the inhabitants first established themselves, an obvious piece of evidence as to the French-Canadians' attachment to the soil. The oldest districts are near Quebec. First come the environs of the city, *la région de Québec*, a comparatively small area including the *Côte de Beaupré* between Quebec and the famous shrine of Ste Anne. This is a typical suburban region, mainly market gardens and dairy farms, framed by the Laurentian hills and woods on one side and the blue St Lawrence on the other. Next is the *Ile d'Orléans*, a lovely park-like place, still very largely held by descendants of the original settlers, prosperous farmers for the most part, some of whom still have the secret of a super-Limburger which they call "raffinée.' *La Côte Su* [1] stretching from just below Quebec down to Matane is the real heart of Quebec, modern and prosperous enough, almost entirely self-sufficient except for its motor-cars and radios—all its men following the same mixed farming methods, on soil of the same kind, under the same weather conditions, its women spinning their own yarn, weaving excellent tweed and making their own carpets. In the whole area, two hundred miles in length, there are only about 2000 people of British origin, and of these nearly half live in the single Scotch settlement of Metis Beach, now more than a hundred years old.

Opposite the *Côte Su* is the *Côte Nord*, the North Shore ; its people are mainly fishermen, except in the

[1] A Canadian or seafaring pronounciation of *La Côte Sud*, the South Shore.

lumbering centres, the latest of which, Comeau Bay, a huge undertaking financed by American capital, employs much non-French Canadian labour. The dweller on the South Shore thinks of the North Shore as a cold, barren place. He is not altogether right, for there are good farms on the hills between Quebec and the Saguenay ; but he is not altogether wrong either, for life on the rocky Labrador coast requires a good deal of courage.

Gaspésie, the Gaspé Peninsula, depends mainly on fishing, although on its southern shores, along the Bay of Chaleur, there are some excellent farming areas, producing among other things the finest green peas in North America. The population is along the shores ; the inland area is a wild, wooded plateau, shut in north and south by two mountain ranges. The settlers came in groups. Some came from the Channel Islands, Jersey, and Guernsey ; a few young Channel Islanders still come over to join the fishing businesses, as they have done ever since the Cession. There were settlements of American Tories after the Revolution ; their descendants constitute a large part of Gaspé's English-speaking population. There were settlements of Acadian French from the Maritime Provinces and, along the north and south shores, infiltrations of French Canadians from the St Lawrence ; there have been English and Scotch traders, one group of eighteenth-century Irish wreckers, who transferred themselves to Canada when business in Ireland was spoiled by the attentions of the Government, and other Irish folk of more peaceable antecedents. The French-Canadian element is gradually becoming predominant, and is now about 75 per cent of the total. It is absorbing the Acadians and Channel Islanders, as well as some of the Irish. It is interesting to note that the French Canadians of Quebec are willing to and can absorb

the Channel Islanders although they are not willing to and cannot absorb Frenchmen from France. The reason is not that the Channel Islander is a subject of King George—as a matter of fact he is not subject to the Parliament of Britain at all—but that he is essentially of the same race as the French Canadians themselves—one of those Norman French who conquered Britain.

The region of rolling hills between the City of Quebec and the American border, known in a general way as *La Beauce*, although it covers more than the county of that name, centres on the valley of the Chaudière River. This area, like the South Shore, is preponderantly French Canadian and is the centre of the new ' movements ' which are stirring rural French Canada.

North of Quebec, beyond the almost empty Laurentide National Park, is the Lake St John Region, *la région du Lac St Jean*, settled about half a century ago by farmers from the St Lawrence valley. This again is predominantly French Canadian, but has been profoundly affected by the extraordinary hydro-electric developments of recent years. The towns have become tributary to industrial activities, pulp and paper mills, enormous power stations—the Aluminium Company of Canada built a town, a harbour, and a power development of its own—the farms have become adjuncts to the towns. This is the district of which Louis Hémon wrote *Maria Chapdelaine*, but he would not recognize it now.

Around Montreal is a large tributary area, still mainly French Canadian, typical of any farming district about a large city. It is level and fertile ; there are many very good farms, a good many poor ones. One section, north-east of Montreal, is largely given up to tobacco and produces very fine tobacco indeed,

if you like the flavour of *Tabac Canadien ;* in others the main activity is dairy farming. You will not find quite the same attitude as you do on the Lower St Lawrence where the population is economically more independent ; there again, say the devotees of the rural ideal, you see the deadening effect of the city on real rural life.

South-western Quebec has a much larger proportion of English Canadians ; almost half the population along the American border, including most successful farmers and a considerable proportion of the remaining people, are English-speaking. This too is a prosperous region, but it is scarcely part of ' French Canada.'

East of this area and south of Montreal is the valley of the Richelieu, an old French-Canadian settlement. Once it grew wheat at forty bushels to the acre and sold it at one silver dollar a bushel for export to England in sailing ships ; now it is mainly given up to mixed and dairy farming and market gardening. The section near Montreal is purely suburban and more than 30 per cent English-speaking ; then, farther south, is a mainly French Canadian semi-rural area, centred on the old garrison town of St Johns, the modern ' garrison ' of which consists of a single squadron of cavalry. East again from the Richelieu Valley we come to the ' Eastern Townships.' The first settlers here came over the border from the United States about the time of the American Revolution. In the early days of the region communications with Quebec and Montreal were poor and in the War of 1812 the Eastern Townships people declared a separate peace with their friends and relations across the border. Even to-day the same feeling persists ; border neighbours walk across ' the line ' to make purchases or pay calls with an indifference that would astonish Europe, and talk of their towns as ' international

settlements.' This friendliness of the English Canadian towards his American neighbours sometimes frightens the French Canadian. 'Has anyone realized,' says Mr Emile Vaillancourt, 'that the maintenance in Canada of the French language, the French traditions, and the French culture is tantamount to co-operating efficaciously for the preservation of a wall opposed since 1775 to the Americanization of our country?' [1]

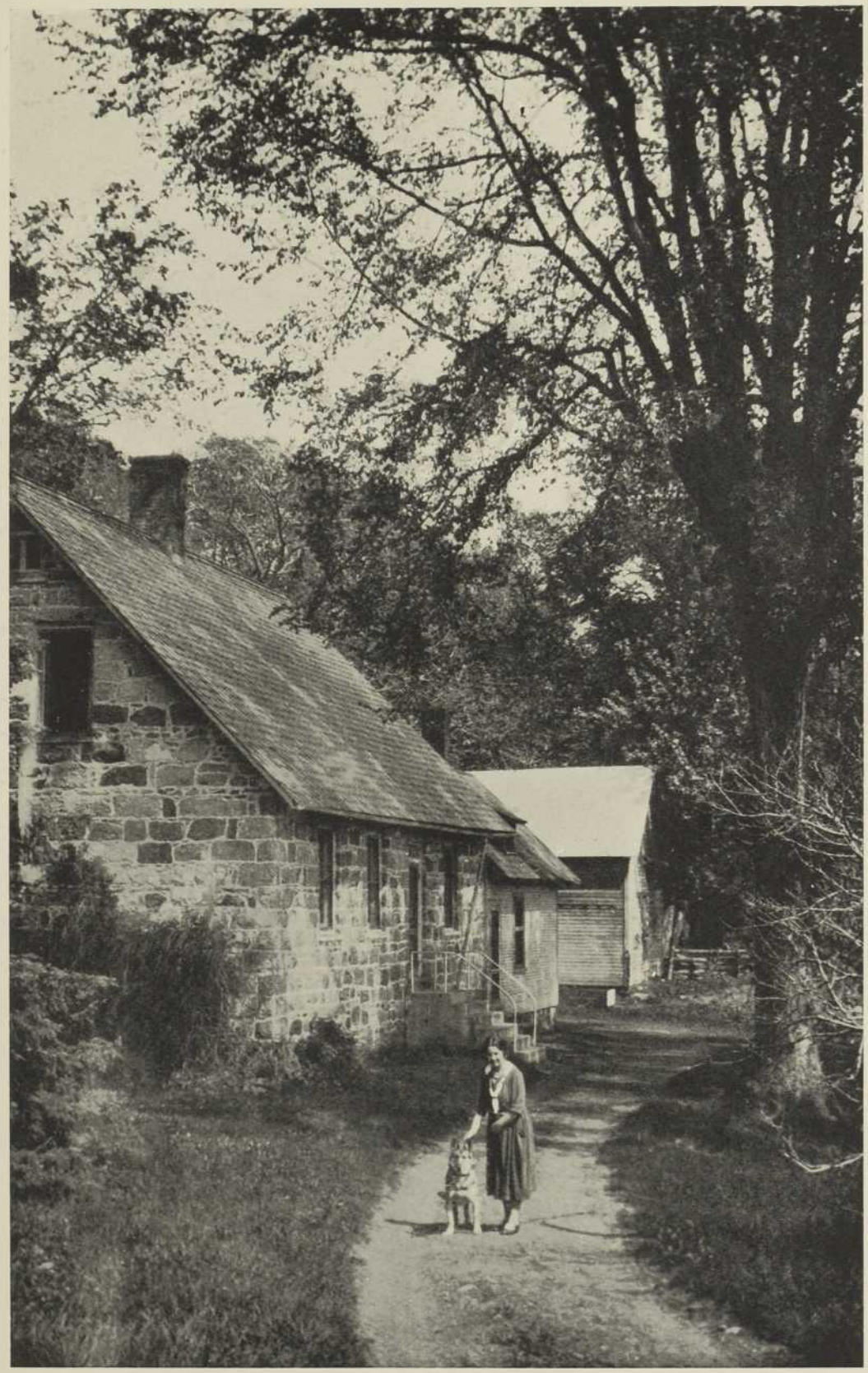
Dr J. L. Peticlerc, president of the French Canadian Association of Alberta, says something very similar. He observes that the Ukrainians of Alberta have their main contact with the English-speaking world through 'magazines, newspapers, radios, detective stories, jazz, all of which are American,' and says: 'The English from Ontario and the French from Quebec are the only group here to represent the Canadian spirit and ideal. It is easy to see that so long as you keep those French Canadians using their own language you protect them from American propaganda and keep them Canadian.' [2]

The French Canadians have no ill-will towards the United States; far from it. Mr Vaillancourt puts the matter quite frankly. 'The moment Canada abandons its own ethnical characteristics—and I have especially in mind the Province of Quebec—we shall lose one of the greatest sources of revenue of our Dominion, since "tourism" is classified as the second of the financial resources of our country'; and he quotes the Honourable Vincent Massey, Canada's first Minister to the United States, who likened the thousands of automobiles crossing the boundary to the 'shuttles of a gigantic loom, weaving a fabric of friendship and prosperity.' [3]

[1] E. Vaillancourt, *Broad Side* (Ducharme), 1936, p. 91.
[2] J. L. Peticlerc, letter to the author, 1931.
[3] E. Vaillancourt, *Broad Side*, p. 92.

French Canadians were first brought to the Eastern Townships of Quebec by an English colonization company when it failed to sell its lands to English people ; to-day they constitute a very considerable majority. The 1931 census showed an English majority in one county only ; it is doubtful whether even that will be reported in 1941.

Between the Eastern Townships and the St Lawrence were the *Bois Francs*, the ' Hardwoods ' ; they were cleared away long since and farms and towns have taken their place. Through all south-eastern Quebec you will find charming scenery, wide, fertile levels in the *Bois Francs*, little country towns with their slender spires, then, to the southward, rolling, wooded hills, climbing to detached outposts of the Appalachians, beautiful river valleys, the Yamaska, the St Francis, and the Nicolet, lovely lakes, Orford, Memphremagog, Brome, and Massawippi, sapphires in a setting of hills that autumn turns to gold. Scattered over the area there are several small but busy and rapidly growing cities ; labour has been cheap and willing and manufacturers have profited by the opportunity. Sherbrooke, the main urban centre, with its twin town of Lennoxville, has an English university and a French college and is the headquarters of the Eastern Townships Board of Trade ; Nicolet has a college ; Ste Hyacinthe craftsmen build some of the world's finest church organs ; Drummondville produces silk and rayon fabrics and hydro-electric power ; Victoriaville makes furniture ; Thetford Mines is the centre of an essential mining industry. The existence of all these commercial activities, as well as the neighbourhood of Montreal and Quebec, fix the character of the rural areas, which must strike a balance between self-support and supplying town needs. The farmers, both French and English-speaking, have fairly well



Mme H. B. Chauvin

In the Eastern Townships. 'The first settlers here came over the border from the United States.'

balanced activities and are well off as farmers go these days.

A district of quite peculiar interest is *La Mauricie*, the St Maurice River valley north of and including Trois-Rivières. During the past few years it has passed through a period of intensive development; the Gouin barrage was built at the headwaters of the St Maurice; several immense hydro-electric plants and many great pulp and paper establishments have sprung up; the industrial city of Shawinigan Falls has come into existence, and Trois-Rivières has become a very active commercial centre with excellent schools and a college. The people of the region, *Mauriciens* as they call themselves, have a regional patriotism almost unique in Canada, worthy of Devon or Virginia.

The French Canadians of the level rural areas in the Ottawa valley are mainly small farmers, and both on the Ontario and Quebec sides of the river are mixed with a considerable English-speaking population. Their centre is the rapidly growing city of Hull, next door to Ottawa, which was founded by English-speaking people but is now mainly French Canadian. The proximity of Hull and Montreal and the many smaller towns between them have tended to make all the rural population dependent on the town; their economic situation and mental attitude are determined by that factor.

Le Nord, the North, is the general name for the settlements in the Laurentian Mountains north of Montreal. Until quite recently this region was still being colonized; Krieghoff and other painters have found in the hard life of the Laurentian farmer themes for many pictures. It was no easy task to cut farms out of the forest, to clear the stubborn roots, to wrest a living from a grudging mountain-side. Of recent years the scene has changed. The Laurentians are full of

vacationists in summer and skiers in winter; the formerly hard-pressed colonists have markets at hand and their sons are winning ski championships.

North again is Abitibi, a new area recently opened up, filled with rich mines and colonists who will some day make a good living by supplying the mining towns with food. Here the rural French Canadian is more in contact with the English Canadian and the 'foreigner' than in any other part of the province, and it is not surprising that a very definite effort is being made to keep him and his family in the new country parishes. How successful that effort will be is yet to be seen.

In New Brunswick the French-speaking population is mainly rural and mainly of 'Acadian' origin, although there has lately been considerable infiltration from Quebec. It is increasing rapidly, while emigration to the United States and to other provinces of Canada keeps the English-speaking population almost stationary. The 1911 census showed about 100,000 [1] people of 'French' origin, about 28 per cent of the total, the 1931 census showed an increase of nearly 40 per cent [2] among the Acadians and the percentage of 'French' had risen to 33.5 per cent of the total. These 'Acadians' of New Brunswick are mainly centred near the 'North Shore' of the province, on the Bay of Chaleur, and in the city of Moncton and its neighbourhood. The rural folk are farmers and fishermen, as yet none too prosperous but better off than they were. They have a college at Bathurst and a university at Memramcook—where Latin, French, and English are used indifferently—their own newspaper, *L'Evangeline*, and a national association, *L'Assomption*, and these various agencies are making them a very solid group.

[1] 98,611 (1931). [2] 136,999 (1931).

In Nova Scotia such Acadians as are to be found—about 10 per cent [1] of the population—are mainly fishermen and small farmers, concentrated in two or three areas on the Bay of Fundy, the north-east shore, and in Cape Breton Island. The regions where they live are beautiful enough—sea, rocks and hills blend into a lovely panorama—but the making of a livelihood has never been an easy task there.

In Prince Edward Island, the smallest province of the Dominion, the Acadians constitute a much larger proportion, there are something like 12,000 out of a total of about 70,000 people. 'The Island,' as its people call it, is almost all rural and almost all under cultivation ; it is more like the countrysides of Britain or France than is anything in North America. There are two or three districts almost exclusively French-speaking ; the remainder of the Acadians, scattered over the province, live much the same lives as their English-speaking neighbours. Curiously enough, about 4000 of them do not speak French—they still maintain that they are not English.

In the Province of Ontario there are about a quarter of a million French Canadians.[2] The most important single settlement is near the Detroit River ; in the rich farming counties of Kent and Essex, which produce a large part of Canada's sugar-beets and tobacco, there are over 30,000 French Canadians, out of a total population of some 220,000 ; a great many of them have overflowed into the United States and the neighbouring English counties. These western Ontario French Canadians are the descendants of the disbanded French soldiers left near Detroit at the time of the Cession, and they have clung desperately to their foothold in spite of the overwhelming English tide.

[1] 56,629 (1931).

[2] Calculated population of Ontario, 1936, 3,690,000.

To-day their neighbours are more friendly ; they have a college of their own, affiliated with the University of Western Ontario, the head of which, Dr W. S. Fox, has French-Canadian blood in his veins and is one of French Canada's best friends. Eastern Ontario, the triangle between the St Lawrence and the Ottawa, was first settled by French Canadians and many of their descendants are still there and still farming. Some of them worked westward towards Lake Huron, and the Dionne Quintuplets have made them famous, It is a strange commentary on modern life that the simultaneous arrival and subsequent progress of five little girls should have made that region better known to the world than has the memory of the old-time Jesuit missionaries who died there in torment for the cause of Christ. Farther north in Ontario, along the line of the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways, the French Canadian has shown the ability to defeat nature which has marked his gradual conquest of Quebec. The past few years have seen many young French-Canadian farmers making their way into these new lands, settling down under the leadership of clerics, clearing farms, building little country towns. Now this French-Canadian population has its own schools and its own college at Sudbury and is developing quickly into an influential group.

In Manitoba the French-Canadian farmers are mostly to be found along the Red River, to the south of Winnipeg ; their centre is the French-speaking city of St Boniface, next door to Winnipeg, with a population of over 16,000, of which over 9000 are French Canadians ; there are some 7000 more in the Greater Winnipeg area. Manitoba has a few groups of recent immigrants from France, mostly living in their own parishes ; the total population of French and French-Canadian origin is about 47,000, say 7 per cent of

the total in the province. These Manitoba French Canadians have come through hard trials. The first of them were a mixed race, Canadian and Indian, known as the *Métis* (mixed) of whom several thousand remain. In 1875 these *Métis*, led by Louis Riel, burst into a rebellion for which there was some excuse, if no justification. A second rebellion in 1885 under the same leader was sternly suppressed. Then came a considerable immigration from Quebec and some from France ; soon the newcomers were engaged in a bitter conflict with the majority over their right to a Catholic education for their children. These early struggles left deep scars, but a later generation has learned a lesson. M. Donation Frémont, a distinguished Manitoba publicist, put the matter thus :

> Our friends know that our silence is no sign of death or of slumber. It is a line of conduct freely chosen. We owe it to the experience of our forebears who took an active part in the violent quarrels of other days and came to the conclusion that something else was necessary in future. A new situation called for a new plan of action.[1]

The French Canadians of Manitoba have considerably improved their situation by going their own way peaceably ; at the same time they have been able to maintain their individuality without opposition and to establish a school system supplementary to that of the Government, although they must contribute to both. They have a college of their own at St Boniface, which is affiliated to the University of Manitoba.

There is not much contact between these French Canadians of Manitoba and their English neighbours, but they have a definite political importance—they generally furnish at least one member of the Provincial Cabinet and they have produced a considerable number of eminent professional men and politicians. On the

[1] *Action Nationale* (January 1934), p. 35.

whole it is fair to say that the group is making progress both economically and intellectually and that its future is bright.

In the neighbouring province, Saskatchewan, the French Canadians are very scattered and are for the most part wheat growers in a small way. They number about 40,000, about 5 per cent of the total population of the province. Like other wheat growers, they have had a hard time, but they have shown a good deal of cheerful courage. One family which had nothing much else than a Ford and a pot of green paint painted the Ford green. ' If we paint the Ford green,' they said, ' there will be some green about the place.'

In Alberta there is a more important although less numerous group numbering about 25,000, or about 5 per cent of the total population. The French Canadians were guided to Alberta from Quebec first by Father Lacombe, one of the greatest of Canadian pioneers, then by three other priests, Fathers Morin, Leduc, and Vegreville. They live to-day in the settlements originally organized by these adventurous missionaries and in the provincial capital, Edmonton. The country people have proved excellent farmers, mainly engaged in mixed agriculture, and have suffered relatively little from economic or climatic crises. To the province as a whole they are a valuable element. In one region of Alberta, about 100 miles square, there are about 55,000 Ukrainians, of whom mention has already been made ; they have their own schools, their own journals, and their own representatives in Parliament. In contact with a body so tenacious of its ancestral notions as these Ukrainians the French Canadians of Alberta provide, as Dr Peticlerc remarked, a definitely Canadianizing influence. They have an excellent college, affiliated with Laval University at Quebec.

Among these various groups are distinct differences in attitude and in speech, due to historic considerations and economic contrasts. Quebec, apart from the Lower St Lawrence and the 'colonization areas,' is, as has been indicated, becoming more and more affected by the neighbourhood of urbanized groups. Young people like the movies, automobiles are necessities, except for the poorest; the radio is popular; there are plenty of colleges and a growing number of agricultural schools. There is nevertheless a difference between the people of the Quebec region and those of Montreal, rather like the difference between Albany and New York; politics rule the roost here, commerce and industry there. The difference is accompanied by a difference in common speech and a somewhat elusive difference in accent. A distinguished citizen of Quebec was called on the telephone late at night by a Montrealer who wanted to announce the death of a mutual friend. 'Laissez moi tranquille,' 'leave me alone,' said the Quebecker and offended his friend for ever—but 'Laissez moi tranquille' in Quebec only meant 'you don't mean to say so.' A woman went from the south shore to the north to give some instruction in weaving. When she came back she said, 'Sir, those people do not talk French, they talk like Indians.' As a matter of fact the north shore does use more Indian words, perhaps because the people have more admixture of Indian as well as of Scottish and English blood.

The south shore people have an independent point of view; they are not impressed by the cities and feel no inferiority complex in the presence of their city friends; as we go eastward into Gaspé we meet another attitude still due to the circumstances of colonization. For a long time each Gaspé settlement kept itself to itself; there were no roads and a man

visited a strange village at the risk of a broken head. The most notorious spot in early days was Paspebiac on the Bay of Chaleur, the people of which—Pospillats they were called by the French, Paspyjacks by the English—were the terror of their neighbours. When roads were built along the wild shore-line things began to change and people to be less suspicious. But the Gaspé folk are still uncompromising. It is hard for a stranger to make acquaintances unless some local friend will guarantee him and the priests and parsons have hard work among their hard-worked congregations. Their names betray their origins ; the country is full of Rosses, Robisons, Savages, and so forth who are all French Canadian ; their speech is like their names, filled with English words pronounced in a French fashion.

The Acadians of the Maritime Provinces still show, in their outlook on life and on their neighbours, both French and English, the traces of their history. The refugees who escaped the deportations of 1755 from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and the equally outrageous deportation of 1758 from Prince Edward Island hid themselves where they could to begin life anew. They were kicked from pillar to post, moved from one place to another to make way for the newcomers until the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists after the American Revolution. Thereafter they had an easier time, if not an easy one. But the Acadians have always had a chip on their shoulder. They never forgave the Bostonians, whom they regarded as mainly responsible for their troubles, and the Acadians on the Madawaska River, on the northern edge of Maine, were really responsible for the fixing of the Maine border where it is, rather than twenty miles north. They are still suspicious of the English ; they note with some resentment that French-Canadian

historians make little or no note of them or their troubles, and they are not quite assured that their French-Canadian brothers in Quebec are ready to champion them as a minority. Indeed it is only within the past few months that a French-Canadian speaker has declared that the treatment of the English minority in Quebec will depend on the treatment of the French minorities elsewhere. Acadian speech is that of dwellers by the shore. A French Canadian of Quebec will say ' turn aside,' an Acadian ' veer to bord,' he uses the word ' bord ' as our own seamen say ' starboard.' An Acadian will tell you to ' moor the horse ' —he is quite likely to use the old word *caval* for horse instead of *cheval*, and he calls the ceiling ' planking ' as if he were talking of the deck of a ship.

The French Canadians of the west are inclined to look on their relations in Quebec rather as English Canadians look on the English. The Quebecker, they think, is a stay-at-home ; the westerner represents those more enterprizing French Canadians of another day who discovered the west of all North America and the north of eastern North America. The Quebec attitude seems to them provincial ; the Quebecker may say that French Canadians have a share in all Canada but he does nothing about it ; they are the people who try to make the dream come true. It is not surprising that they regard the ' separatists ' of the east, who would like to see Quebec an independent state, as afflicted by an inferiority complex, afraid to meet the ' English ' in fair competition and resent the fact that the Quebecker thinks so little about them when he talks of the future of French Canada.

CHAPTER IV

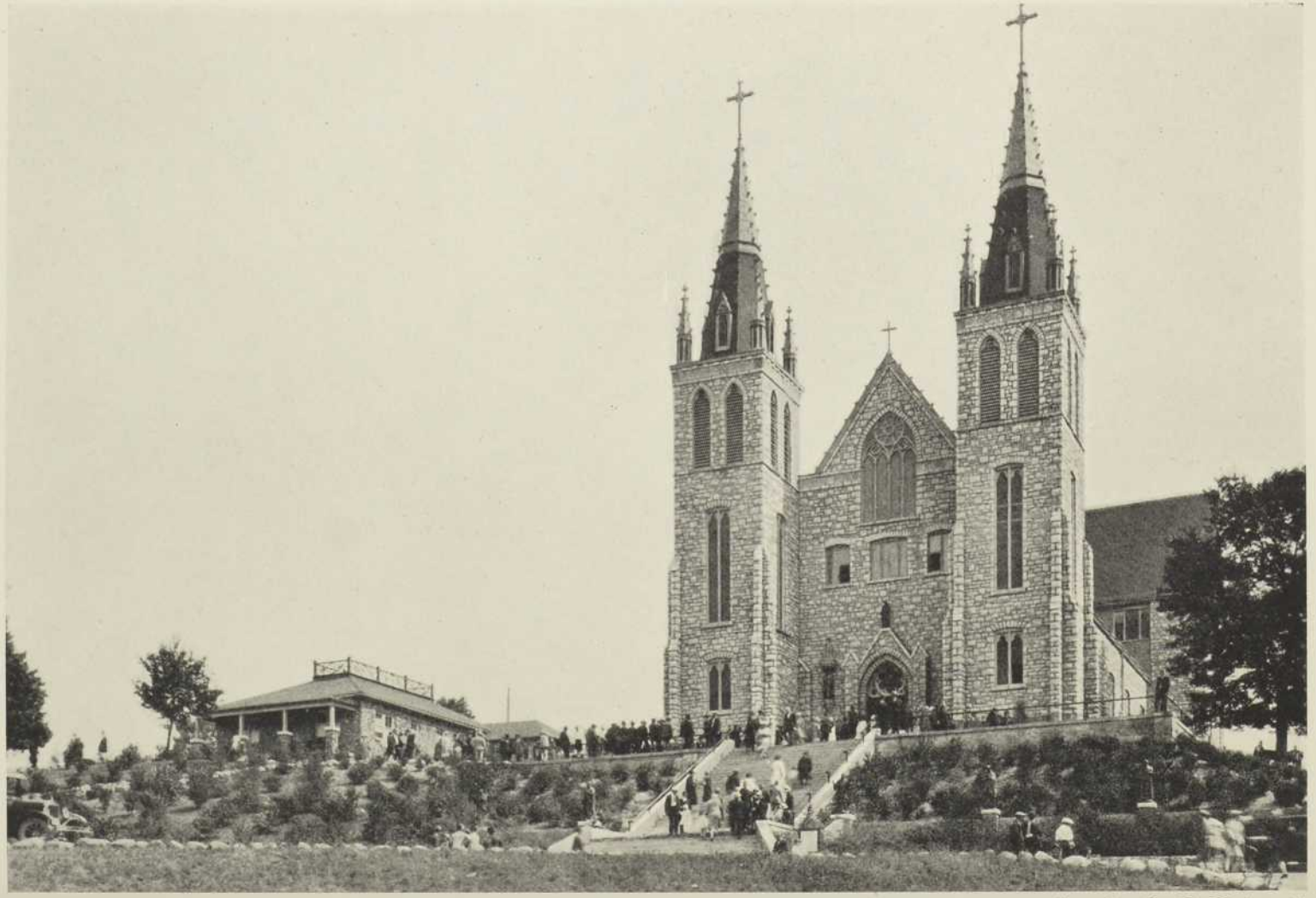
Colonists of France

THIS book deals with the French Canadians of to-day, not with those of yesterday, but it is not possible to understand modern French Canada without knowing something of its historical background. In thousands of books, poems, and speeches we see evidence that there is no people in the world for whom history is more a part of everyday life. M. Georges Langlois puts the matter clearly, if somewhat ironically :

> French survival in Canada has been the subject of many books, the greater number of which are mainly marked by their verbosity, the theme of successful lectures, after-dinner speakers, orators at public meetings, politicians skilled in stirring crowds. The best authors are satisfied with pointing out the fact of this survival ; the politicians are quite ready to think themselves its artisans ; the clergy sees in it proof of a providential destiny.[1]

Abbé Groulx, a professor of history who has become one of the prophets of French-Canadian youth, is as definite as he is evidently sincere. ' History,' he says, ' would be an empty and stupid discipline if it could do no more than reconstruct for a people an inanimate or unreal picture. The past is nothing if it is not Truth and if we cannot ask of it, as of a seed in the ground, an *élan vital*, a driving force for the future. . . .

[1] G. Langlois, *Histoire de la Population Canadienne Française.*



Canadian Pacific Photograph

St Ignace, Ontario. Shrine of the Jesuit Martyrs, 'who died in torment for the cause of Christ.'

History keeps for a people the essential thing, its living tradition.' [1] 'Of what use is History?' Abbé Groulx asks, and replies, 'It saves a people from getting on the wrong track, it prevents them from building life wrong, from adopting wrong customs, wrong teaching, a wrong education . . . it keeps them from becoming the guinea-pigs of political experimentation, it makes political chiefs capable of logical thought, even of national direction.' [2] French-Canadian teachers have always tended to think of history in the terms here indicated. The philosophy behind their viewpoint may be criticized. The true aim of historical study is surely, as Professor Hearnshaw says, 'getting at the truth respecting the causes, the course, and the consequences of the great movements of the past.' [3] The methods used in French Canada, like those used for the most part in English Canada, have been what the same critic calls 'too local, too sectional, too personal, and too superficial,' but since to the French Canadian to-day 'the past is more present than the present,' [4] we must know what that past was before we can comprehend the people upon whose minds it works so strongly. Sometimes we must do more than that; we must learn what they think it was.

When the Cabots came to the shores of North America they found a place which Scandinavian and French sailors already knew, by recent tradition if not by sight. Since the discoveries of Norse armour in Northern Ontario and of a rune stone in Minnesota there is not much further doubt that until well on in the fourteenth century northern seamen were sailing to the east coast of Canada and making their way into

[1] Abbé Groulx, *Directives*. Montreal, 1937, p. 208. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 210.
[3] F. J. C. Hearnshaw, 'The Science of History' *in A Summary of Modern Knowledge*, 1931, p. 294.
[4] L. Groulx, *op. cit.*, p, 206.

Hudson Bay. When Jacques Cartier rediscovered the St Lawrence in 1534 and in 1535 he found French fishermen busy at their trade. Nothing more happened for over sixty years, but by degrees the fish trade led on to the fur trade; fur became more and more fashionable; Henry IV of France decided to promote the fur business; fashion and commerce joined to establish Canada. In 1604, led by Champlain the great geographer, the first party came to the Maritime provinces, and you may see Dochet's Island upon which they set up their first buildings in the St Croix River. It was Champlain's map of that island, now American territory, which settled which river was that St Croix mentioned in the treaty of peace between England and the United States and so fixed the boundary. After a first unsuccessful effort in 1606, the Acadian colony was started, on a very small scale, in 1610, at Port Royal, now Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia, but made very little progress for many years. The settlement was the subject of violent quarrels between various adventurers, all of whom held some authority, and it was not until 1644 that it was finally well on its way with about forty families. From those forty have descended most of the present-day Acadians, and many others who do not call themselves Acadians.

Champlain had more in mind than the fur trade—he wanted a route to China, so he came to the St Lawrence in the track of Cartier; when he saw the Saguenay he thought he had a route to China—earlier maps had shown the Saguenay as a link with the Arctic. Route to China or none, there was plenty of fur to be had around the St Lawrence and Champlain dreamed of a huge empire. He writes to the king, 'You will be able to note the goodness and fertility of the land, the immense number of people who dwell

there, their goodness and peacefulness.' [1] His settlement on the St Lawrence was destined to be more important than that of Port Royal. In 1608 he brought the first colonists to Quebec ; five families remained there during a short English occupation which ended in 1632 and many of their descendants are still in Canada. Another start was made in 1633 when the Company of One Hundred Associates which had been granted the whole country in 1627 sent over 200 colonists ; next year La Violette established Trois-Rivières with a population of ten men and three women, and by 1642 there were 85 families on the St Lawrence. In that year Paul de Chomedy de Maisonneuve, with the help of the Sulpician Order, founded the colony of Ville Marie on the site of Montreal—a spot which so far as the adventurers knew was inhabited by devils and by Indians, who were much the same thing ; Marguerite Bourgeois went with them to teach the Indian children and Jeanne Mance to nurse the sick. Maisonneuve is gone to his fathers long since ; the good Sulpicians are still in Montreal and run its university and parish church.

From those days down to 1938 the official life of Quebec and Montreal has been continuous. You will find in the record office an original deed signed by Maisonneuve as easily as you will find one signed in 1900. The records of court trials, too, are all at hand, and some of them give us vignettes of colonial life. In the winter of 1683, M. Le Moyne of Longueuil, across the river from Montreal, with one of his sons and a nephew, went to Quebec. It was a long trip by dog-sledge down the frozen river, but they arrived safely and, on their way home called on the Governor of Trois-Rivières for whom they had a message. There they dined well, slept late, and woke to find that their

[1] Champlain, *Œuvres*, ed. Laverdière, vol. ii. p. v.

servant Jean had set out for Montreal with 'their sledges, their food, their snow-shoes, their blankets, their mittens, and their walking boots,' as well as the letters which they ought to have given the Governor but had forgotten. They had to walk the eighty miles home with none of the conveniences they had provided; they arrived uninjured by either cold or hunger, but very angry. Jean was promptly arrested and sentenced to beg pardon and to pay a fine of four dollars, which was a good deal of money in those days.

We may very well wonder how anyone faced the hardships of the voyage, not to speak of those that followed. Abbé Tessier comments:

> Those who are acquainted with the reactions of the stomach at sea—even before the most appetizing dishes—may well imagine the leaps and bounds of the unfortunate digestive apparatus of our forefathers with such meals served in such surroundings. The rank effluvia of the salt meat and the stagnant water of the hold, the different smells of animals, the bitter smoke of the tobacco which the sailors used continuously, the badly cooked meals, the corkscrew motions of the ship as it pitched and rolled combined to make digestion a painful business.[1]

Once arrived there was almost as much discomfort and more danger. Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, an able and managing lady, who came to Canada in 1639 to set up an educational system for the little Indians, has left us a description of the first Ursuline school in Quebec. They had sixteen or seventeen lodgers who slept in tiny cubicles, each containing two bunks. The children were painfully dirty. 'The filthy habits of the Indian girls,' says Mère Marie, 'made us find every day hair, ashes, and other rubbish in our stew and sometimes an old moccasin in the soup.' Yet her next remarks cast a flood of light on the enthusiasm

[1] Albert Tessier, *Ceux qui firent Notre Pays* (Zodiaque), 1935.

of these gently nurtured women. 'With all this,' she says, 'we consider ourselves happier than if we were in the best equipped convent in France. It really seems to us that we are too well off for Canada where, for my part, I expected to live in a bark wigwam.' [1]

The Hundred Associates were not successful as traders and finally transferred their commercial rights, for a consideration, to a Canadian company made up of the more important *Habitants*. Still things did not go well. Canada suffered from a sort of malnutrition; immigrants did not come and trade did not grow; finally the Iroquois attacked the Hurons, from whom the French had been getting furs; the fur trade vanished; the Iroquois harried the little settlements, killing lonely field-workers and destroying crops. Dollard des Ormeaux and his heroic sacrifice crew taught the Iroquois a lesson at the cost of their own lives,[2] but the Hundred Associates had failed; in 1663 their charter was cancelled and the Crown resumed its authority in Canada. In 1665 there arrived at Quebec a new governor, de Courcelles, and the only real builder of French Canada, the *Intendant*—a sort of one-man Cabinet—Jean Talon. His first report notes the extraordinary fertility of the soil: 'in fifteen years there will be enough surplus wheat, vegetables, meat, and fish to supply the West Indies as well as the mainland of this great part of the world.' Talon lost no time in starting this trade with the West Indies and encouraging fishing and agriculture; he induced the women to make their own tweed, as they still do; he established villages. A new company, the Company of the West Indies, had been given a trading monopoly. Talon had it withdrawn. He met the first

[1] Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, *Lettres spirituelles et historiques*.

[2] E. Z. Massicotte, *Dollard des Ormeaux et ses Compagnons*. Montreal. 1920.

North American financial crisis, which had lowered the value of the money in the hands of the farmers, by establishing a central fund. He organized new industries, tanning and shoemaking, brewing, shipbuilding ; he established a school of arts and crafts. Most important of all, he strengthened the seigneurial system—in one year, 1672, he set up sixty seigneuries—thus building up a strong country population, which, after one terrible massacre at Lachine, put an end to the Indian menace.

Meantime exploration was recommencing. Champlain had reached Lake Huron by way of the Ottawa, one of his lieutenants, Brulé, had gone as far as Lake Erie and Lake Superior, another, Nicolet, had discovered Lake Michigan, but for some time they were not followed. Now La Salle went to the Ohio. Dollier and Galinée mapped the Great Lakes. Talon was impressed by the value of the St Lawrence route to the interior and the water routes to the north ; his practical mind turned to empire building. He sent de St Lusson to Sault Ste Marie to annex the west ; he sent de St Simon with Father Albanel, who had been there already, to Hudson Bay. He now had the support of French Canada's most famous governor, Frontenac, and between them they planned conquests to the south-west. Joliette, Marquette, and La Salle were sent down the Mississippi and a French dominion, stretching over all the country west of the Appalachians from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson Bay, coloured the map of North America. A few words of his report to the king are important. Speaking of the English colonies on the seaboard, he says, ' It is necessary to bar their way to the River (St Lawrence) and to ensure for His Majesty all the openings to the Lakes and the rivers which flow into them in order to make (other) Europeans give up the desire they would have to

share with His Majesty so vast and great a land if they had ready access to it.'

Talon's North American policy was to end with the writing of a new page in the history of the world, although the words were not those which he foresaw.

While all this was going on the intellectual and religious life of Canada had been by no means at a standstill ; the colony was becoming a Catholic stronghold. Quebec and Montreal were essentially religious settlements ; the sound of the church bells was always in the air ; the seigneurs of Montreal were the Gentlemen of St Sulpice, the Sulpician Order. Jesuits had come to Port Royal in 1611 to establish a mission which was to be ended by a raid from Virginia—the first New World conflict between the two Old World rival faiths. In 1625 more Jesuits had been sent from France ; and soon after had established missions as far west as the Georgian Bay ; there Brébeuf, Lalemant, Daniel, and Garnier suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Iroquois ; Chabanel was killed by an apostate and the mission disappeared.

On the St Lawrence the Jesuits were powerful and successful ; they erected a college in 1635 ; by the middle of the century the Jesuits in Quebec and the Sulpicians in Montreal shared control with the Government, the Jesuits in particular to an extent of which the governors heartily disapproved ; the head of the Canadian clergy was Bishop Laval, a most imperious prelate who, until the advent of Frontenac, managed to bring about the dismissal of every governor who crossed his path. Laval established in 1663 a Seminary which has become Laval University, and as long as he was in control centralized in Quebec all the religious activities of the colony. His successor changed his methods and established the system of parishes which still exists.

It is clear enough now, although it was not clear then, that the situation in North America was bound to produce trouble ; nothing could prevent it. On the coast were the English colonies. It is curious that a tradition should have grown up attaching the name of 'Puritan' to the early American settlers. Professor Hall and others have demonstrated that there were never many Puritans, strictly so called, in North America, that the faith of the English Protestants came from an older source than Puritanism. They were true descendants of the Lollards of the days of Wyclif, who brought with them across the Atlantic the 'old English radical Protestantism' which 'under the stress of persecution, poverty, and cultural isolation, broke with the thought of an authoritative and interpreting Church, as well as with the conception of a priestly ministry and laid the emphasis solely upon the Bible as God's word.' [1] No people could have been more suspicious of Catholic neighbours than these hard-bitten Englishmen whose forebears had quarrelled even with the State Church of Britain ; Episcopacy they thought bad enough, but Papacy was anathema.

Commercial and political interests were fraught with just as serious possibilities. The French settlement successfully closed the St Lawrence to the English and, as the ventures begun in the time of Talon progressed, shut the colonies off from the Ohio and the Mississippi valleys. The English discovered another route to the far west by way of Hudson Bay, and their fur traders quickly began to reap benefits from the hostility between the Iroquois and the Indian friends of the French which had already almost ended Canada's fur business. An English writer of 1758, looking back at

[1] T. C. Hall, *The Religious Background of American Culture*. p. xi. (Little Brown), 1930.

the origins of the struggle then in progress, makes a very fair comment :

> The French, pretending to have first discovered the mouth of the Mississippi, claimed the whole adjacent country towards New Mexico and the east, quite to the Appalachian and Allegheny Mountains on the west. They drove off the new settlers. . . . It is evident enough that the consideration of the right had much less influence on both parties than the consideration of conveniency. Should the French be able to unite Canada to their colonies at the mouth of the Mississippi by a possession of all that vast country which lies between them, the English colonies must lose all share in the Indian trade in time of peace and in time of war be exposed to continual dangers or to the ruinously chargeable defences of a frontier more than 1500 m. in length. If, on the contrary, the French should fail to make good these claims on the Ohio and those on Nova Scotia, their two colonies actively disunited and the entrance into the other difficult at all seasons by the banks at the mouth of the Mississippi must certainly lose all their value to France and in their fall involve much of the fortune of their great settlements in the West Indies.[1]

France and England indeed had become involved in one of those currents of fate which seem to be beyond the power of humanity to battle—a similar tide of events pushed Europe into the War of 1914.

A third cause of trouble lay in the relations of both sides with the Indians. The French from the very beginning aimed at conciliating the Indians ; their missionaries believed that the conversion of these savages was a sacred duty ; their officials purveyed spirits in exchange for furs, undoing most of the good that the missionaries did. The English, with the sole exception of John Eliot and a few others, never seem to have thought of converting the Indians at all ; com-

[1] *Annual Register*, 1758.

menting on an epidemic which at one spot almost wiped the natives out, a Pilgrim Father observed that 'by this means Christ made room for his people to plant.' As time went on the English began to see more advantage in Indian friendship and their courtship of the great confederacy of the Iroquois, which had been hostile to the French, was not altogether unsuccessful.

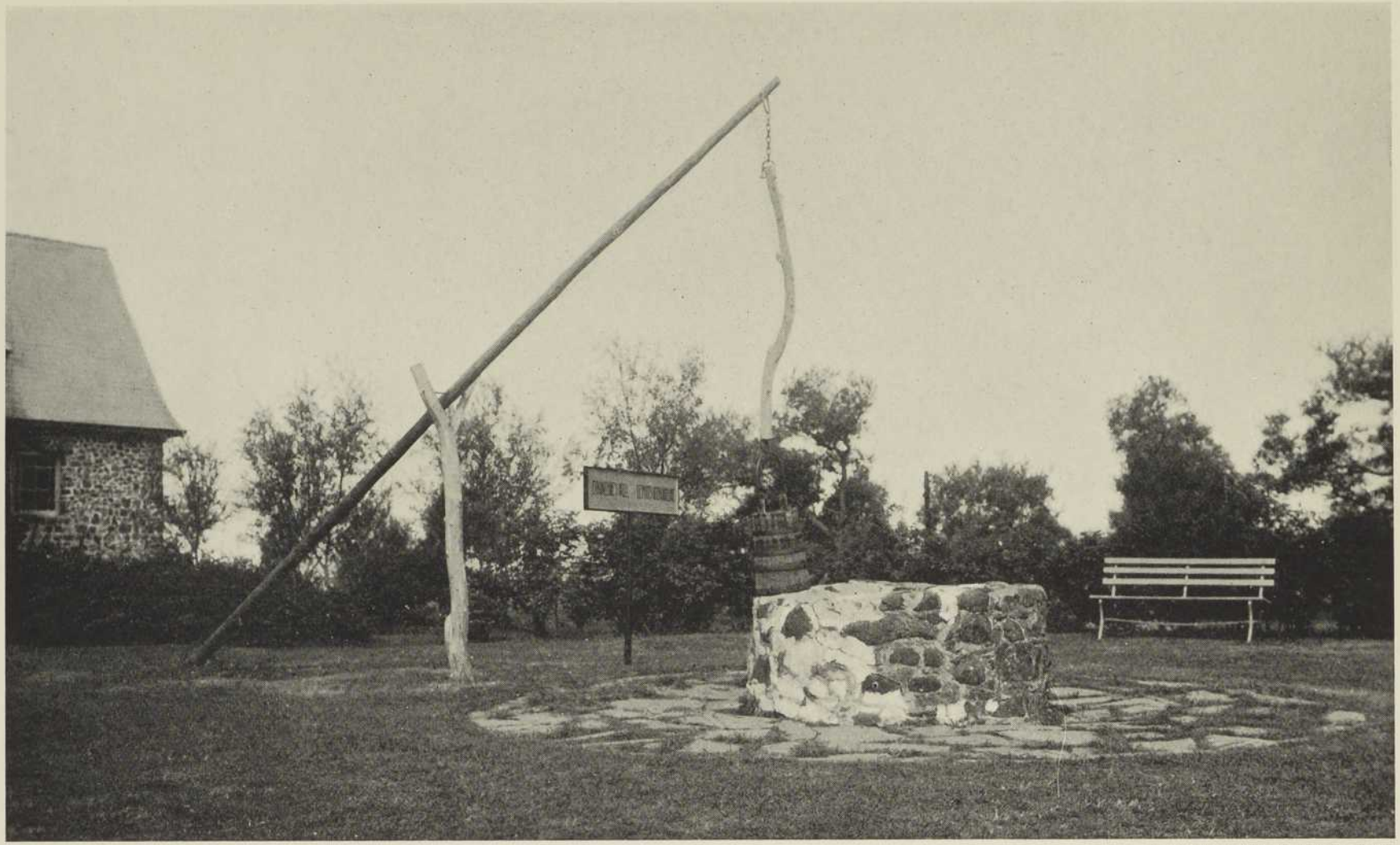
The natural result of these various conflicts of interest and ideology followed. For years there were clashes where the two people came into contact. In 1690 Admiral Phips brought a fleet from Boston to attack Quebec. The first shot from the shore brought down his flag; it was an augury of failure. In 1711 Walker brought another fleet; it was wrecked in the St Lawrence; the name of the Church of Our Lady of Victory in Quebec was changed to Our Lady of Victories and the fear of the 'Bastonnais' grew less. Young French Canadians like the Le Moynes raided the English forts on Hudson Bay and with their Indian allies attacked peaceful New England villages; Queen Anne's war in Europe was accompanied by the Deerfield massacre in Massachusetts and the capture of the French settlement at Port Royal, mainly by the efforts of the colonials. The Peace of Utrecht in 1713 handed over the Acadian French to Britain—there were no plebiscites in those days—the French at the same time finally gave up their tenuous claims to the Hudson Bay country and Newfoundland. The population on the American seaboard was now far larger than that of Canada; by the time of the Peace of Utrecht the colonies had 357,000 inhabitants; Canada had not many more than 22,000, but the existence of this French Catholic province with its control over the rich western country was a source of much irritation to the wealthy colonials.

French explorers continued to make their way through the west, reaching Winnipeg, the headwaters of the Saskatchewan, the centre of Wyoming. The French hold on the country was ensured by the line of forts from Ticonderoga to the Niagara and Ohio valleys ; a strong fortress was built at Louisbourg in Cape Breton Island which had been retained by the French when Acadia was ceded, and to the American colonists it was a constant threat. In 1745 came King George's war and Massachusetts sent an expedition which captured Louisbourg, only to have it surrendered again by the British at the close of hostilities. There was violent discussion over the Acadians around Annapolis, who now numbered almost 10,000. The Treaty of Utrecht had provided that they should be given an opportunity to leave the country ; if they did not leave they were to take the oath of allegiance. They were never given the opportunity to leave, but the question of the oath of allegiance was never pressed. An oath of neutrality was as far as they were ever made to go—they did not all go as far as that—and they became known as the Neutral French. They were a peaceful and inoffensive people ; even their enemies were never able to accuse them of emulating the military activities of the French Canadians of Quebec ; their worst offence was that they followed bad advice, but they were given little good advice.

Massachusetts considered the existence of this 'neutral' colony a serious menace, and the conflict of Catholicism and Protestantism once more comes into the picture. A project for deporting the Acadians had been discussed at intervals since 1720 when it had been started by the British Government. Now Governor Shirley of Massachusetts wanted the people of one district to be removed to New England and replaced by English settlers. This might result in the others

becoming Protestants.[1] Shirley saw a dilemma. If the Acadians were moved out of English into French territory they would provide reinforcements for the French troops ; [2] as long as they stayed where they were they offered the French a foothold for a new invasion and ' The loss of this Province (Nova Scotia) would probably be attended with a further immediate loss of the whole eastern parts of New England and the whole Province of New Hampshire. . . . The acquisition of this by the French would give them the cod fishery of New England, Nova Scotia and the whole of that in the Gulf of St Lawrence which together with that which they already have . . . would maintain an immense array of seamen to man their navy.' [3] France was unquestionably much to blame for what happened next ; the authorities at Quebec extended their jurisdiction into what is now New Brunswick, claiming that the coast from the Kennebec to Annapolis was not included in the cession of Acadia, and built a fort at Beauséjour, close to the Acadian lands. That became the headquarters for Indian raids into English territory which frequently ended in murders ; Indians were the eighteenth century precursors of twentieth-century air-raid bombs ; Abbé Le Loutre, the most remarkable of missionaries, contrary to the instructions of his religious superior [4] but encouraged by the civil authorities,[5] kept up constant intrigues among the Acadians and encouraged the Indians in their murderous adventures.[6] Finally matters came to a head. Britain, having muddled the case of the Acadians for over forty

[1] Sir T. Shirley to Newcastle, 21 Nov. 1746.
[2] Sir T. Shirley to Wm. Greene, 14 Oct. 1746.
[3] Shirley to Sir T. Robinson, British Board of Trade, 24 March 1755.
[4] Bishop of Quebec to Le Loutre (letter in N. S. Archives).
[5] Shirley to Newcastle, 20 October 1747.
[6] For details of the life of this curious character, see *The Career of Abbé Le Loutre in Nova Scotia*. J. C. Webster, Shediac. 1933.



Canadian Pacific Photograph

Acadia : Evangeline's Well. 'A peaceful and inoffensive people.'

years, sent a new governor, Lawrence, to Nova Scotia. The friction between France and England turned once more to war. Now the presence of the Acadians seemed more dangerous than ever. Lawrence did not waste time. He told the Acadians that if they did not take the oath of allegiance they would be deported, and informed the British Government of his action [1] Massachusetts sent an expedition which captured the French fort at Beauséjour and Phips wrote to Lawrence that there need now be no scruples about the deportation.[2] Sir T. Robinson replied to Lawrence for the British Government that they presumed Lawrence's actions would be dictated by necessity.[3] In the face of this it is scarcely accurate to claim, as has been done, that the subsequent deportation of the Acadians was carried out without the knowledge or consent of Britain.[4] The Acadians were to be crushed between the upper millstone of French intrigue and the lower of American necessity. The whole unfortunate population was herded aboard ships by a Massachusetts contingent, families broken up, and carried off to the British colonies. Some, as has been mentioned, escaped to the west ; some made their way to Louisiana ; only a few, after the declaration of peace between England and France, came back to Nova Scotia and became British subjects.

The subject of the Acadians has been treated at some length because the *Grand Dérangement*, the deportation of 1755, has always been and is to-day a bitter memory in the minds of the Canadians of Quebec as well as in those of the descendants of the real sufferers. The French Canadians were to have their turn next.

[1] Report, Lawrence to the Board of Trade, 18 July 1755. (N. S. Archives).

[2] Letter, July 1755 (N. S. Archives).

[3] 13 August 1755 (N. S. Archives).

[4] Cf. Wittke. *History of Canada.*

The general plan of the English for the campaign in North America was to make three attacks : one on Louisbourg, which would deprive France of the port most useful for privateers and reinforcements ; one on Crown Point and Ticonderoga, which formed a jumping-off point for attacks on the English colonies ; one on Fort Duquesne to cut the line on the Ohio.[1] The Marquis de Montcalm, a brilliant soldier newly sent out from France, saved Ticonderoga and Braddock failed to take Fort Duquesne. In 1758 British sea-power told a different story ; a large fleet carrying a force commanded by General Jeffrey Amherst, with whom was General James Wolfe, took Louisbourg. Next year New England divines preached a holy war on Canadian Papacy, and New England, spurred by these religious encouragements, provided a considerable number of recruits for Amherst in the colonies, and for Wolfe, who was back in England preparing to attack Canada. Amherst forced the French out of Ticonderoga. The way to Quebec was now wide open, and a large fleet under Admiral Saunders, with Wolfe in command of the land forces, sailed. The siege of Quebec was imminent, but before it happened there were to be some minor operations which would have an unexpected effect on American history. When Montcalm had defeated the British the year before, his Indian allies—with whom were supposed to be some French - Canadian leaders — had massacred many prisoners. Wolfe was aroused to violent rage, which was shared by his troops, and there is no doubt that the treatment of the people of the Lower St Lawrence was the consequence. When the fleet reached Gaspé detachments were sent ashore to destroy the fishing establishments, and this procedure was continued on the way up the river. The prosperous little settle-

[1] *Annual Register*, 1760.

ments below Quebec were raided, houses burned, crops destroyed, and the people chased away. The army finally occupied the Island of Orleans, the inhabitants were driven off to the north shore, and the whole island was looted. It is quite true that Wolfe had a notice posted in the church at Beaumont warning the French Canadians against guerilla warfare on penalty of suffering violent reprisals, but most of the French Canadians never heard of it at all, and most of the pillaging was by that time over. How much the people of the country suffered we shall never know for there are no records ; no newshawks were reporting the British progress. Part of the destruction was the work of Highlanders under Lieutenant Fraser [1]—it is somewhat ironical that most of his and their descendants have been absorbed by French Canada—but colonial troops under a Captain Montgomery pillaged with much more energy and were the object of much greater resentment. Unfortunately they went further than pillage and murdered a curé and nine habitants at Portneuf.[2] Another notorious looter was Major Rogers, later to be the defender of Detroit, to be tried for treason, and finally to be outlawed by his own State, New Hampshire. He was accused of scalping his prisoners,[3] and while the accusation may have been false it had just as much effect as if it had been true. These doings of Rogers and Montgomery were to have a very important effect on the attitude of the French Canadians during the American Revolution.

The siege of Quebec is too well known to need any description here ; it was followed by a gallant if despairing effort by the Marquis de Lévis, but France was out of North America and the English colonies

[1] P. A. de Gaspé, *Mémoires*, p. 52.
[2] Letter Bigot to Lévis, *ibid.* p. 53.
[3] *Journal du Siège de Québec*, Levis, Letters, etc., p. 197.

were safe. The French-Canadian pawns in the political game were not given much thought by any one. France on the whole did not seriously regret her loss ;[1] whether she could have prevented it is still a subject for discussion. England did not altogether rejoice in her acquisition ; the next edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* gave four and a half columns to Canada and its history and eleven columns to Crete.

[1] V. Pierre Gaxotte, *Le Siècle de Louis XV.*—E. Vaillancourt, *La France peut-être heureuse sans Québec.* (The title is a quotation from Voltaire.) Montreal. 1938.

CHAPTER V

The Birth of a Race

THE French Canadians, it is evident, have plenty of reason so far as they look back to the Seven Years' War at all, to justify them in criticizing both English and Americans. Any damage ever done to American farms had been avenged tenfold and the massacre of prisoners by Montcalm's Indians had been repaid by the death of the Portneuf habitants. The influence of the events prior to the Cession must not be exaggerated ; even the descendants of the farmers who suffered from the raids of the Highlanders and Americans do not think much about them now, but, on the other hand, when we remember that these events are still taken seriously enough to be the subject of historical teaching it is obvious that they are worth recording. Some French-Canadian speakers still, occasionally, refer to their race as ' a conquered people ' ; it is an entirely incorrect phrase, since they were never conquered, but it induces a sense of national ill-usage and has therefore some political value—automatically, when it is used, the story of the hardships of 1759 comes to life.

Can we find in the history of Canada any reason for the fact, and it is a fact, that the French Canadians have no particular sense of unity with France ? For some time prior to the Cession the distinction between French and Canadians, as has been noted, had been apparent. There had been practically no immigration

during the eighteenth century ; only a little over five thousand persons had arrived and some of these had gone back. Most of the people were from the north-western provinces, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge, which had a population ethnically different from the rest of France ; a difference which increased as France grew towards the east and south. There grew up, moreover, in Canada a select Canadian *noblesse*, so distinct from that of France that most of its heads, 126 out of 227, preferred to remain in their own country at the Cession.[1] These Canadian leaders had a ' Canada for the Canadians ' movement—their attitude exactly parallels that of the French Canadians of to-day—upon which a French writer has an interesting comment :

> The colonists of Canada are (in 1759) numerous enough, solidly enough established and acclimatized to multiply without the help of a European immigration and to defend themselves. They have gone far enough in exploiting the fertility of their soil to live mainly on its products. At the same time they no longer need to be wards. They have among themselves all the human elements necessary to fill the places in a completely organized society. At the time of the supreme crisis Canada is, in short, in the hands of her own children. The Governor-General, the governors of Trois-Rivières and Montreal, the majority of the Superior Council, the officers of the twenty-eight companies (of militia), the priests of the diocese of Quebec are all Canadian born.[2]

While this development had been taking place the attitude of France towards the colony had been changing. This was without doubt partly due to the school of thought led by the ' Encyclopedists.' Montesquieu, Voltaire, Bernardin de St Pierre spoke and wrote

[1] Letter, Carleton to Shelburne, 25 November 1767. *Report Canadian Archives*, p. 33. 1888.

[2] Salone, *op. cit.* p. 438.

against the colonial idea. The disturbed feelings in the country and in Europe supported them ; in consequence, when the principal Minister, Berryer, was asked that reinforcements be sent to Montcalm his answer was, ' When the house is on fire we do not bother about the stables.' Montcalm had only 3000 French regulars, of whom not all were at Quebec, and some Canadian regulars ; the rest of his force of 17,000 consisted of half-armed and untrained militia and Indians mostly scattered over the province. The English had 27,000 trained troops and American militia, of whom Wolfe had about 9000 at Quebec.

Denis Benjamin Viger, who has already been quoted, was later a strong supporter of his cousin Louis Joseph Papineau in the movement of 1837 against British colonialism and can scarcely be accused of partiality for the English. He had this to say in 1809 :

> As to France the possession of Canada was nothing for her but a foothold for harassing the English colonies, menacing their security and their commerce with the mother-country. Hence those wars with our neighbours, ruinous to this country, undertaken without means, without resources, without plans, without foresight, for which the true or false pretext was often a purely ideal line of demarcation, the destruction or preservation of a few miserable huts, hundreds of leagues away in deserts or impenetrable forests, hence the odious despotism introduced into Canada some years before the Cession, which grew until the country was taken, hence too the indifference of the Government to the encouragement of agriculture, of industry, and of commerce. . . .[1]

It may be, and has been argued that the attitude of France was a perfectly normal one for those days, that the French government cannot fairly be accused of despotism in Canada when Canadians were governed

[1] D. B. Viger, *Considérations*. 1809.

much as the French themselves.[1] What we are concerned with is what the Canadians of those days thought and Viger tells us. The trouble, as a matter of fact, was less due to purely political than to economic actions.

The official records of the Government of Canada by France prior to and during the Seven Years' War tell a story of rapacity, dishonesty, and indifference. The *intendant* of those days, Bigot, was a brilliant and capable official who managed the finances of the colony uncommonly well. Unfortunately he was also concerned with adding to the wealth of himself and his friends, and did so with such success that on his return to France he was tried, convicted, and deprived of all his property.

The war with England caused enormous expenses in Canada and it was increasingly difficult for France to meet them. An effort had been made some time before to provide the colony with a currency of its own known as 'card money,' but the total amount of this was limited and its value fixed ; it was hoarded and almost disappeared from circulation and payments for goods were made by bills of exchange. As time went on these bills were of longer and longer date and more and more were issued ; in consequence prices rose to an appalling point ; between 1751 and 1759 flour increased five times in price, the cost of a turkey increased sixfold between 1755 and 1759 ; a cabbage in 1759 cost over thirty-five cents.[2] Bigot's company had bought up immense quantities of supplies and sold them at a huge profit to the State ; in the spring of 1758 contributions of bread at two oz. per day were demanded from the Canadians[3] ; in the fall the

[1] Gérard Filteau, *La Naissance d'une Nation.* Montreal. 1937, p. 115.

[2] *Documents relating to Money, etc*, p. 905. Adam Shortt, King's Printer, Ottawa.

[3] Mémoire S. de C., *Soc. Hist. de Que.*, p. 104.

government took flour at 12 livres a minot[1]; the ordinary price went to 26 or 40 livres.[2] It was true then, as it is true now, that the French Canadian will stand a great deal, but if you rob him he will not forget. France robbed him and he thought the Cession a blessing from heaven.[3]

The capitulation of Canada was followed by the Treaty of Paris by which the Canadians were guaranteed the exercise of their religion 'so far as the laws of Great Britain permit.' There were also given the opportunity to leave the country within eighteen months; none but the few above mentioned did leave. The Treaty was followed by the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which established the 'Government of Quebec' as a very limited area comprising the St Lawrence and Ottawa valleys. The same proclamation set up the governments of East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada and the unimportance of the French Canadians in the British mind is evidenced by the fact that the *Annual Register* dealing with the proclamation does not even mention them. The proclamation did, however, alter very seriously the situation of the American colonies. Various charters had given the colonials rights over indefinite areas to the west; so long as Britain had not controlled these areas the rights had been obviously theoretical. Now that Britain had acquired or at least made certain of control the claims of the colonies were completely disregarded and settlement west of the Alleghenies was forbidden; with this interdiction the connection of Canada with the Revolution began.

For four and a half years Canada was under military government, and such courts as were held were presided

[1] The minot was 68.7 pints—say $10.00 a bushel.

[2] Mémoire S. de C., *Soc. Hist. de Que.*, p. 123.

[3] D. B. Viger, *Considérations*, p. 39.

over by officers who naturally knew nothing of French law. In consequence, the habitants, who loved law-suits, turned to their curés and for some time the clergy were judges as well as priests ; the effect was soon to be evident.

The next step for the British was to get possession of the western country still occupied by the French. This work was confided to Major Rogers of the Rangers, and on 12th November 1760 he reached Detroit where the French surrendered the fort. The Canadians left behind in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys now began to stir up their former friends and allies the Indians in that part of the world ; at Michillimackinac the English were attacked and many were murdered ; Rogers in Detroit was besieged by a chief named Pontiac who later became the semi-legendary leader of a legendary ' conspiracy.' [1] The story of this conspiracy began with a book named *Ponteach* which Rogers himself wrote but recent historical research has tended to discredit it.[2] The news sent back to the colonies did not tend to make them like the Canadians ; a Detroit correspondent wrote to a Pennsylvania newspaper :

> Judge of the Conduct of the Canadians here by the behaviour of these few *Sacres Bougres* I have mentioned ; I can assure you with much Certainty that there are but very few in the Settlement who are not engaged with the Indians in their damned Design.[3]

The tales of French-Canadian activities, although they had a solid foundation in fact, were like all other wartime stories, exaggerated, and also like all other wartime stories had a great deal of effect. The Indians obtained control of all the Great Lakes area except

[1] Cf. Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*. Wittke, *History of Canada*.
[2] *Encyclopedia of Canada*. s.v. Pontiac.
[3] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 July 1763.

Canadian National Railways

Bic. 'An outcrop of rocky tree-clad mountains marks the shore.'

A Beaver dam in Gaspé. A photograph given to the author by Grey Owl.

Detroit and attacked settlers at various points along the western border of the colonies ; it was not until 1768 that the menace was ended and the west brought under control.

Meantime a number of colonials had entered Canada with an eye to gain ; most of them settled in Montreal and soon began to clamour against the government. The habitants had not really objected to the martial law as administered by Murray, although as has been noted, they did not resort much to the military courts. The English-speaking newcomers had different ideas ; they wanted to abide by British traditions and made a great noise over it. The first grand jury impanelled after the Cession undertook to read the governor a lesson. They objected to the Merry England kind of Sunday the French Canadians enjoyed and wanted a Blue Law day instead ; they called for Protestant clergy to preach in French ; they demanded a share in the making of laws ; they objected to the military courts and to Catholics sitting on juries. Their remarks had no particular effect at the time, but the feeling grew that British law and justice should be introduced, and eighteen months after the Treaty of Paris in 1763 the change came into effect. The laws of England were to be enforced and English-speaking magistrates were to be appointed. The result was bad for the French Canadians ; the magistrates were mostly unfair and unjust to people who knew nothing of the English laws they attempted to apply and those who suffered became rightly discontented. It might be observed that the magistrates were just as unpleasant to the British officers and soldiers, and that feeling at one time ran so high that the home of one of the magistrates was invaded by a Ku-Klux band of masked men ; the gentleman lost a piece of his ear.[1]

[1] Trial of Daniel Disney. Quebec. 1767.

In 1766 there came to Canada a man whom every French Canadian would honour if he knew the facts, Sir Guy Carleton, later Lord Dorchester, and largely on his advice the British Government in 1774 passed the Quebec Act. That Act, and not the British North America Act, which set up the Dominion of Canada, is the real foundation of Quebec's present position ; it is the charter of French Canada. One point concerning which there has been a good deal of confusion must be made clear ; it was not the object of the Quebec Act to establish those 'British traditions' which the American settlers had been asking for, quite the contrary. During the discussions at Westminster, as recorded at the time, the statements were made that the French Canadians did not want representative government and were not fitted for it, that they did not want trial by jury in civil cases, that they did want the Roman Catholic religion, and that there were a great many of them in the western territory. A proposal to make the Habeas Corpus Act applicable to Canada was rejected, a fact which, by itself, casts a good deal of light on the Parliament's point of view ; the Habeas Corpus Act protected the privileges of free-born Britons, it was not for French Canadians

Another and a most important section of the Quebec Act provided for an immense extension of the boundaries of Quebec which came to include the territory now covered by Quebec, Ontario, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a good deal of Minnesota. There were three main reasons, of which two were the existence of French settlements in the West and the need of a centralized control of the Indian country. The third was the most important. The French Canadians as already noted were far better than the English at dealing with the Indians ; by linking the

West to Quebec the home government felt that it would secure itself by the help of the Canadians against any inroad on its monopoly by the French of Louisiana.

There was no provision for the use of the French language ; there had been none in the Proclamation ; apparently no one dreamed that any French Canadian would use anything else.

The Quebec Act produced a violent storm of protest in the English colonies. There is, as a matter of fact, very little doubt that increasing bad feeling among the Americans made the British Government very ready to conciliate their new subjects, while they were hardly more fair in their treatment of their own colonists than the French had been in their treatment of the Canadians. The colonists met in the first Continental Congress at Philadelphia to discuss their wrongs. Most of them had as yet no wish to break the tie with Britain ; even later than this George Washington was opposed to rebellion, and New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Maryland passed resolutions against secession—but they strongly objected to all the country which they had helped to capture being handed over to ' Popery.' They had actually still a better reason for objecting to the Quebec Act in that it legally transferred to Quebec the territories long before granted to the colonies and already removed from their control by the proclamation. In any case, more infuriating than the loss of any territorial control was the loss of the fur trade on which they were counting to make immense fortunes and which they now saw slipping away. The shift of this tremendous business to Montreal from New York and New Orleans was to have far-reaching effects on the entire development of Canada. Between one thing and the other Britain's favour to the French-Canadian Catholics added a good

deal of new fuel to the smouldering fire of the Revolution.

The Continental Congress decided to be Machiavellian. The French Canadians could not understand English, so they sent one resolution to England and another to Canada. To the British parliament they wrote, 'Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world.' The French Canadians the Congress addressed in a very different tone. 'We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. The Swiss cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth.'

When the Second Continental Congress met it was in the midst of a country where there was a revolutionary minority, a loyalist minority, and a majority too frightened or too apathetic to do anything; just how apathetic the majority were is quite evident from the size of the revolutionary army, which was never over about 25,000. Consciously or unconsciously the Congress aimed at combining the poor man's revolutionary movement with the discontent of the merchants, planters, and lawyers. Those American merchants in Montreal who were imbued with the new spirit that was abroad in the United States were very active, and all through the country districts a campaign of sedition was carried on by their emissaries.

When active hostilities finally broke out in Massachusetts the Americans decided to undertake another military expedition besides their effort against General Howe in Boston. They were justified enough, for they

managed to get rid of Howe and if they had had the same fortune in Canada, Britain would have been left with no footing except Nova Scotia. Yet it is not at all certain that they would have undertaken the invasion had it not been for Ethan Allen of Vermont, who seized Ticonderoga and Crown Point in the name of the Great Jehovah and of the Continental Congress. This secured a base of operations, and it seemed evident that matters should be carried farther.

Sir Guy Carleton found himself in a dangerous position. He had less than a thousand regular troops ; among the English-speaking people in Montreal were a number of disaffected and vocal Americans ; he could hardly expect much help from the French Canadians. In spite of this the British Government calmly invited him to raise 6000 French-Canadian volunteers to fight the Americans at Boston.

By the autumn of 1775 the main American column was advancing by Lake Champlain under the leadership of Montgomery, an Irish gentleman who had once been a British officer. On November 2nd St Johns surrendered and its garrison of nearly seven hundred was sent south to New Jersey. The French Canadians around Montreal neither hindered the invaders nor helped them to any great extent ; they did sell the Americans food as long as they were paid in cash ; when they were later offered the continental paper money they were much less friendly. Carleton was at Montreal with 150 regulars and a few militiamen. He could do nothing ; he could not even land at Longueuil, by reason of the American riflemen on the south shore. On November 11th he left the Island of Montreal and two days later Montgomery entered the city.

Meantime another expedition was making its way towards Canada by a far more difficult route. On

September 18th Benedict Arnold with about 1100 picked men, sailed from Newburyport for Augusta, Maine, then called Fort Western, and on the 25th began his wonderful march of 300 miles through the wilderness. It is only within the last few years that we have realized the appalling difficulties with which Arnold and, later, Montgomery were faced. The records of Dr Isaac Senter of Rhode Island are included in a United States Army Medical Bulletin [1] ; they give us an extraordinarily interesting story, and paint a picture, new to most people, of Arnold's march. His original force consisted of about 1100 men, with 100 boats for supplies. The march up the Kennebec brought them to the height of land which now divides Maine and Quebec ; by October 20th 750 men were already casualties, some had deserted, many were sick. Their bread was ruined by water, their other supplies ran short, finally the daily ration was reduced to 12 oz. of salt pork and 12 oz. of flour. The weather became worse and worse as they got into the wilderness south-east of Lake Megantic, filled with swamps and rushing streams. By October 31st, when they reached the Chaudière, there were only 600 left —and most of their food was lost by the wreck of the boats which they had so laboriously hauled over the height of land. They ate soap and roots, and a dog, when they could get one. But Arnold saved the situation ; taking the strongest men, he got on to the French settlements and sent back enough supplies for all ; the worst was over. By November 9th the heroic but forlorn little force reached Pointe Levi and on November 13th crossed to Wolfe's Cove, avoiding the two British war vessels in the harbour, leaving only a guard on the south shore. In spite of their amazing achievement they were not strong enough to take

[1] *Medical Men in the American Revolution.* U.S.A. Medical Service.

Quebec in the Eighteenth Century. 'The Towers of the Cathedral, finally the Seminary.'

Canadian Pacific Photograph

Quebec in the Twentieth Century. 'The skyline of Quebec does not change much.'

Quebec ; they demanded its surrender, but their bluff was called ; there was nothing to be done now but wait for additional forces. These were not long coming, for Montgomery had continued his advance. He had a good deal of sickness among his troops and had to leave a number with the Ursuline nuns of Trois-Rivières who nursed them back to health and sent in a bill for expenses which has not been paid yet ; the war debt of Massachusetts to Trois-Rivières at compound interest is now almost astronomical. Carleton, meantime, was making his way down the St Lawrence with eleven boats and the whole Montreal garrison, 130 all ranks. At Sorel they were held up by the continentals, but a skilful French-Canadian pilot, Bouchette—La Tourtre, the wild dove, was his nickname—got them through the channel past Ile Dupas. Lake St Peter was safe enough ; at Trois-Rivières a sloop was waiting ; by the 19th, Carleton was in Quebec.

In that city, as in Montreal there had been a great deal of disaffection. The French Canadians had remained loyal, but the English-speaking merchants had held meetings, had drawn up terms of capitulation, and were in constant communication with the enemy. Carleton soon stopped this, issuing an order that all who were not ready to fight should leave, and a large number departed for the Island of Orleans, there to await the issue. A garrison was then organized, and the hostility which the French Canadians of the Quebec district felt towards the Americans, as well as their regard for Carleton whom they thought of as a friend, had full effect ; the main burden of the defence fell on them and they acquitted themselves well. There were about 300 British militia left after the disaffected had gone ; about 400 seamen came from various ships ; there were about 700 French Canadians including a company of Laval students who are said to have

cheered themselves by inventing a song to the tune of 'Yankee Doodle.'

Yankee Doodle garde toi bien,
J'entends la musique,
Ce sont les Americains
Qui prennent le Fort Pique.[1]

On December 1st Montgomery joined Arnold at Pointe aux Trembles, and Arnold's half-dressed soldiers got the British uniforms which had been taken at St Johns. The continental force now numbered about 1000—of whom not more than 800 were fit for duty; with them were about 400 French Canadians who had been beguiled by the Montrealers or the invaders. Sickness began to take its toll; small-pox, pleurisy, and pneumonia reduced the numbers of the Americans still further.

On the 31st there was a terrific snowstorm—and in the midst of it the attack began. Montgomery and 300 men attempted the narrow road running along the St Lawrence under the cliffs on the west of the city, while Arnold went around by the north into St Roch, the eastern part of the suburbs. The French Canadians were to attack the St John Gate, but when the time came they did not act; they were well aware that the defenders were French Canadians too. Montgomery was killed and the rest of his detachment were captured. Arnold was wounded and most of his men captured or killed; that was the end of the first effort. The Americans stayed all winter, reinforcements began to arrive, and by May 1st the army had grown to 1900. But 900 of these were sick of small-pox, 200 more had been inoculated, or had inoculated themselves, 300

[1] Yankee Doodle look out well,
Now I hear the music,
There are the Americans
Taking the Fort pique.

were due for discharge from the army, so only 500 were available. On May 6th a British squadron appeared and landed 1000 men. That was the end—Quebec was no more in danger ; before long Montreal was evacuated ; the Americans went home and the real Revolutionary War began.

Carleton's position towards them and the passage of the Quebec Act had had without doubt a considerable influence on the French-Canadian attitude in the Montreal area which was as has been noted for some time under American control. Even the three distinguished commissioners, Franklin, Carrol of Carrolton and his brother, later first Catholic Archbishop in the United States, were unable to convince the Montrealers that they should join fortunes with the thirteen colonies. The Sulpicians under their Superior, M. Montgolfier, had mostly decided to become British subjects and the Order in France had formally handed over its Canadian rights and property.[1] They refused entirely to treat with the commissioners, and their decision had a good deal to do with that of their many tenants and dependents.

The effect of their Canadian failure in consolidating the decision of the American people is hard to gauge ; perhaps the resistance of the French Canadians contributed more to American solidarity than we have yet guessed but there is no doubt as to the effect on the French Canadians ; in the defence of their territory against the invader French Canadians found, for the first time, their unity as a people. One detachment formed at Longueuil assisted in dislodging the Americans from the neighbouring town of St Johns and later became the first French-Canadian militia unit under British rule, known as *Les Volontaires Royaux du Canada.* The Quebeckers of to-day look back with pride to their share in the siege of Quebec.

[2] O. Maurault, *Nos Messieurs*, p. 31. Montreal, 1926.

The modern French Canadians have different points of view resulting from the events of 1774–75 but in one way or another they are all affected by them. To quote two, who are poles apart in their political theories, Abbé Groulx, whom I have cited already, sees in the Quebec Act a sacred constitution.

> A history of three centuries, the almost complete possession of the soil by a determined race, the deep impression on the land itself made by this same race, the impression of its customs and its original institutions, a juridical and national constituting statute, included and amplified in all constitutions since 1774, all this has created in Quebec a French state which must be recognized in theory as in practice.[1]

Emile Vaillancourt looks at the other side of the medal. He quotes Henri de Monfried who declares that ' Canada remained deaf to the voice of Franklin because Canada was French and consequently the Canadians had not the British worship of their " rights." ' [2] He reminds us, like Fréchette, that Canada remained British only because of the French Canadians.[3]

[1] Groulx, *Directives*, p. 51.
[2] H. de Monfried, *Les Guerriers de l'Ogaden.*
[3] E. Vaillancourt, *Broad Side*, p. 86.

CHAPTER VI

New Foundations

THERE is another sphere in which early relations with the American colonists have directly and indirectly left a deeply graven mark on modern French Canada.

The French-Canadian population, at first mainly rural, is now, as has been observed, largely urban but the rural voter has, proportionately, a far higher representation in the legislature. The city and island of Montreal, for instance, with almost half the population of the province have only fourteen members out of ninety in the Provincial Assembly. It is easy to see that the rural voter has an overwhelming political power and this has been exercised lately in no uncertain fashion. Ten years ago Olivar Asselin, a distinguished journalist, lamented the economic weakness of French Canada and summoned his compatriots to action. 'Masters of the soil,' he wrote, 'we have a hundred ways of increasing its return ; laziness, inconsequence, weaknesses of body and spirit are the only things that can detach us from it.' [1] Two years ago the provincial elections in Quebec were fought largely on the ground that the farmer needed more protection against exploitation and more financial help than the government had been giving him ; the government lost many of its former adherents and was overwhelmingly defeated. One by-election after another has been won because

[1] In *Action Canadienne Française*. September 1928.

the farmer really wants to stay on the land and to place his children on the land if only he can live in the comfort of his ancestors.

The political force of the rural tradition has been very greatly strengthened by another factor. There is a psychological link between the Quebec farmer's love of the soil and his religion ; it is a phenomenon strange to the ' Anglo-Saxon ' mind but one with which the politician must reckon ; almost the strongest organization in Quebec is the Catholic Union of Farmers, which bears on its adopted coat-of-arms both a wheat sheaf and a cross. To understand how these conditions arose we must go back to the days of the Cession, for it was only then that the feeling of the French Canadian for his land began to turn to this almost sacramental relation. The development was and has always been more instinctive than deliberate but it has never ceased.

The American merchants who came to Montreal and Quebec after 1760 were naturally of all sorts, some Tories and some Whigs, some honest and some the reverse, but they all had one main idea, to profit as much as possible by the political changes. Though their numbers were not large—it was a long time before there were as many as five hundred—they had been trained in the hard school which was preparing men for the American revolution, and they intended to make the most of every opportunity. Their first step was to get control of the fur trade—to them the main object of the new conquest. They took immediate advantage of the friendly relations between the French Canadians and the Indians, and of the French methods of obtaining furs, which were a great deal better than their own ; some of them went into partnership with French Canadians, some employed French Canadians, but in every case their operations, naturally enough,

Compagnie Aérienne Franco-Canadienne

Bonaventure. 'Every few miles the houses cluster into a village.'

were for their own benefit, not for that of partners or employees. They could not reap the full advantage of these new openings until the troubles with the Indians were ended, but in the meantime they consolidated their position in Canada by taking over the import and export business as well as the main trade in the towns ; the French Canadians, handicapped by language difficulties, by prejudice and by ignorance of the new course of trade, were left to the smallest of corner-store opportunities.

This development coincided with the change in the laws and the appointment of English-speaking magistrates mentioned in the last chapter, and as a result the French Canadians realized at last that they were once and for all under a foreign rule ; at the same time they saw that foreign power was mainly manifested in Montreal, Trois-Rivières, and Quebec. They showed once more the innate virility which more than one observer had already seen ; Murray had called them ' the finest race in the world.' [1] French Canada, a newly born nation, her territory controlled by aliens, without capital, without business, retired to her own countryside to lay new foundations.

The courses were well set. On the life of the country parishes during the next half century was built the whole fabric of modern French Canada ; the people are what they are now because they were what they were then.

Contemporary descriptions tell us of a countryside not substantially different from that of 1938. Along the St Lawrence is one long continuous row of farm houses, a church every six miles or so with the homes of the priest, the smith, the carpenter clustered about it. Not far off is the seigneur's manor, a little larger than his neighbours' houses, much better furnished,

[1] Murray to Halifax, 20 Oct. 1764. Canadian Archives.

and the mill where the seigneur's miller grinds the farmers' grain and quarrels with them over the results. The older seigneurs still look instinctively back to France, not the France of the Encyclopedists but the France of the Bourbons where some of them served as officers [1] ; whole families are plunged into mourning by the Revolution, but the younger men and the country folk are forgetting ; to them Canada is already the land of their fathers, and they are loyal to the régime that they have chosen or that their parents have chosen for them. Winter sees the seigneur and his family in Quebec or Montreal where their sons are officers or students and their daughters dance and flirt with the British majors and captains. But most of their year is spent at the manor, where they have plenty to do. The manor-house furniture is very mixed ; some has come from France ; some has been made by the local carpenter who is beginning to develop ideas of his own, using Canadian wood which he carves with fine, free motifs. The smith next door has made iron grilles, locks, bolts, and hinges for windows and doors, wrought-iron firedogs, great copper boilers and warming-pans, pewter plates. Silversmiths in Montreal and Quebec have provided the family forks and spoons, made from melted-down buttons and coins. The household linen has been imported, but the blankets like those of the surrounding farmhouses are made of wool, carded, spun, and woven near by.

The farmhouses and the village homes are clean and neat, whitewashed outside, their living-room furniture made by the farmer and his sons. In a corner stands the spinning-wheel, in another the loom —we need no mail-order catalogues in eighteenth-century Quebec—and with these and a few more instruments the good-wife makes material for clothes

[1] P. A. de Gaspé, *Mémoires*. Quebec. 1885.

and everything else in wool and linen that a family needs. Our country costumes have a character of their own and our wives are judged by their products. The most essential article for the well-dressed habitant to wear is the ceinture flêchée, the arrow-head belt, a wonderful piece of work, eight feet long by eight inches wide with a two-foot fringe at each end. It is braided of tough hard wool, a long slow job, in a pattern that has already been fixed by tradition ; it will last till long after our children's grandchildren have disappeared. We tan our own leather and make our own boots, shoot bear and beaver to provide fur coats as well as steaks. For winter cold storage we hang a deer carcass in the open air and hack off a joint when we need it ; we eat pea-soup and pork, sometimes a pork pie, a *tourtière*, and whenever a pig or sheep is killed *maman*—a very good cook she is too—makes a fine pudding or shape of the fresh blood. Besides plain blankets the women make decorated coverlets with a tufted pattern woven in on the loom, one of many patterns drawn from many sources, virgins from church decorations, pine trees from our Canadian landscape, Greek key pattern, Celtic motifs, but all must be well done. Carpets for the floor are braided from strips of rag, and the women are learning to make hooked rugs, first brought by the American newcomers, copying the French patterns they see in the manor house.

Spring and summer are times of hard work, incredibly hard work. Land must be made, cleared of the great trees, by man and ox, axe, lever, and chain ; horse and ox side by side haul the wooden plough through the new soil ; the best of the seed goes into it ; by the sweat of their brows the Canadians eat bread. In the old days of the French régime the more energetic young men of the community would go off to the

woods for months at a time, living like Indians among the Indians, to gain their harvest of fur ; *Coureurs des bois*, wood runners, they were called. There is not so much of that life in 1770, except in the far West where some still find their way—the fur hunters are employees of American merchants. At the end of the eighteenth century the enterprising young man and his wife make their way along the St Lawrence, opening up new ground at Trois Pistoles, Bic, Rimouski. Fraser Highlanders, disbanded after the peace, have settled down with French-Canadian wives at Fraserville on the Rivière du Loup ; they have colonized Green Island —Ile Verte [1] ; other Scottish settlers are on the North Shore, at Murray Bay, where the new Scottish seigneur has some rum that came with Wolfe's fleet—a hundred and seventy-five years hence his descendants will be treating their friends.

Apart from our food and clothing our wants are simple enough. *Maman* provides the medical care she has learned from her mother and she from hers, yew tea for coughs, pine and spruce gum for constipation, gold-thread roots to stimulate appetite and heal cuts ; a plug of tobacco will heal a cut just as well. If we break a bone there is a *remmancheux*, a bone-setter, who learned his trade from his father ; he will set it for us ; if we want a horse the *maguignon*, the horse-trader will be arriving one of these days ; we must watch him, for he is like every other horse trader. We smoke perpetually, but grow our own tobacco when we can. We read no newspapers and have no radios, but the crier gives out notices and any news worth hearing. Now and then there is a notice we do not like ; the Governor has ordered a corvée, a road-building job, and we must work for nothing. That was all very well in the French days when there was no money ; now

[1] Still inhabited by French-Canadian Frasers in 1938.

there is money and corvées are unpopular. Of course there are friendly corvées to which we have no objection ; a neighbour is building a barn ; we turn to and help ; the blacksmith has a harvest to gather ; we pay off some of our score by giving him a hand.

We do not purchase much from the town merchants, we have a local store which sells us molasses, rum, and dried fish, as for sugar we make our own from maple sap, sometimes from plane-tree sap. By autumn most of the heavy work of the year is done and we can enjoy ourselves a little more ; corn shucking is the occasion for a dance and a song, led by the *violoneux*, the fiddler from a nearby village. The Canadian jig, most steps of which we have learned from watching the Highlanders dancing the reel, the round dances that have come down from our parents, keep us all going and we all love them, even grandmamma is quite young enough to join in. Life is not bad on the banks of the St Lawrence.

Once the autumn was over and the winter had set in, French Canada of the eighteenth century found plenty of amusements to make up for the unceasing toil of the farmer's year. Every now and then friends would come to the farmhouse for a *veillée*, an evening of story and song and good brandy punch. Strange tales of werewolves, European lycanthropy shifted to North America, curdled the blood of the listeners ; goblins lived under the boards of stables and rode the horses till they sweated blood ; will o' the wisps were wizard lights.

A favourite hero was the devil, whom French Canada could never take very seriously. In the shape of a horse he helped to build a church—three churches claim the honour—until one day the magic harness slipped off and he disappeared in a cloud of smoke. As a city slicker he arrived at a country dance and

courted pretty Rose Latulippe ; he almost won her, but the priest arrived—and out the poor devil went. He built a bridge on the strength of a promise that he would have the soul of the first living being to cross it—and got one of the nine lives of a cat. His only recorded success was when he bought the St Maurice Forges, Canada's first iron foundry, from a lady who thought she had been cheated of some rights to them and thereafter scared owners and workmen until the business went bankrupt. He left his footsteps on the South Shore, so large that he must have been wearing snowshoes ; his snowshoes were so hot that they melted their way into the rock ; a dozen other stories tell of his adventures and discomfitures ; he was the eighteenth-century forerunner of the villain in the nineteenth-century melodrama.

Other tales went back to the early days of the colony.[1] The White Witch of the Iroquois led Madame Houel, wife of one of the Hundred Associates, into an Indian ambush. Notary St Père was making a speech to Indians at Montreal ; the Indians were bored and cut his head off ; the head went on with the speech. (M. St Père was a real notary but the official records only tell us that he ' ceased to practise.')

Then there were Indian legends to be retold. A giant was wading across the Saguenay when he was attacked by a water demon. He seized it by the tail and banged its head against the cliff, so making the two huge steps of Cape Trinity ; other stories came from the St Maurice district.[2] There were yarns too of more recent date—tales of adventures during the Seven Years' War and earlier wars. When the Fraser

[1] Katherine Hale, *Legends of the St Lawrence*. Canadian Pacific Railway, Montreal. 1926.

[2] ' Legendes indiennes du St Maurice,' in *Pages Trifluviennes*. Trois-Rivières. 1933.

Highlanders raided Montmagny all the inhabitants paddled up the little Rivière du Sud which there flows into the St Lawrence, all but the Laziest Man in the World, who never woke up till all the others had gone. Running down to the river bank he saw his neighbour's wash tub ; in he got and off he went, paddling with both hands. The soldiers, roaring with laughter, took pot shots at him : ' Look out, you,' he shouted, 'there's someone here,' and they all missed.[1]

But closer to the heart of the French Canadians than even their folk-lore were their songs, old songs that went back to the founding of the colony and even beyond, newer ones invented by nameless singers in Canada. Sometimes the words of a song varied but not its tune, and different measures fitted different occasions. Those old songs are still sung to-day and there is no stronger bond between modern French Canada and its picturesque past.

The canoemen paddling upstream had chansons whose rhythm matched the stroke of the paddle,

Fringue, fringue sur la rivière
Fringue, fringue sur l'aviron [2]

was one.

Envoyons d' l'avant nos gens, nos gens [3]

was another.

Alouette [4] was a catch that could keep a crowd going for half an hour as the unfortunate alouette was plucked, beak, tail, body, and legs. It keeps them going now just as it did then. But the sweetest song of all was *A la Claire Fontaine* :

[1] Sir James Le Moine. *Legends of the St Lawrence.* Quebec. 1898.

[2] ' Leap, leap on the river,
Leap, leap at the paddle.'
The canoe was supposed to bound like a horse.

[3] ' Push her on ahead my lads, my lads.'

[4] Blackbird.

Solo *A la claire fontaine*
M'en allant promener
J'ai trouvé l'eau si belle
Que je me suis baigné.

1 Solo *Lui y a longtemps que je t'aime*
2 Unison *Jamais je ne t'oublierai.*

By the clear spring waters
I walked one day so fair,
I found the water pleasant
And so I bathed me there.

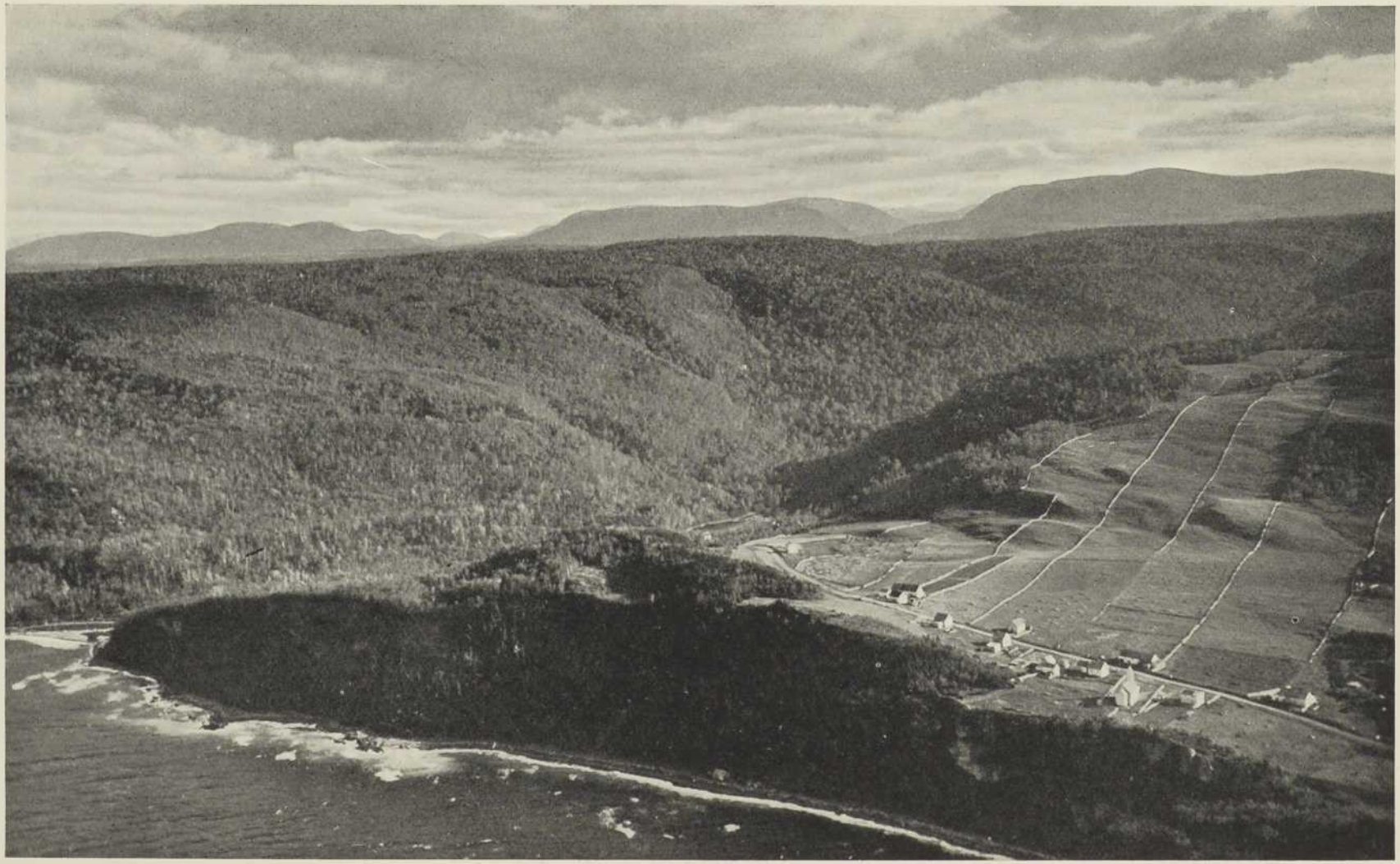
Long, long, I have adored you,
I shall forget you not.

and so on through plaintive verses.

Now I have lost my lady
I did not deserve it so,
All for a bouquet of roses
That I would not give her, no.

Long, long, I have adored you,
I shall forget you not.

Somehow or other that song still brings a message to French Canada ; it is an echo of the past that links it to the present ; it is the Canada of other days that the singer cannot forget.



Compagnie Aérienne Franco-Canadienne

Off the Gaspé Peninsula. 'On our right is a magnificent scene.'

The actions of the American colonies immediately before the Revolution had a direct effect on the distribution of the Canadian population. Albany had become a main centre and the fur traders there had established a business in which Montreal merchants were middlemen. When the Stamp Acts were protested in 1766 the Albany men could get no licenses in Canada and some moved north. In 1768 the merchants of New York refused to import British goods and the Albany traders could not supply what the Montrealers wanted ; once hostilities really began more traders went to Montreal. New weight was added to the English-speaking group when the wealthy Scotsmen who had been the pillars of the fur trade at Albany saw the necessities of the situation ; the United States had won its liberty but lost the fur trade. Simon McTavish was the most distinguished of all, a haughty gentleman who felt himself a cut above his fellows. James McGill, graduate of Glasgow University, later a colonel in the militia and founder of McGill University, was another. Frobisher, the McGillivrays, McLeod, Gregory were notable names. Peter Pangman and Peter Pond were native-born American adventurers.

They were a strange mixture, these men, commerce and adventure both called them ; with one or two exceptions they answered both calls and began that conquest of the Canadian West which ended with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway a hundred years later. Most of them spent one or more winters in the West themselves and thus became qualified for membership in the Beaver Club at Montreal, where large dinners and larger potations enlivened life. There were bitter rivalries between different groups, later to be ended by the need to compete successfully with the Hudson's Bay Company, but together these traders

formed the nucleus around which the money power of modern Canada has grown.

The effect on the French Canadians was twofold. In the first place this strong new element consolidated the hold of English-speaking people on the towns ; in the second place there began a period of increased prosperity. A great deal of valuable information on the new developments has been collected.[1] Prior to the Cession wheat was, of course, the main crop ' but they also grew maize, oats, pease, barley, tobacco, and occasionally hemp and flax, had kitchen gardens with vegetables and fruit bushes and sometimes orchards with apple, pear, and plum trees. . . . They raised cattle, sheep, a few pigs, and poultry. . . . Their fields, which they neither drained nor fertilized were sometimes allowed to lie fallow but they followed no scientific plan of crop rotation." [2] The methods were hardly likely to produce good results and the market gave no encouragement. The methods did not improve much, but the market did ; wheat and meat were sold to the cities and some wheat was exported ; more land was put under cultivation and more stock kept. The censuses of 1765 and 1784 show a great increase in livestock, from 120,000 head the total rose to almost 300,000 head.[3] The increase in the numbers of the

[1] I. Craig, *Economic Conditions in Canada*, 1763–1783. McGill M.A. thesis.

[2] I. Craig, *op. cit.* Cites e.g. *Doc. Constit. Hist. Can.*, p. 84. Burton's report. Can. Arch. B21–1, p. 39.—Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America, etc.*

[3]

	1765.	1784.
Cows	22,724	44,291
Horses	13,757	30,146
Oxen	12,546	32,506
Sheep	27,064	84,696
Swine	28,757	70,465
Young stock . . .	15,539	32,506

rural population was almost exactly proportional so that the increase in stock per farm was not high.

The improved condition of the farmer was brought about in part by the growth in population and wealth of the towns, producing naturally a steadier market. Cattle, a number of which had always been butchered in the autumn to save their keep, could be sold for beef as well as salted down ; there was a market for fruit in Montreal and vegetables in Quebec. Grain was sold and the seigneurial grist mills which ground the habitants' grains for their own use were supplemented by new mills in the towns.[1] Efforts were made to steady business by obliging bakers to bake and sell bread throughout the year, thus counteracting the effects of rising prices due to small crops.[2]

An additional market for wheat was provided by the English merchants ; between 1770 and 1775 they shipped a million and a quarter bushels, mostly, it appears, to Barcelona. As the price was about one dollar a bushel this meant a considerable amount of money coming into Canada and although the business was stopped by the American privateers during the revolution the farmers were better off than they had ever been and the purchase of supplies for the troops quartered in the country made up for the lost European markets.[3]

Another outlet which became very lucrative for some farmers was provided by the breweries which were established during this same period in Quebec, Montreal, and Lachine, by John Molson, the Boswells, Dawes, Dows, English families who contributed as much as the Montreal Scots to Canadian prosperity. Large quantities of barley went to the brewers and

[1] *Hist Doc.* 7th series (Que. Lit. and Hist. Soc.), p. 36. Ainslie's *Journal.*
[2] I. Craig, *op. cit.*
[3] I. Craig, *op. cit.*

fetched a good price. A certain amount of money too reached the country as payment for lumber, the trade in which was mainly in the hands of English Quebeckers and of which a considerable quantity was exported.

A characteristic which is in part the result of this prosperity still marks the countryside of Quebec ; and still affects French-Canadian thought ; for that reason it must be dealt with. The early years of the British régime saw the building or the completion of most of the beautiful little churches whose spires are still the six-mile marks of the St Lawrence shore. The Catholic priests had viewed the change of rule with mixed feelings ; some had remained openly favourable to France ; most had supported the new régime. All had, as has been noted, gained new strength among their people, and continued to do so. They were the representatives of the old faith in which the Canadians had been brought up and which they knew the first newcomers had attacked ; crops and fishing could not succeed without their blessing ; their advice was taken in all kinds of civil matters ; there was no education except what they provided. It is not to be wondered at that a hundred years later we find the post-Cession clergy the object of something very like veneration.

' Our ancestors found in the clergy,' says Monsieur Gédeon Ouimet, ' an inseparable companion in time of trouble. The clergy replaced the leaders who had fled from the conqueror's flag. It fell to the clergy to lead the people not only in religious but in civil life. . . . What would our ancestors have done without the clergy, without those devoted, enlightened men who were able to plead with such wisdom the cause of our religion, without a Plessis for example whom we saw cross the sea to lay before our conquerors the position of the Canadian ? . . . The clergy saved the religion of our fathers and in saving it saved our nationality as well.

If the cause of Catholicism had been lost, our institutions, our language, and our laws would have been lost as well.' [1]

At the same time was growing the thought that only in the quiet countryside was life lived as it should be, and the feelings of the French Canadian for his church, his religion, and his fields became forever intermingled.

'Rural life,' says Charles Thibaut, 'gives birth to peace; free labour ennobles man. Not so does the mercenary toil of the factory. The cultivation of the soil is a prayer wafted to God on the wings of the winds, by the roar of the storm, by the song of the birds, by all the harmonies of nature, by the echo of the great woods, by the mysterious voices of the night. . . . Where is liberty if not in the farmer's home? Where is contentment? Where is true happiness? Where are morals purer, faith more consoling, hope sweeter, religion kindlier? Where is respect deeper? Where is friendship more sincere? Where is charity more compassionate than in the Canadian countryside and in the home of the habitant?' [2]

It is not surprising after reading these two paragraphs to find that the main community activity of rural French Canada had always been the building and beautifying of the village church. If a people is to be really a people it must have a culture of its own, an art of its own, a literature of its own. French Canada, even before the Cession had begun to develop its own architecture; after the Cession the growth was even more notable; it was a Catholic effort in a country ruled by Protestants; it became more possible because there was more money, money produced by new Protestant commerce. Professor Ramsay Traquair of

[1] P. Ph. Charette, *Noces d'Or de la St Jean Baptiste*, p. 153.

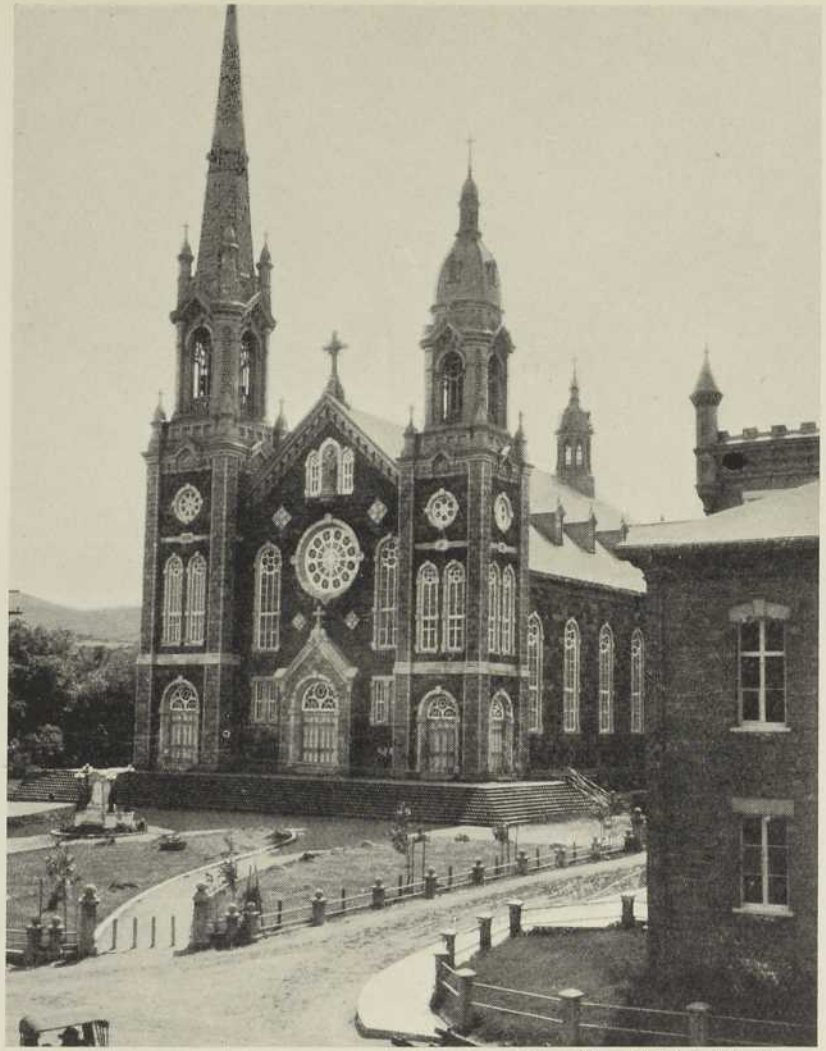
[2] Chas. Thibaut, *La Croix, L'Epée, et la Charrue* (The Cross, the Sword, and the Plough), p. 86.

McGill University was the first to discover the characteristics of French Canadian architecture and to give it due respect.

'To the eye of anyone who knows the architecture of France, our little old stone churches, with their slender bell-spires and delicate wood-sculptures, are truly French. Yet you might seek through old France and never find one church which could be taken for a Canadian church. It is the same with the old farmhouses. They are distinctively French, yet they are quite unlike anything in France. We must forever get rid of the idea that copied architecture is good architecture. To say that a church in Canada is a copy of Notre Dame de Paris, or of any other great church is no praise, it is condemnation, for a copy is always bad. Our Canadian buildings are not copies.'

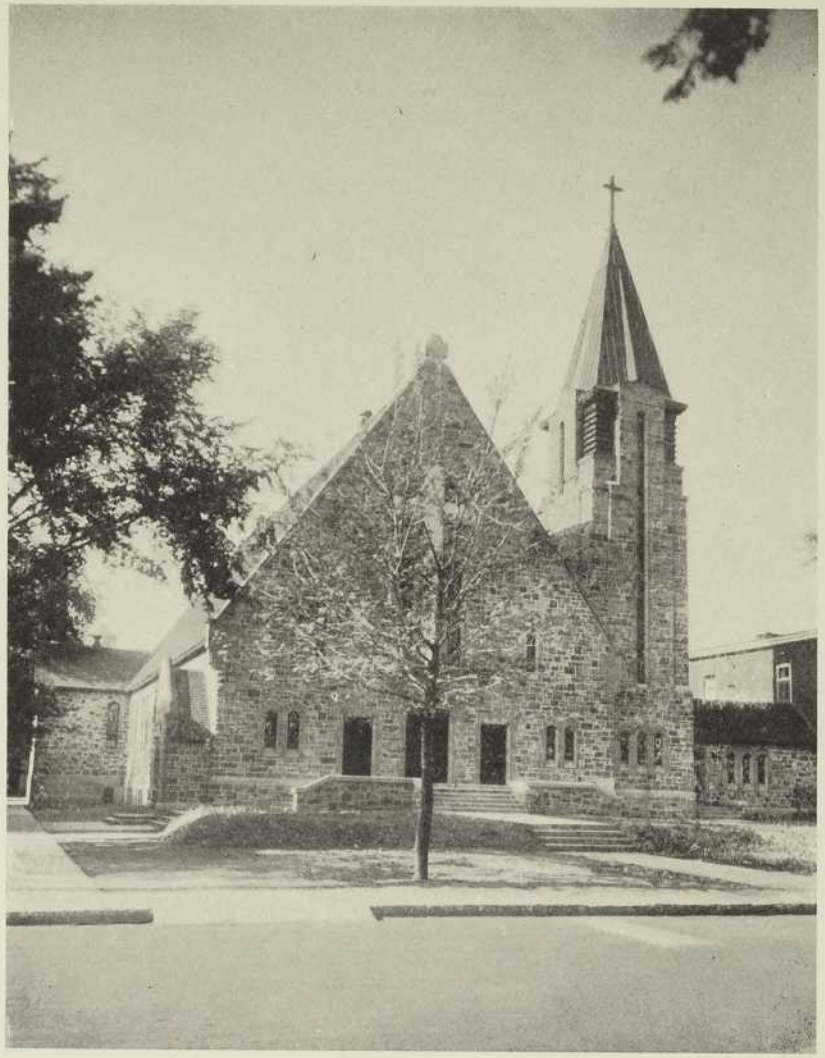
'The old churches have walls of rubble stone with round arched windows and a high, steep gable to the front. This is surmounted by a slender, needle-like bell-spire, in one or sometimes two stages. These slender flèches are good landmarks on the flat landscape and it is always worth while to turn aside if one of them comes in view.' [1] The interiors of the churches also show some excellent artistry. The *Canadien* [2] has always had, and still has, an almost magical skill in wood-working. When in the eighteen-twenties Quebec was building the largest ships in the world, the axemen worked with broad axes—one side flat and one side convex. They had never seen a ship, but at extraordinary speed they hewed out knees and strakes—repeating perfectly on a larger scale the small models before them. The same skill appeared in the churches, though we have unfortunately few carvings which we can be certain date from before the conquest.

[1] From broadcast for Quebec Provincial hour, cf. broadcast printed in *La Renaissance Campagnarde*, G. Bouchard. p. 60. [2] French-Canadian.



Canadian National Railways

Church Architecture—Intermediate :
Rivière du Loup.



Gaston Gagnier

Church Architecture—Modern :
St Lambert Church, 1937. Gaston Gagnier, architect.

In Quebec you may see the superb high altar of the Hôpital Général, executed by Noel Levasseur in 1721, the magnificent reredos of the Ursuline Chapel, finished by the same artist in 1736. The carvings in the chapel of Bishop Briand, in which an olive-tree in high relief commemorates the Bishop's name, Olivier, were not completed until 1784. Cross over to the Island of Orleans and at Ste Famille you will find a high altar made in 1749 by the Levasseur brothers, two side altars made before the end of the eighteenth century by Florent Baillargé, a reredos by Thomas Baillargé. Five niches in the west front held five pine statutes, now transferred to the Provincial Museum, which give still further evidence of the skill of our early carvers. It is hard to describe these things in words, they must be seen and studied—and there are many other beautiful pieces of carving to see and study. The altars at Ange Gardien, with their rich floral tracery, their decorated Corinthian columns, their high reliefs of Scriptural scenes, Levasseur's altar at Batiscan, the broad panels of Beaumont, with their central motif of flowers will well repay a visit.

Professor Traquair[1] gives us a general description. 'The decoration of the interior centres on the Sanctuary. The walls are usually decorated with pilasters between which are large panels of carving, trophies of ecclesiastical objects, wreaths of flowers and scrolls of foliage. This is all in carved wood, and usually very beautifully carved indeed. The altars are surmounted by tabernacles in carved and gilt wood and, as an old altar was often preserved when the church was rebuilt, some of the finest wood carving in the Province is to be seen in these tabernacles. The pulpit is often finely carved and opposite it is the banc-d'œuvre, the churchwarden's seat, with a high carved back. There is nothing in all

[1] R. Traquair, *op. cit.*

North America which can compare with the quality of this French-Canadian woodcarving.'

The houses, too, developed to suit the climate. One of the earliest architectural developments due to Canadian conditions was the high roof — sometimes as high or higher than the walls below—set at so steep an angle that the snow could not fail to slide off. Then this roof became concave, sweeping out with a fine flare over broad eaves. Next, in the towns, came the wide gable walls carried up outside the ends of the roofs. These were intended as a protection against fire, and were probably useful enough in the cities ; they had not much *raison d'être* in the country, though they are often to be seen along country roads in the district of Montreal. The next change was the erection of pillars to support the ends of the wide eaves, then came a verandah at snow level, the doors opened on it and a cellar was below the first floor. This was a great improvement not only from the point of view of convenience but from that of health. The old houses on the ground level had always been damp and cold ; now home became more comfortable.

It is highly characteristic of the French Canadian mind and it is the reason for the foregoing remarks that the existence of this Canadian school of architecture became a somewhat unexpected political factor in the last Quebec Provincial elections. To the Englishman or American such a phenomenon is a strange one ; the fact remains that in the most skilfully prepared of all the political pamphlets of 1936 as much space was given to 'National Architecture' as to 'National Politics.'[1] The author makes especial note of the advance in the period after the Cession.

Q. 284. *Why do you prefer the third period* (1760–1850) ?

For this reason, that with its French origin it took a purely

[1] 'Reveil Nationale,' *L'Illustration Nouvelle.* 1936.

Canadian direction far superior, according to one Englishman, Professor Carless, to the colonial architecture of which Americans are so proud. Inspired by the tradition of Mgr de Laval, our artists then created the most original period in our history.[1]

The writer proceeds to complain bitterly of the lack of originality and ugliness of the churches built during the last ninety years, of the square wooden boxes that serve for too many houses in the country. His idea is quite clear, that if people have continually before their eyes something with no national characteristics they will lose their national consciousness. Finally he pleads that Canadian architects should ' create a style which could be our own. As long as we are a race of copyists we shall never realize anything that is personal or Canadian ' [2]—an echo of Professor Traquair's condemnation of the copyist.

As next to nothing had been heard of Quebec architecture, even in Quebec, until the studies at the M'Gill School, it is reasonable to say that the professors had a real, if surprising share, in the success of the Union Nationale.[3] They, with the invading army of Montgomery and the fur traders who seized on Canadian trade, played unwittingly a part in the formation of modern French Canada.

[1] William Carless, ' Architecture of French Canada ' in *Journal Royal Architectural Institute*, 1925. What Professor Carless said was not ' far superior ' but ' far more original.'

[2] ' Reveil Nationale,' *L'Illustration Nouvelle.* 1936.

[3] The party at present in power in Quebec.

CHAPTER VII

Inheritance of Democracy

WE come now to a basic element that an analysis of the French Canadian mentality will reveal. The same element exists in the English mind, but it is evident at the first glance ; in French Canada it is more elusive, for other constituents have combined to cover and disguise it ; it is there none the less. We must begin by recalling once again that the French Canadians are an extraordinarily retentive race, that fundamentally their character has changed less than that of any people in the world ; we must look a long way back in their history, then, to understand what we see. We must do something else, and that is to divest ourselves of prejudice. Englishmen and Americans have a habit of thinking that democracy originated with their own peoples ; quotations are unnecessary to prove the point. We forget that the Magna Charta was forced upon a king whose main interest was Anjou and who could not speak English by barons who were no more English than he was ; most of us do not know that the second triumph of democracy in England in that same year was the compilation of the public records, not in Latin but in *French*.

The Northmen who conquered much of the west of Europe in the tenth and early eleventh centuries were the true originators of the democratic idea ; constitutional monarchy is one of its present-day manifestations ; republican government is another. The

Viking kings in Scandinavia were chosen by the chiefs of the fighting citizens, and could only rule through the support of all. If the king had a son worthy to succeed he was elected, but the election was a necessity. In consequence, when Canute, King of Denmark and Norway, annexed England to his realm in 1017 he demanded and obtained the support of English leaders. It is worth remembering and is often enough forgotten that all the North of England was by that time more Scandinavian than Saxon. By the time of the Norman Conquest the Scandinavian northerners had married English wives and spoke an English of their own, while the polite language among the Saxons was French ; the Northerners in England never would speak French, and it is to them, not to the Saxons, that we owe our modern language. The insistence of the French Canadians, descendants of the Northmen, on the language which their ancestors learned from their Neustrian wives is an exact, if odd, parallel.

The history of the Duchy of Normandy is the story of a long battle which democracy fought against another theory, a battle in which democracy was overwhelmed, was buried, but was never dead. In the Northern sagas we find descriptions of the Things, the gatherings which made and interpreted laws and chose leaders, of the inquests which were the earliest form of trial. In Normandy we see the same customs. Rollo, the first duke, is no dictator but ' chief among his peers ' ; he divides the land among his chiefs and holds each one responsible ; he enacts northern laws ; he summons ' wise men ' of Neustria to what England would have called a *witenagemot* to establish their own customs which are combined with those of the North. The oldest law book of Europe outside the North is the *Très Ancien Coustumier de Normandie*—' The Very Old Book of Customs of Normandy.' The recognition of

the legal force of custom, even of Neustrian custom, was natural to the northerners ; from time immemorial their courts had been advised by wise men who said, 'This is the law.' When they recognized the right of the Neustrians to their own laws, as they later recognized the right of the English to theirs, the Normans established the rule which, in 1774, was to lead the British Parliament to recognize that French Canada was similarly entitled to the civil law of its own by which it still holds.

Before long the group of chiefs became all-powerful ; the people in 997 demanded a share in the government ; they were cruelly suppressed, but their spirit lived on. When William the Conqueror could not at first persuade the assembly of his prelates and barons to follow him to England he bargained with them one by one and then appealed to the common people ; his arguments are still to be heard ; he offered pillage as the modern politician offers financial advantage. The relation between William and his barons differed considerably from the feudalism which already existed in France ; it was still mainly the system of Rollo derived from Northern ideas ; at Lillebonne in 1080 the parliament of prelates and barons was joined for the first time by the townspeople.

In Normandy were established the first associations of artisans and workmen ; in Normandy we see the earliest municipal government at Mans, and the earliest French municipal association among the merchants of Rouen. For the next two hundred years the Normans were constantly struggling to maintain their rights against the Dukes who were now kings of England, against France after Normandy was ceded ; in 1315 the King of France granted the Charter of the Normans, guaranteeing property, stability of currency, regular requisitions instead of armed demands, im-

proved judicial procedure. It was a Magna Charta as important to the Normans as that of Britain to the English ; it was followed by the calling of a parliament which met at Pont Audemer in 1337 and was given the name of the *États Généraux*, the ' General Estates,' since it contained representatives of clergy, nobles, and commons. This gathering was the mother of the similar elective assemblies of other provinces and of the nation as a whole, which because they were elective were more formidable than the assemblies of ' Notables ' selected by the King in France and by the Governor in Canada. The Norman Charter was to be followed, more than four hundred years later, by the demands of the last ' General Estates,' held in 1780 at Paris after a lapse of one hundred and seventy-five years since the preceding meeting. As time went on the French kings violated the Norman Charter more and more frequently, but never with Norman goodwill ; the Rouen traders always resented French interference as to-day they consider themselves oppressed by Paris and by the State as a whole. ' It has killed our province,' says a Norman historian, ' and as indemnity presents us with a magnificent capital. It is not enough. . . . Paris the capital has made itself manager of our national property, has given no inspiration, no advice, nothing but indications of indifference.' [1]

That was the distant background of French Canada, and when we remember, as we must remember, that tradition was far stronger when reading was non-existent, we shall not be surprised that its effect reached across the Atlantic.

There has been a good deal of discussion, as has already been noted, as to the racial origin of the French Canadians. The historian Benjamin Sulte summarized his conclusions more than forty years ago ' that the

[1] Revel, *Histoire des Normands*, p. 361. Paris. 1919.

French-Canadian type is Norman, whether its origin be pure Norman, mixed Norman, Gascon, or French English.'[1] There is no doubt whatever in the mind of any careful observer as to the origin of French Canadian political ideology; it is as obviously and beyond question the fruit of Norman culture as that culture was the descendant of Scandinavian freedom.

During the French régime in Canada the Government at Paris generally frowned on any delegation of powers to representatives of the people. In spite of this there were in Canada, just as there were in Normandy, evidences that the idea of democracy was not quite lost. The attitude of the monarchy was shown when Frontenac called a meeting of clergy, noblesse, lawyers, and 'the third estate.' He reported it as a meeting of 'notables,' but the minister Colbert observed that it was really a parliament, and pointed out that in France such assemblies were no longer called—the last had been almost fifty years before—and that no meetings in Canada must be called 'General Estates.' The office of syndic or convener of the habitants was moreover to be suppressed; this would prevent them holding meetings of their own.[2] The meetings of 'notables' continued and Colbert even instructed Frontenac to convene one to discuss the liquor trade with the Indians, concerning which, as already indicated, church and lay authorities differed violently.[3] The restriction of other meetings did not altogether succeed and more than once the Canadians met under their own chairmen. The merchants seem to have met at Quebec in 1703 to petition for earlier payment of bills of exchange given by the Government,

[1] Paper before British Association for Advancement of Science, 1898. Published Sept., Ottawa.

[2] Garneau, *Histoire du Canada*, p. 227. (Letter, Colbert to Frontenac.)

[3] *Ibid.* p. 238.

and in 1728 to forward a petition to the King asking for a local currency. The actual petition in this case has been lost but it is noted in correspondence.[1] In 1747 they met again under the chairmanship of their syndic, Joseph Perthuis, to complain of the length of the term of the bills of exchange with which their goods were paid for and of the exorbitant discount rates ; the minute is signed by the syndic, the secretary, and forty merchants.[2] In 1752 there was another meeting which asked a year's delay for the payment of customs duties. Finally a far more important meeting was that held during the siege of Quebec, which sent to the Commandant a message ending with a note of commonsense and determination : ' Finally, save them (the merchants) the little that remains from the conflagration (caused by the English bombardment) ; there is no shame in yielding when it is impossible to conquer, that is what the citizens of this town flatter themselves they have proved to you, gentlemen, and they trust that in your humanity you will not wish to expose them to the hardships of an assault and of starvation.' Daine, the mayor, Panet, the attorney-general, Tachet, the syndic, and twenty-two others sign the minute ; it is interesting to note that one feels it necessary to add ' merchant of Bordeaux ' to his name and another ' French merchant '—a testimony to the distinction between Frenchmen and Canadians. When the Council of War which followed on 17th September 1759, presided over by M. de Ramezay and attended by the senior officers, decided on capitulation there is no doubt that the merchants' memorandum had its effect.[3]

[1] *Documents relating to Canadian Currency, Exchange, and Finance during the French Period*, p. 583, Shortt.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 762.

[3] P. G. Roy, *La Ville de Québec sous le Régime Française*, p. 456.

A less picturesque but still important survival of democracy was seen in the parish elections of church wardens ; these never ceased during the French and British régimes and at least preserved in men's minds some sort of familiarity with the idea of electing anyone.

It has already been observed that the Quebec Act was not intended to introduce British traditions into Canada, but merely to ensure to the Canadians, so far as possible, the privileges they possessed under the French régime. There was, at first, no dissatisfaction among the French Canadians although the English residents were furious enough to decorate King George's statue with a necklace of potatoes and hang a label around its neck reading, ' Voici le Pape du Canada et le sot Anglais.' [1]

The next development was entirely due to the influx of a large number of Tory loyalists from the new United States. They came to various parts of Canada, but mainly to New Brunswick and to what is now Ontario but was then Western Quebec. The Quebec Act had only provided for an appointed council, but the new arrivals wanted a good deal more ; they expected representative institutions. What was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander, and so when the Constitutional Act was passed in 1791, dividing Upper from Lower Canada, each section was given an elective assembly as well as a council named by the Crown ; the French Canadians now had, without asking, the system which seventeen years before they were not supposed to be fit for or to desire.

The next twenty years saw a good many developments thoroughly discreditable to British colonial rule. What we should call graft nowadays was rife. Some officials lived in England, drew their perquisites and

[1] ' Here is the Pope of Canada and the English sot.'

appointed incompetent deputies ; one assembly complained that the lieutenant-governor had never been in Canada and that the governor of Gaspé had never seen Gaspé ; other officials held two and three offices at a time ; profiteers were everywhere making the most of their opportunities ; speculators obtained huge land grants, hoping for enormous profits.

The Legislative Assembly had never had much real authority and had never been able to establish its control over money, and since most of the funds came from Britain, the Legislative Council selected by the governor could afford to disregard the Lower House completely and did so. The French Canadians who were in the majority in the assembly had thus no effective share in their own government and saw that so long as England was paying the shot they could do nothing about it ; they petitioned the Government to allow them to meet the whole civil list. Sir James Craig, the governor, who disliked the French Canadians, refused to forward their petition ; the newspaper *Le Canadien* attacked him, the paper was seized, and the editors put in jail without a trial ; French Canadians were learning the technique of ' Padlock Acts ' ! Public feeling ran high ; English and French were completely at loggerheads.

Internal troubles were in the background during the war of 1812 between Britain and the United States. The struggle was not particularly glorious to either of the major powers, but the French Canadians look back with a good deal of justifiable pride to the complete defeat of an American force numbering some 5000 by about 300 wily French-Canadian volunteers under Colonel de Salaberry. When the war was over trouble began again.

In 1817 Louis Joseph Papineau, the most heroic and stormiest figure of Canadian politics, became

Speaker of the Assembly ; in 1818 John Neilson, who had been editor of the *Quebec Gazette* since 1796, became a member, and in the years of trouble that followed both took a notable part. The legislature was in the midst of the struggle over money. In 1820 Papineau insisted that the budget be voted item by item. The Legislative Council, controlled by the governing clique, refused to accept the budget in this form. They wanted a general blanket grant, with which they could do what they liked. When the Assembly would not yield, the adherents of the council suggested to the English Government, through Edward Ellice, a rich London merchant, that Upper and Lower Canada be reunited, thus ensuring a legislature in which they would have the majority and which would give them the money they wanted. Neilson was thoroughly disgusted. ' The country will not submit,' he says, ' to the injustice planned against us by a handful of intrigants, who want to sacrifice to their own ambition the happiness of the Canadian people. These men,' Neilson goes on, ' whom chance has made so great in this country, and who would have remained in obscurity anywhere else, might well have remained content with the numberless preferments they now enjoy without undertaking to rob the people of our province of their rights. . . . They certainly are guilty,' he says a moment later, ' of an abuse of power calculated to endanger the peace and tranquillity of the country.' [1]

The bill in London was delayed for a session and in the interval the French Canadians decided to send two delegates to England to plead their cause. Papineau was chosen as the representative of Montreal ; Neilson for Quebec. Never was a higher compliment paid to an English-speaking Canadian. The bill came up

[1] *Quebec Gazette*, 12 December 1822, *v.* A. D. de Celles, *L. J. Papineau.*

again, this time also pressed by Ellice, but the delegates had made influential friends, made out their case well, and persuaded the Government to drop the measure.

The French Canadian press was becoming more vocal than ever ; Neilson's *Quebec Gazette* was with them, and Ludger Duvernay, one of the most notable newspaper men North America has ever produced, comes into the picture. His career as an editor had begun at the age of eighteen when he set up the *Gazette des Trois-Rivières*, the name of which was later changed to the *Constitutionnel*. In 1827 he moved from Trois-Rivières to Montreal, and together with A. N. Morin founded the *Minerve* which was for many years to be the outlet for his ideas. He was not satisfied with a French paper, he wanted an English one too, and in the same year, in partnership with Jocelyn Walker, he set up the *Canadian Spectator*. Duvernay was an energetic writer ; he did not mince his words. In 1826 he was arrested for libel, an adventure which, we are told, had a very good effect on the circulation of the *Minerve*. The political pot was boiling more and more fiercely. The liberals, after the elections of July 1827, had a greater majority than ever, and when the new House met, Papineau was at once elected Speaker. By this time Papineau and Lord Dalhousie, the Governor, had become not only political opponents, but bitter personal enemies, and Lord Dalhousie at once refused to confirm the election. The members refused to have any other speaker, and Dalhousie dissolved the Parliament, saying to the members, ' nothing likely to promote the public interest can now be expected from your deliberations.' A deputation was sent to England which, if it accomplished nothing else, brought about Dalhousie's recall. He was replaced by Sir James Kempt.

It is important to observe that during all this period the French Canadians had not all been liberals, nor had the English all been tories ; the Assembly members had been demanding nothing but the rights to which they conceived all British subjects were entitled. Now the race-consciousness which Denis Benjamin Viger had expressed became a very important factor in the struggle. It was of this view that Duvernay became the prophet.

There were two other factors, almost equally important ; the first was the neighbourhood of the republican United States ; the rapidly increasing wealth of the free Americans impressed the French Canadians immensely. The second was the confusion of the questions at issue with those vague doctrines of the rights of man which had been the will-o'-the-wisps of revolutionary Europe. Many of the French Canadians and their English partisans aimed no longer at the privileges of British subjects but at complete emancipation from England. They now saw in the appointed Council with its English majority the main obstacle in the way of their aims, and the feeling that the French-Canadian people as a whole were struggling to assert themselves was more and more definitely expressed. They demanded that the Council be elective. In 1832 Duvernay remarked that the Council was ' une grande nuisance.' He was promptly arrested—and Daniel Tracy, the editor of the *Vindicator*, was arrested with him. Duvernay was soon released and was more popular and more influential than ever. The people had learned to look to the *Minerve* for a lead, and they were soon to have a new and unexpected one. In 1834 came the foundation of the St Jean Baptiste Society at a dinner in the garden of Mr McDonnell, a well-known Montreal lawyer, situated where the Windsor Station now stands. We have no

Canadian Pacific Photograph

Lake Ouimet, Laurentian Mountains, 'full of vacationists in summer.'

Compagnie Aérienne Franco-Canadienne

Paspebiac, 'the most notorious spot in early days.'

record of the addresses, but some of the toasts give us an idea of what they must have been like :

'The people, source of all legitimate authority.'
'The day which we celebrate.'
'The House of Assembly of Lower Canada, faithful to the Canadian people.'
'The Hon. L. J. Papineau, Speaker of the House of Assembly, brilliant and zealous defender of the rights of the people.'
'O'Connell and our Irish compatriots.'
'The Government of the United States.'

The religious aspect of the gathering, even in those early days, is emphasized by the *Canadien* newspaper of 27th June 1834 : 'It is a good augury,' says the *Canadien*, 'for the Canadian patriots to have as patron the precursor of the Son of Man, who came to preach the equality of men in the eyes of the Creator and to deliver the world from the slavery in which it was held by the powers of darkness.'

The dispute between the Assembly and the Government became more bitter. Papineau and his followers would have nothing but the elective Council ; England offered them the revenue control they had asked for, not conceding everything, but almost everything. The Assembly replied by passing a series of ninety-two resolutions, inspired by the proceedings of the Paris Assembly of 1789. This set of general statements produced few immediate changes in governmental methods. It failed to show the importance of the principle that government should be carried on by ministers responsible to the Legislature ; its main concrete proposal was an elective council. But its psychological effect was incalculable. Feeling grew more and more bitter. Liberal or revolutionary ideas —call them whichever name you like—were fostered

by the *Canadien*, the *Populaire*, the *Courrier Canadien*, and the *Quotidienne*. The Rabelaisian type of political comment, which still survives, made its appearance ; the French Canadian became a violent partisan—as he has remained. The French Canadian tories—and there were many of them—were just as tory as the British ; they had one song which declared that Papineau was the cause of cholera morbus, potato rot, and earthquakes. Finally Neilson and Papineau separated, for Neilson differed with the liberals on more than one point, but Neilson did not carry all the English liberals with him, and later one of them instigated the armed rebellion. Meetings were held everywhere. Papineau and his brilliant followers—Cartier, Viger, Lafontaine, Morin, Fabre, and the rest of them—stirred the province to fever-pitch. The Fils de la Liberté fought with the Doric Club in Montreal ; each day fuel was added to the heaped-up pile ; finally came flame—the pitched battles on the Richelieu and at St Eustache. A few hundred habitants entered on a struggle which they fervently believed to be for freedom and the right. We may doubt their wisdom, we may condemn those who were responsible for leading them, but we can never question their heroism.

The actual armed conflicts which took place were small by contrast with modern combats. At St Eustache some 500 men, of whom less than half had guns, fought 2000 militia. The contest could hardly be called a battle. Dr Chenier, the brave but untrained leader of the insurgents, with half his force, and that half only half-armed, shut himself in the church. Cannon and rifles opened fire on them, then the church was set ablaze. Many of the patriots perished within the walls ; some, fatally wounded or burned, crawled out to die ; some were killed as they

tried to escape from the windows—seventy in all were shot or burned to death. The village was sacked and pillaged like a town in a zone of war, amid scenes of appalling horror. The battles on the Richelieu, where the patriots had a momentary success at St Denis, ended with a defeat at St Charles, where thirty or forty were killed.

The revolt, which was timed with another in Upper Canada under the leadership of William Lyon Mackenzie, did not at once result in the victory of democracy or gain for the French Canadians all that they hoped. Lord Durham, who was sent to Canada as Governor in 1838, made a notable report in which he definitely recommended the adoption of a system of self-government for Canada. But Lord Durham did not support the French Canadian. 'Without,' he observes, 'effecting the change so rapidly or so roughly as to shock the feelings or to trample on the welfare of the existing generation, it must henceforth be the first and steady purpose of the British Government to establish an English population, with English laws and language, in this province and to trust its government to none but a decidedly English legislature.'

The English newspapers in most cases played up to the feelings which the 'rebellion' had awakened. One recommended the disfranchisement of all French Canadians as 'the only infallible method of anglicizing the province at the double-quick.' 'The quicker the French Canadian lost his national characteristics,' remarked this writer, 'the happier he would be.' And another paper, commenting on the extraordinary powers of taxation conferred on the Special Council established after the struggle, observed that it did not really make any difference what the French Canadians thought about taxation without representation!

The Union Act of 1841 reuniting Upper and Lower Canada had the laudable intention of ensuring English control through the rapidly growing English population of what is now Ontario. It gave Upper Canada with its smaller population an equal representation in the new Parliament, and provided that the English language alone should be used in written or printed accounts of parliamentary proceedings. The French Canadians were naturally indignant; they agitated unceasingly, and in 1849 the clauses of the Act which eliminated the French language from the records of Parliament were abrogated. From that time forward the Union Act had exactly the reverse effect from that which had been expected. The two parties in Upper Canada, instead of uniting to control the whole colony, continued separate, and their opposition was terribly bitter. Their squabbles gave virtual control of the colony as a whole to the very inhabitants of Quebec at whose final subjection the Union Act had been directed.

The first governors who succeeded Lord Durham were directed by a Colonial Office in London which could not make up its mind whether it wanted Canada to govern herself or not. Was the Governor to be the agent of the Colonial Office and exercise control over Canadian affairs, or was he to govern, as the King of England does in England, in accordance with the wishes of Canadians? The most important part in the final acquisition of power by the people was played by one English Canadian, Baldwin, and one French Canadian, L. H. Lafontaine. The latter, contrary to some of his associates, had seen from the beginning the possibilities of the Union Act and had determined to work through it instead of protesting against it. Largely to his efforts and to the co-operation of the Governor of the day, Lord Elgin, was due the final acceptance of

the principle of responsible government. In 1848, for the first time, the Cabinet was appointed as it is to-day, by the Prime Minister, not by the Governor ; the rules were recognized once and for all that the Government, not the Governor, holds the helm, and that the Government can only retain power by the will of the majority in the Legislature.[1]

Proof of the completeness of the victory was given when in 1849 a bill was presented to indemnify all who had suffered financially by the revolt, to whichever side they had adhered. There was violent opposition. A religious organ called for action : ' Men of Canada of British Origin, no sleep to the eyes, no slumber to the eyelids until you have avenged this most atrocious, this most unparalleled insult.' [2] *The Times* [3] said that there existed ' an impression that rebellion had been rewarded and loyalty insulted by the British Crown.' All the protests were surpassed by the eloquence of

[1] The principle had been expressed in three resolutions passed in 1841 recorded in the *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Canada*, vol. i. pp. 480–481, and reading as follows : (1) That the head of the executive government of the province, being within the limits of his government the representative of the sovereign, is responsible to the imperial authority alone, but that, nevertheless, the management of our local affairs can only be conducted by him with the assistance, counsel, and information of subordinate officers in the province. (2) That, in order to preserve between the different branches of the provincial parliament that harmony which is essential to the peace, welfare, and good government of the province, the chief advisers of the representative of the sovereign, constituting a provincial administration under him, ought to be men possessed of the confidence of the representatives of the people ; thus affording a guarantee that the well-understood wishes and interests of the people, which our gracious sovereign has declared shall be the rule of the provincial government, will on all occasions be faithfully represented and advocated. (3) That the people of this province have, moreover, the right to expect from such provincial administration, the exertion of their best endeavours that the imperial authority, within its constitutional limits, shall be exercised in the manner most consistent with their well-understood wishes and interests.

[2] *The Church*, 20 March 1849.

[3] 21 March 1849.

the *Dublin University Gazette*[1] which, influenced perhaps by its Irish surroundings, fell into a perfect frenzy of loyalty. 'The Canadian ministry intended the measure as an insult to loyalty and a triumph to treason.' Mr Blake, the Solicitor-General, says the *Gazette*, 'rises to a blasphemous climax of sedition which may not be unfitly described as the very apotheosis of treason.' (What Mr Blake did say was that he had no sympathy with the 'spurious loyalty . . . which from the dawn of the history of the world down to the present day had lashed humanity into rebellion,' and he referred to Pontius Pilate as having been influenced by loyalty of that brand.) 'Can the reader be surprised,' asks the *Dublin University Gazette*, 'that some few of the outraged loyalists should have been suddenly exasperated into some acts of indignation?' They certainly were; they burned the Parliament Buildings, mobbed and rotten-egged the Governor, and sacked Lafontaine's house. But the bill had been passed, the Governor had signed it, since it was the will of the majority. Democracy had won out, and French Canadians had done most of the work. They remember that to-day, others would like to forget.

[1] P. 321. September 1849.

CHAPTER VIII

Twentieth Century Unlimited

THE twentieth century found French Canada almost unchanged ; its people were still in the main rural and had made few agricultural advances ; indeed they had in some respects, in health for instance, deteriorated. Montreal had grown at a moderate rate led by a comparatively rich and solid English-speaking community ; the Bank of Montreal was one of the world's most important institutions and was the centre of a strong financial group closely connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway. In the last thirty years of the nineteenth century the capital investment of manufacturers in Canada and in Quebec had increased about five times, the value of the products had about doubled ; the activities of the railways and shipping had kept pace with business. Some French Canadians had been successful in the cities ; they had done their share in the organization of street railways and electric-light companies ; they had built up some good manufacturing concerns and commenced a banking system, though none of these were of much account in comparison with the huge undertakings of to-day. In the great transatlantic shipping and railway concerns, however, French Canadians had practically no part ; they had the river transport but were not to retain it.

The country districts of 1900 were much as they always had been.

Picture the St Maurice Valley, a peaceful country region, where agriculture was backward but sufficient, where even the idea of city hurry and bustle was unknown. The St Maurice rushed down untrammelled through wild rocky valleys from the heart of the Laurentians, birch and spruce lining its sides ; here and there tributary rivers tumbled over cliffs in furious cataracts to join the main stream ; at last it reached the end of its upper course and flowed between quiet farmlands to meet the St Lawrence at old Trois-Rivières.

Northwards was Lake St John, only recently reached by the railway, a wide expanse of clear blue water edged by miles of flat, tree-clad levels, hemmed in on all sides by the Laurentian hills. The outfall plunged over a cliff in the Grande Décharge to form the Saguenay and raced down its wooded valley until it disappeared in the vast depths of the fiord that leads it to the St Lawrence. Around Lake St John and along the rivers like the Chamouchouan and the Peribonka, that flowed into it, lived a hardy race of settlers, adventurous men and women from the parishes of the Lower St Lawrence, who had determined to make themselves a home in the north. ' Faire de la terre,' ' making land ' was their one ambition ; as likely as not when a man had finished one farm he would give it up and go farther on to cut another out of the woods. It was among these people that Louis Hémon lived when he wrote *Maria Chapdelaine*. It was there that Maria wondered whether she would leave the countryside for the city ; it was there that she heard her Voice, the Voice of Quebec, ' half the song of a woman and half the sermon of a priest.' ' Strangers have surrounded us,' the voice says, ' barbarians they seem to us, they have taken almost all the power, they have taken almost all the money, but in the land of Quebec nothing has changed. Nothing shall change, for we are

here to bear witness. This is the only clear idea we have of ourselves and our destinies, to persist, to keep our identity. And we have kept our identity ; perhaps centuries in the future the world will turn to us and say : " These people come from a race that does not know how to die." That is why we must remain dwellers in the province where our fathers lived, why we must live as they lived, so that we may obey the unspoken commandment they felt within their hearts, which has passed on to ours, which we must pass on in our turn to our children. In the land of Quebec nothing must die, nothing must change." [1]

Nothing must change—but much has changed—Maria Chapdelaine's prototype still lives on the Peribonka ; rural Quebec has seen extraordinary things happen. The monument which was erected to Louis Hémon's memory at Chapleau on 12th June 1938 is a monument not to him only but to a bygone day.

One activity had always linked the northern rivers to the cities. For a hundred years lumbering had been active on the Ottawa and its tributaries, on the St Maurice and on the Saguenay. Young men went out to be the *chanquiers*, the 'shanties' in the winter, and worked in gangs to cut great pines for shipment abroad and use at home. Spring saw the freshets tumble the logs in a welter of foam, down rapids, through chutes where the rocks were too thick, until they reached calmer water and could be lashed into rafts. The hero of those days was the expert driver who could run over the rolling logs, unerringly pick the offending piece in a jam, free the whole, and come back to sing and occasionally to fight at the shanty. When they reached the city on their rafts they had more fights, plenty of them, and those and the taverns made up their experience of civilization.

[1] L. Hémon, *Maria Chapdelaine*, p. 252.

A little before the new century the change began, and it began with the use of water power to generate electricity. Naturally enough the first sites looked over were those where canals had been built to facilitate navigation on the St Lawrence, the Ottawa, and the Richelieu, and the first developments were in settled areas at Lachine and Chambly. But very early the engineers began looking farther afield. A set of reports made about 1901 by Mr J. G. Macklin, C.E., one of the pioneers of power engineering in Canada who had worked on the Chambly and Lachine developments, show investigations at Chelsea Falls on the Gatineau, at Paugan Falls, at the Carillon rapid on the Ottawa where Dollard had once fought the Iroquois, at Beauharnois near Montreal ; many years were to pass before these works were all completed, but they were at least considered.

Finance, as usual, saw a way to profit by the visions of engineering ; the Royal Electric Company in Montreal was soon using all the power they could obtain ; the Shawinigan Water and Power Company was incorporated in 1898 ; other concerns were soon following their example. Soon the new era was in full swing ; English, Canadian and American investors looked at Quebec and saw a great deal that could be turned to advantage ; the first thing they saw was the tremendous flow of water through the Laurentian forests, though even then they had but a small idea of what was to come.

Industrialization and urbanization, if they hit Quebec late, hit Quebec hard, and a peculiar feature of the Quebec development increased the force of the impact ; the most important industries of the province grew in rural areas.

At Shawinigan Falls on the St Maurice, for instance, the engineers found themselves in what was to all

intents and purposes a pristine wilderness ; there they built their roads and their cofferdams ; finally they had harnessed the 150-foot fall, and soon their turbines were running ; around the power station were the homes of engineers and workmen ; before long there was a parish, but it was a parish based on industry, not on agriculture, something completely new in rural Quebec.

At the same time another activity was growing up, the production of pulp-wood, wood pulp and paper, new at the end of the nineteenth century, one of the most important factors in modern economics. The available resources are immense ; there are 120,000,000 acres, 187,500 square miles, of forest in Quebec, of which about 9000 square miles are privately owned, and over 92,000 held in reserve. By 1929, fifty-six miles were in full operation and though the financial crisis lowered production and profits the development had already taken effect. Even more than the power developments the pulp and paper business touched the countryside ; the mills sought the same sites as the power stations or neighbouring spots ; more and more men were needed ; railways must be built to pick up the new freights ; railway labourers and employees joined the new populations.

The chemical and mining industries soon took a hand in the game. Asbestos came into common use and Quebec was one of the main sources of supply ; towns grew up around the asbestos mines. By-products of manufactures at Shawinigan Falls developed into a tremendous business with international connections. Wood from Canadian trees was soon used in the production of everything the human being uses from the cradle to the grave ; silk stockings, hairbrushes, varnish find their origin on the St Maurice ; enough of the most vicious of poison gases, cacodyl-isocyanide, to

supply the world's greatest air armadas for a week could be made there in one day. A city of technicians needed a technicians' college and the Shawinigan Technical Institute was established in 1912 by business concerns and the personal help of their leaders. Under the control of Mr C. N. Crutchfield this has become a remarkable institution with a registration of over nine hundred students, largely in night classes. It carries its training up to the standard of engineering matriculation, that is to say a year beyond ordinary university matriculation, and at the same time gives purely technical training of high quality.[1]

The developments on the St Maurice soon brought about a trend in population growth which was new to Quebec. Modern facilities in communication, transport and power transmission, together with the special needs of the regions affected, produced the industrialized area, several towns side by side depending on the same cheap power sources, convenient telephone service and transport systems. Close to Shawinigan Falls grew up the subsidiary town of Grand Mère ; a few miles away Trois-Rivières, at the junction of the St Maurice and the St Lawrence, became the site of immense pulp and paper mills, one of them the largest of its kind in the world, as well as of other industries, and its population grew accordingly. In 1911 Shawinigan Falls and Trois-Rivières had a joint population of 17,956 ; by 1931 this was 50,795 ; by 1937 Shawinigan Falls alone was over 22,000.

A few years later a still more remarkable scene of industrialization began on the Saguenay. Here the engineers saw the possibilities of Lake St John and of the Saguenay River, draining 30,000 square miles through a single narrow channel and falling 300 feet in 28 miles. The changes began with the erection

[1] *Shawinigan Standard*, 15 December 1937.

of a small pulp mill ; another large mill was added in 1912 ; more industries and small-power plants followed. Improvements in long-distance power transmission led to the next developments, the building of giant hydro-electric installations ; the lake was transferred into a controlled reservoir, the largest in the world, with 200 billion cubic feet of water ; the first great power plant to be completed at Ile Maligne was designed to produce 540,000 h.p.[1] Before 1930 seventeen power plants and nine mills were built and building, and the new town of Riverbend had sprung up at the Lake St John outlet. Just above the old town of Chicoutimi another mushroom industrial city rivalled Shawinigan Falls. The Aluminum Company of Canada allied with Aluminium Limited saw that the availability of cheap power with which it could provide itself and the navigability of the Saguenay presented a remarkable combination ; at the fall called *Chûte à Caron* it commenced the building of a rock-cut canal, two and a quarter miles long, a dam two hundred feet high, and an 800,000 h.p. plant. On the shore near by, it built its aluminium plant, and three hundred houses for its workers ; at Port Alfred on Ha-Ha Bay, fifteen miles away, it built its own docks and constructed its own railway to join the two and carry the raw materials from Europe and South America to be transformed by Quebec power into something new. The population of the town of Chicoutimi, the centre of the area reflected the changes, doubled between 1911 and 1931, and increased by another 50 per cent in the next six years ; the population of the whole region went from 40,802 in 1911 to 105,977 in 1931.

The new hydro-electric developments on the Saguenay and St Maurice were connected with each other as they were built and with the cities and towns

[1] *Industry in Saguenay and Lake St John District.* (Price Bros. & Co.)

which needed the power, by a network of wires. Other similarly connected plants were erected on the Gatineau and the Lièvre, tributaries of the Ottawa, more south of the St Lawrence. A constant flow of water was ensured by the control of the headwater areas of various river systems. The Gouin dam on the St Maurice, with 160 billion cubic feet, has raised the minimum flow of that river from 6000 to 10,000 cubic feet per second, the Mercier dam on the Gatineau has raised the flow from 2100 cubic feet per second to more than four times that amount ; other works have been constructed on the St Francis, Ste Anne de Beaupré and Metis rivers and the millions spent on them have been repaid to the people many times over.

In 1900 the total hydro-electric installation of all Canada was only 173,323 h.p. Eighteen years later Quebec alone was producing 856,769 h.p. ; by 1925 this had doubled again (1,749,975) and was one-nineteenth of the whole world production. By the beginning of 1938 Quebec had nearly four million [1] developed horse-power, more than half of the Canadian total, although there had still only been tapped one-third of the available resources.

Other industries kept pace with power production—there is no need to deal with it in detail, but a table will show how rapid a change took place.

	1900	1910	1920	1930
Capital invested in manufacturing in millions of dollars . . .	142½	327	1028	1727
Value of products in millions of dollars . .	158	350	1071	1022

[1] 3,940,000.

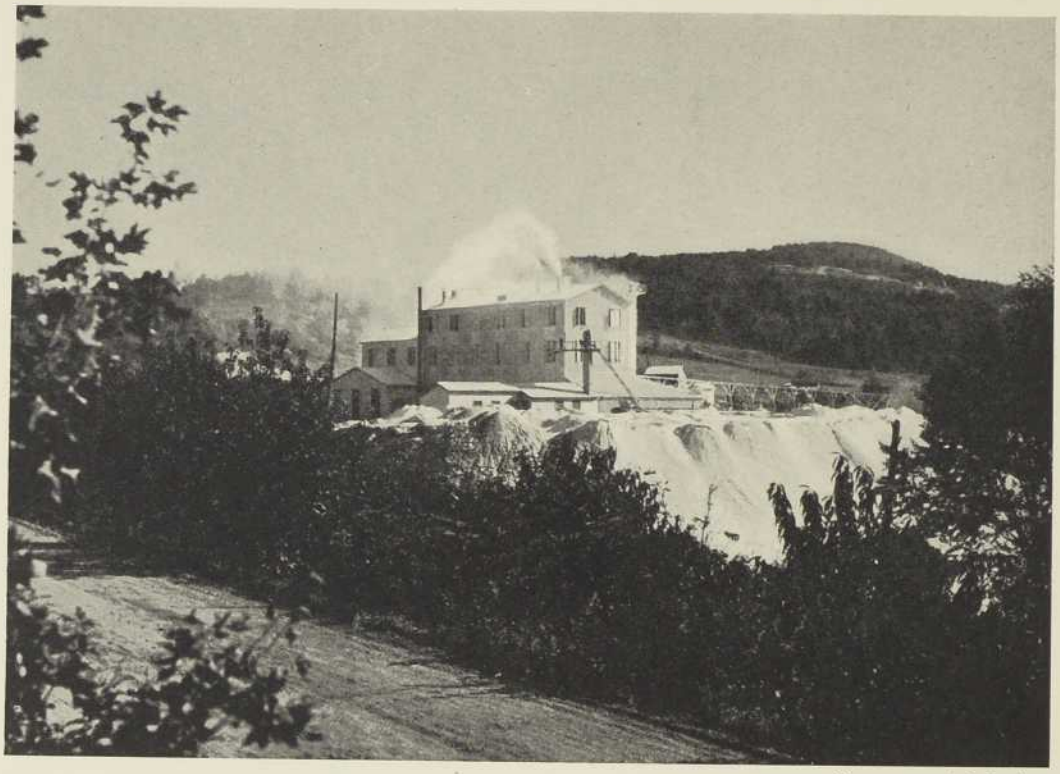
The beginning of the twentieth century not only set up towns where none were before but added to the old ones, always at the expense of the countryside. Montreal, Canada's main seaport, benefited immensely from the growth of the West early in the twentieth century, built docks and elevators to handle the flood of grain, developed its banking system, spread out into new suburbs, constructed new tramways and power lines. From a comparatively small city of 328,000 in 1901 Montreal, with its suburbs, went to over half a million by 1911, three quarters of a million by 1921, a million and a quarter ten years later. Other industrialized towns grew as fast. The change in the relative population of rural and urban areas was appalling to those who looked far enough. At the beginning of the century the census showed the people of Quebec as two-thirds rural,[1] by 1921 the urban population had passed the rural,[2] which had scarcely increased at all, the next ten years showed a similar increase in urban population and no substantial increase in the country.[3] It has already been pointed out that these figures are somewhat deceiving since they include country villages ; the growth of larger towns is actually more significant. The 1901 census showed only eight towns in the province of Quebec including Montreal and its suburbs as one, with a population of over 5000. Ontario had thirty, almost four times as many as Quebec. By 1921 Quebec had fifteen towns of over 5000, again including Greater Montreal as one, Ontario had forty-three. The 1931 census showed twenty-six such towns in Quebec, and fifty-two in Ontario.

Another feature of this period which was to have a great effect on French Canada was the unexpected

[1] Rural, 992,667 ; urban 656,231.
[2] Rural, 1,038,096 ; urban 1,322,569.
[3] Rural, 1,060,649 ; urban 1,813,606.

growth of immigrant groups which largely concentrated in Montreal. The 1901 census showed that a comparatively small part of the Quebec population was of other than French or British origin. There were only some 16,000 [1] Hebrews, for instance, in the whole of Canada. 1931 told a very different story. Montreal had become the second French-speaking city in the world, but it was only about 60 per cent French-Canadian ; of the remaining population about a quarter was of Jewish, Russian, and Polish origin ; one-half of all the Jews of Canada [2] lived in the metropolis. The former contacts between French Canadians and Jews had been particularly happy ones ; French Canada had given a lead to Britain so far as Jews were concerned. In 1807 Ezekiel Hart, a distinguished Hebrew, was elected to the Assembly, but was declared ineligible. In 1808 he was again elected, but the Assembly passed a resolution excluding Jews as well as judges ; in this narrow-minded attitude towards Hebrews the Assembly followed the British Parliament. Hart was again nominated in 1809 but withdrew. The struggle went on for more than twenty years. Finally, with the backing of Louis Joseph Papineau, success was achieved, and in 1831 the legislature of Lower Canada with its great French-Canadian majority passed the Emancipation Act, sanctioned next year (1 William IV. cap. 57). Not for more than a quarter of a century did Britain follow the good example. But in the twentieth century conditions were different. The French Canadians, crowding from the country to the city, found themselves facing an aggressive, frugal, wary group of Hebrews, mainly immigrants or the children of immigrants who had established many businesses, who understood the ways of trade, and they thought the

[1] 16,131 (1901). [2] 165,726 (1931).



Government of Quebec

Canadian Kaolin Silica Products Ltd. 'Kaolin is being exploited at St Rémi d'Amherst.'

Canadian Pacific Photograph

Trois-Rivières. Wayagamack Pulp and Paper Mills.

Hebrews too clever ; the result was the development of a new and unfortunate feeling.

The principal collisions between French Canadians and other types of immigrant, mainly from Northern Europe, came in the outlying parts of the Province and coincided with another economic development.

Canada's mineral production showed a fairly rapid increase up to the year 1900, thereafter the rate slowed up but the change was still substantial. The total value of the production in 1886 was about ten million dollars,[1] a little over two dollars [2] per head of the population ; by 1900 it was over sixty million dollars,[3] about twelve dollars [4] per head ; in 1920 the products were worth over two hundred and twenty-seven million,[5] over twenty-six dollars [6] per head ; in 1936, after a break owing to the depression, the return was over three hundred and sixty million,[7] more than thirty-two dollars [8] per head.

In the later stages of this development gold played a very important part. In 1920 the value of the gold produced in Canada [9] was about one-fifteenth of the total mineral value ; by 1936 gold [10] accounted for more than a third of the whole.

For a considerable time Quebec lagged behind the rest of the Dominion. In 1900 the total value of Quebec minerals was two and a half millions,[11] about a quarter of the total for Canada ; in 1920 Quebec's twenty-nine millions [12] were less than a seventh of the total. That year, too, was exceptional ; in 1924, for example, Quebec minerals were only worth nineteen million dollars,[13] less than ten per cent of the Dominion

[1] $10,221,255.
[2] $2.23.
[3] $64,420,877.
[4] $12.15.
[5] $227,859,665.
[6] $26.63.
[7] $361,394,062.
[8] $32.77.
[9] $15,814,098.
[10] $130,847,733.
[11] $2,546,076.
[12] $28,886,214.
[13] $19,136,504.

production. The most important product was asbestos, of which Quebec produced most of the best variety in the section between the City of Quebec and the American border ; up to 1928 asbestos accounted for about one-third of the total mineral value of the province. Then a change came and it came very quickly ; the gold and red copper, of which the Indians had told Jacques Cartier four hundred years before, were rediscovered near the line of the Canadian National Railway in the northern part of the province. The consequences might have been foreseen, but were still surprising. Prospectors streamed into the north and the country was soon dotted with their huts.

A winter visit to one of the early camps by air was an interesting experience. The railway took us to Lake St John and around its edge to St Felicien. There we waited for a fine day ; one trial flight met a sixty-mile blizzard and the pilot wisely turned tail ; finally the chance came and we land two hours later on Lake Chibougamou, where two or three camps and a fire-ranger's home marked the beginning of new activity. Not much had happened yet in the north, the depression was just beginning, but the little community two hundred miles from anywhere was filled with optimism and good cheer. An Indian girl was earning twenty dollars per day testing fuses ; the good cheer was helped on by a cook who was a past-master at making cakes. We had a feeling that we were on the edge of great things, and before our aeroplane carried us farther yet into the vast north we caught a glimpse of the Quebec of 1937 and caught our breaths at the same time.

Development came fast. The great Noranda mine was opened in the township of Rouyn, a town sprang up around it, railway lines ran in. Other towns developed along the railway, as prospectors, engineers,

miners and their families made their way to the new field ; aeroplanes brought in machinery and carried explorers to far-away lakes, making in a couple of hours a trip that once took a month. The increase in gold production was rapid. In 1913 Quebec produced gold worth $14,491 ; in 1922 the value was $172,217 ; in 1930 almost three million [1] ; in 1933 almost eleven million dollars [2] ; in 1937 over twenty-four million dollars,[3] equal to about a quarter of the production of the United States or 2.5 per cent of the world total. In 1938 the Honourable Onésime Gagnon pointed out [4] that eight thousand men were now employed in the mining areas, with a total wage bill of nine million dollars, that the twelve producing mines of 1935 had become fifteen in 1936, and twenty-one in 1937, twenty-two by January 1938, with a production of 12,455 tons of ore per day.

In the first eleven years of its life the single undertaking of Noranda paid out for wages $24,000,000 ; for taxes $10,500,000 ; for supplies $36,000,000 ; for transportation $10,800,000—a very considerable contribution to the country as a whole. Gold was not the only product coming out of the north ; copper, of which Quebec had produced about a million and a half [5] pounds in 1900 out of a total of about thirty-eight million [6] pounds, came into production in much larger quantities in 1928 and reached almost eighty million [7] pounds in 1935, almost a fifth of the Canadian total which was itself exceeded by only two countries, Chile and the United States. The total mineral production of Quebec in 1937 represented $65,089,194 as compared with $49,516,385 the previous year.

The north country of Quebec is a new Eldorado ;

[1] $2,930,170. [2] $10,950,539.
[3] $24,100,000. [4] *The Gazette*, 4 January 1938.
[5] 1,527,442 lbs. [6] 37,827,019 lbs. [7] 79,050,906 lbs.

what Quebec will be able to do with it is yet to be seen. One of the problems is that the north is not French Canadian. There is a large European admixture as well as a considerable English-Canadian population. The result of this new melting-pot will not be apparent for some time. Nor is the north the only place where development is going on. Kaolin is being exploited at St Rémi d'Amherst, peat in the Lower St Lawrence and Ottawa valleys, soapstone in the Bois Francs ; base metals and some oil are found in the Gaspé Peninsula.

The growing industrial fabric of which it has only been possible to show a very brief outline was based on a foundation of wealth which was continually reinforced. In 1900 the total assets of Canadian banks were $459,715,065 ; by 1920 they were over three billion dollars, and still stand at above that figure. Another yardstick of still more value is the assets of Canadian life insurance companies. In 1915 the total was $274,243,434 ; by 1925, $811,895,311 ; by 1935, $1,880,745,026. The estimates of national wealth are somewhat misleading to any one but a statistician, but in the calculation made for 1933 we find Quebec credited with 26.15 per cent of the total.

Over the real assets of the country there was reared an immense financial superstructure evidenced by bonds and shares of stock in commercial businesses. A brochure written in 1929 on one concern, the Shawinigan Water and Power Company, was illustrative of the way in which by one ramification and another huge and powerful combinations came into existence. This particular company, its interests, and affiliations have been often and violently discussed in the course of recent Quebec politics.

' The territory served by the Company comprises all the larger cities and manufacturing districts in the Province of Quebec, with an estimated population of 2,300,000. The Company's service extends

a length of 250 miles, with an average width of 25 miles north of the St Lawrence River. The area covered is over 15,000 square miles.

Controlled and Affiliated Companies.

The Company, by purchase, acquired the St Maurice Power Company Limited, which was previously controlled through stock ownership, and which owns a hydro-electric power plant on the St Maurice River, having an installed capacity of 120,000 h.p., with provision made for the installation of a fifth unit of 30,000 h.p.

In 1928 the Company purchased the Laurentide Power Company Limited, thereby acquiring an additional power plant on the St Maurice River, twelve miles above Shawinigan Falls, with an installed capacity of 165,000 h.p.

In addition, the Company holds entire stock ownership in the following companies: The Continental Heat & Light Company, which distributes electric light and power to the territory south of the St Lawrence River, and supplies power to the large asbestos mining companies and paper companies in this district; North Shore Power Company, which distributes electric light and power in the City of Three Rivers and the district between Three Rivers and Quebec; Three Rivers Traction Company, which owns and operates the street railway in the City of Three Rivers; Electric Service Corporation, which distributes electric light and power in the City of Shawingan Falls and the district between Shawinigan Falls and Montreal and west of the City of Montreal as far as the Lake of the Two Mountains; Shawinigan Falls Terminal Railway, which connects the manufacturing plants and the railroads serving Shawinigan Falls, Shawinigan Chemicals Limited, an amalgamation of Canada Carbide Company, Limited, and Canadian Electro Products Company Limited, large manufacturers of chemicals, located at Shawinigan Falls and using power supplied by the Company.

The Company also owns a majority of the issued shares of the Quebec Power Company which either directly or through its subsidiaries serves the City of Quebec and surrounding districts with gas, traction, lighting, and power. The latter Company has acquired the assets and undertaking of the Laurentian Power Company Limited, consisting of a power plant, with an installed capacity of 24,000 h.p. situated on the Ste Anne River near Quebec.

The Company also holds a substantial stock interest in the Duke-Price Power Company Limited, which has a development of 450,000 h.p. at Ile Maligne on the Saguenay River. The Shawinigan Water & Power Company has a contract with the Duke-Price Power Company Limited, for 100,000 h.p. and has built a transmission line from Ile Maligne to Quebec for the transmission of power to the districts served by this Company.

The Company owns a majority of the issued shares of the Beauharnois Electric Company Limited, which serves the district lying west of Montreal and between the St Lawrence River and the international boundary, in which district is located the City of Valleyfield, the centre of large manufacturing industries.

A majority of the voting stock of United Securities Limited, is owned in equal parts by the Company and Montreal Light, Heat and Power Consolidated. United Securities Limited, owns a majority of the issued shares of Canadian Light & Power Company, with a development of 20,000 h.p. at St Timothée, near Montreal, and through ownership of more than 99 per cent of the issued shares of Consolidated Securities Limited, owns a majority of the issued shares of Montreal Tramways Company, operating traction service in the City of Montreal.'

The same brochure shows that up to that date the investor who had acquired one hundred shares in 1912 and bought his proportion of all the new shares offered to shareholders since would have invested $45,395, would have been paid $19,227.25 in dividends, and would have a holding worth $98,175; in other words, would have a profit over his investment of $72,007. After that came the depression and a different story as to the paper profits, but the real strength of the company was never very seriously affected. Even with

[1] 'Shawinigan' Financial Service Limited, Montreal, 1929.

the stock at depression level the investor, between his dividends and what was left of his stock value, could account for his whole cash investment.

'Shawinigan' was only one example, if almost the most important of the developments which French Canada saw as it looked from its nineteenth-century windows along the St Lawrence; it is no wonder that the owners of the soil felt a little appalled as they watched what was happening in their back garden. Suddenly, in the midst of this commercial invasion, came news of another manifestation of twentieth-century culture; with almost complete unanimity the nations of Europe flew at one another's throats.

The main effect of the Great War on French Canada was more indirect than direct, and was not apparent until the struggle was long over but a word must be said as to the immediate consequences. Most French Canadians knew next to nothing of the currents of European politics which were sweeping the great Powers into a struggle they could not avoid and for which they were not equipped. Some of them did think that the relationship of Canada to Britain placed this country in a dangerous position and held by the view which had been over and over again stated in the colony's early days that they were responsible only for their own defences.

Mr Henri Bourassa, before 1914 the most remarkable exponent of the French-Canadian point of view, took a position which corresponds almost exactly with that of every Canadian Government since 1920. He observed that the Memorandum on Imperial Defence prepared by the Colonial Defence Committee of 1896 stated 'it has been decided that it is the duty of the colonies to provide for their adequate protection,' that this indeed was the full extent of their duty,[1] also

[1] Canada Sessional Papers, 1912, No. 77 (not printed).

that the main object of the Royal Navy was to protect English and not colonial ports and commerce.[1] He observed furthermore that at the Imperial Conference of 1902 the British experts' report had included a statement that the military responsibilities of the colonies were limited to local defence. He had seen this policy gradually altered, as the vision of a European war dawned on British statesmen—the steps by which the change took place need not be rehearsed—until at an Imperial Conference held in London in 1909 it was agreed between British and Dominion representatives that each country of the Empire should make such war preparations as would enable it to take part in the general defence of the Empire. As a result General Sir John French was appointed Inspector-General of the overseas forces, and when he visited Canada he had no hesitation in telling leading officers of the Canadian forces that before long they would be fighting in Europe. It is worth noting that at the same time, in 1909, the General Staffs of Britain and France, led by Foch and Sir Henry Wilson, were engaged in those 'conversations' which irrevocably committed Britain to war. Some historians have stated that these negotiations were unknown to the Cabinet in 1912; they were certainly familiar enough to the officers who talked to Sir John French. In 1911 Mr Asquith, then Prime Minister of Britain, made the situation of Canadians, as he saw it, clear. He refused even to consider consultation with the Dominions on matters of war and peace. 'It would impair, if not altogether destroy, the authority of the Government of the United Kingdom in such grave matters as the conduct of foreign policy, the conclusion of treaties, the declaration and maintenance of peace or the declaration of war, and indeed all those relations with foreign Powers,

[1] Henri Bourassa, *Que devons nous à l'Angleterre*, p. 80.

necessarily of the most delicate character which are now in the hands of the Imperial Government subject to its responsibility to the Imperial Parliament. That authority cannot be shared.' [1] That put the case in a nutshell and when, three years later, Great Britain declared war on Germany, Canadians were at war without having any choice. Most of them would have voted for war in any case, and when the Canadian Government with no hesitation and without reference to Parliament offered a contingent—Canadian regular and militia officers had already been busy for weeks with preparations—they, at least, were not surprised. With the causes of the war we need not concern ourselves—no one nowadays believes that Germany was wholly to blame [2]; what interests us is the French-Canadian attitude. Mr Bourassa, in 1925, put the situation very clearly. 'Was Canada bound to take part in the European War? As a *British possession*, No. In the fulfilment of a duty, of a moral or legal obligation resulting from her colonial condition, No. If Canada had looked at the situation from that angle only, Canada had the right, even the duty, to abstain from all active participation in the war.[3]

'But as a nation, as a human community, could Canada remain indifferent to the European conflict? I do not think so. "Bound to England and to France by a thousand ties, ethnic, social, intellectual, economic, Canada has a vital interest in the preservation of England and France, in the maintenance of their prestige, of their power, of their world action."' [4] The last words were quoted from an article published in 1914 in the *Devoir* newspaper. They express precisely the view of most Canadians in 1938, but in

[1] Blue Book, Imperial Conference, 1911, p. 71.
[2] *Encyclopedia of Canada*, s.v. 'World War'.
[3] H. Bourassa, *Que devons nous à l'Angleterre*, p. 253.
[4] *Ibid.*

Aluminum Company of Canada Ltd

Port Alfred. Unloading British Guiana Bauxite for the Canadian aluminium industry.

Government of Quebec

Quarrying Soapstone, near Leeds. 'Soapstone in the Bois Francs.'

1914 there was a torrent of recrimination. Mr Bourassa was casting cold water on the flames of violent loyalty that were sweeping the country and he got no thanks for what he said. A year later he repeated what he had said, but this time felt it necessary to add, 'provided that the power and the world action of England and France remain within their proper limits and do not become, in their turn, a menace to the peace and equilibrium of the world.' [1] It is a pity that Mr Clemenceau and Mr Lloyd George could not have read those words when they dictated the Peace of Versailles and started an oppressed Germany on the road that led to the furious rearmaments of to-day. Soon afterwards Mr Bourassa's paper was padlocked !

Mr Bourassa foresaw conscription, he foresaw that Canada would make terrible sacrifices with no possibility of compensation, and he said unsympathetically, 'England is ready to sacrifice all her autonomous colonies to ensure her possession of India.' 'The autonomous colonies have grown and prospered, according to the correct statement of Burke, thanks to the fortunate negligence of England. That is what Canadians of other days understood. It is unfortunately what the politicians of to-day do not understand.' [2]

One of Mr Bourassa's most brilliant followers, Olivar Asselin, stated his position equally definitely. He disapproved the action of the Government but not that of the individuals. 'The military policy of Canada is settled by our Parliament ; it is it and it alone which must be held responsible. Once the expedition to Europe had been decided it was quite natural that the Canadians who wished to help France or England or even to prove overseas the glory of the Canadian name should demand to take part, and no blame which we attach to the parliament should

[1] H. Bourassa, *Que devons nous à l'Angleterre*, p. 253. [2] *Ibid*, p. 258.

touch them.'[1] 'We march for British institutions because by themselves . . . they are worth fighting for. We march for Belgium because in this war she represents rights violated, the freedom of small peoples crushed beneath the heel. We march for France because her defeat, at the same time as it marked a return of the world to barbarian days, would condemn us, her children in America, to live thereafter much less spacious lives.'[2] He did march. What more could any Englishman have said or done? Yet Olivar Asselin, like Bourassa, had to stand endless recrimination because he voiced his beliefs.

The French Canadian could hardly have been expected to share the war enthusiasm of his English-speaking fellow-countrymen, but the spirit of the Bourassas and Asselins should have been better understood and more made use of. Unfortunately, when feelings were running high the more violently imperialist sections of the Canadian community wanted everyone to feel like themselves; if the French Canadian did not agree with all that Britain did he was a traitor and a rebel at heart; it must be said, nevertheless, that the proportion of French Canadians who enlisted in the early days of the war was as high as that of the Canadian born who spoke English. The enlistments grew fewer as tension between the two sections of the population developed and after conscription came into force in 1917 there was violent resistance in French Canada. Much was made of that, but very little has even been said of the fact that the efforts to enforce conscription in Ontario and Nova Scotia were less than half-hearted; the French-Canadian objectors were fine red herrings for the politicians to draw across the trail. There would have been riots elsewhere

[1] O. Asselin, *Pourquoi je m'enrôle*, p. 139.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 10.

than in Quebec if the enforcement of the law in English provinces had been handled with the same tactlessness.

Many of the French Canadians who served did excellent service in the commissioned ranks—a single family of brothers, the Panets, provided three generals —but their main effort was bent to the maintenance of one fine battalion, the 22nd. As long as Canada endures, the story of the deeds of that unit will be handed down—the most remarkable was the heroic action of 26th August 1918, when the 22nd was told off to capture a strong point in the German line, protected by nests of machine-guns and ringed with heavy wire entanglements. It went in at full strength, 1000 officers and men, won its objective, and came out with one officer and less than one hundred others. No finer display of courage and determination is recorded in the annals of British war history.

One officer, Major Talbot Papineau, great grandson of the fiery Louis Joseph Papineau of 1837, speaking to the cadets of the Canadian Army Corps at Pernes, showed a clear vision of the new Canada which was to come after the war. 'On the one hand there will be a party in Canada,' he said, 'which will emphasize her national aspirations—which will fan a fear of imperialism by urging that it means militarism —and will even advocate a military and political organization entirely independent of Great Britain. . . . On the other hand there is a danger that the imperialists will attempt to strangle or stamp out the natural legitimate national feeling in Canada and will advocate a too rigid and oppressive imperial organization.' 'I believe,' he went on, 'there is no necessary antagonism between these two extremes provided both are willing to make some concessions. To secure union the imperial party should frankly concede . . . the

sovereign character of Canadian nationality. . . . In other words, union should continue to exist, but union of such a nature as is possible between independent and sovereign States.' [1]

When Papineau made that speech he was on the Army Corps Staff, but soon afterwards he returned to regimental duty, believing, as he told the officer who signed the order for his transfer, that he, a bachelor, should be fighting with the line. He had, at that time, the curious foreknowledge which soldiers sometimes felt that his fate was near, but he insisted none the less on his release from the staff. Six months later he was killed at the head of his company in the Battle of Passchendale, a martyr like many others to a great ideal, but into that speech at Pernes this descendant of French Canadians and Americans had breathed a spirit which could not die. Fourteen years later the Statute of Westminster brought his hopes to fruition. 'The Crown is the symbol,' it declared, 'of the free association of members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.'

If French Canada had made no other contribution through the war—and French Canada did make other contributions—the share of Talbot Papineau and others in devising the scheme under which the peoples of the Empire can live and work in harmony would have been no small offering.

[1] T. M. Papineau, *The War and its Influences upon Canada.* Montreal, 1920.

CHAPTER IX

Facing the Problems

THE most obvious problem before anyone is how to make a living, and in this there is not much difference between an individual and a whole people. Sir Lomer Gouin, Prime Minister of Quebec before the war, had put the situation, as it then was, very clearly. A journalist, Mr Adjutor Savard, was interviewing him on the needs of French Canada and reports :

> His eagle eye searched the horizon, he spoke of the future. . . . Faith, tradition, language, all the things that are dear to us and that we must preserve at any price ; that was the theme. Intellectual development and technical training, harmony, and toleration ; that was the rhythm. But all in terms of riches, which must be, so to speak, the key, and which we must apply ourselves to attain. Wealth is necessary. It is essential above all for us French Canadians.[1]

The war and the accompanying troubles in Canada drove everything else out of the heads of most people, but once the violent disturbances were over Canada settled down to work ; it was not very long before the French Canadians began to take stock of their problems. The small numbers and isolated position of the people which had proved a handicap to their development turned out to be of at least some advantage. The task of surveying themselves was not as difficult as it might have been : although the result was not altogether pleasant.

The first man to jolt his countrymen into consciousness of the position and start them on the advance

[1] Adjutor Savard in *La Patrie*. Montreal, 30 March 1929.

which is still in progress was a journalist, M. George Pelletier, now editor of the *Devoir* in Montreal. In 1921 [1] we find him surveying the rapid economic development of Quebec which has already been sketched and which had, as we have seen, already gone a long way at the time he wrote. Then he turns his microscope to a higher power and looks for French Canadian interests. Here is what he tells us :

Big business ended by declaring war on small and medium businesses. It absorbed them or wiped them out. Between 1890 and 1910 almost everything passed to the English. Cotton mills which we had built, French-Canadian rubber oil-cloth and tarpaulin businesses, power and electric traction businesses in which some of our industrialists had put their savings were obliged to meet the necessity of the hour, to remodel their works, to buy new equipment in order to replace what had become worn out, obsolete, or unable to stand American or English Canadian competition. They were forced to more vigorous business methods in order to avoid absorption by powerful houses with plenty of capital. Harassed by their competitors, almost ruined in many cases for want of ready money, our industrialists had to choose between the almost immediate loss of their invested capital on the one hand and an appeal to English Canadian financial houses on the other—our own had only begun to feel their feet. English Canadian business men and bankers, shrewd and scenting good profits, came to the rescue—but first they set their conditions. Business is business ! That changed the face of things. Cartels were formed, there were additions of new capital, changes in the constitutions of boards. There were fusions. French-Canadian enterprises which had been promising and in a good position for the Quebec market were transformed from that day, by degrees, into concerns which were English Canadian in name, in method, and in returns, where French Canadians only kept minor positions when they kept any.

[1] *Action Française*, June 1921.

Those changes were not altogether the fault of the business men of 1900 ; they were suffering the consequences of their forebears' movement from the city to the country, a movement which, as we have seen, was virtually forced on the French Canadians after the Cession and the influx of American wealth at that time and prevented any acquisition of large fortunes in money. But Mr Pelletier does not acquit his compatriots. He continues his microscopy :

'If there were underlying and independent reasons,' he says, 'for this industrial recession of our people, this failure, let us say, of our *morale*, there were other causes in our own character, lack of foresight and clear-headedness in some men of business, lack of patriotism in a whole group. Many of these industrialists had become rich, their businesses had developed enormously. Tempted by easy living,' he continues, 'by the bait of luxury, softened as it were by their success, they chose not to put back into their businesses the greater part of their profits . . . perhaps to spend them, more or less sensibly, perhaps to invest them elsewhere in concerns controlled, developed, and directed by the other race.' The result was, our observer remarks, that French-Canadian undertakings had been milked for the benefit of English businesses, starved of money, carried on without the improvements of technique and the additions of capital which were sorely needed in the age which had dawned. Mr Pelletier is just as hard on the small French-Canadian investor. 'Our savings bank depositors,' he says, 'have their share of responsibility for the recession of our industries ; a large part of their savings has gone to English Canadian banks . . . and served to help the development of English Canadian industries.' But he proceeded to point out that the depositors could not really have known any better

since no economist and no newspaper had pointed out what was happening. So far for the past ; the survey was not satisfactory and our journalist had said so with a good deal of courage.

What was the situation in 1921 ? The first thing to be noted was that an exact survey of French-Canadian industry in 1921 was impossible because there were no statistics ; nevertheless the outlook was not completely dark. In 1921 the boot and shoe industry of Canada wa sstill two-thirds French-Canadian, led by the old firm of Daoust Lalonde. Three years later, in 1924, the total value of the products of this business in Canada was $42,000,000,[1] the total investment over $30,000,000,[2] so that in this case there was a good deal of reason for satisfaction. At least one paper company of those Mr Pelletier scanned was French-Canadian and remained so. The head of that concern, Mr S. J. B. Rolland, after seeing it satisfactorily through the depression, said in 1934 words which showed that he at least had not failed in his duty to his undertaking and had no particular fear of English Canadian competition. Those words coming from a French-Canadian industrialist of seventy years' standing are worth quoting as showing the bright side of the picture even more clearly than Mr Pelletier, after his somewhat pessimistic opening, drew it for us.

When I look back over my seventy years' connection with the paper business, I am astonished at what a big strong industry we have to-day, compared with the small beginnings of long ago. A pleasant thing about it is that we have such friendly industry. We are rivals, of course, but we are friends both with our competitors and our customers. The Pulp and Paper Association has had much to do with that. It has helped us to work together.

I remember, when a boy in my father's shop, that there

[1] $42,003,668 (gross). [2] $30,835,479.

were only three or four paper mills in Canada, and they made only coarse papers. Our best papers were brought from France, and some from England. It is fifty-two years since my father and uncle built at St Jerome the first mill in Canada to make fine writing-paper. Some people thought that was foolish, that high-grade paper could not be made here. Now there are at least ten mills making book and writing papers, and hardly a paper is required that is not produced here.

Two generations have come into the paper business since my first days in the mill. Boys who were little fellows—or not even born—then have become leaders in the industry. And some of them have passed on. But the industry goes on just the same. People must have paper, and our business is to make what they want. It is a good business. I have enjoyed my long connection with it, and I hope it will continue to prosper.[1]

Mr Pelletier saw in 1921 some not inconsiderable furniture companies, and more than one manufacture of pianos and organs. As a matter of fact, the making of church organs has been the pride of French Canada for a hundred years ; the father of the industry was Joseph Casavant, born in 1807, who established himself as an organ builder in the city of Ste Hyacinthe. His products were of such quality that they were soon demanded, not only in his own province but elsewhere ; clergy and musicians were his advertising agents. His sons succeeded him, and their business was always able to meet its competitors on an even footing. To-day, Casavant organs are found in many unexpected places and there are still none better ; if this particular industry does not bring in enormous returns in money, it maintains the credit of the French Canadian as a first-class technician. An example of advance in another business requiring high technical skill was to be seen in the Langelier firm which entered the piano

[1] *Pulp and Paper of Canada*, p. 65, February 1934.

field in a small way in 1916.[1] Their sales in the first year were $3000 per month. When Mr Pelletier wrote the sales had increased ten times and were still increasing. In 1938 the partners had fought their way through the depression and were still going ahead, extending their activities just as Mr Pelletier hoped that his industrial fellow-citizens would do ; long ago it added furniture to its other lines. In a country city, Montmagny, you will find the Belanger Company, now as for years past making some of the best stoves in North America, selling them in English provinces as well as in Quebec, against the keenest competition.

These were not the only industries of 1921. There were many others. Two which seemed to Mr Pelletier particularly hopeful were the butter and cheese business and printing. The first was to fulfil his expectations only to a moderate degree. In 1923 Quebec produced 106 million [2] pounds of butter and cheese, out of a Canadian total of 314 million.[3] In 1933 Quebec's production had dropped to 89 million pounds,[4] out of 437 million [5] for Canada. By 1937 Quebec was back at its maximum quantity [6] but the total return to the farmer was still only about two-thirds [7] of what it had been in 1923.[8] Printing has done well, as it must if French Canada is to survive at all ; unfortunately, even to-day statistics of French Canadian effort are difficult to obtain ; we must speak in generalities, and we can only say that the field has not been fully exploited. There is a great market in North America for French books, and Quebec should have a larger share of it.

When Mr Pelletier had painted his picture of 1921 he looked towards the future ; what was it to be ?

[1] Emile Benoist, *Monographies Economiques*, 1925, p. 63.
[2] 106,105,346.
[3] 314,458,984.
[4] 89,116,633.
[5] 437,807,300.
[6] 108,088,088.
[7] $20,732,909.
[8] $29,386,505.

He did not envisage success on the stupendous scale of American business, but he did see that French Canadians could do more for themselves than they were doing, and he ended by suggesting what others have suggested since, that the greatest hope for his countrymen lay in the land, an interesting return to the viewpoint of a hundred and fifty years before.

Two years after Mr Pelletier's adventure with a microscope, Edouard Montpetit, French Canada's leading economist, invited his compatriots to take 'an economic walk.' 'Let us use this street as a book. . . . Let us inquire where the articles for sale come from . . . and let us sadly estimate the amount that we pay to others as the price of living at home. . . . The problem is to make a place for ourselves which will not be only that of the consumer in a country where we form the majority. That is the only way for us to build our fortune. . . . We receive little capital from others, we are not born with silver spoons in our mouths, we must make money by work and saving, that is, by production and commerce.' [1]

In 1927 another journalist whom we have already met, Olivar Asselin, takes a microscope with still more power than Mr Pelletier's and scrutinizes the position.[2] He deals first with real estate, then with personalty. His calculations as to the value of French-Canadian real estate are based on civic valuations and his work is carefully done. Here is what he finds :

Quebec.	English Canadian or foreign owners.	French Canadian owners.
Rural municipalities .	$64,410,251	$488,592,289
Cities	$747,562,334	$850,000,000
Towns	$52,013,263	$169,194,151
Independent municipalities	$751,800	$1,968,517

[1] Introduction to E. Benoist, *Monographies Economiques*, p. viii.

[2] In *Action Française*, May-June 1927.

The total valuation of the real estate held by French Canadians was therefore $1,509,754,957. Owing to under-valuations the actual value he placed at $2,250,000,000 ; to this he thought should be added $400,000,000 to represent property held by French Canadians outside Quebec.

His calculations as to personalty he admits to be based on very insufficient statistics, but he arrives at the following sum :

Mortgages (balanced by money owed on mortgage)	*nil*
Assets of banks and co-operatives	$275,000,000
Bonds, etc.	$210,000,000
Liquid assets	$50,000,000
Net value of commercial concerns	$80,000,000
	$615,000,000

The total French-Canadian wealth of 1927 appears to the new microscopist as 3265 million dollars, which is one-seventh of the Canadian total, according to pre-depression calculations. Since the French Canadians constitute two-sevenths of the people of Canada, they have, he thinks, less than their share.

Mr Asselin seeks the reasons for the comparative poverty of the French Canadian and is inclined to blame the English. He goes back to history and points out that after the Union Act of 1841 far more public money was spent in Ontario than in Quebec, that most of the civil service positions of Lower Canada, 314 out of 350, were then held by English-speaking people. The colonization of the west from Quebec had been prevented by high railway rates. It actually cost much less when he wrote for an English immigrant to reach Winnipeg from London than for a French Canadian to move from Montreal. $22 was the price paid by the Englishman ; his children under

seventeen travelled free. The Quebecker must pay $43.45 and pay for his older children too. No wonder that another writer had said, 'English Canadians in the West and elsewhere would rather see us move to the United States; it scarcely pleases them to see us on the way to the new provinces. For them—let the country stay empty if necessary, it is lesser evil than an increase in the French-Canadian population.'[1] What benefit the obstacles to French-Canadian migration to the West conferred indirectly on the eastern United States would be an interesting calculation. 'These various circumstances,' says Mr Asselin a little cynically, 'arising for the most part from policies sometimes unconscious, more often deliberate, of our English fellow-citizens, were not designed to enrich us.'

There is no reason for thinking that a calculation made ten years later would have produced very different results. When Mr Asselin wrote, the calculations of the Dominion statisticians for 1925 showed Quebec with 18 per cent[2] of the agricultural wealth[3]; in 1935 the proportion was about the same.[4] In 1925 the total wealth of Quebec[5] was calculated as 27.19 per cent of that of the Dominion.[6] In 1335 Quebec had 26.5 per cent of the Canadian total.[7] There is one figure indicating the same trend. In 1925 the joint assets of the two French Canadian banks[8] were 5.9 per cent[9] of the total[10]; in 1935 the proportion was almost unchanged. French Canada was no longer losing ground.

We now come to another problem which the

[1] Anatole Vanier in *Action Française*, May-June 1927.
[2] $1,364,403. [3] $7,832,942.
[4] Quebec, $1,038,947. Canada, $5,797,104.
[5] $6,288,284,000. [6] $25,673,174,000.
[7] Quebec, $6,738,181,000. Canada, $25,768,236,000.
[8] Banque Canadienne Nationale and Banque Provinciale.
[9] $171,416,601. [10] $2,896,069,857.

French Canadians faced and are still facing, the problem of maintaining themselves as a people within a people. As a sociological and psychological question, looked at purely objectively, the situation is interesting ; when it is not looked at objectively it bristles with trouble. Two letters written to the author by different men at almost the same time give a lively picture of opposing loyalties :

DEAR SIR,—

The writer, thinking that he might have been in error and have done you an injustice in the statements contained in his letters of June 30th, July 1st and 2nd, which by your silence you are apparently unable to repudiate, obtained a copy of your book entitled *Canadien* (more properly 'French-Canadian'), and a perusal of the Preface and Introduction is ample evidence, according to your views, that an understanding of the French-Canadian (not Canadien) character means the sacrificing of the rights (if any) of the minority to French Roman Catholic ecclesiasticism as was prevalent previous to the capitulation of Quebec, and this may explain the reason for all the Premiers of this Province (who style themselves Prime Ministers) declaring that its autonomy must be kept strictly inviolate, in other words, Quebec must remain under French Canadian Roman Catholic domination as was prevalent then through a lack of prescient statesmanship. Confederation, which you ascribe in a great part to Cartier and Lafontaine (?), has only resulted in a divided house with a bilingual system entailing dual cost of administration, and a determined effort to establish French supremacy, not only in Quebec Province but in other parts of the Dominion.

. . . . . .

You say that 'the Roman Catholic Church in this province believe that a compulsory law would undermine the rights of parents.' This is misleading ; a compulsory educational law would not undermine the rights of parents, but might undermine French Roman Catholic domination.

. . . . . .

Quebec with its persistent retention of ancient usages is a drawback to Canadian progress.

The second is written in French and criticizes an address which suggested that the French Canadians might have done better for themselves :

DEAR SIR,—

Excuse these few words, but I have read in the paper this morning that French Canadians were too little interested in commerce. May I point out to you that in commerce and industry anglo protestants can and do get credit more easily than French Canadian Catholics in a parallel situation. The position is the same as regards important positions in the large commercial concerns, which are practically closed to French Canadians whatever their aptitudes or their years of service. It is the same in the Soviet of the Civil Service at Ottawa, the fact of being a French Canadian is a mark of incompetence. As to the railway debt it is a little late to speak of it ; the real traitors to Canada are those who have incurred a war debt of four billion dollars and forty million dollars a year for veterans' pensions. And if the sickening people at Ottawa did not allow our affairs to be managed by the Political Intelligence Service of London things would go better in this country. So long as the English Canadians of this country behave like ' Quality niggers ' there will be no concord in this country. And as I want peace in this country above all, I hope to see the destruction of the English empire.

It cannot be truthfully said that either of the writers represents the majority of his own tongue, but, unfortunately, each represents a substantial minority.

The attitude of a large number of the English residents of Canada is based on an ' English ' idealism which in itself is perfectly comprehensible. Professor J. A. Cramb put it as follows :

In the same manner, if I were asked how one could describe in a sentence the general aim of British Imperialism during

the last two centuries and a half, I should answer in the spirit of Dionysius : To give all men within its bounds an English mind ; to give all who come within its sway the power to look at the things of man's life, at the past, at the future from the standpoint of an Englishman ; to diffuse within its bounds that high tolerance in religion which has marked this empire from its foundation ; that reverence yet boldness before the mysteriousness of life and death characteristic of our poets and our great thinkers ; that love of free institutions, that pursuit of an ever-higher justice and a larger freedom which, rightly or wrongly, we associate with the temper and character of our race wherever it is dominant and secure.[1]

That is a fine sentence, but it fails to take into account the value of other ideologies to their own people and to the English next door. The French Canadians may hold by ' British traditions,' and we have already noted that it is largely to them that English Canada owes its British traditions. But French Canada does not want to have an English mind—that is a very different thing. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada, once wrote to his friend L. O. David from London, a letter which puts the matter quite clearly. ' I was speaking in reply to a toast proposed by the Lord Mayor in which he had said much about an English race. I said in reply, " All the subjects of the Crown in the Empire are not of English race. I am of French race and I am proud of my origin, yet I am British to the core." Some of our ill-comprehending newspapers have translated " British " by " Anglais," and " core " by " coeur " (heart). The two words cannot be translated . . . except by a periphrasis of which the sense would be that I was ardently attached to British institutions.' [2]

[1] A. Cramb, *Germany and England*, pp. 125-126.

[2] Letter from Sir Wilfrid Laurier to L. O. David, 6th July 1897, in Laurier Museum, Arthabaska.

The attitude of a good many English Canadians makes them seem to their French fellow-countrymen like caricatures of Professor Cramb ; G. K. Chesterton describes it perfectly :

> Oh how I love Humanity
> With love so pure and pringlish
> And how I hate the horrid French
> Who never will be English.[1]

Mr W. H. Moore in *The Clash* tells us how English Canadian journalism has made use of prejudice :

No one better than Sir John Willison—at the time editor of the *News* of Toronto—knew the political value of a clerical plot in Ontario, and in 1916 he proceeded to develop one of his leaders. Writing editorially of the priests of French Canada, he said, ' The dream of reconquest and of ascendancy they have never abandoned. They have made race serve religion, and religion serve race. All that could be done they have done to preserve the French language and to discourage the spread of English, no matter what handicaps they may have imposed upon their people. They are directing migration into Ontario and the Western Provinces.' [2]

Mr Moore points out that the people who ' are directing immigration into Ontario and the Western Provinces ' are appointed by the Dominion Government and stationed in the United States.

The French Canadian position is based on a foundation which seems to them perfectly sound. The British North America Act, ' the constitution of 1867,' the French Canadians point out, followed and maintained the Quebec Act of 1774, the Great Charter of French Canada.

The dominating idea of the constitution of 1867 is that of a contract, of a treaty between two races, the French and the English communities ; of two religions, one Catholic the

[1] G. K. Chesterton, *Collected Poems*, p. 13. The World State.
[2] W. H. Moore, *The Clash*, p. 160.

other Protestant. The basis of union was perfect equality of treatment for the two ethnic groups who agreed to sign this political convention.[1]

The strength of the opposition to the view that French Canada is entitled to its own peculiar ideology is forcibly illustrated by recent discussions of the Quebec law against communist propaganda, which most English-speaking people of Canada know as the " Padlock Law." In a general way it may be said that this law declares communist propaganda to be illegal, provides that papers, pamphlets, etc., used for propaganda may be seized, and that houses used for propaganda may be closed. An order from the Attorney General of the Province must be obtained before such action can be taken, and there is provision for an appeal by an owner to the courts. The official attitude of Quebec in this connection will be touched on in another chapter—it is enough to say now that the action of the Provincial Government was actuated by perfectly sincere motives —what we are concerned with at the moment is the profound difference of opinion between French Canadians and at least some English Canadians as to what the rights of Quebec are. Their idea is obviously that Quebec must conform to English notions, because Canada is an ' English ' country.

An Ontario journalist writes as follows :

M'Gill University Students' Society have cancelled a meeting at which Tim Buck was to speak, because of the objection that such a meeting would be illegal.

Why illegal ?

Most of us were brought up to believe that in this country rights of free assembly and free speech were fundamental. Were we wrong ?

Tim Buck is a Communist. But there is no law in this country against a man being a Communist. In Toronto,

[1] Antonio Perrault in *Les Canadiens Français et la Confédération Canadienne*. Montreal, 1927, p. 107.

in January, Tim Buck was a candidate for the Board of Control. Thirty thousand citizens, thousands of whom could not have been Communists, voted for him.

Yet we are told that this man cannot lawfully speak in Montreal. Cannot address a body of students of one of Canada's oldest and greatest universities—students protesting against a notorious ' padlock ' act which involves lawlessness by the Quebec Government.

The *Journal* [1] begins to wonder whether the people of Canada really know or realize what is happening in Quebec. Whether they know that the rights of free assembly and free speech are being interfered with ; that private houses are being entered and searched without warrant ; that property is being confiscated ; that police officers are taking citizens into custody without offences being charged against them.

Canadians profess to believe in liberty. They boast of their British traditions. Yet when that liberty is being trampled upon in Canada, and those traditions mocked, there is practically no protest. The thing that we say ' can't happen here ' is happening ; happening under our very noses.

There is at present a petition against Quebec's notorious ' padlock ' act before the Governor-in-Council of Canada. If that petition does not succeed, if any Government in Canada be permitted to do the things that have been done in Quebec in recent months, then, for the sake of ordinary honesty, let's stop talking about believing in freedom.

A British Columbia writer follows :

It is time that the rest of Canada stood up and demanded that Quebec comply with the word and the principles of Canadian law and order, and with Canadian economic principles as regards wages, standards of living, education, and freedom of speech, or be prosecuted in the Federal courts for non-compliance. And if the means for such action be not as yet present, then it is fully time that they were created.

That Quebec has the temerity to act as it has done in the

[1] The *Ottawa Journal*.

suppression of free speech in a country such as Canada is more than colossal impudence to the Canadian people, especially when it is charged with drilling Fascist men. It is so outrageously anti-Canadian that it is as bad as a major infraction of the Criminal Code.

Whatever Quebec may think, it should realize that it is only a minor part of Canada, and that its existence was only guaranteed in the first place by sufferance, on the basis of necessity created by their prior occupation of Canada. It therefore should tune itself to Canada, not Canada to itself.

It might also realize that here on the Pacific Coast armaments are rising for defensive measures for Canada, and that, with present conditions as they are, Canada demands a united front, and not an eastern split of provinces. The problems and demands of Quebec are as so much chaff in comparison to the real problems of Canada as they are best exemplified on the Pacific Coast. Unity is the one watchword, and unity not only within, but unity as a nation with other powers without, for the preservation of a nationhood which Canada cannot hope to maintain herself. Let Quebec chew on that for a while.[1]

A group of people in Ontario opposed to the Quebec legislation appealed to the Federal Government to disallow the Provisional Act. It should be here explained that the grounds of disallowance were once and authoritatively set up soon after the formation of the Dominion of Canada. An Order in Council of 9th June 1868, provides that the power of disallowance shall be ' exercised with great caution and only where the Law and the general interests of the Dominion imperatively demand it,' that Provincial acts may be objected to (1) as being altogether illegal or unconstitutional, (2) as illegal or unconstitutional in part, (3) in cases of concurrent jurisdiction, as clashing with the legislation of the General Parliament, (4) as affecting the interests of the Dominion generally. The same Order in Council

[1] In *McGill Daily*, 8 March 1938.

provides that where a measure is ' considered only partially defective or where objectionable as being prejudicial to the general interest of the Dominion or as clashing with its legislation . . . the Acts should not be disallowed, if the general interests permit such a course, until the Local Government has had an opportunity of considering and discussing the objections taken and the Local Legislature has also had an opportunity of remedying the defects found to exist.' These principles have been adhered to.

The Minister of Justice of the Dominion asked the Premier of Quebec whether he wished to be represented when the application for disallowance was made. The Premier of Quebec answered that he did not, that the law was passed unanimously, was perfectly constitutional and would stand.

The problem of maintaining a separate culture for French Canada is obviously not easy, yet the French Canadian has given it a great deal of study. He had to do so. The leading champion in the effort was Olivar Asselin ; here we meet the soldier-journalist again. In 1915 he published in *L'Etudiant* (The Student), the student newspaper of Laval University, an article in which he took up the cudgels against the suppression of French in Ontario schools, which ended by declaring that ' the surest way of ensuring the survival of French in Ontario is to make of Quebec a burning centre of French culture, of French life, of French thought.' [1]

L'Etudiant was padlocked.

Almost twenty years later we find Asselin establishing a new paper *L'Ordre*, the appearance of which he announces : ' An organ of French culture and national renaissance . . . *L'Ordre* will interpret the word (' culture ') *à la Française*. For *L'Ordre* national renaissance will not consist only or mainly in increasing

[1] Olivar Asselin in *L'Etudiant*, reprinted in *Pensée Française*, p. 98.

the birthrate but in developing the people to the highest possibilities.' 'The founder will not miss an opportunity of proving by facts that democracy is a falsehood, universal suffrage a deception, open diplomacy a calamity.' [1]

Whether Asselin was right or not, he had his own ideas, and they were certainly not in line with the banalities of politics.

The clearest thinkers of French Canada are seized of the problem and of the necessity for a solution. Edward Montpetit says :

> I have believed in the existence of a French Canada to the point of exalting it everywhere and without lending an ear to doubt. I believe in it still, for the collective forces are still alive and I meet in individuals reactions which do not deceive, but I admit that . . . there are flickerings which make us fear for the flame. The trouble is that we neglect, in a forgetfulness which grows deeper, the conditions which are indispensable to the functioning of our spirit. There is always the split between a training based on books and life. Our motto '*Je me souviens*' [2] is our manual ; it inspires us, certainly, it seems to guide us, but it is becoming more and more bloodless and we get the impression somehow that it shows only a thoughtless fidelity.[3]

If M. Montpetit is sometimes a pessimist in words, he is an optimist in action, his own work as General Secretary of the University of Montreal is carrying many of his people in the direction in which he wants them to go.

[1] Olivar Asselin, *L'Ordre*, 10th March 1934.
[2] 'I remember.'
[3] E. Montpetit, *Le Front contre le Vitre*, p. 154.

CHAPTER X

School and College

THERE is a little white schoolhouse at Deschaillons on the south shore of the St Lawrence, the playground of which has one of the finest views in all North America. It stands on a high cape, around it are trees ; below is the broad St Lawrence stretching for miles into the distance ; away to the north the far blue mountains meet the sky. In such lovely surroundings have been trained the minds of many who have made their mark in Canadian life ; there they have learned for the first time to meet their fellows ; there they have learned the story of their country and their Church. Golden autumns, white winters, and the greenery of spring have all contributed to the richness of their lives. In the city, children less privileged—neither country child nor city child would agree that the city child is less privileged—are becoming citizens of the same land and growing up with the same feelings.

So much can be said without giving too false an impression, but of late years the little white schoolhouse and the city school have both been under close inspection, and the picture has lost some of its romance. We must at least give those who have looked at it credit for their courage and their frankness. To say how far the same criticisms may be applied to other systems, how far others than French Canadians are willing to acknowledge their shortcomings would require a study in comparative education which has no place in this work ;

the English-speaking people of more than one Canadian province, including Quebec, have been investigating their school systems with some disquieting results.

The most important task of the state is to provide education or to see that education is provided. Has Canada done its duty by French-Canadian children? If not, what is being done about it? If we can answer those questions and find reasons for the answers we shall go a long way towards understanding the present situation of the French Canadians themselves. What, in the first place, is education? At what are we aiming. Professor L. P. Jacks, editor of the *Hibbert Journal*, puts the problem for us, 'Most of the definitions (of education) I have come across,' he says, 'make use of terms that are more difficult to define than education itself. According to one definition, education is preparation for life. But what is life? And if we do not agree as to the meaning of life, how can we agree as to the right method of preparing for it? Another definition—very popular just now—declares that education is the training of good citizens. But what is a good citizen? . . . When people speak of a good citizen they generally have in their thoughts a person more or less resembling themselves. The official mind at Whitehall is willing enough to accept the formula that education is the training of a good citizen. But what Whitehall is thinking of is always the kind of person who would keep Whitehall in existence. A person who proposed to sweep away the whole official system, and the salaries dependent on it, would be a bad citizen according to the official mind, and we could hardly expect Whitehall to take a hand in training him and to vote public money for his training.' [1]

Educators have never yet agreed as to what they

[1] E. A. Burroughs, *Education and Religion*, pp. 213–214. Cited in *The Christian Citizen of To-morrow*, by Rev. H. R. L. Sheppard.

want. Some, obviously, consider that their principal objective is to furnish the maximum quantity of useful information which can be imparted in the time during which the student is subject to their discipline. As one educationist puts it : " The school curriculum is constantly being enriched. More subjects incessantly clamour for inclusion. By these means appreciation deepens ; comprehension and mental analysis become keener." [1]

The principle here assumed is that the best way to teach an apprentice is to give him tools and show him how to use them. If we can do no more in the elementary stages of education than teach the child to read, write, cipher, and in these days of the radio to listen and speak, we must at least do that. If we can do more than that and do it well, we should do more. If the child stays on at school, the adherents of this theory gradually add more subjects ; and generally go too far in their enthusiasm. They spend a great deal of time on history, a subject for which children cannot possibly be ready, they spend a good deal more time than they need to on the geography of odd quarters of the world, and generally not nearly enough time on logical thinking and expression.

An entirely different point of view is expressed by the head of one of the great English public schools.

But what is education ? It has been defined in various terms. There is one definition of it which I think that all of us here would be ready to accept as a truthful and comprehensive expression of what we mean by it. I do not know its author ; it is this : ' To educate is to train all that are born to all that is human.' Very well, but the most human thing of all things is Religion. Religion is ' man's acceptance of God's revelation.' Religion, therefore, must be, must it not ? at the very base of all our conscious living, and must form the

[1] W. P. Percival, *Why Educate ?* Dent. 1935.

goal of all our thinking. All education, accordingly, is a study of God ; and I, for one, hold that there can be no such thing as ' secular education.' All that is to be learned in the created universe, and in the mind of man, is a revelation of the purpose, the Being, and the character of God, the Creator of all things. Every branch of our study is, from its various aspects, directed to a growth in our knowledge of God. To be religious, therefore, is to be natural. That is to say, it is natural and it is human to be aware of God, as of One who is at work in His world and in the mind of man, and to recognize the more clearly the more we grow up from childhood the moral duties towards God and towards our fellow-men which this increasing awareness implies.[1]

This idea of education is almost exactly that of the Catholic. The Protestant is sometimes inclined to argue as to the quantity of ' religious instruction ' which should be included in the school curriculum. To the Catholic the argument is incomprehensible ; education and religion are a single unity, and can be thought of in no other way. Not only is this a philosophical principle as to which there is no question, but since philosophy and religion are likewise a unity it is a matter of conscience.

In the French-Canadian's own province, Quebec, there has never been any doubt as to the validity of this view. In Quebec school education is not altogether a state matter. The content of the school curriculum is decided by committees, a Catholic committee half made up of the higher clergy for Catholic schools, a Protestant committee for Protestant schools ; both are quite free of state control. The Catholic citizens of a school district pay for their own schools and engage their own teachers, the Protestants do the same ; the results of all this are partly satisfactory and partly unsatisfactory, which is true of all education everywhere.

[1] E. A. Burroughs, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–173. From *The Spiritual Life of the Adolescent*, by the Rev. H. Costley White.

In the English provinces of Canada, in all of which education is directly controlled by the Government, there have been, in the past, very considerable difficulties in the way of providing education for French-Canadian children. Questions of language, finance, and religion have brought about a great deal of acrimonious controversy. Since the official language of the English provinces was English, there were objections to teaching in French, though in the French-Canadian districts the unfortunate little pupils could understand nothing else. Since there was only one school tax the money raised could not be used for schools which were Protestant or at least were not Catholic. Even to-day in the Province of Ontario, the release by the Government of a share of school money to Catholic schools gives the Opposition a fine weapon of attack. Finally the conflict between school and church religious teaching, even the conflict between school and church holidays, which is to the Catholic a religious matter, have impelled many Catholics to conscientious protests. There is nothing particular to be gained by going over the history of all these troubles which have continued in the English provinces for fifty years.

The French Canadian has always firmly believed himself to be right on all counts ; the English Canadian has become less violently protestant in the course of time. As a result we are reaching a *modus vivendi* ; the teaching of French-Canadian children in French is tolerated in Alberta and Saskatchewan ; there is a French school system in Manitoba independent of the general system ; is Ontario the government contribution to separate schools is continuing in spite of opposition objections.

In surveying its school system, as it has been doing for several years, French-Canadian Quebec found a good many reasons for dissatisfaction. The observers

saw at once that the strength and the weakness of the system were mainly in the primary school. The strength appeared to be largely potential. The primary school was and is informed by the same ideals that constitute the basis of more advanced education, Mr Réné Guenette, a Montreal school official, gave us the French-Canadian conception of the school task ; it is in the school, he said, ' that every citizen has every opportunity to learn the rudiments of religion, of his mother tongue, of the second tongue, of arithmetic, of history, of geography, of drawing, and of becoming initiated—mark the word—into the intellectual disciplines of curiosity and reflection, or where he can inform himself, in the philosophic sense of the word with the virtues which will make him a man, in every sense of the word, a man who has only two thoughts every day of the year and every year of his life, to think and act as a Christian and a patriot, at work and at home, in his private life as in his civic life." [1] The picture was a fine one, and if it was idealistic and imaginative, it was at least there and without idealism and imagination we cannot go far. Practice unfortunately had not matched precept. It was quite clear to begin with that the national importance of primary school education had been generally and completely undervalued ; the essential task which Mr Guenette saw facing the school system had been left for the most part to girl-teachers of eighteen and pupils from seven to thirteen years old. There is no compulsory education in Quebec ; in consequence, as Mr Guenette says, the elementary school is " the only school which all the people attend, that is to say nine-tenths of the children of a country, a region, a town, a village, a range, without distinction of social condition, of talents, of future. Certainly they do not stay long. The immense majority of children first go

[1] Réné Guenette, *Essais sur l'Education*, p. 27. Montreal. 1935.

to school at the age of about seven ; they leave at twelve, thirteen, or fourteen.' [1]

It is quite true that between seven and thirteen the rate of school attendance was very high, quite as high as or higher than that of provinces where compulsory education is the law, but the school leaving age was low ; only fifty per cent. of the available pupils fifteen and sixteen years old were still attending. These conditions were slightly better in the city than in the country, but the difference was not remarkable, both in city and country half the fifteen and sixteen year old boys and girls were at work or doing nothing.

Mr Guenette's comments could have been quite as well applied to other educational systems than that of French Canada, but that did not make them any the less condemnatory of a system which he knew far better than most people.

Another French Canadian, Professor Esdras Minville, of the School of Higher Commercial Studies, whom none can accuse of racial disloyalty, made a similar criticism. He declared that the young French Canadian lacked ambition, and he blamed it on the failure to make of the school an instrument of national advancement. ' Our education,' Professor Minville said, ' paradoxical as it may seem, contributes to cutting down any high points in the forces of our humanity.' It was hard to awaken in young men who had only had such an education, he continued, ' the spirit of initiative, the ambition to rise in life as far as all their resources of all kinds permit, to escape servitude of all sorts, to become one day their own masters, to create enterprises, to establish businesses which would ensure their livelihood and their prosperity, and serve at the same time the interests of the whole people.' [2]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[2] Esdras Minville in *L'Education Nationale*, p. 65. Montreal. 1935. Professor Minville is now Director of the School.

Other unsatisfactory features were the lack of well-qualified teachers—about two-thirds of the women teachers only had elementary diplomas—some not even those—and the low pay, especially in the country districts. The question of salaries was entirely in the hands of local school authorities and there were country districts which in 1934–35 reported average annual salaries of rural school teachers at under $200. It must be remarked that the rural schools of English Quebec were not princely, showing an annual teacher salary of under $350. Neither salary was as poor as it looked, since living costs in the country are also low, but it was evident that country school teaching was not the most attractive of careers, and the result had been—and again we call Mr Guenette to the witness-box—unfortunate. ' The incuriousness, if you will allow me the archaism, the incuriousness of our French-Canadian people, our indifference to all that surrounds us, persons, landscapes, events, the frivolity of our conversation, our horror of silence and solitude, our inaptitude for thought, for concentration, all this mental laziness, this intellectual ankylosis, all this springs from nothing but the fact that the child's instinct for observation has been slowly or brutally killed.' [1]

Professor Minville and Mr Guenette were to a certain extent right and the result was to be seen in the attitude of too many country school boards, largely made up from the products of the very schools they administered. One inspector had a bitter comment—' the boards show the same false economy in keeping up schoolhouses and dependencies as in the paying of teachers' salaries ; the most deserving teachers are discharged for reasons of economy or interested and at times dishonest motives. . . . The teachers' position has no stability. Thus the strongest motive for maintaining enthusiasm, courage,

[1] R. Guenette, *op. cit.* p. 132.

and devotedness is absent. Lack of relative security, bitterness, and disgust too often poison the life of those who are educating our youth.' [1]

The next stage above that of the elementary school is carried out in the ' complementary ' course covering the seventh and eighth grades. This work is done in about ten per cent. of the schools carrying on elementary classes, most of these being in the smaller centres. The complementary course has a vocational twist ; in the country districts a fair amount of time is spent on rural subjects, agriculture, rural economics, botany, zoology, chemistry, farm accounting for the boys, kitchen-garden, horticulture, dairying for the girls ; in the city these are replaced by work more suitable for the city youngsters.

At the best these complementary schools were quite obviously a substitute for something better, perhaps a better description would be a step in the right direction. In speaking of this type of course as it exists in France, M. Réné Fandrich, another well-known educationist, observed that it offers an overcrowded programme of brain stuffing, that the teachers are insufficiently qualified, that on the one hand the complementary school tends to become too vocational, while on the other its provision of a modicum of vocational training keeps pupils from going to a school where they will get more and better vocational training.[2] The objection to the overcrowding of the programme was applicable in Quebec ; the lack of fully qualified teachers was recognized ; the diploma was available even to teachers with no normal school training, provided they satisfied the examiners of the Central Board.

Self-examination, like the fear of the Lord, is the beginning of wisdom, and the present time is seeing a

[1] Rodolphe Maltais, regional inspector, *Report of Superintendent of Education*, p. 6. Quebec. 1934–35.

[2] R. Fandrich, *L'Ecôle Primaire Supérieure*, p. 68. Montreal. 1935.

very considerable effort to improve the primary school situation, and to develop the next stages in the educational system. It was clear to the leaders that one point of attack was teacher training. Abbé Groulx put the thought in striking words : ' So far as our national education is concerned, it is not a matter of a superficial or voluntary reform, it is a question of life or death. There is no use clothing ourselves in a careless self-satisfaction, convinced that good intentions will dispense us from directed thinking. The question is whether we are to live or die, and whether we shall have teachers who will bring us life.' [1]

The years 1936 and 1937 saw remarkable steps in advance. The first aim was to enforce more normal school training ; the Central Board examinations for ' complementary ' diplomas are to be abolished in 1939, and two or three years of normal school attendance will become compulsory ; the standard for the ' elementary ' diploma has been raised to the level of the former ' complementary ' diploma ; the standard of the ' complementary ' diploma has itself been raised, a new diploma, the ' brevet supérieur,' considerably above the level of either, has been instituted. In order to help the smaller schools to utilize these better trained teachers any institution with six or more pupils in the seventh and eighth grades receives a bonus of $50 if it employs a teacher with the complementary diploma and a school with six pupils in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh grades receives a bonus of $100. The next step was to improve the teachers' financial position and security ; this depended not only on the attitude of the school boards, but on rural prosperity. In 1937 there had been a definite improvement in the Quebec farmers' position due to a considerable increase in prices. Between 1933 and 1935 the annual agricultural revenue

[1] In *L'Education Nationale*, p. 139.

Service de l'enseignement agricole

Ste Germaine, Lake Etchemin, Quebec. Christian Brothers Agricultural Institute.

W. Bovey

Agricultural College, Oka.

of Quebec went up 26 per cent as compared with 11 per cent for Ontario, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for the country as a whole. The Provincial Government instituted a policy of rural credit which enabled the farmer to meet pressing obligations, largely accumulated during the depression. It was now possible to do something for the schools. The public-school fund which is available to assist the poorer municipalities was almost tripled in size, and the sum available divided proportionately to the taxes imposed to meet the teachers' salaries. The result has been that in 95 per cent of the rural municipalities the minimum salary was raised in one year to $300. As the principal officer of the Department observed, 'It is a very modest success, but a very great improvement.'

The city schools have tried to meet the needs of the rapidly increasing population, so far as space is concerned; a number of modern buildings have been added and filled as soon as finished. Unfortunately finances have not kept pace with demands, so that some classes are housed in unsuitable buildings, but there is at least room for every child. In the country a great effort has been made to encourage modern school buildings and is meeting with considerable success. Standard plans and colour schemes have been prepared, which are supplied free by the department, and the commissioners are taking advantage of the service. The necessity for this is apparent when we find that in one year one hundred schools were built and opened to meet the needs of the rapidly growing mining and colonization districts alone, and that $1,270,000 was spent in the year just past (1936–37) on new construction.

Now we must look at another part of Quebec's educational landscape. Let us take a trip through the Bois Francs, the Hardwoods, the region south of the St Lawrence between Montreal and Quebec. We have

been travelling eastwards through a level region where the farms are so narrow that the houses stand side by side along the road. Suddenly, as evening comes on, we reach the Nicolet River and turn to the right along its banks. The scene is like a picture in a dream. In the foreground flows the beautiful stream, spanned by a light bridge, the water reflecting every tree along its edge. A mile away, and on the far bank, two slender clear-cut spires rise above the trees, as white and as ethereal as smoke against the darkening blue of the sky ; they mark the Nicolet Cathedral ; nearby, just as white and just as ethereal, is a smaller spire ; hidden among the trees hardly seen in the waning light are the houses of the little town ; and among them is an old college, established under a British Royal Charter, where teaching was going on before McGill or Toronto had ever been thought of.[1] That college is one of twenty-nine which dot the map of Quebec, seven are in Montreal, one in Quebec, the remainder in smaller centres, so distributed as to serve every region.[2]

We have seen that the schools of French Canada are much like other schools, their faults and the reforms they need are duplicated in English-speaking schools everywhere. But the unique feature of French-Canadian education, the heart which supplies blood and strength to the whole, is this system of classical colleges, a system developed to its highest degree in the Province of Quebec. It must be made clear at the outset that the classical college has no parallel in English Canada : it is firmly based on two principles : the first that secondary and pre-professional education should be devoted entirely to the formation of the mind,

[1] Nicoleti College was established in 1803.

[2] Chicoutimi, Gaspé, Joliette, L'Assomption, Lévis, Mont Laurier, Nicolet, St Johns (2), Rigaud, Rimouski, St Alexandre de la Gatineau, Ste Anne de la Pocatière, St Hyacinthe, St Laurent (2), St Victor de Tring, Sherbrooke, Trois-Rivières, Valleyfield.

the second, already touched upon, that religion and education form a single unity.

The first principle has led to the establishment of a homogeneous course of eight years' duration, at the end of which the student has a reasonable intellectual equipment. The second principle has resulted in a scheme of study interpenetrated by and planned in conformity with religious philosophy. In the same educational territory a little distance away stands the English University structure based on the 'Humanities.' 'Humanities,' says a classical college professor, is 'a traditional name and one which indicates the spirit of the teaching. The college authorities do not believe that the well-proved disciplines of other days are outworn, and if they consider it important to adapt themselves to new forms of humanism, to enter into the actual movement of ideas they continue to look to the past to provide a better foundation for the future. An integrating spirit controls the planning of studies. Science takes a larger place from day to day, but arts studies come first, and continue with the development of scientific studies, philosophy caps and completes them, but religious teaching is always the guide in our pilgrimage to knowledge. We aim at the dogmatic. We believe that classical teaching must be directed not towards erudition, but towards the formation of the mind.' [1]

The classical college is an institution for boys alone, conducted by clerics. It is affiliated or otherwise connected with a university which awards the degrees the college students earn, and although each college guards its independence jealously, the programme of studies in most of them is identical, and constitutes the full liberal arts training of the young French Canadian. In principle the institutions are residential, so that during their whole time the students are living a community

[1] Rev. Jacques Cousineau in *Opinions*, p. 52. April 1934.

life, sharing refectory, play-grounds, classrooms, chapel, study hall, and dormitories. They rise early, work hard, and go to bed early. Here is a typical day :

5.15—Rise.
5.40—Prayers.
6.00—Study.
6.45—Chapel.
7.30—Breakfast.
8.00—Class.
10.00—Interval.
10.30—Class.
11.45—Self-examination.
12.00—Dinner.
12.30—Interval.
1.30—Study.
2.00—Class.
4.00—Interval.
4.30—Study.
6.00—Prayer.
6.30—Supper.
7.00—Chapel and recreation.
8.00—Prayer.
8.15—Study.
9.00—Bed-time.

Each college year has a name, just as have the years in an American university. The words *Latin Elements*, *Syntax*, *Method*, *Versification*, *Belles Lettres*, *Rhetoric*, *Philosophy* 1 and *Philosophy* 2 do not indicate the student's activities, but his year. There are no options ; every subject is compulsory and every student is taught in the same way. In the first four years the student spends about one-third of his time on English and French, about one-third on Latin and Greek, most of the balance on history and geography. In the second four years almost half the time is devoted to philosophy and science.[1] The objective of the course in philosophy,

[1] Those interested in more detail will find the following table useful :

Years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
French (hours per week)	5	5	3¾	2½	2½	2½	—	—
English ,,	3	3	3	3	3	3	—	—
Literature ,,	—	—	—	3¾	5	5	—	—
Latin ,,	7½	8¾	5	5	3¾	3¾	—	—
Greek ,,	—	—	5	2½	2½	2½	—	—
History ,,	3¾	2½	2½	2½	2½	2½	½	½
Geography ,,	3¾	3¾	3¾	—	—	—	—	—
Mathematics ,,	2½	2½	2½	2	2	2½	7	—
Philosophy ,,	—	—	—	—	—	—	9½	9½
Physics ,,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Chemistry ,,	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	5

based on the system of St Thomas Aquinas, is to provide the student with a general but synthetized view of human knowledge and with the prelimary equipment which he needs to understand what is set before him. He must begin with logic, as Abraham Lincoln did when he turned to the study of Euclid in order to find out the meaning of the word 'demonstrate.' He must acquire some knowledge of psychology; he must learn something of the constitution of the universe as we know it; of what is meant by knowledge, of values, of causation, above all he must learn what we know of God. In one point his studies differ from those of his non-Catholic friends; his philosophy is subjective and dogmatic. A non-Catholic student may come to the conclusion that the ultimate stuff of the universe is mind, matter, or neither, may believe that knowledge can only come through physical channels or cannot really come at all, may believe or disbelieve in free will, may believe that foreordination is possible or may declare that the theory of indetermination makes not only foreordination but foreknowledge impossible. The Catholic philosopher may know that these ideas exist, but may not believe them. He holds that Faith is just as true a way to knowledge as any other, that any philosophy must march with revealed religion as taught to him. Within this limit there is room for a wide variety of divergent opinions; there is even room for constant revision. It is a basic principle that 'God cannot deny Himself, and what is true can never contradict what is true. If there are apparent contradictions of this kind, it is either because the doctrines of the faith have not been understood and explained according to the spirit of the church or because arbitrary opinions have been taken for judgments based on reason.' [1]

[1] Constitutio Dei Filius, cap. iv. Cited in Cardinal Mercier's *Cours de Philosophie Logique*, p. 39.

Such a rule it is obvious allows us, although it does not oblige us, to adopt the doctrine of evolution or the conceptions of the new physics ; indeed some of the boldest of recent cosmological theories have been presented by Catholic mathematicians. It is true that the system as taught in the colleges does not involve any very deep study, that it does not provide any stiff mental exercise, but it does do what it set out to do ; it gives the student a conception of life as a single whole, and provides him with a definite ethical background.

It is perhaps unnecessary to observe that there is no real equivalence between the B.A. degree given to the graduate of a classical college and the B.A. of the average English-speaking university. It is not a question either of quality or content, although many efforts have been made to compare the two courses in terms of hours or otherwise. It cannot be done ; the classical and the usual English university course are as it were in different dimensions, they will not measure each other, and there is no use trying to measure them by each other. The nearest we can come to a comparison is to say that experience shows both English and French courses to be a good preparation for studies in law, most demanding of all professions in its requirements of logic and ethics, the profession which more than any other is at the centre of modern life.

Such, in brief, are the classical colleges as they exist in Quebec. The twenty-nine institutions represent a total private investment of about $23,000,000,[1] expending altogether $2,000,000 [2] per annum on the secondary education of about 10,000 boys. The subscription of the State is only $260,000 a year, $10,000 for each college subsidized ; three are running under their own power. The whole scheme has a very familiar ring to those acquainted with the plans

[1] $22,833,384 (1934). [2] $2,157,935 (1934).

made after the Great War by the Hon. H. A. L. Fisher for English secondary education: the 'Fisher Act College' of Britain was in effect a replica of the Classical College of Quebec.[1]

There are ten other institutions in the province conducted by religious orders which give the same or a similar course but are not affiliated to universities and are not subsidized.[2] These are educating altogether about 1000 boys.

Colleges of the same kind have been established in all the other provinces of Canada, placed where they are accessible to the French-Canadian population. Such, for example, are the Sacred Heart College at Bathurst, New Brunswick, and another college of the same name at Sudbury, Ontario; St Boniface College serving Manitoba; Gravelbourg, with many American students, in Saskatchewan, and the excellent Jesuit College of Alberta.

A large number of convents and other institutions carried on by nuns provide opportunities for girls somewhat similar to those offered to boys by the classical colleges; the courses are varied to provide for such so-called feminine accomplishments as painting, dressmaking, and cooking. If the convents are not described at length it is perhaps because there is no need. The quality of the instruction is apparent from the results, since in the B.A. examinations the girls generally defeat their brothers.

The classical colleges, like the schools, found themselves facing serious problems of which the most urgent was the improvement of teaching. The classical college professor was dealing with students who at

[1] Cf. Canon E. Chartier, *The English and the French Systems of Secondary Education in Quebec*. Montreal. 1934.

[2] Beauport, Chambly, Mistassini, Montreal, Sillery, Papineauville, Sorel, Ste Anne de Beaupré, Terrebonne, Trois-Rivières.

the end of their course received a bachelor's degree from a university. It would, it seemed, have been reasonable and in accordance with modern practice for such professors to be at the top of the academic tree both in standards and status. Such was not always the case—no one was more ready to admit it than the teachers themselves, and one result was that the methods of teaching tended to be too didactic and too much based on books. From this difficulty flowed another ; the student who looked at the teacher as his authority in religious matters, tended to let the teacher do all his work for him, and to avoid, with the natural laziness of youth, the difficult habit of independent thought. It was seen that the classical college teacher like every other teacher needed opportunities to add to his own learning, to add to his ability to teach. The last few years have been years of improvement ; although much is yet to be done the colleges have been broadening their outlook and raising their standards. Annual meetings give the teachers an opportunity to discuss problems and methods, and the results have been uniformly good. A special difficulty has been the development of science teaching and while this, too, is primarily a question of teachers it is secondarily a question of laboratories. Science teaching is without doubt a very weak point in most other school systems. We come back once again in an even more pressing form to the need which we saw in the primary schools—money. Once again recognition of the need has done something and there has been a very definite effort to improve the scientific side. On one achievement the French Canadians can congratulate themselves ; in one school for teachers is to be found scientific equipment unsurpassed in any school in Canada. Curiously enough it is for the use of girls.[1]

[1] Institut Pédagogique, Montreal.

The most remarkable development has been the establishment, inspired by Brother Adrien of the Notre Dame College, of the Young Naturalists Clubs, a subsidiary of the Société Canadienne d'Histoire Naturelle. Thousands of boys and girls have formed small associations to spend their spare time in observing Nature and this organization has already gone a long way towards curing that failure in the field of observation of which Mr Guenette complained. The young students receive a number of four-page illustrated leaflets which when fastened together provide them with a whole library ; with the illustrations they get instructions for colouring them ; once a year there is an exhibition where each club shows its collections. A visit to the Notre Dame College while one of these exhibitions is going on, a walk through the well-arranged displays, the sight of so many thrilled youngsters and their hundred thousand visitors will convince any one that here is an education with both life and future.

One contrast will strike many—not only does the specimen programme given above leave no place for athletics but it makes no provision for instruction in physical education or hygiene. The problem was only partially met by the establishment of a large number of cadet corps supplemented by groups of scouts, and the consequence is that apart from cadet and scout work the French-Canadian boy must get his fresh air, exercise, and instruction outside his college. There is no doubt that a great many modern institutions put too high a value on athletics, especially of the exhibition variety ; the colleges on the other hand seem to have missed the necessary co-ordination of *mens sana* with *corpus sanum*, and the real contribution that competitive team-play brings to our lives. Here too, a change is on the way, and it is coming through the efforts of the graduates and of the universities.

It would be unfair to end this brief description of the Catholic colleges without a word or two on points where they deserve very special credit. A particularly interesting comment was made by Dr James Douglas :

> Whether a system of education framed by ecclesiastics and superintended by priests builds up boys into energetic, progressive, independent men may be questioned, but it must be admitted that it makes them gentlemanly. Bishop Saint Vallier himself was struck, as even the most casual observer is to-day, by the appropriate behaviour of the little seminarists who serve as acolytes during mass. The exquisite grace with which they enter two by two, and after bowing to the altar, salute each other before taking their seats, is a charming example of what careful training can accomplish. The influence is felt throughout life of such acts and gestures of reverence and politeness, and these, repeated generation after generation, become hereditary, and leave an indelible impression of refinement and gentle bearing on the race.[1]

Our final note touches a different aspect of the system. No one who has any familiarity with educational statistics can fail to acknowledge the economic as well as the intellectual value of the task which, throughout their existence, the classical colleges have performed and are still performing. It is almost impossible for anyone unacquainted with the institutions and their environment to realize how the classical colleges not only have carried out a considerable educational work, but have enabled the community to meet a financial problem which would have been otherwise almost insoluble. No one can fail to recognize the extraordinarily low cost to the public—$26 per year for each of the ten thousand students. A point recently made by Mr George McDonald, President of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, is worth emphasizing : ' In any other place the burden of debt resting on these

[1] James Douglas, *Quebec in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 485.

private institutions would be part of the burden of the state.' This is a point which must be covered when Quebec's public debt structure is considered. The task which the classical colleges have undertaken and are doing could never have been carried on, nor could it now be carried on in any other way, for sufficient funds have never been and are not now available ; only the conscientious devotion of the clerical teachers, of which their small remuneration is no measure, has ensured and still ensures for young French Canadians the benefits of a liberal education.

CHAPTER XI

Preparation for Life

THE French Canadian is a realist, and the logical training of the classical college saves him from a great deal of mental confusion. English and American educationists have always been at odds as to what a university is supposed to do ; some would aim at ' training the mind,' some have a purely vocational objective, some are in a sort of debatable ground between the two. To the French Canadian the picture is perfectly clear. If a young man is entering the church, the law, medicine, or dentistry, he must pass through a classical college and there he gets the training of the mind ; after that he goes to a university, and is trained for his profession. The acres of paper which have been spent on the discussion of educational objectives, the time which has been expended in violent argument by educationists who dislike facts, the rivers of ink which have flowed as the battle between theory and practice has raged, would all have been saved if the rest of us had been equally logical.

There are, obviously, a certain number of boys in a category between those who are satisfied with the first eight grades of school and those who are going on to a university, and therefore enter the classical college. There is also a considerable group of city boys aiming at careers as chemists, engineers or accountants whom the classical college does not alway attract, although they might be better off if it did. Finally there are the girls who want to go into business, for whom convent

training is not especially suitable. For these intermediate classes there are, both in the city and country, special types of schools peculiar to French Canada; in the city the superior primary school and in the country the intermediate agricultural school. The latter will be dealt with later, but a word must be said here as to the superior primary schools. These were the result of a commission appointed in 1926 by the Provincial Government, and were first set up ten years ago, following a French model, developed from schools which had voluntarily added ninth and tenth grade work. The course consists of two years of general training, which includes a fair amount of mathematics, book-keeping, and science, and one specialized year in which the pupil takes either an industrial course with the emphasis on mathematics and drawing, or a commercial course with more book-keeping and a little commercial law.[1]

[1] The following table prepared by M. Réné Fandrich shows the distribution of time throughout the whole course of three years in the French, Swiss, and Quebec systems—the industrial and commercial sections are shown separately for each system.

Matières	France		Suisse		Quebec	
	S. ind.	S.com.	S.ind.	S.com.	S.ind.	S.com.
Enseignement religieux et moral	2	2	0	0	6	6
Français	10	12	17	18	15	14
Langues étrangères	3	11	8	10	16	16
Histoire, géographie	6	8	10	11	10	10
Mathématiques	7	9	13	14	14	14
Comptabilité sténo-dactylo, Droit commercial	1	16	2	4	5	9
Sciences physiques, chimiques et naturelles	16	11	14	13	17	16
Travaux manuels	20	6	7	7	0*	0
Dessins	13	3	14	8	5	2
Chant	6	6	2	2	0	0
Gymnastique	6	6	3	3	3	3
Total	90	90	90	90	90	90

* Ils sont inscrits aux programmes officiels, mais ne se donnent pas encore, faute de locaux.

The courses have proved highly popular, and the growing attendance has been accompanied by similar growth in all upper grades, including those about which Mr Guenette had been so much concerned ; the increase over the five-year period ending in 1936 was as follows :

5th	grade	.	.	.	33 per cent.
6th	,,	.	.	.	40 ,,
7th	,,	.	.	.	44 ,,
8th	,,	.	.	.	51 ,,

The ninth grade grew in the same period from 393 to 4490, the tenth from 178 to 1692, and the eleventh from 0 to 570, complete evidence of the appreciation of the new system and of its value in keeping children in the lower grades.

It is an interesting tribute to the contribution of the classical colleges that when the school grants were discussed in the Legislature in 1938, the Premier inquired whether the cost of the primary superior classes could not be saved by using the facilities the colleges already offered.[1] The answer would lie in the different objective of the course, which is not like the college course, purely cultural, although it would clearly be wrong to consider it as purely vocational either. The best definition is that of M. Réné Fandrich :

> Its object is to provide a complete general culture as well as a professional education sufficient to allow the pupil to occupy, on leaving school, a remunerative position and to be comfortable in his chosen profession or calling.[2]

It is perhaps significant that the technical school system of Quebec is already more than thirty years old. It runs parallel with the ' superior primary ' course, that is, it begins after the eighth grade. It is not, how-

[1] *Montreal Gazette*, 17 March 1938.
[2] R. Fandrich, *L'École Primaire Superieure.*

ever, under the jurisdiction of the ordinary school authorities, but is controlled by a special body responsible directly to the Government.[1] The course is mainly practical, but contains a good deal of mechanical drawing and something of such necessary basic subjects as mathematics, physics, chemistry, mechanics, elementary electricity and so forth. It is designed to fit the 'technician,' as his diploma styles him 'to become an intermediary between labourer and engineer, and to direct production in shops.' 'He has very special training in design. He can do good service as a salesman of industrial products. If his tastes urge him, he can become a skilled craftsman in a difficult trade.'[2] Besides the technical school courses, properly so called, there are trades classes carried on for boys in the seventh and eighth grades, industrial classes for the same grades (where there are no technical schools) apprenticeship and night classes for older lads; all these are providing for the needs of to-day.

The primary arts course of the universities is, as has been noted, provided by the classical colleges. There are exceptions to this in the case of the Universities of Laval, Ottawa, and St Joseph's University at Memramcook, New Brunswick, which provide collegiate courses. Ottawa and St Joseph's are doing extraordinarily valuable work for the young French Canadians of Ontario, especially those of Ottawa valley area, and of New Brunswick, where the environment is largely English-speaking. The University of Ottawa, conducted by the Oblate Order of missionary priests, has been successful in establishing a first-class French normal school to train teachers for the French-speaking schools of Ontario; and its active Lecture Society, under Dr Seraphin Marion, brings many visitors to its frequent

[1] The *Corporation des Écôles Techniques et Professionelles.*

[2] A. Frigon, *Notre Enseignement Technique.* Montreal. 1932.

sessions. St Joseph's University has produced many distinguished graduates and its custom of making French-speaking boys debate in English, while the English boys speak French, has produced proportionately more men with a good knowledge of both tongues than any other institution can boast.

The two most important institutions are Laval University in Quebec and the University of Montreal ; the former developed from a school established by Bishop Laval in 1668 ; the second came into existence in 1876 as a Montreal branch of the first. Each of these universities has a double charter, Laval has a British Royal Charter [1] and papal authorizations [2] ; the University of Montreal operates under a Provincial charter [3] and a papal bull.[4] They are therefore officially and definitely Catholic, and each is under the general supervision of a council of bishops responsible for matters of faith. It may be said at once that the actual intervention of these councils is not expected ; their existence is the mark of religious fidelity. The highest official of each institution is the Chancellor, at Laval, the Cardinal-archbishop of Quebec ; at Montreal the Archbishop of Montreal. The Cardinal acts at Laval in a dual capacity ; as Visitor he represents the King, as Chancellor the Pope ; it is a curious example of the puzzles of the Canadian constitution and the way they have been worked out that an officially Protestant monarch should have a Prince of the Church representing him in a Catholic institution.

The skyline of Quebec changes very little. Two hundred years ago as you looked across the water from Levis, on the south shore, you would have seen on the left the high bluff of Cape Diamond, topped by a fort,

[1] 8 December 1852. [2] 6 March 1853 ; 15 May 1876.
[3] 2 May 1919 ; 14 February 1920 ; 30 October 1927.
[4] 25 December 1924.

then the Chateau St Louis, looking down on the houses huddled below, the spires of the Jesuit Church, and the Recollet Church, the towers of the Cathedral, finally the Seminary. Look at the same view to-day ; all that has happened is that the buildings have grown ; the same serrated skyline is there. The grey Citadel with its Union Jack stands on the cape ; the Château Frontenac hotel is on the site of the Château St Louis ; a modern skyscraper comes next, but the Cathedral is still there and the mass of stonework next to it is the same seminary building enlarged to house Laval University.

The Rector or academic head of Laval was until quite recently Monseigneur Camille Roy, a kindly savant. Let us turn back the clock a few months and visit him in his small study ; there is no secretary or anteroom.

We are greeted by a grey-haired, strongly built churchman, in advanced middle-age, a fine figure of a man ; he smiles charmingly, gives us chairs and begins to tell us about his institution. We are interrupted by a young seminarist, from the boys' college within the University walls, who comes to receive a medal, a book, and a pat on the head from ' Monseigneur,' but we learn a good deal about French-Canadian problems. Monseigneur Roy has never had any hesitation in acknowledging difficulties, as he has never ceased to attempt to surmount them. Speaking of the classical colleges he says that the trouble is that the ' mnemonic methods which, in view of their inadequacy, have been too long kept up, have encouraged a passive mentality in the student ; they have not tended to excite his curiosity ; they have given our bachelors of arts the idea that they knew everything when they had absorbed their manuals ; they have given the satisfaction of knowing something too easily while minimizing really personal work and failing to provoke what I should

call a restless intelligence.' [1] We need a good 'intellectual climate' the Rector goes on, and explains that 'the intellectual climate' is determined by the worth of the teachers, by the quality of the students, by the vigour of the methods. The good climate he says 'must have much light, great fervour of spirit, a lively curiosity for learning, a high appreciation of the value of the individual; there must be the desire to increase that value unceasingly; there must be the emulation which calls every day to superiority.' [2] Finally he tells us modestly but firmly what he sees as the result of the years of French-Canadian educational effort carried on with very small means. 'Our province of Quebec,' he says, 'has become an intellectually unconquerable territory. When we compare it with other provinces of Canada we see nothing to envy either in institutions or in general culture, or in the value of the directing classes.' [3]

Universities are made up of men; they depend, as Monseigneur Roy says, on the value of the individual more than do any other institutions, and as we leave Laval after our talk with its Rector we know that here at least is a lamp which cannot be quenched.[4]

The oldest activities of the University are still its principal ones, Theology, which generally has about 175 students, Law, with 125, Medicine, with 250. Other professional schools provide many opportunities for the young men of the Quebec area.

The University of Montreal, if we include the students in the upper years of the classical colleges preparing for a B.A. degree, has almost 4000; its faculties of law, medicine and theology are about the same size as those of Laval. The Univer-

[1] Mgr. Camille Roy, *Nos Problemes d'Enseignement*, p. 225.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 219. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 104.
[4] Mgr. Roy has since been succeeded by Mgr. Arthur Robert.

sity buildings and those of its affiliated schools are scattered all over the city of Montreal and the surrounding countryside ; its centre is in the very heart of the city and there you will find its rector, Monseigneur Olivier Maurault, one of Les Messieurs de St Sulpice, Lords of the Manor of Ville Marie. Monseigneur Maurault is a cleric and a gentleman, an author by choice, a philosopher by training, an administrator who rules by kindness of heart, by breadth of vision, by constant and sincere courtesy. He has what is more, the incurable faith—it is a better word than optimism —which has upborne the Sulpicians all through their long service to Montreal and Canada.

' I am afraid,' he says, ' of a sort of discouragement which pessimism can create among our people,' and then he goes further, ' I believe in the mission of our province ; it is the keystone of our national life. The question is to know how to fulfil our mission. We have passed through trials which should have destroyed us. We have emerged from them certainly not unscathed, but not so badly off after all. We shall emerge from our difficulties of to-day.' [1]

Monseigneur tells us something of the work which the Gentlemen of St Sulpice have done, during the last hundred years, in the intellectual and economic life of the country. It has been a great work and the Sulpicians deserve more gratitude than they receive. They aided in the construction of a Jesuit college, in the building of the parish church and the bishop's palace. They aided the Catholic bishopric of Chicago in the days of its hardships ; they provided money for Montreal when the city was almost bankrupt in 1859 ; and they remind neither Chicago nor Montreal to-day. They have always been the backers of the University ; they have helped many an impoverished parish ; in sixty

[1] Robert Rumilly, *Chefs de File*, p. 178.

years they have spent more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars on education and charity in and around Montreal, surely a magnificent record for one community.[1] We can neither record nor evaluate the sum of the personal devotion which inspired, and the effort which backed, their deeds.

The Vice-Rector of the University, Canon Emile Chartier, Dean of the Faculty of Letters, is to be found in the office next door to his chief. He, too, has something to say to us that is worth hearing—and since he is responsible for the examinations which mark the success of the classical college students we ask him what he thinks of the French as compared with the English system. Here is what he remarks : 'Whatever one may think about the organization of the two systems, the feeling as to their efficiency upon the pupils who take the arts course can be but one. The fact is that, in the total, the sum of credits allotted to each of the subjects is remarkably similar in both and that each of them results in a general mental training of high value.'

'Hence,' he says, 'we may all join in one wish ; that both races will look favourably towards their respective achievements in the field of education. And we are then allowed to expect that, in the course of time, each race will take advantage of what is best in the other's system, the English come nearer to the general and disinterested culture of the French, the French participate more in the scientific and industrial mastery of the English.'

'Then,' he concludes, 'both races, each having acquired what they respectively lack, will strive with equal success to increase the material progress and the intellectual and moral influence of their beloved country.' [2]

[1] O. Maurault, *Nos Messieurs*, p. 49.

[2] Canon Emile Chartier, *The English and the French Systems of Secondary Education in Quebec*, p. 19. Montreal. 1934.

These words, even if their own, can only give a most incomplete picture of the men at the head of the university system of Quebec ; if the likenesses could be more complete the subjects would appear as they are, worthy to stand in the ranks of the world's leading educationists. What of the institutions themselves ? They have been going through the same heart-searching process as the rest of French Canada. It would be hardly fair for anyone but one of their own leaders to state the result : here it is as Monseigneur Roy of Laval sees it :

> Our French-Canadian universities have not provided what was expected of them. There was expected a professional teaching for liberal professions which would really have been organized on a superior level ; our faculties of law, of medicine, of theology, and of arts have not yet reached the hoped-for standard ; our faculties of science have only just been established ; our universities, too long engaged in training only lawyers, notaries, and doctors, have allowed the province of Quebec to be invaded by foreign graduates who have placed themselves in the best jobs in industry and have allowed English-speaking Canadian graduates almost to monopolize the jobs at Ottawa and Quebec which call for a scientific training.

Monseigneur Roy sees, too, the need for graduate study on Arts, for the lack of this he says, ' Our classical colleges have not yet the qualified professors they should have—our secondary studies have gone on too long with inadequate programmes and methods, and we have too many graduates with bachelors degrees and high school acquirements.' He goes on to point out the reasons : first, that the heavy financial drain of modern university training had never been foreseen ; second, that sufficient funds had never been available ; and third, that a ' general apathy of mind ' had kept the institutions in a rut. It had been impossible, in consequence, to train chemists, geologists, mineral-

ogists, botanists, zoologists, physicists, mathematicians, economists or forestry experts. There had followed the consequence already referred to, that the civil services had been virtually closed to French Canadians ; as further evidence of the same lack he points out that of 254 Fellows admitted to the scientific sections of the Royal Society of Canada over a fifty-year period only fourteen had been French Canadian. 'We have created the legend,' he says, 'that our compatriots are unsuitable for technical careers and that the educated French Canadian is only fitted to become a lawyer, a doctor, a notary or a member of parliament.' [1]

Monseigneur Roy's frank criticism was the expression of views which were shared by a large number of his compatriots. Brother Marie Victorin, president of the Société Canadienne d'Histoire Naturelle, said in his presidential address in 1937 :

> We have suddenly discovered under all the artificial covering the veneer which hid it from our eyes, the Laurentian land. We have, at the same time, found that this land of cosmic and ancient glory—this *Laurentia*, one of the foundations of the world—is not ours, since for the most part its most intimate biological and geological secrets are in the hands of strangers.

The speaker went on to plead eloquently for an adequate training in geology for his young compatriots.[2]

A beginning had been made in engineering education as distinct from mere technical training, when the Polytechnic School was opened in Montreal in 1873, but it was a long time before it reached the first ranks of such institutions. After 1920 it made great strides forward under the leadership of Dr Augustin Frigon, a distinguished and highly qualified scientist, and the

[1] Camille Roy, Address, 16 December 1933, in *Nos Problemes d'Enseignement*, p. 165 seq.

[2] Marie Victorin, *Pour un Institut de Géologie.*

sum of $150,000 per annum, now allowed for its maintenance by the Provincial Government, has made possible the production of a very considerable number of good engineers. The school now gives a five year course leading to the degree of civil engineer, given by the University of Montreal, with which it is affiliated. The training is of a broad and general nature, rather than specialized and is thus particularly suitable for young men wishing to find a place in the great public works developments now going on in Quebec. Another advance took place when the School of Chemistry was established at Laval in 1921 ; this during recent years has been built up into the nucleus of a science faculty and under the direction of Abbé Alexandre Vachon has developed a training, particularly in chemistry, of a high class. An offshoot in 1931 was the University Biological Station at Trois Pistoles on the St Lawrence, completely equipped with chemical and biological laboratories, aquariums, libraries, its own boat, and its own residences. This station is maintained by a special government grant of $50,000 per annum. There is soon to be a newer and still more important development. The astonishing increase in the mining activities of Canada has made it evident that young French Canadians should be trained in a French-Canadian institution and not forced to attend other universities. The Provincial Government has decided therefore to proceed to the erection of a modern School of Mines, affiliated to Laval University at Quebec. The Honourable Onésime Gagnon, before the Legislature, after pointing out the new activities which made the school necessary, referred to Brother Marie Victorin's words above quoted, and went on to say that he had received from Monseigneur Roy a unanimous resolution passed at a meeting of the heads of all the preparatory colleges, asking for the

immediate establishment of such an institution. A million dollars had been spent on roads in the mining areas in the last year, Mr Gagnon said, new laboratories had been built, the law had been remodelled, new geological maps were being made as quickly as possible. He was followed by M. Larivière, member of the provincial house for the mining districts, who pointed out how the rest of the province, especially agriculture, would benefit by the great developments in the north. 'We are now the only province,' he concluded, 'which will have a school mine, a school of mines, and a school for mining technicians.' Quebec may have begun her march into the field of mining late, but she was certainly marching fast. The opposition did not oppose, indeed its leader was enthusiastic, and a grant of $100,000 per annum was made to Laval to cover the necessary costs.[1] The new school will be a large and thoroughly modern institution; the selected staff is already well on the way with preparations. It might be observed here that the work of this school will be supplemented by that of a special vocational school at Val d'Or, a new town in the mining areas, at which young men will be trained in mining technique. The new mining engineers of French Canada will be sure of adequate skilled labour from among their own people.

A most important modern institution is the School of Higher Commercial Studies, a state school affiliated to the University of Montreal. This school was first set up at the same time as the technical schools, aiming at a general commercial training; it became affiliated to the University of Montreal in 1915. It had a long way to go before it received the recognition to which it was entitled; natural conservatism made French-Canadian business men doubtful, just as other business men sometimes are, of the practical value of college

[1] *Le Nouvelliste*, Trois-Rivières, 25 February 1938.

training. Dr Henry Laureys, the director, was enthusiastic, and his staff was well equipped ; they had a great gift, that of arousing enthusiasm among their graduates. In 1935 M. Armand Viau, then president of the graduates association, had an inspiration ; he organized a visit to Canada by the School of Higher Commercial Studies of Paris, to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Canadian school's existence. ' Our struggles are not finished yet,' he wrote to his friends in France. ' We have still to acquire the standing to which we have a right in the economic field, for the generations which preceded us held but a modest place.' [1] The result was surprising, even to those who arranged the event ; so many hard-boiled and successful French business men testified to the value of their own school in France that even the equally hard-boiled French Canadians were finally convinced.

Useful efforts in connection with the University of Montreal have been made in the field of science. Brother Marie Victorin's Société Canadienne d'Histoire Naturelle has been the centre of a very considerable movement, and has awakened many young people to an interest in pure science, quite apart from any question of practical advantage, which is for French Canada a new and hopeful development. The Association Canadienne française pour l'Avancement des Sciences, the ACFAS as it is called, the Institut Scientifique Franco-Canadien, carried on partly at the expense of the French Government, which brings distinguished teachers from France for a winter's work, are other evidences of the same trend.

A very modern section of the University of Montreal is the Dental Faculty, which was first a separate organization, then an affiliated school, becoming a

[1] In *Revue Mensuelle, Écôle des Hautes Études Commerciales.* Paris. July 1935.

University Faculty in 1921. Its main epoch of progress has been since that date ; its best-known leader its late Dean, Dr Joseph Nolin, a distinguished practitioner and an original thinker. Some of his words concerning the two races of Canada are well worth recording :

> The more precious a metal, the higher its fusing-point, the more refractory it is to alloying with another metal as precious as itself. But if the heat of the furnace be high enough and if there be sufficient fuel to keep it at the same temperature for a sufficient length of time, the nickel and the steel will gradually blend together and form an armour-plate which no missile on earth can shatter.[1]

It took a dentist to put Canadian problems in terms of metallurgy ! If more university people thought as clearly, there would be less trouble in the modern world.

The two Beaux Arts Schools at Montreal and Quebec are fulfilling three functions ; they provide not only teaching in design and drawing, especially intended for the young commercial artist, but a general art training and a training in architecture. These schools operate directly under the Provincial Government. The Agricultural Colleges at Oka and Ste Anne de la Pocatière are under divided supervision, reporting both to a university (the first to Montreal, the second to Laval), and to the Government, a curious system, which seems to work.

A future lies before the French Canadian universities which has only been envisaged. For many years a considerable number of young men and women from English-speaking North America have been travelling to France in order to study, to learn the French

[1] Joseph Nolin, 'Le Point de Vue Canadienne Française en Matière d'Education,' *Revue Trumostrelle*. December 1925.

language, and perhaps to arrive at some comprehension of the French people. There will come a time, and perhaps it will come sooner than the universities expect, when these students will find all that they want in French Canada. Here on the banks of the St Lawrence is a compact people more homogeneously French than the French themselves, a people which has been able to preserve its identity and homogeneity through nearly a hundred and eighty years of British rule, which has a national philosophy of life unique to-day in the honour it gives to culture and to the soil. Such a field for social research would be hard to find, and the increasing recognition of Social Science as a subject of university study is bound to focus new interest on the Province of Quebec. France itself is already setting the example. Dr Réné Martial, a lecturer in the Faculty of Medicine, and at the School of Anthropology of Paris, makes this remark :

> We have thought for a long time that we ought to make the following biological and racial experiment, to reclaim some of the French families of Canada and to replant some in Normandy, some in Algeria. According to our view they would provide an excellent ferment, and this reinjection of French blood in the mass would cause no phenomenon of anaphylaxis, but the reverse.[1]

In Quebec, there, moreover, is an opportunity to carry on advanced study in Thomistic philosophy, which should end by attracting a large number of American as well as Canadian students. Certain developments are already taking place tending to bring such a future nearer. In 1932 Laval established an Institute of Philosophy for the study of the Aquinian philosophy and other systems with especial emphasis on the modern relation of philosophy and science ; closely connected

[1] Réné Martial, *La Race Française.*

is the School of Social Science, which is in its earliest stages, and is still what English-speaking institutions would classify as an extension project. Similar activities are in progress at the University of Montreal, where the School of Social Science is under the direction of a brilliant economist, Dr Edouard Montpetit, as well known in France as he is in Canada.

Such in brief is the Quebec university system ; if some activities, music, pharmacy, optometry, nursing have been omitted, it is because they are much like the same activities in other institutions. One omission the observer can hardly have failed to note—nothing has been said of student life. The reason is not far to seek ; student life, as it is to be seen in an American college, does not exist ; there are no fraternities, football is not important, there are few minor sports, although ski-ing is on the upgrade. This must not be taken to mean that there are no such efforts, for there are athletic teams—tennis and hockey are specialties—there are student papers, there are student dinners and dances. But on the whole it is true to say that the French-Canadian student does not tend to the group as do his English-speaking compatriots ; his university outside of its classes is not a congeries of teams, societies, and small extra-curricular activities. Whether the French-Canadian student is the better for this or the worse is a matter of opinion. What does happen is that he is very susceptible to mass appeal, and very ready for mass action, either physical or intellectual. When Laval has a student dinner the largest dining-room of the largest hotel is filled ; when the Beaux Arts gives a dance the invitations come from the ' masse ' and the ' massier général '—the mass and its mace bearer, a better pun in French than in English ; when Montreal students are stirred against communism they are stirred unitedly and violently.

Dr Montpetit sees in these differences a real advantage for Canada as a whole.

> From the diversity of characters, that of the English, maintained as it has been, our own adapted as it has been, will be born a union . . . in which spirit will lessen the harshnesses of contrast.[1]

[1] E. Montpetit, *Le Front Contre le Vitre.* Montreal, 1936.

CHAPTER XII

The Political Approach

IT is characteristic of the French Canadian that when after the Great War he began to survey himself and his surroundings his first attention was given to the writers and speakers who dealt with the political problem. First, last, and all the time the French Canadian is interested in politics, and in the case of federal relations politics are interwoven with religion and with language.

With the exception of that of the United States the Canadian constitution is about the oldest one in the civilized world—even Great Britain has made so many changes that her entire political set-up is altered; other constitutions have been completely remodelled. The British North America Act of 1867 was designed for a smaller Canada living under very different conditions; its amendments have not really affected its character, and in consequence the Canada of to-day is like a tall young business man wearing a suit made for a schoolboy; the trousers are too short and the shoulders are split.

Very little emphasis is as a rule laid on the influence which the neighbourhood of the United States had on the people of Canada when they formed the Dominion, yet it is quite certain that had it not been for the United States the confederation of the provinces would not have taken place for a long time and then would have been a confederation of a different kind. Since the

same forces are at work to-day, although in a rather different way, it is worth trying to reconstitute the picture as it existed seventy years ago.

The Civil War in the United States caused, as was to be expected, very important reactions in the British colonies to the north. Britain, for sentimental and business reasons, was from the first favourable to the South and in 1861 recognized the Confederate States as belligerents. This action naturally annoyed the North, although it has been supported by most international law experts. English feelings did not at first go farther than general expressions but they flared into something more dangerous at the time of the forcible removal of the Southern Commissioners to England from the British steamer *Trent* by a Northern cruiser. Britain demanded their release and an apology. Charles Mackay, a friend of the North, writes to W. H. Seward on 29th November 1861 :

> A peaceful member of our Parliament declared to me that if this insult were not atoned for he saw no use for a flag ; that he would recommend the British colours to be torn into shreds and sent to Washington for the use of the Presidential water-closets. . . . The Southern men in London, of whom I know several, are delighted and they think it the best thing that would have happened for their cause.[1]

Charles Francis Adams, then Minister in London, tells his Government a few days later that ' orders have been given to fit at once a large number of warships upon which great quantities of arms are placed and men are warned to hold themselves in readiness to embark on or after Christmas.' [2] The Confederacy at large was pleased ; the Confederate Captain Semmes remarked next year : ' The United States were told by France, by Russia, by Spain, that their act was illegal and that

[1] *War of the Rebellion*, Series II, vol. ii. p. 1107.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1119.

they could without a sacrifice of honour grant the reparation demanded by Great Britain.' [1] The North climbed down and surrendered to the southerners, but the harm was done, so far as sentiment on both sides was concerned.

England on her side was responsible for trouble. Frigates named *Alabama*, *Florida*, *Shenandoah*, *Nashville*, *Sumter*, and *Georgia* were built or purchased in British ports, converted there or elsewhere into raiding cruisers, and did a great deal of damage, for which Britain subsequently had to pay.

Canadians were almost unanimously in favour of the North, and 45,000 Canadians were said to have joined the Northern forces. Unfortunately the Canadian authorities seem to have allowed Canada to be used by a Confederate secret service whose ramifications were worthy of Moscow. Its head was a wily gentleman named Jacob Thompson who got in touch from Toronto with the anti-Lincoln 'Sons of Liberty,' a Northern organization which 'had its commanders of divisions, of brigades, of regiments, of companies' and believed that 'Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio could be seized and held.' This movement fell to pieces, but Thompson continued the good work and six months later writes to Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary for War of the Confederacy, 'I have so many papers in my possession which in the hands of the enemy would utterly ruin and destroy many of the most prominent men of the North.' [2] Part of his good work consisted in the organization of a raid on St Albans which was carried out on 19th October 1864 from Montreal. The raiders were arrested in Canada by Union forces, and quite properly sent to Montreal for trial. Whether anyone in Canada knew of these doings of the Con-

[1] *War of the Rebellion*, Series II. vol. iii. p. 810.
[2] *Ibid.*, Series I. vol. 43. p. 930.

federate comintern is not clear ; it is somewhat difficult to believe that they had been able to keep everything secret.

With all the feelings that were naturally aroused in the United States by what they considered unjust, even hostile action by England, the position of the Canadian provinces was certainly disquieting. Two of them, Ontario and Quebec, a narrow and thinly populated strip, lay along the northern border of the United States. Ontario had a very strongly Protestant-English majority—partly of English origin, partly United Empire Loyalists from the United States, Quebec a Catholic-French majority with a strong and solid English section on the American border. The two had been, as we have noted, placed some time before under a single government and were known as the Province of Canada. It was very much a marriage of convenience, as has been noted ; neither liked the Union ; there seemed no way to break it up. Divided from Canada by miles of wilderness with no connection except bad roads and fast running rivers was New Brunswick, which had started in 1839 private hostilities called the ' Restook War ' against the State of Maine ; the cause of the battle was a boundary question. Fortunately the combatants did not get farther than calling out their respective militias but the settlement of the boundary by the Ashburton Treaty had pleased neither state nor province.

Eastward again with still less adequate communications was Nova Scotia, the oldest British colony on the continent ; it had a mixed population of Loyalists, Scots, English, and Germans, and a strongly marked personality of its own.

It was perfectly evident that the colonies, disunited politically and geographically, could not be defended against an American invasion. England thought they

should organize for their own defence and said so in no unmeasured terms. 'Ungrateful,' 'degenerate,' and 'ignorant' were the usual adjectives for Canadians. The English press, to help matters on, was constantly stirring up feeling against the North. The London *Times* on 6th June 1862, announced that the 'vast army of the United States' would proceed shortly to plunder Canada. The Canadian press objected to this yellow journalism. 'There would be no talk of war,' said a Toronto editor, 'but for the mischief-making of newspapers in England and America of which the *Times* was the worst because the most influential.'[1] The *Times* paid no attention and a year later was still screaming: 'The United States . . . are like a maniac who is throwing himself to the ground foaming and tearing his own flesh and who, if he only may do so much harm to another as he is doing to himself is yet very dangerous.'[2] The situation did not improve much as time went along. Alexander Galt, when he was in England in 1867 pressing the Westminster Parliament to pass the new constitution wrote:

> The connection between Canada and England is now one of sentiment, interest in both cases being hardly in favour of it . . . sentiment . . . in Canada will not bear much longer . . . the expression . . . that she is a burden and a weakness. . . . Our danger is that meantime a war might arise between England and the U.S. in which our country would grievously suffer.[3]

Galt's view was that of most Canadians. It was all very well for England to insist on Canada providing an adequate defence force, but if anything serious happened it would be England's fault, not Canada's. Something had happened already.

When the Civil War was over, the United States,

[1] *Globe*, 18th June 1862. [2] *The Times*, 25th June 1863.
[3] O. T. Skelton, *Life and Times of Sir A. T. Galt.*

with no objection from the authorities and no serious protest from Britain, became the base of operations for the 'Provisional Government of Ireland,' generally known as the Fenians, first of the Sinn Fein, which had its President and all its Secretaries of State. Their intention was to attack Canada and that, in 1866, they finally did. The Canadian militia dealt with them faithfully and successfully. One of their staff officers, 'Henry Le Caron,' was in reality a British agent; he got far enough to accompany his Fenian commander-in-chief to visit the White House, just after the first raid had failed. The President, Andrew Johnson said to them:

> Now I wish you to understand that my sympathies are entirely with you—and anything which lies in my power I am ready to do to assist you. But you must remember that I gave you five full days before issuing any proclamation stopping you. What in God's name more did you want? If you could not get there in five days, by God you could never get there. And then as President I was compelled to enforce the neutrality laws or be condemned on every side.[1]

The moral of which is, 'Put not your trust in Presidents.'

The greatly increased strength of the Union, which the War first made evident and then increased still more and its unfriendly feelings to Britain had a tremendous effect on the Canadian mind. The example of a set of British colonies which had become by their own efforts a great nation was an incentive to a people largely made up of settlers who had left the United States after the Revolution, and the form of the American constitution, if not altogether suitable for Canada, was at least very suggestive.

Some French Canadians saw in a federal union a way of getting rid of the legislative union with Ontario which they did not like, and A. A. Dorion suggested

[1] H. le Caron (T. M. Beach), *Twenty-five years in the Secret Service.*

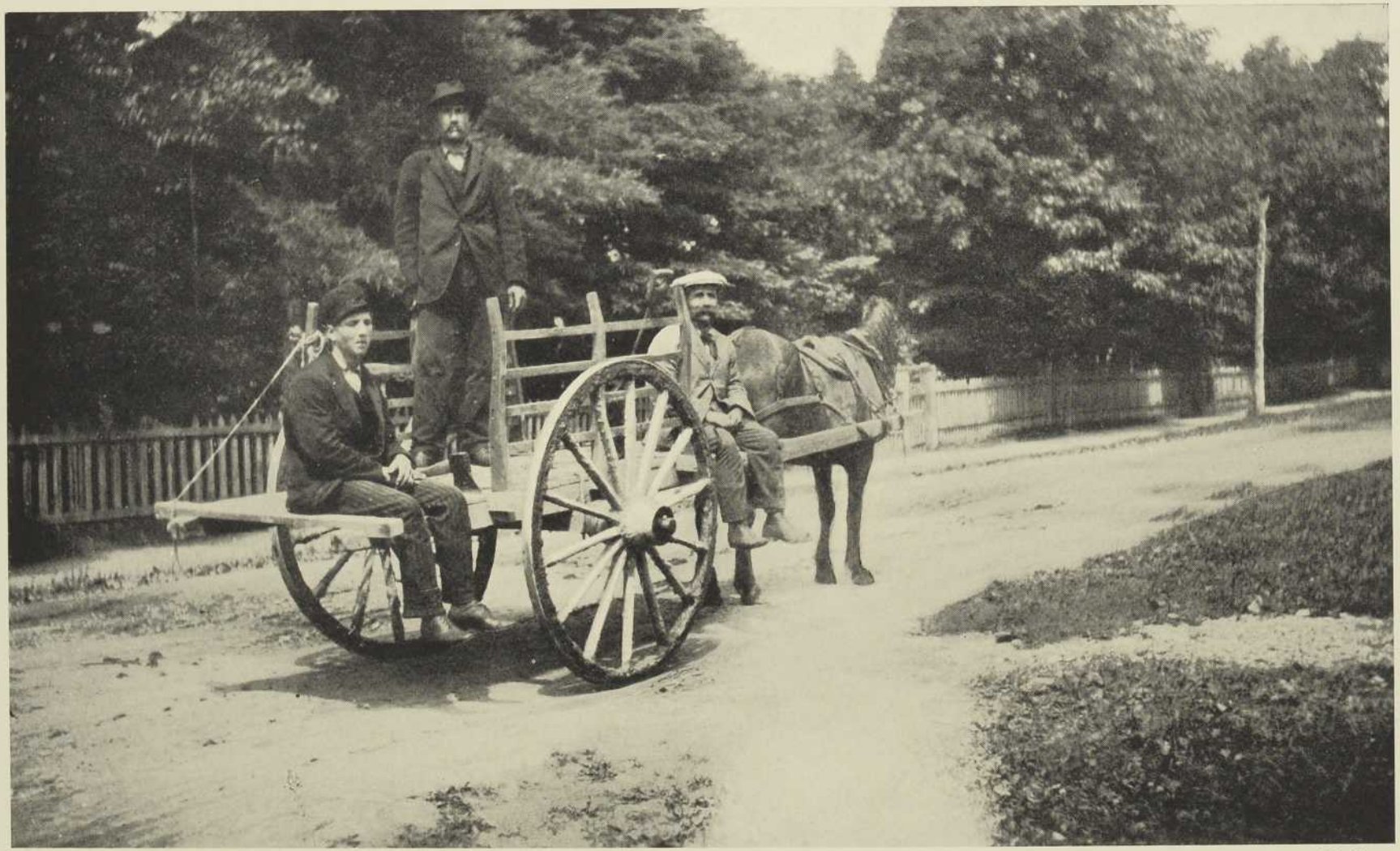
the change in the House in 1856.[1] In 1857 J. C. Taché began the publication of a series of articles on confederation in *Le Courrier du Canada* proposing a constitution mainly modelled on that of the United States. A. T. Galt, who had been a supporter of Papineau up to the date of the rebellion, and was in 1858 member for Sherbrooke, made in that year a speech in favour of federation as a method of curing the difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada, creating unison between all the provinces and ultimately bringing in the North West, then still under the Hudson's Bay Company.[2] He did not get much support at the time but as a result Mr Georges Etienne Cartier, Premier in a new government which took office in the same month, introduced confederation as a platform plank. In the speech from the throne at the prorogation of Parliament, prepared by him for the Governor-General, Sir Edmund Head, to read, are these words :

> I propose in the course of the recess to communicate with Her Majesty's Government and with the Governments of the sister colonies on another matter of very great importance. I am desirous of inviting them to discuss with us the principles upon which a bond of a federal character, uniting the provinces of North America, may perhaps hereafter be possible.[3]

It was to take nearly six years of effort before all the provinces were ready to enter on the negotiations and the British Government was willing to give its blessing, but the increasing bad feeling between Britain and the United States kept the Canadians continuously on edge and the supporters of the federation movement took every advantage of the situation.

Another factor, of which it has been impossible to deal at length, was the economic one. Canada was

[1] *Canada Confederation Debates*, pp. 111, 215.
[2] Canada. Debates in the Assembly. 5th July 1858.
[3] *Canada Confederation Debates*, p. 53.



W. Bovey

Visiting Metis Beach. 'The rural voter.'

finding life as a North American nation very difficult, and it seemed to her business men more and more problematical whether she could continue successfully. The only remedy apart from confederation was annexation. The dangers of invasion and annexation, real or not, were the decisive factors in the final arrangement. Alexander Campbell, a member of the Canadian ministry, told Lord Kimberley in England that the Canadians ' did not consider the Fenian invasion an internal trouble but one against which the Imperial Government should protect us.' [1] If the Imperial Government would not do anything about the defence of the colonies then the colonies must look after themselves and they could do nothing unless they were united.

Finally the track was clear. Conferences between the Provinces were held at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, and at Quebec, and by degrees the project took shape. There was a good deal of opposition everywhere. The Maritime Provinces swung first one way then the other. In 1865 Governor Gordon of New Brunswick was violently opposed, then came the Fenian raid ; Governor Gordon remembered the Restook War and changed his mind ; in 1866 he forced an anti-confederation government to resign. The opposition in Nova Scotia was stronger, and even after the Province had finally agreed and the Act had been passed succeeded in organizing a petition for repeal. The strongest arguments with both Maritime Provinces were the construction of a new railway to link them with Lower and Upper Canada and the payments of subsidies to the Provincial Government to replace their income from customs. The French Canadians were not much more united in their views than the English Canadians, Cartier's opponents claimed that he was betraying them to the English, that in the federal

[1] O. T. Skelton, *Life and Times of Sir A. T. Galt.*

scheme French Canada would be submerged. His main support came from the Catholic clergy who were afraid that the only alternative was annexation to the United States. Had it not been for the clergy's attitude the ship would have foundered at Quebec ; as it was the next election justified Cartier ; he was returned with a huge majority.

Finally all the provinces did agree and the Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament, which incidentally displayed no interest whatever and turned with much enthusiasm to a bill for licensing dogs.

The leaders of the movement were never quite agreed as to what they wanted. John A. Macdonald, the Upper Canadian protagonist, wished for a complete legislative union. That would have snowed under the French Canadians and would never have been accepted by New Brunswick. Others aimed at a comparatively loose federation. Macdonald fought that scheme ; he wanted no such trouble as had been caused by ' States Rights ' in the United States.[1] Galt's vision of annexing the West had to be provided for, although it was not taken as seriously by some of his friends as by himself. The result was the series of compromises pickled in the British North America Act.

The Statute begins by saying that the Provinces desire to be united into ' One Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland with a Constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom ' and go on to frame a constitution entirely different from that of the United Kingdom. The work was the result of arguments and compromises ; it is itself obviously a compromise and has been followed by as many arguments as preceded it.

The Act, in words, forms the four ' provinces ' which had been separate states, self-governing although

[1] *Journals of Assembly* (Canada), vol. xxiii, p. 223.

not sovereign, into one Dominion. After it has made one Dominion, the Act carves it up again into four provinces ; in strict law, therefore, these provinces are to-day merely parts of the Dominion with no ' statehood ' left. That is the point upon which much of stress is now being laid. A good many Canadians want more centralized authority. Only in that way, they declare, can the country be efficiently run. Others stop, look, and listen to the somewhat violent debates over the value of centralization going on in the United States.

Those who maintain the value of Provincial rights say : ' The section does not mean what it says. The four provinces formed by the Act were just the same four provinces ; only on that condition did they agree to the Act at all. They were made up of the same people who had the same ideas, after the Act was passed, as they had had before it.' ' The powers of government,' the " provincialists " continue, ' which the Act states that it confers on the provinces were all in our hands before that and never for an instant out of our hands. All that really happened, apart from legal quibbles, is that we delegated some of our powers, the most important indeed, to the central authority, which could exercise them for all provinces at once. But what remained we kept, and to say that the Act of Union conferred any powers on us is nonsense.' That is the position taken at present by the Province of New Brunswick, which declares that in spirit the statehood of the original provinces still exists.

In consequence, no one really knows what the Canadian constitution is, and no one knows how it can be changed. Legally there is, it seems, no doubt that the Parliament of Westminster could amend the British North America Act. But in practice the Parliament at Westminster could do nothing of the sort, it can only do what Canada asks it to do. What does ' Canada '

mean in this connection? Who can speak for Canada and say 'amend our constitution to read thus and so'? 'The Dominion Parliament,' answers one person; 'The Dominion with the consent of the majority of the provinces,' says another. Quebec and New Brunswick, two of the original partners, take a different stand and declare that no amendment can be made without the consent of every province which joined in the first pact. British Columbia and Prince Edward Island joined later, but if they claimed the same rights Quebec and New Brunswick would not object.

In 1869 with the consent of the Imperial Government the new Dominion acquired the great North West from the Hudson's Bay Company for £300,000 and next year established the Province of Manitoba. In 1871 British Columbia joined the confederation on condition that the Dominion build a transcontinental railway. In 1873 the island Province of Prince Edward Island also joined and the new country was complete.

The attitude of Canadians to the British North American Act is indicated by the fact that when they write Confederation they use a capital C. Sir Joseph Pope, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, wrote fifty years after the Act was passed:

> We do not doubt that the future destinies of this country will continue to be safely guided by the wise counsels of its public men; but while recognizing the ability and patriotism of succeeding statesmen, let us ever continue to hold in honour and remembrance the 'Fathers of Confederation,' who, amid difficulties and discouragements innumerable, by the exercise of courage, patience, constancy, and perseverance, achieved results which we to-day only in part realize, and of which future generations will reap the full fruition.[1]

Dozens of speeches made at the time of the sixtieth anniversary of Confederation voiced the same ideas,

[1] *Canada Year Book* 1918, p. 13.

but the enthusiasm was a good deal tempered, and the French Canadians in particular were critical. In a study which appeared just before the first of July, the actual anniversary, a number of writers set down, fairly enough, what they thought the result had been for French Canada, and what the situation was, as they saw it, in 1927.

M Antonio Perrault, a leading member of the Montreal Bar, analysed the flaws which had prevented the constitution from working as the leaders of 1867 expected it to work.[1] He cited the words of Sir John A. Macdonald : ' It was assented to by the deputation from each province that the use of the French language should form one of the principles upon which Confederation should be established, and that its use as at present should be guaranteed by the Imperial Act.' [2] In 1890 Sir John A. Macdonald said much the same thing : ' We have a Constitution now under which all British subjects are in a position of absolute equality, having equal rights of every kind, of language, of religion, of property and of person.' [3] Was Sir John right? The French Canadians said ' No.' In another article published in the same series Monseigneur Beliveau, Archbishop of St Boniface, Manitoba, recorded the loss of privileges by the French Canadians of Manitoba at the very time that Sir John was declaring them. After Confederation, Manitoba had set up a system of denominational schools. ' In 1890,' says Mgr Beliveau, ' an act of parliament took away our most sacred rights, most solemnly guaranteed. Despite sworn promises we were refused the right to use our language officially in Manitoba, we were deprived of the administration of our schools and robbed of the money destined for them.' [4]

[1] In *Action Française*, May–June 1927.
[2] *Canada Debates on Confederation*, p. 786.
[3] Cf. *Debates House of Commons*, 1890, p. 745.
[4] *Action Française*, May–June 1927, p. 363.

Technically the English Canadian was right, and the courts supported him. Section 93 of the British North America Act reads as follows :

93. In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions :

(1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by law in the Province at the Union ;

(2) All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects, shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec ;

(3) Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissentient Schools exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to Education ;

(4) In case any such Provincial Law as from Time to Time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section is not made, or in case any Decision of the Governor-General in Council on any Appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial Laws for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section, and of any Decision of the Governor-General in Council under this Section.

The only legal rights Catholics or French Canadians —the words were virtually interchangeable—had in Manitoba were those they had possessed at the time of the Union, to set up schools of their own ; they could claim no subsidies and had to pay for the State schools. That did not affect their belief that they had been tricked, and the fight went on for years. Practically the same question had arisen twenty years before in New Brunswick, where non-sectarian schools were set up in 1870 ; priests and other Catholics had refused to pay school taxes ; had been summoned and in some cases imprisoned, riots had added to the trouble, but the provincial government had stood by its absolute rights. In the prairie provinces and in Ontario questions of language had arisen, as has already been noted, and here again the Fathers of Confederation had turned out to be wrong. French was a legal language only where the Constitution said that it was legal—in Quebec and in the Federal Parliament.[1] Mr Perrault in his article already cited quotes the *Montreal Gazette* of 29th April 1927 :

> This country is bilingual. French was the first official language spoken in this part of the world, its existence is recognized by the British North America Act, and one of the educational ideals of the provinces is to provide means whereby the language may be efficiently taught in the schools.

' If the editor is right,' said Mr Perrault, ' if Canada is a bilingual country, why does the majority, ever since 1867, hunt down the French tongue, forbid its teaching, prevent its use in administration or public utilities ? ' Another writer thinks he sees the reason. The English Canadians felt the confederation to be a defeat of their ' English ' ideals.

From their feeling of defeat sprang their unconscious desire for revenge and from this desire arose those thousands

[1] Maurice d'Auteuil in *La Province*, 20th November 1937.

of skirmishes which were to reduce to a sinister joke the beautiful dream of the founders of confederation. There is in the Englishman a pride of birth so fixed as to be obtuse to the best qualities of another people, it could not let him believe for long in the essential and fundamental equality of human beings non-insular in origin. Hitler's racialism compared with this element in every English mind is nothing but a child's game, a reaction against an inferiority complex and the defeat of the Great War.[1]

The English Canadian sometimes dislikes this plain speaking. He does feel superior. He even feels superior to the Englishman of England who in turn feels superior to the Canadian and to everyone else. During the Great War a Canadian staff officer went to the British Army headquarters to ask for a dynamo. The regulations did not provide for it—that did not matter to the Canadian and Canada would have to pay for the dynamo. 'We never had any trouble in this area,' said the Britisher, 'until you Canadians came.' 'That is just what the Germans say,' said Captain Thackray—and got his dynamo.

It must be said in fairness to the English provinces that recent years have seen considerable changes in their attitude, that tolerance has been replacing intolerance (much to the disgust of a still remaining intolerant minority) and that French Canadians outside Quebec have nothing like the same causes for complaint. The Montreal *Star*, once the spearhead of attacks on French Canadian ideas, said in 1937 :

There are powerful arguments in favour of a greater knowledge of French. It is a beautiful, clean-cutting instrument that has been used among the important men of the nations for centuries. Knowledge of the language opens the gate to rich new fields of literature and thought, and mastery of the tongue gives an English-speaking person a chance to understand the French *esprit* that made France the cultural

[1] Maurice d'Auteuil in *La Province*, 20th November 1937.

centre of Europe, and to glimpse the direct, logical, mental processes of the French mind.

People in England and other European countries go to large expense to send their children to be educated in France. Here in Canada we can have almost the same thing without leaving the country. The English-speaking people of Montreal in particular have a wonderful opportunity from living in the second largest French city in the world. Yet Europeans coming here often express surprise that more of the English part of the population have not made use of their advantages to gain a thorough knowledge of French.

French culture in Canada, with the variations produced by conditions in this New World, can make a tremendous contribution to the richness of Canadian national life. Its ultimate effect will depend largely upon the extent in which the English-speaking Canadians strive to understand the French way of thinking. At the same time, it is of immense value to French Canadians to have a wide knowledge of English language and culture. Thus by mutual understanding we can build up a national Canadian culture that will be the envy of the world.[1]

The *Regina Leader Post* took up the same theme on 3rd July :

It may be quite true . . . that many Canadians have a lack of familiarity with the French-Canadian record. One wonders just what proportion of citizens of Canada who have come to this country from other lands, say over the past fifty years, have taken the trouble to familiarize themselves in other than a vague way with the two and a quarter centuries of the French regime in Canada. Perhaps too many Canadians think of Canada in terms of this country only as far back as the Confederation period.

The French were the first white citizens of Canada. They were the original Canadian race apart from the Indians. They formed the groundwork of Canadian nationhood. This must not be forgotten, and the thought arises that in substantial degree compromise with them in so far as possible may have to be the keynote of Canadian policy if Canada is to have a harmonious future.

[1] *Montreal Star*, 30 June 1937.

CHAPTER XIII

Youth Marches

THE Youth Movements which were started on their way by the Great War and stirred to further energy by the Great Depression have had their parallel in French Canada, but the French Canadian youth movement is not part of any other—it is indigenous and unique. The first activities were closely linked with the church, the Association Catholique des Jeunes Canadiens, which is generally known by its initials, the A.C.J.C. is a Catholic Y.M.C.A. with more religion and nationalism in its texture and much more widespread activities. Its objectives are self improvement among its members, maintenance of the French Canadian tradition and ' Catholic action.' Its headquarters are in Montreal ; it has ' circles ' in every town of any importance in the province and a good many outside the province. Before the organization of the A.C.J.C., group activities among young French Canadians were very rare ; young people in the country had practically no group activities at all ; some energetic parish priests had set examples but these were few and far between. The main power-plant of the A.C.J.C. is its executive, under President Paul Leblanc, and its chief advisers are its chaplain, the Reverend Joseph Paré, who has for years been at the heart of its activities, and its Secretary, M. Desmarais. Once it started it grew quickly, and by 1933 it already had 134 clubs and about 4500 members ; by the middle of 1938 it had over 1000 clubs and over

50,000 members. The main building is thoroughly equipped for sports, gymnastics, lectures and exhibitions and provides a community centre for a large section of Montreal youth. Each local circle has its chaplain, generally the parish priest or his assistant, and does a good deal more than merely provide a youth centre ; other community efforts are helped along ; lectures are arranged and visitors are entertained.

The A.C.J.C. activities brought about very quickly an increasing perception of the responsibilities and powers of youth. Quebec and Canada as a whole had, like most other places, tended to become a preserve for middle-aged, the young man of twenty-one might vote, but he was wanted to nothing else ; Anthony Edens and James Roosevelts were discouraged. The counsels of perfection given to the members of the A.C.J.C. turned young men's minds in a new direction, and before long they saw that they constituted a force which only needed canalizing to make it formidable. The result was the formation of new and more compact organizations with definitely political objectives : one of the first was known as ' Jeune Canada ' (Young Canada) ; its programme was directed against what it considered capitalist tyranny and against the government of the Province which it linked with the economic régime. By the winter of 1934 Jeune Canada had 2000 members. The young men who joined the movement were drawn from those most interested in the Social Reconstruction and like activities elsewhere in Canada and in English Quebec, but in their speeches they went farther than the Reconstructionists. The then premier of the Province, Mr L. A. Taschereau, read the account of one of their meetings in his morning paper. ' It reminds me,' he said to a reporter. ' it reminds me of the days of my own youth when we settled the most thorny and complicated problems in

the course of a single evening.' 'They have talked of revolution,' he went on, 'if their ideas are not accepted. Those who provided them with a forum last night [the meeting had been held in a hall lent by a religious order] should remember that if there is a revolution they will be the first to disappear.' 'These are the young men,' Mr Taschereau concluded, 'who are to succeed us. No doubt they will do better than we, for they will profit by our experience and they will practise what they have preached. They must not forget that in their turn young men will arise to criticise them.' Which, after all, is the way that history is made.

Another group was formed by the Jeunes Patriotes. Its members, as their name implies, were concerned with the situation of a French Canadian province linked to eight English provinces; perhaps it need hardly be said that the Jeunes Patriotes looked mainly on the dark side of the picture. As we have already seen, there was a good deal about the bargain of confederation and the way in which it had been kept that gave the French Canadians at least an excuse for complaint, and the Jeunes Patriotes had no compunction in criticising even those leaders in the Confederation movement who, like Sir Georges Etienne Cartier, had been held up to them as heroes. One thing to their minds, as to those of Jeune Canada, was quite clear, that any government which had allowed a huge economic structure largely controlled by alien capital to grow up in Quebec, should have seen to it that the people of Quebec received the maximum economic advantage. This did not seem to them to have been done. They saw what has already been noted, that the number of French Canadians who held positions of importance in Quebec industry was small, and, since the great concerns were to a large extent English-speaking, was not likely to increase. Wages were low,

indeed that had been one of the main advantages which attracted industries to Quebec ; French Canadians, in short, were hewers of wood and drawers of water, an apt enough description in a province where pulp, paper, and hydro-electric power were so important. Their meetings and study groups were quite as active and showed a spirit almost as intransigeant as those of the Communists, whom, incidentally, they detested ; their thesis soon enough came to be separation of Quebec from the Dominion, and their support was given to those who saw this way out.

A set of societies drawn together by ties of a different kind then came into the picture, and we saw the organization of Catholic youth societies whose members were linked by their callings.

The first of these was the Jeunesse Agricole Catholique (Catholic Agricultural Youth) originally constituted from the junior section of the Catholic Union of Farmers. Like the A.C.J.C. it has its ' circles,' each with its chaplain ; its objectives were similar to those of the A.C.J.C., but apart from its religious and national aspect its effort for self improvement was limited to its own field. It was soon followed by the Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique (Catholic Labour Youth) formed on parallel lines and later by the Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique (Catholic Student Youth), consisting of study groups and of students mainly directed against communism.

It is impossible to go farther with the discussion of these Catholic Youth movements without some account of their relations with Communism and the Young Communist League. The Communist party in Quebec, outside of the mining area, constitutes District No. 2 of the Canadian Communist party ; it has its District Committee and a number of sub-committees ; it is said to have about eight hundred members, of whom

almost half are French Canadians. Affiliated with it but less numerous is the Young Communists' League, which contains very few French Canadians, about 20 per cent of its members are students in colleges and high schools.

The League is an essential part of the Communist machine, a booklet '*Towards a Canadian People's Front*, includes the following paragraph :

> First of all, we want to make the Young Communist League an organization that will have in its ranks, not only Communists, but also young Socialists and youth who are not as yet Communists, even youth who may still be Christians, an organization which stands on a program of the defence of the economic and political needs of the young people, the cultural interests of the young people, that stands on a platform of struggle against fascism and war and for socialism, but such an organization will not necessarily take a position on Soviet power. Such an organization does not fight for Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. *It is the task of the Communists inside such an organization to convince and educate the young people inside the organization to agree to accept such a position.* Such an organization, with Communists and Socialists inside such an organization, when we really begin building it up in Canada, will, of course, create many problems for the Communists, because the Socialists inside such an organization will also have the right to raise from their point of view the Socialist path of the youth. *This means that such an organization is essentially an educational organization, of course, but of an educational character, to educate and train the young people in the spirit of the class struggle, proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism. I emphasize—'educate and train'—because we do not take as a starting-point that young people must accept a Marxist-Leninist position or accept the class struggle before they join the Y.C.L. The Communists inside must educate them to accept this position.*

There are a number of other organizations which are not communist officially but in which communists

are apparently influential. The Montreal Council of the League for Peace and Democracy, for instance, on 1st April 1938 staged an anti-fascist demonstration outside the office of the Italian consulate.

The demonstrators gathered by twos and threes around the four corners of St Catherine and Stanley Streets, and at a signal from the leaders half a dozen produced small banners from beneath their coats bearing the devices, 'Hands Off Spain,' 'Down with Fascist Murderers,' and similar suggestions. No sooner were they produced than they were snatched by police, who also stopped a half-hearted attempt to parade.

One or two of the banner-bearers protested physically against losing their signs, and the plain-clothes men swung into action. A couple of police fists met demonstrators' faces, and five men were arrested. They were taken into the lobby of 1410 Stanley Street, to wait for a patrol to take them to the station.

The five arrested were : Evariste Dubé, 1441 Maisonneuve Street ; Ed. Dinelle, 2028 Wurtelle Street ; S. L. Pomerov, 5158 Esplanada ; Romeo Duval, 2719 Ontario Street East ; and Ernest Gervais, 1461 St Lawrence Boulevard. Dubé was said by members of the Red Squad to be head of the Communist Party in the province. The five were taken to the police station to be booked on charges of disturbing the peace, and were released on bail of $25 each for their appearance in Recorder's Court this morning.[1]

Another Montreal group of some strength was The Friends of Soviet Russia. Its direct connection with Communist policy is asserted by a former officer of the International.

There exists in almost every country in the world an organization known as 'The Friends of Soviet Russia.' Hundreds of thousands of persons of all professions are members of the organization. They all believe sincerely that they are members of a neutral, non-political society. . . . The Comintern is . . . the secret international centre of

[1] *The Gazette*, Montreal, 2 April 1938.

the Friends of Soviet Russia. This centre supplies the whole world with propaganda material.[1]

Other Montreal institutions connected with the Communist party are less important, but there are a large number of foreign groups, and possible Communist activities among the members of these always cause apprehension in the official mind ; among them are the following :

The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association.
The Finnish Organization of Canada.
The Russian Workers' and Farmers' Clubs.
The Jugo-Slav Workers' and Farmers' Association.
The Polish Workers' and Farmers' Association.
The German Workers' and Farmers' Association.
The Hungarian Workers' and Farmers' Clubs.
The Lithuanian Literary Society.
The Czecho-Slovakian Workers' Association.
The Canadian Workmen's Circle (Jewish).
The Italian Workers' Club.
The Jewish Culture Centre.
The Lemko Society.

We have already had occasion to observe the difference in the way in which French and English Canada regard Communist propaganda. What is particularly interesting is that the most notable displays of feeling on both sides have been among the younger generation ; the argument, so far as Quebec is concerned, has been largely a young men's argument. That does not make it any the less important, and no greater mistake could be made than to neglect the views, right or wrong, of men whose predecessors of the same age were old enough to fight in the Great War. The main objection which the French Canadian has to communism is a religious one. English protestants who fail to appreciate this will not understand his attitude at all. To

[1] A. Rudolf, quoted in *L'Ordre Nouveau*, 20 November 1936.

French Canada the preaching of communism is nothing more or less than an attack on Christianity ; it is hardly fair for the descendants of men who fought for religious beliefs to refuse at least sympathy to others who hold religious beliefs just as strongly. The Catholic point of view is expressed in the following paragraph :

> While during the first period of the civil war in Russia anti-religious demonstrations had mainly an accidental and improvised character, in Spain the extirpation of Christianity appeared, from the first explosion of the civil war, as an essential task of the Reds, carried out systematically and without restraint. Information gathered from various sources shows that a directed intention is unceasingly at work to inculcate into the Red troops that Christianity and its spokesmen are their chief enemies, that they must exterminate all the priests, all the religious orders, burn and destroy all the churches. This objective appeared as important as military victory over the Whites, although at first sight, from the purely practical point of view, it may seem absurd. It is, however, an incontestable fact, and what is equally incontestable is that from now on, in every country where there are Marxist uprisings, the same thing will happen. This point admitted, does not the neutrality of religious bodies in the terrible and decisive struggle which has broken out between Marxist barbarianism and Christian culture seem an absurdity?[1]

To the French Canadian it seems that Canadian communism is openly preparing for a war both civil and religious, and he bases his policy in dealing with communism on the forcible methods adopted by the British and Canadian governments in the war against Germany and her allies. Just as the *Devoir* was padlocked in 1917, so he will padlock Communist territory now.

Many English Canadians, if we are to judge by Ontario, where the Communist party has polled large votes in municipal elections, are willing to be convinced.

[1] *L'Ordre Nouveau*, 20 November 1936.

Some of the English minority in Quebec will not go so far ; they do not like communism but they point out that where they are concerned the fact that the Catholic church condemns communism obviously means nothing, that they have their own rights under the British North America Act, that they are entitled to hear whom they like and to make up their own minds.

In the discussion as to whether or not a Communist should be allowed to speak in the McGill Union, the president of the McGill Students' Council put the views of the Council moderately and clearly :

> It would be a very serious matter—indeed, it would even contravene the precepts of orderly conduct in an orderly society—were the Students' Council, which has jurisdiction over certain facilities of this University, to consciously and openly make those facilities available for an illegal purpose.
>
> The provisions of the Padlock Law are broad and sweeping ; they make it illegal for any person in any house to advocate the tenets of Communism ; they provide severe penalties for violation. We believe this statute to be contrary to all the traditional rights of assembly and of free speech which have come down to us from the past, we believe it to be repugnant to the convictions which we now hold. But notwithstanding our opinion about the propriety of the law, the cold, bald fact remains that the Padlock Statute is to-day the law of this province, and while we reserve to ourselves the right to use every orderly and lawful method available to us to effect a repeal or modification of that statute, we cannot escape the fact that as orderly members of society it is to-day binding upon us as responsible administrators of a building and as law-abiding citizens.
>
> Thus it is with very great reluctance that we feel it incumbent upon ourselves to request that the M'Gill Union be made unavailable for purposes that are inconsistent with the law of the land. It is, as we are convinced, only by taking this action that we can demonstrate that we are responsible citizens.[1]

[1] E. F. Crutchlow in *McGill Daily*, 17 February 1938.

A large and noisy meeting followed, and after hours of discussion decided that the communists should be heard —the so-called fascists had already had a chance—then came a still larger student meeting and changed the decision again—but still did not like the Padlock Law.

Those Communists who are sincere and believe their own doctrines have their own ideas as to the value of their work. One of their leaders has this to say :

> The Padlock Law passed by the Duplessis Government is a weapon against all legitimate opposition to the government which is controlled by Power, Mining and Lumber Barons. We categorically reject the implication that the law is necessarily due to communist plans or due to unlawful attempts to pose communist rule on the Canadian People. The Communist party is composed of workers, farmers, students, professionals, and is convinced that the system of exploitation of man by man is responsible for the evils of our present society. The high development of technique and culture in Canada makes possible the unbounded happiness of the Canadian people. There would be a tremendous advance in culture and scientific learning if the profit motive dominating our lives was done away with completely. Communists are not plotters. Canada cannot become a socialist country until the great majority of Canadians are convinced that they need a new social order.[1]

The main objection which has been raised to the padlock law is that it takes away the recourse to the courts which is just as much a part of French Canadian as of British tradition. The only person who can appeal against the padlocking of a building used for Communist propaganda is the owner ; the tenant, whose books have been seized or whose shop has been raided has no recourse at all. The French Canadian says, ' if the tenant is really free from blame, he can force his owner to take action.' Then he goes further : ' This law does

[1] Tim Buck in the *McGill Daily*, 17 February 1938.

nothing more than was done during the Great War in cases of emergency ; Communism is preparing for revolution ; revolution is an emergency,' and an old and well-worn legal motto runs ' *inter armis silet lex* ' (when arms clash the law is silent). Both points are arguable, but these are his views.

Another objection made is that Communism is nowhere defined in the law. To this, as well as to those who deny the danger of Communism, the French Canadian replies, ' Very well, let the Communists define it themselves.' He turns to the programme announced in 1921 after the Constituent Convention of the Communist party by the party's official organ :

> The result of the Constituent Convention is the organization of the vanguard of the Canadian working class into the Communist Party of Canada, section of the Communist International, with a programme of mass action as the visible form of proletarian activity, armed insurrection, civil war as the decisive final form of mass action for the destruction of the capitalist state, proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviet Power as the lever of the Communist reconstruction of society.[1]

The same article states that the party ' is the organization of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. Its purpose is to *educate*, *direct*, and *lead* the working class of Canada *for the conquest of political power* ; to destroy the bourgeois state machinery ; to establish the dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of the Soviet Power ; to abolish the capitalist system and to introduce the Communist system.' If he needs more ammunition the French Canadian goes to Bukharin's *Course of Political Instruction*, and quotes a few paragraphs from that.

> The Communist Party is the most advanced, class-conscious and revolutionary section of the labour class. The

[1] *Communist*, June 1921.

Comintern is most decisively opposed to the view that the proletariat will be able to achieve its revolution without being backed by an independent party of its own. Every class war is a political war. The aim of such a struggle, which inevitably passes into civil war, is the seizure of political power . . . the proletariat must resort to an armed uprising.

Communists in all countries should cater to the Trade Unions in order to transform them into conscious instruments of war for the overthrow of Capitalism.

The task of the Communist Party within Parliament consists *in aiding the masses to blow up the bourgeoisie state machinery from outside.*

The late war was, therefore, merely the European prelude to what will indeed be a world war—the war for imperialist single power domination. . . . In view of these combinations, the Comintern has altered the policy of open battle against Capitalism to that of a thorough preparation for same. . . .

The destruction of this structure (Capitalism) is the aim of the Communists, but in order to fulfil this task the Communists must support demands ensuring immediate improvement of the workers' position and teach the masses to obtain them by force. The Communists must take up the leadership of the unemployed, realizing that under the present conditions, when Capitalism is tottering, the army of the unemployed presents a revolutionary force of the utmost importance.

He also turns up the Toronto *Star* of 27th December 1928 and reads you an interview given by a Communist leader:

The hope of the C.P. of C. (Communist Party of Canada) lies in a war in which Canada shall take part. If the war is against our brother workmen in Russia, then we will not offer passive resistance as we did in the last war. Our members will join the Canadian Army, then take our rifles and turn them on the Capitalist class in Canada which is responsible for all wars in which the country is involved. . . .

That, says the French Canadian, is what I mean by communism ; if you like it, you are welcome to it. The

French Canadian finally points to events in France and Spain as the result of allowing Communist propaganda free rein, and says, ' It won't happen here.'

The legal question has not been settled. Some lawyers still think the Padlock Law unconstitutional, but at least one former judge of the Canadian Supreme Court declared it to be within the the competence of the Provincial Government.[1] What is quite clear is that, except for a comparatively small minority, French Canadian Quebec, whether for or against the Government —and plenty are bitterly against it—is for the Padlock Law. This alone, it would seem, disposes of the view that the enactment is an evidence of Fascist dictatorship, a view which has been sedulously fostered by the law's opponents. The Federal Government at Ottawa seems to have taken the position that the legislation was a matter for Quebec and that there was no room for disallowance. If it had disallowed, Quebec would have returned a full quota against the Liberal party to the next Parliament, and the political motive may have had some effect. Whether the horse is dead or not there will be a good deal of whipping yet. The Quebec Government, once there is no fear that it can be taunted with acting under duress, may alter the law in such a way as to avoid some of the objections ; one thing is

[1] The Hon. P. B. Mignault wrote as follows to Mr J. A. Ewing, a prominent lawyer who had defended the validity of the Act :

DEAR MR EWING : I have read with great interest your letter to *The Gazette* the other day in relation to the so-called ' Padlock Law.' I heartily approve all you say. Some fifteen years ago, in a case in which I sat, Bedard *v.* Dawson, 1923 S. C. R. 681, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of a statue differing only in details from the law in question. You may rest assured that the opinion of Quebec is overwhelmingly in its favour.

Of course it is a measure of police, and police measures are rarely to the taste of those against whom they are directed. That, however, cannot be helped.—Believe me, yours sincerely, (Signed) P. B. MIGNAULT.

Published in the *Gazette*, Montreal, 29 March 1938.

quite certain ; it will never change its attitude in a struggle which it believes itself to be waging for religion and western traditions against atheism and Mongol ideas.

Premier Duplessis will say to you that the question is one for his Government, not for Ottawa ; he will say quite frankly that freedom for Communist propaganda may be safe enough elsewhere, although he doubts it, but it is not for Quebec, that the people of Quebec do not want free speech for Communists, that free speech for revolutionaries is not based on any constitutional right, and that those members of the community who do not like the law must in this case agree to disagree, they have no other right in the matter.

The first touch between Catholic youth and Communism came about during the organization of the Canadian Youth Congress. A movement, carried on in various centres of which Montreal was one, was directed towards a general meeting at Ottawa in which the youth of the whole country would take part. The organisers could not see any proper way of closing their doors to Communists, they felt that better results, in the end, would be obtained from an open forum, and in the first Congress there was some warm discussion. Before the second congress came along most Catholics had withdrawn ; they did not feel that any opposition of theirs would prevent the meetings from swinging the wrong way.

During the autumn of 1937 and the following winter there was one, more than one, clash over attempts to hold meetings in favour of the Spanish popular front. Young French Canadians demonstrated with a good deal of energy, and on one occasion with some violence. At one time it looked as though there might be a battle between McGill University and the Université de Montréal, but common sense on both sides came to the rescue and the war ended with a laugh.

Youth played a very considerable part in the political struggles of 1935 and 1936, struggles which ended by giving French Canada a renewed consciousness of its vitality and force, but when the smoke had cleared away from the battlefield, and the armies of voters had been disbanded, most of the younger recruits found that they still needed something to live on. An appalling number of young people were unemployed, and like other unemployed were drifting morally as well as economically down to lower levels. They could not, apparently, help themselves; could anything be done to help them?

There were a great many who expected the Government which came into power in Quebec in 1936 to work an immediate miracle and produce employment for youth as a conjurer brings a rabbit out of a hat. Unfortunately these things are not done in a day, and although something was done as soon as possible by the organization of work on roads and so forth, it was obvious that a great deal remained to be done.

There were three classes of young people who needed assistance. First, there were those on relief or whose families were on relief who had never known or attempted any other economic status. Second, there were some who were not on relief, but had endeavoured without success to get jobs. Third, and most difficult to deal with, were those who seemed to be of no use in the world at all, for whom their education had, apparently, done nothing.

In November 1937 an agreement between the Federal and Provincial Governments, later known as the Bilodeau-Rogers agreement—Mr Bilodeau and Mr Rogers were the Provincial and Federal ministers responsible—provided for immediate action on a broad plan of rehabilitation, each Government bearing half the costs, the Provincial Government being responsible for

Berthierville, Quebec. Kitchen-garden of the School of the Clerks of St Viateur.

Associated Screen News

Youth Marches : Play. 'Try this one.'

administration. The question now came to be not whether help could be given, but whether the youth of Quebec would do their part by co-operating. Experience elsewhere indicated that young people on relief, like older ones, want to stay on relief, and the officials who organized the scheme for rehabilitation and employment showed a good deal of faith in the underlying qualities of the young French Canadian, as well as in the energy of those who would be needed to help. The direction of the scheme was placed in the hands of Mr Albert Levesque, and within a very few months a great deal of progress was made.

The main principle behind the plan was that the first necessities are orientation and education, the question of remunerative employment is a secondary one. In an address given to the Quebec Rotary Club, 22nd February 1938, Mr Levesque remarked :

> Most young people, for lack of orientation and special preparation, suited to their tastes, do not know exactly either the kind of work in which they could excel or even the kind of job which they would like to do.

And he proceeded to disclose that surveys of the labour market were now being accompanied by psychological examination of the young people concerned.

With a view to ensuring as broad a field and as diversified opportunities as possible, six projects were begun and carried forward. The first of these was directed to the training of about 100 young men as skilled miners, and the Government proceeded to acquire the Gale mine at Val d'Or as a training mine.[1] The transport, board and lodging and training of the students were all to be provided, and about 500 applications were received at once. The standard of health

[1] See p. 183.

and natural ability required was high, and by 1st April 1938 only fifteen would-be miners had been accepted.

The second project was intended for young men in large centres, and was doubled-barrelled. The first scheme provided for the organization of technical courses open to those who passed the required psychological tests. The subjects included carpentry, foundry work, modelling, forge work, electricity, lettering, industrial design, wood sculpture, decoration, furniture-making, cabinetmaking, fitting, painting, cutting, retail selling. The second barrel of this project was fired at employers, who were asked to take a certain number of young men as apprentices, receiving from the Government part, but not all, of the amount paid out in wages.

The third project consisted in the organization of sports and physical training and swimming. The last of these has become extraordinarily popular, as anyone who visits a public bath in Montreal will realize. Thousands of young men and women swim every day in the week, and the astonishing improvement in health due to this alone ought to satisfy the organizers of the scheme. Young chests filling out, thin arms and legs developing muscles, best of all, young souls with a new interest in life are a fine contribution for ' project C.'

The next projects were for girls and young women both in city and country. In these we cannot help observing a severely practical turn of mind, the young women were not to be made into actresses, movie stars, or radio queens. If they lived in the city they had a choice of classes—domestic management and hygiene (*not*, please note, ' domestic science '), cooking, dress-making, care of children, the sick and the old, service in hotels and restaurants, laundry, dyeing, nurses' assistants, and domestic arts. A number of girls were also trained for domestic service. The country girls had not so much choice, but they were offered elementary

lessons in weaving, spinning, cooking, and housekeeping. Since spinning and weaving are still on an economic basis in Quebec, and since Quebec hand-woven tweeds are as good as anything of the sort in the world, the value of even elementary lessons is greater than it appears at first sight.

The next project was the most important of all, from one point of view at least ; it was intended for country boys, and Quebec realizes that the country boy is the real foundation of to-morrow's prosperity. This, too, was a double-barrelled scheme, partly carried out in 345 country parishes, partly at the three agricultural colleges, and it attracted a tremendous number of boys and young men.

Finally, ' project F ' provided training for young foresters, and although the proportion of applicants admitted was not high, those that were taken on did good work.

The enthusiasm with which the educational scheme was met is shown by the number who applied for training ; the restricted number of admissions to some courses of study is evidence of care in selection rather than of insufficient facilities.

	Applicants.	Accepted.
Mining training	500	15
Technical training . . .	6,000	800
Employment of leisure (sports, etc.)	6,000	3,000
Domestic training . . .	4,300	3,000
Agriculture	12,000	11,000
Forestry	7,000	250
	35,800	18,065

The influence which the training of this first eighteen thousand young people will have on their future employment is yet to be seen, but even if they find themselves unemployed for a while, there is no doubt that

they have been made more valuable to themselves and the country at large.

From the unemployed we turn to another category of young people, the young business men who are helping to build the Canada of to-morrow. The most important activity in this class is that of the Chambres de Commerce des Jeunes (Junior Chambers of Commerce), associations which exist in Montreal, Quebec, Trois-Rivières, Sherbrooke, Lévis, Grand' Mère, Joliette, Rouyn, Hull, Granby, Chicoutimi, Valleyfield, and Shawinigan Falls. The Montreal Junior Board of Trade, an English-speaking group, has set an example for this sort of organization which has caused a good deal of emulation, and, in spite of the smaller English population of Montreal, is still as large as the French Canadian Junior Chamber of Commerce. The Province of Quebec has led the whole movement, the statistics for the Dominion Federation of Junior Chambers of Commerce in the autumn of 1937 were :

	Junior Chambers of Commerce.	Members.
British Columbia .	10	950
Alberta . . .	1	90
Saskatchewan . .	8	550
Manitoba . . .	1	560
Ontario . . .	4	400
Quebec . . .	10	1450

There were eight smaller Chambers in Quebec which had not joined the Dominion Association. The Chamber in Montreal has study groups working on many questions of importance to young men, such as technical training, primary education, the Bilodeau-Rogers plan, amendments to the Bar Act, the Montreal Harbour, salaries, taxation, the Companies' Acts. One committee is especially responsible for good relations between French and English Canadians, and is working

with the Toronto Junior Board of Trade and other groups. Another committee is appointed jointly by the Chamber and the Junior Board of Trade, and is responsible for maintaining a close liaison between the two societies.

Some resolutions on ' principles ' were passed by a meeting of all the Quebec junior chambers which, since they indicate the views of young French-Canadian business men, are worth recording.

' That the Federation declares itself in favour of maintaining the system of private property.'

' That the Federation declares its loyalty to the Crown and the Confederation.'

' That the Federation study very seriously the question of technical training in the Province of Quebec, and make a careful study in order to ascertain whether our technical schools are really able to form the élite of which we have such urgent need if we are to take our proper place in industry.'

It is obvious that these young men at least know where they are heading.

It is hardly fair to the new generation to give so little space to athletics ; young men and women who are opening up a whole new field of activity are missionaries who deserve and will get plenty of attention in the sports column. The *Canadien* hockey team needs no description, its battles get more newspaper space than those of any current war ; its farm teams are all well-known organizations. Sherbrooke, Quebec, and every other city has its teams and leagues ; Saturday and Sunday, on the lower St Lawrence, see games from Quebec to Matane. The Cornwall team went into the Allan Cup finals of 1938 for the Canadian Amateur Championship, with four French Canadians out of fourteen men on its roll ; there is a *Canadien* girls club and others as well. In summer baseball is just

as popular ; football, curiously enough, never seems to have appealed to French Canada ; there are those, irreverent enough, who say that many more of us would agree if we had the courage of our opinions.

The sport that is taking most hold is ski-ing ; every winter week-end sees thousands of young people off to the hills all over the province, and the French Canadians are keeping their end up very well. Two sons of a Laurentian farmer, Emile and Viateur Cousineau, are among the fastest down-hill runners of North America, and in the 1938 American women's championships, three French-Canadian girls, Madeleine, Françoise, and Heléne McNichols, led the other Canadian women, and came seventh, ninth, and twelfth in the field.

Lawn tennis is another game in which French Canada is doing well. Marcel Rainville and his followers are quite capable of making their English fellow-citizens fight for their laurels ; boxing, wrestling, fencing, all have their successful votaries.

One achievement is hard to place ; it scarcely comes under the head of athletics, and it is not exactly in the sphere of business. In the winter of 1938 Miss Françoise Lemay won some distinction as the first Canadian girl to receive her sea-going master's ticket ; she is now a full-fledged skipper.

Another creditable record was that of Roméo Vachon, a young man who graduated from the ranks of the mechanics to those of the pilots only a few years ago, and in 1938 received the M'Kee Trophy for the most outstanding services to Canadian aviation.

French-Canadian youth is on the march ; it is going much faster than some of its elders realize ; before this generation reaches old age, there will be a new French Canada.

CHAPTER XIV

'Is it the End of Confederation?' [1]

VARIOUS political courses regarding Confederation are obviously to be considered by the French Canadians of 1938, and their attitudes towards the confederation arrangement vary in accordance with their geographical position and their place and work in life. One group—mainly academic and completely limited to Quebec—has been aiming at a French state on the shores of the St Lawrence, a 'Laurentia,' with a national existence of its own. Let us recognize at once that they are absolutely sincere, and that their position has been sometimes misinterpreted. The movement took its rise from a political doctrine outlined by a distinguished cleric and teacher, Abbé Lionel Groulx, in a series of addresses covering years ; his latest and most notable declarations were made at the Congress of the French Language held at Quebec in 1937 :

> Whether they wish it or whether they do not wish it, we shall have our French state, we shall have it young, strong, radiant, beautiful, a centre of dynamic for all America. We shall have a French land too, a land which will show its soul on its countenance. The snobs, the *bonne ententistes*, the defeatists may say to us as much as they like, 'You are the last generation of French Canadians.' I answer them, with all our youth, 'We are the generation of the living. You are the last generation of the dead.' [2]

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[1] Title of a book by the Rev. P. T. Hudon.

[2] Published in L. Groulx, *Directives*, p. 242.

His words were heard with roars of applause, and those who heard them and those who read them later forgot that he had already said in the same speech : ' Confederation, we are for it as long as it remains a Confederation. We agree to collaborate for the common good of this great country, but we claim that our collaboration is conditional on that of the other provinces, and that we are not bound to collaborate unless that collaboration is as much to our profit as to that of anyone else.' [1] Abbé Groulx's real contention seems to have been exactly what our study of the British North America Act has led us to expect ; Canada is a Confederation, and the parties to the bargain have quite definite rights. One of Canada's leading English Canadian journalists, Dr John W. Dafoe of Winnipeg, had said almost exactly the same thing at almost exactly the same time. ' Without the principle of federation there would not have been a Dominion of Canada, and the application of this principle is still essential to the survival of the Dominion.'

Abbé Groulx's point has been too subtle for a great many of those who have heard him in 1937 or previously, and there has grown up a subsidiary and more radical branch of his group which has felt complete separation from the Dominion to be essential. ' To dissolve the Confederation,' writes one, ' is not to do a work of destruction ! No, he is not a destroyer who breaks the chains of the slave and gives back to the reasonable being the dignity of a man to which each one of us has a right.' [2] ' It is vain to desire to attempt,' says another, ' to save our people by formulas proposed by those with whom, in spite of everything, we have associated ourselves. It is fatal for a Catholic and

[1] Groulx, *Directives*, p. 232.

[2] R. Chaloult, introduction to D. O'Leary, *Separatisme, doctrine constructive.*

French people, governed for more than a century by a system of institutions of Protestant and Saxon origin, to be dispossessed and disorganized. . . . To hope for the breaking of the Confederation pact is only to hope to bring back our motherland to its natural limits; it is to reject as utopian and dangerous the Canadianizing ideas which dream of making a French country out of the Canadian melting pot. . . . Let us build a strong country, prosperous, respected, and one day our culture will shine out upon and regenerate all the peoples, Saxon, German, Slav, or other who are our neighbours. . . . A French state, free and great, it is not the dream of idealist youth, it is on the contrary the only realistic solution which can ensure the survival of the French Canadian people.'[1] The members of the 'Jeunesses Patriotes' (the Patriotic Youth Movements), which sponsored these and other fervent lines, are very sincere and very earnest young men, and their feelings are worth attention. Those who cannot agree with them must remember that if our theories of democracy are worth anything at all our politics must grow out of the oppositions of forces. It is not difficult to criticize the ideas of the separatists; what is more important is to understand them, and it does no harm to realize that these young and thoughtful men honestly believe that it is hopeless to expect a square deal from English Canada. They may, indeed, be a useful leaven, and one result of their activities has certainly been to create a new interest among English Canadians; the letter of a young Toronto business man unacquainted with French Canada, representing a committee of the Junior Section of the Toronto Board of Trade, show quite a different spirit from that of other generations.

[1] Column of *Les Jeunesses Patriotes* (Patriotic Youth Movements), La Province, 14 August 1937.

How feasible is our hope for the betterment of the relations between the two peoples, and how can we help? We want to know where we, the English Canadians, have fallen down, or how the French Canadians can be encouraged to co-operate more closely, or just what degree of co-operation is most desirable. What are the greatest obstacles to be overcome before we are more closely united? How can we promote the *Bonne Entente*, and what form should it take?

The separatists find themselves face to face with hard and bulky economic factors. No one can look at the visible and invisible elements which go to make up industrial Quebec, cities, banks, huge insurance and industrial concerns, harbours, waterways, the termini of the world's greatest railways, without realizing how strong a fabric is formed by the whole, how indissolubly it is bound up with Canada and with the world. No one can help seeing that in these modern days a border, even a border marked by race and language, can never again be what it was in 1867. French Canada, moreover, could not be what the separatist ambition hopes that it will be unless it kept and used every economic advantage; it is far from clear how separatism can preserve those advantages or indeed can fail to lose them.

The name Laurentia suggested for the new state did not meet with unanimous favour. "As one gets older one clings to one's little foibles,' a priest observes. 'Let the parades continue, if they want, to take themselves seriously, to seek by the flames of torchlight for a royal head upon which to place with enthusiasm a tinsel crown, but—it is perhaps a foible—leave us our little hope of being buried—even if the Lord allows us to live after 1948, with our old "*Canadian*" skin.'[1]

Another point of the separatist doctrine seems to be very questionable. Could a separate Quebec really

[1] Rev. J. L. Lavoie, S. J., introduction to *Est-ce la fin de la Confédération?*

serve as a centre of French culture in North America? Would not the vine be far weaker than it is to-day, with its branches stretching as they do into the farthest corners of Canada, some of them, like that in New Brunswick, growing stronger all the time?

Neither is it altogether easy to be convinced by the argument that separatism is not defeatism; the difference is a very narrow one. If a French Canadian declares that, even with the present federal framework, he cannot make head against his English compatriots, that is at least perilously near defeatism; what, otherwise, is it? There is a feeling in the minds of many that the separatist idea is not only defeatism, but is a menace to all French Canada.

In a very closely reasoned treatise the Reverend Theophile Hudon, a brilliant Jesuit, deals with the whole question with faultless logic. He first touches on the politics of the situation. He sees England reluctant to dismember the Dominion, and violently opposed to autonomy on the model of Ireland for Quebec. He does not say, what he might have said, that in time of war the St Lawrence and its ports are more vital to England than to Canada. He considers the attitude of the Dominion and the other provinces, and raises the ghost of the American Civil War, fought to oppose separatism. Once again we see the influence of American history on Canadian thought. He turns then to the French Canadians outside Quebec, as well as of those who would remain.

> What would be the consequences?
>
> The first, definitive isolation.
>
> Would not secession or independence evidence a *volte-face* on our part?
>
> Would we not be establishing the thesis of a 'Quebec Reserve' instead of that for which we have hitherto fought? There would be an end of our persistent claims, for, until

to-day, we have declared that we were at home everywhere in the Dominion.

The writer does not completely reject the possibility of separation ; he does declare like others that there must be equality, the rest is ' the secret of God.' He concludes : "We were the smiths who forged the history of Canada ; we were the first in Acadia, the first in Quebec, the first in Upper Canada, the first in Manitoba, the first in the Canadian West and the Rocky Mountains ; are all these takings of possession to be no more than empty reminiscences like those evoked by the foundation of American towns, Detroit, Milwaukee, St Louis,[1] and so many others ?

' The thesis of the union of all French Canadians for the moment and for many years to come,' he concludes, ' is opposed to the idea of abandoning our compatriots outside Quebec. The duty of the hour, the duty for all is to form a single group to present a united front.' [2]

It remained for Monseigneur Emile Yelle, coadjutor Archbishop of St Boniface, to state as officially and solemnly as it could be stated the view of the French Canadian outside Quebec :

When we hear serious discussion of separatism for the Province of Quebec we see there no word of salvation but a word of discouragement and defeatism, and we say to ourselves : ' If the French Canadians of Quebec are not able to remain themselves and force their English Canadians to accept them as they are, even in Canada, we do not see how they can resist the influence of international relations in a continent of English tongue and American customs. . . if the French Canadians cannot defend themselves when, organized and at home, they represent a quarter of the Canadian people, what shall we do, we minorities overwhelmed fifteen or twenty to one in the English provinces ? We ask our

[1] Cf. E. Vaillancourt, *Broad Side*, p. 56. W. Bovey, *Canadien*, p. 56.

[2] P. Théophile Hudon, S.J., *Est-ce la fin de la Confédération ?*

brothers in Quebec to search their consciences before such a scandal.[1]

It was quite natural, since some Catholic clerics had been concerned with the movement, that the rumour should spread in English Canada and beyond that the separatist movement had the blessing of the Catholic Church. In a speech at Sherbrooke in September 1937 Cardinal Villeneuve put an end to this notion.

'As to political separation from the Empire or from Canada,' he said, 'it is none of the Church's business, and we feel no inclination for it. Patriotism,' he went on, 'must extend to the whole country and should be accompanied by a feeling of loyalty for our Sovereign King George VI.'[2] In a letter concerning the same speech, the Cardinal writes: 'I believe that high views and sane doctrines form the public attitude suited to a true patriot in our cloudy times.'[3]

In spite of all this, separatism is not going to die easily, a Montreal paper, *Le Jour*, announced on 16th September 1937:

> We learn from a very good source that a political party in Quebec, supported by a number of younger men, is attempting to persuade Abbé Lionel Groulx, apostle of separatism, to accept in principle the position of Prime Minister of the French Canadians.

The writer notes that men of over thirty-five are almost unanimously opposed to the 'exploitation of a regional nationalism,' and the article concludes:

> As to Abbé Groulx's competence, no one has any doubt. Although he has never had any administrative responsibility,

[1] Mgr. Émile Yelle, at Congrès de la langue française, *Le Canada*, Montreal, 2 July 1937.

[2] Cardinal Villeneuve, *Gazette Montreal*.

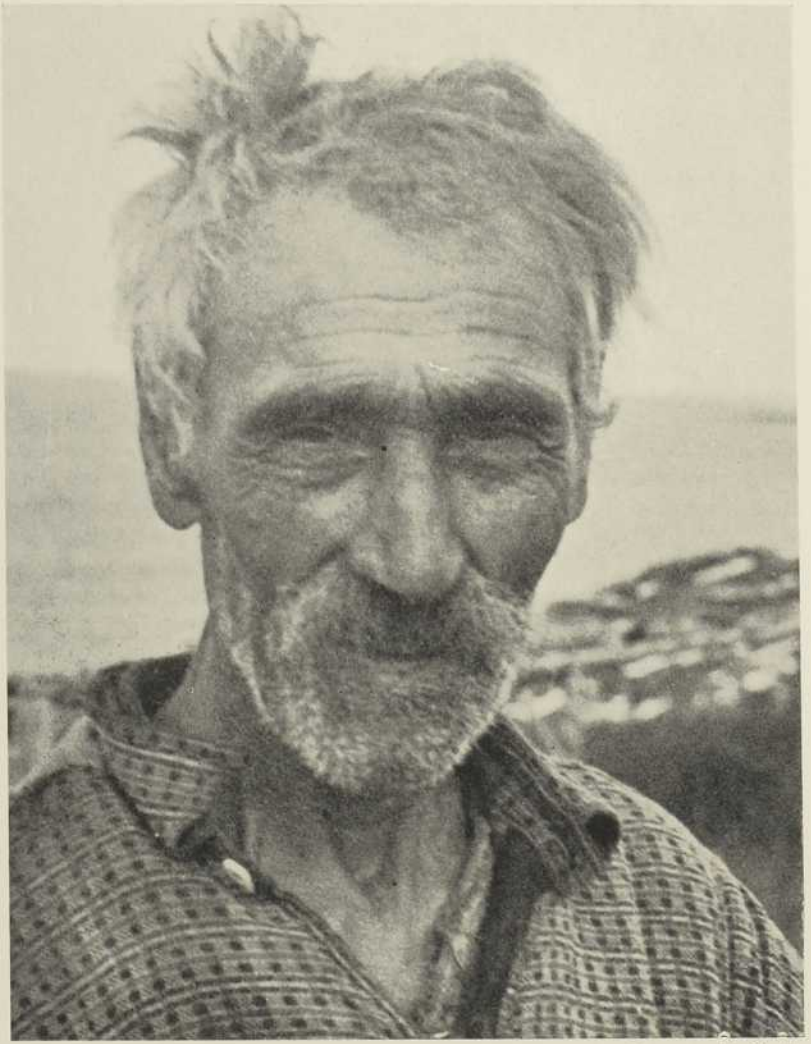
[3] Letter to the author, 31 January 1938.

he is intelligent, honest, and an orator. If those qualities are enough to enable him to teach French Canadians how to invest their capital in productive enterprises—so much the better.

How good the source of *Le Jour's* information was is open to question, but there is no question as to the honour in which Abbé Groulx is held by his followers. The views of the editor himself and his owners are quite obvious.

A word on the subject of separatism shall be spoken by a complete outsider. M. J. Gruninger, a Frenchman, writes in *Paris-Canada* on 27th February 1938, that ' the Province of Quebec cannot live isolated. It is not ignorant that almost a million French Canadians whose rights must be safeguarded live outside its boundaries, and that definitely a close co-operation between the two great races which created Canada is the only means of making the Dominion a free, happy, and prosperous country.'

The French Canadians of New Brunswick and the West have had to seek a different solution, and they feel that they are on the way to successful results. Monseigneur Beliveau, Archbishop of St Boniface, sees the remedy in persistence. ' The English and the French,' he says, ' have equal rights in Canada so long as the federal pact endures. If the Canadian Confederation, under its present form, is one day to fly to pieces, it will not be our fault, we shall then try by the grace of God to do the best we can. But if the Confederation is to remain as it is, the most moderate pride requires us French Canadians to demand the equality of religious and civil rights, which were guaranteed us by the Act of 1867, which bears the signature of our forebears. If we have a little pride we shall force ourselves to fill with deeds the chasm separating the federal text and its practical interpretation in all the provinces except



Frances McNally

Canadian National Railways

The St Lawrence Shore: Gaspé Fishermen. 'Cheerful, hardy souls they are!'

Quebec. True Canadian patriotism,' he continues, 'for the Anglo-Saxon as for the French Canadian consists in the effort of each to attain the highest efficiency, insisting that the other put no obstacle in the way of his aspirations.' [1]

'If,' says M. Donatien Frémont, a journalist of Winnipeg, 'our French Catholic education, deprived of any legal status, has remained just as efficient and just as health-giving, if as the result of sacrifice and devotion our youth keeps its French mentality and frees us of any fear for the immediate future, that is a situation at which we have reason to rejoice.' [2] He goes on to point out the importance of the work of *L'Association d'Education des Canadiens français de Manitoba*, the help given by the church, the value of that French Canadian attachment to the soil which is just as manifest in the West as in the East, and the linking of neighbouring parishes into solid blocks. Finally, he gives credit to the work of the *Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Canadienne*, a firmly welded group of young men of which we shall have more to say. Another journalist, M. Robert Rumilly, asks M. Frémont what he thinks of the Confederation problem. 'We must not be abandoned,' he says, 'we have fought so long. We have made real sacrifices, you know it. And we do a service for the Province of Quebec. The English of the West only know that province through us as intermediaries. A French group like ours, well organized, able to carry on, contributing to the general prosperity, wins respect, I assure you.' [3]

Let us ask M. Rumilly to interview another Westerner, M. Raymond Denis, President of the French Canadian Association of Saskatchewan, on the

[1] *Action Française*, p. 357. May–June 1927.
[2] *Action Nationale*, 1st term, 1934.
[3] Robert Rumilly in *Chefs de File*, p. 117.

subject of the voluntary separate schools. M. Denis declares :

> We have created a voluntary Ministry of Education, planned a common programme for all schools, pedagogical congresses to keep our teachers in line, examinations and contacts in French to keep our pupils in line. . . . The contests have become the principal events of the school year. . . . 2500 pupils take part. . . . When we inspect the schools we ask : ' Which would you rather learn, children, English or French. Before the revival of the last ten years some children would say, ' English is easier, sir.' Now the whole class stands up and shouts, ' French, sir, it is our language.' [1]

Farther to the West, in Alberta, the same thought in dealing with the problems is manifest. A young Albertan, Jean Baptiste Boulanger, founded, when still a small boy, a little paper called *Le Petit Jour* (*The Little Day*) ; before long it had a considerable circulation. Master Boulanger got into a controversy with a member of Parliament, who, quite unaware of the editor's age, wrote to him with some violence :

> French is not an official language in Canada, except in the Parliament of Canada and one of the Courts, and you are not going to make an official language of it in Western Canada either, let me tell you that right now. Do you know that there are 120,000,000 people living north of Rio Grande who speak English ? Do you know that this is an English-speaking continent and that the English-speaking people will always work together ?

Master Boulanger proceeded to point out that the original North-West Territories Acts had made French, as well as English, official—although this had not survived the erection of the provinces, so that the French Canadians had at least some grounds for their contentions, and at the same time to explain his age and views.

[1] R. Rumilly, *Chefs de File*, p. 81.

It must in fairness be said that the member did make amends for his first letter by a more polite one.

Last year Jean Baptiste, a little older, wrote to the French children's paper of Alberta, *La Survivance des Jeunes*, some words which show a common sense some of his elders lack. He had been at the Coronation as one of the group of Canadian schoolboys, and told of the feelings he had observed. 'That is the spirit,' he said, 'which French Canadians sought to cultivate. Our French origin makes us tend to division, to the dispersion of our energies. . . . We give up our national interests for the interests of a party, a clan, or a club. The Coronation has shown the great vitality of England, her hope in her future, and, what sums all up, her real unity. Let us profit by this example.' [1]

There is one problem for which the separatist doctrine has so far suggested no solution. It treats Quebec as a purely French-Canadian province. Quebec is, as we have already noted, mainly French Canadian ; where local law does not come into conflict with the constitution, the wishes of the majority must prevail. But Quebec is not entirely French-Canadian. At the time of the Confederation the English minority was admitted to possess definite rights. Prior to 1867 those rights were safe enough because the Act of Union held Quebec and Ontario linked ; as a matter of fact English Quebec was better satisfied with the Act of Union than either Upper Canada or the French Canadians. In consequence, while the French Canadians would only agree to unite with the other provinces if the basis were a federal one, the English Quebeckers would not agree to being left as a section of Quebec with no guarantees. They were given, we have seen, two. Section 93 of the Act confirmed their claim to control their own school system, and gave them a shotgun in the form of an

[1] J. B. Boulanger in *La Survivance des Jeunes*, November 1937.

appeal to the Federal Government for protection. Section 133, which protects the French language in Ottawa, is just as effective to protect the English language in Quebec.

In consequence it is not going too far to say that Quebec went into Confederation consisting of French *and English* communities, and that the English group, small as it is, is just as much entitled to its say on separatism as is the French ; the separatist would be false to his own doctrine of the value of minority rights if he denied the claim. The English community of Quebec counts among its numbers many who love their province quite as much as do their French fellow-citizens, many who have contributed as much to its happiness and prosperity. They feel somewhat regretful when those who know too little of them classify them as a sort of piratical gang. They welcome the action announced by one important classical college, which proposes to establish studies of English Canada.

The Provincial Government of Quebec has recently shown its conception of the true attitude on this question. In 1937 the legislature passed an Act to the effect that where there is a difference between the English and the French versions of a law the French version must prevail. English lawyers protested in a reasonable but energetic fashion ; they were backed up by some of their French colleagues. In 1938 the law was repealed, and the words of Mr Maurice Duplessis, Premier of Quebec, announcing the change are so significant that they must be quoted at some length.

'It has been represented,' he said, 'that, for example, the University of McGill, and the Protestant churches have a right in a bilingual country to present their projects of law in the English language. It has also been pointed out that at Ottawa the principle of bilingualism in the presentation of laws is officially recognized, and that the priority of language

in a province may mean a death-blow to the principle of bilingualism at Ottawa.

'Since this law may provoke coldness harmful to the harmony which should exist between the two races, we have decided, without any sacrifice of our rights, nor any of the rights of the province, to avoid all danger, or coldness, and to give justice to all, to withdraw the law.'

The Premier added: 'I know that the attitude that I am taking makes me liable to criticisms, but I understand my duty not from the political point of view, but from the point of view of justice, and, above all, from the national point of view.

'We are in the way of establishing a collaborative point of view in policy between the two sister provinces, and peoples of Quebec and Ontario, and this policy will be useful not only to the two provinces but for all of Canada. The time has come to give a loyal hand, and an honest hand; as representatives of all, we have established the basis of civilization in this country, and also established the rights to bilingualism in this country.

'It will be said that I have made a *volte-face*. Certainly, I am not infallible. Like all other men I am weak and may make a mistake, but it is worse to persevere in an error. Furthermore, it is the duty of all men of courage and heart to recognize and repair error.' [1]

Mr Duplessis sees a solution of the problem facing the French Canadian; the solution does not consist in removing Quebec from the Confederation or in overriding the English minority. In a speech made in December 1936, one of his followers, M. Belanger, member for a Montreal constituency, put the idea of his fellow members clearly; it was to give back to Quebec her proper place among the provinces, they did not want to leave the Dominion.

It is worth turning back to the words of a French-Canadian leader of fifty years ago. At the end of June

[1] *Gazette*, Montreal, April 1938.

1886 Honoré Mercier published a programme for the protection of Quebec ; after emphasizing the unfortunate condition of provincial finances, he said : ' It is division, born of party spirit, which has done the harm, it is union born of patriotism which will repair it.' [1] Three years later he was speaking of the Confederation to his own people :

> These treaties, these laws, this constitution give us the right to remain Catholic and French. We are now $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of French Canadians in North America, proud of our past, proud of our present, and confident in our future ; we laugh at the threats of our enemies. . . . We are not as strong as we should be because we are divided, and we are divided because we do not understand the dangers of the situation. . . . Let your rallying-cry in future be these words which shall be our strength—Let us make an end of our fratricidal quarrels and unite ! [2]

That is the real motto of French Canada in 1938.

[1] R. Rumilly, *Mercier*, p. 302.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 364.

CHAPTER XV

The Social Approach

THE next approach to the problems of Quebec was a social one, inspired by pronouncements of the Vatican but actually commenced as the result of various politico-social developments originating in the West of Canada. These developments began with the earnest desire of a number of educated men led by the Reverend J. S. Woodsworth of Winnipeg, to improve the social conditions of the majority and are still continuing ; they are manifested in the political party known as the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, ' the C.C.F.,' the League for Social Reconstruction and in certain other associations of which the members of these groups are prominent. In a general way it may be said of them that their view of Canadian questions is a national one and that their cure for the ills of the country would be described by most other people as socialist. A summary of their programme was given in the address of one of their leaders at Fredericton, New Brunswick on June 14th 1937 ; he was reported in part as follows :

In Canada, our federal constitution means divided jurisdiction, but to be effective should be national in scope. Single provinces except perhaps three—Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia—cannot adequately provide for social security legislation, for lack of finance. The interpreters of the Canadian constitution—the Privy Council—were too far away. The Dominion should have control of the revision of

its own constitution. To get the needed constitutional amendments we must have a strong political labour movement. The merely co-operative movement was good, but needed political backing.

The country needed social reconstruction on a socialist basis. There should be government ownership of at least the basic industries, resources and services, and something approaching equalization of wages. As long as private ownership of such exist, we shall have oft-recurring depressions and unemployment. As long as 200 families ruled the Bank of France they ruled France. The only way to avoid having the country controlled by big business is for the country to take control of big business. The new society must either be based upon public ownership of the main industries, or upon public regulation. Roosevelt in favouring merely public regulation of big business has got into all kinds of difficulties, the heads of commissions to regulate industry being generally former heads of the industries being regulated.

On the subject of unionized labour, an important feature of the movement, he had this to say :

Very few Canadian employers outside the railways and certain other firms recognize the right of their employees to organize independently. Many companies favour ' company ' unions and refuse to deal with outside workers although themselves dealing with outside capitalists. The company union representative is powerless in bargaining as he can be dismissed by the company. Until workers have the lawful right to organize they will continue to be dominated. Under the present economic system, the employer is forced to consider profits first and is therefore naturally hostile to unions.

The movement was somewhat slow to reach Quebec and in fact only did do so when it became identified with an effort to form a Reconstruction party in Canada prior to a federal election. When it did reach Quebec it seized on the imagination of a few, though only a few, French Canadians, who felt that activities tending

to the general uplifting of all Canadians of small means could not but operate in favour of French Canadians whose small means were even smaller than the average.

This Quebec Social Reconstruction movement, small though it was, did not escape the suspicious eye of a number of keen students who had already been giving a considerable amount of thought to the same questions.

The École Sociale Populaire, is a group rather than a school. It had been studying social questions for a long time before the development of the Social Reconstruction movement ; it had organized ' Social Weeks,' which does not mean weeks of socials but congresses devoted to serious study, and had published a large number of small pamphlets on social and political problems. These publications are still continuing—each is written by a recognized authority—and a measure of the school's activities is that almost 300, something like 10,000 pages in all, have now been printed and widely circulated.

The school is a Catholic institution, basing its existence and its tenets on the doctrines and encyclicals of the Catholic church ; it followed that, with all its desire to improve the social and therefore the economic condition of the people among whom and for whom it worked, it could not see without concern the promotion of any doctrine, social or economic, which was in disaccord with its own views. Since economics and politics cannot very well be separated it was inevitable that any successful action the school or the Church with which it was connected might take would have a bearing on politics. Its director, the Reverend J. P. Archambault, is a Jesuit, a philosopher, and a sociologist of distinction, whose advice is greatly valued by the heads of the Church in Canada as well as by universities and colleges, all, naturally, deeply interested.

The school perceived, in the Social Reconstruction movement, a development which seemed to run counter to the ideas of the Catholic Church, and some of its supporters who were also strong adherents of Abbé Groulx, observed things which were, to them, even more menacing ; in the summaries of Social Reconstruction views quoted above are to be found the points in the programme to which they particularly objected. The churchmen disliked the socialist basis of the scheme and considered that the relations between capital and labour suggested for the future were entirely different from those which they had recommended and supported ; the laymen objected strongly to the strengthening of federal power which was a necessary element of the new plan.

At this point we must enter on a long parenthesis. It is impossible to go further without touching on a subject about which there has been a great deal of talk and a great deal of discussion—the relation between Church and State in the Province of Quebec. We may say at once that the question is not a new one, but in this case history has little or nothing to do with the present-day position ; the attitude of the Vatican of fifty years ago which, in view of the circumstances of that time, sought to exercise a considerable influence, was opposed by some highly placed Canadian clerics and was modified by the successor of the then Pope. The spectre of ultramontanism which persists among some English Protestants is a ghost which was laid a good many years ago by bell, book, and candle. The notion, which is quite common, that the Catholic Church has condemned generally the separation of Church and State has caused many unnecessary fears in the Protestant mind. What has been condemned is the theory that Church and State must *of necessity and in all cases* be separate. ' The intimate union of the

two authorities during the Middle Ages,' writes Dr Pohle, a Catholic authority, 'was a passing and temporary phenomenon, taking its rise neither in the nature of the State nor in that of the Church. The Church is free to have relations with the State more or less close; it can tolerate the separation in fact and thanks to favourable circumstances prospers even in such a situation as for example in the United States.' [1]

As for the idea also frequently put forward that where the commands of Church and State conflict, those of the Church must be obeyed, the official view of the Church is clear. 'The State as well as the Church acts with divine authority, the limits are fixed by their special objectives, within these limits each power is sovereign; the Church cannot intervene in purely civil questions nor the State in purely spiritual questions. The Catholic is bound to obey the civil laws of the State unless they are unjust, ruinous to liberty, or opposed to moral or divine law.' [2]

The exception worries some people, but there is very little difference between its phrases and the words of Abraham Lincoln who spoke of 'the eternal struggle between two principles' and said, 'The one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same spirit that says, "You toil and work and earn bread and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labour, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.' [3] One thing is highly important, to remember that the permissibility

[1] Pohle, C. E., t. 14, p. 769, cited in *La Boite aux Questions*, Montreal, p. 188.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[3] Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, the Prairie Years*, p. 403.

of opposing an unjust law had nothing to do with the relation between Protestants and Catholics in Canada and was far older than Protestantism. John of Salisbury writing in the twelfth century was the first English author to express a principle which more than one revolutionary movement in England and America has put into practice. 'I am satisfied and persuaded,' he says, 'that loyal shoulders should uphold the power of the ruler; and not only do I submit to his power patiently but with pleasure, so long as it is exercised in subjection to God and follows His ordinances.'[1]

So much for two misconceptions which have led to difficulty; the Catholic clergy of the present day believe that they have definite rights, definite duties, and definite limitations. In 1935 the Province of Quebec held its provincial elections and the government came very near defeat. At that time the influence of at least some of the clergy was apparently counter to the Government—the idea was much fostered by some highly placed politicians—and a great deal of debate followed. The ranking Catholic cleric of Canada is Rodrigue Cardinal Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec; he felt it necessary, as it was, to clear the air, and on 26th January 1936, a pastoral letter was read in all the churches of his archdiocese. After dealing with the discussion which had arisen, the Archbishop stated that he had examined every complaint so far as possible, that accusations had only been made against a few dozen priests—even if, as he said, such accusations could be proved. He points out that the leading laymen have frequently acknowledged the right of priests, 'to have their free opinion on public matters, . . . to express it, and to try by legitimate arguments to induce others to accept it.' 'The law, in any case,' he says, 'does not place any restrictions on the civil rights of

[1] *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury*, ed. John Dickinson, p. 258.

S. R. N. Hodgins

Gaspé—Fourth Centenary. Union Jack and Fleur-de-lys veiling the Cross.
'The old-time enemies who now are friends.'

the priest in the matter of the electoral suffrage. And it would hardly be fair to complain of undue influence the moment that such influence proceeds from a cleric or a "religious." ' He then makes the following official pronouncement: 'We disavow, for our account, any derogatory or injurious statement which may have been made by any one of our clerics.'

The Cardinal then pointed out that it is the duty of the bishops and of them alone to regulate 'the pastoral conduct of the clergy in political matters' but recommended for the future to parish priests and all other clerics 'to do nothing except it be under the direction of and according to the rules established by the bishops.' [1]

The Englishman or English Canadian who believes that Quebec is too much under ecclesiastical influence will find food for thought in a paragraph of the same letter in which the Cardinal inquires: 'Does anyone think of attacking Protestant pastors because they set forth in their pulpits their political and social views?' A young Englishman called lately on an English-speaking Quebecker and inquired somewhat pityingly if there were any chance of reducing the power of 'clericalism' which he proceeded to explain as the use by the clergy of influence in the State. The answer was that never had the Catholic Church in Quebec exercised or even attempted to exercise such power as the Church of England used in the events leading to the abdication of King Edward VIII. The stern reproof to his Sovereign given by the Bishop of Bradford, the position taken by the Archbishop of Canterbury who dealt with the whole situation as though it were a Church rather than as it was a State matter are far too recent to need recalling. As lately as April 1938 the Anglican bishop of Montreal felt it necessary to write

[1] See *Le Lotbinière*, January 31 1936.

strong words to the heads of Canadian political parties. ' There is a rising tide of indignation,' he said, ' against the lowering of moral standards in public, commercial, and private life. This is specially remarkable among young men and this encourages us and fills us with thankfulness and hope.' [1]

The Protestant Ministerial Association of Montreal during the preceding winter had had no hesitation in passing a resolution condemning the ' padlock law ' of which mention was made in Chapter XIII although the law had been unanimously passed by both houses of the legislature. There is no doubt that they felt it their duty to express their opinion and would if they could, have enforced it.

It is hardly open, then to Protestants, as such, to object to efforts by the Catholic clergy to bring about reform provided such efforts are carried out as the Cardinal recommended within the clergy's proper sphere.

On 19th April 1937, the Cardinal himself made a statement which appeared to be political although it was not intended to be so. At the annual dinner of the Association Catholique des Jeunes Canadiens he declared :

> We have here and there a few scraps of social justice, but these apparent correctives are insufficient. We need more than that, we need full corporatism. Collective contracts, pensions to the aged, allowances for needy mothers, those are all very well but they are mere palliatives.[2]

It was perhaps natural, in view of the strained relations between England and Italy which then existed that the words of the Cardinal should be taken as a declaration in favour of a Fascist form of government,

[1] Letter addressed to the Premiers, Opposition leaders and members in Ottawa and Quebec published in *The Gazette*, Montreal, 4 April 1938.

[2] *Le Canada*, 19 April 1937.

and it was not unnatural, in view of the separatist activities of which mention has been made, that some apprehensive Protestants saw the beginning of a Church-State. The Cardinal himself disposed of both bogeys in the address at Sherbrooke to which reference has already been made; indeed he went a good deal further:

> This, even in our so-called priest-ridden province. Imagine by the way, with what laughter I read the other day in a Bombay newspaper—you know Bombay is a large city of India—that according to the correspondent of *The Times*, in Quebec, I am to-day the *de facto* ruler of Quebec, and that in our province there is a formidable and carefully planned campaign to transform the province into a Clerical-Fascist community with its corporative state, and a programme ripened in the light of the teachings of *Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno*.
>
> When I have spoken of corporatism, it has not been in the sense of a state corporatism, but in that of professional corporatism. I mean that liberty should be given and acknowledged by the law to members of a common profession to unite more closely and effectively for their own interests, not only workers but employers also—and that in so doing many social problems would be settled for the common good. And so teaches *Quadragesimo Anno*. Is this clericalism? Is this Fascism? Is it not a very legitimate way of conceiving a democratic order itself?
>
> May I ask all my English-speaking compatriots not to decide too soon that I, of the Catholic Church, intend to subdue liberty in this country. And may I ask them whether we churchmen have ever ruled public men or have ever mingled with politics except through Christian teaching of religion and justice?
>
> Moreover, one cannot forget that the majority in this province being French and Catholic, there is no wonder that institutions and social spirit should be often, without disrespect to English-speaking people and non-Catholics, of a Catholic and of a French character.[1]

[1] *The Gazette*, 2 August 1937.

A leading article in the Toronto *Globe and Mail* stresses the importance of the declaration in the following words : ' There had been nothing we think, certainly no statement from a similarly influential source in recent years, which so clearly and forcibly pledges French Canada to the service and unity of confederated Canada.'

The speech was regarded as highly important in other parts of the British Empire also and finally found its way into the *Times of India*.

We return now to the reactions of the clerical and other members of the École Social Populaire to the Social Reconstruction activities. They saw quite clearly that if they were not going to accept the political theories put forward by the Reconstructionists, naturally attractive to people in an uncomfortable economic position, they must produce a plan of action themselves, and this they proceeded to do. The preceding paragraphs show clearly enough that the scheme is to be taken as a scheme of Catholic churchmen, not of the Catholic Church.

On April 7th 1933, the project was ready for the press and was of such a broad and important nature that much of it must be quoted in full. The translation is from the original draft for the press sent out by the director of the school.

Programme of Social Restoration.

The world is struggling in one of the gravest crises which it has ever known. The crisis is universal and reaches every class of society. It condemns the workers in town and country to a precarious and extremely hard existence. Riches as the result of abuses introduced by capitalism forgetful of its duty are unfairly divided and are no longer applied as they should be to the needs of different classes.

We must set energetically to work to end this evil. Can we arrive there by upsetting our social order and by setting up a régime established on a new basis ? Some say so, but such is not in accordance with Catholic plans.

Pius XI, in the *Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno*, postulates not the destruction but the reform of the capitalistic system. Basing ourselves on these declarations, we have elaborated a programme of social restoration suited to the needs of our country. We offer it to all those individuals or groups who desire sincerely the uplifting of the proletariat, the better distribution of wealth, while respecting the laws of justice and of charity.

But before setting out our various proposals it seems opportune to us to restate the principles declared by the Pope on certain important points. These doctrinal statements will cast light upon our programme and permit the reader to grasp the sense completely.

Communism.—Communism is a revolutionary doctrine whose adherents seek 'by every means, even the most violent, an implacable class war and the complete disappearance of private property . . . it has shown itself savage and inhuman . . . declared enemy of God Himself.' [1] The public authority ought to destroy this propaganda but at the same time use its efforts to 'change the conditions which are exasperating the spirits of the masses and thus prepare the way for the upheaval and the ruin of society.' [1]

Socialism.—Socialism is less radical than communism. In spite of its modifications and although it contains some truth, if it remains true socialism it is not to be reconciled with authentic Christianity . . . no one can be at the same time a good Catholic and a true socialist. Here are the characteristics of the system : a materialistic doctrine or spirit, excessive socialization of economic activity, subordination of the mind and sacrifice of liberty to the needs of production, downfall of authority which is held to be derived only from temporal interest and not from God.

[*Note by Author.*—The paragraph refers to technical continental socialism and neither to the somewhat vague doctrines indicated by the word socialism in England nor to the co-operative systems of Scandinavia. The latter are viewed with some admiration by such orthodox Catholic organizations as the Catholic Union of Farmers.]

[1] *Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno.*

Nationalization.—Nationalization applied to the majority of enterprises such as planned at present by a new federal party, ends of necessity in collectivism. It is therefore to be condemned. General interest may however demand or advise a nationalization limited to certain categories of property, for example : ' when they come to confer an economic power such as cannot without danger for the public good be left in the hands of private persons.' [1]

[*Note by Author.*—This refers to the Reconstruction party previously mentioned.]

Capitalism.—Capital is one of the legitimate forms of private property. It is (with labour) the normal agency of production and of prosperity. Capitalism is also legitimate in itself so far as it signifies ' the régime under which men ordinarily contribute to economic activity, some by capital others by labour.' What we must condemn and combat is the abuse of capitalism ; excessive concentration of riches and economic power in the hands of a small number of men, financial dictatorship, fraudulent dealing, usurious profits, abusive speculation, etc., etc.

[*Note by Author.*—When the writers say ' legitimate in itself' they mean that the proper use of capitalism is in accordance not only with national but with ' natural ' law.]

Evolution.—Social restoration will take place by evolution but not by revolution. It is a matter of reforming capitalism, of adjusting it to the needs of a truly human economy. Privately owned capital must, to carry out better its social obligations, ensure a division of riches proper to the needs of the different classes. ' We must set energetically to work in order that in the future at least the proportion of goods which accumulates in the hands of capitalists be reduced to a more equitable measure and that a sufficient quantity be distributed among the workers.' [1] Social justice demands that labour and economy in all classes result in access to property by the acquisition of stable goods by the creation of a capital from savings.

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[1] *Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno.*

Factors of Restoration.—To this social restoration three factors must contribute by united action : (1) the *Christian spirit*, the spiritual principles of moral reform ; (2) the *action of the State* which must ' direct, survey, stimulate, control ' economic activity and ' give special consideration to the weak and the powerful ' ; (3) the *collaboration of professional associations* ' which group men according to the different branches of social activity in which they are engaged.'

International Relations.—' It is also fitting that the various nations . . . share their thoughts and their effort to hasten by wisely designed agreements and institutions the arrival of a beneficial and happy international economy and collaboration.' [1]

PROGRAMME.

1. The capitalistic régime is not bad in itself but has been vitiated by very grave abuses. Reforms are necessary with a view to end the economic dictatorship and assure by a better distribution of wealth the uplifting of the populace at large.

2. A masterful and greedy egotism must be opposed first of all and in all classes of society by the true Christian spirit, inspiring justice, charity, and moderation, respect for the rights of God (observation of Sunday) and for the rights of our neighbours, fidelity (observations of contracts, etc.).

3. It is from nature and therefore from the Creator that men have received the right of private property. This right carries with it social obligations which control its use and subordinate it to the exigencies of the common good.

4. The State must as soon as possible by legal reform control by a severe and more efficacious regulation financial institutions and incorporated companies in order to suppress over-capitalization, watered stocks, abuses of credit and of speculation.

5. Certain categories of goods confer occasionally an economic power which is too great to be left in the hands of private persons. Considerations of general interest may impose or recommend in particular cases public management, national, provincial, or municipal.

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[1] *Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno.*

6. It is the part of the State to impress a general direction on the national economy and with that aim to institute a National Economic Council, a manifestation of corporative organization which will permit the public authorities to act in close co-operation with the qualified and competent representatives of all branches of production.

7. It is necessary to work towards the establishment of a corporative order by the complete and legal organization of different professions (thus in the world of labour : labour syndicates, employers' associations, mixed commissions).

8. There is required a social legislation which will ensure (*a*) to labour, a sufficient protection against the dangers of accident, of illness, of old age, and of unemployment ; (*b*) to the farmers, effective agricultural credit, equitable modification of the law of bankruptcy and seizures, a sufficient protection against accidents, various cattle epidemics, crop failures.

9. The labourer has a right to wages which will enable him to support a family. If present conditions in industrial life prevent this from being always possible social justice requires that we proceed without delay to reforms which will guarantee to the adult worker a return proportionate to the normal cost of a household. It is desirable that employees be enabled to share in some fashion in the property of the enterprise, in its management, or in the profits which will be derived from it. There must also be assistance for large families by special measures such as family grants, reduction or exemption of taxes, etc.

10. Present unemployment conditions call for a special intervention of public authority. We must set energetically to work to find employment and in the interval provide equitably for the assistance of those who are in need.

11. Measures are required to render medical service and hospitalization expenses less costly for families of small means.

12. In order to re-establish the equilibrium of the population we must aid family agriculture and restrict industrialized cultivation, promote rural education and co-operative methods, raise the repute in which the agricultural profession

is held, aid in the establishment of farmers' sons, develop colonization methodically.

13. In accordance with the constitution which governs us the Dominion must respect the rights of the provinces and the principle of equality of the two races which is at the basis of Canadian Confederation. It must also apply itself to a policy of international economic collaboration and labour for the coming of peace.

Ecole Sociale Populaire.

The publication of this manifesto was soon followed by another produced by a number of energetic young and middle aged men, most of whom were to take an active part in the coming political struggles although circumstances were to send some of them into opposite camps. Their programme went, in some ways, even further: it was in any case more detailed. Its first planks were the rehabilitation of country life and improved conditions for the worker; then came one which created a considerable sensation—'war on the trusts.' The writers assumed that the prices of coal and gasoline were controlled by combines and proposed to deal with that situation. They proposed a special attack on the 'electricity trust,' the large privately owned hydro-electric systems, the establishment of a provincially owned competing system, the fixing of prices and the rearrangement of capital stock issues. They proposed, too, a wide regimentation of all stock companies and regulation of relations between companies and banks. Finally turning to the field of politics they suggested various measures calculated to clean up the system. Public works, for instance, were to be carried out locally, 'in order to end the rule of the great contractors'; newspapers were to publish sworn statements of ownership; elections were to be at a fixed date and election expenses published; there was to be an 'economic council' of the province.

The programme was mainly the work of M. Esdras Minville, the Professor at the School of Higher Commercial Studies, of whom mention has already been made, and M. Wilfrid Guerin, secretary of the union of 'Caisses populaires' (Co-operative Savings Banks). Others who signed it were Dr Philippe Hamel, later to be a leader in the attack on the then government, Alfred Charpentier, head of the Catholic Labour Movement in Montreal, Réné Chaloult, a young lawyer and a very able speaker, Albert Rioux, President of the Catholic Union of Farmers, later to be deputy minister of Agriculture, and a few others.[1]

The development of a new idea was now becoming evident; the notion of a 'corporative institution' had taken firm hold on the imagination of thinkers. A complete misunderstanding of the meaning of the word 'corporatism' for French Canadians has in large part been responsible for the story, which has proved a blessing to young newshawks in more countries than one, that French Canada had gone Fascist. Even the normally sober English press have swallowed the tale hook, line, and sinker, and as in other fish stories the fish has continued to grow.

Since the corporatist theory was introduced to French Canada by Professor Minville, it is only fair that we should turn to him for an explanation as to what he did mean. He will tell us first that 'the problem which presents itself for the attention of the world is this: on the one hand to ensure a better distribution of the wealth created in huge masses by a production becoming more and more perfected, on the other to save enough individual liberties to ensure the normal development of the human person. . . . Communism is a catastrophe, a destruction; Nazism an idolatry. . . .

[1] *Programme de Restauration Social.* École Sociale Populaire.

Fascism ends in the diminution of the human stature.' [1] Mr Minville does not propose to restore the mediæval guild corporatism which would be as unsuitable for our purposes as a stage coach when we needed a locomotive ; he does not propose state corporatism as seen in Italy ; what he does suggest is social corporatism, the formation of independent associations of those engaged in similar occupations with a view to the general advantage of all. He would prefer to call them ' Corporative Institutions.' ' As distinguished from political corporatism,' he explains, ' social corporatism has its origin in the people, convinced of the need of organizing on a social plan. It is the result of education, not of constraint. It owes nothing to governmental policy, indeed it may sometimes oppose government policy. It requires each person to assume according to his abilities, a share of social responsibility, contrary to the practices of individual liberty which has ended by casting all its responsibilities on the state.' [2]

The social organization which Professor Minville suggests seems to require no change in the political constitution of the Province of Quebec. If it did Quebec could, under the British North America Act, make the change. The development is not one which can take place in a day ; in one direction and another it is making headway and a few years from now some of Professor Minville's corporative institutions will assuredly be functioning. A beginning has indeed been made with the establishment in 1928 of a Chamber of Agriculture which is to advise the government on matters affecting the agricultural population as a whole.

[1] E. Minville in *L'Ordre Nouveau*, 20 November 1936.
[2] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XVI

The Pen in French Canada

CANADIAN schools and universities, for the most part, seem to be quite unaware that there is a French-Canadian culture and a French-Canadian literature ; in a country where French is the mother tongue of one-third of the population and an official language in the federal parliament, French-Canadian books are not read and the simple method of learning French by listening to French broadcasts is not encouraged. This being so in Canada it is not surprising that it is also true of the United States. Canada as a matter of fact does worse yet, for French is far too often classified with German as a 'foreign language' ; it is a relief but an exception to find an educationist like Professor John Hughes of McGill taking a different attitude. 'The University and the school,' says Professor Hughes, 'form the true strategic point, the central personality is the professor. The university pedagogical establishments, the normal schools, the school for teachers, have the highest importance. Everything depends on the quality of the future teachers, on their breadth of ideas, on their capacity for sympathy with the other group, for intelligent understanding, for respect for different points of view.' [1] That Canada would gain a great deal if young English Canadians used French-Canadian books as texts is perfectly obvious ; the young American, if he did the same

[1] John Hughes, *La Culture Bilingue au Canada.* (Cahiers de politique étrangère, Paris, 1937.)

Canadian Pacific Photograph

In the Laurentians, 'cut by violent rivers.'

thing, would find a North-American point of view, even more North American than his own. In stories of the North West like *Un homme se penche sur son passé*,[1] thoroughly Canadian (though its author, M. Constantin Weyer, is a Frenchman of France) *Nipsya*, a charming tale of the West of fifty years ago by Georges Bugnet, *Le Deserteur*, a book of Quebec tales by Claude Henri Grignon, we feel ourselves at home though the language is not ours. George Bouchard's *Autre temps autres moeurs*,[2] prose lyrics of the old French Canadian countryside, will go to the heart of anyone who reads them. These and other books like them should be texts in any French course.

The story of French-Canadian literature goes back to the days of the first settlers ; among its particular stars is Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, the enterprising lady who set up a school in Quebec and wrote down her adventures. She was a true Canadian ; she would have denied the name since it had not yet been invented, but her memoirs are as Canadian as a spruce tree. All the early literature is not quite so redolent of Canada, yet when you read such writings as those of Père Marquette, the young Jesuit explorer—the manuscript is still to be seen in Montreal—you breathe Canadian air and hear the voice of American streams ; Dollier de Casson's history of Montreal is just as North American as if it had been written yesterday.

After the Cession there was a lull, which was broken by a breeze of journalism ; from that day to this, French-Canadian newspapers have been active and influential. In 1778 Fleury Mesplet, a native of Lyons, brought out his *Gazette du Commerce et littéraire*. It was promptly padlocked, opened subject to censorship as the result of a popular appeal, but soon padlocked again while the editor spent three years in a filthy

[1] *A Man looks at his Past.* [2] *Other Days, Other Ways.*

dungeon without trial. In 1806 came the *Canadien*, a paper which would in these days be called ' nationalist ' ; it was also padlocked, although the law officers in Great Britain later disapproved the action, and was not resuscitated until 1831. Duvernay's journalistic efforts and their importance have already been mentioned ; he was succeeded by a number of violent polemicals to whom the Confederation discussions gave plenty of ammunition. The student of the troubled epochs in Canadian history who fails to read at least some French-Canadian newspapers will never get a real insight into his subject. This, one might remark, is just as true to-day ; if a few more English Canadians read a little more of the French-Canadian press, just as a few more students should read a few more French-Canadian books, they would know more of their fellow countrymen.[1]

Until 1880 the French-Canadian press was almost entirely a vehicle of opinion ; since that time it has followed the American and English-Canadian example by turning largely to news, yet even to-day its editorial pages are relatively more important than those of the English journals. Now French Canada even has its tabloids such as *La Patrie* and *L'Illustration* (dailies), and *Le Petit Journal* (weekly), and very enlightening some of them are.

By far the largest of the papers is *La Presse* of Montreal ; with its daily circulation of 156,910[2] it ranks high even for North America, it has its own radio station, C.K.A.C. ; it had the first experimental television set in Canada, a Sunday edition which rivals those of New York and runs 184,000 copies, and an American circulation of 10,000. *Le Canada*, the Montreal morning paper, has strong political opinions, so has *Le Jour* ; both are well written, and as long as both

[1] See Chapter VII.

[2] Average 1937.

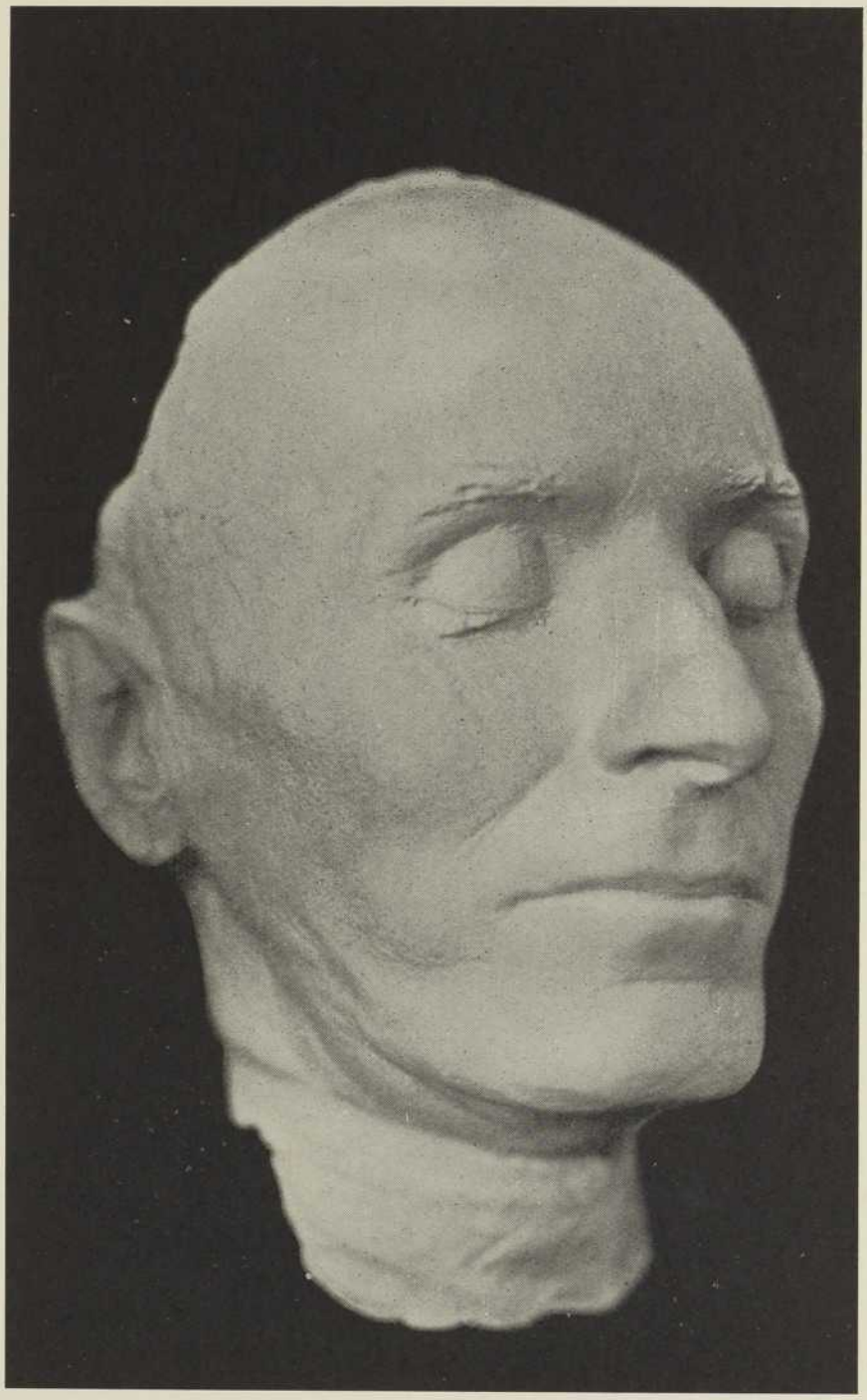
have their say, talk of political or clerical dictatorship in Quebec only shows that the speakers do not read their press. In Quebec, the *Action Catholique*, in Montreal, *Le Devoir*, in Ottawa, *Le Droit* represent 'Catholic action,' they are all successors to the old school of French-Canadian journalism rather than rivals of English papers; for that reason, if for no other, they strive for style and authoritative expression. *Le Journal* of Quebec is definitely political, Quebec also has *L'Evenement* and *Le Soleil*, Trois-Rivières *La Nouvelliste*, and Sherbrooke *La Tribune*.

Just as journalism had its share in the maintenance of French-Canadian identity a century ago so it is playing its part to-day. The list of French-Canadian newspapers outside the Province of Quebec—the French papers published in the United States are mostly French-Canadian—is surprising. In New Brunswick there are the *Madawaska* of Edmundston and the *Evangeline* of Moncton, in Ontario four small papers as well as *Le Droit*. In Manitoba the first French paper was the *Métis*, later called *Manitoba*; there have been several since; to-day there is the *Liberté* which has done more than any other lay agency to maintain the French language and French culture; it supplements the pen by the radio, the theatre, and the school contest. In Saskatchewan there is the *Patriote*, in Alberta *la Survivance* and *la Survivance des Jeunes*.

In New England there is the *Travailleur* (founded in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1874), four other daily papers, twelve weeklies, one paper which appears twice a month, two monthlies and a bi-monthly review. The high spot in French-Canadian New England history was the story of the *Sentinelle* which engaged in a battle with the religious authorities and had to meet both French and English opponents. New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New Orleans, all have

French papers, except for the last, more French than French Canadian.

This bare catalogue can do little more than give an impression of activity, and without doubt some will criticize its inclusion in a chapter devoted to literature. The reply is double, first these notes are entitled ' the pen,' and the pen—nowadays we should say the typewriter—of the newspaper man is entitled not to the last but to the first place ; second, and more important, many of French Canada's most noted writers have been, first of all, journalists. Fréchette, the first uncrowned poet laureate of French Canada, was a journalist. He, like other journalists, kept getting into trouble, helping unwittingly Fenian spies in Canada, leaving in consequence, to found a newspaper *l'Amérique* in Chicago, and backing the French in the war of 1870 in a German-American stronghold. Fréchette, with his fellow Victorians, is a target for moderns but some of his work will live when the moderns are gone. His journalistic calling always influenced him, he played on his readers' feelings with a journalist's ability. Ludger Duvernay was the father of a long line of brilliant political writers which has not ended. Henri Bourassa is still with us, and though Olivar Asselin is gone his spirit lives in his successors. Georges Pelletier and his colleagues of the *Devoir* combine energetic style with good French ; Mr Pelletier's comment on the effort of the Social Service Council of Canada to have the ' Padlock Law ' disallowed is a journalistic model. The Council ' undertakes to speak in the name of the Protestants of Canada and of the different associations attached more or less closely to their churches. In fact the Social Service Council has not in the circumstances any mandate to speak for these Canadian citizens *en bloc* ; above all it has no right to speak in the name of the Protestants of this province.



Death Mask of Olivar Asselin. 'We march for British institutions because they are worth fighting for.'

That is so true that the Lord Bishop of Montreal has let it be known that his church has expressed no opinion as to the Quebec law of which the Social Service Council demands the disallowance, and that this group cannot therefore pretend to speak in the name of the Church of England in Montreal.' [1]

Le Canada is at its best on the attack, as it often is, but it is good when it is kind. It addresses Sir Evelyn Wrench on a speech he has made in the French language. 'You must look intelligent, for you are intelligent, you are of ripe age, with an open countenance, clever eyes, a pleasant smile. We should not be surprised if you wore sideburns—and Lady Wrench must be charming. Saint Evelyn Wrench, patron of all good Englishmen, pray for us.' [2]

There have always been, and there are to-day, a number of French-Canadian magazines, some light, such as the *Revue Moderne*, *Revue Populaire*, *Le Mauricien*, some serious like *l'Action Canadienne Française*. Perhaps the most important contributions of all are *Le Canada Français*, the magazine of Laval University and *La Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, which print important addresses as well as original articles.

Turning to the field of general literature we find ourselves in the face of a very considerable body of writing. The reader who would like a detailed survey may find it in the excellent article on Literature in the *Encyclopedia of Canada*. Another bibliography was published in *Les Canadiens Français Chez Eux* (Librairie d'Action Canadienne Française, 1937). Here rather than attempting to compress a book into a chapter we may perhaps venture on some general considerations.

We find first of all a conflict of opinions. Monseigneur Maurault, Rector of the University of Montreal, a critic as well as an author himself, deals with a manual

[1] 20 March 1938. [2] 10 July 1937.

of Canadian literature by Mr Lorne Pierce. He points out that comparison between English and French-Canadian literature is dangerous. To make such a comparison well, he says, the critic must have 'a perfect knowledge of the two languages, an exact comprehension of the spirit of the two races, a very sure taste.'[1] Monseigneur Maurault ends by citing Mr Pierce's summary characteristics of Canadian literature in general; it is marked, Mr Pierce thinks, by the simplicity and sincerity of youth, by a solid optimism, by a pioneering spirit (here it is compared with Canadian painting), by a taste for power, an unyielding dignity; finally 'our distaste for discipline and criticism, our impatience with diplomacy and established conventions, our self-complacent short cuts mar a great deal of our literature.' 'Well!' says Monseigneur Maurault, 'In this mirror that Mr Lorne Pierce puts before me I do not recognize myself.' Which is another way of saying that there is no Canadian bond between English and French-Canadian writing.

Mr Jean Charles Harvey, who edits and publishes what another journalist calls 'the dernier cri in tabasco dailies, *Le Jour*,' is as frank as Olivar Asselin used to be. 'A French-Canadian literature,' says Mr Harvey, 'will not really exist until the day when a certain number of books, children of our brains, can be translated into nearly all languages, diffused across the world, and win recognition not as French works but as the emanation of a well-localized and well-characterized soul.' 'If we do not deliver ourselves,' he goes on, 'from the spirit of imitation which animates almost all our intellectual production, especially in art, we shall never become anything. . . . This is what I mean when I say that we are no longer French. We shall be ourselves or—we shall not.'

[1] O. Maurault, 'On a Manual of Canadian Literature,' *Proc. of Royal Society of Canada*, p. 81. 1935.

Mr Harvey's judgments are proverbially hard, he is what the French Canadians call 'tough,' and it would not be difficult to find some characteristics, quite different from those which Mr Pierce sees marking English-Canadian writing, which set French-Canadian literature apart. The first of these is the comparatively large place which history occupies, and has always occupied, in the French-Canadian mind.

In the nineteenth century history was by far the most important field of activity—if a list of even the notable works is not given here it is because nothing but a list could be given. Even poetry of those days was deeply tinged with the historical spirit.

Fréchette writes on the Battle of Chateauguay :

Maintenant sur nos murs quand un geste ironique
Nous montre à nous Français l'étendard britannique
Que le sang de Wolfe y scella
Nous pouvons, et cela suffit pour vous confondre,
Indiquer cette date aux railleurs et répondre :
'Sans nous il ne serait plus là.' [1]

(And now when on our walls fortune's ironic jest
Shows us, French as we are, the English flag, sealed by the blood of Wolfe,
We can, and surely this will end your mocking,
Speak of that day and say :
'Without our aid, that flag had ceased to fly.')

His poem on Chenier, the heroic leader of St Eustache, rises to magnificence :

Défiguré, hagard, effroyable, splendide,
Et pour suprême insulte à la fatalité
Le fier mourant cria, 'Vive la liberté !' [2]

(Disfigured, haggard, fearful to see and splendid,
And for his last defiance to his fate
Dying in pride, cried 'Liberty !')

[1] L. Fréchette, *La Legende d'un Peuple*, p. 239. [2] *Ibid.* p. 266.

But for all that he loves France, for all that he is *Canadien*, for all that he resents the sufferings and the injustices that he believes to have been the share of his people, Fréchette has the equanimity of a great soul. He ends his introduction on a note of fine conciliation :

> Car la concorde enfin a complété son œuvre.
> Consultant l'horizon, veillant a la manœuvre,
> Se prêtent tour à tour un cordial appui
> Les ennemis d'hier, les frères s'aujourd'hui.[1]
>
> (Peace in the end has wrought her miracle.
> Watching the far horizon as they steer
> The old-time enemies who now are friends,
> Each aiding each, are standing side by side.)

With Fréchette ended the first period of *Canadien* literature, and after he had gone there was a pause. Abbé Groulx looks back with some sorrow at the next developments. ' We have remained ignorant of history,' he says. ' After the magnificent effort of 1850 the generation of our great historians disappears. Our workers in this field lock themselves up in learning and the writing of monographs, an advance which becomes a withdrawal, since it is at such a time that general history ceases to reach the people. All that the writers do is to reduce history to little manuals, masterpieces of mnemonics, which satisfy the requirements of secondary education, while the chair of Abbé Ferland at Laval remains dumb.' [2]

One might observe, parenthetically, that while this criticism may in a general way be accurate, it is rather hard on Abbé Groulx himself, and also on Thomas Chapais, whose biographies of Montcalm and Talon and *Cours d'Histoire* are a noteworthy contribution to general historical literature. A number of specialist

[1] L. Fréchette, *La Legende d'un Peuple*, p. 36.
[2] *Notre Maître le Passé.* Montreal. 1924.

writers such as Léon Gérin,[1] Emile Vaillancourt,[2] Marius Barbeau,[3] and others have a place in the picture.

One criticism is perhaps equally applicable to all but the most recent French- and English-Canadian historical writing as a whole. Our English historians have been inclined to look at our history from an English, not from a Canadian point of view. Wolfe's army is the home team. Our French-Canadian historians have thought of French Canada before they thought of Canada, and constantly refer to the English, even to the English Canadian, as 'the enemy.' We are beginning to understand that this is wrong. Canadian history is something like the streams of the St Lawrence and the Ottawa at Montreal. They meet at the head of Lake St Louis, then flow along side by side, separate, as you can tell by their different colours, yet forming a single mighty river. So it is with the history of Canada, one stream flows down from France and one from England, yet to-day they are one. If it were not for the Ottawa there would not be enough water in the St Lawrence to float our ships at Montreal, if it were not for the St Lawrence the Ottawa would lose itself in the channels of the Lachine rapids. Both our French and our English-speaking writers might well be encouraged to remember that while our early history is worth knowing, our later history is quite as well worth knowing—and Canadian history has had its greatest days in the last hundred years. How many Canadian children know that the Canadian Corps played exactly as great a part in the final struggles of the Great War as did the American Army, that the

[1] Cf. *Le Type Economique et Social des Canadiens, L'Habitant de St Justine*, historical sociology.

[2] Cf. *La Conqu te du Canada par les Normands*, a study in genealogies.

[3] Cf. *Le Coeur de Québec*, archæology on the island of Orleans.

plan for the Canadian drive eastward from Arras matched by an American drive northward from Soissons, the two ends of a great pair of pincers, originated with our own commander, that Sir Arthur Currie commanded three times as many men as Wellington and defeated an infinitely larger hostile force ?

It is true, too, of French-Canadian historical writers as it is true of most others that they have devoted too little study to ordinary people. This is the gap which Abbé Tessier began to fill in 1937 with *Ceux qui firent notre Pays* (Those who made our country), a series of essays on everyday things. Gerard Filteau in the same year won the Provincial prize with *La Naissance d'une Nation*, a well documented picture of the Canada of 1755 which presents Canadian life of those days in all its aspects. ' It is a new kind of history—for us at all events,' said one of the jury. Some novelists have felt the same inspiration. Constantin Weyer's *Un Homme se Penche sur son Passé* is the story of a young dweller on the prairies of the days before the wheatfield had replaced the ranch, indeed the pages of the book show us that development in progress. A young man comes into the West just when the early days are changing to the later ones. He is travelling with some horses for sale. ' We traversed the prairie, now prostituted to the plough. Yankees, thin and tanned, spitting tobacco juice, showed by blasphemous remarks their objections to being disturbed while they were oiling their powerful steam engines. " Go to the circus and be damned to you," they shouted. " To hell with your horses, we want tractors, we want power, and if we need horses we need strong ones, Percherons or Clydes, your damned little prairie bronchos without hindquarters are out of date, let us get back to our oiling." '

Finally the Yankees blew the whistle and the herd of bronchos ran away. Then they see Breton settlers

still trusting in oxen, young Doukhobors who had harnessed their women to their ploughs and whipped them soundly. 'The prairie was becoming a hell. I regretted the days of scalps, which, as a matter of fact, I had never known.' We have a description of the far north—the young man and a friend make a terrible journey pulling a sledge. 'I remember that it was very cold. But it was also very fine. The sky was pale and clear, with fantastic phenomena of light about the sun at midday. As if to make game of the cold the sun became triple or quadruple, created two or three mock suns linked to himself by Maltese crosses of brightness, surrounded the whole by a circle made of fragments of rainbow, miraculously welded together, threw them to the ground one after the other, juggled with them, threw them back into the sky, where they suddenly turned into white light.' His friend dies, and he drags on the body. The end of the book is sad—the hero loses his wife, who runs away with another man, taking his child with her—he seeks them long and comes at last to a tree on which the child's name is roughly cut and below it there is a cross.

Nipsya gives us a sketch of the life of the western half-breeds as it was in the days of the Riel Rebellion fifty years ago. We get from it an inkling of the strange currents of thought and action which drove those misguided people to desperation. Perhaps its historical side is not the most interesting, perhaps the human life that is drawn was more in the mind of the writer. We see the gradual unfolding of a flower, the development of a Métis girl, and the picture is good, if sad.

The next characteristic of French-Canadian writing which we must mention is even more striking; it marks not only *Maria Chapdelaine*, already an international classic which needs no meed of praise, but the

work of modern prose writers whose books are well worth reading. The spirit of the *terroir*, an untranslateable word which means the land and all that belongs to it, is the motif of men like Georges Bouchard and Claude Henri Grignon. The first was lucky in his translator, Louis Carrier, now editor of *La Revue Moderne*, as much a countryman at heart as the author, and no apology is needed for quoting him again :

> In the grey mist of the morning, between an islet of green sod and the smoking fields already ploughed can be seen the silhouette of *le laboureur* bent low to his task. Rising before the dawn to feed his faithful animals, the *laboureur* leaves the farmyard in the first light to take up again his plough, the share of which has rested in the furrow since the previous evening. But before grasping the plough handles, the *laboureur* gives proof of his belief that the God who makes the sun to rise in the horizon also causes the harvest to grow and, anticipating even the pious call of the angelus, he traces a great sign of the cross before him.
>
> All day long he holds with firm hands the plough tails, pausing only at noontime for dinner. His team he directs more often by commands in his soft and steady voice than by motions of the reins kept close to his hands.
>
> He steers his furrow straight because he loves his land, and does not want to deform its features, because he is jealous of what is said of him, and most of all because he is anxious to have a fine crop.[1]

In poetry we see the same touch, and modern writers follow the tradition of a hundred years. The French-Canadian poets of other days told of the countryside more, perhaps, because they loved it than because it was beautiful, but in their successors there is a real appreciation of natural loveliness.

Read some of Judge Desaulniers' lines written in Gaspé :

[1] G. Bouchard, *Other Days, Other Ways*, p. 245.

Il semble qu'une main invisible dénoue
Une écharpe gemmée, et qu'un dieu la secoue
Pour laisser choir, du haut des cieux epanouis
Dans la mer de saphir, un enorme rubis.

It seems as though some viewless hands untie
A gemmy scarf, and a god lets it fly
And drops out of the spreading sky
A ruby sun into a sapphire sea.

Au loin
De son dos velouté quelqu'enorme marsouin
Rayant d'un trait d'argent la ligne gris et bleu
Eclaboussait l'azur du revers de sa queue
Puis replongeait dans les tranquilles profondeurs.[1]

Afar a porpoise with his glistening bow
Broke with a silver streak the line twixt blue and grey
Splashed the sky with his flukes, then plunged away
Into the tranquil depths far far below.

To-day we are getting such work as that of Alfred Desrochers—in a new and a bold style.

Les champs ont ce matin l'air de toiles écrues
Tant le printemps verdit le chaume à mon reveil
Au trécasse, juchés sur un fruste appareil
Deux gars relevent les clôtures abattues.

Au double ahan de leur haleine les massues
Tournant dans l'air qu'emplit la clarté du soleil
Retombe sur les pieux avec un bruit pareil
A celui de la glace éclatant sous les crues

Demain l'enclos sera prêt pour les bestiaux
Tandis que, sans repos ces hommes grands et beaux
Tendront sur un travail neuf leurs épaules fortes.

Et je songe en voyant ces êtres surhumains
Qu'à d'utiles labeurs ne servent pas mes mains
Mes mains ou j'aperçois des callosités mortes.[2]

---

[1] Gonzalve Desauluiers, *Les Bois qui chantent.*
[2] Alfred Des Rochers, *Au Temps des Clôtures.*

It is fine strong stuff :

The fields this morning look like unbleached cloth ;
The spring turns green the stubble as I wake ;
Nearby the gate, perched on a worn-out scaffold,
Two sturdy lads repair a broken fence.

Timed with the double bursting of their breath,
The mallets, turning in the sun-filled air,
Fall on the fence posts with a crash, like ice
Cracking and bursting in the floods of spring.

To-morrow our enclosure will be finished
While, without rest, our big good-looking lads
Turn their strong shoulders to another task.

I look at them, these more than mortal men,
I think—my hands are little turned to toil,
My hands still marked by dead callosities.

Simone Routier has a delicate imagination :

Les voix calines
Des mandolines
Du printemps
Charment mon âme
Comme la flamme
Des couchants.

Quelle sonate
La joie éclate
Des bourgeons
Et je la ceuille
Sous chaque feuille
Des jours blonds.

These tender sounds
The mandolines
of spring
Delight my soul
As does the flame
of setting suns.

What a sonata
Joy bursts forth
in bloom
And so I pluck it
Under the shining leaf
of each bright day.

The most modern novelists feel the charm. Here is a lovely Laurentian vignette drawn from one of the novels of Harry Bernard ; it loses by translation :

From the rock-wooded summits, blue escarpments, gentle slopes where cattle browse. A landscape shot with colour, the alternate play of shifting light and shade. Deep purpling valleys, reddening foliage, refreshing greenery of spruce woods, green glistening water rushing by wet and shining stones. Here and there the white flash of a birch, the quivering waters of a bay reflecting the dull bronze of willows, the yellow of long-plumed ash.[1]

This country air literature can show another quality which is less familiar and less comprehensible to the English Canadian and which these writers sometimes share with their friends, a pawky humour which occasionally has a sharp edge. When Mr Louis Francoeur wrote *A La manière de*, describing various prominent folk in their own characteristic style, he spoiled at least one political career, and ' Jean Narrache ' produced a ' tough ' gibe at capitalism in *Quand j' Parle Tout Seul.* Dr Grignon gave us *En Guettant les Ours* (Watching for Bears), which is the country doctor's slang for sitting up with an expectant mother—and had plenty to say about country life.

One element in French-Canadian literature though all-pervading is not obvious, it is like the atmosphere of a landscape which challenges the painter. That element is religion. The writer and the reader may not

[1] Harry Bernard, *Dolores.*

think of it, but it is always there. You can scarcely fail to find somewhere a reference to a parish or a churc hservice, even if you find nothing else. French-Canadian historians never forget the religious strand that runs through the cord of their history, and when they turn to novels, as Abbé Groulx has done in *Au Cap Blomidon*, religion is still close to them. French-Canadian essayists often touch on the same theme. Listen to this paragraph of Marie Victorin's *Croix de St Norbert* :

> The last flame of the setting sun lit for a minute the Roadside Cross. Touched by that final finger of light, the blackened wood came to life, it was endued with a violet mist, a strange yet very clear sensation filled my whole being ; that figure with outstretched arms was no more the work of man, but the very land of Canada, humming with its millions of invisible lives, pouring out its warm evening prayer—it was the Christian earth, which, as all things sank into peace for the night, made the sign of the Cross.

The last but not the least interesting of the characteristics which mark French-Canadian writing is the evidence of Latin culture, the result of classical college training. There is Greek culture too. Greek story, Greek beauty and Greek melancholy often have their effect upon French-Canadian thought. Dr Seraphin Marion points out that Judge Desaulniers shows this influence in a high degree. He has given away his own secret. The poem entitled ' I have left my home ' tells us that M Desaulniers ' prefers the books of the ancients to those of to-day and puts Musset aside for an ode of Horace.' In his *Letter from the Mountain* he declares that he is as happy as a shepherd of Theocritus. The short poem ' Come with me ' is an invitation to a sentimental walk under the over-arching pines, the birches and elms, which will give the poet an opportunity to read to his lady ' verses of Horace or

Catullus.' The inspiration of M. Desaulniers has its source sometimes in classical reminiscences, sometimes in a Horatian view of the Laurentian hills. As a result we have singularly interesting verses in which are manifest by turns the cult of the classics and the love of the poet's own country.

We can go further. There is one young author who seems to have inherited the Greek spirit indirectly, yet is nevertheless filled with it. Jovette Bernier's *La Chaire Decevente* is a modern novel—which reflects very ancient ideas. A young man, the child of an unsanctioned union, learns from his mother the secret of his birth—he falls in love with a charming girl only to discover that her father is his—and the unhappy mother sinks into insanity. Not very cheerful, but very possible—and very Greek.

A field which the literary critic seems to have neglected is that of criticism itself ; it deserves a visit, and in studying the critic we can learn a little of his subject. Canadian criticism is, it must be admitted, too often not criticism at all but indirect advertising ; the publisher who submits a work expects it to be praised, and French-Canadian, no less than English Canadian critics, show a desire to be kindly, which is not always for the good of authorship. French Canada has, nevertheless, more than its share of writers about books ; two of the most distinguished are Monseigneur Camille Roy, whose wide reading and deep culture make his literary essays more than instructive, and Monseigneur Olivier Maurault, whose style keeps his readers continually on the wait for new surprises. The most devoted student of modern French-Canadian letters is M. Maurice Hébert, who by his books, articles, and radio talks keeps his compatriots well informed on the movement of thought. Here for instance is what he has to say of one development which is in progress.

In his essay *Au tournant romanesque de nos lettres* (The romantic trend of our literature) he says :

Some novels, throughout the world, just lately, have not added much to the general fund of human ideas. Nevertheless they have expressed and commented on these ideas with more boldness than we have been used to. Some young writers have attempted to innovate by changing the angle of observation, by substituting an amethodical form for the arranged form and by adopting a style which gallops with loose rein, gallantly enough but with a step so short that horse and rider seem like little mechanical toys, breathless and irregular. These writers seek for the direct, for the incisive, for the spontaneous, for the disordered even to the point of indiscipline. Their thought brings no great and deep illumination to a subject, it casts sparks and flashes over things in action—and leaves an impression of fog scarcely pierced by light. They try to catch the soul at the moment when it loves or hates, at the highest pitch—the heart-beat of passion. Are our Canadian writers to enter the dance in their turn? How will they do it? Will our Canadian commonsense, the example of a strong tradition maintained in the face of everything, even in France, keep them from passing the border of excess? The future will show. At present our novel is in evolution. It has reached a dangerous corner. Will it make the turn successfully? It has full confidence in its destiny, it feels that it is alive and cries it on the housetops.[1]

We might observe in parenthesis that it is impossible to say how far the young Canadian writers, of whom M. Hébert speaks, have actually been pressed along by contemporary French authors, M. Mauriac for instance, or Julien Green, who is not French but American. M. Hébert sees one difference, that the French writer ends with nothing, ' une stupéfiant impression de néant ' (a stupefying impression of nothingness), whereas the French Canadians have, as he says ' put a lesson

[1] M. Hébert, *D'un Livre à l'Autre*, p. 245.

in each of their books, whether they wanted to or not,' Yet this new Canadian rivulet is only part of a general current of literature. The circulation of the libraries bears out the theory. Look over a set of cards picked at random from the Civic Library ; you will find quite a number of modern French names, and you will conclude that modern French thought must be considered when we are studying literary tendencies.

Another critic whose views are interesting is Dr Seraphin Marion, whose essays, such as those in his book, *Sur les Pas de nos Litterateurs*, contain real criticism in plenty. In writing of the work of M. Harry Bernard he touches on the same theme as that on which we have just heard M. Hébert.

> From our beginnings up to the twentieth century the French-Canadian novel, wrapped in swaddling clothes, had only emitted a few puling cries. The time had come to lift it from its cradle, to take it by the hand and initiate it little by little into the secrets of Life and Art, after having introduced it to its elder sisters, Canadian Poetry and History. A kindly and still young tutor, M. Bernard did not hesitate to assume the responsibility.[1]

As an example of style new to French Canada, Dr Marion picks this passage :

> A floating cloud . . . hurled itself suddenly towards a pale moon, hesitating on the edge of the sky, opened a cavernous gape and swallowed it at a mouthful.[2]

Once again translation is difficult.

There are many other critics, too many to mention. Canon Emile Chartier has been offering to the eclectic appetites of his colleagues in the Royal Society of Canada a series of essays on French Canadian poetry ; [3] a Franciscan, Father Carmel Brouillard, has ideas of his

[1] S. Marion, *Sur les Pas de Nos Litterateurs*, p. 43. [2] *Ibid.* p. 57.
[3] Translation, R.S.C., 1935, 1936, 1937.

own ; he seeks rather for what the writer is than for the merit or demerit of what he says. 'The most efficacious way of understanding a poet is to confront him with himself, independent from the theories of a coterie.' [1] He works, admittedly, from the theological aspect. '*Le Risque* of M. Dantin, the most successful of his stories and the most pathetic is, unfortunately, from the theologian's point of view, reprehensible.' [2] At a new poet, Roger Brien, he looks with a psychologist's glass. 'Roger Brien chooses his own themes, but the developments, I am sure, attack him like hungry wolves, force on him their moving catastrophe of lines and images, fly onward to their fulness and complete expansion.' [3] M. Paul Morin is quite likely to be hard on his fellow countrymen, M. Victor Barbeau to disagree : in reading both, the English Canadian student of French Canada may arrive at an intermediate conclusion—and may not.

Other fields than that of criticism seem to have escaped the notice of most commentators. Economics, while it has not many works to boast of, has some interesting ones. The chapters of Dr Edouard Montpetit in *Sous le Signe de l'Or* stand beside his semi-political essays in *D'Azur à Trois Lys d'Or* (*Azure*, three fleurs de lys *or*.) Professor Arthur St Pierre in *L'Oeuvre des Congregations de Charité* (The Work of Charitable Religious Associations) has given valuable information on a little understood subject. M. Henry Laureys has dealt with foreign trade in an interesting way. In the field of education there are a number of writers ; some have been mentioned ; in those of law and science there are authors such as the Hon. P. B. Mignault and Brother Marie Victorin, whose works are known in France as well as in Canada ; unfortunately

[1] C. Brouillard, *Sous le signe des Muses*, p. 19. [2] *Ibid.* p. 14.
[3] *Le Canada*, 31st May 1935.

space does not permit mention of as many names as deserve it.

The latest sphere of effort is broadcasting, and here at least one high-water mark has been set. M. Robert Choquette is a still young writer who has no fear of experiment ; his *Metropolitan Museum* was a remarkable piece of poetic writing. Lately he created in the series of broadcasts called *Le Curé du Village* (The Village Priest) a whole village street of radio personalities. The Curé is the centre, a shrewd, kindly and religious guide, who stops his people from swearing by teaching them strange words. Sometimes he has puzzles himself, for instance when a former presbytery housekeeper, with a particularly unfortunate temper, tells him that her health has been ruined by depression since he would not re-engage her. That is a little beyond the good curé, he has himself to turn to the village doctor for advice—and gets it. To the country people of Quebec these inhabitants of the village of St Vivien were all real—and when one of the characters died his relations at the studio received hundreds of black-edged cards of sympathy. How many authors have had such a tribute ?

Let Canada's first author Governor-General close this all too short survey of French-Canadian authors :

> French Canada has only begun its work of authorship. It has within itself all the elements of a great literature, a people whose story is one of the most romantic in the world, a country population which has been wise enough to remain close to the land and to maintain its old traditions. I foresee that French Canada will collaborate with distinction in those intellectual efforts which will always be the foundation of true civilization, for it shares two great inheritances, the French and the English.[1]

[1] Lord Tweedsmuir, Address at the Congrès de la Langue Française, Quebec. *La Presse*, 30 June 1937.

CHAPTER XVII

Onward in the Arts

RECENT years have seen the development of an English Canadian school of painting. The Group of Seven, which is now a group of more than seven, made a break with tradition; suddenly it began to produce the works which are accepted by critics as having a common Canadian quality. For one who is not a critic it would be an impertinence to attempt to describe that quality; but even a layman can see that it is drawn from Canadian light and air, from Canadian nature, hill, rock, lake, river and tree. It is too early to say what influence this change in painting will have in English Canadian life; it seems as yet to stand alone and is not paralleled in architecture, in sculpture or in those forms of art which are classified, sometimes admiringly, sometimes rather patronisingly, as handicrafts.

French Canada has no such twentieth century Canadian development to show; French Canada began to form its Canadian art in the eighteenth century; with a good many checks, recessions and fresh starts, the movement has gone on ever since and is still progressing. Modern French-Canadian artistic effort differs from English Canadian in other respects too; firstly, it is put forth in many forms by people in almost every walk of life; secondly, all its manifestations have an elusive something in common. You seek to find that something; when you do find it

you discover another difference between the English and the French-Canadian mind—French-Canadian art is somehow touched by the spirit of the *terroir*, not the unconquered nature of the English artist but 'the Land,' conquered nature and its conquerors; the countryside of Quebec is very near the artist. There are variations on the theme, there are many modifications, sometimes it appears in full strength, sometimes it is not evident, but it is always there.

Examine first the work of the architects and sculptors in wood, of whom Professor Ramsay Traquair wrote. The church and house exteriors of the eighteenth century speak, as he has shown us, of the Canadian climate, with its winter snows and its hot summers, the interior carvings show horns of plenty, fruit, flowers and vegetables of the Canadian soil; the sculptured saints and virgins are good Canadians in Palestinian clothes. The designs of highboys and cupboard door were influenced by the Canadian woods in which they were carried out, the bright tin spires were tin because tin was easy to come by, and so it happened that these churches and houses were simply and naturally Canadian.

The curious skill of these early workers, their wonderful accuracy of hand and eye, has come down to modern days and appears in many kinds of work. At St Jean Port Joli on the Lower St Lawrence a country carpenter, Médard Bourgault, found himself without a job; he took his tools and his penknife and set to carving. He had never had a lesson, he worked without drawings, but somehow or other he managed to convey the beauty of labour, the pathos of old age. His models were all about him, a beggar, a missionary priest, a horse coper, a sow and her litter; sometimes he gave his imagination rein and carved a crucifix or a station of the cross. Dr Marius Barbeau of the Victoria Museum

in Ottawa found our carpenter at work and passed on the news to the Canadian Handicrafts Guild ; now Bourgault and his brothers have a little guild of their own and are so busy that they can scarcely keep pace with their orders. From the Bourgaults we go to wood carving of a slightly more urban and conservative type in the work of Elzéar Soucy, who has produced wonderful church furniture and screens and finished figures, clever interior decorations, like the Norman fighting cocks on an Outremont door. We pass on again to Mr Soucy's brother and find him carving in stone, comic figures, a modern student with horn rimmed glasses bending over a book fitted in high relief into a square stone, heroic portrait statues such as the figure on the entrance to the Ottawa Parliament.

It is not only wood and stone work that we find among the craftsmen ; some marvellous gold and silver pieces bear witness to the art and skill of eighteenth and nineteenth century gold and silversmiths, wrought iron crosses and grilles to the eager pride of the country forge. The Quebec Government has shown its good sense in beginning the preparation of a complete inventory of Quebec's art treasures ; the work has been confided to young men whose training fits them for the task ; the results of even the first summer's work brought to light a really astonishing quantity of priceless things, mostly the gold and silver pieces of country churches.

Craft work is still going on. The smith of to-day may spend most of his time repairing motor cars, but he can and does turn his hand to a wrought iron job whenever you want him to. In the modern city there are clever young people like Marguerite Lemieux who turn their hand to decorative articles of furniture, combining wood and metal with a good deal of skill. Professor Jean Marie Gauvreau has been able to

E. Vaillancourt

In a Canadian Studio : Alfred Laliberté's work.

create a furniture school ; he has resuscitated some old Canadian motifs, added a good many new ones and turned out a number of first-class craftsmen who produce chairs, tables, desks, and cupboards, each of which is an individual and unique bit of craft art.

Now we come to a fork in the way. Climbing upward on the one hand we find the group of French Canadian sculptors led by Hébert and Laliberté. Laliberté found most of his motifs close to the soil, a Canadian mother gleaning while her child waits near her feet ; a sower, whose sweep of arm reminds us of Georges Bouchard's words. Hébert went to the great figures of Canada, to-day and yesterday were linked by his genius. Suzor Coté, sculptor and artist both, has given us some wonderful bronzes, redolent of the fresh turned furrow; his 'Maria Chapdelaine' is a true daughter of Quebec, his reaper tells the whole story of the farm. Their modern successors have done and are doing any amount of interesting work and their sphere is a little wider. Henri Hébert's Labelle Street studio will take you to Paris ; he changes tune like a musician and passes without apparent effort from lovely female figures to strong studies like ' 1914,' an axe laid to the root of a tree. He saw further than most of us ; ' 1914 ' was prophecy in sculpture.

Alice Nolin and Simone Hudon have made good the claim of women to a place in the field ; Miss Nolin's magnificent busts, like that of Sir James Logan, are a joy to the eye for strength and beauty ; Miss Hudon's work is worthy of an atelier, Simone Daoust is another excellent sculptor, perhaps her finest work was the portrait bust of Quebec's great lawyer, Eugéne Lafleur. A different field has attracted Emile Brunet, whose carvings show definite new trends ; the Virgin and Child pictured in plate illustrates one variety of his efforts.

The second path to which wood and metal work lead us brings us first to woodcuts. Let us go to Nicolet, which we have visited once already ; we run up the river opposite the little town and turn in at a farmhouse gate ; the farmhouse has a large addition ; we enter it and find ourselves in a studio. Rodolphe Duguay, our farmer's son, loved drawing and loved the country ; he won his way to Paris, came back to the Quebec he knew and began to picture it ; he used and uses oils, but his real medium is the woodcut, and his woodcuts are instinct with the life of the Nicolet countryside. You see a storm sweeping over the woods and out to Lake St Louis, black clouds climb towards the zenith, splashes of sun still touch the fields, you can almost hear the wind in the trees and smell the rain. You see the habitants at their meals, at their church, at their work ; even simple things like a pump and a barrel take on a beauty you never thought that they posssessed. Duguay, though the only one mentioned, for this cannot be a catalogue, is not the only master of the woodcut, but Duguay has proved that in this field the French Canadian cannot be bettered.

Farther on up the same hill of art we come to etching, and here we find in French Canada an etcher who is accepted by critics as one of the world's greatest, well worthy to rank with Rembrandt, and Vandyck, with D. Y. Cameron and the best of to-day. Clarence Gagnon is an artist who is also the very highest sort of craftsman ; his oils and monotypes show the same craftsmanship as his etchings, but it is less obvious to the layman ; in his work there are qualities of composition which even laymen can enjoy and artists envy. Another skilled worker who seeks for bold effects is Marc Aurèle Fortin, he, too, uses oils and water colours and we shall hear of him again. Younger

people are following into this field and showing evidence of originality as well as skill. Mimi Forgues' 'Josette' is a clever portrait in which the artist has exaggerated just enough to increase the charm of the subject.' Simone Hudon's 'Ursuline Convent,' an authentic fragment of old Quebec, makes you hear the birds in the convent garden and the sound of the convent bell.

And so it goes, from one end of our piece of country to the other there is no break, no Roman wall, all is one endeavour taking different shapes.

Turn now to painting, design, and arts akin to them, you will find that French Canada has the same story to tell; the inspiration is one, only its manifestations differ, and you never get far away from the land of Quebec.

Here, too, let us begin near the soil. Mention has already been made of the domestic arts of the Quebec housewife; unfortunately too many shops and too many tourists are so easily satisfied by mediocre products that they never realize what really good work means. Making a hooked rug requires technique of a particular kind; when the rug is well made it will last as long as a Wilton carpet. But far more than technique must go into the work; the design of a good hooked rug is an enthralling task. Most of the best designs are traditional. Flower patterns are derived from French and American sources; the latter came first to the Maritime Provinces and Gaspé with the Loyalists, then found their way to the Acadians of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, so finally they reached the St Lawrence. The individual worker devises her own variations on each theme and thus an infinite number of good patterns can be worked out. Geometrical designs seem also to have come from the south, if we can judge by such names as the 'Boston pavement'; we find other patterns

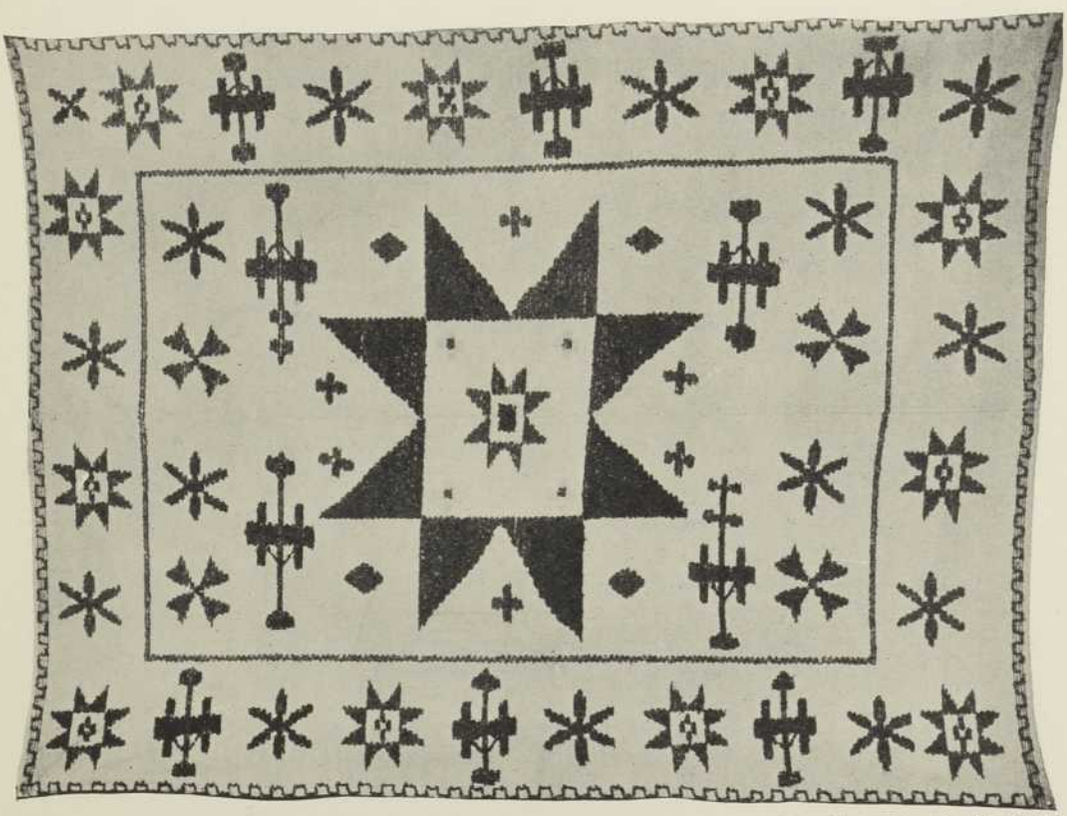
showing the laurel leaves of revolutionary days. Some workers make pictures of farm scenes, a Jersey cow turns a large and melting eye on the observer ; a fence lies on its side so that you can be sure that it is a fence ; a bird is like Edward Lear's :

> There was an old man who said ' Hush,
> I perceive a young bird in this bush '
> He replied—' Not at all,
> It is five times as big as the bush.'

Lately some of the rug hookers have taken to copying paintings, with such variations as suit them and without acknowledgment. The results are sometimes pleasant, except to the original artists, but are scarcely as suitable for the real purpose of rugs as the traditional designs. A better idea has been instilled into the Acadians of Cape Breton by the Cape Breton Home Industries, an affiliated group of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild. Cape Breton has a history in which Scotch, French, English, Spanish and Portuguese all have a place and in which fishing has played a great part. Now we are getting from the Cape Breton Acadians clever rug designs based on the traditions of several nations as well as on the codfish which is their livelihood, on shell fish, starfish, and seaweed as well. New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Acadians are also producing rugs in plenty.

The art of the loom has given us and is still giving us interesting things, perhaps the most interesting is the coverlet with its traditional design, in tufts of wool, of which mention was made in an earlier chapter. Some of the designs or features of them are the named ; we have the Tree of Life, one of the most ancient ; the Chain, which comes from the Neustrian Gauls ; the Lemon Star, with the oddest history of all. The Lemon Star reached New England, somehow or other,

Exhibition, 1933. Sculpture in wood.



Canadian Handicrafts Guild

A Hand-woven Coverlet. The Le Moyne Star.

from New Orleans, it came to Quebec from New England. But how did it reach New Orleans? Its name tells the story, for it is not the Lemon Star as the New Englanders called it, but the Le Moyne Star; it reached New Orleans in the early days of the French settlement, with those violent and gallant young Le Moynes who thought no more of a two thousand mile trip than a modern pilot, although they took much longer over it.

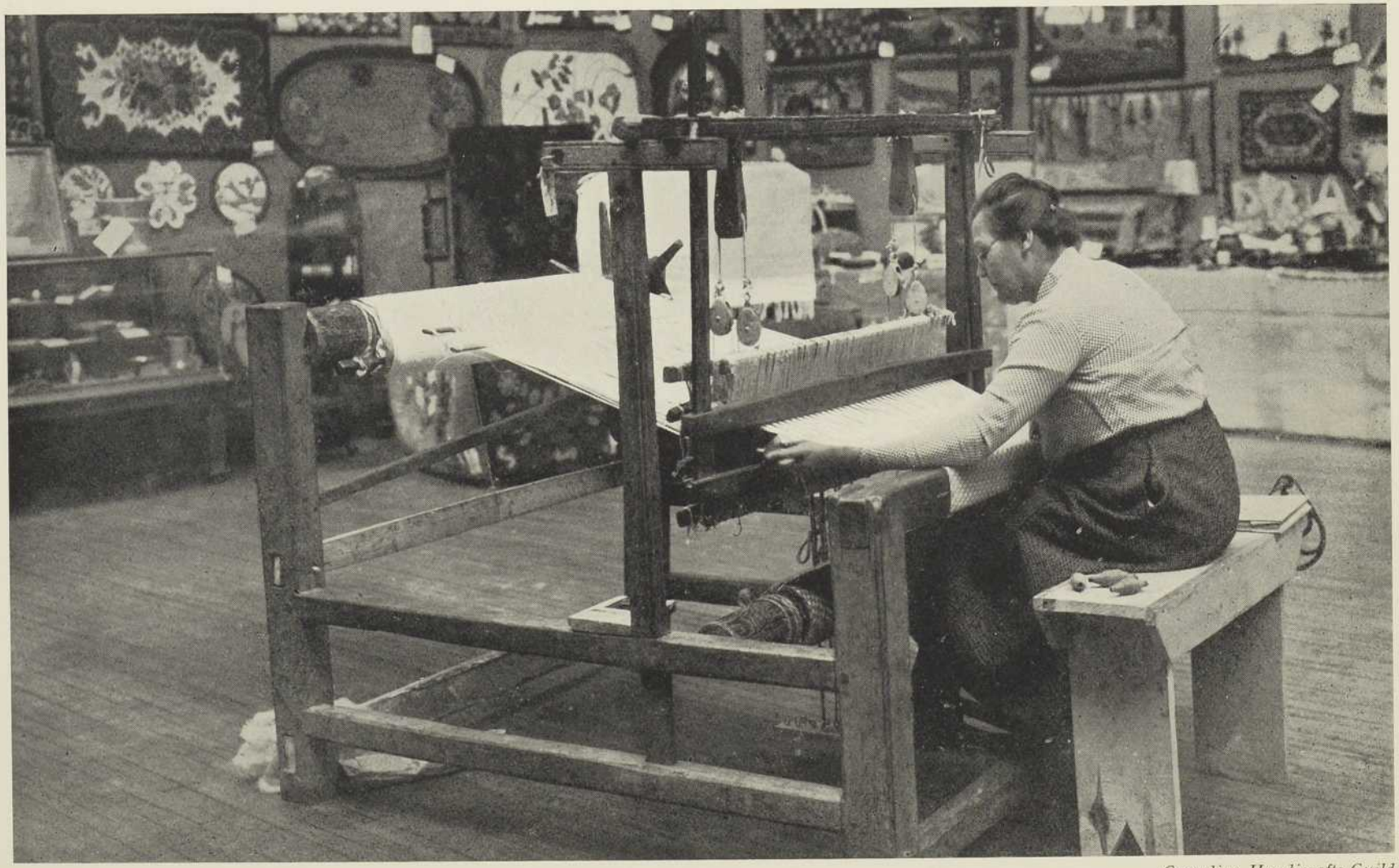
There is a transition step from these country crafts to work more readily admitted by those who think of art as something only belonging to artists in the narrow sense of the word; this step is to be found in the work of children. French Canada, like English Canada, recognizes that children's art is a manifestation worth attention, and some of the youngsters' work is excellent. In this field the Cercles des Jeunes Naturalistes are taking the lead; they are not limiting themselves to drawing what they see, a tree, a bird, a country scene, but are producing designs for other work based on what they have seen; a wrought iron grille for instance will have a clever flower motif. Still farther on we come to the lovely coloured flower pictures of Marguerite Lemieux, equal to anything of their kind.

When we survey the field of French-Canadian painting we find that we are looking at a race which has been doing good work along its own lines, drawing its inspiration mainly from its own traditions and following its own masters. We need not go back to those painters of the last century who devoted themselves to history, portraiture or sacred subjects; modern French-Canadian painting had its roots in the Quebec scene but grew to strength not so long since.

One earlier artist, Krieghoff, must be mentioned, for his delicate brush and clear eye have given us pictures

each of which is a document in Canadian social history; no more sympathetic and charming view of French Canada has ever been given in words or ever will be. But Krieghoff was not a French Canadian and had no successors; although Massicotte and Henri Julien continued, mostly in black and white, his studies of the habitant life of a vanishing day; the first of the modern school was Suzor Coté of Arthabaska, who brought to the Quebec landscape the skill of a great master. Suzor Coté has gone, but many others are with us. Paul Caron, with his clever views of habitant life in winter, is well known from the thousands of Christmas cards which reproduce his work; Georges Delfosse has seen beauty in old Montreal houses and preserved for us things that modernity will all too soon destroy; Adrien Hébert is fascinated by Montreal Harbour, he has managed to find a hundred themes in masts and house-flags, in black and white sides of the Canadian Pacific, the red plates of Canada Steamships, in the red, white and blue funnels of the Canadian National. High on the tree of modern painting, very near the top of it, is Clarence Gagnon, whose lovely illustrations of *Maria Chapdelaine* would have told us the story of the Quebec countryside, if *Maria Chapdelaine* had never been written. No one has ever painted the atmosphere of the St Lawrence and Lake St John Valleys with such feeling; the sunkissed mist of a winter morning on the icy river, the blazing red of autumn, the blue, green and white tricolour of sky pines and snow that winter designed for a Canadian flag, are as real and as touching as if you were in the midst of the picture. In this field, too, women are busy; one who has done excellent work is Madeleine des Rosiers; her landscapes are always worth seeing; they are not alone, but once again a catalogue is impossible.

One painter whose work is always characteristic



Canadian Handicrafts Guild

A Skilled Worker : Mme Rioux of Trois Pistoles.

and original is Marc Aurèle Fortin; like Clarence Gagnon we have already met him as an etcher. Fortin's drawing and his colour work are both very much his own; his interpretations of the Island of Montreal make it a place that you would like to see as he sees it: he seems to have one curious asset, an eye which sees by infra-red rays; that is the only explanation one can give for his contrasts of sky and cloud, his clear view of distances.

Young people are pushing forward and many are winning their way to the front—Alyne Gauthier-Charlebois, Simone Dénéchaud, Alfred Rousseau and Maurice Raymond; there are more of them and more will be heard of them.

A very different section of the graphic arts is caricature, and here French Canada has followed the most mordant French tradition. Sometimes, but seldom, there is a kindly tease like La Palme; generally the French-Canadian caricaturist uses no rapier but a dragoon's sword; if he attacks you there is no mistake about it; for that very reason and because most of his work is highly topical we will leave him with this remark, that politics in French Canada—and cartoons are most political—are a field for very hard knocks; if you are afraid of that you had better stay out.

Turning now to architecture we find that after the end of the charming localized development of early days there followed a long period in which we cannot find much to praise. The intermediate epoch was first marked by the effect of Georgian ideas; we see broad church fronts with arched doorways and window openings, flanking square towers, topped by pointed turrets; the houses altered too, definitely following Georgian forms. The 'vernacular' period was ended; Canadian architecture for the time being lost its quality and became professional plagiarism.

What followed was, from the artistic point of view, worse yet. Churches were highly decorated but quite without character, and a dozen motifs, Russian among them, vied for favour ; the pretty houses with their high bell-cast roofs were largely replaced by unbeautiful boxes of wood or brick ; the interior carvings were scrapped for plaster, examples of mass production ; the beautiful wooden candlesticks, silvered or gilded by Quebec nuns, were despised when a fine brass lighting fixture could be bought in the city. The first French-Canadian voice to be raised in protest was that of Olivar Asselin ; he was followed by others, and we have already noted what the politicians of 1936 had to say about architecture.

The last few years have seen new and rather surprising changes in church architecture produced by a school of young men who seem to have drawn some of their inspiration directly or indirectly from a distinguished Belgian, Dom Bello. Highly decorated interiors, with many lights, have been replaced by very simple construction designed to express the truth at which the architects are aiming. One of the leaders of the new school is M. Gaston Gagnier, still a young man, who graduated from the École des Beaux Arts in 1930. His church at St Lambert, an illustration of which is printed, shows the return to simplicity and functionalism with just enough Canadian tradition to give a special character to the building. The interior shows a vault the lines of which are given by cutting the smaller end of an egg lengthwise ; Nature has provided, it seems, in this curve, a model for strength. The altar is simple, set in a plain Roman arched recess and indirectly but brightly lighted. There are none of the usual electric fixtures in the church itself ; the lights are above the vault ceiling, the light passing through and distributed by lenses.

An example of a somewhat similar interior is shown in the architecture of the church at Ste Therese de Beauport ; the development cannot but be a pleasing one to those who admire the beautiful and natural architecture of the old small churches of Quebec.

The ovoid construction is also to be seen in the dome of the great new shrine of St Joseph, on the north-western slopes of Mount Royal. This dome, only surpassed in size by that of St Peter in Rome, crowns a high stone construction with a pillared portico ; it is so high that from its top one can look over the mountain top to the harbour and away to the southern distances.

What is to be said about music ? The most important thing to be said is perhaps this, that if French Canada is not producing many flashing comets it can show a good many stars whose light is steady and clear. The love of music is very general, not surprising when so many boys sing in choirs and learn Gregorian chants with their daily lessons, when so many older folk can still be thrilled by their forebears' folk songs.

French-Canadian music begins with religious compositions, even the tunes of folk songs show many Gregorian themes and much fine work has lately been done in the religious field by Alfred Laliberté, Claude Champagne and others. The same motif carries us into patriotic hymns ; there is no need to print the music of *O Canada* by which Calixa Lavallée immortalized himself ; J. B. Labelle's tune for Sir George Etienne Cartier's song *O Canada, mon pays, mes amours* are as well known in Quebec.

Sir G. E. Cartier — J. B. Labelle

II

Maints ruisseaux et maintes rivières
Arrosent mes fertiles champs ;
Et de nos montagnes altières,
De loin on voit les longs penchants, (*bis*)
Vallons, coteaux, forêts, chutes rapides,
De tant d'objets est-il plus beaux concours ?
Qui n'aimerait tes lacs aux eaux limpides ?
O Canada, mon pays, mes amours ! (*bis*)

III

Les quatre saisons de l'année
Offrent tout à tour leurs attraits :
Le printempts, l'amante enjouée
Revoit ses fleurs, ses verts bosquets (*bis*
Le moissonneur l'été, joyeux s'apprete
A recueillir le fruit de ses labeurs,
Et tout l'automne et tout l'hiver, on fête.
O Canada, mon pays, mes amours ! (*bis*)

IV

Le Canadien, comme ses pères,
Aime à chanter, à s'égayer,
Doux, aisé vif en ses manières,
Poli, galant, hospitalier. (*bis*)
A son pays il ne fut jamais traître,
A l'esclavage il résista toujours ;
Et sa maxime est la paix, le bien-être
Du Canada, son pays, ses amours ! (*bis*)

V

O mon pays ! de la nature,
Vraiment, tu fus l'enfant chéri ;
Mais l'étranger, souvent parjure,
En ton sein le trouble a nourri : (*bis*)
Puissent tous tes enfants enfin se joindre,
Et valeureux, voler à ton secours !
Car le beau jour déja commence à poindre.
O Canada, mon pays, mes amours ! (*bis*)

Canadian Pacific Photograph

A Ski-ing Idyll. "Off to the hills."

There are great names in the history of Canadian music. Madame Albani—Emma Lajeunesse—made her native town of Chambly famous by her golden soprano, Plamondon's strings charmed great audiences ; in 1938 they have many successors. M. Jean Marie Beaudet, French musical director of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, is an artist to his finger tips as well as a manager ; Captain J. J. Gagnier of the Grenadier Guards of Canada conducts an orchestra, a band, or a mixture with aplomb and skill. Wilfrid Pelletier's meteoric rise from a drummer boy to conductor of the New York Metropolitan Orchestra still astonishes his friends. The popularity of orchestral music is evidenced by the crowds that orchestral concerts attract and occasional musical festivals bring contestants by the dozen.

French-Canadian women are known as performers and composers. Mme Morin-Labrecque has written an opera, *Francine*, and symphonic poems, Sister Marie de St Mathieu has devised a work on theory which has run to more than 60,000 copies—here again we cannot undertake a catalogue, though other names deserve to be known. We can thank the radio as well as the concert hall for bringing us the voice of Anna Malenfant and Germaine Malépart ; Annette La Salle Leduc and Suzette Forgues, still not much more than a schoolgirl, have made the most of their opportunities ; Anna Marie Massénie's piano has delighted more people than knew her name.

The theatre must go with all too short a mention, although the Little Theatre movement has a distinct place in French-Canadian life, largely owing to the efforts of Madame Yvette Mercier Gouin, who is charming enough to inspire, clever enough to instruct, and tactful enough to direct.

Two excellent pieces of professional work which

would bear imitation elsewhere are two theatre-schools ; one Le Théatre des Jeunes, where a clever comédienne, Camille Bernard, trains youngsters to enjoy themselves acting ; the other a country school at St Jerome directed by Mme Maubourg-Roberval. The professional theatre, it must be admitted, has not made itself a place, in spite of the successes of Antoinette Giroux at the Stella Theatre. Neither Montreal or Quebec have ever given much support to the drama, why, no one seems to know ; but one thing is sure, the audience is more at fault than the artists.

CHAPTER XVIII

Action Front

IN 1935 Quebec was under the rule of a party which had held the same citadel for some forty years, and which, in consequence, had seen every other political group in Federal or Provincial politics go to new fields of battle on its left. To the government of Quebec the warring forces of Mr Bennett, Mr Tim Buck and Mr Woodsworth seemed equally radical; it could just keep contact with Mr Mackenzie King. For thirty-five of the forty years the central group within the party had remained substantially unchanged. During its tenure of office it had seen the growth of the almost uncontrollable financial power described in an earlier chapter, and not only the young men of the patriotic youth movements, but a good many of their elders, linked the government, its leader Mr L. A. Tascherau and the financiers together.

It was quite evident that such a condition of things could not go on for ever, but to say that was one thing, to drive the government from its position was another. The fort was strong. ' The very considerable number of people indirectly in the employ of the Government, such as those working on the roads programme, were mostly on one side, and many lucrative duties were found for professional men whose friendship was desirable. It is not suggested that there was anything out of the way in the practice, for the same conditions have existed elsewhere without open acknowledgment, but the result over such a long period of time had been to

divide the province into the 'ins' and the 'outs.'[1] The first signs of weakness were within the citadel.

A considerable number of men of whom some had never been in politics—some were in the Legislature but out of the charmed circle—became very dissatisfied with what they considered to be an arbitrary use of power by the Provincial Liberal government. It took some time for them to draw together, but they finally did so, and formed a fairly compact group centred in Quebec ; presently it became evident that they were ready to desert.

In 1935 came another development, this time centred in Montreal. Mr Paul Gouin, son of the former Premier, Sir Lomer Gouin, a lawyer and a poet, drew to his side a number of energetic men mostly from the various younger groups and started a movement known as the Action Libérale Nationale, a name which might be translated as National Liberal Movement. His idea was that a 'ginger group' might win control of the Liberal party, get out of the old citadel and into a war of action. The best description of his movement was given by himself a couple of years later.[2]

> They say that history repeats itself : that is very true ; 1837 and 1937 give us the proof. In 1837 French-Canadian public opinion was divided into two schools, that of the *Patriots* and that of the *Volunteers* who consciously or unconsciously played the game of the English bureaucrats. In 1937 we have on one hand the *Nationals*, on the other the *Simple Canadians* who consciously or unconsciously play the game of the English Canadian centralizers.[3]

[1] W. Bovey, "French Canada and the Problem of Quebec," *Nineteenth Century and After*, January 1938.

[2] *La Province*, 10 February 1937.

[3] The volunteers to whom Mr Gouin referred were the groups of young men whose methods resembled those of the modern Nazi who undertook to maintain a Ku Klux Klan peace in Montreal after the 1837 rebellion had been crushed. They were mostly English, not French-speaking. They are described in a confidential report of Stuart Derbyshire to Lord Durham.

The resemblance does not end here. In 1837 the Patriots themselves were divided into two factions, that of Papineau and that of Etienne Parent. In 1937 the Nationals had two groups, the Separatists and the Pro-French Canadians. It is to the latter group that we belong. When we have surveyed our political, social, and economic situation . . . when we have settled a programme of reform which will not only ensure our survival but the full development of our little people . . . we shall see whether this French-Canadian policy is to be followed within Confederation or out of it.

Mr Gouin adopted as his the social restoration plan described in Chapter XV and won the support of those who had made it.

Meantime the old line Conservatives whose ancestors had been the *Bleus*, the Tories of 1837, had been bestirring themselves. In the 1931 election they had polled 47 per cent. of the votes, but these were so evenly distributed that the Liberals won most of the ridings and had a huge majority in the Assembly. The Conservatives began to prepare for another attack on the fortress and their leader, Mr Maurice Duplessis, commenced to lay in a stock of ammunition ; he collected a great deal of information which, used before election time audiences, could not but damage the government. He did more. One day, quite out of the blue, came a treaty of alliance between Gouin and Duplessis against Taschereau, one of the most interesting political documents of recent years. Written in Mr Gouin's handwriting, it reads as follows :

Following the desires of the electorate of Quebec, the Provincial Conservative party and the Action Liberale Nationale declare by their authorized representatives that at the elections of November 25th they will present a united front against the common enemy of the people of Quebec, the Taschereau régime.

There will be only one official opposition candidate,

whether Conservative or Action Liberale Nationale, in each county.

After the defeat of the trust-ridden and anti-nationalist régime of M. Taschereau the Provincial Conservative party and the Action Liberale Nationale will form a government of which the programme shall be that of the Action Liberale Nationale, a programme based on the same principles as those of the Provincial Conservative party.

This Duplessis-Gouin National Government shall have as Prime Minister M. Maurice Duplessis and the majority of the members shall be selected by M. Paul Gouin from among the members of the Action Liberale Nationale.[1]

The fight was mainly on the basis of the 'programme,' featured by attacks on the 'trusts' and a good deal of racial animosity. The new allies had not time enough for preparation, they were faced by an experienced force and they did not win the election, but they did reduce the Government majority to a very small one. Mr Taschereau failed to pass his estimates and resigned, a new government was formed under Mr Godbout and prepared to go to the polls in August.

The issues were confused. Both sides were opposed to what they loosely called Imperialism. A government editorial declared :

> The people of Canada are not prepared to repeat the adventure of 1914–1918. They refuse even to follow England in her quarrels with ambitious powers. Since England has an empire to protect and defend let her take the responsibilities on the understanding that she shares with no one, not even with Canada, the benefits received.[2]

Opposition speakers said the same sort of thing. Mr Gouin stuck to his long range social programme. Mr Duplessis was a realist, he knew that the French-

[1] *La Province*, 1st August 1936.
[2] *Courrier de l'Islet*, 1st August 1936.

Canadian elector loved a fight and he proceeded to stage one. It was inevitable that there should not have been some abuses during a long régime, and Mr Duplessis had found most of them out ; he fired a constant barrage of accusations. He carried with him a great many Liberals who had never joined Mr Gouin or any other group. Exactly the same thing had happened in Ontario more than thirty years before when the *Globe* turned to the Conservatives and J. A. Macdonald the editor wrote :

> If there were any way of remedying abuses except by allying myself with those who have been my political opponents, I would take it. But there is no other way.

A good many of the Catholic clergy took an unusual interest in the fight, naturally enough since, as we have noted, the 'programme' was largely theirs ; their support counted for a good deal although not for as much as some people thought.

An entirely unexpected and unplanned occurrence in the summer of 1934 completely changed the order of battle of the allies. An unofficial manifesto prepared by some of the organizers contained among many others these questions and answers :

> What attitude should Canada take with respect to England ? Canada should hold to the terms of the ' alliance ' established by the Statute of Westminster, while devoting her utmost efforts towards obtaining complete independence.
>
> Is it unreasonable to believe that we can be independent ? No, since in 1783, with a population of only 2,000,000, the United States were independent.[1]

This was going a great deal too far. Mr Duplessis had inherited with the Conservative party most of the English-speaking voters ; he depended a good deal on

[1] *Reveil Nationale.*

English support; even among the French-Canadian stalwarts who had joined him were plenty of people who valued the British connection. Mr Jean St Germain, a former Rhodes scholar and one of Mr Duplessis's ardent supporters, had found it necessary for conscience' sake to deny publicly the statement of a young Winnipeg gentleman that most Rhodes scholars were in favour of annexation to the United States. Mr St Germain observed 'some of our young Rhodes scholars are attracted more by the highly impressive civilization of our neighbour friends than by the matured and solid culture of our Mother Country. The probabilities are that Mr Reid and his Oxford classmates, when they have added a little knowledge to their learning, will come to our way of thinking.'

Mr Duplessis took quick action, he announced the complete reorganization of the opposition forces and produced the Union Nationale as a conjurer produces a rabbit out of a hat. The 'Union Nationale' 'was not to be a party; it was to be what it was called—a union. There was to be room for Liberals and Conservatives and anyone else who would join. The aims were to defeat the Government, to maintain the place of Quebec in the Confederation, to uphold the ordinary methods of democracy, to ensure, without any too violent dislocation, the improvement of the French Canadian economic position. Mr Duplessis's move squeezed out Mr Gouin and most of his supporters. It would have failed had it not been for the force of Mr Duplessis's own personality and for his realism. Instead of preaching a visionary future he sought an immediate battle and used every ounce of ammunition. Every weak point, every action of the Government that could be construed into a fault or failure, was attacked, every breach was widened. The somewhat academic left-wing Action Liberale Nationale was lost

in the conflict ; the Quebec countryman wanted to see a real fight. Numbers of Liberals as well as traditional 'bleus'[1] joined the Union, numbers of English- as well as French-speaking people supported it, and before the election it was evident that a large number of Liberals would be among its candidates.'[2]

The citadel was captured this time ; the Union got sixty per cent of the votes and Mr Duplessis walked into the Premier's office.

The first comments of the press showed how little the Union idea had been understood. The press correspondents in Ottawa are used to dyed-in-the-wool Conservatives and Liberals ; they had heard of but did not understand the "corporative institution" programme. The London *Daily Herald* produced a three-column heading 'The Empire's First Fascist Government,' hinted at the 'formation of a French-Canadian state,' and declared that some of the Union Nationale statements might have come 'from a Nazi manifesto.' Other papers had heard of the separatist propaganda but were not up to date in their news ; perhaps it is unfair to suggest that since Fascism and separatism were both front-page stories the correspondents wrote their leads accordingly, but subsequent events incline one to a slight suspicion !

Mr Duplessis first put an end to the separatist bogey by giving the English minority one more member in his cabinet than it had possessed under the previous government. He refused to include those members of the Quebec 'rebel' group who had inveighed most strongly against the 'trusts' and would only join him now on condition that immediate action was taken. He confirmed his pre-election statement that neither the Union Nationale nor himself had any connection with

[1] Conservatives.

[2] W. Bovey, 'French Canada and the Problem of Quebec,' in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, p. 33. January 1938.

any Conservative party ; this disturbed the Federal Conservatives, who do not yet seem to know what has happened in Quebec. He has upset the calculations of Federal members in another way. The country voter in Quebec is learning to think of himself as a ' former conservative ' or a ' former liberal.' In the Provincial by-elections which the Union has won in a walk the organizers have been taking care to have an ' ancien rouge,' a former liberal, as chairman ; when they have an ' ancien bleu,' a former conservative, as a speaker.

The Fascist myth refused to die. Quebeckers still hear outsiders say with incomprehensible relish, ' Of course your Government is pure Fascist.' After all that has been written about Italy it ought to be unnecessary to point out what Fascism is, but apparently a definition must be made, the more so since the Canadians who call themselves Fascist have made some totally incorrect statements. One hears from them remarks like this :

> In the minds of the greatest Italian Fascist thinkers Italian Fascism is made for Italy, German Fascism for Germany, Portuguese Fascism for Portugal, Greek Fascism for Greece, and that Canada must have its Canadian Fascism adapted to Canadian mentality and ideas.[1]

Supposedly intelligent Canadians who have nothing to do with any Canadian Fascist movement base their condemnation of Quebec on the same convenient medley of inaccuracy.

Fascism means one thing and only one thing. It means the system developed to its fullest extent in Italy, where the people want it and are proud of it, and to whose mentality and training it has a perfectly natural appeal. *Fascismo* means 'bundling together.'

[1] *Fasciste Canadian*, November 1936.

Farmers bundle together into one corporation, teachers into another, commercial men into a third, Sea and Air Transport into a fourth, and so on ; of these corporations there are in Italy thirteen, each presided over by a Minister or Secretary of State. These Corporations similarly bundle together to form the Fascist State, which is controlled by a Grand Council consisting of several important *ex-officio* members and the minister presidents of the Corporations. There is also a National Council of Corporations which corresponds to the Parliament and has about an equivalent influence. That is Fascism and nothing else is Fascism ; it is perfectly clear cut, perfectly logical, and in Italy and for Italians seemingly efficient ; that does not mean that it would be efficient either in French Canada or English Canada. The essence of the whole movement is that the State is totalitarian, another word which is frequently confused for obvious reasons with dictatorship. Let us take two paragraphs from the founder of Fascism

> in which man is viewed in his immanent relation to a higher law, endowed with an objective will transcending the individual and raising him to conscious membership of a spiritual society. Those who perceive nothing beyond opportunistic considerations in the religious policy of the Fascist régime fail to realize that Fascism is not only a system of government but also and above all a system of thought.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> *No individuals or groups* (*political parties, cultural associations, economic unions, social classes*) *outside the State* (15). Fascism is therefore opposed to Socialism to which unity within the State (which amalgamates classes into a single economic and ethical reality) is unknown, and which sees in history nothing but the class struggle. Fascism is likewise opposed to trade unionism as a class weapon. But when brought within the orbit of the State, Fascism recognizes the real needs which gave rise to socialism and trade unionism, giving them due weight in the guild or corporative system in which divergent

interests are co-ordinated and harmonized *in the unity of the State* (16).[1]

The doctrine here set forth is completely different from that of Quebec, where the State keeps to its own sphere and out of the realm of individual co-operative, incorporate or corporative enterprise. We have seen this principle declared in the programme reproduced on p. 253 ; it has been repeated by the Government leaders themselves and it is included in the proposed by-laws of any corporative or co-operative organizations in process of formation. The existence of corporative institutions is not fascism unless each institution is totalitarian, bundling all the citizens of a like calling together, and unless the State is itself a bundle of all the bundles. Quebec is no more fascist than New York or Ontario, and to anyone who knows the French-Canadian temperament seems rather less likely to become so ; those who disagree might turn back to Chapter VII.

'What about these Swastika-wearers?' say those who have read some recent sensational stories. The answer is, first, there are not many in Quebec ; second, they are not Fascists—they call themselves National Christian Socialists. It was pointed out by the Bishop of Montreal that the only policy they had shown was anti-Semitism and that anti-Semitism was contrary to the tenets of Christianity.[2] On this question one of the leaders of the so-called party[3] himself convicts them. An address to McGill students is reported as follows :

The troubles of the world were due to the fact that the Jews controlled the Press, the exchange facilities, and the world's consumption and production machinery. Mr ——

[1] Mussolini, *Fascism*, pp. 9–11.

[2] *Montreal Gazette*, 27 April 1938.

[3] Later the "National Union Party of Canada."

predicted another general depression for the fall of 1941 and stated that chaos would then reign. The revolutionary forces at large in the world to-day were directed by Moscow Jews, and money for their support is solicited under the guise of collections for relief of the Chinese, the relief of the Ethiopians, and other such causes. Instead of this money going to the supposed beneficiaries it actually goes to the coffers of the Revolutionaries.

. . . the cinema and many news agencies, such as U.P. and Havas, are 100 per cent Kosher-controlled. The fields of music and of art have been monopolized by the Jews, bringing such incongruities as the savage hi-di-ho of swing and the caricatures executed by Epstein.

Right in Montreal, Kosher interests control the clothing industry, the chain stores, the dairy chain, and numerous other fields. Fascists are ardent Zionists and favour a national home where all Jews could live happily together, leaving Christians to build up a national unity, as white men having a code of honour and traditions.[1]

The Italians in Canada refuse to admit that this National Christian Socialist movement is Fascist. One of them observes :

The Italo-Canadians repudiate the National Christian movement :

(*a*) because its origin and its principle is German (and thereby anti-Latin and anti-French) ;

(*b*) because it is based on the inequality of races and on the hatreds (thus the Nordic dominates the Latin) ;

(*c*) because it is anti-Christian and particularly anti-Catholic.[2]

As for the swastika, Mr Paul Riverin has something to say about it :

They, too, have put on their shirts and decorated their arms with a cabalistic sign. They have walked with the goose-step, they have raised their arms in the air with

[1] *McGill Daily*, 11 February 1938.

[2] *La Nation*, 22 October 1936.

excellent discipline, and immediately run to the photographer. 'See there, how pretty,' they said. 'Snapshottez nous ça (Snapshot us that).' [1]

The photographers did, and even the *New York Times* swallowed the bait.

A recent visitor to Quebec asked why the padlock law had not been made applicable to Fascism. There is one obvious answer ; that such an action would not have touched the wearers of the swastika who could readily have shown that whatever they call themselves unofficially they are not, and never have been, Fascist. Another answer is, that whatever one may have to say against them, the National Christian Socialists have openly and frequently announced their loyalty to King and country and declared that they only wished to gain power by constitutional means. In the address above mentioned, for instance, the students were told by the speaker 'that his party would gain their ends by means of popular electoral vote and that they did not plan any "march on Ottawa," except when, as members of the federal House, they would entrain for the capital.' [2]

The Communist Party has so far abstained from such declarations.

The energy and interest with which Germany is following up the National Socialist movement is shown by the quantity of literature coming from the 'Fichte-Bund,' *Union Pour La Verité Mondial* (Union for World Truth) of Hamburg. Special leaflets are printed in French. The following are examples of titles :

The New Germany.
The Thirteen Points of Adolf Hitler.
Judaism and its Guilt.
Bolshevism, the Greatest Enemy of the World.

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[1] *Le Jour*, 5 February 1938.
[2] *McGill Daily*, 11 February 1938.

Wilson, the Man of Fourteen Points.
Who has Violated the Promises of Disarmament made at Versailles ?
An Interview with Adolf Hitler.
An Appeal to Veterans of the World War.
Appeal of Adolf Hitler against the World Enemy.
The Truth on the Question of the Jews in Germany.

It must be admitted that the documents are carefully prepared and are mainly concerned with asserting the desire of Germany for peace. An address of Rudolf Hess given in Stockholm says : 'Let the world be convinced that the idea of commencing a war has never entered the thoughts of the government of Adolf Hitler. This statement, so often spread in foreign countries, is a profound error. Adolf Hitler himself has said frequently that Germany had no need of war to reconquer her honour, an honour which she had never lost. Germany does not wish war. Germany wishes the sincere and true peace.' From an address of Hitler himself the following quotation is taken :

> Nationalist Socialist Germany wants peace. She wants peace for a simple reason. She considers that a war in Europe instead of remedying the profound misery of peoples would do nothing but increase it. The statement is made that no statesman wishes war. Very well ; if all statesmen and all governments wish peace it is certain that the peoples themselves have never yet wished war.

The main objection from the French-Canadian point of view to any National Social movement, whether calling itself Christian or not, is not that National Socialism is anti-democratic but, as the Italo-Canadian above quoted pointed out : that it is based on the negation of Christianity. National Socialism and Christianity are mutually exclusive terms. To complete this argument would take, and probably waste,

a great deal of space ; one or two passages from German leaders must suffice.

Alfred Rosenberg, the principal Nazi philosopher, is very definite :

> The God, whom we honour, would not be, if our soul and our blood did not exist. . . . Hence everything which protects, strengthens, purifies and asserts the honour and freedom of this blood and this soul, is the affair of our religion, our law, and our State. For this reason all those are holy places in which German heroes died for these ideas ; holy are those places where monuments and memorial tablets recall them to our minds, and holy days are those on which they first bore the most extreme suffering in their struggle for the ideal. And the holy hour of the Germans will then commence, when the symbol of the awakening, the banner with the sign of the abounding life has become the only dominant Confession of the Reich.[1]

In a speech Rosenberg said :

> The Christian Churches have utterly failed to call the people to perform the acts which would free them from atheistic Bolshevism. When representatives of religion and culture in other States not only do not fight against the world-disturbing Bolshevist movement but even set themselves up against us as the defenders of the European tradition, they co-operate also with those conditions and causes which prepare the downfall of the peoples.

Hitler himself is clear on one point :

> *The time had come for the greatest mental revolution that I ever had to pass through.*
>
> *From a weakly cosmopolitan I had become a fanatical anti-semitic.*
>
> The Jewish doctrine of Marxism rejects the aristocratic principle of nature and puts in place of the eternal privilege of power and strength the mass and the dead-weight of number. Thus it denies in mankind the value of Personality, contests

[1] Alfred Rosenberg, *Mythus des XX Jahrhunderts*, p. 701.

the significance of Nationality (*Volkstum*) and Race, and so withdraws from men the essential foundation of their existence and their culture.[1]

The new hymn of the Reich labour service expresses the new religion.

> Our whole life will we dedicate to the *Fuhrer*.
> We serve God in that we serve our people in this world
> Into which (the world) Fate and the *Fuhrer*
> Us as Germans placed.
> We thank thee, *Fuhrer*, that we saw thee.
> See thou us as thy work.
> The beat of thy heart strikes in our hearts,
> And thy love glows in our life.
> See us :
> We are thy Germany.

That is National Socialism, and nothing else is National Socialism ; once again we must make sure of our definitions. The nation-myth is just as inseparable from national socialism as is anti-semitism or anti-communism. But if you ask a French-Canadian national Christian socialist what people he proposes to glorify, French-Canadian, English-Canadian, or both, he does not tell you. If you ask him how he can be a national socialist and a Christian he does not tell you. All he says is that he dislikes Jews.

That Fascism and National Socialism are both opposed to democracy, as we understand the word, needs no argument ; it may be said of both that as they appear on this continent they are manifestations of defeatism. Both were invented by and for peoples which had no such long history of developing democracy as Canada, French or English, or America can show, who had attempted to imitate the English and American systems although their natural ideology called for

[1] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 69.

something else and who, therefore, had failed. The Italians, with their logical mind and Latin traditions have built fascism upon the wreck of a hopeless democratic effort and have found the kind of government they need. The Germans seem to be building something else ; whether it is the temple they want, the next few years will tell. North America needs neither one nor the other, democracy will not fail North America unless North America fails democracy.

The National Socialist Party of Canada [1] with which the Quebec National Socialists are allied has denied its identity with the German Nazis and any allegiance to or alliance with Reichsführer Hitler. That its statement is true we can take for granted ; that its ideology differs from that of modern Germany we have no reason to believe, but as it only interests us in so far as the Quebec group is tied up with it we shall leave it wherever it is. The British Columbia journalist who wrote of Quebec ' drilling Fascist men ' would find far more ' drilling ' in other provinces. National Socialism will not conquer Quebec, because if it did it would at the last end the Catholic Church and French Canada with it.

It is a question whether any party now existing can affect the politics of Quebec as a province very much. The Conservative party might have had some influence if it had given Mr Duplessis any help, but in Quebec provincial politics it does not now exist ; it has no Quebec organization and it can only form one with the help of the Union Nationale. Mr Duplessis is there and the Union Nationale is there ; they control the situation and anyone who still wants to call himself a Conservative must serve in the ranks. The Liberal party is in almost as bad a way. It has not been able to unite the forces which were scattered by the attack

[1] National Union Party of Canada.

of 1936 and Mr Duplessis has more ammunition for another fight. The federal Liberal members in particular have themselves been split ; many of them hesitate to enter on a campaign to help the provincial forces against the Union Nationale, for fear that the Union may fight them in their own ridings. So far the Union has kept clear of federal by-elections ; indeed in one case it prevented a would-be opposition candidate from standing. It has thus made evident its complete break with tradition ; the Government of Quebec has no party connection with Ottawa at all, and it is doing very well without it. It is not surprising that rumours fly attaching Mr Duplessis to the leading rein of Liberal or Conservative organizers, but if they need him he does not need them.

At this point one might insert a parenthesis. Mr Duplessis has been spoken of as if he were the Government of Quebec. This is very far from correct, but the habit of personalizing parties under the name of their leader is a catching mental affliction. Mr Duplessis, like every other leader, has a group of close friends, a cabinet which works together and, more than that, the confidence of some men who were, until his advent to power, against him. Owing to this he has been able to pass his legislation not only through the Lower House where he has a majority, but through the Upper House where he has technically no majority.

So much being said, let us turn to our final point. What would make the Union Nationale enter the Federal area? The reply is not at all difficult—any inroad on Provincial Rights. A sign was given early in 1938 in the Federal Parliament. In 1936 Mr Albert Rioux, then President of the Catholic Union of Farmers, now Deputy Minister of Agriculture in Quebec, had complained bitterly that agricultural experts speaking only English were constantly appointed to Quebec

positions. He had demanded ' that the present clause be replaced by this—" Applicants for this position must be bilingual " and that it apply not only to the Province of Quebec but to all the French centres of Canada.' [1] In 1938 Mr Wilfrid Lacroix proposed a law in accordance with Mr Rioux's demand. The *Devoir* observed :

> At a time when there is so much talk of national unity we hope that the Parliament will do itself the honour of accepting unanimously.[2]

Mention has already been made of the position taken by Quebec as to its relation to the Confederation pact ; as time goes on that position is becoming more and more clearly defined. The words ' Centralization ' and ' Centralizer ' have become clichés, with an unpleasant connotation. Unfortunate—since it is obvious that more co-operation would be good for Canada, and it is not clear who should have a better right to lead the way to co-operation than the Federal Government. Unfortunate—but facts are facts.

The attack on centralization was begun, naturally, by the Separatists, one of whose leaders attacked the Federal Minister of Justice, M. Ernest Lapointe, ' to prevent the creation of a national state you secretly favour centralization and the evolution of the Confederation into a legislative union ; you put our survival in peril of death.' [3] A year afterwards, dealing with the proposal to amend the British North America Act in order to make an Old Age Pension Act possible, a paper of a very different political colour declared :

> Since it is the Federal Government which is in the wrong it has only one thing to do—abandon its centralizing policy at once, respect the Canadian constitution as do the provinces.[4]

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[1] *La Terre de Chez Nous*, 18 March 1936.
[2] *Le Devoir*, 2 February 1938.
[3] *Nation*, 4 March 1937.
[4] *Illustration Nouvelle*, 1 April 1938.

Neither of these papers represented a large constituency, but the old proverb of straw and the wind is still true. A few days later we read reports such as this :

> The King Government will seek to make its next campaign issue one of national unity. It will declare to the people that while in the last campaign it was ' King or chaos,' this time it will be ' Canada or chaos ' ; that it will be national unity or disintegration, an effective Confederation or a collection of nine separate and sovereign States. It will tell the people there is little use in demanding social reforms, such as unemployment insurance or a curb on loan sharks, if the people allow the constitution and the old cry of provincial rights to block such moves.[1]

It may be that the reporter foreshadowed the future quite correctly, that more central control will be forced on Canada and its provinces by dire necessity. But it seems extremely probable that in such an event Quebec will send to the Federal parliament a comparatively solid contingent. And in the midst of Liberal, Conservative, Social Credit, Communist, National Socialist, and Canadian Commonwealth members, that Quebec contingent will have a good deal to say as to how Quebec will co-operate.

There would be nothing contrary to the Canadian constitution in any such block representation. The British North America Act specifies the number of members each province shall have. A student who was unacquainted with the party system would certainly say that the framers of the Act were thinking of solid provincial delegations. He would be wrong, because there were parties then as there are parties now, but he would be right in a sense, for the Act is so framed as to provide for such delegations. It may well be that a

[1] F. C. Mears in *Gazette*, Montreal, 4th April 1938.

Quebec group will differ among themselves on certain points, and that there will be room among them for members of more than one Federal party, but the great majority of them would be of one mind so far as federal provincial relations are concerned. That does not mean that Quebec would not co-operate ; there is nothing in the Union Nationale programme to prevent it from co-operating with Liberals or Conservatives unless one or the other supports its provincial opponents. That is its message to Ottawa in 1938.

CHAPTER XIX

First Fruits of Battle

THE Government of Quebec, which came into power in 1936, found itself with a somewhat bewildered majority, a disgruntled minority, a suspicious English-speaking population, and no time to spare. It proceeded to deal with a number of questions along the lines of its programme. The effect of some of its work is already obvious, others have not yet shown results.

The fishing industry of Quebec had been seriously affected by the imposition of economic sanctions against Italy. Most of the dried fish market of Gaspé had been in Italy ; in 1934 Gaspé produced dried codfish worth $633,020 ; next year when the sanctions had begun to take effect the trade dropped to $313,084. In 1936 things were even worse, the return from dried cod was only $256,206. The unfortunate population of Gaspé paid in suffering for the gesture of those idealistic Canadians who supported the League of Nations, at no cost to themselves. So far Gaspé has heard no offers of help in bearing the cost of a demonstration which apparently gave some people a great deal of satisfaction. When children are reduced to starvation and cannot go to school for want of shoes, international responsibilities do not seem so important. All the Gaspé people had to be thankful for was that, as they had plenty of wood, the rest of Canada could not make them pay for coal. Something had to be done, and

done quickly, to save not only the industry but the lives of those engaged in it.

The first matter to be dealt with was organization ; mines and fisheries were grouped into one department [1] under the Honourable Onésime Gagnon, who represented part of the Gaspé area in the Legislature and the whole of it in the provinical cabinet ; he was thus made responsible for the national parks and their lakes and rivers full of game fish as well as for the commercial fisheries of the Gaspé peninsula.

Mr Gagnon's first action was the purchase of a large fast-freezing and cold storage plant at Matane, at the western end of the Peninsula. Four more fast-freezing plants were erected, at Gaspé, at Ste Anne des Monts, at Gascons, and on the Magdalen Islands. Four cold storage plants were added and fifteen small ice storage plants were built or reconditioned. The introduction of fast freezing made it possible to handle cod in a new way. The system involves the blowing of cold air from refrigerating coils over the freshly caught fish. This seals the tiny globules in which the delicately flavoured juices are contained instead of allowing them to burst as they do in ordinary cold storage, and as long as the fish is kept at a proper low temperature it will remain fresh.

The Gaspé fisherman of 1938 brings his cod ashore before noon of the day on which he catches them ; the heads and tails are cut off, the fish washed and packed in snow kept in the ice-houses. Later in the day a trailer track calls for it and rushes it to a fast-freezing plant ; from there it goes to the collecting-plant at Matane, then westwards by train or truck.

As a result of these activities the season of 1937 saw ten million pounds of fresh cod marketed in Canada, almost three times as much as the year before.

[1] 1 Edward VIII, cap. 20, reorganizes all ministries.

Government of Quebec

A Gaspé Cod-fish at L'Anse au Beaufils.

Another market is being built up in the United States, where the Italian population consumes large quantities of the dried cod they learned to like at home, and a great deal of salt cod is sold to such industries as the Gorton-Pew fisheries of Gloucester, who supply ready-to-fry codfish cakes and use eighty thousand pounds of fish a day. These American markets are both increasing. By 1937, partly owing to the absorption of a certain number of men by the rehabilitated pulp and paper industry of the peninsula, partly to the new markets discovered in the United States and Canada, the Italian markets had been replaced. Gaspé will not suffer from another crop of sanctions.

Some fishermen have found another way of earning a living. The tourist trade has been a gold mine for the Province of Quebec, and the Gaspé peninsula, once the loneliest spot south of the St Lawrence, is kept busy entertaining summer visitors. The fishermen at Percé find plenty of passengers to Percé Rock, with its old tunnel just off shore, and Bonaventure Island, once the home of energetic privateersmen and the site of Gaspé's first chapel, built more than three hundred years ago. The benefit of the $70,000,000 spent annually by tourists in Quebec is distributed more or less evenly along the St Lawrence and the Saguenay and in the Laurentians ; the amount is supplemented by the expenditures of Quebeckers on summer or winter vacations. The encouragement of this tourist business brought about the establishment of a permanent tourist office [1] and is now leading to a huge programme of modern automobile roads ; $50,000,000 was voted in the 1938 session for new construction. The intention of the Government is to construct broad arterial roads and to improve the side roads of which many are unsuitable for wet weather. In order to spread the benefits

[1] 1 George VI, cap. 48.

as widely as possible, arrangements are being made for the use of local labour under Government supervision, thus diverting into country pockets a considerable amount of money.

A distant outpost of the Province, the Magdalen Islands, two hundred miles off the Gaspé coast, has a new advantage. In May 1938 was launched the motorship *North Gaspé*, which will for the first time link the Magdalens with Quebec ; until now the only communication has been by way of Prince Edward Island. The new venture was made possible by a provincial subsidy of $40,000 per annum.

The question of electricity was not forgotten. A public corporation was established under the name of 'Syndicat National de l'Electricité' (National Electricity Syndicate).[1] It was authorized to develop power in the mining areas, Abitibi and Temiskaming, and also in the Lake St John region, and given all the powers of expropriation and so forth, necessary. The Government ensures control by reserving for itself 60 per cent. of the common stock. Another law[2] established a Provincial Electricity Board of five controllers with power of 'supervision and control over the undertakings of the distributors.' This law has five essential clauses :

11. No distributor may exact higher prices for his electricity than those necessary to enable him to meet the expenses of the undertaking and to assure him a reasonable return which must be based upon the physical assets of the distributor.

12. The physical assets of such undertaking shall comprise only the rights held by such distributor :

(*a*) in the falls, rapids, hydraulic powers, dams, constructions, works of all kinds, machinery, moveables and immoveables, forming part of the undertaking ; and

[1] 1 George VI, cap. 24. [2] 1 George VI, cap. 25.

(*b*) in any franchise connected with the undertaking including its custom, valued for the period of its duration, without figuring upon the possibility of its renewal.

13. The undertaking's expenses mentioned in Section 11 shall consist exclusively of :

(*a*) reasonable costs of administration, operation, and maintenance ;

(*b*) public taxes and imposts ;

(*c*) a fair amount for deterioration of the physical assets.

14. The Board may, after investigation, change the prices demanded by any distributor for the sale of electricity in such manner as to make them conform to the requirements of this Act.

The prices so fixed by the Board shall be compulsory upon the distributor, who shall not discontinue the service upon the consumer's refusal to pay a higher sum than the rates so determined, under penalty of actual and exemplary damages. Any sum paid beyond the rate fixed by the Board may be reclaimed, notwithstanding any agreement or stipulation to the contrary.

. . . . . .

25. From and after the coming into force of this Act, the following, unless previously authorized by the Board, shall be null :

(*a*) every issue of stock, bonds, debentures or debenture stock of any corporation producing, selling, or distributing electricity ;

(*b*) every change in the capital stock or in the par value of the shares of any such corporation ;

(*c*) every merger of undertakings for the production or distribution of electricity ;

(*d*) every transfer of such undertakings.[1]

The implications of such a statute in a province with such huge hydro-electric production as Quebec are very broad ; it is too early to prophesy as to its workings.

[1] 1 George VI, cap. 25.

It has already been used where farmers on the edge of two municipalities have been refused service.

Finally a statute was passed authorizing any municipality to establish its own electrical system.

An interesting statute provided for an inventory of natural resources, in order :

1. To establish the value of same and be cognizant of the advantages thereof available for the activities of our population.

2. To supervise more closely the development of our riches, to direct with better knowledge industrial and agricultural production, and to assure the rational working of our timber, minerals, fisheries, and water-powers.

3. To adapt industry, big or small, to the resources and particular needs of each region.

4. To procure work for our youth, to open careers for them, and utilize their talents and energies.[1]

This inventory was begun at once and is still being prepared.

A law of considerable economic importance, the importance of which had not yet been fully appreciated, is called ' an Act to protect peoples savings and prevent overcapitalization.' [2] It provides :

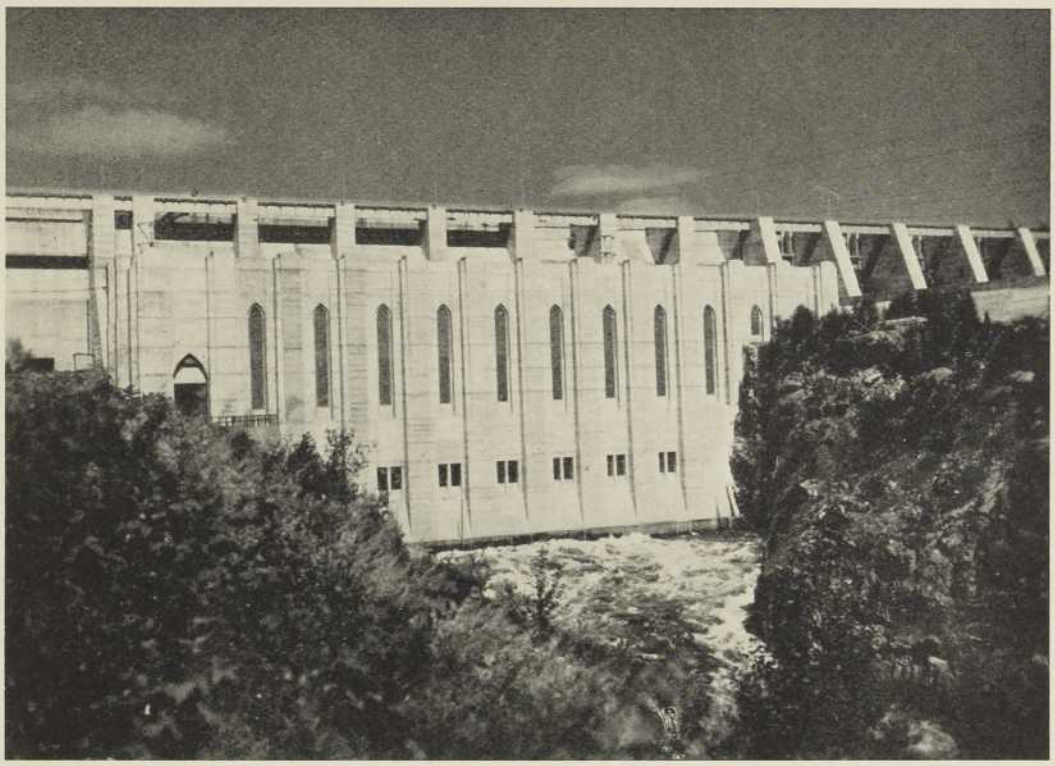
1. Notwithstanding any general law or special Act to the contrary, every issue of bonds, debentures or debenture stock, for industrial or commercial purposes, must be limited to the amount representing the real value of the immoveable property existing and affected by the hypothec given to guarantee the issue.

The boats, vessels, and ships of a navigation company are considered as immoveable property for the purposes of this Act.

. . . . . .

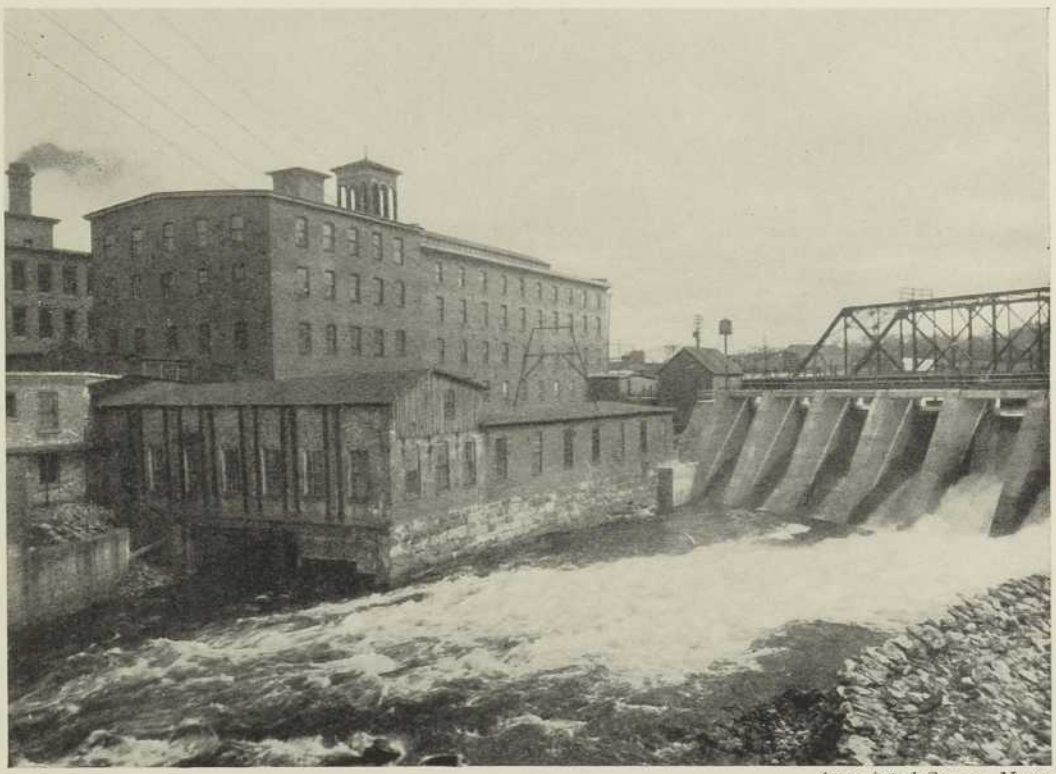
Another financial Act involving a new principle forbade any member of the Government to be ' a director or administrator of any corporation of a commercial,

[1] 1 Edward VIII, cap. 4. [2] 1 Edward VIII, cap. 31.



Aluminum Company of Canada Ltd

Chute à Caron, Quebec—260,000 h.p. hydro-electric development.



Associated Screen News

Faton Woollen Mills, Sherbrooke, 'the main urban centre.'

industrial, or financial nature, if the said corporation does business with the Government of the Province of Quebec, directly or indirectly, or pays or may be called upon to pay taxes under the Corporation Tax Act.' [1]

The labour legislation of the new Government began with a general Act concerning collective agreements.[2] The object of this was to put into effect the policy outlined by the 'programme'; its heart is in three clauses:

2. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may order that a collective labour agreement respecting any trade, industry, commerce, or occupation shall also bind all the employees and employers in a stated region of the Province.

. . . . . .

16. The parties to a collective agreement rendered obligatory must form a joint-committee to supervise and ensure the carrying out of the decree, its amendments and renewals.

Notwithstanding the provisions of the previous paragraph, an already existing committee may consent to supervise and ensure the carrying out of a distinct collective agreement, if the parties to the latter apply therefor and the decree enjoins same.

. . . . . .

20. From and after the publication the committee shall constitute a corporation, and shall have the powers, rights, and privileges appertaining to ordinary civil corporations.

This committee is authorized not only to examine an employer's books but to levy any sums necessary for operating the agreement.

The second labour Act [3] provided for a Fair Wage Board of five members with power among other things to:

determine, for the periods of time fixed by it, for the territories it may designate and for any category of employees it may indicate, fair wages and working hours.

[1] 1 Edward VIII, cap. 32. [2] 1 George VI, cap. 49.
[3] 1 George VI, cap. 50.

These were followed in 1938 by another Act [1] which provides that :

1. Every group of persons associated for the carrying out in common of any purpose or advantage of an industrial, commercial, or professional nature in this Province, which does not possess therein a collective civil personality recognized by law and is not a partnership within the meaning of the Civil Code, is subjected to the provisions of Section 2 of this Act.

2. The summoning of such group before the Courts of this Province, in any recourse provided by law, may be effected either by summoning a member thereof or by summoning such group collectively under the name by which it designates itself or is commonly designated or known.

It has also been provided that no person is to be refused work or be prevented from working because he is not a member of a union.

It is clear that all this legislation favours ' vertical organization ' and company unions, and that smaller concerns in industrialized areas are supposed to follow the larger ones. It is also clear that the last two Acts mentioned are distinctly contrary to the policies and prevent some of the activities of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. That doubtless is what the Government intends. American unions operating in Canada have so far been elusive ; they have no funds in Canada and no official existence. The legislation puts all members of any general union or committee or any similar body in the Province of Quebec in the same legal position towards the community as the members of a company union or any other legally constituted body, if they cause any damage they are as an association responsible.

The regulations under the Fair Wage Act are still in the experimental stage ; it will be some time before

[1] Bill No. 88, first reading April 1938.

they are final, and they will still be subject to alteration.

There is another Act permitting the Government to alter the terms of labour agreements in case it seems necessary. Such a sweeping provision is something quite new and is naturally arousing a great deal of comment.

Any extensive discussion on these laws would be premature ; all we can say is that they constitute a ' new deal ' of a new kind ; four or five years will be required before it is possible to pass judgment, and much water will flow under the Quebec Bridge before that times comes.

The establishment of the Chamber of Agriculture, of which mention has already been made, is a step towards an Economic Council ; whether or not the remaining steps are taken will largely depend on the success of this measure. The Chamber consists of the President of the Federation of ' Caisses Populaires,' representatives of the three agricultural colleges, the President of the Catholic Union of Farmers, which thus wins official recognition, and seven other members named by the Government. There is much room for study in the agricultural field. Quebec is on an import basis in the case of some commodities which it should be exporting ; many products could be improved, and the Chamber should be of real value to the farmers and the Government both.

CHAPTER XX

The Farmers' Day

THERE is a legend in English Canada and elsewhere that the Quebec habitant is an impoverished and somewhat backward peasant, a story which had its origin in descriptions of Quebec country life by Victorian novelists. Statistics give a different picture ; if they could only be complete it would be still more different. The 1936 Year Book shows Quebec with a little over 10 per cent of the total acreage in Canada under field crops, producing about 15 per cent of the total value.[1] The agricultural wealth is, as

[1] Total Acreages and Values of Field Crops in Canada, by Provinces, 1931–36 (*Canada Year Book*, 1937).

Province.	1931.	1932.	1933.	1934.	1935.	1936.
Acreages—	*acres.*	*acres.*	*acres.*	*acres.*	*acres.*	*acres.*
P.E. Island	492,319	476,200	476,850	473,000	472,900	483,200
Nova Scotia	556,308	536,000	542,100	554,800	558,700	551,400
New Brunswick	943,923	907,500	908,400	906,300	913,900	921,300
Quebec	6,015,935	5,832,100	5,784,700	5,950,300	5,912,800	6,018,400
Ontario	9,241,103	9,224,300	9,195,300	8,999,900	9,104,800	9,118,900
Manitoba	5,774,816	5,866,800	5,963,900	6,000,900	5,962,000	6,054,900
Saskatchewan	21,973,754	22,333,900	21,306,000	19,771,820	20,176,210	21,506,650
Alberta	13,420,980	14,028,700	13,909,400	12,878,900	13,451,450	12,535,750
British Columbia	443,167	437,700	446,800	454,400	463,700	472,050
Totals, Acreages	58,862,305	59,643,200	58,533,450	55,990,320	57,016,460	57,662,550
Values—	$	$	$	$	$	$
P.E. Island	6,828,700	6,737,000	8,841,000	9,054,000	8,561,000	10,311,000
Nova Scotia	10,087,000	9,064,000	12,151,000	12,995,000	11,748,000	13,516 000
New Brunswick	10,670,000	12,629,000	12,044,000	14,961,000	14,542,000	17,784,000
Quebec	77,245,000	70,382,000	67,512,000	98,309,000	83,616,000	91,288,000
Ontario	124,541,000	116,424,000	135,813,000	143,734,000	132,086,000	162,332,000
Manitoba	24,847,000	31,937,000	35,653,000	49,761,000	34,944,000	50,660,000
Saskatchewan	70,347,100	98,216,900	82,708,000	96,472,600	119,947,600	138,725,400
Alberta	98,916,600	95,913,000	86,499,000	111,044,000	93,687,000	98,914,000
British Columbia	12,484,000	11,224,000	12,377,000	12,749,000	13,045,300	15,891,000
Totals, Values	435,966,400	452,526,900	453,598,000	549,079,600	512,176,900	599,421,400

has already been noted not inconsiderable,[1] the value of farm land per acre is higher than in any province except Ontario and British Columbia ; [2] in the days of higher prices the same was true. Quebec horses average highest in value ;[3] the average value of cattle is surpassed only by those of Ontario and British Columbia.

Statistics are dull things. Let us see what a Quebec farm is like. At St Anselme, not far from Quebec, is the land which the Turgeon family has owned for a hundred and fifty years ; to-day's Turgeon has just won the silver medal given by the Provincial Government for a good farming record. We shall pay him a visit with M. François Fleury, who is interviewing him for *La Terre de Chez Nous*, the paper of the Quebec Catholic Union of Farmers.[4] Mr Fleury explains to us as we go that Mr Turgeon had the highest marks in

[1] Estimated Gross Agricultural Wealth of Canada, by Provinces, 1935.

Province.	Lands.	Buildings.	Implements and Machinery.	Live Stock.	Poultry.	Animals on Fur Farms.*	Agricultural Production.*	Total.*
	$'000	$'000	$'000	$'000	$'000	$'000	$'000	$'000
P.E. Island	20,092	19,687	8,116	5,507	655	1,062	12,397	67,516
Nova Scotia	39,160	43,890	10,554	10,810	770	392	27,042	132,618
New Brunswick	35,002	38,680	13,253	12,155	1,028	856	25,278	126,252
Quebec	414,347	257,918	97,270	87,331	5,843	1,480	174,758	1,038,947
Ontario	507,321	487,009	151,928	159,376	17,863	1,461	313,077	1,638,035
Manitoba	179,393	88,389	54,847	37,500	2,836	691	56,530	420,186
Saskatchewan	649,485	223,795	185,510	86,360	5,299	446	154,896	1,305,791
Alberta	405,247	137,332	116,301	74,570	3,596	979	141,093	879,118
British Columbia	73,117	46,224	12,885	15,717	2,402	286	38,010	188,641
Totals	2,323,164	1,342,924	650,664	489,326	40,292	7,653	943,081	5,797,104

* Preliminary figures.

[2]

1936.	$ per acre.
Quebec	38
Ontario	44
British Columbia	60
Prince Edward Island	31
Nova Scotia	35
New Brunswick	28
Manitoba	16
Saskatchewan	15
Alberta	16

[3] $112 per head.

[4] *La Terre de Chez Nous*, 20 October 1937.

the 1937 farm competition, but was not eligible for the gold medal since the regulations obliged him to compete first for the silver one. Presently we see the farm set on a hillside, looking out over the broad plain, its centre the three-story brick farm-house with an extension kitchen ; if it were on the Lower St Lawrence or in the north country the house would be of wood, but it too would have a little garden bright with blue aconite, red geraniums, and blazing tiger lilies ; not far from the house is one of the long white barns that mark the Quebec countryside, model hen-houses and pig-styes, a kitchen-garden, and a small orchard. The farm, Mr Turgeon tells us, is 30 ' arpents ' deep by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. width. Like all Quebec farms he uses the arpent or the acre as a rough measure of length (about 63 or 67 yards respectively) as well as of area ; the property then is about 110 acres, a little over a mile in depth, with almost 300 yards frontage on the range road. This is nearly an average size for the province ; about 40 per cent of Quebec farms are from fifty to a hundred acres, about 40 per cent from one to two hundred, so from that point of view it is a good example to visit. First we look at the cows ; like other good Quebeckers Mr Turgeon goes in for mixed farming, and one of his best assets is a good Ayrshire dairy herd. Incidentally we might note that another French Canadian, S. J. Chagnon, manager of the Provincial Farm School at La Gorgendière, was in 1938 elected president of the Canadian Ayrshire Breeders Association. An English Canadian farmer of South-Western Quebec, Gilbert McMillan, represents the Association on the Dairy Council ; whatever the merits of Ayrshires, Holstein-Frisians, or Jerseys, their breeders are good co-operators. One of the pure stock Turgeon cows, the *Des Pins Belle Pierrette Scipio*, chosen by Mr Turgeon's son, Christophe, six years ago, after winning a young farmer's prize, has

an especially good record—9411 lb. of milk, 354 lb. of butter fat in her fourth year ; the average of the herd is 6669 lb. of milk per year.

Next Mr Fleury and Mr Turgeon take us to see the pigs, and here we find Christophe, who takes a special pride in fat porkers. They are good Yorkshire bacon stock, and in 1937 won the prize offered by the breeders to the most successful young farmers.

The chicken farm, Mr Turgeon tells us, is one of the most paying of his activities. He was the first farmer in the area to construct an air-conditioned hen-house, in which he keeps 350 laying hens, with an average production of 155 eggs per annum, and raises about 800 chickens each spring ; plenty of fresh spring water runs constantly from open taps.

Another paying product of which we hear is maple sugar. The 1400 maple trees provide plenty of sap, which is boiled down at once to syrup. This is stored in the house and from time to time boiled down again to sugar. The two Quebec grocers who buy most of the output are able to offer their customers model houses, cocks, and other figures made of fresh sugar, which is a very different thing from stale.

One part of the farm is under a four-year system of crop rotation, one 15-acre field is divided between vegetables and grain, the other between fodder grain, peas, and flax ; the cattle ration is 14 per cent protein. Hay with clover and lucerne completes the rotation.

There is plenty of work to do, but Farmer Turgeon and Christophe, with one hired man, get through it. Christophe, with two medals already to his credit, is no mean farmer, and the hired man is a good worker. Their hardest job is clearing stones and levelling hummocks. 'In ten years,' says Mr Turgeon, 'in ten years, God willing, I shan't have a hummock or a rock on the farm.'

Now we go to the big farmhouse, and here we find Madame Turgeon, who welcomes us with true French-Canadian hospitality. She and her young daughter run the house and the garden. A second son, disabled by infantile paralysis, is more than earning his living by looking after the farm accounts. The books have been kept in much detail for twenty-five years and furnish a mine of information about an average good Quebec farm. Mr Turgeon shows them with some pride, and Mr Fleury looks them over with an expert eye.

'Let us see what was the income from the various activities in 1913-1914. Milk products $323, pigs $316.52, chickens and eggs $234.72, maple sugar $50.75, sheep $75.45, total cash profit for the year, $324.' Then he turns the pages. 'Here we are,' he says, 'in 1919, at the beginning of the post-War slump; we were beginning to see a crisis coming. Here are these figures: milk products $1237, pigs $1065, chickens and eggs $101.50, maple sugar $82.70, sheep $115.54, and total cash profits for the year $1600. '1929,' Mr Fleury continues his moving-picture, 'a year of high prices, the eve of the famous crash. Milk products $1615, pigs $450, chickens and eggs $495, maple sugar $243.47, surplus for the year $1200.' 'Here is 1936,—milk products $1098.38, chickens and eggs $447.50, pigs $9.89, sheep $39.52, maple sugar $196.23, kitchen garden $99.30. Observe,' Mr Fleury says, 'that in this year, 1936, the market prices for these various products were far lower than in 1929, yet there were gross profits of $2,544.45. They deduct from this,' he goes on, 'an allowance for depreciation and interest and still show a net gain of $2032.' Which we shall admit is not bad.

How does farmer Turgeon sell his produce? We ask him, and the reply shows us how the Quebec farmer

makes the most of what he has. 'Maple sugar and cream and the surplus of the orchard and kitchen garden are sold direct to the consumer, either in the village of St Anselme or in the St Roch market at Quebec; it is the system of direct sale to the consumer of the most important products of the farm. It means extra work but the extra work pays very well.'

What does our farmer think of the modern movements in agriculture? We find that he is a member of the Catholic Union of Farmers; he is a member —he was one of the founders—of the local chicken and egg co-operative; he is president of the local farmer's club and a member of the committee of the local credit union; in 1937 he took part in organizing one of the parish courses under the Bilodeau-Rogers plan; in one way and another Mr Turgeon is evidently a busy man. He is a happy man too, and he tells us his motto—'Il faut aimer ça, la terre'—'You must love that, the land.'

Mr Turgeon like his fellow farmers, has benefited from the work of two French-Canadian agricultural colleges, one at Ste Anne de la Pocatière on the lower St Lawrence and one at Oka, which have been serving Quebec agriculturists for a long time. The Ste Anne de la Pocatière college, now in charge of Abbé F. X. Jean, is the second oldest in North America; it was founded in 1859 by Abbé François Pilote and affiliated to Laval in 1912. A Quebec student pays $8 per month for board and lodging and receives instruction free of charge, a service for which the Government gives the college a grant usually about $65,000 per annum. The course is a four years' one; the first year is preliminary and young men with a baccalaureate enter the second year; the graduates get the degree of Bachelor of Agricultural Science from Laval University. Some go on to a 'Licence' parallel

with an M.Sc. and to a doctorate ; some go to McGill, Cornell and other institutions for their advanced work. The college has generally about eighty students in residence.

At Oka, near Montreal, is the other agricultural college, carried on by Reformed Cistercian monks, Trappists as they are generally called, and affiliated to the University of Montreal. The monks are members of the Abbey of Our Lady of the Lake which devotes part of its huge estate to this educational enterprise ; the college has also secular professors ; the programme for students and the conditions under which they work are virtually identical with those of Ste Anne de la Pocatière. Our Lady of the Lake is a picturesque institution—the great Abbey in the centre where a three o'clock bell awakes for their matins the brown-robed brothers, vowed to perpetual silence, the fields where silent monks and talkative students work side by side, the factory which produces a cheese dear to connoisseurs—with a smell peculiarly its own, the little cemetery where lie the still more silent dead. Over all rules the mitred Abbot Dom Pacome Gaboury, a prelate with a Spanish beard and an imperious eye ; the college work is under a distinguished agriculturist member of the Order.

Closely connected with the college at Oka is the Provincial Veterinary School ; the two institutions have between them about 160 students in regular courses, besides a number in junior and short courses.

Much valuable work for Quebec farmers has also been done by Macdonald College, where the Faculty of Agriculture of McGill University not only trains young men in scientific agriculture, serving especially the sons of English-speaking Quebec farmers, but carries out a great deal of invaluable research for Government departments. One of its important activi-

W. Bovey

The Cemetery of our Lady of the Lake.

ties is a seed farm, run for the Provincial Government, which distributes first-class seed to farmers at a minimum cost. The production for 1936-37 was as follows :

'Banner' oats	1399 bushels.
'Cartier' oats	1012 ,,
(Both of the above varieties have an exceptional yield and both were developed by the college.)	
'Garnet' wheat	108 bushels.
'O.A.C. No. 21' barley	570 ,,
'Iroquois hybrid' corn	3500 lbs.
'Red' clover	3330 ,,
Millet	1700 ,,

Other useful undertakings which have been in progress for some time are the provincial school farm at La Gorgendière, where specially selected young men are given a chance at practical work under a highly qualified head, and the provincial dairy farm at Ste Hyacinthe ; the latter in the year 1936-1937 had 292 students, mostly learning milk testing and cheese and butter making. This dairy school is the home farm of what is really a new breed of cattle, known as the 'Canadian,' developed since 1830 from carefully selected 'grade' cattle of the Province of Quebec, the average yearly product of the herd cows was in 1937 9,982 pounds of milk, 454.5 of butter fat.

Unique in Canadian agricultural practice are the *caisses populaires*, credit unions which began operations at the close of the last century. Mr S. R. N. Hodgins summarizes as follows a statement by Mr Cyrille Vaillancourt, general manager of the *Fédération des Caisses Populaires :*

In the thirty-seven years since Quebec's first credit union was founded at Levis, almost $200,000,000 has been lent in small loans to members, with losses of less than one-twentieth of 1 per cent. At the end of 1937, these credit unions in

Quebec numbered almost 400 ; they had assets of $16,958,132, outstanding loans to members of $7,326,283 (three-fourths of which are for $100 or less), investments in bonds and debentures (municipal, provincial, federal) of $6,395,980, share capital of $2,119,750, accumulated reserves of $1,452,111 and cash on hand of $3,166,381.

Mr Hodgins continues with some illuminating facts :

Amazing figures, you say—but who controls these sums, benefits by the loans, collects the dividends ? The answer is, the people. Not people who are known in the world of finance, but ordinary folk like you and me. For credit unions are co-operative thrift and credit organizations, formed on the basis of the parish. The almost 400 credit unions in Quebec cover that number of parishes—rural and urban ; they had at the end of 1937, 62,297 shareholder-members, 58,456 depositors, 15,605 borrowers.

The financial strength of such unions comes from the relatively small savings of a great number of people. In a prosperous parish the business figures are large ; in a poor parish, they may be quite modest. Experience has shown, however, that a community has within itself sufficient credit in the way of savings to look after its local credit needs—the small community, with small savings, usually having small credit requirements.

And the financial security lies in the fact that the parish is the unit and that loans are made only to members. The security of a loan made by a credit union is the honesty and known reputation of the member for meeting his obligations, and since all the members of a given union know one another, losses are almost unknown. When the credit needs of individual members have been met, a union may lend money to the local school board or municipality for public works needed in the community—but these boards must become members.[1]

Each local credit union is a unit with its own funds and its own committee ; twelve units in a district may,

[1] *Family Herald and Weekly Star*, 23 April 1938.

if they like join to form a group ; of these there are now six. The price of the shares is low, generally $5.00 each ; the number which can be held by one person limited by the local regulations, but however many shares an individual possesses he has only one vote. What a record can be built up is shown by the *Caisse Populaire* of Lévis which now 'has assets of $1,700,000, a reserve fund of $270,000 ; it has done more than $30,000,000 worth of business, has paid dividends and interests on deposits of $1,105,000—and the total operating expense for the thirty-seven years has been but $180,500. Further, the Lévis Caisse has never had a bad loan and has never called on an endorser to meet another's obligation.' [1]

Let us take another example, in a way even more striking. Twenty-five years ago the parish of Ste Germaine de Dorchester was a new area still in the early stages of cultivation. Its only income came from the wood lots, and when the spring came this was soon gone. A caisse populaire was established ; the little parish began to improve ; in the next twenty-five years deposits were $7,880,205, loans $1,876,196. In the autumn of 1937 there were outstanding loans of $127,979 *and no hardships.*[2]

In spite of all these efforts in various directions the Quebec farmer of post-War years had not an easy time, and by no means all of his fellows did as well as Pierre Turgeon ; indeed between one difficulty and another many countrymen were in very deep water. Some people were farsighted enough to see trouble coming, and it is largely due to their efforts that recent advances have been made, and one influence which has done much to reawaken a new spirit in the country is to be found in the works of clerics. This, to many English-

[1] S. R. N. Hodgins, *Quebec's System of Credit Unions.*

[2] Cf. Cyrille Vaillancourt in *La Terre de Chez Nous*, 13 October 1937.

speaking people may seem strange. Why should it be the duty of clergy to devote themselves to the rehabilitation of rural life? Why should their attitude have an effect on their flocks. For the answer we must turn to Catholic doctrine which on this point is quite definite. The important encyclical called *Divini Redemptoris* points out the need for a better distribution of this world's goods. 'These goods must be sufficient to satisfy the needs of an honest subsistence and to raise men to a degree of ease and culture which, provided it is properly made use of, puts no obstacle in the way of righteousness but on the contrary makes its practice easier.'[1] Another papal letter relates aid towards economic security to salvation. 'Let no member of the clergy think that such action is foreign to the priestly ministry on the ground that it is in the economic sphere, for it is precisely in that sphere that the salvation of souls is in danger.[2] In consequence the Catholic bishops of Eastern Canada this year joined in a letter[3] to clergy and people in which they undertook to apply these principles to rural life in particular. After pointing out the dangers of the present situation, the special difficulties of the farmer, the rush to the cities, the economic handicap of the agriculturist, they turn to remedies. They declare that it is time 'to make the countryman appreciate the dignity of his calling.' 'Respect for agriculture on the part of all classes of society,' they continue, 'the wish to improve the farmers' lot must be developed and spread throughout the nation.' They uphold the value of the agricultural calling; they recall the farmer to righteousness and they call for true co-operation. One paragraph is important—the church 'does not permit the State to

[1] Encyclical, *Divine Redemptoris*.
[2] Letter of Benedict XV, 11 March 1920.
[3] *Le Problème rural*, École Sociale Populaire, 1938.

take the place of the individual nor of groups of individuals in the reorganization of social classes, in the division of the benefits of commerce and industry. It does not desire the individual to be merely a ward in a collectivity.' That clause is just as much opposed to State corporatism as to State collectivism.

The letter has interesting comments on education. It touches on the teaching of arts and handicrafts in convents, on the creation of a country atmosphere for country schools ; it recommends a higher degree of general education for country boys and girls who, it says, are taken out of school too early, it proposes a broad scheme of adult education and gives its backing to plans for rural co-operation, especially those of the Catholic Union of Farmers. Finally it repeats its warning against the absorption by the State of the professional associations. 'It is not the place of a minister or a deputy as such nor of any party, nor of any government to act as an industrialist or a speculator or to absorb the functions of employers' agricultural or labour syndicates.' [1]

While this letter was not published until 1938 there was nothing new about the interest which it evidenced, and one of the most interesting and important developments of recent years is largely due to Monseigneur Georges Courchesne, Bishop of Rimouski.

The system of agricultural high school classes which is spreading rapidly through the Province of Quebec began with the establishment of two-year diploma courses in the agricultural colleges, designed for the practical instruction of young farmers. The course at Macdonald College is for English-speaking boys, but some French-Canadian lads follow it. But this was not enough, the college was too far away from some of the farms and there was not enough money for trans-

[1] *Le Problème rural*, École Sociale Populairè, 1938.

portation. In consequence, on Monseigneur Courchesne's initiative, an Agricultural Middle School giving a similar diploma course was set up at Rimouski, followed a few years later by another school at St Martine ; others are being set up at Chicoutimi and Nicolet, and one at Ville Marie for boys of the North country ; ten private religious institutions have also introduced or are introducing similar work. Soon few farm boys of Quebec will be able to complain that opportunities for vocational training are lacking.

Canadian farmers owe more thanks than they often give to one man, Georges Bouchard, member of the Federal Parliament for Kamouraska, who has kept these thoughts before them early and late, even when the eyes of most people were dazzled by Stock Exchange fireworks. The rockets went up and Mr Bouchard himself grew almost disheartened. ' Rejected everywhere,' he says, ' the noble traditions, the healthy customs which are the basis of rural life have only survived in a few corners of the province through the passive resistance and the solid commonsense of the most solidly rooted countrymen.' The rockets burst and the sticks came down—but the plough went on. This year Mr Bouchard was able to say, ' I told you so.' ' The cry " back to the land " which re-echoes from the one end of the country to the other must be astonishing to those who refused to believe in the fundamental importance of the countryman in a properly understood social organism. The time has come to sound the rally to those rural values and ancestral traditions, too long stifled by our conscience.' [1] He has not been quite alone in his views. An acute French commentator, M. Lefageois, pointed out the same economic facts in 1936 :

[1] Georges Bouchard in *Paysana*, March 1938.

The farm is not a workshop. The land is not a machine which produces automatically with materials determined beforehand, in a given time, a given quantity of saleable products. An industrialist, knowing the price of his raw material, the capacity of his factory, the amount of his wage list and costs, can calculate his return exactly. Member of a trust, consortium, or selling agency he can also fix his sales price. The most competent farmer will always be handicapped in competition with even the mediocre industrialist by the risks of Nature, more dangerous to him than the changes in labour costs. The industrialist works on inert matter and can use in his enterprise every facility provided by technical progress. The farmer works on a living medium, in his operations and technical advances he can only reduce to a minimum the damage caused by climatic conditions.

Scientific research in industry aims at finding machines which give more results with the same power, produce more at the same expense.

Scientific research in agriculture aims at obtaining grain which resists heavy rain, less liable to rust, potatoes resistant to disease, trees resistant to rot.

. . . . . .

The whole trouble of these days has its origin in this difference which our leaders do not understand ; they keep thinking that agriculture can and should be reconciled with all the steps taken in industry.

. . . . . .

All the theories of our modern economists as well as all the steps which they have recommended and are still recommending to our public men are affected by this first and fundamental error, the belief that the same doctrine should be equally applicable to industry and to agriculture.[1]

The theory which Mr Bouchard enunciated is perhaps best exemplified by the strength with which domestic arts and crafts, as practised in the Quebec countryside, have resisted both booms and depressions.

[1] Lefageois in *Le Paysan du Centre Ouest*, Amboise, 1 November 1936.

In parts of the province the French-Canadian housewife never gave up her loom ; in good times and bad she made her own tweeds and her own carpets, wove her own tablecloths, designed and finished her own curtains.

STATISTICS OF WOMEN FARMERS' CLUBS, 1933–1934.

—	Total Province	Lower St Lawrence	Quebec	Three Rivers	Bois-Francs	Eastern Townships	South-east of Montreal	Montreal & Ottawa Valley	North of Province
Number of clubs	212	65	29	18	30	16	16	19	19
Number of members	8,877	2,491	1,139	698	1,369	559	821	952	848
Members of farmers' families	5,119	1,560	631	352	795	332	406	532	511
Number of beekeepers	453	142	49	79	47	20	50	46	20
Number of hives	2,888	547	237	728	272	97	641	304	62
Value : wax and honey $	17,242	2,940	983	4,342	1,240	543	4,491	2,462	241
Number of poultrywomen	5,603	1,801	724	417	849	354	360	534	564
Number of birds	236,534	57,006	29,665	22,944	34,782	13,425	37,919	23,340	17,453
Number of layers	165,216	43,359	21,989	18,064	26,599	8,841	19,844	14,574	11,946
Number of dozen eggs produced	1,374,275	353,054	179,421	154,739	238,359	79,248	169,033	107,874	92,547
Number of dozen eggs sold	818,571	182,321	113,820	112,936	150,140	39,040	120,120	59,857	40,337
Number of dozen eggs per hen (year)	8·3	8·1	8·2	8·6	9·0	9·0	8·5	7·4	7·7
Number of horticulturesses	6,706	1,987	885	539	1,057	374	592	547	725
Number of spinners	5,379	1,910	713	351	939	260	299	376	531
Number of weavers	4,939	1,756	659	341	868	246	245	333	481
Number of wheels	4,747	1,777	652	246	888	217	298	282	387
Number of looms	3,273	1,279	459	263	609	134	142	157	230
Women farmers growing flax	1,100	472	190	78	209	15	24	31	81
Area under flax (arpts) *	532	165	70	30	83	6	8	127	43
Crop : flax seeds (lbs)	78,021	21,403	8,801	4,213	9,988	362	1,451	27,835	3,968
Crop : flax (lbs)	31,538	13,516	5,049	2,170	6,877	240	614	1,015	2,057
Flax purchased within a year (lbs)	2,317	1,121	293	130	248	131	45	22	327
Value purchased within a year $	1,088	456	203	84	213	24	7	16	85
Value : Linen work made $	14,324	6,164	2,362	770	3,680	133	179	65	971
Value : Linen work sold $	1,409	841	188	78	220	15	32	5	30
Women farmers keeping sheep	3,255	1,106	297	189	521	133	54	218	237
Number of sheep	27,717	12,528	2,591	1,155	5,185	1,319	484	2,074	2,381
Annual output of wool (lbs)	137,843	59,324	12,304	6,197	27,197	7,520	3,051	10,447	11,803
Annual average prod. per sheep (lbs)	4·9	4·7	4·7	5·4	5·2	5·7	6·3	5·0	5·0
Amount of wool utilized within a year (lbs)	133,683	58,955	13,536	5,804	26,012	5,735	2,333	9,135	12,173
Amount of wool sold raw within a year (lbs)	25,462	7,950	1,783	1,578	5,121	3,253	1,237	2,885	1,655
Value : Linen work made within a year $	104,993	44,326	10,290	5,703	20,870	4,511	2,053	7,248	9,992
Value: Linen work sold within a year $	8,104	3,354	1,306	340	1,029	362	205	769	739
How many do canning	5,947	1,825	687	503	963	367	522	500	580
Total value of canned products $	185,569	51,721	18,463	15,347	35,961	17,307	18,895	12,747	15,128
Number of members keeping accounts	2,740	902	380	225	452	146	206	215	214

* *Arpent.* v. p. 326.

There is something much deeper in this work than the desire to save or make a little money, there are intellectual and moral values which can only be appreciated when we learn to know and appreciate the thoughts of the women who spin and weave. But there is a good solid economic basis behind this craftwork and that is the main reason why recent years have seen it reawakened ; it is that the farms use up by far the most of their own products. The statistics of the Women Farmers' Clubs for an average year reproduced on page 338 are extraordinarily suggestive. The housewives it will be observed used nine-tenths of the linen they made for their own homes ; they sold less than 20 per cent of their raw wool and made the rest up into about 70,000 yards of cloth of which some was sold but most was worn. A minor but interesting point is that about half of the total activity was on the Lower St Lawrence, one corner of Canada which had kept what Mr Bouchard meant by the ' noble traditions the healthy customs of rural life.'

In 1935–1936 with the help of officials of the Canadian Radio Commission, especially Mr Arthur Dupont, and in 1936–1937 under the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation which succeeded the commission, Mr Bouchard and some of his friends put on a series of occasional broadcasts under the general title *Reveil Rural* (Rural Awakening). In the spring of 1938 he undertook a much more ambitious project of the same sort. A small corporation was formed known as the *Reveil Rural* [1] which had among other objectives ' to organize campaigns of education which will inspire a love for country life and rural institutions and bring about a better understanding of the importance of a rural career ; to assist agriculture, agricultural industry,

[1] Reveil Rural Inc. Reg., 31 December 1937 ; Province of Quebec, Book 169, Folio 112.

country crafts and rural small industries by diffusing new ideas by the preservation of precious traditions, by the development of instruction, by the inculcation of co-operative methods and by the encouragement of collective effort.' The executive consists of fifteen members, five of whom are deputy-ministers in the Provincial Government.

This organization has arranged a radio programme which involves one broadcast every day in the week on a rural topic. Each of these broadcasts has a short musical setting and a twelve-minute address given in a very simple and personal fashion. The effort is a co-operative one in every sense of the word. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, a Federal concern, provides time on the air, line costs and a producer ; the Provincial Government meets the cost of speakers and out-of-pocket expenses. Addresses are classified into twenty-eight series each dealing with one branch of the general subject, with its own slate of speakers and its own chairman, an expert in the field. Fourteen of the twenty-eight series deal with the cultural aspect of the subject, seven with economics, and seven with technique. [1] The conception of these broadcasts is a fine one—the

[1]

Cultural Aspect

1. The rural spirit.
2. Folklore.
3. History and geography.
4. Rural arts and crafts.
5. Our beautiful countrysides.
6. Beautifying the farm.
7. Family education.
8. School and farm.
9. Our plants.
10. Our animals.
11. The young naturalists.
12. Civil education and rural legislation.
13. Reading.
14. Leisure.

Economics

1. Colonization.
2. Young Farmers' Club.
3. Domestic economy.
4. Women Farmers' Clubs.
5. Rural economics.
6. Co-operation.
7. Professional associations.

Technique

1. Agriculture.
2. Horticulture.
3. Wood lots and maple industry.
4. Plant protection.
5. Animal industry.
6. Fisheries.
7. Farm engineering.

planning has been well done ; if the execution matches the conception and the plan French Canada will have to its credit the most outstanding effort in a rural educational programme yet attempted.

Thoughts like Mr Bouchard's as well as other thoughts were in the minds of those who set up the Catholic Union of Farmers. The Union was founded in 1924 largely through the efforts of M. Laurent Barré and some of his friends who saw that Quebec agriculture was in considerable danger and believed that in united effort there would be a way out. In 1937 the Rev Léon Lebel, chaplain of the Union, looked back at the situation which then had to be faced in 1924 [1] :

1. Diminished production of land, worn out by a hundred years of cultivation, and made acid and unproductive by poor drainage.
2. Diminished local markets by reason of the disappearance of . . . small industries. . . .
3. Loss of much of our market, . . . the farmers of other provinces and other countries . . . more advanced than we in practical agricultural science and in co-operation, are able to offer wholesalers improved products, uniform and better packed.
4. Complete loss of the hay market owing to . . . the gradual disappearance of horses.
5. Appalling increases in taxation. . . .
6. Increased expenses owing to the disappearance . . . of domestic arts and crafts. . . .
7. Lack of general and agricultural education. . . .
8. Disappearance of credit. . . .
9. Abnormal drop in the price of agricultural products. . . .
10. Political divisions from which our province suffered more than any country under the parliamentary system. Party spirit, kept at white-heat by the

[1] L. Lebel in *La Terre de Chez Nous*, 13 October 1937.

organizers of the two parties, has been one of the greatest obstacles to union and co-operation.

11. Demoralization of the agricultural class by the comparison of its lot with that of the city workers ; on the one hand, hard work, laborious enthralment 365 days in the year, without having any certainty that the harvest will give return enough to make both ends meet ; on the other hand shorter and shorter days, week-end and yearly holidays, a sure wage paid on a fixed day, comfort, luxury, electricity, theatre, moving-pictures, the radio.

To the solution of these problems the Catholic Union of Farmers set itself with a will. Its programme included many proposals which were later included in that of the Union Nationale and the support which it gave to the Union Nationale movement was soon repaid by the new Provincial Government. In his report for 1937 [1] the General Secretary of the Union, M. Gérard Filion, was able to present an excellent record of progress. The number of local clubs of which the Union is formed had increased from 668 to 697 ; many clubs had set up study groups ; fourteen regions, corresponding with episcopal dioceses had held regional congresses ; The co-operative sales agency run by the Union had sold 24,519 boxes of butter, 45,404 boxes of cheese ; the mutual life insurance scheme started in 1937 had 220 policies in force for a total of $192,000 within seven months of its inception. The accounts showed a net profit for the year of $6,806.88 and a surplus of $23,859·91.

A very useful activity was the correspondence course for practical farmers, a series of useful written lectures prepared by the staff at Ste Anne de la Pocatière and circulated by the Union office. Finally the Union

[1] *La Terre de Chez Nous*, 27 October 1937.

Service de l'enseignement agricole

School Farm, Deschambault, Quebec. Mr C. J. Magnan speaks to a Young Farmers' Club.

Service de l'enseignement agricole

Lucien Dion, St Raymond, a young Quebec farmer.

paper *La Terre de Chez Nous* was able to report an increase in circulation during the first nine months of the year from 14,000 to 22,569 copies.

The co-operative sales agency of the Union was in competition with another organization known as the Co-operative Federée. This institution, established as a government venture in 1923, after passing through serious financial troubles, out of which it had to be helped by special grants, was in 1930 made independent of any government control. It is now in a more prosperous condition and has a considerable surplus. It has 153 local subsidiaries, total assets of over $4,000,000, over 14,000 shareholders and does a business of over $12,000,000 per annum.

One of the puzzles which has to be solved is the way in which this considerable undertaking is to be fitted in with the plans for corporative organization which Professor Minville has elaborated and some of which are now being prepared for execution. The Union itself would naturally like to see itself become a corporative organization embracing all Catholic farmers. It would also like to take the Co-operative Federée under its control. Definite steps in this direction have already been taken by both the institutions concerned and the idea behind both movements is gaining ground in Quebec.

None of the efforts which have been put forward could have succeeded without State assistance, and as will have been observed, some of them received their first impetus under the former Provincial Government. Since, however, we are mainly concerned with present-day facts we must limit these notes for the most part to the operations of the ministry now in power.

Mr Duplessis was asked to name his main objective as Premier of Quebec. He told his inquirer with a good deal of feeling that his aim was the restoration of a

healthy balance between the country and the city. He painted the depressing and demoralizing effect which the sight of a farm loaded with debts, of a saddened father and worn mother had on the country boy and girl ; he explained that the only cure was the broad scheme of rural credits which has been put into force and he said that the best piece of work his Government had so far done was that according to his best calculations, it had kept 35,000 young men in the countryside, where they belonged, that the current running towards the cities was at last coming under control.

The Quebec farm loan scheme as set up in 1936 [1] and modified in 1938 is a simple one. The Farm Credit Bureau consists of a Chairman and two associates who are appointed for ten years, and have at their disposal a fund of $25,000,000. The farmer who wishes to borrow makes an application on an official form stating his needs, the amount of his debts and the value of his property. The Bureau will make an investigation and, if it is satisfied, may arrange for an advance which where a farmer is in real trouble with creditors, may be up to 75 per cent of the valuation. Capital and interest are repaid by annual payments of 4 per cent of which $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is on account of capital and amortizes the loan in $39\frac{1}{2}$ years. Each loan must be approved by an executive order and secured by mortgage. Provision is also made for loans of shorter term secured by second mortgage.

An earlier law [2] of which advantage is still taken permits rural municipalities to make loans for the purchase of seed ; this is a useful provision in that such loans can be obtained quickly and repaid as taxes.

[1] By the Act 1 Edward VIII, cap. 5.
[2] 12 George V, cap. 57.

A popular scheme also first organized some time ago, is the plan of Better Farming Competitions. This is a highly personal competitive venture and has produced some remarkable results. A group of farms in one municipality is carefully studied by an official of the Department, and each is given a five-year plan designed to bring about maximum production by the end of that period. Rotation, fertilization, drainage, and necessary purchases are all taken into account. The winners end in province-wide contests in which the competition is very close and standards high. More than 1200 farmers are at present engaged in contests of this kind and their friends wait for the annual decisions with as much interest as the most enthusiastic hockey fan shows over his favourite team's results.

The needs of the younger generation, apart from formal education, have not been forgotten. In the autumn of 1937 there was held at Quebec an impressive Congress on Agricultural Education in which there were long discussions between agricultural experts on the one hand and the leaders of education on the other.[1] One conclusion generally accepted was the need to create that rural atmosphere about country schools of which mention was made in the pastoral letter already cited. Another was the need for close co-operation between the agricultural college and the technical agriculturists. An important result was a renewed effort for the establishment of young Farmers' Clubs. These had first been organized some time before, now new regulations were made by a special committee of the Congress ; the movement has the special attention of Mr C. J. Magnan, head of the education branch of the Department of Agriculture. Each club must have at least twelve members, aged between fifteen and twenty-five ; each must have a chaplain. There must

[1] For a full account see *La Terre de Chez Nous*, 27 October 1937.

be eight meetings a year ; each member must write at least five essays, establish a personal library, undergo an oral examination and keep a set of books in a prescribed form ; finally either the club must organize an exhibition and judging contest or each member must undertake and carry out one special project. The local agricultural officer judges the members of each club, the regional officer then appoints a committee of two to judge the leaders ; the winners are given gold and silver medals as well as money prizes. A special committee then judges the regional champions and selects a provincial champion ; he gets a challenge cup and a scholarship for two years at a school of agriculture ; the regional champions get six-month scholarships. Complete sets of instructions are furnished by the Department of Agriculture, and everything except the contests is made as easy as possible. The enthusiasm with which this scheme has been met is apparent from the fact that 3500 youngsters are now enrolled and more clubs are constantly being formed.

Another very important project already briefly mentioned was the organization of winter courses in co-operation at the three agricultural colleges, Macdonald, Oka, and Ste Anne de la Pocatière. These were attended by young men between sixteen and thirty years of age, carefully selected by local committees, and included intensive and highly practical instruction as well as visits to co-operative undertakings.

One more benefit has been brought to the Quebec farmer of recent years by the establishment of County Health Units in country areas. Each unit consists of a medical officer qualified in public health, two or more nurses, one sanitary inspector, and one nurse.

They were badly needed and they have done excellent

work as appears by the following table prepared by Dr Paul Parrot for an article by Mr J. Sylvestre.[1]

General mortality rate and a few specific death-rates in the Province of Quebec for the years 1926, 1931, 1936 and the proportional decrease in 1936, as compared with rates in 1926.

	1926	1931	1936	Ratio of decrease. 1926–36
				%
General Mortality (per 1000 population)	14.2	12.0	10.2	28.0
Infantile Mortality (per 1000 live births)	142.0	112.9	82.8	41.7
Tuberculosis (per 100,000 population)	121.5	110.1	93.3	23.2
Diphtheria (per 100,000 population)	15.8	10.6	5.1	67.7
Contagious diseases — Tuberculosis excluded—(per 100,000 population)	161.7	96.8	72.0	55.4

While much of the improvement is, as Mr Sylvestre pointed out, due to work of city organizations, the counties with health units have shown up much better than others. This is very clearly shown by the official table for September 1937. The infantile mortality was very high, 50 per cent over that of the preceding year, owing to a scourge of enteritis, but the value of the health units is obvious.

Comparative Summary for the Health Units	Province		Health Units (39 counties)		Remainder 34(counties)	
	Total	Rate	Total	Rate	Total	Rate
Living Births	5,614	21.8	2,375	21.7	3,239	19.0
Deaths—All ages	2,936	11.4	1,131	12.9	1,805	10.6
Under one year	882	157.1	456	192.0	426	131.5
Total population	3,140,000		1,065,956		2,074,044	
Per cent	100·0		34·0		66·0	

[1] *Health*, December 1937.

Very little, apparently, is known of this health work outside Quebec or even in Quebec cities. In a smart article published in a Toronto paper on Realism *v.* Romance in Old Quebec,[1] after poking a little fun at the Quebec Tourist Bureau the author tells us that 'behind this window-dressing lies the life of the common people. And theirs is a different Quebec. Look, for example, at the Quebec seen by the Family Welfare Association of Montreal . . .' The writer tells us, *inter alia*, 'The tradition of hardiness of the habitant is shattered when science is the measuring-rod. In a study of 1807 schoolboys, the McGill University report states: 'At seven years of age, the average child of a low income family is two inches shorter and weighs four pounds less than the seven-year-old of a higher income family. At fifteen, the wealthier boy is five inches taller and weighs eight pounds more than the poor boy.' What the writer did not know was that the 'McGill University report' deals with the same group as is dealt with by the Family Welfare Association, which consists of dwellers in Montreal, includes practically no French Canadians, and obviously no 'habitants.' The conditions are admittedly lamentable, but though the statistics allow us to assume that conditions in French-Canadian Montreal are as bad as in English-Canadian Montreal, they do not even give ground for assumptions concerning 'Romantic Old Quebec.' The moral of which is 'be careful of statistics'!

[1] Margaret Gould, *The Star*, Toronto, 25 February 1938.

CHAPTER XXI

Windows on the World

FRENCH Canada looks through two windows on the world, one faces south and one east ; to the northward the view is shut off by the curve of the earth—Quebec's next-door-neighbour in that direction is Soviet Russia ; to the west is the Pacific ; it is not yet a Japanese lake, and French Canada does not look across it with as much attention as British Columbia.

The French Canadian prefers looking to the south. This is not because he wants to become part of the United States—we have already noted that he does not—but he likes the view. One reason for his feelings is that he has a great many American cousins. The figures given for the American population of French origin in 1933 are :

	Total	Franco-American
Maine . . .	797,000	132,000
New Hampshire .	465,000	122,000
Vermont . .	360,000	52,000
Massachusetts .	4,250,000	370,000
Connecticut . .	1,602,000	80,000
Rhode Island .	682,000	122,000
Illinois . . .	7,631,000	200,000
California . .	5,677,000	72,000
Louisiana . .	2,102,000	600,000
Michigan . .	4,842,000	145,000
New York . .	12,588,000	145,000
Wisconsin . .	2,939,000	36,800

The total 'Franco-American' population is estimated at 2,500,000, a figure which is probably not far off the

mark. Of these 'Franco-Americans,' the New Englanders and the people in Michigan are mainly derived from recent Canadian immigration, and in the other states there are a number of like origin. In Wisconsin and the Mississippi Valley are people descended from early settlers, some still living in French-speaking islets.

Of all the state groups of French origin by far the largest is that of Louisiana, where it constitutes almost 30 per cent of the population. There are two sections, the Creoles, descendants of the original garrison left behind when France transferred Louisiana to the United States, and the Acadians, 'Cajans,' mostly settled in the country, descendants of Evangeline and her fellow-exiles. The French Canadian of Quebec is less interested in these people than is the New Brunswicker; the New Brunswick Acadian feels that the 'Cajan' is a far-off cousin, which as a matter of fact, the 'Cajan' is. Mr Gabriel Louis Jaray, Chairman of the Executive of France Amérique makes some acute comments on the chances for French survival in Louisiana. A spirit of division, he says, has separated the Creoles into small cliques, 'each remains in his ivory tower and when crises or the day's work force them to do so the sons become Anglicized, or at least if they do not adopt the English culture, which is not deep, adopt the English language.' [1] In the local universities, he observes 'French has an important place but as at McGill University in Montreal it is taught as a foreign language.' [2] Mr Jaray does look forward to a change. He feels that the Franco-American population of Louisiana has something to contribute, that Louisiana would be the better for a wider outlook, that New Orleans should become, like Montreal, a meeting-ground of cultures.

[1] Gabriel Louis Jaray, *Le Destin Française Louisiane*, p. 155.

[2] *Ibid.* (but at McGill University all French is taught *in* French).

The New Englanders are, naturally enough, the group with which French Canada is most in contact ; the very existence of this large population, its determination to survive has always been and is now an encouragement and an inspiration to the people of Quebec. The New England Franco-Americans are feeling a new influence radiating from the north. Two large radio stations near Montreal, CBF of 50 kw and CKAC of 5 kw are sending into the north-eastern states a constant stream of excellent French programmes. They are doing a yet odder piece of work, the announcers are interpreting NBC and Columbia English into French for the benefit not only of Quebec but of New England. There have of recent years been many comments on the 'Americanizing' of Canada by radio ; it is strange to see the tables turned where French Canada is concerned.

A most important series of addresses was given during the period 1933–1936 over Station CKAC (Montreal) by a number of distinguished Franco-Americans, among whom might be mentioned Mr Wilfrid Beaulieu of Worcester, editor of the *Travailleur*, Dr Damase Caron, Mayor of Manchester, Judge Daignault, former president of the Association Canado-Américaine, Mr L. P. Gagné, editor of *Le Messager* of Lewiston, and Professor A. Goulet of Boston College. The key was given by the first and last addresses. Judge Daignault says :

> We are French-Canadians and Franco-Americans, Catholics of French blood, speaking the French language and possessing our own national inheritance, built up through three centuries of Christian and French civilization in North America. This inheritance is common property to French-Canadians and Franco-Americans. Its conservation is of importance both to French-Canadians and Franco-Americans.[1]

[1] Elphège J. Daignault in *Les Franco-Américains*, p. 15.

Mr Gagné ends the series :

> Citizens of the French language established in the State of Maine, we will always keep the same motto, 'Je me souviens,' which is also that of the great and dear Province.
>
> We shall continue to sing 'O Canada' with the American national anthem.
>
> We shall continue to send our sons and daughters to the colleges and convents of Canada to fill them more and more with the spirit of Quebec.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Emigrants from Quebec, we are like swallows loving to revisit our home of other days, which saw us go, which always welcomes with a secret pride those of its children of yesterday who do honour to their race in the fine and large family of the United States of America.[1]

It is when the French Canadian looks to the East that he is thoroughly disturbed, a feeling which he shares with a good many English Canadians.

The French-Canadian attitude towards the British connection, apart from the question of war and peace, is on the whole pleasant enough to satisfy the most sensitive Englishman. It is a great deal more pleasant than would be the attitude of an English Canadian living as a subject of France. One must, of course, have the sense to remember that the French Canadian is not English. We do hear occasional discussion about a Canadian flag in which a number of English Canadians, especially those born east of the Atlantic, plump for the Union Jack. It is questionable whether we should hear such violent pleas for the Jack as a Canadian flag, if there were no French Canadians ; Australia and New Zealand both have flags of their own in which the Union flag is a feature, in South Africa it only appears as an emblem.

It is difficult to generalize on the subject of the French-

[1] Louis-Philippe Gagné in *Les Franco-Américains*, p. 284.

Canadians feeling towards the English overseas for one French Canadian feels one way and another a different way. If English Canadians could divest themselves of hypocrisy (which is one fault of which one must never accuse either English Canadian or English) they would admit that the same thing was true of themselves. Whatever feelings do exist are largely due to the actions or negligences of the English. It is a curious thing that the English people, who have shown over and over again an uncanny skill in propaganda, have never paid any attention to the most important political minority in the British Commonwealth, indeed have somewhat pointedly neglected it. How many eminent Englishmen have ever paid French Canada the compliment of a visit? We have seen how highly appreciated was Sir Evelyn Wrench. If fifty others did as much it would still be too little to make up for the past.

Canadians both English and French are beginning to feel that the wearer of the Crown has a definite duty to spend a certain amount of time in the Dominions. The Crown is the legal link between the nations of the Commonwealth; in his purely governmental capacity the King can be represented by the Governor-General. But the Crown means more than a legal link; it stands for all those intangible things that go to make up the British Commonwealth, and with the best will in the world and the greatest ability no Governor-General can replace the King. Twenty-five years ago the announcement was made that 'His Majesty King George V will visit Canada in 1914. Only some unexpected event such as a European war involving England or a family bereavement will prevent this trip taking place.' [1] The European war came and Canada has not yet had a Royal visit. It is to be

[1] *Gazette*, Montreal, 28 April 1913.

assumed that King George VI will carry out his father's plan as his father would have wished him to do, and it is to be assumed that when he does come to Canada it will be as King of Canada, that he will open the Canadian Parliament and read the speech from the throne. It is to be assumed too that King George will spend a reasonable time among his French-Canadian subjects and will for that visit use some French-Canadian aides-de-camp.

To the French Canadians the visit of the King will have a special significance. To their forefathers the Kings of England were the Dukes of Normandy ; that is still the only title by which the King holds the Channel Islands although an ancient treaty with France prevents him using it. But in Canada he will be among Canadian Normans, who are his own subjects and can welcome him as the descendant of the Norman Duke who conquered England.

In the meantime it would be at least politic for John Bull to spend a little time cultivating the friendship of French Canada and not to reserve all his favours for Marianne, of whom French Canada is likely to be jealous.

The disturbing factor to the French Canadian is not the British Crown but British policy, and he may be forgiven if he finds it difficult to be sure what that is. He discovers one interpretation in the words of the former Prime Minister of Canada, Mr R. B. Bennett :

> The former Prime Minister, speaking on his recent Empire tour, called for ' frank recognition ' of the obligations of Empire. He asked what residents of Canada were doing ' in this new land to recognize the debt we owe to those who fought and died and gave it to us.
>
> ' Where did we get our forests and lands ? Whose blood won them for you ? Who taxed themselves with a national debt ? Where did the men come from that settled these

shores and were given commissions to part with these lands to settlers ? ' [1]

At this point the French Canadian sits back, scratches his head and remembers where the first settlers came from. The former Prime Minister continues :

> I confess as I came back by sea from Cape Town to London and thought of the debt the world owes the men and women of those little islands (Great Britain) I wondered whether we of this generation have been worthy descendants of those people. The challenge is a real one.[2]

And at that some English Canadians who left fifty-five thousand of their friends in a foreign soil after a war which brought Canada no profit and questionable security join the French-Canadians in their meditations.

It might be useful, as an introduction to our consideration of the French-Canadian attitude towards transatlantic questions to see what English-Canadian youth thinks ; they are the people who will have to do the fighting if there is any.

The *McGill Daily* conducted in 1936 a country-wide survey of student opinion and found it definite enough to justify a heading :

> *All Canadian University Survey Reveals*
> *Students Strongly Oppose Conscription*
> *And Favour Pro-American Sentiment* [3]

A few extracts from individual editorials are worth quoting :

Dalhousie University.—Canada (should) pursue a policy of North American isolationism, shunning Imperial defence schemes and aligning herself in economic and foreign policy with countries of the Western Hemisphere.

University of Toronto.—Undoubtedly, enemies will attack the source of British armaments and who knows but that

[1] *Gazette*, Montreal, 8 April 1938. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *McGill Daily*, 15 December 1936.

Canada will be the first point of attack rather than a safe haven of refuge.

Then let us see what Britain, or, to be at the same time more exact and vague, the Empire, holds in store for us. What is required of Canada in this regard is that she should increase her armaments sufficiently to enable her to do her bit in Empire defence. But when peregrinating imperialists like Lord Elibank speak of Commonwealth policy and defence they really are referring to British policy and defence—the defence of England's lines of communication and the vested interests of her capitalists. So Canada should think twice before entering into any ambitious scheme of Empire defence —even if it were desirable. But is it desirable ?

M'Gill Daily.—We feel that Canada should not be bound by any agreement with any foreign nation, or any Empire Country unconditionally to support such a country in a war. We believe that any general Canadian Scheme of defence should fit in with the American plans as well as with any British plans upon which we agree, for are we not geographically part of America ? Do we not stand or fall with America ?

We believe that Canada's future is wrapped up with the fate of the Americas and we should therefore subscribe to a general Pan-American peace policy and defence scheme. While we are an integral part of the Empire, it must not be assumed by anybody that we will rise up and defend any policy of the Imperial Government's without having had a fair share in the determination of that policy.[1]

Other editors followed the same lines. A congress of students held at Winnipeg in December 1937 took an identical view and embodied the gist of the statements in a resolution. It is not to be assumed that all young English Canadians are of quite the same opinion as the student journalists and congressists but there is not much doubt that very many are.

[1] Paul Bouchard in *La Nation*, 22 October 1936.

Now let us turn to the French Canadian. There are, of course, extremists who have conjured up for themselves the bogey of a 'British Intelligence Service' the hidden hand of which they see everywhere. 'The Intelligence Service fearing the birth here of a French-Canadian fascism (Laurentian some would call it), the plan is to confuse the French-Canadian brain—hazy and nebulous enough already by setting up in opposition to this national fascism a sort of pan-Canadian fascism . . . a caricature, the detestable and anti-Latin Hitlerism.' [1]

More moderate men have as definite views. Mr Seraphin Vachon, for instance, says :

> The Canadians, French-Canadians like the rest, wish no ill to England. They are loyal to her in the sense that they are proud to be connected with her. Whether because they admire her or whether because they still have some English blood many would voluntarily take up arms and go to defend her in Europe. But among those who have become true Canadians instead of remaining English or French exiles there are none who would agree to allow their country to be engaged in war as it was in 1914. Glorious though it might be, they know too well how insignificant our participation would be in the balance of victory. They know too well too that even in case of a victory the future of Canada would be gravely endangered by war debts and the loss of human capital. More yet (the mysterious flights of the dirigible *Hindenburg* have awakened their suspicions) the vision of their fate in case of the defeat of England is enormously disquieting.[2]

'What should we lose by refusing our help,' the same writer says a few days later. 'Nothing, absolutely nothing. And it is clear. It is not by profound friendship nor as a result of natural goodness that England protects us against foreign greed. The English as a

[1] *Ibid.* [2] Seraphin Vachon in *La Province*, 31 October 1936.

people—and no blame to them—have accustomed us to more realism. A strong and fundamentally materialist race they only exercise generosity when it is consonant with self-interest. If England won the war without us she would continue to protect us because it suited her convenience. If she lost without us we should to the victor be a neutral nation which he could not touch without destroying universal equilibrium." [1]

There are flaws in Mr Vachon's argument; the annexation of Austria was not prevented by any fear of upsetting the international apple-cart and whatever prevented an attack on Canada after the defeat of England it would not be any such apprehension. A neutral Canada, if Canada's neutrality could be recognized, which served as a base of supplies for Britain would certainly be attacked, and unless she were able to defend herself, would be crippled. Another weakness in Mr Vachon's case is that he evidently does not know the value of the Canadian contribution in the last war, of which a brief mention was made in Chapter XVI; Canada could do much more than he thinks. None of this, however, touches Mr Vachon's main point, which is that Canada must decide for herself when the time for a decision comes and not before.

A very disillusioning comment comes from Mr Antonio Perrault. 'To-morrow, as yesterday,' he says, 'influences of an Imperialist nature will emanate from London. I fear that Canada will submit to them." 'That submission,' he goes on, 'will be more conscious, more freely willed than before, being no longer imposed by unilateral brute force coming from the centre of the Empire. It will be accepted under the cloak of a semi-sovereignty; enveloped in such sentiments it will be harder to avoid. It is the love affairs that are the hardest to get rid of. Canada, I fear, remains as

[1] Seraphin Vachon, *La Province*, 31 October 1936.

Government of Quebec

Percé Rock, Gaspé. 'Roads were built along the wild shore-line.'

before within the London sphere of active influence, no longer under a centralized form but diffused and hidden.' 'Legally emancipated from England,' Mr Perrault concludes 'Canada is not emancipated from the British Empire. Can she resist the force which holds the Dominions to the United Kingdom? Can she leave the orbit in which since 1760 she has circled about England?' [1]

Another French Canadian observes briefly:

> We know what the Great War cost us, the logical outcome of our stupid intervention in South Africa, and the lesson should be adequate.[2]

It is quite evident that the attitude of these French Canadians is very similar to that of the younger English Canadians who have been quoted.

The last and best word on the subject, so far as French Canada is concerned was spoken in the House of Commons in Ottawa by M. Maxime Raymond, M.P. for Beauharnois on 24th March 1938, in a debate on the estimates for National Defence. In an address full of thought and information he dealt with the whole knotty problem. Mr Mackenzie King, he pointed out, had declared that Canada was not committed to any military undertaking of the Empire or of the League of Nations. He reminded his hearers that the Minister of Public Health had stated in a Federal by-election 'that if we thought that the first line of defence was now in Canada we would not contribute a single cent to arm or equip a soldier in order to despatch him in an expeditionary force and in short that we did not intend to participate in external wars.' He surveyed the international scene and its potential dangers, he quoted Mr Roosevelt and other American statemen. He dis-

[1] Antonio Perrault, *La Co-operation Nationale* (Speech at Semaine Sociale, Ste Hyacinth, 21 July 1937), p. 19.

[2] Omer Heroux in *Le Devoir*, 21 March 1938.

cussed the possibility of protection by England and by the United States ; he pointed out that England could not protect us in a war of dispersed forces, that the United States would require us to do something for ourselves, and finally that no one had protected Ethiopia and China although both British and American interests were affected.

' We see no enemies,' he said, ' but our country has incomparable wealth of all kinds coveted by those countries which are starved of raw materials. The visit of German engineers, last December, to Anticosti Island had for its object either the acquisition of raw materials or a military base ; one is not much more reassuring than the other.

' Ethiopia had no enemies,' he went on, ' but she had natural resources. China had no enemies, but she offered a source of supply and an outlet for Japan's surplus population. . . . Our neighbours the United States had no enemies, but they also are arming—and how ! ' Finally Mr Raymond stated that he would support the armaments' resolution—he had last year voted the other way—relying on the Prime Minister. ' I have reason to believe,' he said, ' that he will never engage Canada in an external contest where we have no interest, and that he will thus contribute powerfully to the unity of the country.' [1] Mr Mackenzie King left his place to congratulate the speaker, and he made no mistake.

It will take some time to determine the effect on North America of Britain's new policies in Europe. Britain's undertaking to act with France is in accordance with statements already made that Britain's frontier is the Rhine ; Britain is committed to a European policy by the force of geography. It is, on the other hand, clear that Britain—and therefore France—under their

[1] *Le Canada*, 28 March 1938.

present Governments will abstain from adventures not necessary to national existence. It is clear that Britain and Italy have more parallel than conflicting interests, however some citizens of one country may have lost their tempers with those of the other. There does not seem, then, any possibility that Britain will be involved in a major war except for defence. In such a war what would be the situation of the North American countries ? Canada would at once have as a major duty the defence of her power lines and the St Lawrence waterway ; both would be of the utmost importance in long range strategy and both could be easily damaged by raiders like the *Emden* of the Great War. Whether Canadians would be able and would be well advised to do more is a question that cannot be answered until the day arrives ; a good many of them think so, some, as we have seen, do not.

It is conceivable that some party might come into power in England committed to action of another kind, to intervention, for instance, in quarrels where England's safety was not at stake, and Canada had no interest at all. Recent events have made that seem not impossible. The Anglo-French alliance would then take on a different complexion. Canada would still have to think of her own defence, but the young men of Canada would have a serious problem to solve ; how they would solve it is not for an older generation to guess. One thing seems likely, that in any future conflict where Canada is concerned conscription will be not of men but of wealth.

Canada's main task will always be North American. defence, even if the battle is waged overseas, and in that Canada's interests are identical with those of the United States. The same situation arises on the Pacific, where the danger, if not as great as some think, is still a danger and where American policy has already

committed Canada to united action. If war came on the Pacific it would be the turn of England to decide whether or not she could afford to help Canada and the United States and how that help should be given.

The prospect to the east is not encouraging ; perhaps there is no need for undue pessimism, but it is with a good deal of relief that we turn back to the fields of home. Once more our film shows us the broad St. Lawrence rolling seaward, once more we see the line of white houses along the King's Highway, the church spires and the busy towns, once more the Laurentians gemmed with lakes, the level summits of Gaspé against the blue. We hear the roar of factories, the horns of cars, the lowing of cattle by the brooks. We hear the crash of axes in the woods, the fiddles at country dances, the merry songs of evening, the bell of the Angelus. We smell the pines, the clover, and the hay. We feel the clasp of hands that are ready enough to welcome ours. French Canada was here before the North-American background rose behind it, but French Canada is not discordant in the picture ; it is part of the whole great scene ; it is not too much to hope that French Canada with the rest of North America will teach the world one lesson, that peace is not a mere negation of war but an active way of life, that peace is not a means to an end but the very end itself.

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