

THE IMAGE OF THE FRENCH CANADIAN "RACE" IN ENGLISH CANADA:  
ENGLISH  
CANADIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD FRENCH CANADA, 1880-1920

by

Susan Bellay

A thesis  
presented to the University of Manitoba  
in fulfillment of the  
thesis requirement for the degree of  
Master of Arts  
in  
History

Winnipeg, Manitoba

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SUSAN BELLAY

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

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Chapter I  
INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of English Canadian racial images of French Canada during the Great War period, a time of intense crisis in the history of English-French relations. I have also examined certain broader issues from the 1890s to 1910s, a time in which both the general question of English-French relations and the resurgence of the bilingual schools controversy led up to the war-time debate over conscription. English Canadian popular attitudes toward French Canada were not so much based on their observations of French Canadian society, but on certain beliefs that English Canadians had about French Canadian life and culture. These beliefs emerged most clearly in English Canadian popular and scholarly opinion about the bilingual schools and conscription crises of 1916-1917.

As S. F. Wise and David Potter have indicated, the attitudes of one nation or people towards another have less to do with the reality of the nation being observed, and more to do with the values and attitudes important to those doing the observing.<sup>1</sup> English Canadian observations of French Can-

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<sup>1</sup> S. F. Wise demonstrates this phenomenon in his article, "The Annexation Movement and Its Effect on Canadian Opinion, 1837-67," in S. F. Wise and Robert Craig Brown, eds., Canada Views the United States: Nineteenth-Century Political Attitudes, (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada



ada during the 1910's reflected English Canadian beliefs about the nature of Canadian society, about the cultural composition of the wartime Canadian nation, and about the position of French Canadians within Canadian society and politics during this time. In many ways, these attitudes represent the attempts in English Canada to adjust to the circumstances of the war period, and to define both a clear national direction and a new relationship to the British empire. They also include a fixed image of French Canada based on prior beliefs and conceptions about French Canadian character, and about what made that "character".

English Canadian popular attitudes towards French Canada were as varied as the political beliefs of the war period, and were at least as distinct as the number of sources from which this study is drawn. But if there was a common feature to the English Canadian response to French Canada, it was the conception that French Canadians were racially different from the rest of Canada, and that French Canadians presented a special problem to Canadian unity. French Canadians were described as a "race," and certain behaviours and attitudes were attributed to their racial origin and to the peculiarities seen by English Canadians in their culture. The concept of "race" itself was never clearly defined. However, the term "race" was used by English Canadians to

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Limited, 1967). David M. Potter reiterates this point in "Canadian Views of the United States as a Reflex of Canadian Values: A Commentary," in Wise and Brown, eds., Canada Views the United States, 121-22.

describe the characteristics of peoples. While rooted in a biological concept of different cultures, the term became, by war's end, a synonym for social and cultural characteristics. This thesis is an examination of the changing concepts of the French Canadian "race," and of the varying ways in which these concepts were expressed in English Canadian popular opinion. In particular, this study concerns English Canadian literate opinion, based on periodicals, articles and books referring directly to the "French-Canadian" question and the French Canadian "race". I have examined the ways in which literate public opinion reacted to the "problem of Quebec" in the bilingual schools and conscription crises. English Canadians in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canada used the word "race" to describe both the biological and cultural characteristics of French Canadians. Rather than qualify the term "race" with italics throughout the thesis, I have let the early twentieth century idiom stand throughout.

\* \* \*

The rest of this introduction will review the perspectives on which this study is based and survey relevant sources in Canadian historiography that have examined English Canadian attitudes towards French Canada. Race, as a broadly defined concept, has received attention in Canadian, American and British historiography, generally in defining attitudes towards nonwhite groups. I have attempted to

define the ways in which English Canadians perceived French Canadians within the context of prevalent racial theory concerning the origins and environmental modifications seen as affecting the development of French Canadians. The ideas surrounding the French Canadian "race," and how that race adapted to a predominantly English Canadian environment, formed a distinct part of English Canadian beliefs about French Canada during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The argument in this study is patterned after the interaction between racial images and prevailing ideologies and beliefs presented in George M. Fredrickson's The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914.<sup>2</sup> Fredrickson examined the interplay of racial images and social and ideological currents, providing not only a study of the image but the political applications of the image as well. Fredrickson did not produce a history of an idea, as did Thomas Gossett in Race: The History of An Idea in America, but a history of ideas in action.<sup>3</sup> Fredrickson traced the racial image of the black American from the colonial period to World War I, believing that that image retained a certain constancy over

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<sup>2</sup> George M. Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971).

<sup>3</sup> Fredrickson, Black Image in the White Mind, preface; Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of An Idea in America, (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1970), passim.

time. This study has not been able to cover the range of Fredrickson's work, but I have attempted to discuss both the interaction between the English Canadian idea of the French Canadian "race" and important changes that emerged.

Rather than having focused on an English Canadian belief in the racial inferiority of the French Canadian, this study has concentrated on the ways in which French Canada was perceived as racially and culturally distinct from both English Canada and from the English-speaking world, including the British Empire and the United States. The belief that French Canadians were a culturally and biologically distinct outpost in an English sea did not have its origins in the war period, but was evident in at least the 1880's, if not before.<sup>4</sup> This image of French Canada had many implications. Some English-speaking Canadians feared that the effects of isolation made French Canadians susceptible to social and political behaviour that would disrupt the Dominion. Others did not agree that French Canadians represented a potential threat to Canadian stability, yet held that French Canadian isolationism ran counter to Canadian national interests. On the whole, English Canadians perceived French Canadians in a fashion that had appeared in the 1880's, and they continued to do so well into and after the war years.

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<sup>4</sup> Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Idea of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), chapter 5, "The Canadian Character," 128-54.

The subject of the English-French tensions surrounding the conscription and bilingual schools issues has been the focus of several important studies. As yet, no study of popular opinion in English Canada towards either French Canada as such, or the subject of race relations, has been written. The historiography of anthropology, folklore and race in English Canada does not generally consider the implications of race theory for French Canada, but provides a general context for the study of racial attitudes in English Canadian anthropology in the nineteenth century. Bruce G. Trigger emphasizes that by the late Victorian period, important figures in English Canadian anthropology rejected hypotheses of biological determinism, in favour of a belief in the mutability and capacity for fusion of all groups in Canada into a single Canadian nationality.<sup>5</sup> Douglas Cole, in his brief survey of English Canadian anthropology, mentions the development of studies in French Canada folklore, as well as the efforts of Benjamin Sulte to describe the demographic origins of French Canadians.<sup>6</sup> Carl Berger's Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada discusses the importance of natural history in English Canadian thinking about racial origins and development. Berger argues that English Canadian anthropologists subscribed to theories concerning the

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<sup>5</sup> Bruce G. Trigger, Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered, (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), 39-44, "Victorian Anthropology in Canada".

<sup>6</sup> Douglas Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology, 1850-1910," Journal of Canadian Studies, 8, 33 (1973): 33-45.

adaptability of the different "races" of man, and sought evidence of a "single human community" while maintaining that not all groups had evolved in the same direction.<sup>7</sup> Many of the ideas about the origins of the English and French Canadian "races" can be described in this light.

The most comprehensive works of English Canadian attitudes towards French Canada present the debate in World War I as a "conflict of nationalisms," in which English-French relations are seen as a problem of differing nationalist approaches to Canadian participation in the war. This perspective is offered in Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook's synthesis of Canadian history between 1896 and 1921, which includes a chapter on the "clash of nationalisms" of the 1916 and 1917 period.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, the first study of the conscription crisis in Canada, Elizabeth Armstrong's The Crisis of Quebec, characterizes the French Canadian response to conscription in terms of Quebec's "passive nationalism." This was an inwardly directed, cultural insularity that prevented French Canadians from subscribing wholeheartedly to the English Canadian nationalism that organized around the war effort. Armstrong appears to have continued to perceive French Canadians as insular and as defending their cultural interests

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<sup>7</sup> Carl Berger, Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 44.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), chapter 13, "The Clash of Nationalisms", 265.

against English Canadian wartime aims. All Quebec wanted, according to Armstrong, was "to be left alone to work out her salvation in her own particular way."<sup>9</sup>

General studies about English Canadian attitudes towards Quebec are less well represented. Some Canadian historians have already commented on the general propensity of English Canadians between 1880 and 1920 to view French Canada in picturesque terms that emphasized the "traditional, retrogressive features" of Quebec.<sup>10</sup> This theme is best developed in Carl Berger's study of the imperial federationists, The Sense of Power, in which he presents the English Canadian romantic view of French Canada held during the Victorian years.<sup>11</sup> Berger finds a dual representation of French Canadians in the thinking of imperial federationists. To some, French Canadians represented a counterpoint to English Canadian society, as a source of traditional and rural values, and as a classically and culturally oriented race which could offset the materialism and acquisitiveness attributed to the British race. Thus political scientist John George Bourinot saw the spirit of the Dominion as ideally uniting

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<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Armstrong, The Crisis of Quebec, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), 243.

<sup>10</sup> Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing Since 1900, 2d ed., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 18. This tendency has also been noted in M. Brook Taylor, Promoters, Patriots and Partisans: Historiography of Nineteenth-Century English Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), chapter 3, "The Anomaly of Quebec."

<sup>11</sup> Carl Berger, The Sense of Power, chapter 5, "The Canadian Character," 128-54.

the culture and refinement that he perceived in French Canadians and the spirit of progress which characterized the British Canadian "race". Others, like politicians D'Alton McCarthy and Clarke Wallace, viewed French Canada as dangerously backward and isolated, and sought to confine their political and geographical movement to the province of Quebec. Berger's portrait probably provides the clearest statement about the idea of French Canada in the English Canadian mind.

Much of Berger's research is reiterated and developed in The Writing of Canadian History, where he depicts a tradition of English Canadian history which emphasized the rural and retrogressive features of French Canada.<sup>12</sup> Berger in particular focuses on the writings of George M. Wrong, a historian of New France and a commentator on English-French relations in Canada. Berger suggests that Wrong represented an early twentieth century position that endeavoured to reconcile the differences between English and French Canadians, and that encouraged English Canadians to try to understand their French Canadian neighbours in order to better get along with them as a race.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, this tradition emphasized the rural and simple values perceived in French Canada; Wrong perceived French Canadians as a counterpoint to the aggressive materialism of English Canada, and valued the simplicity of French Canadian life accordingly.

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<sup>12</sup> Berger, Writing of Canadian History, 18.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 17.



The habitant was perceived as the heart and soul of old Quebec, and Wrong held a genuinely appreciative, if sometimes patronizing, perspective of the French Canadian rural inhabitant.

Berger's analyses are supplemented by R. G. Moyles and Doug Owram's study of the French Canadian image in the British press, and by Brook Taylor's depiction of the nineteenth-century English Canadian historical narrative.<sup>14</sup> According to Moyles and Owram, the British image of French Canada emphasized traditional and picturesque elements, often to the detriment of the realities of commercial and financial development in French Canada. The authors believe that in spite of the misrepresentation, the portrayal of French Canada in the British press provided an element of psychological security in a period of upheaval. The realities of French Canadian social and economic development were obscured by the image of French Canadian society as an outpost of rural simplicity, an image which provided a sense of stability to British Canadians in a period of economic change. In his interpretation of English Canadian historiography, Taylor similarly points out that a "quasi-feudal society ruled by military discipline and inhibited by the Roman Catholic Church" was a common stereotype of Quebec in

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<sup>14</sup> R. G. Moyles and Doug Owram, Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), chapter 5, "'Quaint Quebec': British Views of French Canada," 87-114; M. Brook Taylor, Promoters, Patriots and Partisans, 84-115.

the writings of English Canadian historians.<sup>15</sup>

The broad social and intellectual impact of the First World War has captivated historians. But here, too, the focus is on emerging patriotism and nationalism within English Canada. Major studies include a chapter, "The Ideology of Service," in John English's The Decline of Politics.<sup>16</sup> Important articles which discuss the English Canadian patriotic response to the war, and the development of English Canadian nationalism, include works by R. Matthew Bray and Brian Cameron.<sup>17</sup> Cameron's study of the English Canadian leaders of the Bonne Entente movement examines Ontario businessman John Godfrey's beliefs about French Canada and his endeavours to win French Canadians over to conscription as being in their own best interests.<sup>18</sup> J. M. Bliss has written about the impact of war on the Canadian Methodist Church, while David Marshall has modified the picture of the general response among Methodists by studying the attitudes of sol-

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<sup>15</sup> Taylor, Promoters, Patriots and Partisans, 86.

<sup>16</sup> John English, The Decline of Politics: The Conservatives and the Party System 1901-20, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), chapter 5, "The Ideology of Service," 106-122.

<sup>17</sup> R. Matthew Bray, "'Fighting as an Ally': The English-Canadian Response to the Great War," Canadian Historical Review, 61, 2 (1980), 141-168; and "A Conflict of Nationalisms: The Win the War and National Unity Convention, 1917," Journal of Canadian Studies, 15, 4 (Winter 1980-81), 18-30. The latter article is a response to Brian Cameron's "The Bonne Entente Movement 1916-1917: From Cooperation to Conscription," Journal of Canadian Studies, 13, 2 (Summer 1978): 42-55.

<sup>18</sup> Cameron, "The Bonne Entente Movement, 1916-1917."

diers at the front.<sup>19</sup> The articles by Bliss and Marshall represent a general survey of the idealism, moralism and patriotism that sharpened much of English Canadian nationalism at the height of Canadian participation in the war.

The denominational schools controversies in this country have received considerable attention, but popular attitudes held toward French Canadians during the schools crises have not been studied. The politics of the bilingual schools controversies in Ontario and Manitoba in particular have been the focus of some important studies. Marilyn Barber's essay on the Ontario bilingual schools issue includes a discussion of the response among Ontario Orangemen to the French Canadian national offensive, and examines the Irish Catholic opposition to French Catholicism led by Bishop Fallon. The essays on the schools question in Ontario emphasize the English Canadian patriotic response to the war and the impact of Anglo-Saxon opinion in understanding the politics of French-English relations.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, W. L. Morton

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<sup>19</sup> J. M. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," Canadian Historical Review, 49, 3 (September 1968), 213-233; and David B. Marshall, "Methodism Embattled: A Reconsideration of the Methodist Church and World War I," Canadian Historical Review, 66, 1 (1985), 48-64.

<sup>20</sup> Marilyn Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue," reprinted in Minorities, Schools and Politics, eds. Ramsay Cook, Craig Brown and Carl Berger, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 63-84; and Margaret Prang, "Clerics, Politicians, and the Bilingual Schools Issue in Ontario, 1910-1917," reprinted in Minorities, Schools and Politics, 85-111. For a brief survey of the bilingual schools issue in Canada, see Robert M. Stamp, Education and the Economic and Social Milieu: The English-Canadian Scene from the 1870's to 1914, in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet, Canadian Educa-

has unravelled the Manitoba Public School Act of 1916 in "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality, 1890-1923."<sup>21</sup> But these essays have not studied popular attitudes held toward French Canadians as such.

There are also a few related studies about English-French relations, mostly about British Protestant extremism and the issue of Roman Catholic Quebec. J. R. Miller has explored the persistence of anti-Catholicism in an article, "Anti-Catholicism in Victorian Canada", and in a book on of the Equal Rights Association.<sup>22</sup> A. I. Silver, on the other hand, suggests that public opinion regarding French Canadians was conditioned by inaccurate media information, and that English Canadians in Ontario did not hold any untoward racial or religious prejudices against their French Canadian counterparts.<sup>23</sup> It appears that religious antagonism constituted an important part of English-French tensions, but was not always a significant factor in English Canadian attitudes toward Quebec. British Protestant extremism appears to have

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tion: A History, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1970), 290-313.

<sup>21</sup> W. L. Morton, "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality, 1890-1923," reprinted in Minorities, Schools and Politics, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 10-18.

<sup>22</sup> J. R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," Canadian Historical Review, 66, 4 (1985), 474-494. See also Miller, Equal Rights: The Jesuits' Estates Act Controversy, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979).

<sup>23</sup> A. I. Silver, "Ontario's Alleged Fanaticism in the Riel Affair," Canadian Historical Review 69, 1 (March 1988): 21-50.

been a separate issue to the Quebec response, and the relationship between Protestant extremists and the centre of British Canadian culture appears to have been complex and not necessarily cordial.

The sources employed in this study have been selected to provide a broad sampling of English Canadian public discussion, and how reflective writers responded to the problem of the French Canadian people in both the schools and the conscription crises. These two issues yield considerable information about the images of Quebec in English Canadian magazines and books. The sources selected cover a broad range of political opinions, special interests and denominations, and have been selected on the basis of availability in local archives and libraries, or through interlibrary loan. The sources illustrate a wide variety of sources, and cannot be said to be representative of all classes of opinion. Daily newspapers have been excluded as sources of popular opinion. Instead, the sources selected represent the "writings of the literate minority" described by Christine Bolt in Victorian Attitudes to Race.<sup>24</sup> The journals and authors here reflect primarily the opinion of middle class and upper middle class Canadian readership. They are the writings of a literate few, and represent what this group "thought and believed their contemporaries to feel."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Christine Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), xiii.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

The following table (Table 1) lists the name, circulation and classification of the periodicals consulted for this study. Both figures and classifications have been provided by The Canadian Newspaper Directory, tenth edition, 1917.<sup>26</sup> Where indicated, circulation figures have been rounded off by The Canadian Newspaper Directory to the nearest 250. Not all sources in this table have been referred to in this thesis, since some contained virtually no discussion of the specific image of French Canadians. However, each of these sources has been examined for evidence of English-Canadian attitudes towards Quebec, and therefore have been mentioned here.

This thesis will proceed by first examining how Victorian hypotheses of racial origins and environmental modification influenced English Canadian thinking about the French Canadian "race," and the relationship perceived between the English and French Canadian groups. Subsequent chapters describe the image of French Canada in journals and scholarly writings, and focus on French Canada as seen in the bilingual schools and conscription controversies.

Chapters two, three and four describe not only general assumptions about the French Canadian "race," but show how differing political attitudes incorporated these assumptions as well. The second chapter deals with the resurgence of

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<sup>26</sup> The Canadian Newspaper Directory, (Montreal and Toronto: A. McKim, Limited, 1917); reprint, McKim's Directory of Canadian Publications, (Toronto: McLaren Micropublishing, 1973).

TABLE 1  
Class and Circulation of Periodicals, 1917

<u>Periodical</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>1917</u>
Canadian Baptist (Toronto)	Religious (Baptist)	6,250 (est.)
Canadian Church- man (Toronto)	Religious (Church of England)	3,750 (est.)
Canadian Mag- azine (Toronto)	Literary	19,500 (est.)
Christian Guard- ian (Toronto)	Religious (Methodist)	21,500 (est.)
Farmers' Advocate and Home Review (London)	Agricultural and rural	29,370
Farmers' Advocate and Home Review (Winnipeg)	Agricultural and rural	32,031 (est.)
Grain Growers' Guide (Winnipeg)	Agricultural and rural	33,657
Industrial Canada (Toronto)	Trade and manu- facturing	3,750 (est.)
Maclean's Mag- azine (Toronto)	Literary	32,750 (est.)
Monetary Times (Toronto)	Financial, insurance	6,500 (est.)
Northwest Review (Winnipeg)	Religious (Roman Catholic)	9,500 (est.)
Presbyterian Wit- ness (Halifax)	Religious (Presbyterian)	6,680
Queen's Quarterly (Kingston)	University	750 (est.)
Saturday Night (Toronto)	Literary, society	30,500 (est.)
Sentinel	Protestant,	22,018

(Toronto)	brotherhood	
University Magazine (Montreal)	Literary, political	2,000 (est.)
Western Home Monthly (Winnipeg)	Domestic, literary	40,000 (est.)
Westminster/Presbyterian and Westminster (Toronto)	Religious (Presbyterian)	12,000 (est.)

the bilingual schools issue in 1916. Chapter three examines the conscription crisis and the reasons presented by English Canadians for the low levels of recruitment in Quebec. Chapter four continues this theme by examining English Canadian solutions to the "problem of Quebec," and some of the reasons why French Canadians bore the brunt of much English Canadian "resentment". The epilogue briefly describes a postwar attempt by English Canadians to modify nationalist attitudes toward French Canadians, and offers conclusions regarding the difficulty English Canadians had in perceiving a role for French Canadians in a united Canada in 1916-1917.



## Chapter II

### RACE THEORY AND FRENCH CANADA

The nineteenth century saw the development of race theories and characterizations in the English-speaking world, as well as the development of "pseudo-scientific" racial typologies which claimed to have the sanction of science. English Canada was no exception. In particular, the racial attitudes of the British empire filtered into Canada, were modified to suit the Canadian environment, and contributed to the way English Canadians depicted not only themselves, but the French Canadian province within their midst. English Canadian racial hypotheses and prognostications lacked the formal validity of scientific hypotheses. The concept of race itself was never clearly defined, and varied from an understanding of inherited biological characteristics to studies of changing and evolving cultures.

Christine Bolt has pointed out the imprecise definition of the term "race," which tended to veer between biological and cultural characteristics of different groups.<sup>27</sup> Joseph Levitt states that in English Canadian thought, the term "race" commonly incorporated culture rather than biological characteristics, although there was some awareness that biological characteristics were transmitted to members of a

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<sup>27</sup> Christine Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race, 206.

certain racial stock.<sup>28</sup> Andre Siegfried, the French political scientist who studied English-French relations in Canada, also employed the term "race," using its cultural rather than biological meaning. His book, The Race Question in Canada, included a section about the "psychological formation of the two races" that emphasized the importance of the Roman Catholic Church in the formation of the French Canadian race.<sup>29</sup> Despite the inability to define a "race," Canadians persisted in using the term "race" to describe the physical and cultural characteristics of a distinct group or society.

In the case of French Canada, the term "race" had more of a cultural than a biological implication, and was employed to describe the characteristics and temperament believed to be inherent to the French Canadian people.<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless

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<sup>28</sup> Joseph Levitt, "Race and Nation in Anglophone Canadian Historiography," Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism 8, 1 (Spring 1981), 2-3.

<sup>29</sup> Andre Siegfried, The Race Question in Canada, (1907); edited and with an introduction by Frank Underhill (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited), 1968.

<sup>30</sup> Fredrickson has described a similar phenomenon in American attitudes toward the black population immediately preceding the Civil War. Using the term "romantic racialism" to describe the American experience, Fredrickson notes the tendency of Americans to attribute certain characteristics to a racial group, emphasizing "concepts of inbred national character and genius that could readily be transmuted into concepts of 'racial' superiority." Fredrickson points out that this romantic racialism had a parallel in scientific thinking during the same period (The Black Image in the White Mind, 97). Fredrickson's definition of "romantic racialism" has parallels with the English Canadian racial definition of French Canada between 1880 and 1914.

there was a notable biological cast to the nineteenth-century discussion of "race" in Canada. For the most part, the attempt to describe the racial character of French Canada was impressionistic, with only a very few popular scientific studies attempting to trace the origins, demographic development and linguistic forms peculiar to French Canada. The general image of French Canada contained several distinguishing features, but most significant was the emphasis on the rural, religious and introspective nature of the French Canadian people of Quebec.

Studies of race tended to be more historical and romantic in nature, often influenced by histories such as Francis Parkman's study of New France, and combined thinking about the interaction of "racial inheritance and social training, environment and social experience."<sup>31</sup> Parkman's influence on both Canadian and American historians was unparalleled, and through Parkman the romantic influence entered English Canadian histories of New France. His writings about New France were regarded as definitive, and even after historians in Canada discredited his work on the grounds of his unsympathetic portrayal of French Canadians, Parkman's histories of New France continued to win admiration from historians such as George Wrong. The idea of progress was central to Parkman's chronicles, and New France received a sometimes harsh, sometimes patronizing portrayal as the product of an absolutist regime. Parkman in fact regarded the conquest of New

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<sup>31</sup> Berger, The Sense of Power, 128.

France as a liberating factor, since the British conquerors rescued the colony from the absolutism of the French regime.<sup>32</sup> Parkman admired the French colonists for their pioneering qualities, for the courage and fortitude that made them, in Parkman's opinion, fine and hardy pioneers. Their Catholicism and the despotism of the French regime, however, rendered them suspect in Parkman's view. Hence Parkman's description of the New France pioneer was jaundiced by his Whiggish distaste for the feudalism of France and for the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>33</sup>

If romantic histories were influential in the 1880's depiction of French Canada by English Canadians, anthropological writings and studies based on natural history were equally important influences in describing the origins and characteristics of New France society. "Scientific" studies, the product of amateur anthropologists and professional literary and scientific organizations such as the Royal Society of Canada, explored the demographic origins and racial stock of the French colonists in Canada, describing French Canadians of 1880 in terms of the characteristics seen as imparted to that group through their ancestral beginnings.

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<sup>32</sup> W. J. Eccles, "The History of New France According to Francis Parkman," in Essays on New France, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987), 17.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 24.

The conception of the French Canadian character was based on the existing historical and ethnological hypotheses about the origins of the English and French stock in Canada. Here a tendency to emphasize the biological distinctiveness of French and English was often used. Studies which explored the French Canadian province attempted to explain the development of French Canadians first by studying the geographical and biological origins of the French in Canada, and secondly by studying the political, religious and environmental factors which served as preconditions for the development of the peculiarities of the French Canadian character. A common hypothesis was that English and French Canadians shared a similar racial origin, and that the peculiarities of each stemmed from the intermingling of the characteristics of these and of those tribes that overran Europe prior to the eleventh century. This hypothesis had implications for the development of a Canadian national character through the fusion of the English and French races, as reunited on the North American continent. Not everyone in English Canada accepted the "race fusion" hypothesis, or the belief in the reunification of the English and French strains in Canada. Competing with this idea was a strain of Anglo-Saxonism, voiced by those who held a firm allegiance to their British origins, who asserted the superiority of British institutions and of the British connection, and who feared allowing the Dominion to be overrun by the ambitions of a French

nationality.<sup>34</sup> However, the "race fusion" hypothesis appears in much of the ethnological and historical writing of the late nineteenth century, and was a common hypothesis in English Canadian thinking about racial interaction.

The papers and addresses read before the Royal Society of Canada, an institution conceived to further the progress of literary and scientific research in Canada, provide a good statement of the "race fusion" hypothesis and the implications of race fusion for the development of a Canadian national character. The Royal Society housed members of the Canadian scientific and intellectual elite, the first such national society of its kind. The origins and characteristics of both English and French Canadians proved to be a significant topic to the Society's members, who drew upon ethnology and history to suggest the possibility of joining the English and French races into a common Canadian nationality.

One of the clearest statements about the origins of English and French Canadian "stock," a term suggesting a biological focus, was provided in the presidential address of engineer Sandford Fleming before the Royal Society in 1889. This address placed the ethnological origins of English and

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<sup>34</sup> Both strains of racial thought in English Canada have been considered in Berger, The Sense of Power, 128-47. Much of what follows in this chapter is a restatement of the concepts articulated by Berger, with a closer examination of the characteristics seen as peculiar to French Canadians, and a restatement of the political implications of these approaches to the French Canadian character.

French Canadians in the history of the races which had occupied Europe prior to the Roman invasions of Britain and Gaul. Fleming argued that the differences between the English and French races in Canada could not be accounted for in different racial origins.

In...bringing before our view the national cradles, whence in the succeeding centuries, France and England have sprung, we fail to perceive an independent ethnological origin on the one part or the other. The people of both countries, originally of a common stock, have been molded in an important manner by additional elements of great force.<sup>35</sup>

Fleming believed that the difference in character was caused by the effects of European tribal warfare and migration, by the intermingling of various tribes, and by the imposition of different languages and different political forms by the conquering tribes on the conquered. Race, in short, was mutable; any search for strains of racial purity in English or French Canadian "stock" would be a futile endeavour.

Instead, it was more likely that a long history of migrations and invasions in Europe had substantially altered the purity of the Celtic race which had inhabited the territories of Britain and Gaul, and that the Celtic peoples had developed the characteristics of the peoples who later inhabited Britain and Gaul through intermingling with the invading or migrating tribes. The tribes which had overrun the territories of Gaul, Britain and France possessed dif-

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<sup>35</sup> Sandford Fleming, address of the President, Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series I, vol. 7 (1889), xxv.

ferent characteristics. Fleming proclaimed that the best qualities of conquering and migrating tribes had been absorbed and refined in their new territories. It was to the influence of these groups, particularly the Scandinavian and Roman tribes, that the national distinctions between England and France were to be attributed.<sup>36</sup>

Fleming subsequently claimed that in modern-day Canada lay the potential for the reunification or fusion of the European race which had long been separated by conquest and migration. As Fleming put it, "the population of Canada presents the spectacle of two peoples possessing early kinships and affinity of ancestry, subsequently separated for centuries, again forming a reunion in political and social life."<sup>37</sup> He likened the British conquest of Canada to the Norman invasion of England, and suggested that the potential existed for the fusion of the same variety as that which had occurred among the Normans and the British following the 1066 invasion.<sup>38</sup> The Canadian character could only benefit from the best qualities of the English and the French being brought together, and Fleming foresaw a composite Canadian character emerging from the union of the two races with common origins, common histories and common national goals. Fleming's statement about similar racial origins uniting English and French groups was shared by many of the English

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., xxvi.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., xxx.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.



Canadian literary and scientific elite, including George Wrong and William R. Wood, the two most prominent English Canadian historians of New France.<sup>39</sup>

Despite the common origins of English and French "stock," French Canadians were seen as possessing specific cultural characteristics as a result of their origins in France. The province of Quebec was seen as containing a mixed intellectual stratification, consisting of a superior intellectual strain in the urban centres and the rural provincialism of the habitant. Daniel Wilson, in an address read before the Royal Society, suggested that the difference between the habitant and the cultivated French Canadian lay in the European origins of the two. It had been determined that French Canadian migration originated from the provinces of Brittany and Normandy in France. Wilson connected the French Canadian intellect with a Parisian origin, and suggested that, through the medium of a more polished version of the French language than was found among the provincial stock, French Canadians were "kept en rapport with the Parisian centre of refinement, and fed from the perennial fount of French literature."<sup>40</sup> Distinct from this cultivated strain was the French Canadian habitant, a peasant of the Normandy and Brittany regions who was "transplanted to 'la nouvelle France' under the old regime." They brought with them "a

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<sup>39</sup> Berger, The Sense of Power, 131-32.

<sup>40</sup> Daniel Wilson, "Addresses of the President and Vice-President," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series I, vol. 4 (1886), xvi.

provincial patois, embodying elements peculiar to those scenes of Scandinavian colonization and Celtic institutions." The French Canadian patois continued to evolve on the North American continent, a thriving example of the development of an "unwritten local dialect" comparable to the original development of the romance languages of Europe.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, the habitant represented the survival of a European peasantry unaffected in the new world by the revolutionary upheavals of old France and of Europe, and was seen as free from the newer radical and progressive political forms which characterized the old country.<sup>42</sup>

The habitant was depicted as constituting the bulk of the French Canadian population, and as being kept in a provincial and backward state by institutions that perpetuated the older society in a virtually static form. If French Canadian society evolved, it evolved within itself, rather than having been altered or modified by contact with the surrounding English forms of government or the English language. French Canadian society was therefore depicted as rural, insular, and unchanging--a feudal remnant in a progressive Anglo-Saxon world.

It was a matter of contention among scholars whether or not French Canadians had originated from the province of Normandy or Brittany, and whether or not they could be said

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

to have originated from Alpine or Celtic stock. Benjamin Sulte, historian and civil servant, presented a paper before the Royal Society that attempted to lay the matter to rest, by proving the Celtic origins of French Canadians through his own genealogical research.<sup>43</sup> By tracing the origins of French migration to North America, Sulte established that French Canadians had originated from the province of Normandy, and hence were of Nordic rather than Alpine stock.<sup>44</sup> Sulte distinguished between two waves of French immigrants: those from Brittany, and those from Normandy who comprised the bulk of French Canadian ancestry. The former came with the early voyages of Cartier and Roberval between 1535 and 1544, but lacked the physical hardiness to survive in the extreme Canadian climate. The latter migrants, arriving with Samuel de Champlain in the 1600's, were able to withstand the rigorous conditions of the new land, and were the ancestors of the French Canadian habitant.<sup>45</sup>

Sulte emphasized two main characteristics of the post-1632 settlers. Firstly, he noted that most of them had originated from the provinces of Perche, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, and the rest of the area immediately surrounding Paris; in short, few came from Brittany or from the

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<sup>43</sup> Benjamin Sulte, "Origins of the French Canadians," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series II, vol. 11 (1905), 95-119.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 119.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 100.

east of France.<sup>46</sup> Secondly, the people who arrived from this area were markedly superior in their ability to adapt to the new environment, although Sulte attributed this adaptability to the trades and agricultural background of this class rather than to their Nordic stock.<sup>47</sup>

That they were Normans, though, and not Alpine, was abundantly emphasized by Sulte. Sulte pointed out that the language of rural French Canadians was still characterized by the "accent and forms of speech" of their Norman ancestors, assimilating the linguistic forms of newer immigrants and other groups.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, Sulte indicated that the region of France from which the French Canadian colonists had emerged had originally been conquered by Normans, while Brittany had been inhabited following 500 by the Gauls. To Sulte, this proved conclusively that French Canada was Norman, whether "pure Norman, mixed Saxon and Norman", or a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish and English.<sup>49</sup>

On the less complimentary side of the question of ethnological origin, however, was a body of opinion, articulated by American Anglo-Saxon ethnologist Madison Grant, which attempted to prove the Alpine origins of French Canadians, with the attendant physical and mental characteristics of

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 119.

that "race." Grant alleged that the French Canadian variation of the Alpine race was inferior to the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic races. His separation of the European races into three racial groups, the Nordic, the Alpine, and the Mediterranean, formed the basis for his analysis of the Canadian racial alignment. This categorization denied the common ancestry of English and French Canadians, grouping English Canadians with Nordic racial stock and French Canadians with the Alpine race because of their Brittanic origins. "The Dominion," Grant wrote, "is, as a whole, handicapped by the presence of an indigestible mass of French-Canadians, largely from Brittany and of Alpine origin."<sup>50</sup> He found French Canadians to be physically homely and intellectually inferior, and likened them to the black slave in the southern United States. He wrote that

The Quebec Frenchmen will succeed in seriously impeding the progress of Canada and will succeed even better in keeping themselves a poor and ignorant community of little more importance to the world at large than are the Negroes in the South.<sup>51</sup>

Formalized statements of French Canadian racial inferiority were rare in English Canadian writings. Nonetheless, many popular statements contained the general impression that French Canadians were poor, unlettered residents of Canada, regarded as somewhat lower than their English Canadian counterparts.

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<sup>50</sup> Madison Grant, The Passing of the Great Race, (1918); reprint, (New York: Arno Press, 1970), 81.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

Thus the idea of common racial origins between English and French Canadians did not obscure the environmental factors that gave Quebec its distinctive social or cultural character. The way the environment modified French Canadian racial stock stimulated ethnological and genealogical exploration, by both English and French Canadians. This concern led to more specialized efforts to examine the peculiar forms of French Canadian linguistics and folklore. As well, several features of French Canadian society were commonly accepted as defining the peculiarities of French Canadian culture and society, distinguishing and isolating them from the larger English-speaking world of which they were a part.

Students of French Canadian culture agreed that the Roman Catholic Church was the most important factor preserving the French Canadian race in a form virtually unchanged from the race which had been conquered by the British in 1760. The Roman Catholic Church was credited with preserving the language and social traditions of the province of Quebec following the Conquest, and with ensuring that the race did not become mingled with either the language or the institutions of English Canada or the United States. Historian George M. Wrong, the preeminent scholar of New France, argued that the pervasiveness of the Roman Catholic Church in rural Quebec was in part a cause of, and in part a consequence of, the survival of the French language in Quebec. With the Conquest, New France had been removed from the influence of the

mother country; to ensure survival as well as security, the remaining inhabitants of New France turned to the clergy for social and political leadership. The influence of the Church ensured that the rural habitant remained pious and ignorant of the English-speaking world around him.<sup>52</sup> This hypothesis was stated in sociological form in 1917 by W. A. Riddell in a doctoral thesis written at Columbia University, which regarded the Roman Catholic Church and the social and political traditions of Quebec as mutually interdependent and as buttressing each other.<sup>53</sup>

If the Roman Catholic Church was seen as the single most significant factor in the perpetuation of French Canadian cultural forms in North America, it was followed closely by the feudal regime which governed New France prior to the Conquest. Wrong in particular believed that the corruption and mismanagement of New France by the old regime in France retarded the development of democratic and liberal institutions in Quebec. This development, argued Wrong, would have been enhanced by the political liberties and by the press which flourished under British liberal government.<sup>54</sup> John George Bourinot, in his address on Canadian intellectual

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<sup>52</sup> George M. Wrong, A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs, (Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1908), 177; The Fall of Canada, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), 258.

<sup>53</sup> Walter A. Riddell, The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control in Quebec, in Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, ed. Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, no. 74, (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, 1917).

<sup>54</sup> Wrong, The Fall of Canada, 85.

life, iterated this theme, by stating that the inherent political genius of the French Canadians had been suppressed into dormancy by the political and religious institutions which had controlled the mass of the French Canadian population.<sup>55</sup>

If the influence of the old regime and the Roman Catholic Church hindered the course of progress in Quebec, what did emerge was a quaint and picturesque society where rural simplicity offset the materialism and aggression of the Anglo-Saxon world. This image was particularly popular both in English Canada and in the British press.<sup>56</sup> Quebec was seen as a virtually perfectly preserved feudal society, unpenetrated by the British-born society around it, and in which language and traditions associated with the rural peasantry of France were permitted to evolve in a natural direction.

Interest in the traditional characteristics of Quebec also was reflected in the development of linguistic and ethnological studies based on French Canadian folklore and folk songs. Historian William R. Wood was especially fond of studying the French Canadian language, remarking that forms of speech survived in Quebec which had long passed from common usage in the provinces of origin in France. Meanwhile,

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<sup>55</sup> John George Bourinot, "Our Intellectual Strength and Weakness: a Short Review of Literature, Education and Art in Canada," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, series I, vol. 11 (1893), 7.

<sup>56</sup> Berger, The Sense of Power, 144; Moyles and Oworm, Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities, 87-114.



under the auspices of C.-Marius Barbeau, a former anthropologist with the Ethnological Survey of Canada, studies of French Canadian folk songs and folklore developed into a specialized branch of ethnology, which thrived both in English Canada and in the American Anthropological Association. As late as 1945, French Canadian folklore was still being examined as a source of the history of French Canadian social custom.<sup>57</sup>

For the most part, the habitant was regarded as both the central figure and the most picturesque feature of the landscape of Quebec. The habitant was explored in both ethnology and, more commonly, in the romantic histories written of the founding of New France, while the folk culture of the habitant provided the focus for later explorations in French Canadian ethnology and language. In most ways, the popular image of French Canadians deviated little from the statements provided by University of Toronto historian George M. Wrong, a long-time student and admirer of New France. Wrong wrote about the habitant and the society of New France in a romantic vein, similar to that of American historian Francis Parkman. Yet his histories of New France colonial society deviated substantially from those of Parkman, in attributing the causes of the backwardness of New France society not to Catholicism, but to the feudal regime which governed the

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<sup>57</sup> C.-Marius Barbeau, "The Folklore Movement in Canada," Journal of American Folklore 56, 219 (January-March 1943), 166-68. Barbeau is discussed in Douglas Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology, 1850-1910," Journal of Canadian Studies, 8, 33 (1973), 43.

colony prior to the Conquest.<sup>58</sup>

Wrong had been partly influenced by Parkman, although Parkman had been partially discredited by French and English Canadian historians following the 1880's.<sup>59</sup> Wrong in particular followed Parkman, but criticized Parkman for his portrayal of the habitant as ignorant, weak and "ineffective as colonizers."<sup>60</sup> Wrong's histories of New France devoted at least nominal space to the habitant, and one of his volumes, A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs, studied the French Canadian village in some detail. Wrong wrote that contemporary French Canadian society resembled its medieval roots, and he spoke often of the insularity of a French Canadian society which had not adapted to the modern and secular world. In The Fall of Canada, he wrote that

The few French in North America in 1760 have now multiplied into nearly three million people, scattered over both Canada and the United States. Already in 1760 they had developed their own type of social life; they have since clung to it with great tenacity; and to-day it is one of the factors in the life of Canada which cannot be ignored.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Berger, The Writing of Canadian History, 18-20.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Wrong, The Fall of Canada, 3. His other important works about the history of New France include A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs, and The Rise and Fall of New France, (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1928).

Wrong depicted the habitant, the rural peasant farmer or village dweller, as the typical resident of French colonial society. Wrong essentially argued that the old feudal regime which had governed the New France colony had stunted the intellectual and political growth of the people. He appeared to agree with John George Bourinot in stating that a natural intellectual genius among the French colonists had been stifled by the feudal regime, and hence political liberty, a press and letters did not flourish except among some parts of the clergy and the upper class. Despite this, Wrong did not see the old regime as a reflection on the habitant, and particularly admired the "spirit" or character of the French Canadian peasant more than he admired the habitant's accomplishments or sense of political responsibility. He referred several times to the "ignorance" of the habitant, pointing to the illiteracy and to the lack of political education among the French colonists rather than to an inherent lack of mental aptitude.<sup>62</sup> In political affairs, Wrong stated, the habitant had "as yet no shadow of political liberty." The habitant was also unlettered. "The Canadians," wrote Wrong, "had remained densely ignorant. The coureurs de bois who ranged the forests, the hardy men of the axe who cleared the ground that they might sow and reap, had learned much of the cunning of nature, but they knew nothing of books." Wrong remarked that the habitant had no newspapers, nor any literature aside from devotional.

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<sup>62</sup> Wrong, The Fall of Canada, 258.

The only liberty enjoyed by the habitant was in the parish, rather than in political affairs.<sup>63</sup>

Despite a way of life that kept the habitant ignorant and unlettered, the habitant possessed an independence of spirit inherited from his Norman ancestors. Wrong appeared to regard this "spirit" as an inherent feature of the character of the habitant, as did Parkman before him.<sup>64</sup> The habitant "was not content to be called by any name that implied vassalage to a feudal lord sometimes as poor as himself, and he chose to be known simply as a habitant [sic], a dweller on the land."<sup>65</sup> Wrong wrote often of the pioneering spirit which enabled the French colonists to settle on the North American continent, even though this spirit did not encourage the systematic tillage of the land. Wrong also remarked on the habitant's tenacity, especially in retaining his customs and traditions and his independence. In some respects, this tenacity was seen as characteristic of the habitant; in at least one other context, Wrong attributed the endurance of the habitant's way of life to the influence of the Roman Catholic church, which kept the conquered French Canadian from becoming British in spirit.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Eccles, "History of New France According to Francis Parkman," 24.

<sup>65</sup> Wrong, Rise and Fall of New France, 403.

<sup>66</sup> Wrong, A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs, 177; The Fall of Canada, 258.

Like Sulte, Wrong thought the habitant possessed a remarkable aptitude for colonization. The French settlers

fitted admirably with conditions in the New World. They took naturally to the life of the forest and were good hunters and good woodsmen. They were not good farmers, in the sense of knowing much about soils or about the rotation of crops, but they knew how to wrest a living from mother earth in the hard conditions of pioneer life.<sup>67</sup>

The fact of French colonization also illustrated the remarkable resilience of the settlers. Wrong thought much less of the habitant's capacity for productive agricultural activity, claiming that "some of the most fertile areas in Quebec have been half ruined because the habitant [sic] would not learn the proper rotation of crops. Of the value of fertilizing he has had only a slight idea."<sup>68</sup> The habitant was not a farmer; he was a rough pioneer.

The rudeness of the habitant further resulted in a colonial society bereft of aesthetic value, unlike the country from which he had come. The habitant appeared to have little in common artistically with his country of origin.

Even when he knows only rude frontier life the French Canadian often retains something of the politeness and deference in manner of the nation from which he springs. But, unlike them, he has retained little sense of what is artistic. No thought of beauty of situation seems to determine his choice of the site for his dwelling. What he has in mind is protection from the prevailing wind, if this is possible, and, for the rest, convenience.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Wrong, The Fall of Canada, 256.

<sup>68</sup> Wrong, A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs, 180.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 178-79.

The influence of the clergy was emphasized by Wrong, an ordained Church of England clergyman himself, as central to the conduct of French Canadian morals and social custom. It is of note that Wrong followed the example of William Bennett Munro, a Harvard historian and student of New France, in emphasizing the centrality of the Roman Catholic clergy to the development of the colony. In so doing, Munro and Wrong departed from the belief expressed by Parkman that the Catholic clergy had had a detrimental effect on the social development of New France.<sup>70</sup> According to Wrong, the habitant clung to the Roman Catholic Church, and was ingrained with a strict sense of morality by the cure. The Church seemed to provide a consolation of sorts to a conquered people. Wrong believed that by teaching the villagers to value faith and spiritual values above wealth and power, the Church enabled French Canadians to retain a sense of superiority over their British conquerors. This sense of superiority prevailed despite the obvious social inferiority of the villagers.<sup>71</sup>

Furthermore, all cultural and social life was seen to have revolved around the church, including births, marriages, and deaths. Wrong recorded that the habitant entrusted

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<sup>70</sup> Adam Shortt, review of W. B. Munro, The Seigniorial System in Canada: A Study in French Colonial Policy, (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907), in Queen's Quarterly, 14, 4 (April 1907), 329-330. See also Wrong, A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs, viii; Rise and Fall of New France, v.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 176.

the church with his savings, and that "whatever the habitant [sic] knows of art, painting, sculpture, music, he learns from the Church and it is all associated with religious hopes and fears."<sup>72</sup> Wrong had little admiration for the "supernatural" quality of the French Canadians' religion. He provided the example of Marie Catherine de Saint Augustin (1632-1668), a woman who claimed to have had visions and premonitions. Finding this "simple belief" to be more delusional than visionary, he wrote, "it is not strange that the Canadian peasant dwells in a world charged with the supernatural. Night furnishes the opportunity for goblins to be abroad; the flickering lights on the marshes are goblin fires."<sup>73</sup> Nor did Wrong believe that this supernaturalism was confined to the more remote parishes; much of Quebec was affected by this simple faith.

Wrong's picture of a rough, adaptable peasant society which revolved around the rural parish was a common image in the popular portrayal of French Canada. Wrong's historical portrait of the colonial habitant was simultaneously indistinguishable from his representation of contemporary Quebec. He felt that French Canadian society had retained its insularity and cohesiveness, and that French Canadians continued to belong to a social and cultural world far removed from the English world which surrounded it.

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 187.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 198.

A singular type it is, French in speech, Roman Catholic in faith, half feudal in organization, in a land British in allegiance, if not in origin. Long the determined rival of the Briton in America the French Canadian, though worsted in the struggle, remains still unconquered in his determination to live his own separate life andd pursue his own separate ideals.<sup>74</sup>

English Canadian popular opinion rarely deviated from this depiction either of the French Canadian or of French Canadian society. But to Wrong, society more fully made people rather than vice versa.

Sources of opinion differed primarily in the ways in which they perceived French Canadians as fusable with or separate from the British Canadian landscape. Studies such as Wrong's histories of New France were supplemented at various stages by studies of the ethnological development of New France. However, aside from the Royal Society's publications, published ethnological studies were few. The Ethnological Survey of Canada, conducted along the lines of the Ethnological Survey of the United Kingdom and discussed in the annals of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, attempted to study the ethnological development of French Canada. The Ethnological Survey endeavoured to record the characteristics of European and nonwhite races in Canada before they were altered irrevocably by their environment. To Benjamin Sulte went the task of the ethnological survey of French Canada.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 174.

<sup>75</sup> Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology, 1850-1910," 43.



Following 1905, the development of a formal study of French Canadian folklore became an addition to the study of French Canada. As a branch of anthropology, folklore studies focused as well on the rural and traditional society of French Canada. Folklore encompassed the subject matter of "manners and customs, superstitions and other traditions," and developed a following in Canadian cultural anthropology.<sup>76</sup> The formal study of French Canadian ethnology developed after 1914 in the form of folklore studies, an offshoot of cultural anthropology that enjoyed a lengthy popularity in Canada and the United States. Anthropologist C.-Marius Barbeau specialized in the study of French Canadian folklore following 1905, and under his direction, folklore studies became a specialized sub-discipline of anthropology that attracted the interest of English Canadian and American folklorists alike.<sup>77</sup>

Barbeau emphasized the preservation of medieval lore and melodies in the folksongs of rural French Canadians. Comparing French Canadian and Negro folksingers, Barbeau noted the lack of innovation and composition in the French Canadian folksongs. While preserving almost intact the songs and melodies of a previous age, Barbeau noted, French Canadians did not tend to create their own medleys. Attempts to do so

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<sup>76</sup> Ethnographical Survey Committee, "Ethnological Survey of the United Kingdom: Third Report of the Committee, Appendix I, 'Circular to Local Societies,'" Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1895, 511-12.

<sup>77</sup> Cole, "Origins of Canadian Anthropology," 43.

were usually "uncouth and common" versions with a localized flair. French Canadian folksongs were regarded as an entry into a preserved medieval legacy by folklorists such as Barbeau.

Formalized anthropology as well as history therefore tended to buttress the common image of French Canadians as insulated from the rest of English Canada, and as growing and developing internally as an almost perfectly preserved French medieval society. While English Canadians accepted this depiction of French Canada, this image contained implications for relations between English and French Canadians, and was reflected in popular attempts to discuss the role of Quebec in Canadian society. The implications were many and divergent, and not all favourable to the prospect of a country in which the best characteristics of English and French were united into a common Canadian "race" or nationality.

One point of view was that the intellectual and classical orientation of French Canadians provided a more cultivated balance to the commercial and pragmatic qualities of Canadians of British descent. It was commonly accepted that the inherent genius of the French Canadian race took literary and intellectual form. English Canadian observers did not fail to remark upon the political contributions made by French Canadian politicians, although, as Bourinot remarked, their literary and intellectual contribution to Canadian intellectual life was hampered by existing political and

social institutions. Bourinot also speculated that the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, in discouraging materialism, may have encouraged the cultivation of a small group of lettered individuals, particularly among the clergy.<sup>78</sup> However dormant, the French Canadian race still contained a fundamental literary and intellectual capability, mirrored in the political record and production of letters by brilliant and able scholars.

It was the latter capability which English Canadians wished to draw upon in the creation of a Canadian national character. The brilliance of the French intellect and the progressive instinct of the English race would define this character. Simultaneously, the bulk of the French Canadian population was still regarded as rural and medieval, and as an entity apart from English Canada where the Church, the French language, and a pious and simple way of life characterized society. The simplicity of French Canadian rural life appealed to English Canadians weary of an acquisitive British Canadian ethic. The image of rural Quebec was neither inconsistent with ethnological findings nor incompatible with the dream of a united Canadian national character.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Bourinot, "Our Intellectual Strength and Weakness," 7.

<sup>79</sup> Berger, The Sense of Power, 144-45.

For some English-speaking Canadians, the similar origins of the two races presented the possibility of "race fusion" or the creation of a Canadian national character emphasizing the best features of both races. Not all in English Canada admired the characteristics of the French Canadian race, nor desired fusion. To some, the absence of British institutions was enough to deny Quebec any but a limited voice in Dominion affairs. In particular, when French Canadian opposition to the Boer War began to mount, imperialist English Canadians responded by emphasizing the limited position of French Canadians in a Dominion regarded as predominantly Anglo-Saxon. Byron Nicholson opined that much of the opposition to French Canada was a product of the anti-imperialist sentiment expressed in Quebec over Canadian participation in the Boer War.<sup>80</sup>

W. S. Wallace, historian, librarian at the University of Toronto, and prominent editor of historical publications, provided a statement of this perspective in an analysis of the "rights of Quebec" under British rule. To Wallace, French Canadians had been permitted their religion, their civil law and the use of the French language in the federal and Quebec parliaments. Their rights stopped there. Otherwise, a French Canadian voice in the affairs of the Dominion meant the usurping of powers much too great for their legal position. Wallace considered the legal position of the

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<sup>80</sup> Byron Nicholson, The French-Canadian: A Sketch of His More Prominent Characteristics, (Toronto: The Bryant Press, 1902), 2.

French Canadians in the Dominion to be limited to the province of Quebec, and to the explicit frame of reference outlined in existing constitutional documents. The interests and impact of the French Canadian race should be confined to that province as well.<sup>81</sup> Wallace represents a strain of English Canadian opinion that argued for the separation of French and English interests in the Dominion, and that believed that the ambitions of French Canadian society should be restricted to the province of Quebec both for constitutional and cultural purposes. A similar perspective was presented by Theodore Boggs, an imperialist who regarded French Canadians as "an alien and conquered race," and contended that French Canadians enjoyed only limited cultural privileges as a preserved French society in an English Canadian Dominion.<sup>82</sup>

The attitude that French Canadians were a separate and unassimilable colony in English Canada was characteristic both of Anglo-Saxon racial thought, and of those whose sense of superiority was less measured, despite their imperialist leanings. The latter group in particular believed that French Canadians could be brought around to British ways of thinking through the appropriate instruction, and that French Canadians could not be expected to adjust to British

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<sup>81</sup> W. S. Wallace, "The Rights of French-Canadians," Canadian Magazine 39, 2 (June 1912), 162.

<sup>82</sup> Theodore Boggs, "Canada and the French-Canadian," University Magazine 10 (February 1911), 48. See also Berger, The Sense of Power, 134.

ways of thinking due to their own peculiar racialist outlook. John Castell Hopkins and Byron Nicholson were particularly fond of the French Canadian "race," but continued to regard the habitant as a quaint, picturesque figure lacking the freedom and education provided under British liberal institutions. Byron Nicholson's book, The French-Canadian, was the first of his two books dealing with the province of Quebec. A journalist and onetime editor of the Barrie Examiner, Nicholson, in particular, wrote about the possibility of racial integration and the development of a homogeneous Canadian race, and regretted that the differences between racial characters was too great to provide any hope for racial fusion.<sup>83</sup> Despite this, Nicholson was a sympathetic writer, and commented on the features of French Canada he found to be praiseworthy, including the deep religiosity of the French Canadian people, and the "frugality, courtesy and hospitality" which marked the race.<sup>84</sup> Nicholson also remarked on the innate political conservatism and public shyness of the French Canadian, believing that the French Canadian shied away from new departures in political and other endeavours, and that the inherent political stubbornness of French Canada was a feature of that inherent conservatism.<sup>85</sup> Nicholson's comments further were offered as a

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<sup>83</sup> Nicholson, The French-Canadian, 83-84.

<sup>84</sup> W. H. Blake, review of Nicholson, The French-Canadian, in Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada, 7 (1902), 100-102.

<sup>85</sup> Nicholson, The French-Canadian, 35.

reaction against the racialist extremes represented in imperialism and ultra-Protestantism. He blamed both for stirring up racial antagonism between the English and French races, and he urged conciliatory rather than inflammatory approaches to the province of Quebec in imperial and other questions.

John Castell Hopkins, editor of the Canadian Annual Review, devoted to reporting current events in Canada, viewed French Canadians in the same light as Nicholson. While upholding an allegiance to the Empire, he believed that the French Canadian race was being unnecessarily maligned in the British Protestant press. However, he regarded the habitant as basically childlike and requiring the guidance of British government and the British press to bring them around to the British Canadian perspective in international affairs. As citizens of the Dominion, he found French Canadians to be docile and obedient, and subsequently an asset rather than a liability to Canadian political stability. He also feared and distrusted the capacity for political extremism he found in the province's clever and unscrupulous Nationalist politicians, and worried that the docility of the habitant would cause him to be misled in political affairs.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> John Castell Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review, 1917, 471-72.

By the 1900's, the hypothesis of racial fusion as cultural union and the belief in the immutability of the two different national characters were competing hypotheses in the history and ethnology surrounding French Canada. Conflicting ideas about the ability of English Canadian society to absorb the French Canadian race characterized the popular literature of the period. These racial categories characterized subsequent popular debates concerning the status of French Canadians in the dominion surrounding the schools and conscription crises, both questions with important implications for national unity and the national character.



### Chapter III

#### "A PERFECT NATIONAL SYMPHONY": THE DEBATE OVER REGULATION 17

Between 1880 and 1916 occurred a shift in the general usage of the term "race". The locus of definition shifted away from descriptions of biological characteristics, and towards a cultural application of the term. The word "race" came to encompass the social attributes of a society, including the social customs, habits and traditions which set one cultural or ethnic group apart from another. As Joseph Levitt points out, the terms "race" and "nation" by 1916 were used interchangeably, and anyone discussing the "national character" could invariably draw upon his knowledge of "racial" or cultural characteristics to define that character.<sup>87</sup>

The English Canadian public conception of the French Canadian "racial character" did not change dramatically during the war years, as few efforts were made to alter the conception of the rural and picturesque society which described French Canada in the scholarly and popular media. Instead, the question that coincided with the onset of war was about the Canadian national character itself, and the place of the French Canadians within the new idea of the Canadian nation. This debate was embodied in the bilingual schools question

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<sup>87</sup> Levitt, "Race and Nation in Canadian Anglophone Historiography," 1.

which resurged between 1912 and 1916, the year that Franco-Ontarians challenged the controversial Regulation 17, the legislation which curtailed the teaching of French in the Ontario school system. With similar legislation passed in Manitoba that year, and with the emergence of the "bilingual question" in the other provinces, the bilingual controversy was a particularly heated issue in the year 1916.

The bilingual schools issue encompassed more than the problem of which, if any, language other than English should be given preferential treatment in Canadian schools. At heart, it was a debate about the cultural composition of the national character. The immigrant concern lent a new dimension to the prior conflicts over denominational education and the right of the minority linguistic or denominational group to the education of their choosing. Immigration lent the bilingual schools controversy another dimension aside from the English-French debate, particularly in the Canadian west, where the French language was less firmly entrenched than in the older eastern provinces. Each province experienced its own variant of the bilingual schools controversy, in particular Ontario and Manitoba, each province with a substantial French and Catholic population.<sup>88</sup> Between 1912 and 1916, many English Canadians insisted that education held the key to uniting culturally diverse groups under one

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<sup>88</sup> A contemporary account of the bilingual schools controversy across Canada is provided in C. B. Sissons, Bi-Lingual Schools in Canada, (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1917).

nation, and that the language of instruction must necessarily be English. But to a significant extent, religion and religious controversy entered the schools debate between 1912 and 1916, the period in which Regulation 17 opened a floodgate of controversy in Ontario about the status to be given the French language in the public schools of Ontario.

Not all the opposition to bilingual education in Ontario, Manitoba and elsewhere came from the latent anti-Catholicism in certain pockets of English Canada. However, opposition to bilingual education united anti-French and anti-Catholic groups with less extremist sources of opinion under a single political banner, creating a union as complex as the elements of opinion which formed the Equal Rights movement of the 1880's.<sup>89</sup> The Sentinel, Saturday Night and the Methodist Christian Guardian were sources which, in some fashion or other, viewed the Roman Catholic Church or, more specifically, a combination of the Roman Catholic clergy and the French Canadian temperament, as the primary instigators of the bilingual schools conflict. These sources upheld British traditions and Anglo-Saxon racial primacy, and considered the Roman Catholic Church to be a detrimental influence in Quebec.<sup>90</sup> Although anti-Catholic feeling was a signifi-

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<sup>89</sup> J. R. Miller has written about the coming together of different interest groups in the Equal Rights Association, and has indicated the lack of cohesion among these groups save in their united opposition to the Jesuit Estates Act. See Miller, Equal Rights, passim.

<sup>90</sup> Marilyn Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue," 70-72.

cant part of the response in English Canada to the bilingual schools issue, not all English-language sources viewed the schools issue as an attempt by the Catholic Church to act in a subversive manner towards either English or Protestant interests in Canada.

The Orange Sentinel asserted that it was through the French language that the Roman Catholic Church was a potential danger to the country, and that allowing the French language to be extended to the Dominion in the schools opened English Protestant Canada to infiltration by Rome. The Orange Sentinel, can be said to have reverted to an older anti-Catholicism of Victorian Canada under the stresses of the schools question.<sup>91</sup> In the Sentinel's articles and editorials, the schools controversy represented further evidence of Roman subversion and of the Church's ability to manipulate the minds of French Canadians to her subversive purposes. The Sentinel argued that the habitant was meek and compliant, and in general represented a desirable addition to the Canadian landscape because of his servility. However, this was less to praise the French Canadian than to underscore the powerful influence of the Roman Catholic Church, and to point out the dangers of allowing Rome to take over the education of school children through the

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<sup>91</sup> J. R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," 474-494. Like his study of the Equal Rights Association, Miller's essay about anti-Catholic sentiment considers religious extremism and Anglo-Saxon racial pride to be two disparate forms of the same English Canadian racialism which did not always find common cause.

French language.

The Sentinel warned that English Protestant Canadians would do well to oppose bilingual education in order to prevent a Roman takeover. Through the French language, the Roman Catholic Church was seen as a potential danger to the country. The insidious influence of the Church was seen through its control and hold over the province of Quebec. By proclaiming itself to be the guardian of the French language, and by playing upon the natural piety of the habitant, the Catholic Church ensured its control over Quebec. Conversely, the protection given to the French language by the Catholic Church led the habitant to rely on the Church; the Church offered protection in exchange for the allegiance of the French Canadian. The Sentinel warned in one editorial that English Canadians stood to fall victim to the same fate if they did not remain on guard against the use of the French language in the schools.<sup>92</sup>

The Sentinel was distinguished by its portrayal of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec as subversive and as thwarting both the educational system and the constitution in order to achieve the end of dominating English Canada. On the question of extending separate schools into the west, the Sentinel indicated that the British North America Act had not provided for the extension of separate schools, and the Roman Catholic Church therefore was demanding a privi-

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<sup>92</sup> The Sentinel, 43 (April 26, 1917), "Our Point of View: Political Romanism", 1.

lege which was unconstitutional.

But the constitutional argument raised by the Sentinel against the extension of separate schools was yet another example of how the Sentinel converted both theoretical and practical arguments against bilingual education into evidence of papal attempts to interfere in Canadian matters through the agency of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec. Apparently, the Sentinel viewed the French Canadian version of the Church as more insidious than the English version, although Horatio Hocken, the publisher of the Sentinel and onetime mayor of Toronto, commented in an article that the Ottawa schools controversy represented a "divergence of [the clergy's] views as to the best method of extending the power and influence of their system in this country."<sup>93</sup> Otherwise, Orange supporters apparently failed to notice the inconsistency in not declaring English Catholics the tools of Rome as well as Quebec Catholics.<sup>94</sup>

The Sentinel's reaction to the bilingual schools question was based on its belief in the racial peculiarities of the French Canadian population, and particularly on fears that French Canadians were too easily manipulated by the clergy due to the traits of their race. Hocken believed that French Canadians were pawns in the hands of their political

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<sup>93</sup> H. C. Hocken, "Striking in the National Extremity: A Criticism by H. C. Hocken," Canadian Magazine, 50, 1 (November 1917), 5-6.

<sup>94</sup> Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue," 71.

and religious leaders.<sup>95</sup> "As a race," he wrote, "the French are bright, industrious, frugal and moral. Their intellectual powers are latent, because they are not permitted to develop them."<sup>96</sup> The danger lay in the cultivated docility of the French Canadian habitant, who was described by Hocken as compelled to obey the "Hierarchy". In this way, the habitant became a willing and pliant tool in the attempt to extend the influence of the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>97</sup>

Hocken also hinted that the lack of a secular education kept the French Canadian economically backward, and made French Canadians even more subservient to the clergy. However, Hocken may have only been repeating an argument used by a number of less extremist English Canadians to buttress his allegations of the dangers of a French Catholic education. For Hocken, the real danger lay in the combination of the French Canadian temperament with the power and influence of Rome, and the link between the French language and Roman Catholic power:

[It] is undoubtedly the case that the Hierarchy of Quebec is animated in its agitation for French schools in Ontario by the belief that the institution which they serve will benefit by the extension of the French language and French influence over the whole Dominion.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Hocken, "Striking in the National Extremity," 4.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 5-6.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 6-7.

The extremist anti-Catholic views of Hocken and the Sentinel were echoed by other sources. Robert Sellar, former editor of the Huntingdon Gleaner, by 1916 had achieved notoriety for his overtly anti-French and anti-Catholic views. Between 1907 and 1916, his book, The Tragedy of Quebec, had undergone four printings with the aid of Sentinel publisher Horatio Hocken. The book was intended as an expose of the efforts by the Catholic Church in Quebec to expel Protestant farmers from that province. Sellar wrote that in Ontario, the bilingual question involved a conflict between two racial groups, and lacked a religious dimension. However, the overtones of the issue were different in Quebec. In the province of Quebec, the bilingual schools issue had become an issue of preserving the language that allowed the Catholic church to perpetuate itself within English Canada.<sup>99</sup> Sellar's anti-Quebec rhetoric has been attributed by Robert Hill and by J. R. Miller to his English Protestant Canadian patriotism, rather than an expression of enmity for French Canadians or an example of nativism exported from the United States.<sup>100</sup> It is clear, however, that, like his sponsor, Hocken, Sellar also regarded French Canadians as culturally subordinate to their English-speaking counterparts. While appearing sympathetic to the French Canadian habitant, he

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<sup>99</sup> Robert Sellar, The Tragedy of Quebec: The Expulsion of its Protestant Farmers, (Toronto: Ontario Press, Limited, 1916), 303.

<sup>100</sup> Robert Hill, introduction to Robert Sellar, The Tragedy of Quebec: The Expulsion of its Protestant Farmers, (1907); reprint, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), xiii; J. R. Miller, Equal Rights, 181-82.



ultimately regarded the habitant as a docile and harmless neighbour with the unfortunate characteristic of being overly susceptible to the manipulation of the church. Sellar, like Hocken, saw the schools question as another attempt by the Church to control English Protestants in Canada through the French language.

By contrast to the extremist views of the Sentinel and Hocken, some sources based their opposition to bilingual education on their opposition to a French Canadian nationalist movement that they saw as motivated by anti-British and Roman Catholic interests. In these sources, the schools question represented a political offensive against British Protestant Ontario. These sources did not disparage the French Canadian "race" as culture, regarding the bulk of French Canadians as docile and amiable. But they basically viewed Quebec as a source of religious and racial opposition to British Protestant institutions, and blamed the escalation of the schools conflict on the Roman Catholic clergy and French Canadian nationalists.

The Methodist periodical Christian Guardian was an outspoken antagonist of the Roman Catholic Church, periodically producing editorials accusing the Roman Catholic clergy of attempting to suppress Protestantism in the country, and of standing in the way of wider Canadian interests.<sup>101</sup> Mingled with the outspoken opposition to the Roman Catholic Church

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<sup>101</sup> Christian Guardian, 87, 8 (February 23, 1916), 4; 87, 13 (March 29, 1916), 4.

in Christian Guardian editorials was the belief that while French Canadians were to be admired as a "race" for their unique qualities, French Canadian aggressiveness was responsible for most of the tension between English and French Canadians, and that French Canadians were not entitled to equal linguistic status with the English in Canada.<sup>102</sup> Quebec, as described by the Christian Guardian, was a "solidly French and solidly Catholic" bloc mounting a political and religious offensive against English Protestant Ontario.<sup>103</sup>

Referring at one point to French Canadians as a "special-ly gifted race," the Christian Guardian also proclaimed that there was "no valid reason" why the English and French "races" should not be able to live in harmony, working out their respective destinies "side by side."<sup>104</sup> But the concessions that Quebec seemed to be asking were too much for the Christian Guardian, which upheld the imperial connection and the English language. "Our Dominion," went one editorial, "as a whole is, and will continue throughout the years to be, British in language and in sentiment." The fact of the British nature of the Dominion was one that French-speaking Canadians would have to learn to accept.<sup>105</sup> Whether

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 87, 45 (November 8, 1916); 88, 7 (February 14, 1917).

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 87, 16 (April 19, 1916), 4; 88, 42 (October 17, 1917), 4.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 87, 43 (October 25, 1916), 5; 87, 46 (November 15, 1916), 27.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 87, 43 (October 25, 1916), 5.

in the language or the conscription issues, French Canadians were expected by the Christian Guardian to learn to live with the imperial connection. The imperialist journal expressed little tolerance for French Canadian nationalist objectives, either in the language or the conscription questions, which threatened to weaken the imperial tie:

With much of the French-Canadian Nationalist ideal we can heartily sympathize. We wish to join heartily with French-Canada in making a great Confederacy on this northern half of the continent. But there are some things that, even in the name of peace and good-will, we will not do.<sup>106</sup>

The opposition of the Christian Guardian to the Roman Catholic Church was in evidence in the schools controversy. For instance, the Christian Guardian debated whether or not the French language was necessary to the preservation and extension of the Roman Catholic Church. One commentary on the Manitoba schools issue argued that this was indeed the case, that the French language preserved the Roman Catholic Church, and vice versa.<sup>107</sup> To the Methodist journal, a French and Roman Catholic bloc were working with French Canadian nationalists, led by Henri Bourassa, to use the schools issue to extend their political influence and to assault British Protestant Ontario. Despite the disclaimers of animosity towards French Canadians made by the Christian Guardian, the racial overtones of the journal remained evident. The periodical depicted the schools question as hav-

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 87, 9 (March 1, 1916), 4.

ing been instigated by an aggressive French Catholic effort to attain parity with the English language. The Christian Guardian dismissed the French Canadian claim to linguistic parity as "absurd" in a November 1916 editorial.<sup>108</sup>

The newspaper Saturday Night, a Toronto-based society and literary weekly, similarly emphasized both the racial and religious dimensions of the quarrel. Saturday Night was not a vehicle for Orange opinion, but argued regardless that the Roman Catholic Church was responsible for the resurgence of race conflict, and would do well to abide by the 1916 papal encyclical which urged racial harmony in the Canadian Catholic community. Saturday Night's perspective on the bilingual schools controversy contained an Anglo-Saxon dimension, laying the blame for the schools controversy at the feet of French Canadian nationalists in Ontario and uniting the French Catholic clergy and Franco-Ontarian nationalism in pointing to the source of the conflict. Saturday Night supported restrictions on the use of the French language in the schools, arguing that for the good of the country, English should be the main language of instruction. Saturday Night also alleged that "The French-Canadian agitator demands the right to implant within Ontario's border (and those of other provinces) a system of education chiefly clerical in its character which has notoriously failed in the province of Quebec."<sup>109</sup> The real motive of the French Catholic bishops

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 87, 45 (November 8, 1916), 6.

<sup>109</sup> Saturday Night, May 20, 1916, 1.

of Ottawa was to establish French Catholic rule "through the ancient system of leaving the many uneducated, and content with their lot, as children of Gibeon'<sup>110</sup>[sic]." Saturday Night later confined its rebuke to the French clergy in Ontario, following the papal encyclical of 1916 which asked for the cessation of racial conflict within the Church.<sup>111</sup> There seemed to be no question, to the writers of Saturday Night, that the rationale of the schools agitation was to extend the influence of Quebec's clergy into the English-speaking provinces. Saturday Night dissociated itself from the Sentinel, but nonetheless expressed an antipathy matching the Sentinel's in its opposition to bilingual education. The dissociation of the journal from the Orange Sentinel often appeared to have been little more than rhetorical. Saturday Night editorials contained a resentment of what they perceived partly as an assault by the Quebec church and French Canadian political leaders on the province of Ontario, and an attempt by the Catholic clergy in Quebec to exercise clerical influence in state matters. Any distinctions between the two organs of English Protestant Canadian nationalism would be based on the more conspiratorial tone of the Sentinel.

Several English Canadian sources, then, identified the bilingual schools controversy and the challenge to Regulation 17 with the Roman Catholic Church, and particularly

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., November 4, 1916, 1.

with the French Catholic clergy. These sources tended to view the French Canadian province as an aggressor in the schools question and, at the most extreme, as a dangerous influence in the country. The Sentinel and Saturday Night linked the Roman Catholic clergy and French Canadian nationalism as uniting to oppose the English language and the province of Ontario in general, alleging a French Canadian campaign to stir up hatred in the province of Ontario. The animosity was politically and religiously motivated, incorporating an enmity towards both French Canadian nationalism and the Roman Catholic Church. These sources were linked in their propensity to viewing the French Catholic province as acting aggressively against English Protestant Ontario in the schools question. At the most extreme, French Catholic Quebec was depicted as a dangerous and foreign influence in the Dominion.

In contrast, the Christian Guardian presented French Canadian ambitions as a steadfast refusal by French Canadians to recognize that their best interests lay with the imperial tie. The Roman Catholic Church and misguided nationalists were seen as responsible for instigating racial tensions between English and French Canadians, and the Christian Guardian professed to wish to live in harmony with the French Canadian "race" in a Dominion under the umbrella of the Union Jack. In the Christian Guardian's vision of the Canadian future as closely connected to Britain, French Can-

adians were required to pursue their separate cultural aims while recognizing their broader imperial allegiance in national affairs.

Other English Canadian journals, denominational as well as secular, chose to emphasize the racial rather than the religious aspects of the contest over Regulation 17. George Wrong and John Castell Hopkins, while noting the mixed religious and racial interactions of the bilingual schools issue, agreed that the schools crisis was a racial rather than religious matter at heart.<sup>112</sup> Much of mainstream English Canadian opinion thought likewise. English Canadians in 1916 tended to define the problem as one specifically relating to the national character of the country. The theoretical position of French Canada as one of the "two founding races" was also affected by the decline in the French Canadian population relative to English-speaking Canada. In 1916, the problem of defining a national character was further complicated by the factor of immigration, particularly in the west; by the technological and commercial development of English Canada; and by the urgency of uniting a large and disparate population over a large geographical area. For English Canadians during this period, the question of unilingual versus bilingual instruction involved more than fairness to one minority or another. In 1916 and

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<sup>112</sup> Wrong, "The Bi-lingual Question," in The New Era in Canada: Essays Dealing With the Upbuilding of the Canadian Commonwealth, ed. J. O. Miller (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1917), 234; Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review, 1916, 566; 1917, 504.

1917, the question included a debate about the national character, and many English Canadians agreed that this character should be constructed around the English language.

The composition of the nation was central to the English Canadian conception of bilingual education. The language of instruction was considered essential to the transmission of cultural values, particularly to the children of newly arrived immigrants, and was also considered as important to preparing pupils for contemporary industrial and commercial life. More importantly, the English language became associated with Canadian national unity, or the uniting of diverse geographical and cultural elements into a united whole, and with fostering a Canadian national consciousness. Concerns of efficiency with second-language instruction also motivated the pedagogic emphasis on English as the sole language of instruction, as governments and instructors became concerned that the existing bilingual structure did not adequately prepare pupils in the English language. Commentators such as C. B. Sissons, Dr. Norman Black and Dr. J. T. M. Anderson discussed and debated the feasibility of training pupils in a second language, differing over the most efficient way to instruct non-English pupils in particular in the English language.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> J. T. M. Anderson, The Education of the New Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem, (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1918); Norman Fergus Black, English for the Non-English, (Regina: Regina Book Shop Limited, 1913); C. B. Sissons, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada, (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1917).



The importance of education to the development of a national culture had an impact on the way in which English Canadians received French Canadian demands for a bilingual schools system. Those who argued on behalf of the concept of "one language, one nation" argued that the wishes of minority groups had to take a back seat to instilling in these groups a sense of national values and national culture. The perspective of these individuals was assimilatory, and stressed national homogeneity of culture based on the teaching of the English language. The bilingual schools debates thus involved more than the quarrels of English and French extremist groups; they involved a redefinition of the racial or national composition of the nation, and the degree to which French Canadians should be involved in the national character.<sup>114</sup>

Commentators in English Canada, concerned with retaining the integrity of the Canadian nation, particularly in light of immigration, gave the French language a peculiar role in this debate. On the one hand, English Canadian scholars C. B. Sissons, professor of classics at the University of Toronto and an ardent agrarian progressive, and O. D. Skelton, professor of political economy at Queen's University, acknowledged the French Canadian contribution to the nation-

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<sup>114</sup> Robert M. Stamp explains English Canadian goals in "Education and the Economic and Social Milieu: The English-Canadian Scene from the 1870's to 1914," in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet, Canadian Education: A History, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1970), 303.

al character, even while stating that it was inappropriate to place an equal emphasis on the English and French languages as languages of instruction. Alternatively, Dr. J. T. M. Anderson and Dr. Norman Black, both Saskatchewan educators and school inspectors, argued for reasons of expediency against language instruction other than English in the public schools systems. In part, these writers were motivated by the principle of expediency in instructing foreign-language pupils in the English language, in the fastest and most efficient way.<sup>115</sup> However, the concern for efficiency coincided with the assumption that the best interests of the nation coincided with the use of the English language. The result, for many, was a de-emphasis on the rights of the minority French Canadian group to instruction in the language of origin.

The debate surrounding the French language was also caught up in the centralization and administrative changes surrounding the public schools systems. The Merchant Report of 1912 in Ontario, for instance, was ostensibly a product of an inquiry into the efficacy of bilingual instruction in the rural schools of the province. However, the Report could not escape controversy for its conclusions about the inadequate results of bilingual instruction. The Merchant Report and Regulation 17, which followed the Merchant

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<sup>115</sup> This debate is outlined in C. B. Sissons, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada, chapter 6. This concern was also central to the 1912 Merchant Report that triggered the furore in Ontario over bilingual instruction between 1912 and 1916.

Report, could not lay claim to objectivity in light of the nationalist quarrels between English and French groups in Ontario, and only inflamed opinion on both sides. French Canadian nationalist groups mounted a furious and vocal opposition against what they called a deliberate attempt to curtail the French language in Ontario. Many English Canadians welcomed the Report as an appropriate restriction on bilingual instruction in Ontario.<sup>116</sup>

By 1916, C. B. Sissons had written a major study, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada, that discussed the bilingual controversy both in Ontario and across Canada, and represented an attempt to discuss the bilingual schools question in its national dimension. He included different racial groups in his analysis of the bilingual schools question across Canada, although his book focused mainly on the resurgence of the Ontario conflict. The Toronto classicist was favourably disposed toward the concept of French-language instruction, but in presenting the English-French conflict in a national context, pointed out that in the interests of national harmony, "English must be the common solvent for all."<sup>117</sup> Sissons was concerned with the efficient and professional administration of English-language instruction to non-English pupils. However, he also attempted, for the sake of French Canada, to accommodate room for diversity in his vision of a "perfect national symphony" in which English and

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<sup>116</sup> Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921, 255-56.

<sup>117</sup> Sissons, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada, 215.

French could be taught side by side.<sup>118</sup>

Sissons placed considerable importance on the French language, arguing that the French language was essential for national stability and harmony. He based his argument on the historical importance and numerical preponderance of French Canadians in the Dominion. The French language was entitled to "special consideration" because of the historical and legal status of French Canadians in Confederation. One of Sissons' recommendations was that the legislatures of Ontario and Manitoba take into account both the historical tradition and the size of the French Canadian communities when legislating on behalf of the French language. For Sissons, the English-French pact upon which the nation had been built was at stake; ultimately, this pact was the reason why Sissons insisted on some "special status" for the French language in the schools.

Sissons admired the French language, admired French Canada, and saw the ideal product of the bilingual schools as someone who was "equally proficient" in either language. Sir Wilfrid Laurier stood out as an example of what bilingual training could provide: a bilingual premier who could serve "as a model to the hundreds of boys in the French-English schools of Ontario, each one, in the estimation of his fond parents or the dreams of his own ambitions, a premier in the making."<sup>119</sup> His primary quarrel with the English-

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 214.

French schools was the lack of efficiency in teaching the English language to French-speaking pupils. The French language itself, he felt, provided a breadth of learning when included in an English-language curriculum as a subject of study. Sissons regarded the French language as a valued cultural asset, inherently part of the Canadian nation, as central to Canada as the Confederation pact itself.<sup>120</sup>

The "paramount problem" of education, Sissons wrote, was "the fusion of the races." The best medium for this was the English language, in a regulated system of instruction with precise guidelines for training of teachers and pupils alike.<sup>121</sup> The limits to which French, or any other language, could be taught were proscribed by the need for uniform standards of language to be specified in each province. All that was required was an "equitable teaching of French" to supplement English training for those who demanded it.<sup>122</sup> However, even in the province of Quebec, the English language was to be emphasized, on the grounds of preparing pupils for a future in an English-dominated continent. Sissons regarded as reactionary the attitudes of French Canadians such as Canon Huard, of the Basilica at Quebec, who suggested that French Canadians had little use for the English language. "Such attitudes," Sissons wrote, "are general

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 71.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 208.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 190-91.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 193.

enough to demand attention. They cannot long be regarded with complacency. They will be terminated by evolution--or by revolution".<sup>123</sup> Sissons reserved a special place for the French language, while simultaneously emphasizing the central importance of English to the educational system as the language of the Canadian nation.

The perspective adopted by Sissons was adopted and extrapolated by O. D. Skelton. In an article on bilingual instruction, "The Language Issue in Canada," the Queen's political economist appraised and approved of Sissons' ideas in bilingual education.<sup>124</sup> Both efficient instruction and the needs of the nation, he wrote, depended on English language instruction. Skelton emphasized the national importance of English-language instruction to an even greater extent than did Sissons. He agreed with his perspective on the necessity of limiting the hours in the educational curriculum devoted to the French language, and of placing limits on the hours and subjects taught in French. Yet he insisted on the special status of the French language and the French Canadian population in Canadian history.

While sensitive to the language claims of French-speaking residents in Ontario, Skelton wrote that the primary language of the Canadian nation was English, and that all efforts in education must be directed to the training of

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 208.

<sup>124</sup> O. D. Skelton, "The Language Issue in Canada," Queen's Quarterly 24, 4 (April 1917).

pupils from all racial groups in the English language. Canadian consciousness and Canadian democracy were contingent on the use of the English language, to check the effects of interracial barriers and language divisions. He argued that a national consciousness depended on the usage of the English language nationwide.

In any democracy, the foundation of common action, of common ideals and common purpose, is free intercourse and full understanding. In a country like Canada, stretching four thousand miles from sea to sea and hardly, as yet, even more than a hundred inhabited miles wide... it is doubly essential that as few language bars as possible be added to the national bars that check free intercourse. Without the widest possible knowledge of English no common Canadian consciousness is conceivable.<sup>125</sup>

Skelton also concurred with Sissons in emphasizing the historical and constitutional role of the French Canadian population in Confederation, as well as their numerical preponderance. He similarly regarded French Canadians as contributing to the unique character of the Canadian nation. Skelton agreed with Sissons that the history of the French in Canada entitled French Canadians to some consideration in the degree of language rights, although he left the degree of consideration to the individual provinces. Neither the centralization of education nor the constitution protected French language instruction. Skelton relied on the goodwill of the provinces to recognize the contribution made by French Canadians to the country's history, and to legislate accordingly. He wrote,

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 460.

The constitutional protection given to denominational minorities does not extend to language minorities, and the general power of the Dominion to veto provincial laws is not likely, and rightly so, to be exercised in this field. ... It does mean that the power and responsibility in this issue rest primarily with the people of each province, and that their view of what is just and expedient, and not constitutional restrictions, will guide their action.<sup>126</sup>

Skelton's antipathy towards federal interference in a matter of provincial jurisdiction did not extend to the province of Quebec in the matter of guarantees for the English-language minority. Skelton's emphasis on provincial administration was qualified by his emphasis on the English language as the chief language of instruction across Canada. This left him in the contradictory position of denying the province of Quebec jurisdiction over the education of the English-speaking minority, if that education were to be conducted in French:

It is difficult to see how anyone who asserts the right of any province to decide its language question regardless of its neighbours' opinions could deny this, but, as suggested previously, other than provincial considerations must be taken into account. Neither the argument of national unity nor the argument of individual advantage counts so strongly as in the case of English.<sup>127</sup>

Skelton added that Quebec, to that point, had fortunately refrained from compelling the English-speaking minority to learn French. However, he appeared to have no other way to reconcile the problem of not imposing a centralized educational administration on the provinces, and his sentiments

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 462.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 460-61.



about the necessity of English language instruction.

Saskatchewan educators Black and Anderson were recognized by Sissons as contributors to a national debate about second-language instruction in the public schools. They represented the viewpoint that there was no question of accommodating a second linguistic group in the struggle to standardize English-language instruction for foreign language pupils. Anderson in particular declared that the teaching of a second language detracted from the time and the attention to be devoted to instruction in the English language, and necessarily resulted in the inadequate teaching of English.<sup>128</sup>

Neither Anderson nor Black paid close attention to the problem of French-language education. However, Anderson seems to have implied that the French in Canada were entitled to some consideration, but that the existing provisions made for the French language were confusing. He found the Manitoba Public School Act "unwise", for the provisions in place for the French language could be easily extended to other minority immigrant groups, making the standardization of English-language instruction impossible.<sup>129</sup> This argument appears to have met with favour from Manitoba's longtime deputy minister of education, Dr. Robert Fletcher, who found that the protection of second-language instruction

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<sup>128</sup> Anderson, The Education of the New Canadian, p. 116.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

resulted in administrative chaos and pedagogical inefficiency. Fletcher, deputy minister of education during the Manitoba Public School Act controversy, was instrumental in engineering the legislation that curtailed bilingual education in the province of Manitoba.<sup>130</sup> As deputy minister in 1916, Fletcher reported that the bilingual section of the Public School Act contributed to administrative confusion and inefficient instruction in the English language. The legislation was blamed for discouraging the teaching of English among immigrant groups.<sup>131</sup> Anderson cited numerous cases to illustrate that many ethnic communities would neglect the study of English in favour of teaching their own language. As a result, pupils emerging from "bilingual" schools were deficient in their command of the English language.<sup>132</sup> Since bilingual education hindered the teaching of the English language, Anderson advocated a "common school system" to aid the work of assimilation of foreign-language pupils through the English language.<sup>133</sup>

A distinction between French Canadians and the "non-English" appears to have been made by Anderson. The "non-English" did not appear to include French Canadians. However,

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<sup>130</sup> Morton, "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality," 15.

<sup>131</sup> Anderson, The Education of the New Canadian, 109; Robert Fletcher, "The Language Problem in Manitoba Schools," Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 3, 6 (1945), 54-5.

<sup>132</sup> Anderson, The Education of the New Canadian, 112.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 114. See also p. 93.

the "non-English" could easily be made to include French Canadians, particularly in light of the overriding goal to make English the unifying language of the country. The schools were considered paramount in this goal as the instruments for teaching foreign-speaking children not only the English language, but Canadian values as well. Anderson believed that "the importance of the common school as the assimilating organ of the masses must receive paramount attention and emphasis if the great work of national expansion and regeneration is to be successfully accomplished."<sup>134</sup> The goal of national unity and regeneration appeared to supercede the concept of racial duality in the sphere of education. While the status of the French language may, as in the case of Anderson, have been implicitly recognized, existing provisions for French-language minority instruction were seen as detrimental to the process of Canadianizing the immigrant population in the west.<sup>135</sup>

Outside the pedagogical literature, the "bi-lingual question" brought more overt expressions of anti-French sentiment, particularly among the Ontario-based periodicals. The question also produced defences of the French Canadian character, just as it produced accusations about the dangers posed by French Canadians to the nation. Occasionally, English Canadian voices called for accommodation between the

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 242.

<sup>135</sup> See Morton, "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality," 17.

racés. These commentators differed from their more extreme English Canadian counterparts by portraying the racial rather than religious components of the English-French tensions. They emphasized the racial dimensions of the bilingual schools controversy and, like the studies on pedagogy, placed the question within the context of formulating the national character.

The schools question provided the occasion to ask about the place of Quebec as a racially distinct province in an English-speaking society. English-speaking Canadians on either side of the question were virtually in agreement on the type of racial characteristics perceived as belonging to French Canadians. On either side of the schools question, French Canadians continued to be perceived through the same racial veil as had characterized the scientific and historical analyses of the late Victorian period. Only the context had changed, and few English Canadians during this period were willing to relinquish the concept that national unity depended on the English language. The issues raised in the popular media, however, included the recognition of a special status for the French language, and the constitutional guarantees for French-language instruction.

On the one hand, it was conceded that French Canadians were entitled to instruction in their own language, while the limits of that instruction had to be observed in the interests of teaching the English language. This attitude

was expressed in the Anglican newspaper, the Canadian Churchman, by its editor, R. W. Allin. Editorials argued that French Canadians were indeed entitled to some consideration in the language debate. However, he simultaneously indicated that unity in the Dominion required instruction in the English language. French Canadians should recognize that it was in their own best interests to acknowledge the primacy of the English language:

Surely [French Canadians'] interest in the Dominion as a whole, and in the future as well as in the present, should lead them to look at the matter in a broader light. Let the French language be taught in all our schools if you will, but let us have one national tongue and one Canada, diverse in its parts but united in its aspirations and efforts, ever working as one for the best interests of the whole country.<sup>136</sup>

A columnist writing for the Canadian Churchman echoed the opinion that French Canadians indeed had certain rights in the language controversy. Writing under the name "Spectator", he in fact thought highly of French Canada, and urged that, in the schools question, French Canadians not be pumelled into submission by the English-speaking majority in the province. He believed that it was entirely reasonable that both English and French-speaking students should be accommodated by a dual language system of education. One of the reasons he gave for this was the counterpoint that French Canadians provided to an aggressive, materialistic English Protestant society.

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<sup>136</sup> Canadian Churchman, 43, 20 (May 18, 1916), 311.

Protestant Canada may smile at these dreams of influence, but while it is engrossed in making money and dwelling upon material things, the supremacy may pass into the hands of those who have been dwelling upon spiritual things. No people with a vision of service and the consciousness of a divine mission can lightly be set aside.<sup>137</sup>

Despite his reminder to readers to be more concerned with service, the columnist came out in favour of a predominantly English-language educational system. The province of Ontario had the right and the duty, in the interest of a common unity, to teach to all races a common tongue and literature. The province, in short, must insist on the teaching of English.<sup>138</sup> But "Spectator" still considered it inappropriate to treat French-Canadians in the manner of a conquered people, to be subdued by English Canada, in part from his admiration for the spiritual dimension he perceived in the province of Quebec.

While the Canadian Churchman admired the spirituality of the French Canadian province, other sources called attention to the history and tradition of the French Canadian race in Canada, and argued that French Canadians merited some recognition of this contribution. A particularly surprising source for this opinion was the Christian Guardian, which perceived the bilingual agitation as a quarrel internal to the Roman Catholic Church. The Christian Guardian acknowledged the constitutional and historical right of French Can-

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 312.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 43, 22 (June 1, 1916), 344.

adians to federal recognition of the French language.<sup>139</sup> The Christian Guardian's opposition to bilingual education was based on the paper's opposition to the Roman Catholic Church and to French Canadian nationalism.

But the Christian Guardian did not explicitly refer to the schools agitation as a racial, as opposed to a religious, problem. Various sources saw the schools question in terms of the harmonious coexistence of two different races within one nation. For instance, the Halifax-based Presbyterian Witness argued that

As we have more than once pointed out, the question causing initiation was not primarily one of religion, though that, no doubt, entered into it to some extent and served to intensify it. The question was one of race and language, and the jealousy and rivalry between the English and the French threatened to create a cleavage in our young nation, which had in it the potency of serious troubles in the future.<sup>140</sup>

Agreeing that the bilingual schools conflict was indeed a conflict between the "two great races" in Canada, several periodicals spoke out on behalf of the French Canadian race. The Presbyterian and Westminster, the Toronto-based Presbyterian and literary weekly, argued that neither the English nor the French race was likely to submerge the other, and that racial difficulties could be surmounted through Christian unity.<sup>141</sup> The Presbyterian Witness, on the other

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<sup>139</sup> Christian Guardian, 88 (February 14, 1917), 4.

<sup>140</sup> Presbyterian Witness, January 13, 1916.

<sup>141</sup> Presbyterian and Westminster, 1, 3 (June 21, 1917), 725, in an article discussing the Pointe-aux-Trembles schools

hand, was more in agreement with the Canadian Churchman, both in terms of its assessment of the value of French Canada to the Dominion, and in assessing the place of the French language in Canadian society. While the Presbyterian Witness perceived the French language as valuable, the paper argued that the language of business and of Canadian society was English. The value of the French language was contained in the acquiring of a good liberal education. The French language was also considered to be useful in business relations with Quebec. The Presbyterian Witness also believed that the treatment of French Canadians in Ontario was fair and reasonable, and blamed French Canadian nationalists for the discontent.

The Northwest Review, the primary Roman Catholic periodical in western Canada, defended French Canadians as a rule, but nonetheless argued against bilingual training as impracticable. The English-French schools were regarded by the Northwest Review as a "dismal failure", owing to the inefficient training in either language that the schools provided. The Northwest Review alleged that one language or the other was generally submerged in the course of a student's education, and consequently bilingualism in the schools system was impractical.<sup>142</sup>

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in Quebec. See also editorial, 2, 1 (July 5, 1917), 6.

<sup>142</sup> Northwest Review, 30, 52 (November 4, 1916), 8.



More than considerations of efficiency were involved in the Northwest Review's reservations about bilingual education. One article suggested that in order to make bilingual education feasible, the curriculum of the French schools would have to be modernized, in order to enable French-speaking pupils to survive in the English Canadian economy.<sup>143</sup> Bilingual education in Canada was regarded as a practicable failure, and uniformity of language was seen by the Northwest Review as necessary to the unity of the Dominion.<sup>144</sup> However, another opinion may be discerned through the Northwest Review. A spokesman for bilingual education argued that French Canadians were a valuable presence which ensured Canadian autonomy from the United States, and for that reason bilingual education should be encouraged.<sup>145</sup>

Supporters of bilingual education in some limited form agreed that French Canadians had a special status in the Dominion because of their historical and constitutional position, and provided some inherent value to the Canadian dominion. However, the arguments against full linguistic parity between the English and French languages in the schools were many and varied, centring on the theme that in the best interests of the country, the teaching of the French language was only desirable in a limited form. One of the most frequent dangers perceived in French-language

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 30, 53 (November 11, 1916), 6.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.,

instruction was the fear of shortchanging French-speaking pupils in English-language instruction. To many, the lack of an English curriculum provided the pupil with poor preparation for life. The point was made that the language of commerce was English, and that pupils should be prepared to understand English-language commercial terms. The classical content of the French-language curriculum, particularly if influenced by the Catholic clergy, also militated against training for industrial vocations. Some carried this observation from the realm of the practical to the cultural. It was assumed that the English language transmitted the values of an acquisitive culture, while the French language encouraged a classical and spiritual outlook which was antithetical to the work ethic required in the modern industrial era. In short, while the value of French instruction was admitted on a cultural level, the practicality of French-language instruction was increasingly questioned, and racial assumptions about French Canadian culture raised to argue against a fully bilingual system.

While bilingual instruction was debated on the grounds of efficiency, the question of constitutional rights also figured prominently in the English Canadian debate over bilingual instruction. Particularly with the Ottawa challenge to Regulation 17, the constitutional implications of the nationalist demand for French language instruction brought out arguments for and against the right of French Canadians

to linguistic parity with English Canadians in the educational system. These arguments followed the example of W. S. Wallace, who contended that the rights of French Canadians to the use of the French language outside explicit constitutional provisions were limited under British law. Wallace referred to Quebec as the "French-Canadian reserve," and argued that the language and institutions of French Canada should be confined to the French Canadian province.<sup>146</sup>

Not everyone perceived of Quebec as a "conquered people", or as a race dependent upon the goodwill of British liberty for its survival. By contrast, some English Canadians described Quebec as an integral part of the Confederation agreement, and described the federal status of French Canadians as theoretically equal with English Canada. For instance, the Canadian Churchman perceived French Canadians in this light, as did the Presbyterian Witness, Presbyterian and Westminster, the among other sources. Regardless, these sources still placed limitations on the degree to which they would tolerate French Canadian nationalism and the demands for greater concessions to the French Canadian minority in Ontario and elsewhere. These sources also pointed out that in the matter of education, French Canadians could not rely on constitutional guarantees for the French language in education, which was perceived as a provincial matter.

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<sup>146</sup> W. S. Wallace, "The Rights of French-Canadians," 162.

By contrast, Senator N. A. Belcourt, a French Canadian defender of bilingual instruction, countered the argument that the French language had no constitutional guarantees, by arguing that the principles of the constitution, of natural law and of common justice, gave the French language equal status with the English language in the schools as well as in government. Belcourt argued that the principle of one nation, one language represented a "clear violation of the spirit--if not the actual letter--of the constitution."<sup>147</sup>

The challenge to Regulation 17 in Ontario met with opposition in the English language press. The press generally agreed that the constitutional guarantees for denominational education were inapplicable in the matter of language. The point was succinctly made by Sissons:

It cannot be maintained, because existing separate school privileges were secured to Roman Catholics, that therefore and thereby language privileges in the schools were also secured to French-speaking Roman Catholics. The majority of the separate schools then, as now, used no language but English, and a large number, if not the majority of schools in which French was used were then, as many are now, public schools. ... [I]t is highly improbable that any one of the Fathers of Confederation bothered his head about the use of the French language in the few and scattered French schools of Ontario. ... In default of any other expression of opinion, in view of the existing circumstances, and in the light of the fairly definite wording of the Act, the conclusion is justified that the Fathers of Confederation did not seek either to confer any new legal right on the French language in the schools of Ontario or to confirm any rights or privileges previously exist-

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<sup>147</sup> N. A. Belcourt, "French in Ontario," University Magazine, 11 (December 1912), 553-54.

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A Canadian Churchman editorial agreed that French Canadians preceded the British on the North American continent, but this presence did not guarantee the parity of the French and English languages. In exchange for that presence, French Canada had been permitted certain privileges in Quebec only.<sup>149</sup> To insist on parity between the English and the French languages was to jeopardize national unity.<sup>150</sup> The Christian Guardian also emphasized that French Canadians did not hold coequal status with English Canadians, and had no legal entitlement for their linguistic claims. The Christian Guardian alleged that the problem was a result of the agitation of French Canadian nationalist leaders Henri Bourassa and Armand Lavergne, and the Roman Catholic Church, who were contributing to the agitation and discontent in Quebec against the province of Ontario.

The Canadian Churchman also emphasized that while some concessions were to be made to French Canadians in the matter of language instruction, French Canadians had no explicit legal protection of their language in educational matters, and therefore were not legally entitled to linguistic parity in the schools. The Northwest Review agreed, denying any legal basis for the Ottawa Separate School Board's chal-

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<sup>148</sup> Sissons, Bilingual Schools in Canada, 38-9.

<sup>149</sup> Canadian Churchman, 43, 20 (May 18, 1916), 311.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

lenge to Regulation 17, and agreeing that the French language was not constitutionally guaranteed in Ontario. The Ottawa French Catholic clergy were, in fact, censured by the Northwest Review for using a constitutional guarantee for religious instruction to fight a racial battle, and were accused of undermining unity among the Ontario Catholic community.

In effect, the constitutional status of French Canadians in the Ontario resurgence of the bilingual question was seen as limited, despite the willingness of many English Canadians to accede to the spirit of the Confederation pact, implying harmony between the two founding nations. The decision on Regulation 17 was considered by many English Canadians to have laid the question of constitutional guarantees for French language instruction to rest. But the ruling of the Privy Council that Regulation 17 was constitutional, and could not be challenged on the basis of Section 93 of the British North America Act, underscored the argument in English Canada that the provinces were entitled to rule on language in the interests of national harmony. The Northwest Review anticipated no further challenge to language legislation:

[The decision] explicitly points out that separate schools are surrounded by constitutional guarantees which the Provincial Legislature is powerless to remove without destroying the entire school system in that province. The use of languages other than English, however, is entirely subject to provincial control.

While accepting the Privy Council decision, the Northwest Review believed that Regulation 17 was not intended to harm the French language, and that English Canadian tolerance for French Canadian linguistic aspirations would prevail in the long run.<sup>151</sup>

This opinion was echoed by the Presbyterian Witness, which hoped that the Privy Council ruling would have ended the question in favour of absolute provincial domain over the language question.<sup>152</sup> The Presbyterian Witness continued to hope that moderation on the part of both English and French Canadians would render the issue manageable, and that French Canadians would abide by the regulation and by the spirit of cooperation that informed it.<sup>153</sup> The provincial right to regulate language instruction was confirmed, and the goodwill of English Canadians toward French Canadians was regarded as sufficient to guarantee that provisions for French-language education would be considered by the province.

Much of the English Canadian popular media appeared to believe that French Canadians would indeed accept that English Canadians had been generous in their provisions for French-language instruction. As reported in the Star Weekly, the Ottawa Journal regarded Ontario's bilingual provi-

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<sup>151</sup> Northwest Review, 30, 44 (February 12, 1917), 1.

<sup>152</sup> Presbyterian Witness, 70, 18 (May 5, 1917), 1.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

sions as "generous", stopping "short of admission of the contention that the English language is not entitled to first place in the schools of an English-speaking country." The Journal editorial blamed the schools agitation on the "Bourassa poison" which "jaundiced" French Canadians against both bilingual schools policy and Canadian participation in the war.<sup>154</sup> Henri Bourassa and Quebec nationalism bore the real brunt of responsibility for the schools crisis, in the eyes of the Journal, which believed in the general reasonableness of French Canadians. Saturday Night concurred that French Canadian nationalism was the real danger, and insisted that French Canadians in Ontario "did not know they had a grievance till a few charlatans in the adjoining province told them so."<sup>155</sup> The journal asserted that the schools question was part of a Nationalist campaign to be extended across Canada, stating that

Ottawa was the chosen fighting ground of a movement that it was proposed to extend to every part of the Dominion where French-Canadians [sic] have settled. That the alleged grievance was purely a manufactured or artificial one, devised by political adventurers for their own sinister ends, did not make it the less dangerous to the peace of the country.<sup>156</sup>

Others suggested that Bourassa, Lavergne and the French Canadian press used the schools question in a Machiavellian attempt to discourage French Canadian participation in the

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<sup>154</sup> Quoted in the Star Weekly, April 22, 1916, 24.

<sup>155</sup> Saturday Night, May 20, 1916, 1.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., November 11, 1916, 1.



war. John Castell Hopkins, who regarded French Canadians in general as an easily excited and malleable race, wrote in the Canadian Annual Review that the Nationalist movement was responsible for hardening the attitudes of an essentially docile and loyal French Canadian population against the war.<sup>157</sup> An editorial in the Canadian Churchman likewise accused the Nationalist League of having "seized upon the bilingual issue in Ontario as an excuse for incessant attacks upon everything British", and poisoning "the minds of thousands of otherwise peaceable and loyal subjects."<sup>158</sup> Horatio Hocken, publisher of the Sentinel, carried the attack one step further, accusing Bourassa and the Quebec clergy of having united to "declare war upon Ontario".<sup>159</sup> The Christian Guardian spoke of the "crusade against Ontario" by Armand Lavergne and the Roman Catholic clergy.<sup>160</sup> The Christian Guardian portrayed itself on several occasions as championing the rights of the province of Ontario against the Quebec onslaught.<sup>161</sup>

These accusations in English Canada were met with expressions of regret that the schools question was dividing the country racially when national unity was required

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<sup>157</sup> Canadian Annual Review, 1916, 566.

<sup>158</sup> Canadian Churchman, 44, 25 (June 21, 1917), 391.

<sup>159</sup> Horatio Hocken, "Striking in the National Extremity," 9.

<sup>160</sup> Christian Guardian, 87, 16 (April 19, 1916), 4.

<sup>161</sup> Editorial, "Ontario Controls Her Schools", in the Christian Guardian, 87, 45 (November 8, 1916), 6.

instead. The Presbyterian Witness called the timing of the schools agitation "unfortunate" and found it especially regrettable "that fiery partisans are making use of these local school troubles in Ontario to stir up bitter race feelings in our Dominion."<sup>162</sup> Edith M. Luke, Montreal correspondent for the Christian Guardian, lamented:

It is a thousand pities that Regulation 17, and the defalcation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, carrying in its train the resignation of Hon. E. L. Patenaude, and the partisan attitude of Sir Lomer Gouin, should have divided Canada when we require, above all, to be strong and united.<sup>163</sup>

The bilingual schools question itself may or may have not been related to the issues raised during the war, but stands out as an example of the beliefs and attitudes about French Canadian motivation. The bilingual schools controversy also illustrates the debate about the role which French Canadians were to play in the conception of the national character of the new nation, a question integral to the war years in Canada. By 1916, the combination of a modernizing economy, immigration and previous English-French cultural tensions led English Canadians to believe that uniting the country through the English language was imperative for political stability and cohesion. Most English Canadians appeared to agree that French Canadians were an integral part of the Canadian polity. However, in the matter of language instruction, it was considered that for the sake of national unity

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<sup>162</sup> Presbyterian Witness, March 11, 1916, 1.

<sup>163</sup> Christian Guardian, 88, 36 (September 5, 1917), 16.

the primary language of instruction necessarily should be English. English Canadians provided reasons both practical and cultural for this conclusion. Some believed that French Canadians were entitled to limited consideration in language provisions; others denied that French Canadians were theoretically entitled to any more than those provisions already existing under constitutional legislation.

In all, the aims of the English Canadian nation were seen as taking precedence over French Canadian nationalist aspirations and rights. Many English Canadians were not even prepared to acknowledge a moderate status for the French Canadian province outside Quebec, although others hoped that moderate opinion would arrive at a reconciliation of the aspirations of the two races.

In the prevailing emphasis on English linguistic and cultural unity, French Canadians were given only a limited role. At most, English Canadians upheld the idea of the dual founding nations, and paid at least theoretical tribute to the idea that some concessions be made for French-language education by the individual provinces. However, the concept of linguistic parity in the schools was not well met in English Canadian journalistic opinion. At least, French Canadian privileges were to be confined exclusively to the province of Quebec. Some limited value was imparted to the teaching of the French language, for cultural reasons or for the expansion of an English Canadian cultural outlook.

Clearly French Canadians played a limited role in the development of a cultural or national consciousness as played out in the bilingual schools question. Not many English Canadians were prepared to accept the Laurier ideal, the mingled French gentleman and British liberal classicist, as the desired outcome of a public school education. Increasingly, English Canadian opinion appeared prepared to use the educational needs of Canada to sanction a diminished and separate French Canadian cultural presence in the new Canadian nation.

Chapter IV  
RACIAL ISOLATION: THE IMAGE OF QUEBEC,  
1916-1917

In 1916 and 1917, more than the educational needs of the new nation were at stake in English Canada. In some ways, the bilingual schools issue was made to seem more urgent in the atmosphere of the war.<sup>164</sup> The national unity question was given added stimulus by the war, as the war years saw the development of an increased English Canadian patriotism and sense of nationalism.<sup>165</sup> An intensified national consciousness within English Canada plus a sense of war urgency combined in the call for voluntary and compulsory registration, and for a total Canadian commitment to the war effort overseas. Stephen Leacock, for instance, urged a total war commitment by all sectors of the Canadian economy, committing the country to industrial production devoted to the needs of the war effort.<sup>166</sup> Throughout the war, and especially with the escalation of the war effort by 1916, the lagging recruitment in Quebec was a subject of special attention in English Canada. English Canadians debated among themselves

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<sup>164</sup> Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921, 259.

<sup>165</sup> R. Matthew Bray, "'Fighting as an Ally: The English-Canadian Response to the Great War"; J. M. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I"; and Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921, chapter 13.

<sup>166</sup> English, Decline of Politics, 109.

the reasons for the failure of the recruitment effort in the province of Quebec, but ultimately arrived at one conclusion: the distinct cultural character which prevented French Canadians from appreciating the need to enlist.

However, anti-Quebec sentiment persisted in other forms. Historians have noted that some English Canadians linked French Canadian anti-conscription sentiment, and particularly the anti-conscription riots in some parts of Quebec, with the "foreigners, slackers and socialists" who appeared to menace all of Canada during this war. The most vivid example of the anti-foreign sentiment expressed against Quebec was the Union Publicity Committee advertising campaign undertaken in the last stages of the election of 1917. The campaign played upon the disenfranchisement of naturalized German voters, and accused Laurier of using the anti-conscription campaign to secure enemy alien votes. Appearing in periodicals from the Canadian Churchman to the Presbyterian and Westminster to the Monetary Times, these advertisements connected foreigners, slackers, socialists, Bourassa and Laurier, in an attempt to link the Laurier campaign to subversive anti-Canadian elements. One popular advertisement, titled "Is a United Quebec to Rule All Canada?", alleged that

All Canada knows that Germany has been working through agents, spies and bribes in every country of the world. The latest evidences are the revelations recently made to the world by President Wilson. Do we Canadians think the Kaiser has overlooked Canada? If we do, what a fool's paradise!

Another advertisement insisted that the "Farmers of Ontario" would never vote with "Bourassa, Pro-Germans, Suppressors of Free Speech and Slackers."<sup>167</sup> In the United States, anti-German and anti-foreign hysteria were a feature of the 1916-1917 period, as much of the country attempted to dissociate or purge the country from any Germanic elements.<sup>168</sup> The advertising campaign subsequently portrayed Quebec, Bourassa and Laurier in the same evil light. The advertising campaign stands out as testimony to anti-German and anti-foreign war hysteria in the Canada of 1917, and to one of the uglier portrayals of French Canadians during the war period.

Little other evidence appeared in the larger English Canadian periodicals of this kind of xenophobic sentiment, in which French Canadians and foreigners were directly linked to the German military campaign. However, at least one mainstream source which supported conscription and union government drew an ominous inference from the "enemy alien" vote. "Spectator", writing in the Canadian Churchman, wondered out loud at Laurier's efforts to win the "enemy alien" vote:

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<sup>167</sup> Advertisement appearing in the Presbyterian and Westminister, December 13, 1917, 573 and 575.

<sup>168</sup> John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925, (New York: Atheneum, 1963), 207-212.



# SLANDER!

That man is a slanderer  
who says that

## The Farmers of Ontario

will vote with  
**Bourassa Pro-Germans**  
**Suppressors of Free Speech**  
**and Slackers**

# NEVER!

They Will Support Union Government

Citizens' Union Committee

IN ADVERTISING ADVERTISEMENTS PLEASE MENTION "THE CANADIAN CHURCHMAN"

Citizens' Union Committee  
advertisement, Canadian  
Churchman, December 13, 1917.

# Is a United Quebec to Rule All Canada?

This, the most tremendous question in Canada's history, is to be answered within few days. Our answer involves Canada's honour, her freedom and her future. Old-time party questions are being advanced to obscure the gravest issue ever placed before a nation. Canada is in real danger. The clouds that obscure her vision must be brushed aside so that the great issue stands forth clear and distinct.

## "Is a United Quebec to Rule All Canada?"

Today, in our national crisis, Quebec stands among all the provinces, stands more united than ever before. Her motto is: "We are one!"

- (1) Withdrawal from the war
- (2) Bilingual schools everywhere
- (3) Exclusion of all British associations
- (4) Political control of Canada.

From the Ottawa River to Labrador and the Gulf, a common purpose unites Quebec in her determination to resist by the force of arms the imperial designs of Canada and to impose her will upon all the people of Canada.

Within the last few weeks, Quebec has submitted all her forces to dominate Canada under the united leadership of Bourassa and Laurier. Canada knows that these two men in their earlier days were personal friends and political associates. Canada knows how in recent times they gradually drew apart, until in 1911 Bourassa opposed Laurier and helped to bring about his defeat at the polls. Canada knows that from that time forward, until a few weeks ago, the breach between them steadily widened until each and every inch of the ground between them became the possession of both Bourassa and his followers were antagonistic to Laurier.

Should not the people of Canada ask themselves, before it is too late, why these two men have suddenly agreed to bury the past, why they suddenly embrace, each of the other? If we will but let the scales drop from our eyes, the answer is obvious. The all-compelling inducements of Quebec have combined to force the union of Laurier and Bourassa in the common purpose of French-Canada domination.

We demand the right of French-Canadians to make common cause of anything they think it to be their interest to do. This is a free country. But as the French-Canadians have already combined to assert their views, it is the duty of the hour that we English-speaking Canadians get together and present to Quebec a united front to the defence of our rights. This is imperative.

With every other state, Quebec is bound to accept her designs. Bourassa, the real master and idol of Quebec, is in sight of his goal.

To obtain her purpose, Quebec has not scrupled to ignore British traditions and to suppress freedom of speech. So thoroughly organized is her campaign to prevent even the

The Citizens' Union Committee, created for the maintenance of British ideals and traditions, stands with every other citizen of French-Canada domination with its inevitable influence upon the home, the school and the club.

We, therefore, call upon all English-speaking men and women to realize that Canada, divided by political parties and old-time party questions, is at the mercy of a united Quebec. Union Government plans are now being made for the purpose of French-Canada domination.

denial of the fact that Union Government is a prelude from holding public meetings throughout the Province. The Union Government in Quebec are the victims of organized obstruction.

To demonstrate in her determination to rule all Canada, Quebec has had to secure a few seats in each of the other Provinces. Quebec leaders are now to divide the rest of Canada into sections by incessantly bringing into national discussion old-time party questions to divert the public mind from Quebec, her purpose and her ambitions.

United in her determination to rule the war, Quebec would control a divided Canada to her liking. By means of the English-speaking people across the continent, however, notwithstanding Union Government in Ontario and the will be helped, against a united Quebec.

Apart from the speaking words of the most English-speaking population, Quebec has had the Red Cross, but failed the Patriotic Fund, has failed in recruiting, and has failed in the Victory Loan. Dear we trust our soldiers that serve, their children their pensions and their allowances to Quebec, that will neither give, unless we succeed, and which will grant taxation for the support of our men and their dependents.

Canada must decide whether she will become a dominion and quit with Russia, or fight to the end for liberty with Belgium. That decision must not be dictated by the anti-Provicer which has shirked its obligations throughout the war.

An Englishman knows that Germany has been working through agents over and under in every corner in the world. The latest evidence are the revelations recently made to the world by President Wilson. Do we Canadians think the Kaiser has overruled Canada? If so, do what a man's purpose? He cannot be upon the side of Union Government, which is pledged to remain in the war.

Germany operates by division among her enemies, upon whom would she lead in Canada as harboring her designs? Not Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Borden and their colleagues in the Union Government. That is certain. But can the same be said with respect to the leaders in the Province of Quebec, whose attitude in the war is against Canada's participation in the war? We regret to be compelled to say these things, but we must not allow our eyes to be deceived.

## The Citizens' Union Committee

A Non-Partisan War-Time Organization to Support Union Government

J. W. LYON, **General Chairman** NORMAN SOMMERVILLE, Toronto, Vice-Chairman

G. A. WARBURTON, Chairman Executive Committee

ALBERT H. ABBOTT, Secretary Telephone Main 2824 Headquarters, Canada Life Bldg., Toronto

Citizens' Union Committee  
advertisement, Monetary  
Times, December 14, 1917.



This is a damning admission, that the success of the Opposition requires the support of Germans, Austrians, Bulgarians and Turks who have wandered to this country and taken the oath of allegiance. What is the matter with pure-blooded Canadians that they cannot discern the virtues of a loyal Opposition? Must they be supplemented with the kinsmen of the ravagers of Belgium and the assassins of Armenia?<sup>169</sup>

The Germanophobia of the advertising campaign of the Union Publicity Committee did not seem to appear in any other form in the larger periodicals. However, some anti-Catholic and anti-nationalist rhetoric appeared in less nativistic sources. Some of the more vitriolic anti-Quebec comments were featured in the Toronto periodical Saturday Night, which regularly launched editorial assaults against both Quebec and the Roman Catholic Church. Saturday Night publicly dissociated its point of view from that of the Sentinel, contending in one editorial that "the 'Orange Sentinel' and one or two daily newspapers which noisily seek to keep alive Orange sentiment are the only ones which are consistently anti-French in feeling."<sup>170</sup>

At the same time, Saturday Night hurled accusations at both the Roman Catholic Church and the province of Quebec during the conscription controversy. The name Bourassa became synonymous with lawlessness and treason against the Canadian state.<sup>171</sup> French Canadian nationalist politicians

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<sup>169</sup> Canadian Churchman, 44, 46 (November 15, 1917), 730.

<sup>170</sup> Saturday Night, September 8, 1917, 1.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., editorial, "How to Treat a Nest of Traitors", May 17, 1917, 1.

and the French Canadian press were likewise accused of inciting anti-conscriptory "mob violence", and of stirring up public opinion in Quebec against the province of Ontario.<sup>172</sup> The newspaper also took offense with the comments of "influential French-Canadians" who "have given extreme provocation by reviling and belittling the English-speaking Canadians who have bled and died on the soil of Flanders and France."<sup>173</sup>

At times, despite the public disavowal of the Orange association, Saturday Night perceived little that was offensive in the Orange journalistic assault on the province of Quebec. Of the Orange opposition, Saturday Night remarked that "they can hardly be expected to take abuse of the kind which is poured out by French-Canadian editors and politicians, lying down."<sup>174</sup> Saturday Night mounted its own campaign against the "treason" of Quebec, accusing the Quebec press of teaching French Canadians "to hate their English-speaking neighbours...in the name of Christianity", or of mounting a Catholic offensive against the province of Ontario.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid., editorial, "Quebec Libels on People of Ontario", September 8, 1917, 1.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

In general, the anti-conscriptionism in Quebec was perceived as a pernicious attack against both British institutions and public law and order by the Roman Catholic Church and French Canadian nationalism.<sup>176</sup> Despite disclaimers about animosity against the French Canadian "race" itself, disclaimers probably made in all sincerity, the province of Quebec was perceived as a hotbed of sedition and anti-Ontario feeling. This perception was probably enhanced by the bilingual schools crisis, in which a similar sentiment had been expressed: Quebec, or rather certain institutions in Quebec, were staging an assault against English-speaking citizens of Ontario, and the province of Quebec consequently posed a threat to national stability.

The Germanophobia of the Union publicity campaign was to an extent mirrored in the campaign of the Orange Sentinel, although the Sentinel escalated its previous hostility toward French Catholic Quebec as the war progressed. The Sentinel now attacked the alleged pro-Germanism of the pope, and gave the anti-clericalism of old France as the reason why French Canadians refused to fight for the old country.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Ibid., "How to Treat a Nest of Traitors", May 19, 1917, 1.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 43 (April 12, 1917), 1; 43 (April 19, 1917), 1; 43 (May 24, 1917), 1; 44 (July 19, 1917), 9.

Underlying the anti-Catholic rhetoric, however, was the depiction of the French Canadian race as a potential danger to the country, if not to themselves. The qualities of the French Canadian race were such that the race was malleable and easily manipulated by the Roman Catholic clergy. The race itself was no immediate threat. Without the presence of the clergy, the habitant was perceived as basically docile, simple, amiable and a political asset because of his peaceable and reclusive nature. This picture emerged in the Sentinel's comparison of French Canadians in New England and in Quebec. Without the corrupting influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, the French Canadian New Englander proved obedient to authority, and subsequently made ideal political citizens. Their Quebec counterparts, at the mercy of the Roman Catholic Church, had been turned into dangerous political aggressors.<sup>178</sup> The Sentinel frequently and consistently proclaimed a sympathy for the French Canadian race in general. At best, French Canadians were simple and picturesque, if not more than a little backward.<sup>179</sup> The French Canadian race was also described in the Sentinel as possessing "many excellent qualities," and the Sentinel also argued occasionally that a "tolerant spirit" should be shown to this captive race as well.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 43 (June 7, 1917), 1.

<sup>179</sup> Horatio Hocken's article, "The Inevitable Quebec", drew upon this picture of French Canadian rural simplicity and backwardness. Horatio Hocken, "Striking in the National Extremity", reprinted in Canadian Magazine, (November, 1917), 6.

These apparently accommodating remarks are not to be interpreted as representing a spirit of tolerance or generosity towards the French Canadian. The Sentinel used these remarks to underscore how badly the province had decayed under Catholic rule, and to emphasize that, under other circumstances, the habitant could be expected to behave with his characteristic docility.<sup>181</sup> The Sentinel was neither patient nor tolerant in its treatment of French Canadians. The habitant of Quebec was regarded as a pawn in the hands of the powerful clergy. Isolated from the Protestant world and instructed by the Roman Catholic clergy, the habitant was "helpless to oppose the wishes of the priests."<sup>182</sup>

The Sentinel's mission against the combined aims of the "French-Canadian race" and the papacy was conspiratorial in tone, reflecting the religious hatred and anti-foreignism characteristic of English Canadian nativism.<sup>183</sup> The Franco-phobia of the Sentinel was not representative of the racial attitudes held by English Canada as a whole. The nativist sentiment expressed by the Sentinel were the attitudes of a

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<sup>180</sup> Sentinel, 43 (May 17, 1917), 1.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 43 (April 5, 1917), 1.

<sup>183</sup> See J. R. Miller, "Anti-Catholicism in English Canada." John Higham, Strangers in the Land, regards nativism as the most extreme version of nationalism (p. 4). Higham's analysis forms the basis of James T. Watt's study of the Protestant Protective Association, "Anti-Catholic Nativism in Canada: The Protestant Protective Association," Canadian Historical Review 48, 1 (March 1967), 45-58. See esp. 45-46.

permanent enclave of anti-Catholic and anti-foreign suspicion in the English Canadian landscape. In general, anti-Catholic sentiment in Canada had become modified or softened by the 1900's, but remnants survived in the anti-Catholic suspicions of the Sentinel in 1916.

The accusations made by Saturday Night against the church and provincial leaders of Quebec were paralleled in other sources, but with some modification. John Castell Hopkins likewise perceived the province of Quebec as basically docile, while blaming the agitation in the province on a few unscrupulous politicians and orators. Hopkins' commentary was explicitly racialist, even as Saturday Night's commentary incorporated both a distrust of the Roman Catholic clergy and a belief that French Canadians were assaulting the province of Ontario through the schools and conscription issues. Hopkins took a considerably kinder and more benevolent view toward the province of Quebec than did Saturday Night. He admired the qualities of French Canadians as a race, particularly those rural and conservative values which he saw embodied in the province of Quebec.<sup>184</sup> The explanations which he provided for lack of French Canadian enthusiasm toward the conscription campaign were based on Hopkins' assumption that French Canadians lacked the call of the Anglo-Saxon blood, or the racial call to imperial defence present in English Canada. Hopkins described the anti-conscriptionism in Quebec as part of the lack of British senti-

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<sup>184</sup> Berger, The Sense of Power, 141.

ment in Quebec, perceiving Quebec as an isolated, alien and non-British part of Canada.

Rather than accusing French Canadians of being anti-British, however, Hopkins felt that English Canadians expected too much from Quebec as far as Quebec's war responsibility was concerned. Hopkins did not expect Quebec to share in the imperial loyalty of English Canadians, at least not without a "preliminary education" about "Empire responsibility and European issues and conditions."<sup>185</sup> He argued that the racial isolation of Quebec was the cause of French Canadian indifference to the war. Other factors included "fear of British Imperialism [sic], antagonism to closer British relations or larger spheres of duty, aversion to the anti-Church institutions and policy of France."<sup>186</sup>

Hopkins noted in the Canadian Annual Review that several immediate factors had led to anti-conscription feeling in Quebec, including the bilingual schools question, the "aloof" attitude of the Church, the politics of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the anti-clerical attitudes in France which offended the religious population in Quebec, and particularly the propaganda of Bourassa and his Nationalist followers. At the head of the list of the causes of French Canadian opposition, however, was racial isolationism. The racial isolationism of the province promoted pacifism, permitted the

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<sup>185</sup> Canadian Annual Review, 1917, 471.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 471-72.

development of the French Canadian form of nationalism, and resulted in Quebec's ignorance of English Canadian imperatives.<sup>187</sup> Hopkins' analysis of political circumstances in Quebec was based on this idea of Quebec as an isolated French Canadian enclave. Isolation of French Canada culturally and geographically from English Canadian influences meant, among other things, an oblivion or a disregard for events in the European arena, especially those events which affected the Empire. French Canadians were also spoken of as maintaining an inherent distrust of British imperialism, and also of France because of the anti-clericalism within that country. The insularity of French Canadians from the larger world of foreign affairs meant that the people's only source of information was their political leaders, who "told them what they liked as to other Provinces or the Empire and, in many cases, were not overscrupulous in their facts or cautious in the expression of their fancies."<sup>188</sup>

Unlike Saturday Night, Hopkins did not indict the church in stirring up anti-British feeling. However, he described the clergy as having been manipulated by nationalist politicians in imperial issues, having otherwise "held aloof from the politics and the masses."<sup>189</sup> In short, the clergy, a potential source of leadership, had failed to live up to this role. This did not make the clergy culpable in the

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 1917, 472.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 471.



matter of anti-conscriptionism in Quebec; rather, it was to suggest that French Canadians lacked leadership from traditional sources of authority in the conscription question. French Canadian public figures Laurier and Bourassa were each implicated for not providing appropriate leadership for the French-speaking masses as well. Contact with the outside world was further hindered by the suspicion of French Canadians of anti-clerical France.

In general, Hopkins attributed general ignorance, prejudice and apathy in Quebec toward the conscription effort to the racially, that is culturally, isolated state of the province. The combined malleability of the French Canadian population and the absence of responsible British leadership led to the swaying of Quebec public opinion by unscrupulous orators such as Bourassa.<sup>190</sup> French Canadians were not slackers; rather, their racial isolation had prevented the cultivation of a war spirit in French Canada as one had been cultivated in English Canada and in the United States.<sup>191</sup> Hopkins carefully avoided implicating the province of Quebec, or placing undue emphasis on French Canadian hostility toward English Canada. In this sense, Hopkins provided a response to English Canadian sources such as Saturday Night who suspected French Canadians of waging war against Ontario. At the same time, Hopkins was wary of the racially isolated state of French Canada, the absence of a British Cana-

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<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 482.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 472-73.

dian influence, and the effects of Nationalist propaganda on a people he perceived as temperamental and volatile.<sup>192</sup> "In their racial and linguistic aloofness," he wrote, "the French-Canadians could often be misled by the very enthusiasms and temperament which ordinarily would make them the best of citizens."<sup>193</sup>

The argument that French Canadians were basically simple and peaceable, but easily misled without the appropriate leadership, was echoed by M. O. Hammond in the Canadian Magazine. Hammond also subscribed to the hypothesis that because of long racial isolation and a volatile temperament, French Canadians were naturally and inherently less committed to the war effort. Like Hopkins, Hammond failed to see any danger in the province of Quebec, either from the Roman Catholic Church or from anti-British opinion. As a whole, Hammond argued, French Canadians were basically loyal, conservative and content under British rule.<sup>194</sup> Being racially isolated, French Canadians were oblivious to international events affecting the Empire. Hammond believed that a campaign of public education would aid the French Canadian in breaking free of his long-imposed isolation from international events.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 491.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 498.

<sup>194</sup> M. O. Hammond, "Ontario and Quebec: A Contrast in Opinions and Backgrounds," Canadian Magazine 41, 6 (October 1913), 544-45.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., 544-45; 548.

A similar perspective was published in Maclean's magazine, in an article by publisher John Bayne Maclean. Maclean's writings were in part motivated by a deliberate recruitment effort; he perceived himself as part of the instructional campaign which alerted English Canadians to the dangers of the German enemy and the threat to Canadian democracy. In his articles of 1917, he described the war opposition in French Canada in approximately the same terms as did Hopkins and Hammond. One article urged that an active recruiting campaign be implemented in Quebec. In the same article, he described the French Canadian as a simple peasant, "taken advantage of by political carpetbaggers."<sup>196</sup> The "noisy agitators", he felt, did not represent the opinion of the province of Quebec. French Canadians, in reality, were "a good-living, industrious, loyal, and hard-working people. They are simple, honest, trusting, and, therefore, easily imposed upon."<sup>197</sup> Because of their simple nature and their particular fondness for oratory, French Canadians were easily swayed by political orators. To counteract the effects of Nationalist rhetoric in Quebec, Maclean proposed a publicity campaign to awaken the French Canadian masses to the German threat and to stimulate the recruitment effort in that province.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> John Bayne Maclean, "Conscription in Quebec," Maclean's, 30, 12 (October 1917), 37.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 31, 2 (December 1917), 92.

Hopkins, Hammond and Maclean subscribed to a portrayal or image of the French Canadian "race" that emphasized the simple nature of the French Canadian rural dweller or habitant. This perception of French Canadians emphasized the "immutability" of the French Canadian population, or the belief that French Canadians were culturally impermeable to Anglo-Canadian concerns, and hence had to be either educated to their duties to Canada or coerced into carrying them out. In contrast to those who depicted racial and religious hatred in French Canada for everything British, they emphasized a peaceable Quebec prone to victimization by urban, anarchic and socialistic elements. Quebec, they believed, would understand its true duty to Canada once presented with a proper information campaign and provided with the right leadership, preferably from members of their own race who supported recruitment. Laurier in particular came under attack for not providing the appropriate leadership at this critical moment, along with Sir Lomer Gouin to a lesser extent. An article in the Christian Guardian accused Laurier and Gouin of placing "politics uber alles" in refusing to commit themselves to the recruitment effort in Quebec.<sup>199</sup>

Few in the English Canadian popular media deviated from this traditional perception of French Canadians, or from the fear of the volatile combination of nationalist rhetoric and an impressionable population. Under the best of conditions, French Canadians were described as an asset to the Canadian

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<sup>199</sup> Christian Guardian, 88, 36 (September 5, 1917), 16.

polity, the "conservative leavening portion of the Dominion's population."<sup>200</sup> Many English Canadians reported that most of the anti-conscription trouble in Quebec was the result of Nationalist agitation, and that French Canadians on the whole were basically cooperative and inherently law-abiding Canadians. The Presbyterian Witness reported that "rowdyism and violence have outraged the lawabiding sentiments of the French-Canadian people, in whom respect for authority is almost a instinct."<sup>201</sup> R. W. Allin, editor of the Canadian Churchman, found it "manifestly unfair" to describe all French Canadians as disloyal, but expressed concern with the poisoning influence that was driving a large section of the French Canadian population to disloyalty.<sup>202</sup> It was also difficult, wrote Allin, to counteract the Nationalist agitation "among a people who take so little interest in what goes on in other parts of the world, and who do so little independent thinking."<sup>203</sup>

But the war and in particular the Nationalist anti-war campaign led some to regard Quebec as naturally volatile and leaderless. Quebec was regarded with some apprehension, even by those who were initially sympathetic to French Canada. If there were any deviations in the image, it was in the degree of responsibility attributed to French Canadians

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<sup>200</sup> Hammond, 547-48.

<sup>201</sup> Presbyterian Witness, 70, 37 (September 15, 1917), 1.

<sup>202</sup> Canadian Churchman, 43, 50 (December 14, 1916), 791.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 44, 25 (June 21, 1917), 391.

themselves for their own folly. However, in some circles, resolving the war crisis was seen as a matter of providing the proper political education to a people with no natural or political inclination toward the war. English Canadian persuasion could subsequently fill in the vacuum left by the failure of French Canadian leadership, and currently occupied by French Canadian nationalism.

The Bonne Entente movement was perceived as one way of filling in this vacuum. J. M. Godfrey, an Ontario businessman who was one of the movement's founders, conceived of this movement as an attempt to provide the appropriate education to a reluctant French Canada. He believed that once French Canadians recognized the wartime imperative and their obligations to the Empire, recruitment could only follow. While the movement was more generally promoted as a means of improving English-French relations, Godfrey perceived the movement to bring the recruitment message to French Canadian leadership.<sup>204</sup> The spirit of cooperation between English and French Canadians which resulted from the movement was perhaps more substantial than the meetings themselves. The meetings turned into a verbal affirmation of goodwill by the participants, and avoided the subject of conscription as too controversial.<sup>205</sup> The French Canadian representatives were praised in the English Canadian press for the goodwill and

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<sup>204</sup> Bray, "A Conflict of Nationalisms," 19; Cameron, "The Bonne Entente Movement," 44-45.

<sup>205</sup> Bray, "A Conflict of Nationalisms," 19-20.

cooperation they exhibited, and the movement was hailed as an example of the ability of English and French Canadians to cooperate for common purposes.<sup>206</sup>

Few attempts were made to counteract the image of rural, conservative Quebec as depicted in the English Canadian popular press. The Star Weekly perhaps attempted to direct English Canadian perceptions of French Canada toward the modernization of the province, while other sources spoke of technological and agricultural development and innovation, as did the London edition of the Farmers' Advocate and Home Review. A regular column in that paper by "Agricola" described Quebec as a mixture of rural backwardness and "exceptional efficiency," and on one occasion wrote that the characteristics of the habitant lent themselves to the development and innovation of agriculture in the province.<sup>207</sup> However, French Canada was generally described as culturally and politically isolated from the rest of Canada, in a way reminiscent of earlier descriptions of Quebec as a medieval haven in an progressive Anglo-Saxon sea. The inherent characteristics of French Canadians were spoken of as factors militating against war recruitment, while more practical matters, such as the low level of conscriptable men in the province, were rarely mentioned. If racial iso-

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<sup>206</sup> See, for example, the Christian Guardian, 88, 31 (August 1, 1917), 7; Canadian Churchman, 44, 3 (January 18, 1917), 36.

<sup>207</sup> Farmers' Advocate and Home Review (London edition), 52 (November 1, 1917), 1699; 52 (November 15, 1797-98; 52 (December 6, 1917), 1898.

lation was responsible, in the eyes of English Canada, for the apathy and antagonism toward recruitment in Quebec, the solutions to the problem varied. Usually the problem of French Canadian enlistment was approached according to the imperative seen in English Canada to commit the resources of the country to the conduct of the war effort.

Nonetheless, French Canadians could still be depicted as subject to their own racial folly, and expected to face the consequences of their own recalcitrance. The Canadian Churchman described Quebec as "full of emotion, poetry, romance, historical tradition" and as being primarily concerned with the preservation of the French Canadian race from English Canadian domination. As understandable as French Canadian self-preservation was, the Canadian Churchman still warned that the French Canadian refusal to enlist could have repercussions for French Canadian privileges following the war. Other sources such as the Christian Guardian warned that Quebec stood to pay a high political price for its insularity. In short, French Canadians could pay for their folly through disfranchisement.



## Chapter V

### "THEIR FAIR SHARE": QUEBEC AND MILITARY REGISTRATION, 1917

By the summer of 1917, most English Canadians agreed that the province of Quebec should not be allowed any special privileges or exemptions from compulsory registration, whether from registration under the National Service Act or from selective conscription. During this period, English Canadian popular opinion moved increasingly in the direction of supporting a union government. Many English Canadians called for an increased governmental and popular effort in the prosecution of the war, and for the virtually complete mobilization of Canadian resources for the war effort. A letter written to the Canadian Churchman, for instance, found the movement toward compulsory service to be "socialistic", but necessary in light of the war emergency.<sup>208</sup> Canadian public opinion gradually moved from the principle of voluntary registration toward the previously unthinkable concept of government-enforced registration.

Quebec's reputation for opposing compulsory service is by now firmly entrenched in the historical literature. Most periodicals agreed that the number of French Canadian participants in the conflict was considerably lower than the

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<sup>208</sup> Letter by F. H. DuVernet, Prince Rupert, B. C., to the Canadian Churchman, 44, 22 (May 31, 1917), 353.

number of English Canadian combatants. While no specific figures exist on French Canadian enlistment, available sources indicate that the number of French Canadian recruits was significantly lower than those from English Canada.<sup>209</sup> The province of Quebec, of course, was not the only visible source of opposition to compulsory service. Farm and labour groups also resisted the measure, or asked for special consideration where the need for labour was particularly pressing. Furthermore, many French Canadians initially responded enthusiastically to the voluntary recruitment effort. However, Quebec received the brunt of English Canadian resentment, since the prominent Nationalists had a long record of opposing Canadian involvement in imperial warfare. More than British loyalty was involved in the English Canadian backlash against the province of Quebec. Rather, the "problem of Quebec" was contained in the English Canadian nationalistic response to the war, and was incorporated into the increasing powers given to the Canadian government in the course of prosecuting the war. As the country accepted the need for conscription, the position taken by Quebec became more and more untenable, and more out of line with Canadian war commitments and responsibilities.

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<sup>209</sup> Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921, explain the relative lag in recruitment in French Canada and the different conceptions of loyalty to Canada in Quebec and English Canada (262-265). See also J. L. Granatstein and J. M. Hitsman, Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977), 28.

The "resentment" seen in English Canada against the province of Quebec, however, was a different phenomenon than the suspicion and intolerance of a small but vociferous segment of English Canadian society.

Some journals, like the Canadian Churchman, appeared genuinely sympathetic to the racial differences between English and French Canadians, and in general respected the character brought by French Canada to the Canadian nation. However, the Canadian Churchman also supported the increasing commitment to the war effort, and believed in the necessity of conscription. The opposition and general lack of enthusiasm in the province of Quebec for the intensified recruitment drive was attributed to Quebec's racial isolation, as well as to the impact of Nationalist politics. The province of Quebec was depicted as insulated from the general conflict; the habitant, a docile rural farmer susceptible to political manipulation. Initially, the Canadian Churchman placed the responsibility for the lack of enthusiasm in Quebec on the province's political leaders. The province's leaders had failed to emphasize the urgency of the military campaign and the need for further recruitment. Without this leadership, the habitant remained in a state of ignorance and isolation.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Canadian Churchman, 44, 10 (March 8, 1917), 150.

As time wore on, the Canadian Churchman produced a harsher verdict against the province of Quebec. As the Reverend David Williams put it, "Is the rest of Canada to have its policy in the war dominated by the slacker-province of Quebec?" Williams argued in favour of suspending the franchise in French Canada if the province refused to bear an appropriate share of the enlistment burden.<sup>211</sup> Williams also insisted that the province of Quebec be compelled to follow the "will of the majority" in the conscription election of 1917, and that Quebec not be permitted exemption on the basis of racial status. The consequence of Quebec's refusal to shoulder "her fair share" would be the denial of the privileges of Canadian citizenship.

Editorials throughout the Canadian Churchman argued that French Canadians had a duty to enlist in fairness to those who did enlist, or suffer the consequences of disfranchisement. One editorial called upon Laurier and upon the Catholic Church in Quebec to influence recruiting among French Canadians.<sup>212</sup> The inhabitants of Quebec were not held entirely responsible for their lack of enthusiasm. "Spectator" reiterated in one column that the province of Quebec, lacking appropriate and responsible leadership, never had a chance to formulate a proper opinion about Canadian wartime obligations.<sup>213</sup> Nonetheless, the urgent need for enlistment

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<sup>211</sup> Ibid., 44, 26 (June 28, 1917), 408.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 44, 2 (May 31, 1917), 343.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 346.

demanded that French Canadians accept their responsibility towards the soldiers at the front and towards common Canadian goals.

We have high hopes that when [French Canadian] leaders will only risk something in leading, these people will be in the forefront of the defence of Canada, and when peace has been established they will have won for themselves a right to high influence in shaping the policies of our common country.<sup>214</sup>

The price of failing to carry out wartime obligations was high. The same source alleged that "the French-Canadian has more to lose from the point of view of his ideals and race than any other element among Canadians," and he would take a stand if he wanted to save "everything he holds dear". Furthermore, if French Canada wanted the protection of the imperial umbrella, then French Canadians would accept their imperial responsibilities.

The Canadian Churchman was not the only source to link French Canadian participation in the war to future citizenship privileges. Total commitment to the war effort was also demanded by the Methodist Christian Guardian, which foresaw a post-war realization of the commonweal. The nationalism of the Christian Guardian, and, to a lesser extent, the Canadian Churchman, contained the idealism and moral fervour often associated with the reform of Canadian society. The zeal with which the former source in particular threw itself into the war effort did not allow for popu-

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<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 347.

lar opposition to conscription, particularly not from Quebec. The Christian Guardian in particular carried on a zealous campaign against anti-conscriptionism in Quebec. The Christian Guardian supported not only conscription, but found a racial and religious commonality of purpose on the battlefields of France. One editorial described how the interaction of nations and religions at the front represented the realization of the "Commonweal":

There we have British, French, Russian, Senegalese, Indians, all fighting side by side, and Greek Catholics, Roman Catholics, Jews, and Protestants of all descriptions are fighting side by side in the great battle for freedom.<sup>215</sup>

Moreover, the same editorial drew parallels between this spiritual cooperation in France and the need to develop the commonweal in Canada:

And in Canada to-day we have the same mixture of races and even a greater variety of religious beliefs, and we must learn to work together for the development of highest racial and religious ideals. We cannot rid ourselves of the varieties of belief; we may learn to co-operate effectively for the common weal.<sup>216</sup>

The moral fervour of the Christian Guardian was very much in evidence during this period.<sup>217</sup> The province of Quebec was viewed with particular resentment in the Christian Guardian in the case of selective conscription, where the Christian Guardian warned that Quebec should not expect any

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<sup>215</sup> Christian Guardian, 88, 19 (May 9, 1917), 5-6.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> For example, editorials such as "The Coming Democracy" and "The New Earth" attest to the sense of mission with which the Christian Guardian approached the war.

privileged treatment in the drafting of conscription legislation.

the fact to put over against Quebec's opposition is the...undoubted fact that the rest of Canada strongly favors selective conscription... And the rest of Canada is in a very poor mood at the present time patiently to put up with any assumptions of the right to dictate on the part of the Province of Quebec.<sup>218</sup>

Quebec was depicted as one of the two major obstacles to the conscription campaign, the other being partisan quarrelling.<sup>219</sup> The Roman Catholic Church in particular was regarded as influencing the anti-conscription campaign in Quebec, notably the lower clergy who actively discouraged recruitment in the rural areas of Quebec. The Christian Guardian did indeed seem to believe that French Canadians were capable of exercising "real leadership" in the conscription campaign, but that they deliberately refused to do so. The Christian Guardian in general seemed to regard French Canadians as following the directives of the Quebec clergy in the conscription matter, and warned French Canadians periodically of the consequences of doing so.

Montreal correspondent Edith M. Luke, on the other hand, was more conciliatory toward French Canada than the Methodist journal's editors. She likewise perceived an absence of direction in the province of Quebec, save from the demagoguery of French Canadian Nationalist politics. Disappointed

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<sup>218</sup> Ibid., 88, 22 (May 30, 1917), 5.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., 88, 22 (March 30, 1917), 5.

in the absense of a "sane, well-balanced, patriotic Frenchman" to lead the province, she attributed French Canadian opposition not to the clergy, but to the influence of Bourassa and Le Devoir. She contended that "the Nationalists are the Sinn Feiners of this province, and, if we are not careful, we shall be rent asunder like Ireland."<sup>220</sup> The Roman Catholic clergy, meanwhile, were to blame "for opposing compulsory education, therefore keeping French Canadians illiterate and in the dark. This, of course, leaves French Canadians susceptible to the anti-conscription messages in the French newspapers."<sup>221</sup> Finally, she indicted Laurier and Gouin for failing to provide responsible leadership in the conscription campaign and for dividing Quebec from the rest of Canada. She urged that English Canadians take these factors into account and treat the province of Quebec with "understanding and goodwill."<sup>222</sup>

The Christian Guardian in general was less tolerant than its Montreal counterpart. An editorial accused French Canadians of attempting to dominate the policy of Canada, and stated that a Quebec dominated by clerical and anti-British interests was detrimental to the "wise and righteous government of the country." It was "unreasonable" to expect Canada to allow Quebec to exercise undue influence over the

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<sup>220</sup> Ibid., 88, 33 (August 15, 1917), 19.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., 88, 33 (August 15, 1917), 19.



nation during this crisis period.<sup>223</sup> Similarly, a solid Quebec was depicted as the key obstacle to union government. The Christian Guardian could contradict itself at times, at one point citing the racial isolation of the province as a reason for patience toward Quebec. But the apparently Catholic-motivated refusal to enlist rendered the province a danger to the governance of the Dominion during the war crisis. Consequently, a racially isolated and Catholic-dominated province, lacking the appropriate spirit and leadership, should not be permitted to exercise influence in the conduct of the wartime government.

Not everyone agreed that French Canadians were a danger to the wartime administration of the country. However, like the Canadian Churchman, the Presbyterian Witness of Halifax agreed that French Canadians should be made to accept the enactment of compulsory registration, despite the inherent resistance to conscription within the province. The Presbyterian Witness advocated fairness and tolerance in English Canadian dealings with the situation within Quebec, but asserted that Quebec must be dealt with "firmly and equitably" in the matter of compulsory service. French Canadian recalcitrance was not to be viewed with any degree of tolerance. One article stated that "citizenship should involve responsibility for the defence of the State as well as for the support of its institutions." The position of the Presbyterian Witness was that Quebec, if necessary, must be com-

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 88, 49 (December 12, 1917), 5.

pelled to take up its military obligations by the state.<sup>224</sup>

The Presbyterian Witness added that if Quebec were to remain anti-conscriptionist, then the province must suffer the political consequences after the war.

Those who determine otherwise should be taught a lesson on the duties of citizenship which they will not soon forget. We cannot afford to permit disloyalty to be fostered in the heart of our Dominion, and the sooner it is dealt with the better....The man who declines to fulfil the full duties of citizenship should not be allowed any say in the government of this country.

But the Presbyterian Witness also believed that for the most part, the province of Quebec was prepared to do its duty in the conflict, and that "the difficulties in the province of Quebec seem to have been greatly exaggerated." French Canadians were regarded as basically lawabiding, as a people "in whom respect for authority is almost an instinct". Any difficulties in Quebec were blamed on anarchists rather than on the provincial mood or on racial shortcomings, and the Presbyterian Witness even noted with satisfaction that

Public men, including even Nationalist leaders, are counselling strict obedience to the law. They know that organized resistance would defeat its own purpose, and morally isolate the Province from the Dominion.<sup>225</sup>

Quebec, however, continued to be advised that the best interests of the province lay in cooperating with the rest of the Dominion. The future of Quebec's citizenship in the Dominion depended upon its involvement in the conscription

<sup>224</sup> Presbyterian Witness, 70, 21 (May 26, 1917), 1.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid, 70, 37 (September 15, 1917), 1.

process. Disfranchisement was suggested as the appropriate remedy for ignoring the "duties of citizenship" and encouraging a policy which amounted to disloyalty.<sup>226</sup> The Presbyterian Witness went a step further in stating that narrow provincial interests in the crisis must necessarily be subordinated to national ends.<sup>227</sup>

Other sources in the English Canadian media echoed the opinion that Quebec not be given exempt status in the development of a policy of selective conscription, and that if conscription must be enacted, then Quebec should be obligated to accept whatever policy was decided upon by the majority. Agrarian periodicals such as the Grain Growers' Guide and the London and Winnipeg editions of the Farmer's Advocate and Home Review agreed that a selective conscription policy should be enforced in Quebec, if it were to be implemented in the rest of the country.<sup>228</sup> During the election, however, these sources also alleged that the issue of Quebec was being exploited by partisan politics, and that partisan politics was the real source of racial disunity.<sup>229</sup> Despite the reservations about conscription declared in these sour-

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 70, 37 (August 18, 1917), 1.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., 70, 45 (November 10, 1917), 4.

<sup>228</sup> Farmer's Advocate and Home Review, (London edition), 52, 1293 (July 5, 1917), 1.

<sup>229</sup> See Farmer's Advocate and Home Review (Winnipeg edition), 52, 1276 (March 7, 1917), 337; Grain Growers' Guide, May 23, 1917, 893. The issues of partisanship and conscription of wealth received greater editorial space in these journals than did the "problem of Quebec".

es, common cause was not declared with the province of Quebec. The agrarian journals were more likely to bind the province of Quebec to conscription in the interests of fairness to those who had enlisted in other parts of the country. This was indicated by the London edition of the Farmer's Advocate, whose editorial proclaimed that an "unfair conscription will be resented much more strongly than an Act which applies to all men and all resources on a fair basis."<sup>230</sup>

For other English Canadians the importance of national unity and harmony between the English and French races in Canada outweighed national wartime imperatives toward compulsory service. National unity lay in an attempt to create understanding between the two races, rather than enhancing the divisive features of English-French relations. This attitude appeared in the Toronto-based Presbyterian and Westminster, another periodical characterized by the social and religious idealism of the period. In contrast to the Christian Guardian and the Presbyterian Witness, the Presbyterian and Westminster was conciliatory rather than inflammatory. Quebec was neither patriotic nor an undesirable influence in the Canadian state. The Presbyterian periodical openly chastized those who implied that anti-conscriptionism was limited to Quebec, and appeared able to accept the Roman Catholic presence in the province as

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<sup>230</sup> Farmer's Advocate and Home Review (London edition), 52, 1293 (July 5, 1917), 1.

well.<sup>231</sup> The Presbyterian and Westminster, however, expressed concern about the deep racial divisions within the country, and about Orange and Nationalist tensions in particular.

In the providence of God we have in Canada two predominant races, differing in language and religion. Human nature, being what it is, it is not easy, under such conditions, to keep the peace and build up a united nation. But the task is made twofold harder by such unnecessary and provocative utterances as those to which we have now referred.<sup>232</sup>

For the Presbyterian and Westminster, national harmony was to be found in the spirit of Christian unity. The gospel was depicted as holding the key to breaking down the racial divisions of the country. The preservation of racial unity, furthermore, was a precursor to Canadians fulfilling their "appointed destiny among the nations of the world."<sup>233</sup> The Presbyterian and Westminster, rather than calling attention to racial distinctions, appealed to common national interests to provide a basis for mutual cooperation. The attitude of the periodical may be summarized in the following excerpt: "...it is not race and language that separate us in Canada. If we could realize the motto, 'Canada for Christ', the Christ of the Bible, the living Christ, we would find the way to unity."<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Presbyterian and Westminster, March 29, 1917, 351.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., 2, 25 (December 27, 1917), 602.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 1, 23 (June 21, 1916), 725.

The conscription question ignited the Presbyterian and Westminster's support of voluntary registration. However, the Presbyterian and Westminster appeared to avoid the call for compulsory enlistment for as long as possible. During the crisis, the Presbyterian and Westminster continued to appeal for understanding and racial harmony. Quebec was perceived as having equal and great status beside the English race in the nation. While admitting to being baffled by the problem of resolving race tensions, the periodical continued to appeal for unity between the "two great races which have built up the Dominion."<sup>235</sup> It would be impossible for one race to dominate the other over the conscription issue.

The Presbyterian and Westminster joined most of English Canadian public opinion in finding racial causes for French Canadian apathy. French Canadians lacked the sentimental attachment to the Empire experienced by English Canadians. "The French-Canadian is not to be blamed for this," asserted one editorial. "It is in the nature of things." Not being British, the French Canadian lacked "the call of the British blood."<sup>236</sup> The French Canadian also cherished "his language, his religion, his institutions" and feared submergence by the English-speaking nations.<sup>237</sup> The French Canadian resistance to the imperial rhetoric was understandable in light

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<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 1, 24 (July 5, 1917), 6.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 2, 3 (July 19, 1917), 61.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

of the need for French Canadians for racial self-preservation in an English-speaking world, and also in light of the absence of racial ties to the Empire.

The Presbyterian and Westminster, although loyal to the British empire, refused to indict Quebec for unpatriotic activity, despite the disapproval of "slackers" of any race or religion.<sup>238</sup> This refusal coincided with a genuine distaste for the idea of compulsory service, and the Presbyterian and Westminster only reluctantly accepted the view that the government should be permitted to act on conscription without consulting the people.<sup>239</sup> Throughout 1917, the periodical continued to avoid suggestions of compelling Quebec into service, either through legislation or threat. The Presbyterian and Westminster also was prepared to consider Quebec's argument against noninvolvement in an imperial war as a credible nationalist alternative. The periodical carefully avoided isolating and condemning Quebec; to do so would have meant an exacerbation of the racial conflict that the Presbyterian and Westminster wished to avoid.

The argument that racial conflict between the English and French was to be avoided, not only to enhance national unity during the crisis, but in the interests of fairness to Quebec, was articulated by George Wrong in his article, "The Bi-Lingual Problem in Canada," printed in the collection of

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<sup>238</sup> Ibid., 1, 3 (March 29, 1917), 351.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., 1, 24 (June 28, 1917), 741.

essays edited by J. O. Miller, The New Era in Canada. Wrong, a supporter of conscription and of aiding the British empire, nonetheless warned that the crisis in the country endangered national stability. Furthermore, due tolerance should be shown French Canadians during the crisis, since the province of Quebec enjoyed the theoretical status of one of the two great races which had founded the Dominion. Wrong placed the two races on a theoretically equal footing, even though he continued to conceive of French Canadians as an actual minority to be treated with openness and tolerance on the part of English Canada.<sup>240</sup> Undermining the French Canadian race would be, in effect, to split the country apart; Wrong also avoided implicating French Canada as the sole instigator of the conscription controversy, stating that adequate reasons existed for the reluctance of French Canadians to enlist en masse.<sup>241</sup>

That the province of Quebec deserved the fair treatment to be accorded to minorities under the Canadian constitution was the burden of the Northwest Review. In response to demands made elsewhere in English Canada that Quebec be compelled to accept compulsory legislation, the Winnipeg-based Catholic paper portrayed Quebec as entitled to the protection of any minority in Canada.<sup>242</sup> The Northwest Review championed the rights of Quebec as a minority province, and

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<sup>240</sup> Wrong, "The Bi-Lingual Question," 259.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., 244-45.

<sup>242</sup> Northwest Review, 31, 9 (January 16, 1917), 8.



furthermore consistently portrayed the recruitment record in Quebec as more than adequate, arguing that both enthusiasm and the number of recruits was high.<sup>243</sup> If there was any substantial opposition in Quebec to conscription, it was "not a protest against Canada taking part in the war--it is evidence of strong and serious objection in the methods employed by the administration."<sup>244</sup> In other words, it was erroneous to perceive Quebec as the sole source of anti-conscription sentiment, and Quebec was actually protesting the opportunism of the Borden government and partisan politics, and the undemocratic nature of conscription legislation.

The Northwest Review blamed the Borden government and the eastern Canadian press for inciting racial and religious quarrels between English and French, and for provoking antagonism at a time when national unity was needed to sustain the war effort. Quebec's sensitivity to the conscription issue was described as being largely defensive, and the product of political blundering and mishandling of the recruitment effort by the Borden government, particularly in the appointment of Sir Sam Hughes as minister of militia.<sup>245</sup> Racial causes were only occasionally cited as reasons for French Canadian failure to wholeheartedly endorse the war effort. For instance, it was stated that French Canadians

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<sup>243</sup> See, for instance, Northwest Review, 30, 43 (September 2, 1916), 1; 30, 45 (September 16, 1916), 1.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, 31, 30 (May 26, 1917), 8.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, 31, 33 (June 16, 1917), 4.

lacked the sentimental attachment of English Canadians for the Empire. Furthermore, French Canadians were described as an agricultural people unaccustomed to war. As well, having been separated from France for so long, Quebec also lacked the sentimental ties to the mother country which would stimulate French Canadians to enlist in her aid.<sup>246</sup> When racial considerations were invoked, however, they were to further illustrate that the reasons for French Canadian opposition fell within the bounds of logic, and that French Canadians could not be compelled to fight a war without taking into account their peculiar racial circumstances.

Eventually, the Northwest Review endorsed conscription, when it became clear that conscription legislation was unavoidable, and also urged opponents in the province of Quebec to accept the policy endorsed by the 1917 election. At one point, the argument from the responsibilities of citizenship was invoked to support the passing of the Military Service Bill. "The right to protection," ran the editorial written on the eve of the Military Service Act, "carries with it the duty of defending the liberties enjoyed. He who would refuse to do his share when called upon would therefore forfeit every right to citizenship."<sup>247</sup> In the end, even for the Northwest Review, the duties of citizenship outweighed minority rights in the matter of compulsory registration.

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<sup>246</sup> Ibid., 30, 43 (September 2, 1916), 1.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., 31, 16 (February 24, 1917), 8.

In the English Canadian popular press, the racial attributes of French Canadians could either be a cause or a militating factor as an explanation for the province's apparently low war recruitment record, and for the general opposition seen to conscription within the province. For some, the situation in Quebec was more troublesome than for others. French Canadians could be perceived as attempting to impose their will on the Dominion, and as deliberately impeding the assistance rendered to the British war effort. For others, French Canadians needed to be held to their wartime obligations, or lose the privileges of citizenship. Yet others perceived French Canadians as naturally disinclined to participation in a British war, and instructed that the French Canadian perspective be taken into account in attempting to reason with the province.

However, other dimensions informed the English Canadian outlook. The wider cultural debate appears to have been between accepting conscription as part of the duties of citizenship, or applying selective conscription to take into account the rights of the minority. Ultimately, the problem of Quebec was combined during the conscription crisis with the imperative attached to the prosecution of the war effort, and to compulsory registration. More than Quebec's duty to Canada was involved in the demand that French Canadians do their fair share. Quebec's place in the Dominion was also at stake. During the crisis, English Canadians

could demand that French Canadians lose the privileges of citizenship, and be confined to their province; others could insist that the dual race status of Canada be retained and that Quebec be treated with the conciliation befitting the status of French Canadians as one of the two founding races. The debate about French Canadian conscription effectively excluded the idea that a solution could be found that merged the best interests and best qualities of the two "founding races". Any idea of a composite Canadian character and a fusion of the races would appear to have become irrelevant to the debate.

## Chapter VI

### THE FRENCH CANADIAN "NATION" IN THE ENGLISH CANADIAN MIND

Following the results of the "khaki election", English Canadians who had previously declared harshly against French Canada suddenly stressed the need for reconciliation with French Canada. Elizabeth Armstrong's The Crisis of Quebec confirms this impression, stating that following the December 1917 election, coverage of Quebec in English Canadian daily newspapers was all but abandoned. Armstrong attributes the virtual cessation of editorial commentary on Quebec to a general censorship imposed in April 1918 on Canadian newspapers by the Union government under war measures legislation.<sup>248</sup> More importantly, however, was the official policy of conciliation towards Quebec. The issue of Quebec did not drop entirely out of sight, but the magazines that had previously been so obsessive about French-English relations virtually abandoned their discussions of Quebec by January 1918.

The few articles that discussed French Canada were also conciliatory. Even the Christian Guardian guardedly encouraged a conciliatory approach toward the province of Quebec:

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<sup>248</sup> Armstrong, The Crisis of Quebec, 242.

At this time of strained feeling the advice that we in the other parts of Canada refrain from saying the unkind and offensive thing about our French-Canadian fellow citizens is sane and altogether Christian counsel. The further suggestion that we try seriously to come to a better understanding and more sympathetic appreciation of them should be heard and heeded with all sincerity....A spirit of reasonable and intelligent conciliation seems to be the demand of the hour.<sup>249</sup>

The Canadian Churchman editorialized that "bitter feelings and reckless language" would only widen the racial breach left by the war.<sup>250</sup> Similarly, "Spectator" enjoined English Canadians to treat French Canada with fairness and respect for the French Canadian faith and traditions, stating to English Canadian readers that "if anyone hopes to make Protestants and Britons out of French-Canadians he is chasing a chimera."<sup>251</sup> Saturday Night, long a bitter opponent of the Quebec Roman Catholic clergy and of French Canadian nationalism, also added a comparatively conciliatory note to its post-election editorials. While blaming the clergy and public figures for the racial divisions between English and French Canada, the paper commented that "[political] cleavage on racial lines is at all times unfortunate, and it is a sad commentary on our present-day enlightenment that we, somehow or other, find it difficult to live together in peace, honor and contentment."<sup>252</sup> Saturday Night's editori-

<sup>249</sup> Christian Guardian, 89, 2 (January 9, 1918), 6. The editorial, however, also insisted that Quebec had to "do her share" to achieve peace, good will and commonality of purpose.

<sup>250</sup> Canadian Churchman, 44, 51 (December 20, 1917), 816.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., 45, 1 (January 3, 1918), 6.

als contained words of praise for those Quebec-based newspapers that publicly supported Union government and the acceptance of the Military Service Act.<sup>253</sup>

Shortly after, a commentary in the same paper accused Quebec of being "out of step" with the rest of Canada by not having voted for Union government.<sup>254</sup> Clearly English-French tensions were not greatly diminished or alleviated as a result of the new attitude of conciliation. The aftermath of the crisis provided the opportunity for some English Canadians to rethink English-French relations, and to provide suggestions for modifying the racialism with which English Canadians viewed French Canada. The need appeared to be for English Canadians to establish better relations with their French Canadian counterparts, by softening the barriers presented by race and aiming for cooperation based on education and understanding. Throughout, the racial temperament of Quebec, as perceived by English Canadians, was never modified. Rather, English-Canadians were asked to soften their outlook toward the racial differences of the province of Quebec, in order to enhance cooperation in common goals.

One of the postwar spokesmen in favour of race reconciliation was George M. Wrong. Wrong, always a sympathetic student and defender of French Canadians, was a spokesman in

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<sup>252</sup> Saturday Night, December 29, 1917, 1.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, January 5, 1918, 1.

favour of submerging the individual differences between the two races in favour of common national goals. In some ways, Wrong was merely reiterating the "race fusion" outlook of some years earlier. In a 1925 address read before the Canadian Historical Association, he reminded historians that English and French Canadians shared similar racial origins, and their differences had resulted from environmental modifications rather than from inherent biological differences.<sup>255</sup> Wrong's address contained a refutation of scientific or biological racism as the basis of differences between the French and English in Canada. He discounted the idea that there were immutable racial barriers to keep apart the two races, and the proof was the common racial ancestry of the English and the French. The differences between English and French Canadians were cultural, not biological. Or, as Wrong stated, "The differences are those of education and tradition. There is no mysterious gulf of race to be bridged."<sup>256</sup>

In English Canada, the European conflict had been explained as a conflict of nationalisms, and a similar analysis was now being applied to English-French relations in Canada. Perhaps wishing to avoid the ominous example of recent European conflict, Wrong found it imperative to be conciliatory toward French Canada after 1917. Doubtless the

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<sup>255</sup> George M. Wrong, "The Two Races in Canada", in the Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1925, 22.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid.



conflict of nationalisms in Europe was in Wrong's thoughts as he attempted to smooth over the concurrent English-French tensions in Canada. He urged readers in English Canada to remember the spirit of France in the war, and the "common allegiance" which united England and France in the grim struggle.<sup>257</sup> As well as the common purpose which united English and French Canadians, Wrong urged Canadians to remember the spirit of the compact which had made English and French both official languages of Canada. He suggested that English Canadians, in recognition of this compact, should themselves become bilingual.<sup>258</sup>

Here, he moved to a new level of cooperation that recognized distinction based on language, rather than emphasizing fusion. Wrong, emphasizing conciliation between the two races, called upon both English and French Canadians to do their share. He almost seemed content to let the two people manage their respective cultures, and to depend upon common national perspectives for racial harmony. He further reiterated that French Canada be treated with the same tolerance shown to any minority under British rule, and suggested that an educational campaign be conducted to promote better relations between the races.<sup>259</sup> Speaking highly of the Bonne Entente movement as an example of promoting cooperation between the two races, Wrong indulged in the "comforting

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<sup>257</sup> Ibid., 259.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

<sup>259</sup> Wrong, "The Two Races in Canada," 27.

reflection that special dangers arouse special efforts to counteract them."<sup>260</sup> Conciliation based on recognition of differences, and not suppression, provided the answer to the Canadian racial troubles of the war years.

O. D. Skelton, meanwhile, writing in Queen's Quarterly, emphasized several times that Quebec as a province remained culturally distinct and isolated during the conflict, and that much of this isolation had indeed been exacerbated by Anglo-Saxon imperialism and "centralizing imperial schemes" that had driven Quebec into "the shell of a narrow provincialism."<sup>261</sup> He felt that "sympathetic co-operation" could have brought English and French Canadians together into a "broad and positive Canadianism," adding ironically that "Quebec Nationalism is the other side of Ontario Imperialism."<sup>262</sup> For Skelton, conciliation meant the subordinating of narrow minority and racial interests for the sake of a wider Canadianism. In October 1918, he restated this point, writing that

If we can put foresight in place of drifting, and team-play in place of class and race and sectional wrangling, there is no reason why we cannot merely carry the burdens of war but grapple with the greater tasks of peace, in the efforts to enable Canada to take its full share in the work of the world and to make our country in reality a land of freedom and equal opportunity...<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Wrong, "The Bi-lingual Question," 256.

<sup>261</sup> O. D. Skelton, "Conscription," Queen's Quarterly, 25, 2 (October-December 1917), 226.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., 26, 2 (October 1918), 228.

The racial tensions of the bilingual schools controversy and the conscription issue prompted a repudiation of the intolerant Anglo-Saxonism in much of English Canada, as well as a repudiation of theories of biological determinism which might have had a further detrimental impact on race relations between English and French in Canada. A popular statement of this repudiation, William Henry Moore's The Clash! A Study in Nationalities contained both these elements.<sup>264</sup> Moore, a prolific writer, an industrialist, and a Liberal politician, attempted to describe French Canadians as a cohesive, almost autonomous, nationality, which he described as a "national culture". Moore's description of French Canada emphasized the features which indeed made French Canada a "national culture", including linguistic, racial and religious unity. Moore found this distinction to be vital; he urged the recognition of French Canada as a nationality, and that French Canada be treated as a distinct nationality within the Canadian nation for the purposes of national harmony.<sup>265</sup>

The Clash! was an unscholarly but otherwise provocative book. It admonished English Canadians in Ontario for displaying a "Prussian mentality" in the bilingual schools question.

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<sup>264</sup> William Henry Moore, The Clash! A Study in Nationalities, (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Limited, 1918).

<sup>265</sup> Ibid., 12-13.

In the unreasoning of Ontario and Manitoba, I can find only a clear-cut adherence to the German principle, a supreme egotism of Teutonic sort in exaggerating the necessity of the culture of the majority and disregarding the value of the culture of the minority, and above all the insistence that the dominant nationality--the twelve-to-one superiority--shall always decide what is right. Not even Treitschke has phrased the doctrine of the supreme power of the State in bolder terms.<sup>266</sup>

Moore located the source of Canadian racial problems in doctrines of racial superiority held in English Canada. Herein "lay the well of Canada's national trouble. To fix the badge of inferiority upon a race is the unpardonable sin of nationalities."<sup>267</sup> He stated that "immutable ethnical differences" had little bearing on Canada's racial problems, which he perceived as a conflict of nationalisms rather than the separation of the two races by racial barriers.<sup>268</sup> Like Wrong, he subscribed to the theory of similarity of racial origin between French and English Canadians. His foray into scientific racialism, in which he contrasted the research of Madison Grant and l'abbe S.-A. Lortie of Laval University, led him to the conclusion that there were no real racial distinctions between English and French Canadians.<sup>269</sup> Moore repudiated Anglo-Saxonism entirely, denouncing not only the notion of racial superiority but the belief in race purity.

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<sup>266</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid., 69-71.

Moore's depiction of French Canadians themselves was often patronizing, but well-intentioned. He described them as a nearly homogeneous nationality, emphasizing the racial, linguistic and religious homogeneity within Quebec to an almost inordinate degree. He almost seemed to regard French Canada as a pure nationality, preserved in a way not seen on the European continent.<sup>270</sup> He overtly admired the French Canadian nationality, in particular admiring the romantic and picturesque history of the province of Quebec, and the "tenacious will to preserve" characteristic of French Canadians.<sup>271</sup> On the other hand, he regarded the French Canadian aptitude for trade and commerce as less well honed than the English Protestant aptitude, arguing that "the French-Canadian is not ground to so fine a business edge in the Church school as the English-Canadian in the State school." He added the consoling thought that the French Canadian student was taught a better "philosophy of life", and that perhaps state educational facilities were neglecting spiritual training in favour of practical education.<sup>272</sup> Moore added nothing new to prior racial conceptions about the French Canadian mentality and culture.

The review of The Clash! in the Review of Historical Publications protested that Moore's parallel to the German state of the treatment of French Canadians was overstated

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<sup>270</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., 11-12.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., 106-07.

and inappropriate.<sup>273</sup> Moore indeed did appear deeply affected by the European conflict of nationalities, and asked English Canadians not to force an English mentality on the minority French Canadian group. He likened the Canadian tensions to the Prussian oppression of their minority groups, and asked English Canadians to treat French Canadians with a Christian conscience and that the British principle of tolerance for minorities under British rule prevail. He described it as immoral and unjust to "force" the French Canadian nationality into an English-speaking mould.

"Modern Europe cannot allow a people to be seized like a herd of cattle; she cannot continue deaf to the repeated protests of threatened nationalities, she owes it to her instinct of self-preservation to forbid such uses of power." So cried Alsace-Lorraine in 1871 when on the verge of losing the free exercise of those thoughts and habits of life which were dearer to them than any other because they were their own. So cries French Canada in Ontario and Manitoba to-day.<sup>274</sup>

The revulsion against the Anglo-Saxon temperament was also central to Percival Fellman Morley's Bridging the Chasm.<sup>275</sup> A public servant employed by the Department of Health, Morley published a book in 1919 which addressed the consequences of the bilingual schools and conscription issues. Bridging the Chasm was Morley's only book; he remained with the civil service until 1933, and died an

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<sup>273</sup> Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada, vol. 22, 67-8.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid., 293-94.

<sup>275</sup> Percival Fellman Morley, Bridging the Chasm: A Study of the Ontario-Quebec Question, (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1919), 31.

untimely death by drowning three years later.<sup>276</sup> Morley also saw the race crisis in Canada as a failing in the Anglo-Saxon temperament, and criticized the intolerance for the French Canadian minority in English-speaking Canada, basing his work on a repudiation of Anglo-Saxonism and a concern for the rights of the minority in Canadian society.

But Morley was not speaking of a nationality with an equal share in the Canadian nation. He described French Canada, although sympathetically, as the "conquered race", a race which unfortunately had been isolated and made defensive by English Canadian attempts to assimilate them. Morley depicted French Canadians as

an isolated people, adrift from their motherland, and stranded in a New World alien to themselves in race, language and religion and out of harmony with their ideals; a minority continually haunted by the tragic possibility of the ultimate disappearance from this continent of their language and civilization.<sup>277</sup>

In short, French Canadian nationalism was actually justified by circumstances.

Like Skelton and Sissons, Morley felt that English Canadians had contributed to and sustained the misunderstandings between the two groups, criticizing the English Canadian mentality for placing French Canadians on the defensive. He described the failings of the English Canadian character as

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<sup>276</sup> Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. II, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1945), 467. See also Berger, The Writing of Canadian History, 18.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid., 31.

intolerance, an ingrained sense of superiority, and a lack of sympathetic understanding for the plight of minorities under British rule.

Deep-rooted in the constitution of our British Ontarian there is more than a little of the dogma that the foreign is inferior and wrong, more than a little of the traditional British prejudice that contemplates another race and complexion [sic] and manner and hears the facile flow of a speech incomprehensible to Anglo-Saxon ears, with a mixture of pity and contempt, chiefly the latter.<sup>278</sup>

English Canada could assist the process of a harmonious reconciliation between the two races by displaying less arrogance, less emphasis on Anglo-Saxon superiority, and greater empathy in their conduct towards the French Canadian minority. Morley also urged English Canadians to remember the British principle of tolerant treatment of captive minorities, and to exercise toleration of the different religious and cultural outlook of the French Canadian group.<sup>279</sup>

While Morley and Moore attempted to tone down the racialism of their English Canadian counterparts, they did not contribute to a redirected description of the French Canadian "race." Morley spoke highly of several cultural traits of French Canada, not the least of which was the more idealistic and less materialistic outlook of French Canada. The "wholesomeness and simplicity and idealism" of French Canada "constitutes a refreshing contrast to the depressing monotony of our over-commercialized existence."<sup>280</sup> Quebec's piety,

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<sup>278</sup> Ibid., 100.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid., 169-70.



the "love of poetry and legend," the racial and linguistic pride, imparted a European flavour to the province. The rural habitant was still very much like his Norman ancestors.

Plain-living, pious, deeply, almost religiously attached to his native hearth and soil; content with the wholesome joys; loyal to the faith he believes the true one, yet not unfriendly toward his neighbour who differs from him and whom, forgetful of differences of race and creed, he receives into his home; the real French-Canadian exhibits the sociability, courtesy, and hospitality of his race.<sup>281</sup>

Morley believed that an aggressive English Canadian society had much to derive from the tempering influence of their calmer French Canadian neighbours.

But Morley also believed that French Canadians could do more to develop harmonious relations with English Canada by easing out of their insularity and becoming more willing to work toward wider national goals.

Precious though the French-Canadian heritage may be, is there not such a thing as identifying it too closely with race and exclusiveness? Could not Quebec, while still preserving her chosen form of life, identify herself more completely with the interests and activities of the larger Canada? Would she not be the gainer by doing so?<sup>282</sup>

The rebuke was mild. Morley asked his readers to concentrate less on the failings of the French Canadians, and more on the arrogance in their own temperament. However, the racialism common to English Canadians still manifested

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<sup>280</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid., 168-69.

itself in Morley. The main distinction offered by Bridging the Chasm was, like Moore, the attempt to moderate the racialism of the Anglo-Saxon temperament rather than a modification of the racial characterization of French Canada. In effect, the war brought home to some English Canadians the dangers inherent in an overzealous national spirit. In their modified or softened outlook toward race relations in Canada, they endeavoured to prevent a European crisis from surging up in Canada, rather than aiming at a more equitable racial picture of French Canada.

By 1917, English Canadians regarded French Canadians in an almost obsessive manner, brought on by the sense of crisis which developed in English Canada in those years. As English Canadians began to insist on the homogenization of the national culture, attitudes toward the minority French Canadian province hardened, and the degree of tolerance or accommodationism in English Canadian thinking lessened. The intolerance was re-examined following the conscription election, as some English Canadians asked their compatriots to soften their previous approach to English-French relations. Also following the election, however, was the belief that English-French relations in general should take into account the cultural distinctions between the two groups, rather than being based on the possibility of integrating the two groups into a common nationality.

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In the bilingual schools controversy and the conscription crisis, French Canadians were portrayed in a way consistent with the race thinking and hypotheses about race relations of the period. Most English Canadians surveyed did not speak of Quebec in terms of the social and economic realities of the province. Analyses and conceptions of French Canadian attributes were generally based on a conception of the French Canadian "race" as rural, picturesque, pious and simple, yet boasting a native intelligence which had never been brought forward under the institutions of the province. Virtually without fail, the province of Quebec was described as isolated from the English-speaking world. This insularity created a number of problems for English Canadians, particularly those who feared some of the attitudes and institutions they saw as governing the province. To others, this insularity created a population whose greatest value was charm and a picturesque addition to the Canadian cultural landscape. For some, this attribute provided an addition to the national character as well; for others, it meant the charge and care of a people seen as unused to looking out for themselves in matters of national importance. Regardless, French Canadians were portrayed in ways not uncommon to the more general attitudes towards race and culture during this period, attitudes which obscured the reality, and often rights, of French Canadians during the crises of 1916 and 1917.

Common elements to the English Canadian depiction of French Canadians may be discerned, notably the belief that French Canadians were a racially isolated remnant of French society, protected in their language and traditional ways of life by the Roman Catholic Church, and allowed to survive in an English Canadian society by the beneficence of British rule. Virtually without exception, all English Canadians portrayed French Canada in these terms, although they differed substantially in the ways in which they regarded their "medieval" French neighbour. Even sympathetic English Canadians by 1917 wished to bring French Canadians out of ways which they saw as medieval, in order to incorporate them more fully with English Canadian society. To others, the isolation of the province created a mentality which demanded too many privileges, and a greater share in the national government than their contributions to the Canadian state allowed. Still others perceived the province, as well as religious and political elements in the province, as conducting a deliberate and calculated assault on English Canada. Significantly, major post-war statements about French Canadians tended to identify their traits as distinctive and even immutable.

During the crises of 1916 and 1917, the general racial images of French Canada had changed very little from the image of the French colony depicted in the 1880's. What had altered by 1917, or rather disappeared, was the belief that

French Canada could be culturally united with English Canada in a common Canadian nationality. By war's end, this belief had all but vanished in the midst of a growing English Canadian nationalism. Signs of this change had appeared in 1916 during the bilingual schools controversy, when it was almost unanimously agreed that the status of the French language should be curtailed for practical purposes and for purposes of national unity. The conscription controversy and the war atmosphere of patriotism brought to a complete end the belief that French and English interests could be "fused" or united in a common Canadian nationality. By war's end, English Canadians had all but ceased to speak of a common Canadian culture based on the union of the "two founding races," emphasizing instead the separateness of each and the status of French Canadians as the minority group.

It has been said that the attitudes of a nation observing another reflect not the nation under observation, but the values of the nation doing the observing.<sup>283</sup> English Canadians in 1916 and 1917, responding to immigration and to the war effort, described French Canadians in ways which reflected the English Canadian conceptions of national unity and national consciousness. For instance, some perceived English values as more modern and progressive than French Canadian values, and hoped the latter would stabilize the

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<sup>283</sup> Wise, "The Annexation Movement and Its Effect on Canadian Opinion, 1837-67," 95-97; Potter, "Canadian Views of the United States as a Reflex of Canadian Values: A Commentary," 121-22.

former, as much as they hoped for the relinquishing of French Canadian "isolation". By contrast, some English Canadians perceived the survival of the province as dependent upon British institutions and upon English Canadian good will, and hinted darkly that French Canadians should not try to exercise any more powers than they had earlier been permitted under British rule. Any demand for linguistic parity or any nationalist statement made by French Canadians was regarded as an affront to English Canada, and as a challenge to English Canadian stability that would not be tolerated. In between were individuals who regarded French Canadians as inherently peaceable, but excitable and easily led, and subsequently requiring firm direction to prevent the development of anarchy within the province.

While English Canadians generally entertained similar racial images of French Canada, they perceived different implications in the concept of an insular French Canadian race. In part, these differences may be accountable in the different racialist strains of English Canadian nationalist thought. In particular, the concept of "race fusion" appears to have been most congenial to the accommodation of French Canada within a united Canadian national character, while others perceived the French Canadian race as unassimilable because of its non-English nature. At times, the antipathy toward the French Canadian race was mingled with a distrust of the Roman Catholic religion which infused the

province. This latter strain in English Canadian nationalist thinking produced some of the most vitriolic anti-French rhetoric in English Canada, marked by an extremist faction which perceived French Canadians as agents of Rome in the Roman Catholic Church's attempt to control Canada.

Different resolutions to the problem of English-French relations abounded in the Canada of 1916 and 1917. The key debate emerged between those who perceived French Canadians as a minority people or culture to be confined to a particular geographical and political area, and those who gave recognition to a theoretical conception of the equality of the two societies within the polity. These conceptions competed in the English Canadian dialogue about the "problem of Quebec", and represent divergent views of the racial character of the nationalism of the Dominion in the war and postwar period. They also represent an inability in English Canada to perceive the French Canadian race as other than insular and isolated from the changes and the concerns which dominated wartime Canada. To an extent, this belief in the racial isolationism of French Canada prejudiced English Canadians against a full acceptance of French Canadians as co-equal partners during this stage of national development.

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