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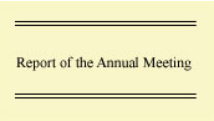

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CULTURAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF FRENCH-CANADIAN NATIONALISM

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THIS paper attempts to single out some basic points of reference for a sociological analysis of French-Canadian nationalism.[1] Our specific purpose is to consider this development from its origins, in terms of its successive symbols, leaders, trends, and expressions; to analyse the psychological, social, and political factors which made it possible at different periods, as well as the institutional or associational devices which canalized it. Particular reference is made to the various segments of the local society which it actually touched. The attempt is broad and perhaps too ambitious. This essay can hardly be more than a sketchy survey and it may very well frustrate both the historians and the sociologists. It can though, at least raise questions if it does not bring coherent answers. This in itself, we assume, may be worthwhile, particularly so if the historians' and the sociologists' interest is stimulated toward further investigation of this complex aspect of French-Canadian history.

For the sake of clarity, an important distinction must first be made between nationalism, as such, and patriotism. Basically, patriotism means devotion to one's country. It is a sentiment of loyalty by virtue of which one feels identified with the political community.[2] It implies a spontaneous reference to the sharing of a common soil, language, culture, history, folkways, customs, and values, all of which result in a sense of pride as well as a sense of duty to the group. Sociologically, it means the satisfaction of belonging, on the national level, to a "we-group" and to live with the "insiders," as Sumner puts it, "in a relation of peace, order, law, government and industry to each other."[3]

On the other hand, neither the word nor the fact of nationalism are simple things. Historically, the word was born in most languages around the turn of the nineteenth century to give expression to an individual or collective phenomenon which had oftentimes existed long before. Its meanings have nowadays in many countries become subtly varied and are apt to create great confusion. This has happened in Canada and especially in French Canada. Thus, very often, nationalism may refer only to an acute sense of group-consciousness developed among a people and it can hardly be differentiated from plain patriotism. It implies "the tendency to place a particularly excessive, exaggerated, and exclusive emphasis on the value of the nation at the expense of other values, which leads to a vain and unfortunate overestimation of one's nation and thus to a detraction of

[1]Cf. the Abbé Arthur Maheux, "Le Nationalisme canadien-français à l'aurore du XXe siècle" *(Canadian Historical Association Report,* 1945, 58-74).

[2]Francis W. Coker, article on "Patriotism" *(Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* XI, 26).

[3]W. G. Summer *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), 12.

others."[4] Nationalism in this sense generally also implies a closer drawing together within a group, most frequently within the framework of a political structure, with its leaders, its symbols, and its historical myths. It can be defensive, militant, offensive or bitterly aggressive. It is connected more closely with the notion of "race" and, to that extent, springs from or leads to ethnocentricism and chauvinisms of all sorts. It is also very often related to the idea of a "national mission," supposedly vested by God in the group conceived as the object of divine election and the true bearer of a millennial responsibility of some sort. The people comes to consider itself, to use Dostoievski's word, a "God-bearing" people.

Such may be the political or sociological components of nationalism. We have to see to what extent French-Canadian nationalism historically has combined these elements in a more or less continuous pattern in the course of its successive phases. These dialectical phases fall, in our opinion, under three characteristic headings: (1) the preliminary growing of defensive nationalism with Papineau, followed by the crystallization of constitutional nationalism under the Union régime; (2) the rebound of nationalism on the racial level during the Mercier episode, around 1885; (3) finally, the "Canadian," anti-imperialist nationalism of Bourassa, at the beginning of this century till the end of the First World War.

I. The Development of Constitutional Nationalism

(1) *The Growing of Defensive Nationalism*

It is true that the complicated canvas of history often makes it hard to single out the threads of patriotism from those of nationalism. They intertwine and may be reciprocal functions of each other. Their difference may not amount to much more than that between shades along the spectrum. Even so, one could hardly say that nationalism existed in French Canada before the moment of the British conquest. Patriotism itself, during the French régime, was more latent than explicit. The soil-tilling habitants, the adventurers, the soldiers, the bureaucratic seigneurs as well as the clergy, busy as they were at their respective parts in the defence and the shaping of a growing society nevertheless developed, during this century and a half, collective traits which made the French of Canada different from those of France. Montcalm in his diary notices many biases and resentments of the "Canadians" against the French.

Group-consciousness and patriotic feeling really developed only after the British conquest, as a result of isolation, contrast, and struggle with the culturally-alien conquering group. The history of the French-Canadian society during the first thirty or forty years of English domination is one of great internal diversity and gradual shifting of attitudes. The incoming English-speaking group was, on the whole, of two sorts. There were, first, the politically liberal-minded British military officers and functionaries sent to Canada in the last period of George III who tried, often with partial success, to gain the sympathy of the local population. There were, on the other hand, the merchants, and the adventurers, mostly from New England, who descended on the new British colony and showed openly

[4] Max Hildebert Boehm, article on "Nationalism" (*Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, XI, 231).

hostile ambitions and attitudes toward both the local population and even the British administrators. French-Canadian attitudes toward the "English" developed variously among the segments of an emerging new French-Canadian society. The clergy, still imbued with the absolutist tradition of the French monarchy, ideologically linked with Rome and always respectful of the established authority, accepted the British government of the country with moderation, strength, and tact and did more than any other group to rally the rural mass to the conqueror and have them accept the new régime. The local nobility, professionally a functionary caste which, it is now acknowledged, remained in much greater numbers than had been formerly assumed, found great affinities with the English aristocracy of functionaries and professional soldiers. There were gradually English-French intermarriages. There were also some between English and the two other important French-Canadian upper social classes, the wealthy merchants and the professional group. These people were almost all on the side of the British governors and administrators, and against the Anglo-American party. They remained however critical of the new régime as well as of its functionaries whenever they felt these were wrong. The significant fact is that this process of gradual identification of the well-to-do French Canadians with the British ruling group also meant an ever-widening gap between the French-Canadian rural and city masses and their intellectual or commercial leaders—a gap which became even greater than the one which had existed during the French régime.[5]

During the last part of the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth centuries, especially around the time of the Quebec Act of 1774 and the Constitution of 1791, national solidarity grew into an acute form of political consciousness. French Canadians sensitively felt their minority political status while, at the same time, they remained quite naturally aware of being what Everett-C. Hughes describes as "the charter members" of the country.[6] This was a period of strife against the ruling power, stimulated by the struggle for the recognition of civil and constitutional rights.[7] This culminated in the events of 1837-8 and the name of Papineau dominates this period. Papineau later became a violent symbol of nationalism and it is generally assumed that he was himself a nationalist, that French-Canadian nationalism actually originated from him. Filteau in his *Histoire des Patriotes* overly stresses this idea.[8] Papineau was actually a nationalist but we may question whether, in the first part of his life, that is, the active part which he lived here before his stay in Paris and which is really important in our history, he was profoundly under the influence of contemporary European trends of thought regarding the principle of na-

[5]Léon Gérin, "L'Intérêt sociologique de notre histoire au lendemain de la conquête" (*Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne*, I, mai, 1915, 3 ff.).

[6]Everett C. Hughes, *Rencontre de deux mondes* (Montreal, 1946), foreword.

[7]It has been suggested that the year 1806 in which the first issue of the newspaper *Le Canadien* was published might be considered as the original date in the history of French-Canadian nationalism. The actual role of the press in French Canada's political life will be better appreciated when the complete history of French-Canadian newspapers will have been systematically studied as an integral part of our total social history. See Séraphin Marion, *Lettres canadiennes d'autrefois* (Ottawa, 1939).

[8]Gérard Filteau, *Histoire des Patriotes* (vols., Montreal, 1939), especially vol. I, book II; vol. III, book VIII, ch. I, II.

tionality.[9] He was rather a great parliamentary liberal, a great patriot forced by the circumstances to be a nationalist.

During the elections of 1827, the former Canadian party became officially known, under the lead of Papineau, as the Patriots' party, being, as they said, "the friends of the king, of the constitution and of the country."[10] A few years later, the party adopted a rallying flag which consisted of three horizontal stripes bearing the colours of green, white, and red, not dissimilar to the French revolutionary tricolour. The party was reshaped and systematically organized for national political action in 1834 at the moment of the "92 Resolutions." It then included a most impressive array of political leaders and orators: Lafontaine, Viger, Morin, Nelson, Duvernay, Parent, and, above all, Papineau. Its philosophy was largely derived from the prevalent continental catchwords of social progress, democracy, reform, and liberty. It was liberal with a view to integrating the Canadian tradition into a fully worked out framework of British parliamentary institutions. Some newspapers shared its cause and diffused its ideas among the population: in Montreal, the *Vindicator, La Minerve* published by Duvernay and having as its regular collaborators most of the leaders of the Patriots' party; in Quebec the *Liberal, Le Canadien,* published by the firmly reasonable Etienne Parent who had coined as his motto the patriotic slogan: "Nos institutions, notre langue et nos droits"; the *Echo du Pays,* the *Township Reformer, Le Fantasque* etc. Besides, the party included as its central feature the overall body of the *Comité Central et Permanent* which centralized information and propaganda and which, through the channels of a hierarchical structure of local sub-committees, had the duty of organizing meetings, providing speakers and literature, and otherwise uniting and stimulating the "popular forces."

The so-called nationalism of Papineau and of his followers expressed itself on the political and economic levels. Economically, the Patriots' attitude took the form of boycotting British products. But, on the whole, in our opinion, the events of 1837-8 were of too local a character, and too hopeless to be described as a large-scale nationalist movement. The agressive and intensive patriotism of Papineau and of his followers represents, more truly, an extreme form of the reaction of a minority group deprived of their rights and struggling for recognition.

Another movement, grown out of the events of 1837-8, deserves special mention. It is the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society which originated in Montreal in 1834 owing to the initiative of Duvernay and Jacques Viger and first took the form of banquets gathered to "unite the French Canadians and

[9]Papineau and his lieutenants were undoubtedly acquainted with the contemporary French political theories. Lamennais's *Les paroles d'un croyant* was being circulated and read in Canada at that time. A copy of this book, published in 1834, now part of the Chauveau Collection at the Quebec Provincial Parliament Library, bears the following handwritten note by Chauveau: "importé en grande quantité à cette époque (1835) par les chefs du mouvement et distribué dans toutes les campagnes du Canada. Ou plutôt imprimé à Montréal?"

The two names which occur most often in Papineau's letters of this period are those of Lamennais and, especially, Jefferson. The influence of the Jeffersonian ideology on the contemporary Canadian political leaders is of no small significance and should be studied more thoroughly.

[10]Filteau, *Histoire des Patriotes,* I, 129.

give them a rallying cry."[11] The meetings were stopped during the dark days of "37-8," then resumed in Quebec in 1842, and finally again in Montreal. The Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society was hoped, in the minds of its founders, to be the first great associational device binding strongly together the masses and the *élite* amongst French Canadians who had gradually drifted more and more apart. It was rationalized as the sanction of a "sacred alliance" between these two groups and was even, afterwards, compared to the Magna Carta which had sanctioned the alliance between the Norman barons and the Britons.[12] The Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society had a motto, a flag, an emblem, and a definite patriotic purpose. The motto was that of "Nos institutions, notre langue et nos droits," which Duvernay borrowed from Etienne Parent. The flag had the same green, white, and red colours as the Patriots' flag. The emblem was the maple leaf, conceived as "the symbol of the destiny of the French-Canadian people." As Viger had said at the first national banquet in Montreal (later to be quoted by numberless speakers again and again): "This tree—the maple—which grows in our valleys . . . at first young and beaten by the storm, pines away, painfully feeding itself from the earth, but it soon springs up, tall and strong, and faces the tempest and triumphs over the wind which can not shake it any more. The maple is the king of our forest; it is the symbol of the Canadian people."[13] It is mostly from the ranks of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society that the leaders of the patriots' party's Permanent Committee came and, to that extent, the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society originally had for a while a semi-political character. This Society also did much, from the very beginning, to make explicit and to overemphasize the unconscious relationship which always exists between national feeling and religion. Simultaneously, through its annual lyrical speeches and demonstrations, it glorified and popularized, along with a true reverence for tradition and the institutions of the past, an emotional and myth-like interpretation of the historical development of the French Canadians, which later developed into the recurrent theme of a "national mission" of the people.

These features of early official French- Canadian patriotism are symptomatic of one basic stratum of collective feeling on which, under the stimulus of politically defined situations of "national emergency," nationalist leaders were later able to capitalize and to which they could give stereotyped, exuberant forms.

(2) *Constitutional Nationalism under the Union Régime*

It appears that Quebec nationalism as a political expression of the French Canadians on the Canadian scene actually came to life against the assimilation attempt of the Union Act. The Durham Report and the Union Act had left the French Canadians in a state of great pessimism, which

[11] H.-J.-J.-B. Chouinard, *Annales de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Québec* (vol. IV, Quebec, 1902), La Cie d'Imprimerie du "Soleil," 1903, 307-10.

[12] Speech by the Honourable Chapleau, Montreal, June 15, 1884, reproduced in *Grand Cinquantenaire de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste, 1834-84, compilé d'après les rapports de "L'Etendard," présenté par H. Giroux* (Montreal, 1884), 35.

[13] Quoted by Amédée Robitaille, " La Société Saint-Jean-Bapiste" (in H.-J.-J.-B. Chouinard (ed.), *Fête Nationale des Canadiens-Français célébrée à Québec, 1881-84* (Quebec, 1890), 435.

can not be described more dramatically than by Etienne Parent's article in *Le Canadien* of October, 1839. After having recalled that French Canadians had faith in the establishment, in Lower Canada, of an independent nation different from those of the surrounding states, Parent goes on, in an unexpectedly pessimistic mood, to say that French Canadians, in their own interest as well as that of their children, have nothing more to do than "work as hard as they can to bring forth an assimilation which will crush the barrier separating them from the population pressing upon them from every side."[14]

French-Canadian nationalism then took a strong political orientation within the context of British parliamentary institutions. This marks a turning point in the history of group relations in Canada. Lafontaine was responsible for it. He and many other contemporary French-Canadian political leaders were, above all, clever jurists and they enjoyed, along with their patriotic feelings, playing the game of British political institutions. It was felt necessary in the British world, about this time, to sanction the principle of ministerial responsibility, that is, of the control of the executive by the people's representatives. The Durham Report acknowledged the necessity of applying this principle in the colonies as it had been in the metropolis a few years earlier. Lafontaine understood that ministerial responsibility would mean partial control of the executive by the French-Canadian representatives and, to attain his aim, he had the extraordinary opportunity of being able to become allied with the Reformers of Upper Canada. Once the political victory was obtained, it had important consequences on every level of the public administration. French Canadians experienced a considerable development under the Union Régime. It seems as though the nationalism of former years had, during that period, become less aggressive, less vocal, and more oriented toward practical developments in the educational, municipal, and agricultural fields. The ethnic groups in Canada then seem to have come to a sort of equilibrium which made possible the bargaining which preceded Confederation.

Without going too far beyond the scope of this study, we must briefly mention here certain features of contemporary French-Canadian life which may help us grasp in truer perspective the series of political events we have to investigate. The population of the whole of Canada, according to the 1861 census, was 2,507,657, of whom 883,568 were French-speaking. Lower Canada alone had a population of 1,100,000, of whom 75 per cent, viz. 847,000 were French. The province was almost exclusively rural, despite the constant flow of emigration toward, first, the United States, then, in a scattered fashion, toward the new West. There were only three or four communities deserving the name of cities: Montreal, with a population of 90,333; Quebec, with 58,319, Three-Rivers, and Sorel. Numerous classical colleges had been founded in the province, either by the local secular clergy or by teaching orders from Europe: Nicolet in 1804, Saint-Hyacinthe in 1811, Sainte-Thérèse and Chambly in 1824, Joliette in 1846, Sainte-Marie in Montreal in 1850. The *École Littéraire* of Quebec had been fostering an ardent group of writers, poets, historians, and novelists,

[14]Quoted by Filteau, *Histoire des Patriotes*, III, 244-5.

like Garneau, Gérin-Lajoie, LaRue, Crémazie, and others,[15] who exalted the ideals, the symbols and the values of the French Canadians: the history of the race, the Mother Country, the Roman Catholic Church, the language and the folklore, the cult of the soil. The voluminous writings of Garneau and Ferland aroused interest around 1860 in the reading and the teaching of Canadian history. Text-books for college students were published which consisted mostly, at first, of chronological tables, deliberately underlining the ecclesiastical and religious landmarks of the history of the French in Canada.[16]

Less refreshing than these blossoming literary achievements were the ideological cleavages which had been, for some time, splitting, in harsh controversies, notable portions of the French-Canadian *élite* of journalists, political writers, and politicians. Let us evoke only the clash between the two schools of thought, the ultramontanes and the liberals, which were very influential in conditioning the emergence of the two main political parties of the Conservatives and the Liberals. Mgr Bourget, the authoritarian Bishop of Montreal, nonetheless a pro-Patriot, had been the leader of the local Catholic reaction to the French Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 and he did much to infuse such views in the Quebec mentality by his importation of teaching orders: Jesuits, Christian Brothers, etc., all of whom were imbued with the idea that the new democracy was incompatible with Catholicism. When Papineau indoctrinated the "rouges" with the new democratic ideas after his return from Paris, the long struggle began between the ultramontanes and the liberals. The latter were thought of as too radical, too democratically-minded, too free-thinking and anticlerical.[17] The historical fights between their extreme wing, the *Institut Canadien* and Mgr Bourget are well known. Out of their milder wing came men like Laurier. But, curiously enough, as Mason Wade points out, ultramontanism which was anti-nationalist in Europe became highly nationalist in Canada, while the liberal, Gallican-minded group were internationalist.[18] The fusion of political ideas with religious ones, with Catholicism yielding to nationalistic symbols in case of conflict, is evident in Mgr Laflèche, Mgr Bourget's righthand man, who was inspired by the idea of Rohrbacher, an apologist for the Catholic reaction to the events of 1830 and 1848.[19] Mgr Laflèche is among the earliest, if not the first, to overemphasize the idea that the French Canadians constitute a Catholic nation, that they have a

[15]See J. Huston (ed.), *Le Répertoire national ou Recueil de littérature canadienne* (4 vols., Montreal, 1848); also *La Littérature Canadienne de 1850 à 1860, publiée par la Direction du "Foyer Canadien"* (2 vols., Quebec, 1863).

[16]Among some typical historical text-books see: *Histoire abrégé du Canada* (Montreal, 1865); the Abbé C. H. Laverdière, *Histoire du Canada* (Quebec, 1877); Hubert LaRue, *Histoire populaire du Canada* (Quebec, 1875); the Abbé Provancher, *Histoire du Canada, Le premier cours* (Quebec, 1884); the Abbé David Gosselin, *Tablettes chronologiques et alphabétiques des principaux événements de l'histoire du Canada* (Quebec, 1887). Also, the pioneering pedagogical essay, *Guide de l'instituteur*, by F. X. Valade first published in Montreal in 1843 and re-edited many times.

[17]For an elaborate analysis of the influence of European intellectual liberalism in French Canada, see Marcel Trudel, *L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada* (2 vols., Montreal, 1945).

[18]H. Mason Wade, *The French-Canadian Outlook: A Brief Account of The Unknown North Americans*, to be published in the summer of 1946, New York.

[19]See Robert Rumilly, *Mgr Laflèche et son temps* (Montreal, 1938), chap. II, III, passim.

providential mission and that, as such, it is their duty to remain defensively self-centred under the leadership of their bishops who, as leaders of the sacred society stand above the political leaders in temporal affairs. It is amid these controversies that political conservatism grew up, whose politicians, during so many years, fought fights which Mercier was later to describe as "fratricides."

II. The Rebound of Political Nationalism on the Racial Level During the Mercier Episode, 1885

The equilibrium already mentioned between English and French lasted for a few years in Canada after Confederation. French Canadians seemed politically happy to grow within their new provincial institutions and, in Ottawa, they played an important role within the powerful Conservative party. This equilibrium was broken by events happening not inside, but outside Quebec, viz., by facts inherent in the spreading and growth of the French-speaking population in the rest of Canada. The Quebec reaction to these events crystallized around Mercier.

Honoré Mercier already had strong nationalist tendencies. He was, as early as 1871, one of the original members of the first political group to be officially known as the "national" movement. The latter was composed of young liberals and eager conservatives who were all ardent patriots. Its inception was due to the partial dissatisfaction with federal economic policies, particularly to resentment against the recent inclusion, under the name of Manitoba, of the former North West Territories into Confederation. This event had a bad press in Quebec owing to the fear of spoliation of the rights of the French-Canadian minority in this area. The aim of the rising national movement was to create a "united French-Canadian front erasing the former party lines, for the defense of French-Canadian rights." The original platform of the party emphasized, along with an elaborate programme of electoral reform and administrative readjustments, the ideas of provincial autonomy, decentralization, tariff protection, and opposition to the Canadian Pacific project.

(It was actually the outcome of the Riel affair, in 1885, which stimulated Mercier's nationalist movement.) The execution of Riel in November, 1885 created great irritation among the Quebec population against the federal Conservative Cabinet of Sir John A. Macdonald and especially against its French-Canadian ministers, Langevin, Caron, and Chapleau. Riel, although a semi-neurotic and megalomaniac character with whom the French-Canadian Bishop of Saint-Boniface, Mgr Taché, had had trouble, was built up by the press and the politicians into a "racial" symbol. Being, as he was, the chief of the French half-breeds of the West, he stood as a "French" martyr, a "brother" (—"Louis Riel, mon frère"—Mercier would repeatedly proclaim—)[20] who had, in the hands of fanatic Orangists, been the victim of an unjust trial and condemned to unjust death. Popular meetings were held in a great many communities and villages.[21] There was an uproar throughout the province. It was at the first of these meetings,

[20]See *Discours prononcé par l'Honorable M. Mercier à l'Assemblée Législative de Québec, 7 mai 1886, sur la question Riel* (Quebec, 1886), 15 ff.

[21]*Ibid.*, 40 ff.

in Montreal, that Mercier announced the formation of a new great national party which would gather in all those who resented the Riel "outrage." The first objective would be to overthrow, by all constitutional means possible, the Macdonald Government. The national movement thus reinforced and capitalized on the dramatic re-birth of the French-Canadian feeling of solidarity created by the "affair." The political offensive, led by Mercier, included all the Liberals, the Nationalist Conservatives detached from their party by the Riel affair, and the Ultramontanes of Quebec and Montreal, against the die-hard Conservatives, the Ultramontanes of Three-Rivers and the English-speaking Quebec minority. Mercier, in 1886, as leader of the national party, won the election which was to make him, for five years, a leader and active symbol of French-Canadian political unity.

Mercier's nationalist movement was rhetorical and political. It was opposed to the Ottawa Conservatives. It also materialized in positive action. With the help of Sir Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario in whom he found an ally against Sir John A. Macdonald, Mercier took pleasure in re-affirming the rights of the provinces. He also interestingly enough foreshadowed the future political theories of Bourassa on two main points: (1) the interest of French Canadians in Canada outside Quebec; (2) the opposition to British imperialism of a new brand then being put forward by Joseph Chamberlain. Speeches made by Mercier on many occasions unmistakably illustrate the extent to which the last forms of his own nationalism connect up with Bourassa's nationalism to come.[22] Mercier's nationalism, spectacular and political as it was, aroused a certain amount of popular fervour but did not reach down to a very large portion of the population. It was Mercier as a man who was popular—to the point of becoming legendary even during his lifetime—rather than his nationalism. The tempo and intensity of communication with the country were not what they are today. Moreover, the main political issue which the always influential clergy had been stressing to the rural and even the urban population for years was anti-liberalism. It was mostly among college and university students that the *rationale* of nationalism could gain adherents. Mercier's slogans and catchwords were spread by the press, especially by the two exclusively "national" newspapers, *La Vérité* in Quebec and *L'Étendard* in Montreal. Both stood for "national" causes like provincial autonomy, the development of agriculture, the protection of French minorities outside Quebec, the official recognition of the French language, etc.

Other factors also did much to popularize the word "national" with a French-Canadian connotation. Again, the Saint-Jean Baptist Society,

[22]See for example, a speech made at the Windsor Hotel on April 10, 1888, where Mercier said: "The situation is serious; we are facing the greatest danger ever faced by our political structure; we are asked to participate in a regime which can not but bear the most disastrous consequences for us. So far, we have lived a colonial life; today, we are forced against our will to assume the responsibilities and dangers of a sovereign state which will not be ours, to expose ourselves to the vicissitudes of peace and war between the world's great powers and to the demanding necessities of military service as it exists in Europe; a political regime is imposed upon us which, through conscription, could scatter our sons from the Polar icelands to the burning sands of the Sahara,—a regime which would condemn us to the compulsory tribute of blood and money and would tear from us our sons, the hope of our country and the consolation of our old days, to precipitate them into far-away and bloody wars which we could neither prevent nor stop. . . ." *Biographie, Conférences, etc., de l'Hon. Honoré Mercier* (Montreal, 1890).

for one, with its festive annual meetings officially gathering representatives from all the significant walks of French-Canadian life—clergy, politicians of all colours, journalists, writers, professionals, merchants, and students—was potent in developing an impressive nationalist symbolism for mass consumption. It has already been suggested that the slightly nationalist view of French-Canadian history originally implied the notion of a special divine mission granted to the French Canadians in North America. Such a view is a natural outcome of the theological-mindedness of the French-Canadian clerical leaders, particularly of those who shared the conception of history of Bossuet and De Maistre, according to whom Providence intervenes directly in human affairs, or, as Alfred de Vigny pleasantly remarked, "plays checkers with kings and people." The idea of a French-Canadian providential mission was recurrent in the writings of such men as Fréchette and the Abbé Casgrain who wrote that the French Canadians would "lead back under the aegis of Catholicism the errant peoples of the New-World." This idea had by this time, become an oratorical commonplace. In 1879, Mgr Laflèche, in a letter to the President of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society of Quebec, was saying: "I am of those who firmly believe that nations have a providential mission and that nothing can stop in their march those which tend constantly, without deviating to right or to left, toward the end which has been prescribed for them, no more than anything can save those which have prevaricated and finally left the paths which the Providence has traced for them. The teaching of the Church is, on this point, in harmony with that of history.[23] This *leit motiv* is amplified in such famous speeches as that of Justice A. B. Routhier at the national convention of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society in Quebec, in 1880;[24] and in sermons preached on Saint-Jean-Baptiste days in Montreal, Quebec, and elsewhere, even outside the province, by lyrical guest orators.[25] A frequent implication of these religious deliveries is that an additional evidence of the French Canadians' inescapable divine mission lies in the fact that France has abdicated, in modern times, by becoming secular and atheistic, her former God-given mission on earth. They held that it is now up to French Canada to take on where old France has left off. An outstanding figure among the religious orators was Mgr L. A. Paquet who was to become French Canada's foremost theologian and whose sermons on Saint-Jean-Baptiste days in 1887,[26] and especially in 1902 remain the classics of patriotic literature and messianic nationalism. On the last occasion of the celebration of the Quebec Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society's diamond jubilee, Mgr Paquet held that not only does each nation have its providential mission but that some of them have the honour of being called to a sort of priesthood

[23]Chouinard, *Fête Nationale des Canadiens-Français.*

[24]*Ibid.*, 292.

[25]See the following: the Abbé Bauer, "Discours prononcé dans l'église de Windsor, Ontario, le 25 juin 1883," reported by H.-J.-J.-B. Chouinard, *Fête Nationale des Canadiens-Français,* 20; the Abbé Rouleau, sermon on June 24, 1884 in Montreal, reported in *Grand Cinquantenaire de la St-Jean-Baptiste, compilé d'après les rapports de "L'Etendard,"* 5; the Abbé Odilon Paradis, "Sermon de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste prêché à Québec le 24 juin 1887," in *Fête Nationale des Canadiens-Français,* 122 ff.

[26]Mgr. L. A. Paquet, *Discours et Allocutions,* (Quebec, 1915).

among the others. They have a divine "vocation" and such is the case of the French-Canadian people.[27]

Thus there evolved a French-Canadian body of national thought closely integrating the sacred with the secular. This philosophy, officially voiced by the clerical leaders, was implicitly or explicitly taken up and played upon with symphonic variations by the political leaders whose desire to utilize the national feeling made them sensitive to the people's accepted definition of national life. This trend of thought is sociologically significant because it helps us understand how the kind of halo which magnified Bourassa into a mystic figure could ever be possible.

III. The Canadian, Anti-Imperialist Nationalism: Bourassa

Whenever Quebec nationalism is referred to, it is chiefly in connection with the Bourassa-worshipping movement which was born around the turn of the century and was to disappear or substantially transform itself at the end of the First World War. This period offers us the paradox of a man, Bourassa, who, on the one hand, came closest to being the French-Canadian equivalent of a charismatic leader and whose nationalism, on the other hand, had officially little more than a broad Canadian connotation. Nationalism in this tumultuous phase took the form of a revival, gathering a wide range of supporters and followers, ideological, mystical, and political. It is a phase of, first, militant and aggressive, then opportunistic nationalism.

Recent events in Canadian life had once more intensified the French-Canadian sense of solidarity. The way in which the Manitoba school question was being unsettled since 1890 and, finally decided in a way unfavourable to the French-speaking minority, became a matter of national discussion. The Canadian "racial" conflict sprang to a new height. The Quebec French Canadians, on the whole, took sides with their ostracized compatriots while, on the other side, an extremist English-speaking group outside Quebec entrenched itself behind an anti-French attitude not unrelated, as has been pointed out by many students of Canadian affairs, to the anti-Catholic dissatisfaction aroused among many Anglo-Protestant groups by Mercier's indemnity to the Jesuits, in 1888. It was in large part around the Manitoba school question that Laurier had become Prime Minister in 1896. Later, in 1899, the Canadian official decision to participate in the South African War caused the recrudescence of a strong anti-imperialistic wave. Bourassa immediately resigned his seat in protest.

The *Ligue Nationaliste* (Nationalist League) grew up in Montreal around 1900 out of meetings organized by a group of combative patriots dissatisfied with the national attitude of the two great parties.[28] Bourassa was their idol. The League was officially founded at a great mass meeting in Montreal in 1903 and, in 1904, Asselin started publishing its official newspaper, *Le Nationaliste.* This nationalist revival was consciously

[27] *Ibid.*, 181 ff. A special edition for college use with analytical notes and comments has been made of this sermon by Canon Emile Chartier, under the title of *Bréviaire du patriote canadien-français* (Montreal, 1925).

[28] See Armand Lavergne, *Trente Ans de vie nationale* (Montreal, 1934), chap. VII.

strongly linked with the past.[29] Bourassa did not forget that he was Papineau's grandson and his lieutenants never missed a chance of recalling it. The political programme of the movement centred around the basic themes of integral bilingualism, anti-imperialism, the autonomy of Canada within the Empire and the autonomy of the province within Canada, opposition to mass European immigration, and the settlement of the minority school problems. The League also campaigned for the reorientation along nationalist lines of French-Canadian economic life. It was supported, on many issues, by a great number of the Quebec newspapers among which were *L'Evénement,* in Quebec, *L'Action Sociale* founded in 1908, *La Vérité* edited by Omer Héroux, and *La Libre Parole.*

In 1904 there was also founded in Montreal, under the auspices of the Jesuits, the *ACJC* (Catholic Association of the Canadian Youth) which was a non-political association but which soon gave strong ideological support and dynamic following to the nationalist movement. It aimed at including all the male youth of the province, but at the beginning and for a long time afterwards consisted only of college study groups. Their official purpose, under the motto of "Piety, Study, Action," was the study of national problems, but they soon began echoing the political campaigns of Bourassa and participating in organized, large-scale nationalist action and public demonstrations of their own. They organized campaigns for the recognition of bilingualism. They popularized the hero-worshipping of myth-transformed historical characters like Dollard, and of "national" defenders or "martyrs" like Papineau, Riel, etc. They generally appealed to public opinion for defensive action against all enemies of the French Canadians.

There existed then in Quebec, for the first time, a rather strongly organized body of nationalist political action which was active in federal, provincial, and even municipal elections. As suggested, it was still more a movement than a party in the true meaning of the word. Bourassa, for one, always protested that he had never wanted to create a real party but it remains a fact that the movement of his followers played an important role between the Conservative and the Liberal parties. It is as a political group that nationalism drew to itself many political opportunists who saw in it the only means of fighting against Laurier who had become the idol of the whole province while the Conservatives alone could hardly do anything about it. On the other hand, the Liberal party was experiencing the handicap of all strong parties that remain long in power. The young Liberals were getting more independent and felt themselves, although to a lesser extent than the Conservatives, the appeal of Bourassa's nationalism. Many provincial political leaders sided in with the nationalists. One remembers the historical political campaigns of 1910-11, against Laurier's navy programme and participation in imperial wars. The atmosphere was

[29]See a speech delivered by Armand Lavergne in Montreal at the fifth anniversary banquet of *Le Devoir.* Lavergne, after having evoked 1837-8, Mercier, and Riel, goes on to say: "But we were determined to persist, for, in this Nationalist League, we were studying a little of the history of our country; we had remembered the schools of New-Brunswick, the Riel affair, the Manitoba schools, the abolition of the French language in Manitoba and in the North West territories, the settlement of the Manitoba question, the sending of troops to South Africa, the intensive immigration intended to drown us. . . ." *Cinquième Anniversaire du Devoir* (Montreal, 1915), 15.

fierce and mystical. LaVergne, one of the champions of the movement, refers to himself and Bourassa as the then "bishops" of nationalism.[30] This climax culminated in the defeat of Laurier in 1911. Soon after, when in power, many of the former nationalist, "raisin-blue" Conservatives forgot their recent golden alliance with the nationalist movement.

French-Canadian nationalism during this whole period was given a manifold content by the various groups who directly or indirectly felt bound to it. Bourassa's followers on various levels interpreted his postulates according to their own respective perspectives, from mild anti-British feeling to ultra-nationalism. He was the prophet whose teachings are faithfully distorted by his proselytic disciples.

Formally, Bourassa's personal interpretation of nationalism forms a well-integrated ideology in which the French-Canadian approach as such is only secondary, the main emphasis being made on a broad Canadianism. First of all, Bourassa was never a separatist himself. Separatism at that time was represented by a lone wolf whom Bourassa occasionally attacked, J.-P. Tardivel, editor of the newspaper *La Vérité*.[31] Bourassa was, above all, historically always a fierce "Canada-firster," in a constitutional and emotional way. His statements on this can be found anywhere in his innumerable writings and particularly in his articles in *Le Devoir,* the daily newspaper he founded in 1910. In a pamphlet on the 1911 tariff agreement between Canada and the United States Bourassa wrote that: "The general and superior interests of Canada must have priority over the more particular class or provincial interests; they must be not left under the predominance of American industry and transport; they must not be subordinated to a false imperial idea either. Now or never is the time to say: Canada to the Canadians and, in so saying, to yield neither to the Americans nor to the other parts of the Empire. Such is the true nationalist doctrine. It is as such that we have suggested its adoption long before the founding of *Le Devoir.*"[32] "His concept of Canadian citizenship and Canadian patriotism is similarly well known. "We do not have the right," he says in a speech in Montreal in 1915, "to make Canada an exclusively French country more than the Anglo-Canadians have the right to make it

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[30]*Ibid.*, 196.

[31]Tardivel, published in 1895, a "prophetic" noved entitled *Pour la Patrie* in which are described political events taking place in 1946 and leading to the establishment of a French state in North America. In one of his last articles before his death Tardivel wrote: "It is true that we thought seriously of asking the British Crown, which guaranteed us the practice of our religion and our national liberty, to safeguard us effectively against the fanatic element of this country. . . . But perhaps could we be given the permission to suggest a solution to the problem, that is, to reshape the Dominion on a new basis and to subdivide it into two or more Confederations. The province of Quebec, plus the French parts of Ontario and New Brunswick, could form one Confederation; the rest of the Maritime Provinces, another one; the English part of Ontario and the West, a third one. Quebec and the Eastern provinces could perhaps even constitute a single Confederation, their material interest being identical enough. . . ." *La Vérité,* 15 avril, 1905.

[32]Henri Bourassa, *La Convention douanière entre le Canada et les États-Unis, sa nature, ses conséquences* (Montreal, 1911). See also the booklet advertising the concern *La Publicité* which was to publish *Le Devoir* and containing a programme of which one article emphasized "the most complete autonomy for Canada compatible with the faithfulness to the British Crown." Also, *La Politique de l'Angleterre avant et après la guerre* (Montreal, 1914).

an English country. . . .[33] And, again in his pamphlets entitled *Independence or Imperial Partnership?*.

> . . . the preservation and simultaneous growth of two national languages and two different types of mental culture, far from being an *obstacle* to the progress of Canada, *constitute its most powerful factor and our greatest national* asset. The moment the English-speaking majority have found that much, they will make this other discovery: that the French Canadians are much more *Canadien* than *French,* and therefore, once left alone in the development of their *ethnical* propensities, always prepared to cooperate with the English majority, provided the latter prove also that they are more *Canadian* than *English* or *Imperial.* Then, the racial quarrel will be at an end or very near it. *So long as the majority of Canadians have two countries, one here and one in Europe, national unity will remain a myth and a constant source of internecine quarrels.*[34]

Bourassa's doctrinal nationalism awakened in Quebec diverse echoes which are still hard to appraise justly. The most crucial social class to consider in this connection is the clergy. From the very beginning of the nationalist movement, at the time of the South African war, diverse attitudes are noticeable among the clergy, one would almost say, between the higher and the lower clergy. The clergy, in general, shared the feelings of the people who were anti-imperialist and sympathetic to the Boers, while the bishops and the Church official spokesmen expressed loyalty to the British Crown.[35] It is indubitable that the rural and the urban as well as the teaching clergy in the colleges were later gradually moved by Bourassa when he crusaded for the western schools, for the rights of the French language, and for a provincial policy of a wider and more technical colonization and also when he showed a personal attitude of submissiveness to the Church.[36] His famous speech at the Montreal Eucharistic Congress in 1910 which identified the Catholic faith of the French Canadians with the French language and, later, the intellectual charm of *Le Devoir,* were influential in seducing the clergy. They, in their turn, were influential in galvanizing their flock or their students with messianic symbols. There was also, in 1910 in Quebec, the much-publicized first Congress of the French Language in America (Congrès de la Langue française en Amérique) which gathered, in a fascinating context, delegates from all the

[33] *L'Accord avec les Anglo-Canadiens,* reproduced in *Le cinquième Anniversaire du Devoir* (Montreal, 1915), 59.

[34] *Independence of Imperial Partnership? A Study of "The problem of the Commonwealth", by Mr. Lionel Curtis,* (Montreal, 1916), 54. See also *Le Patriotisme canadien-français, ce qu'il est, ce qu'il doit être* (Montreal, 1902).

[35] There was published in Quebec city at that time, by an Ultramontane priest, the Abbé David Gosselin, a weekly called *La Semaine Religieuse.* Many of its articles for the years 1899-1900 express attitudes strikingly anti-British and sympathetic to the Boers. A long serial article published anonymously in *La Semaine Religieuse* in 1900 under the title of "L'Anglomanie au Canada: Quelques conjectures sur l'issue de la lutte entre les deux races," was particularly bitter and hopeful for the humiliation of the "English race." English-Canadian newspapers protested. Mgr Bruchési Archbishop of Montreal, wrote a letter to the *Herald* denouncing the articles of *La Semaine Religieuse* (*Herald,* January 12, 1900). Three days later, the Archbishop of Quebec, Cardinal Bégin, congratulated Mgr Bruchési for his letter to the *Herald* and took the opportunity of expressing his unalterable loyalty to the British Crown.

[36] Henri Bourassa's speech at the Fifth Anniversary banquet of *Le Devoir,* 68 ff.

French-speaking groups in North America and helped sublimate official clerical inhibitions. When the 1914 war broke out and when passions became aroused it was discovered that a great part of the clergy was nationalist.[37] The Church hierarchy, however, as soon as the end of September, 1914, published a joint pastoral letter stressing the fact that Canada's destiny was linked with that of England.[38] Typical divergent attitudes of the lower clergy are revealed in the polemics between two anonymous priests one of them attacking Bourassa and nationalism, the other vigorously defending the "true French-Canadian patriotism."[39]

Given the direct influence of the clergy over the rural population and the appeal of the nationalist political campaigns, the country became, more than ever, consciously exalted by ambivalent patriotic symbols.[40] The permeation of nationalism into the cities is harder to appreciate. There, more than in the country, the political campaigns left their imprint. Young intellectuals, were, on the whole, vibrating in unison with Bourassa's ideas. In the last years of the nationalist saw-dust trail, it was the "school question," still more than the imperialist problem, which made of Bourassa a sort of champion of French Canadians. It was the Ontario school problem, the Regulation XVII, which, more than the war itself, did bring about the "clash" between the two Canadian "races." To this vicarious struggle, the French Canadians gave various meanings according to the stereotypes of their respective milieus. Hugh MacLennan's Marius Tallard is symptomatic of one, but only one, of them.

To sum up, one might say that Bourassa was the catalytic spirit who precipitated sour patriotism into a rationalized objective. French-Canadian collective thought could not, after this period, be the same. One of the very last official expressions of this phase was the motion presented by J. N. Francoeur, member for Lotbinière, in the Quebec legislature in January 1918.[41] This was the anti-climatic episode of a period of dynamism and frustration.

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[37]See Ferdinand Roy, *L'Appel aux armes et la Réponse canadienne-française* (Quebec, 1917).

[38]Elizabeth Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec 1914-18* (New York, 1937).

[39]The Abbé d'Amours, in a series of letters published in *La Presse* of Montreal, vigorously denounced Bourassa, nationalism, and the lack of loyalty to England (cf. *Où allons-nous? Le Nationalisme canadien. Letters de "Un patriote" publiées dans le journal "La Presse," augmentées d'une introduction, d'additions et d'appendices documentaires* (Montreal, 1916). To this, the Jesuit Hermas Lalande answered in a sour and heavily serious booklet which resumed the whole nationalist argumentation (cf. Jean Vindex, *Halte-Là! Patriote. Que penser de notre école politico-thèologique? De l'impérialisme qu'elle professe? Du Nationalisme qu'elle censure?* Rimouski, 1917).

[40]As soon as the South African War began, collective protests started coming from rural parishes and small centres. For example, in a then small Eastern Township community which seems to be not very far from the contemporary Cantonville described in Everett C. Hughes's *French Canada in Transition,* at a mass meeting held on June 19, 1902, some 5,000 French Canadians representing ninety-three townships who were addressed by Bourassa, voted a collective motion "inviting the citizens of all the parishes of Nicolet to protest against the Imperial campaign and to adopt resolutions approving the position taken by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his reply to the Secretary of the Colonies, that is to say, no contribution to the wars of England." *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs* (Toronto, 1902), 140.

[41]This motion stated "That this House is of opinion that the Province of Quebec would be disposed to accept the breaking of the Confederation Pact of 1867 if, in the other provinces, it is believed that she is an obstacle to the union, progress and development of Canada."

Already, another type of exclusively French-Canadian centred nationalist movement was expressing itself. The Abbé Groulx had started his lectures and public speeches. The *Action Française* began to be published in 1917. A considerable nationalist and parochial literature began to appear — Groulx's books, Brother Marie-Victorin's short stories, etc.— another phase was emerging which is too close to be considered objectively. It constitutes a landmark at which we must stop.

* * *

The history of French-Canadian nationalism, which still has to be written, appears to us, like the social history of any minority group, as a combative, stubbornly composed, unfinished symphony. It offers a wide field of investigation to historians, to political scientists, to sociologists, to economists, and to social psychologists. We notice that its growth has not been in a rectilinear, regularly widening pattern. It has been sporadic. A relevant way to approach it, in our opinion, is to see it as an acute political form of the French Canadians' interpretation of their minority status in a painfully growing country. It has emerged under the stimulus of events outside Quebec which were interpreted, either as threats to or as breaches of promise of, the covenant assumed to sanction the recognition of the French Canadians as equal partners in the life of the nation. It has also emerged as a by-product of the self-centredness of the French-Canadian group, ideologically and culturally guided by a segregating clergy. It has been historically a paramount factor in the social outlook of Quebec. Like any social problem, it must be considered neither through an apologetic nor an antipathetic looking-glass.

DISCUSSION

Professor Masters laid emphasis upon the frankness with which the authors had attacked their subject. He thought that this paper would constitute a landmark in the history of this Association. He went on to point out that it was anomalous for the French Canadians, who are the most North American of Canadians, to favour retention of colonial vestiges such as the appeals to the Privy Council. The French Canadians do not need such vestigial safeguards. Their true security lies in the fact that they are more than three million strong, and a well-organized, well-led group. It would be more consistent of French-Canadian *nationalistes* to favour dropping such vestiges.

Professor Scott noted that the Knights of Labor spread from the United States into Quebec in the eighteen-eighties, and brought with them an international outlook amongst the working classes. He asked if the *nationaliste* cause among the French Canadians was in any sense associated with a class appeal. He wondered if the co-operative movement, especially M. Desjardins and the Caisses Populaires, were connected with the *nationaliste* development.

Professor Falardeau replied that the Church hierarchy had crushed the growth of the Knights of Labor, but that the movement had made an impression upon thinking workers in Quebec. He stated that the Caisses Populaires had been organized because Desjardins recognized the misery of the rural population, and feared the flow of population to the United States.

Capitaine-Abbé Maheux congratulated Professor Falardeau upon the paper. He stated that for further information upon the Caisses Desjardins the authors could see the Abbé Grondin at Lévis since he has all of Desjardins's papers. There was nothing *nationaliste* about that development. He felt, however, that further consideration ought to be given to the concept of the "special mission" of the French Canadians, an idea which was at one time a great subject for college themes. He compared this concept with the American idea of "Manifest Destiny."

Professor Saunders asked if the appearance of an anti-clerical movement in French Canada would reduce the sense of "special mission" amongst French Canadians; or would it result in the substitution of a more secular concept of "mission" — the superiority of French culture, for example — for the traditional religious concept. He noted that a sense of special mission is common to most modern nationalist movements.

Capitaine-Abbé Maheux said that modern students know little of the older idea of "providential mission." He stated that existing anti-clerical feeling in French Canada is aroused by what is considered too great clerical interference in administrative affairs, and certain financial arrangements.

Mr. Mason Wade queried whether there was any connection between French-Canadian ideas of special mission and American ideas of "Manifest Destiny." He said that the Knights of Labor movement in Quebec had no *nationaliste* context. The first *syndicat national* was founded in 1905, ten years after the end of the Knights of Labor. He pointed out that the chief French influence upon Papineau, before he went abroad, was Lammenais's book, *Paroles d'un croyant.* Papineau was strongly influenced by Jefferson's writings. He considered that the *Caisses Populaires* had no *nationaliste* aspect at the beginning but that there was a certain *nationaliste* infiltration afterwards. He suggested that *nationalisme* amongst French-Canadian youth in such organizations as the A.C.J.C. is to be compared with the radicalism of adolescent English-Canadian youth.

Professor Soward discussed the growing tendency in Latin America to look to Quebec for cultural and religious leadership. He cited Cuba, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil as especially concerned in this trend. Cardinal Villeneuve's recent visit to Mexico, and the exchange of students between Mexico and Quebec are further examples. This development is related to the growing French-Canadian desire for Latin solidarity in this hemisphere. French Canadians now exhibit a strong interest in Latin American culture. Many are learning Spanish and Portuguese. Many are travelling to Latin America. That area is becoming attractive to French Canadians interested in a diplomatic career. Latin American students are coming to Montreal and Quebec. There is steadily increasing support in French Canada for Pan-American Union and continental solidarity.

Professor Lower stated that there had been a divergence evident between *nationalisme* and clericalism in French Canada for a century and more. This was to be seen in the careers of Papineau, Dorion, and the *Parti rouge.* He believed that differing rates of development in various aspects of life are at the bottom of misunderstanding between French and English Canadians; for instance, whereas French Canadians have lagged behind their English-speaking compatriots in economic and political development, it has been quite otherwise in social and cultural affairs in which the French

Canadians commenced self-conscious development more than a century ago whilst the English Canadians are only starting at that point nowadays.

Professor Rothney emphasized that French-Canadian *nationalisme* is vital because it is native. Anti-clericalism in French Canada, on the other hand, has been an import from Europe. There is no need for a ***nationaliste*** in French Canada to be an anti-clerical. He challenged the identification that had been made between ultramontanism and French-Canadian *nationalisme,* and between Gallicanism and internationalism. He said that *nationalisme* became associated with provincial autonomy only with Mercier, and that even Mercier was not consistently in favour of such a bond. He stated that Bourassa denies that his *nationalisme* is like Mercier's, holding that it is Canadian rather than provincial in outlook. He questioned the idea that Bourassa's *nationalisme* died after the last war. Rather it took new forms. Bourassa is not to be considered as anti-British, nor are *nationalistes* in general, but they do want the British conception of liberty established in Canada.

Lieutenant-Colonel Stanley asked why nationalist movements in Quebec had not produced similar developments elsewhere, among the Acadians, for instance.

Professor Falardeau replied that they had so done, and gave as an example the Université Saint-Joseph at Memramcook, New Brunswick, which he declared to be the centre of Acadian self-consciousness and cultural aspirations. The co-operative movement in that area has also assumed something of a *nationaliste* aspect.

Capitaine-Abbé Maheux added that the Acadians have only recently gained leaders. Previously their students have been educated in Quebec. Under new leadership they are entering the *nationaliste* stage.

Lieutenant Richardson asked if the development of *nationalisme* could be dated from the establishment of the Assembly in 1791, or later.

Professor Falardeau replied that it is impossible to set any exact date for the beginning of such a movement though it is possible to give dates for the appearance of open expressions of these ideas. Such expressions came at a later time.