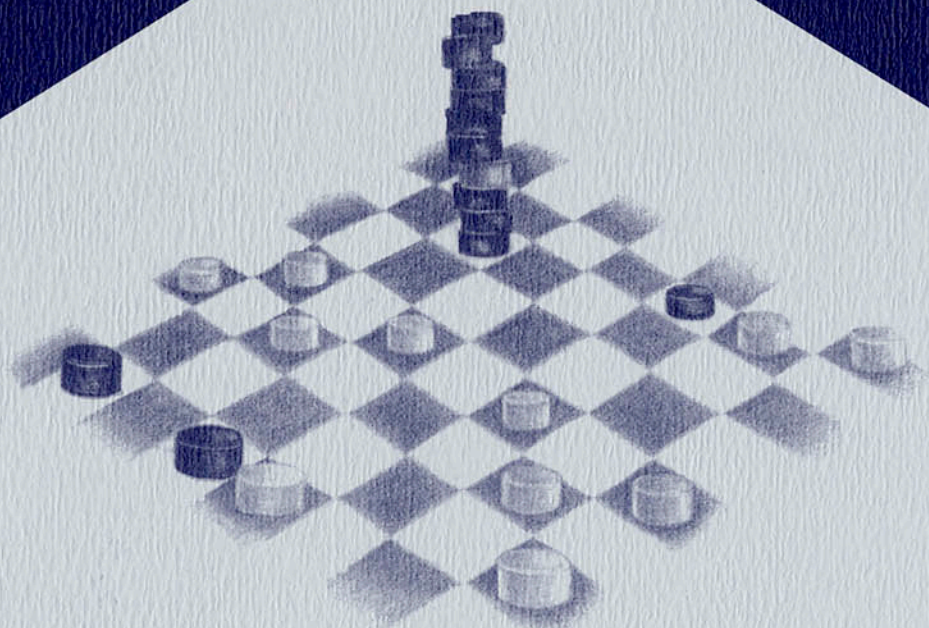


# **French Canada:** **An account of** **its creation and break-up, 1850-1967**

**Marcel Martel**



**THE CANADIAN  
HISTORICAL  
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# **French Canada: An account of its creation and break-up, 1850-1967**

In the scholarly account of the construction of the Quebec identity, a number of chronological benchmarks, personalities and events have become symbolic over the years. They help to give meaning to the break or split that led to the collective identity of Quebecers as a majority. They also mark the forsaking of the collective identity of French Canadians as a minority. In the elaboration of this account, the date 22 June 1960, when the Liberal Party led by Jean Lesage was elected; the year 1962, when the Quebec people gave the Liberal government a mandate to proceed with its plan to nationalize hydroelectric power; the creation of the Department of Education in 1964, and many other incidents became milestones that help us to understand the construction of the collective Quebec identity.

Yet, the États généraux du Canada français (Estates General of French Canada) which brought together representatives of the entire French Canadian nation in three sessions held in 1966, 1967, and 1969, should be included in this chronicle. Until now, historians have paid little attention to these gatherings, unwittingly subscribing to the assessment of French-speaking leaders from Ontario (many of whom were in attendance) in minimizing the impact and consequences of the États généraux on the future of the nation. These leaders of Franco-Ontarian institutions agreed with Claude Ryan, editorial writer for the Montreal daily, *Le Devoir*, when he stated on 27 November 1967 that the Quebec delegates were not representative of the whole population. A majority of the delegates had just supported a preliminary declaration on the right to self-determination, recognizing that French Canadians possessed such a right and that Quebec constituted the "national territory" and the "basic polity" of French Canada.

In hindsight and as a result of the uneasy dialogue and sharp tensions between Quebec and the French-speaking communities in the rest of the country, the États généraux du Canada français provide a key to understanding the break-up of French Canada. The adoption of the preliminary declaration concerning French Canada's right to self-determination constituted the public manifestation of a split. However, the split had been developing in discussions concerning the French Canadian collective identity that had taken place within French Canadian national institutions.

This study focuses on the concept of French Canada, its basic tenets and its break-up. The concept was initially the expression of a common identity for all French Canadians in the country, including the Acadians in the Maritime provinces. It also symbolized a nationalist ideal embodied in the notion of two founding peoples. Finally, it became an institutional space in which many organizations expressed a desire for collective action and evoked the solidarity that was supposed to exist among all French Canadians. This concept was propagated by the defining elites, to use the term of sociologist Fernand Dumont, who actively participated in defining French Canada and were deeply involved in the debates that culminated in the break-up and split of their French Canada in the middle of the 1960s.

Our account begins with the emigration of French Canadians from the middle of the nineteenth century until the Great Depression of the 1930s. Their settlement outside Quebec resulted in the establishment of an institutional network designed to preserve the essential characteristics associated with the definition of identity. The gradual awakening of French Canadians in Quebec to the condition of their compatriots in the other provinces caused them to reflect upon the meaning of the historical experience of the French Canadian nation within Canadian territorial boundaries. The desire to express solidarity gave rise to an institutional network that spread across the country and was spearheaded by the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier. This organization helped to found a body of French Canadian national associations determined to express solidarity concretely and consistently, not just in response to urgent appeals for help during school crises. Our account ends shortly after the dissolution of the Ordre in

1965. In fact, it stops with the session of November 1967 of the États généraux du Canada français, which marked the definitive split among the leaders of the French Canadian communities. Indeed, these two events are linked, because the debates that shook the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier foretold those that took place during the États généraux du Canada français.

## **French Canada and the creation of a national institutional network from 1850 to the 1950s**

Agricultural transformation and industrialization in Quebec encouraged many French Canadians to spread out into the North American continent. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the phenomenon of French Canadian emigration to the United States, particularly into New England. The exodus of more than a half-million people had a powerful impact on the popular mind and raised grave concerns among Quebec elites concerned about the survival of the French Canadian nation in North America. At first the political and religious elites condemned the emigrants; however, the size of this migration forced them to change their attitude. They then tried to provide their compatriots with institutional infrastructures in the hope that they would preserve their identity. Initially these emigrants saw themselves as French Canadians, but they gradually called themselves Franco-Americans, thereby expressing a wish to affirm their sense of belonging in the United States of America. As well, French Canadians from Quebec and repatriated Franco-Americans recruited by priests acting as settlement agents, especially the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, decided to settle in the Canadian west at the end of the nineteenth century. However, they were not as numerous as the archbishop of St. Boniface, Alexandre-Antonin Taché, and his successor, Louis-Philippe Adélarde Langevin, would have wished. In fact, there was some resistance in Quebec to the efforts of these two bishops. The Quebec elite worried about the political weight of the French-speaking province in Confederation if too many of its citizens decided to

emigrate to the Prairies. Other French Canadians, responding to socio-economic pressures and to the call of priests promoting settlement, crossed the Ottawa River. They tried to improve their fortunes in eastern and northeastern Ontario in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Through personal and family ties all these French-Canadian communities maintained contact with Quebec. They also formed the first islands where French Canadian institutions emerged.

Thanks to the initiative of the French Canadian Catholic clergy and the support of professionals such as lawyers, physicians and, occasionally, teachers, a set of institutions was created to help preserve national identity. An elite came into being that defined the identity of French Canadian communities and assumed control of their institutional network. This elite thus ensured the dissemination and preservation of their world view. The vision of these embryonic French Canadas outlived their creators and promoters. From the traces of empirical evidence found in the archives and largely used to reconstitute the past of the various communities, it becomes obvious that the elites glossed over the past and substituted their version of history which became part of the communities in which they exercised leadership.

The French Canadian identity emphasized by these elites drew upon ultramontane and agriculturalist ideologies. The accent was on cultural and religious dimensions, that is the French language and the Catholic faith. These elements were associated with an idealized lifestyle in a rural environment and an agricultural vocation thought most likely to guarantee the survival of French Canada. All of this was heavily imbued with religiosity. French Canadians not only had their heavenly patron, St. John the Baptist, but they also became the instruments of a providential mission: to preserve and spread the French and Catholic heritage rich in acts of heroism that marked the history of the North American continent.

The rejection of any of the important features of this identity was denounced by the elites whose power in the community partly derived from the preservation of these characteristics by as many people as possible. Until the end of the 1950s, the elites

from all parts of French Canada, particularly when gathered together in Quebec in 1937 and 1952 for the second and third Congrès de la langue française au Canada [Conference of the French Language in Canada], called for the preservation of the essential elements of identity and condemned any divergence from the path of survival.

A number of features distinguished the elaboration of the identity of the French Canadian nation. First, there was the relationship with another people of French origin, the Acadians. The Acadian historical experience, characterized by the Great Upheaval of 1755, the return, and the cultural revival at the end of the nineteenth century, differs from that of the French Canadians, marked by the Conquest and emigration to New England. The national symbols chosen by the Acadian national conventions in 1881 and 1884 show their wish to affirm a different identity. This was expressed by the adoption of a flag – the French *tricolore* with a yellow star in the blue stripe –, an anthem – “Ave Maris Stella” –, and a national day – August 15 instead of June 24.

Even within the French Canadian community, differences emerged between Quebec and communities outside Quebec. The leaders of the French Canadian groups outside Quebec became aware of the precariousness of their situation. In most instances, this awareness was triggered by the issue of schools. As was the case for the French Canadian community in Ontario in their battle over Regulation 17, such struggles provided the founding myth of a group history that was different from the Quebec experience. Legislative provisions concerning school rights changed from one English Canadian province to another. While in the west generally the teaching of French was restricted, in Manitoba it was forbidden in 1916. When leaders of the French-speaking minority communities compared their legal status with that of their compatriots in Quebec, they realized that French Canadians in Quebec enjoyed a degree of cultural security whereas they had to fight to preserve their institutions and, especially, obtain access to schools in their language.

This sense of difference gave rise to different terms to designate each of the French Canadian communities in the rest of the

country. Ontario leaders described their community as the French Canadian group of Ontario or the Franco-Ontarian group. They used these labels indiscriminately without giving them the meaning that the term Franco-Ontarian would acquire at the end of the 1960s. At the third Congrès de la langue française au Canada in June 1952, Louis-Philippe Mousseau, for his part, spoke at length to his Quebec compatriots about the French Canadians of Alberta, calling them the Franco-Albertan group. When a provincial association was created in Saskatchewan in 1912, the participants at the founding convention were particularly anxious to choose a name that would create a broad consensus and exclude as few people as possible. They chose the term Franco-Canadian, rather than French Canadian, to reflect the original ethnic diversity of French settlement in that province.

Although they used the terms Franco-Ontarian, Franco-Canadian of Saskatchewan or Franco-Albertan, the elites that defined identity were conscious of belonging to the French Canadian community, a national community that transcended their provincial identities. The identity espoused at that time was very similar to that championed in Quebec nationalist circles. It emphasized a firm core centered on the union of language and faith, an attachment to tradition and supporting institutions.

To preserve the characteristics of French Canadian identity, the family constituted the foundation of the institutional networks that were to be created. A sufficient number of French Canadian families in a given geographic area made it possible to ask the appropriate ecclesiastical authorities to create a parish, preferably an ethnic one, where French Canadians could practise their religion in their language, and establish a school. These two institutions were the bastions of French Canadian survival. Throughout the twentieth century a network of classical colleges was created in French Canada and Acadia thanks to the financial and human resources of religious congregations. Institutions such as the collège de Gravelbourg in Saskatchewan or the Jesuit colleges in Edmonton, St. Boniface and Sudbury, helped train the elites of their respective communities. Taken together they provided leaders and members of associations for the protection and the development of these communities. Such organizations recruited

their members from within the parish, as did the Sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste, and the local chapters of provincial associations, or on a professional basis, as did the teachers associations.

Each French Canadian or Acadian community outside Quebec created a provincial association to promote its interests. These associations became the mouthpieces of their communities with the federal and provincial governments as well as Quebec bodies. Some were created as a result of restrictive measures adopted in the field of education, as was the case of the Association d'éducation des Canadiens français du Manitoba in 1916 [The Education Association of the French Canadians of Manitoba]. Most took on special responsibilities in the field of education. The Association catholique franco-canadienne de la Saskatchewan [The Franco-Canadian Catholic Association of Saskatchewan] and the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta [the French Canadian Association of Alberta], established in 1926, set up a system of school inspectors, supervised the hiring of bilingual teachers, and proposed a curriculum for French-language instruction in primary schools where, in many cases, the study of French was limited to one hour per day.

Other organizations worked in more specialized sectors of community life. In the economic sphere, there were credit unions and mutual aid societies such as the Union Saint-Joseph du Canada in Ottawa or the Société mutuelle l'Assomption, serving the Acadians. To facilitate the distribution of information, some French-speaking communities created newspapers with a regional or provincial circulation. Religious communities, especially the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, played a key role in the creation and survival of dailies and weeklies, in spite of great fluctuations in circulation. These included *Le Droit* in Ottawa and *La Survivance* in Alberta. In 1941 *La Liberté* in Manitoba and the *Patriote de l'Ouest* in Saskatchewan were merged.

However, the scope of the institutional network varied from one minority group to another. The degree of institutional completeness, to use the concept of sociologist Raymond Breton, was a reflection of how dynamic the various communities were. The creation of the institutional network depended upon the wealth

of the local and/or provincial communities, support from the clergy, and the mobilization of the laity.

A whole series of events caused the defining elites to question the foundations of the constitutional compromise that underlay the birth of the country. Among these was the hanging of Louis Riel in 1885. Then, in Manitoba the political authorities decided to stop supporting denominational schools and in 1890 to end the use of French before the courts and in the legislature. As well, the federal government did very little to guarantee the rights of the Catholic minority in the constitutions of the future provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. Finally, in 1912, Ontario adopted Regulation 17 prohibiting French-language instruction beyond the first two years of primary school. These triggered crises between French and English Canadians and revealed the precariousness of the rights of French Canadian communities outside Quebec, particularly when the respect of those rights depended upon the mood of the majority. Yet, the French Canadian political and religious elites had believed that section 93 of the British North America Act contained sufficient guarantees to protect the right of French Canadian minorities to an education reflecting their identity. Not only was it possible for the Manitoba government to ignore its constitutional obligations, but the federal government's ability to intervene, stipulated in section 93, proved to be ineffective because it was subject to political pressure from the English-speaking majority. An even more disturbing event occurred in 1916 when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London responding to the crisis over Regulation 17 decided that the French language had no protection under section 93. The Privy Council ruled that language rights had no constitutional protection except for the use of French before the courts and in the federal and Quebec parliaments.

In light of these facts, and in the interest of preventing further setbacks for French Canadian rights in the country, Henri Bourassa, a politician and founder of the daily newspaper, *Le Devoir*, proposed to his English Canadian compatriots a different framework for interpreting the intentions of the Fathers of Confederation. Until that time, provincial politicians had described Confederation as a pact between four colonies in order to limit

the federal power's constitutional claims: Bourassa described Canada's fundamental law as a pact between two peoples, French Canadians and English Canadians. Consequently, each group enjoyed similar rights, regardless of where their members lived. Therefore, the rights of these peoples was not linked to any notion of number or concentration of individual members of either founding people in a given territory. This view of nationalism was based on the concept of non-territorial cultural duality.

Initially an expression of national identity, French Canada became a political concept formulated during the school crises, that of two founding peoples or of national non-territorial cultural duality. If this political concept could become an interpretative principle of the Canadian Constitution, it would protect the rights of the representatives of these peoples and remove the French Canadian ethnic and religious minority from the tyranny of majority rule.

The recognition of this political concept could only be achieved through legislation adopted by the federal and provincial governments. To this end, the leaders of the French Canada's institutional network had to cooperate more closely together, both to increase their impact on public policy and to create a feeling of solidarity among their communities. French Canada would therefore become a locus of collective action as well as an institutional space, a tangible expression of the solidarity between the province of Quebec, seen as the bastion of French Canada, and the outposts, consisting of the various provincial French Canadian and Acadian communities.

The call to solidarity was an attempt not merely to justify Quebec's support of the other communities, but to associate and involve all French-speaking communities in French Canada's fundamental struggle to preserve the features of its identity, in short, the struggle for survival. If any outpost of French Canada were to fall, it would inevitably threaten the survival of the whole, including that of the bastion, the province of Quebec. Under the circumstances, a linguistic minority stretching across Canada could not tolerate the loss of any of its constituent parts.

Some French Canadian clergy and laymen were very active in the creation of a national institutional presence. Among them, the people in the Ottawa-Hull region, and especially the leaders of the Association canadienne-française d'éducation de l'Ontario (ACFEO) [French Canadian Education Association of Ontario], played a key role in developing this institutional network that would become the locus of the collective action of the nation. They actively defended the institutional network when it was criticized and when attempts were made to modernize it during the 1960s. A first step in the creation of a national institutional network was the founding of the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier in Ottawa in 1926. Its birth coincided with the end of the struggle over Regulation 17. With the founding of "La Patente", the other name given to the Ordre, political action left the public sphere and entered the "backrooms of power", to repeat Robert Choquette's analogy in his book *La foi, gardienne de la langue en Ontario, 1900-1950* [Religion as a Protector of Language in Ontario, 1900-1950]. The Ordre de Jacques-Cartier pursued a number of objectives. It allowed the leaders of French Canada to exchange ideas away from public view. This process would lead to the development of a common approach and stimulate collective action, as "La Patente" sought to become the nationalist vanguard of French Canada. The organization also became an instrument of struggle similar to that of other ethnic groups, especially the Irish Catholics. According to the leaders of the Ordre, also called chancellors, the secret organizations established by Irish Catholics explained their success in the battles they had waged against French-speaking coreligionists over episcopal appointments. These societies were also considered responsible for the difficulties French Canadians faced in gaining access to the federal public service, particularly at the higher levels. To preserve its secret character, the Ordre controlled the selection of its members. The leaders of "La Patente" directed the growth of their ranks and the development of local cells throughout Canada.

The Ordre had two main means to promote unity of thought and action. First, it distributed newsletters to members in order to make its directives known and it produced a publication, *L'Émerillon*. Second, the Ordre infiltrated the various components of provincial institutional networks. Infiltration by members

of the Ordre of the decision-making structures of provincial organizations magnified their impact, because campaigns could be promoted or supported by intermediary bodies familiar to the public and government agencies. Some of these bodies were the Fédération des Sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste du Québec [FSSJBQ] and the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique [The Council of French Life in America], known before 1952 as the Comité permanent de la survivance française en Amérique [The Permanent Committee on French Survival in America].

The Conseil de la vie française en Amérique was created after the second Congrès de la langue française au Canada, held in Quebec City in 1937. It became another axis of French Canada's institutional network, protecting and promoting the national interest as well as serving as a tool for Quebec to help compatriots settled in the rest of the continent. The Conseil consisted of delegates from Quebec, a representative of the provincial association of each minority group, except for Ontario and New Brunswick which each had two seats, as well as Franco-American representatives, particularly from New England. Each provincial association served as a regional committee of the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique in its respective province or State. In Quebec this function was carried on by the Sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste.

One of the roles of the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique was to diversify and broaden the scope of the national institutional network. It provided the impetus for the creation of many bodies. Initially created to provide financial assistance to the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, the Comité Union des mutuelles-Vie française d'Amérique [The Committee of the Union of French Mutual Aid Associations of America] sought to become a vehicle for channeling savings for French Canada's economic development. The Association canadienne des éducateurs de langue française [ACELF] [The Canadian Association of French Language Educators] was created in Ottawa in 1947 to focus specifically on educational issues. With the creation of Liaison française travel agency, in 1954, the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique succeeded in promoting patriotic tourism by organizing summer trips to French-speaking communities in Canada.

In winter, travellers could visit Europe or exotic destinations such as Mexico or the Caribbean, which, in the latter case, allowed them to encounter French Canadian missionaries. For young people, seen as the institutions' indispensable future generation, the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique tried to revive the Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française [Catholic Association of French Canadian Youth] by transforming it into the Association de la jeunesse canadienne-française, initially intended to mobilize young French Canadians in Quebec and, eventually, to enroll all French Canadian youth. The creation of some of these bodies revealed a lingering distrust of the Irish Catholics, suspected of "hatching" devious plans to assimilate the French Canadians. In fact, French Canadian elites wanted to protect their institutional network and their power base. To this end, organizations such as the Association des commissaires d'écoles catholiques de langue française du Canada [Association of French Language Catholic School Trustees of Canada] and the Conseil canadien des associations d'éducation de langue française [Canadian Council of French Language Educational Association] were created in the second half of the 1950s.

The Conseil de la vie française en Amérique supported the Société canadienne d'établissement rural [Canadian Society for Rural Settlement], established in November 1946 at the Congrès national de la colonisation [National Conference on Settlement], held in Quebec. This organization worked to settle families in rural Quebec so as to re-establish the demographic balance between urban and rural society, which it felt had been broken. The Société canadienne d'établissement rural developed settlement programmes for French Canadian communities west of Quebec. The idea was to consolidate the territorial base of French Canada which faced the challenge of the arrival of thousands of immigrants to Canada after the Second World War.

In addition to its efforts to diversify and consolidate the French Canadian institutional network, the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique had to deal with the financial difficulties of French Canadian organizations. What was the point of creating a national institutional network if the provincial bases were weakened by insufficient funding? The Conseil de la vie française en

Amérique promoted the organization of fundraising campaigns. These provided opportunities to mobilize the people of Quebec in a show of solidarity with their compatriots in need. The Conseil quickly organized two fundraising campaigns. The first, in 1943, sought to support the Acadian French-language Catholic daily, *L'Évangéline*. Its success – Quebec contributed more than \$100,000 – paved the way for a second campaign two years later. The new drive was to support the creation of four private French-language radio stations in the three western provinces. The establishment of these stations resolved the question of French language radio in that part of the country. Close to \$190,000 was collected in Quebec, an amount equal to that raised by the provincial associations in the west. The four radio stations were in St. Boniface in 1946, Edmonton in 1949, and, finally, Gravelbourg and Saskatoon in 1952. The ad hoc fundraising campaigns of the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique became permanent following its consolidation with the Fédération des Sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste du Québec. Together they formed the Fraternité française d'Amérique [The French Fraternity of America]. From 1955 to 1963, annual drives were held in Quebec to support components of the institutional network of the Acadian, French Canadian and Franco-American communities on the continent. However, when the funds were distributed, the French-speaking communities of Canada received the lion's share.

The leaders of the French Canadian and Acadian provincial associations welcomed enthusiastically the founding of the Fraternité française d'Amérique for a number of reasons. The committee for the distribution of funds, made up of four members, included a representative of each of the associations. The subsidies helped the provincial institutional network. As well, the provincial associations became necessary intermediaries with the Fraternité française d'Amérique. This strengthened the leadership of the organizations in their respective communities, because their leaders were the ones who decided on the distribution of funds.

The Conseil de la vie française d'Amérique was also responsible for promoting national non-territorial cultural duality. It presented the concept of Canada as a pact between two founding

peoples to various royal commissions created by the federal government including the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, called the Rowell-Sirois Commission, and the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences in Canada, better known as the Massey Commission. As the hub of French Canada's collective activity, the Conseil reminded the federal government time and again of its obligations vis-à-vis the French Canadian nation, especially in the appointment of French Canadian senators, to ensure equitable representation in the upper chamber. The Conseil also initiated campaigns to promote institutional bilingualism and submitted reports documenting the under-representation of one of the founding peoples in the federal bureaucracy. The political culture of the French Canada's national institutional network emphasized quiet diplomacy. Gentle persuasion appeared to be incompatible with calls for grassroots mobilization. The Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, inspired by the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier, considered that the institutional leaders were best suited to look after the nation's welfare. When mobilization was called for, it was limited to the directors of the institutional network. The Conseil de la vie française en Amérique organized little or no public demonstrations for fear of provoking the English Canadian majority's potential opposition and thereby dooming its initiatives to failure. Paradoxically, this quiet activism helped to create the myth of its inactivity, the illusion that nothing was happening and, finally, the impression that the French Canadian institutional network's means of collective action were ineffective. The apparent lack of action and the meagre results obtained by the French Canadian institutional network provided ample proof for critics of the French Canadian idea starting in the 1950s.

## **Signs of the approaching storm 1950-1963**

The various activities undertaken by the components of the French Canadian national institutional network, including the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique and the Ordre de

Jacques-Cartier, which assumed leadership roles, created an impression of strength. However, there were signs of trouble on the horizon for the propagators of the French Canadian idea. Whether it was the definition of French Canada as a political space and focus of collective action, the view of a nation made up of two founding peoples, or the constituent elements of national identity, a number of events forced a reassessment and an examination of each aspect of the French Canadian idea.

Some of the institutions created to preserve the French Canadian identity were having difficulty fulfilling their mission. The Société canadienne d'établissement rural succeeded in settling a few Quebec families in Alberta and northeastern Ontario. However, it failed to trigger a broad movement of rural settlement and peaceful conquest of the land in the rest of the country. Its denunciation of the flight from rural areas as a serious danger to the nation, and a threat to its future had little impact on the population. Speeches on the benefits of colonization were no longer of any interest to the French Canadians in Quebec who were primarily working class and urban. The French Canadians in Ontario preferred the high wages available in the automobile plants of the south or employment in the mine and forest industries of the north.

Similar problems beset the fundraising campaigns organized by the Fraternité française d'Amérique from 1956 to 1963. The amounts collected barely met the expressed needs of the provincial institutional networks' leaders. The most successful campaign, in 1959, raised close to \$68,000, but the amount decreased in the first three years of the 1960s. In 1963, the Conseil de la vie française d'Amérique left the Fraternité française d'Amérique. It did so because of organizational problems in the annual fundraising campaign and because of the differing degrees of involvement of members of the local sections of the Sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste, who were responsible for collecting funds.

Roger Cyr, one of the chief organizers of the Fraternité française d'Amérique, noted that the message stressing the need for solidarity between the bastion and the outposts of French

Canada no longer moved the public. While the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique touted the annual fundraising campaign as a concrete demonstration of French Canadian fraternity, the organizers of the Fédération des Sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste du Québec pointed out the hollowness of this message. Therefore, the ideological premises that justified Quebec's support of the French Canadian outposts had to be re-examined, because those that had been proposed and propagated seemed to be out of date.

While the public was disenchanted, Quebec nationalist circles were showing signs of impatience, at a time when the battle for recognition of national non-territorial cultural duality was producing its first victories. The French Canadian institutional network, including the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier and the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, had led active campaigns to transform Canadian symbols of identity into instruments promoting national duality. To this effect, it had sent letters and briefs and organized delegations to pressure the federal government to adopt a Canadian flag shorn of British emblems. It reminded the government of its obligations to distribute official documents in both languages. The government was also pressured to extend institutional bilingualism across the country, so that Canadians would not get the idea that French should and could thrive only in Quebec.

At the beginning of 1962, the French Canadian institutional network had few victories to show for its efforts. While it had just achieved the distribution of federal government cheques in both languages across Canada, this victory was the result of a struggle that had gone on for almost 17 years. On 6 February 1962 when the Minister of Finance, Donald M. Fleming, made the announcement, euphoria reigned in French Canadian institutional circles. It boosted hopes of an impending victory in other claims related to institutional bilingualism. This decision, however, hardly created any excitement in Quebec nationalist circles. André Laurendeau, editor-in-chief of *Le Devoir*, led the attack in a short article on the front page of the 7 February 1962 issue. Headlined "Too little, Too late", Laurendeau condemned the federal policy of piecemeal concessions in the area of bilingualism. This

achievement was insufficient because the time had come to ask for the creation of a genuine bilingualism policy that would especially make it possible to increase the number of French Canadians in the federal public service.

As well, a short conflict waged and won over the 1961 census eventually produced disillusionment. The leaders of the French Canadian associations swung into action as soon as the Conservative government, led by John Diefenbaker, informed the House of Commons of the changes to the census forms in 1960. According to cabinet directives, it would be possible for respondents to reply "Canadian" to the question on ethnic origin. French Canada's institutional leaders feared that many citizens might indeed do so, and that this would lead to a significant drop in the number of French Canadians listed in the census. They compelled the federal government to drop the replies "Canadian" and "American" to the question on ethnic origin and to reprint the forms.

After the census was published, the March 1963 edition of the Jesuit periodical *Relations* carried a new study on the French fact in Canada by its director, Richard Arès. The author was quite pessimistic about the survival of the French fact outside Quebec. He did not hesitate to tie the fate of the French Canadian communities outside Quebec to that of the country as a whole. If the French-speaking minorities were to disappear, Canada could look forward to a similar fate.

French-speaking communities outside Quebec began to question the solutions proposed by French Canadian nationalist ideology to the social challenges created by Canada's economic development. An examination of the reaction of the French-speaking leadership in Ontario to the settlement of close to one million new Canadians in their province from 1945 to 1965 is revealing. It provides an indication of the significance of the impending soul-searching over the issue of collective identity when confronted by the phenomenon immigration. The arrival of numerous immigrants directly challenged the strategy adopted by the leaders of French-speaking Ontario, which sought to consolidate the territorial bases of their community through the

peaceful conquest of the land. New Canadians, many of whom were neither Catholic nor French-speaking, threatened the ability of the French Canadian community to maintain control of its institutions such as parishes and schools. Even more alarming, the existence of non-French-speaking Catholics and non-Catholic French-speakers posed a problem to the French Canadian groups in the south and centre of the province. They directly challenged the foundations of French Canadian identity. In an increasingly multicultural environment, was it still necessary to associate religion and language to be a French Canadian? Was it possible to admit non-Catholics to French Canadian organizations? Although the elites who defined identity answered yes to the first question and no to the second for fear of losing control of their institutions and power in the community, the answers to these questions provided only temporary solutions. In Quebec, a profound reassessment of French Canadian nationalist thinking had been going on since the 1950s.

## **French Canada and the disintegration of some of its characteristics during the 1960s**

A split occurred in the historical development of the French Canadian community in the 1960s because of events in Quebec that had consequences outside its borders. The Quiet Revolution was not a sudden occurrence or a movement begun by a spontaneously emerging generation. On the contrary, it is possible to assess the extent of the redefinition of French Canadian identity, a process begun in the previous decade, by the critiques of nationalist thought formulated in *Le Devoir*, as well as in the periodicals *Cité Libre* and *Action nationale*.

At the very time that the French Canadian institutional network was beginning to show success in promoting non-territorial national cultural duality and acting collectively for the benefit of all French Canadians, the basic tenets of French Canada were being sharply criticized. Many denounced French Canadian

nationalist thought as retrograde, suffocating and unsuited to the social problems faced by French Canadians, the majority of whom lived in urban centres and were industrial workers. Many authors in *Cité Libre* considered nationalism as being mainly responsible for the backwardness of the French Canadian community, while others, called neo-nationalists, believed that the nationalist ideology could be reformulated and transformed to meet the needs of the French Canadian nation. The neo-nationalist discourse which sought to challenge and revise the bases of the French Canadian idea was considered to be the most serious threat by the advocates of French Canadian nationalism. Many of those who proposed a renewal of nationalism were active within the institutional network. They included leaders of the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier, which viewed itself as the vanguard of French Canadian nationalist thought.

The process of rethinking many of the aspects of the French Canadian identity began in academic circles. Historians Michel Brunet, Guy Frégault and Maurice Séguin, who formed the Montreal historical school, proposed a definition of national identity that differed from that of their master, Lionel Groulx. Séguin believed that the French Canadian community was condemned by the British conquest of 1759 to a mediocre survival; it was too large to be assimilated but too small for independence. Brunet envisaged a future that was less bleak, at least for the part of the nation that constituted a majority within a given territory, namely, Quebec. To this end, Brunet proposed a new interpretation of Canada's development. In his lecture, *Canadians et Canadiens*, delivered in November 1953, Brunet rejected certain tenets of French Canadian nationalist thought. He declared that non-territorial national cultural duality was merely a pipe dream and set out a different theory of Canada's two peoples consistent with his new interpretation of the country's historical development. In this perspective, the centralization of powers by the federal government, which had markedly increased since the Second World War, revealed the *Canadian* nation's determination to achieve a nation-state centered in Ottawa. Brunet deemed this process to be quite normal, and asked his French Canadian compatriots to do the same by using as their stronghold, the only government they controlled, that of Quebec. The fight

for survival on North American soil would continue, only the battleground would change. Brunet proposed to replace the institutional network by Quebec provincial government as the agent of collective action.

In his fight against French Canadian nationalist thought, Brunet attacked one of its tenets, the notion that the survival of French Canada had been a miracle. In an article published in the journal *Action nationale* in 1956, and reproduced two years later as "Un problème historique mal posé: la survivance collective des Canadiens et leur résistance à l'assimilation" [A poorly conceived historical problem: the collective survival of French Canadians and their resistance to assimilation], which appeared in *La présence anglaise et les Canadiens: études sur l'histoire et la pensée des deux Canadas* [The English Presence and the *Canadiens*: Studies on the History and Thought of the Two Canadas], the author maintained that it was hardly a miracle when a community too large to be assimilated in a given territory had no choice but to survive. Conscious of making an abrupt break with the past, Brunet reformulated the problem of assimilation which, in his mind, was more than just tallying the number of people who no longer spoke their mother tongue. It was, he suggested, a social reality for any group that lost its means of collective action. Such was the fate of the French Canadian nation which after the British Conquest lost control of its destiny. However, the French Canadians living in Quebec could mitigate the trend towards assimilation, because since 1867 they had the basic tools for collective action: a provincial government.

On the basis of these ideas of collective action derived from Maurice Séguin, Brunet predicted a very gloomy future for the French Canadian communities outside Quebec. They were inevitably destined to be absorbed by the Canadian or American nations because they had lost control of their destinies. In the circumstances, what was the point of fighting for the recognition of the rights of French Canadian minorities in the rest of the country who were condemned by an assimilationist determinism, or of undertaking collective action with them to promote French Canada's claims? Brunet used the analyses of Richard Arès, published in the journal *Relations* in 1954, and based on 1951

census data, to validate his interpretation of the development of minority nations. Did Arès's figures not show the losses in their ranks? Brunet worked actively to disseminate his ideas. The Montreal historian condemned what he called the compensatory myths created by the French Canadian elite to mask their compatriots' economic inferiority and the nation's abnormal development. In addition to writing articles for *Action nationale*, he helped draft the brief that the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste of Montreal presented to the Royal Commission on Constitutional Problems, better known as the Tremblay Commission. The brief reiterated his basic theory of two nation-states, one of which, the Canadian one, was already in existence, while the other, the French Canadian one, still had to be created. At the beginning of the 1960s, he became a member of the steering committee of the Comité métropolitain montréalais de l'Ordre de Jacques-Cartier [Montreal Metropolitan Committee of the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier], which had been charged with proposing a new vision of the nation, so as to preserve the organization's vanguard role.

While criticism from neo-nationalist circles was cutting to pieces some aspects of French Canadian nationalist thought, much more virulent condemnations came from the independence movement that took hold within the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier. Although this current of thought represented a minority in French Canadian society, it began to influence the Quebec political scene, as can be seen from the creation of Alliance laurentienne in 1957 and the Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale [The Party of National Independence] in 1960. The Ordre spared no effort to try to stop the growth of the independence movement within its ranks. It expelled Marcel Chaput, an activist of the organization in Hull, who supported the idea of independence for Quebec, publicly disavowed French Canadian political thought, and even challenged the work of the institutional network on behalf of the French-speaking communities. According to Chaput, census data revealed a trend towards assimilation, that he took to be inevitable and he predicted the imminent demise of French-speaking minorities. His book, *Why I am a Separatist*, published in 1961, set the tone in the pessimistic discussions concerning the French-speaking group in Canada by arguing that

Confederation had become "the graveyard of the minorities". This pessimism came to dominate the ideological discourse. The author concluded that independence was the only solution for French Canadians, because it would enable them to end their minority status and control their destiny.

At the beginning of the 1960s the ideological centre of the French Canadian institutional network, l'Ordre de Jacques-Cartier, was disquieted by these discussions on the future of French Canada that shook academic circles and would soon affect civil society. The Ordre assessed the popularity of the new theories to take stock of the nationalist reality in French Canada during the debates that followed the tabling, in 1961, of a draft amendment to the Canadian constitution, known by the name of the minister of Justice at the time, Edmund Davie Fulton. These challenges to traditional nationalist thinking were also echoed in the manifesto on the nation developed by the Montreal metropolitan committee of the Ordre entitled, *Éléments d'une doctrine nationale pour les temps nouveaux* [Elements of a National Doctrine for a New Era]. The manifesto, which supported the associate states theory, was intended to win the broadest possible support within the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier. However, when the chancellors of the Ordre discussed it, division rather than unity resulted.

The 1962 and 1963 meetings on the Fulton formula, attended by leaders of the French Canadian associations, and the 1964 discussions by the chancellors of the Ordre around the manifesto on the nation reveal the conflict within the leadership of French Canada. The Ontario chancellors, who controlled the institutional network of their province, worried that the new proposals for constitutional change designed to accommodate the French Canadian nation such as independence, associate states, or special status for Quebec might have negative repercussions on the French-speaking communities outside Quebec. If the Ordre were to adopt the worst possible constitutional scenario, the proposal for independence, Quebec would become a French state and the French Canadians outside its national borders would be condemned to become exiles. Clearly they were frightened of the independence movement, but the

Ontario chancellors believed that it was not representative of the genuine constitutional intentions of the Quebec intelligentsia. The hypothesis that Quebec might become the political expression of French Canada gave them the greatest cause for concern. Defining Quebec as the political expression of French Canada challenged two of the fundamental tenets of the concept of French Canada. First, it involved a radical reformulation of the theory of two founding peoples. Instead of non-territorial national cultural duality, a duality was proposed between nation-states. Secondly, the institutional network would be perceived less and less as a relevant tool for collective action by all French Canadians and as the main instrument for showing solidarity with the French Canadian and Acadian communities outside Quebec. In fact, the government of Quebec would become the instrument of collective action and, therefore, assume responsibility for the communities outside its borders. After the election of the Liberal Party in June 1960, Quebec became a veritable focus for improving French Canadians' socio-economic status. The government made attempts to help the French-speakers of North America through the creation of the Service du Canada français d'outre-frontières [Agency of French Canada Abroad], an agency of the department of Cultural Affairs created in 1961. However, this government organization never had sufficient financial or human resources to carry out its task. It disappeared in the 1970s.

There were such fractious debates between the Ontario and Montreal chancellors on the various options for constitutional change of the relationship between French and English Canada that further dialogue became impossible; the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier was dissolved in February 1965. With its demise, the debate that had shaken the national institutional network and one of its main centres left the private sphere and entered the public domain through the États généraux du Canada français, an organization that had been moribund since 1962, but was revived in 1966 by former chancellors of the Ordre, including Rosaire Morin.

At the national meetings of the États généraux du Canada français in 1967, the clash between the Quebec delegates and

those of other provinces, particularly the French-speaking Ontarians, echoed previous confrontations, at least for the leaders of the ACFEO and the main organizers of the events. Of all the French Canadian communities outside Quebec, the ACFEO representatives were the most critical of these meetings. While the main leaders of the western Canadian provincial associations urged participation at any cost in order to hold Quebec accountable for its constitutional choices, the ACFEO argued for non-participation. The Ontario Association no longer expected anything from this national gathering. In spite of the organizers' reassuring statements, the États généraux had already stated their position by supporting the theory of two nation-states and abandoning the institutional network in favour of the Quebec government as the instrument of collective action. Still concerned about unity in French-speaking communities, the ACFEO maintained its presence as the Ontario delegation at all the sessions of the États généraux du Canada français except for the meetings in March 1969. At that time, the ACFEO publicly announced its boycott, after a resolution had been adopted recognizing French Canadians' right to self-determination and defining Quebec as the "national territory" and "basic polity" of the French Canadian nation.

The États généraux du Canada français in November 1967 marked a split within the nation, because the delegates of the French Canadian communities other than those of Quebec and Acadia rejected the first resolution on the right to self-determination or abstained from voting. The November 1967 sessions were the culmination of a controversy that had shaken the French Canadian institutional network since the end of the 1950s. They heralded the withdrawal of Quebec associations from the French Canadian institutional network, except for the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique. They also became a marker in the account of the construction of the Quebec identity. On this last point, these sessions signaled a rejection, because the concept of French Canada which had included the French-speaking communities in the rest of the country were no longer indispensable to Quebec's future historical development.

# Understanding the dimension of the break-up of French Canada

The break-up of French Canada ended a common experience that tended to unite French Canadian leaders around specific objectives since the second half of the nineteenth century. The importance of the transformation of French Canada was such that after the *États généraux du Canada français*, French speakers in the country followed different constitutional paths. When these paths crossed, as was the case in the debates from 1987 to 1990 on the Meech Lake accord and in 1992 on the Charlottetown agreement, there were conflicts.

To understand the split in French Canada, it is necessary to recall the reformulation of some of the basic tenets of French Canadian nationalist thought. The concept developed by Henri Bourassa, that of two founding peoples, remained intact. It was in the application of this principle interpreting the intentions of the Fathers of Confederation that neo-nationalist thought marked a break. The duality was now between nation-states, and the nation belonging to the French Canadians coincided with the political boundaries of the province of Quebec. For the leaders of the French-speaking communities outside this national territory to sanction such a reformulation of the two founding nations theory was out of the question. The leaders of French-speaking Ontario were the most vocal opponents of this position. They did not hesitate to bring about the dissolution of the *Ordre de Jacques-Cartier*, one of the foundations of the institutional network that spanned the whole country. They refused to see French Canada's grievances take a back seat to those of Quebec. The reformulation of the two founding peoples theory placed the leaders of the French Canadian communities in the rest of the country in an untenable position. In addition to having lost the political argument that justified the respect of their language rights, the leaders would now become the spokespeople of a minority, since the French Canadian majority was concentrated in Quebec, which ceased to be one of the many voices of the French Canadian nation.

The break-up of French Canada also meant that the institutional network was no longer a locus for the expression of collective action. Nationalist leaders in Quebec saw their provincial government as the primary tool for improving the socio-economic status of those living within Quebec's political boundaries. This second reformulation of French Canadian nationalist thinking removed the usefulness and, more importantly, the legitimacy of acting in conjunction with the other components of national institutional network to promote the French Canadian cause. Relying on the government of Quebec undermined the solidarity with French Canadian communities, since the government had better means than the institutional network to ensure the survival of the French fact in North America. However, the Quebec government provided only modest material and financial assistance to the North American French-speaking groups.

Since the establishment of relations between the Quebec government and French-speakers outside its borders and after the *États généraux du Canada français*, the Quebec institutional network no longer worked through the French Canadian national network. In fact, it was largely absent, except in a few organizations such as the *Conseil de la vie française en Amérique*. For French Canadian groups in the rest of the country the institutional network remained one of many instruments of collective action, since they lacked control over the federal or provincial governments. To this end, the *Fédération des francophones hors Québec* [Federation of French-Speakers Outside Quebec], subsequently renamed the *Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada* [Federation of French-Speaking and Acadian Communities of Canada], was created in 1975.

As well as reformulating two basic tenets of the concept of French Canada, the break-up also resulted in a radical transformation of the central question of identity. The solid core of that identity created by the union of faith and language was challenged, a challenge felt in all the French Canadian and Acadian communities. The change can be partially explained by factors outside the community. In the background was the Second Vatican Council, which forced the Church to rethink its role in a changing world. In French-speaking communities it withdrew

from the organization of social and cultural life. Thereafter, the Church would limit itself to pastoral activities. Although the change has been the object of few studies in the French Canadian groups outside Quebec, it must be emphasized, since many religious communities, both male and female, had founded educational institutions, hospitals and tools of mass communications there.

The redefinition of identity in the French Canadian communities outside Quebec also resulted from internal factors linked to government initiatives that necessitated the rethinking of the elements of identity. In Saskatchewan, educational laws were liberalized, resulting in an increase in the number of hours of instruction in French; this freed the Association culturelle franco-canadienne de la Saskatchewan from its mission to protect educational rights. In the case of French-speaking Ontario, the debate on identity took place in the context of proposals by John Robarts's provincial government to fund a system of public French-language secondary schools. In accepting the government's plan, the 1967 ACFEO congress no longer regarded as necessary the links between denominational education and the French language in the definition of French Canadian identity. Through financial support from the Secretary of State under the Assistance to Official-Language Minorities programs starting in 1969, the ACFEO embarked upon a cultural shift, much as the French-speaking associations in other provinces, to emphasize the use of a common language, French, as the essential feature of culture. These changes led to the emergence of an identity based upon the use of a language and identification with a territory. Yesterday's French Canadians became Franco-Ontarians, Franco-Columbians, Franco-Manitobans, etc.

The development of these provincial identities is not unrelated to the definition of the collective identity of Quebeckers. Territoriality became an inclusive factor, and the French language was hailed as a factor of common identity. But the break-up of French Canada entailed a dissolution, at least among the Quebec elites. They sought to end the minority status associated with the French Canadian identity. As French Canadians, everyone was in a minority situation. As Quebeckers, French-speakers were no

longer members of a minority but became part of a majority in a given territory. The term 'minority' now applied to the French-speakers in the rest of the country. Finally, the idea that the French-speaking minority groups would disappear became more popular. Neo-nationalism played a role in this regard. In political speeches and academic studies it became politically correct to propose doom and gloom scenarios for the future of the French fact outside Quebec.

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## Suggestions for further reading

There are few published studies on relations between Quebec and French-speaking communities in the rest of the country. Marcel Martel's doctoral dissertation was revised and published as a book entitled *Le deuil d'un pays imaginé. Rêves, lutttes et déroutte du Canada français. Les rapports entre le Québec et la francophonie canadienne (1867-1975)* (Ottawa, Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, CRCCF, 1997). One can also consult Yves Frenette *Brève histoire des Canadiens français* (Montréal, Boréal, 1998). A book has also been published by the Conseil de la langue française, *Pour un renforcement de la solidarité entre francophones au Canada: Réflexions théoriques et analyses historique, juridique et sociopolitique* [Quebec, 1995]. This collection of writings includes studies by Linda Cardinal and Angéline Martel on the causes of the current tensions between Quebec and minority French-speaking communities. The article by Léon Thériault provide a historical perspective on relationships between Quebec and Acadia. The articles by Angéline Martel and Thériault have also appeared in the journal *Égalité*, 33 [1993]. One can also consult Arthur Silver, *The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation. 1864-1900* (Toronto, 1997, second edition). In the volume *Les Franco-Ontariens*, edited by Cornelius J. Jaenen, [Ottawa, 1993] Pierre Savard has done pioneering work in his article "Relations avec le Québec" in which the author examines personal and institutional relationships between Quebec and French-speaking Ontario. For a historical view on the attitude of the Catholic Church to French Canadian and Catholic minorities outside Quebec, see Roberto Perin, "Clerics and the Constitution: The Quebec Church and Minority Rights in Canada", *Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Historical Studies*, 56 (1989), 31-47. Robert Choquette has written many books and articles on the influence of the Church, among which *L'Église catholique dans l'Ontario français du dix-neuvième siècle* (Ottawa, 1984), *La foi gardienne de la langue en Ontario, 1900-1950* (Montréal, 1987), *The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest* (Ottawa, 1995), "La sécularisation dans la diaspora canadienne" in *Religion, sécularisation, modernité. Les expériences francophones en Amérique du Nord* (Sainte-Foy, 1996). In *Un rêve français dans*

*le peuplement de la Prairie* [St. Boniface, 1986] Robert Painchaud analyzes the efforts of the first French Canadian bishops to attract Quebec French-speakers to the Canadian west. Two articles by Richard Arès published at the time of the centennial of Confederation should also be mentioned. The first, "Un siècle de vie française en dehors du Québec", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 21, 3a [1967] traces the development of French life outside Quebec after 1867. Arès uses census data to chart the development of assimilation. He deals with the same subject in "Le Canada français. Origine, Expansion, Situation présente" which appeared in *Esquisses du Canada français* [Ottawa, Montreal, 1967]. This book was published in English as *Facets of French Canada*. Finally, there is the book by Lionel Groulx, *L'enseignement français au Canada. II - Les écoles des minorités* [Montreal, 1933]. In this volume, the author deals with the main school struggles waged by French Canadian minorities. One should also consult Robert Choquette, *Language and religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario* (Ottawa, 1975), and Paul Crunican, *Priests and Politicians. Manitoba Schools and the Elections of 1896* (Toronto, 1974). Regarding Ontario, there is also Chad Gaffield's, *Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict. The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario* (Kingston, 1987).

The issue of the transformation of French Canadians' identity has been the subject of a number of books and articles. First, the activities of the États généraux du Canada français can be examined in *Les États généraux du Canada français. Assises préliminaires tenues à l'Université de Montréal du 25 au 27 novembre 1966*; *Les États généraux du Canada français: Exposés de base et documents de travail* and *Les États généraux du Canada français: Assises nationales tenues à la Place des Arts de Montréal du 23 au 26 novembre 1967*, published by Action nationale in 1967 and 1968. There is also *Les États généraux du Canada français: Assises nationales du 5 au 9 mars 1969* [Action nationale, 1969]. Some documents deal with the break-up of French Canada without, however, analysing all aspects of this phenomenon. They include the ones by Fernand Harvey, "Le Québec et le Canada français: histoire d'une déchirure", which appeared in *Identité et cultures nationales: L'Amérique française*

*en mutation* [Sainte-Foy, 1995], Marcel Martel, "De la certitude au doute: l'identité canadienne-française de l'Ontario de 1937 à 1967", published in *Une langue qui pense: La recherche en milieu minoritaire francophone au Canada* [Ottawa, 1993] and articles by Danielle Juteau-Lee, "Ontarois et Québécois: relations hors-frontières?", which appeared in *Du continent perdu à l'archipel retrouvé: Le Québec et l'Amérique française* [Quebec, 1983]; and "Français d'Amérique, Canadiens, Canadiens français, Franco-Ontariens, Ontarois: qui sommes-nous?", *Pluriel*, 24 [1980]. In his book *L'identité à l'épreuve de la modernité: écrits politiques sur l'Acadie et les francophonies canadiennes minoritaires* (Moncton, 1995), Joseph Yvon Thériault gives a good analysis of the situation.

On the subject of the French Canadian institutional network, a few studies exist of the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier. There is the account by one of its members, Roger Cyr, *La Patente: Tous les secrets de la "maçonnerie" canadienne-française, l'Ordre de Jacques-Cartier* [Montreal, 1964]. Some interesting critical analyses include a doctoral thesis by G. Raymond Laliberté, which provided the material for his study *Une société secrète: l'Ordre de Jacques Cartier* [Montreal, 1983]. In his volume *La foi, gardienne de la langue en Ontario. 1900-1950* [Montreal, 1987], Robert Choquette devotes a chapter to the role of the Ordre in Ontario. Although the Ordre's activities covered the entire country, a study having such a scope has not yet been undertaken. There is a short article by Bernard Wilhelm published in 1994 in *Les discours de l'altérité, les actes du douzième colloque du Centre d'études franco-canadiennes*. For information on the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, the monograph written by the secretary of the organization, Paul-Émile Gosselin, *Le Conseil de la vie française, 1937-1967* [Quebec, 1967] is worth examining.

A number of studies have recently appeared on the French-speaking minority communities. They include: *Les Franco-Ontariens*, edited by Cornelius J. Jaenen, [Ottawa, 1993]; Jacques Cotnam, Yves Frenette et Agnès Whitfield (dir.), *La francophonie ontarienne: bilan et perspectives de recherche* (Hearst, 1995); *Acadia of the Maritimes: Thematic Studies from the Beginning*

*to the Present*, edited by Jean Daigle, [Moncton, 1995]; Georges Arsenault, *Les Acadiens de l'île, 1720-1980* (Moncton, 1987); Jacques Paul Couturier et Phyllis E. LeBlanc, *Économie et société en Acadie. 1850-1950* (Moncton, 1996); Sally Ross et J.-Alphonse Deveau, *Les Acadiens de la Nouvelle-Écosse: hier et aujourd'hui* (Moncton, 1995); Donald B. Smith, "A History of French-Speaking Albertans" published in *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity* [Saskatoon, 1985] and Richard Lapointe and Lucille Tessier, *The Francophones of Saskatchewan. A History* (Regina, 1986).

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