

ECONOMIC FACTORS  
AFFECTING  
THE TREND OF LANGUAGE  
IN THE  
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC



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ECONOMIC FACTORS AFFECTING THE TREND OF LANGUAGE

IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

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- by -

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PART I

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE  
FRENCH LANGUAGE IN CANADA



## CHAPTER I

### FRENCH LANGUAGE AREAS IN CANADA

From the Arctic to the Gulf of Mexico extends the greatest expanse of territory in the world where a single language is spoken. Over 130,000,000 people, drawn from every country in the old world, are found living side by side and using a common tongue. It is true, there are certain sections of this great area in which English takes a secondary place to some other, but as a general rule one would be quite safe in referring to the whole territory as English-speaking, with one notable exception----the extensive use of the French language in certain parts of Canada and the United States.

A glance at a map of Canada shaded according to the language spoken by its inhabitants, would reveal the existence of two major tongues, English and French, the latter of which forms the everyday means of articulation, writing and thought, both in their homes and in the business of approximately 30% of the inhabitants of the Dominion.

This is a most significant fact, and one which English-speaking citizens resident in other parts of the Dominion fail to realize. If the average person of Anglo-Saxon extraction in Halifax, Toronto, Winnipeg, or Vancouver were informed that nearly one out of every three people in Canada is French-speaking, he would certainly express unfeigned surprise. The reason for this is that the use



of the French language is confined for the most part to certain sections of the country where French-speaking people predominate, and where contact with Anglo-Saxon culture is limited. It is the purpose of this chapter to show in what parts of the Dominion these French language areas are situated, and to give a retrospective summary of any advance or recession they may have made.

The great focal centre of the French language and the backbone of French civilization on this continent lies in the Province of Quebec. It is here that the first permanent French settlements of any importance were made; it was here rather than in French Acadia whose development was so often arrested by its transfer back and forth between France and England, that a true offshoot of Old France was grafted in the New World; here was the ecclesiastical and political centre of New France, and it was within the confines of Quebec that most of the French Canadians were living when the St. Lawrence valley fell into English hands in 1759-60. It is only natural, therefore, to find that Quebec is the present population and culture centre of the French in America.

At the time of the 1921 census, of a total population in Quebec of 2,351,600 almost 1,900,000 or 80% claimed French for their mother tongue. As it is only the southern part of the province that is settled, the French form a compact group occupying most of the area south of the St. Lawrence River from Gaspé to the 45th parallel, and spreading northwards in diminishing density from the north bank of the St. Lawrence to a line drawn roughly  
1)  
from Lake Temiskaming to Lake St. John. Over that vast area, the continuity of the French language is only broken by an English-speaking minority in the Eastern townships, in and around Montreal, and by scattered outposts of the Anglo-Saxon people in Gaspé and

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1) Map shaded according to race, issued by Dept of Interior, 1915.



on the East Bank of the Ottawa.

It is in this area that the 60,000 French Canadians, conquered politically in 1760, have through their descendants emerged triumphant linguistically. It is in this area that one can hear spoken, on a continent essentially English-speaking, a language in several respects more akin to the French of Louis XIV than to that of modern France, a language that in most parts of the province is used exclusively in education, in literature, municipal government, in business, in the home, and in ordinary everyday life. It is in this area that there exists a white, civilized population which has been living under the British flag for 170 years, and yet almost 60% of which is still unacquainted with the English language----an anomaly that has no parallel in any other part of the British Empire.

If statistics prove anything this French language area bids fair to spread. In 1760 there were some 60,000 French inhabitants in New France. By the 1921 census their descendants in Canada numbered 2,452, 751; and the next census which is only a year off will bring this figure nearer to the 3 million mark. Overlooking entirely the one million or more French Canadians who have migrated to the United States, the above figures show that where there was one Frenchman in 1760 there are 50 in Canada to-day. Bearing this process in mind, a glimpse into the future would reveal some very astonishing facts.

The extraordinary fecundity of the French Canadian families is universally known, and comparison with other countries shows the French Canadian birth rate to be one of the highest in the western world. The official census of the Dominion does not give us precise statistics as to the respective rate of natality of the two races, but if we examine the birth rate of the Province



of Quebec which is over 80% French, we find that it is higher than that of any other province in Canada. In 1926 Quebec's birth rate was 32.1 per thousand, Ontario 21.5, while that of British Columbia, the least French province in the Dominion, was 17.4.<sup>1)</sup> In Quebec itself the County of Lake St. John, which is almost 100% French, had the highest rate---50.4, while in the County of Brome, where the English element predominates, the proportion of 17.5<sup>2)</sup> was the lowest. Despite its high mortality rate, Quebec's<sup>3)</sup> decennial rate of increase is given as 21.5, as against 15.59 in Ontario, its nearest competitor in this respect.

These figures explain the rapid growth of the French Canadian people, Families of 10, 12, and 15 children are still not uncommon them, and formerly were quite general. In 1890 the Mercier Government passed a law providing that every father of a family having twelve living children should receive from the government a free grant of land of 100 acres. In 1904 a report on the results of this provision published the names of 3,395 families which within a period of thirteen years had taken advantage of this land grant. In 1906 a supplementary report added 2018 other names to the list of beneficiaries, making a total of 5,413 families ~~xxx~~ having at least 12 children. "This law was repealed in 1905 because all the public lands were threatening to fall into the hands of these enterprising fathers", humourously declared the Honourable Mr. Taschereau in a recent address.

The above-mentioned philoprogenitiveness of the French Canadian has had its repercussion in the formation of new French language areas in Canada. As the French-speaking centres in Quebec become overcrowded, the enterprising French youth leave their

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1) Statistical Year Book of Quebec 1926

2) Ibid 1927

3) Ibid 1927



native villages and establish new outposts of the French language in English-speaking parts of the Dominion. Thus from the focal centre of the French language in Quebec, there radiate new language areas west into Ontario, Northwest into New Ontario, Manitoba and the Canadian West, south into the Eastern Townships and the United States, and east into Gaspé. Quebec, then, stands like a giant amoeba shooting its pseudopodia into all directions whenever the pressure of its French-speaking population at home becomes too great.

We shall first discuss the spread of the French language within the confines of its native province, namely into the Eastern Townships, which is the regional name for those counties lying south of the St. Lawrence River. This section of the province whose inhabitants trace their descent to Loyalist settlements after the Revolutionary wars, has always been traditionally English-speaking. There are 65 counties in the Province of Quebec. Forty years ago eight of these----Sherbrooke, Stanstead, Compton, Mississquoi, Huntington, Brome, Argenteuil, and Pontiac---had a majority of English inhabitants. To-day, only one, the County of Pontiac, has a clear English-speaking majority. Thirty years ago the City of Sherbrooke, metropolis of the Eastern Townships, had a population of 9,000 with a slight English majority. By the 1921 census there are some 23,000 inhabitants, about 17,000 of whom are French. It is this process of peaceful penetration that is slowly substituting the use of French for English in the rural parts of Quebec where English was formerly spoken. In Compton, for example, a county colonised by Scotch farmers, the French from the older counties, especially Beauce, where there is a surplus population, slowly migrate from

1) Census of Canada 1881

2) Ibid 1921

3) Ibid 1881

4) Ibid 1921



their own villages and buy out the English farms. "This movement is so considerable that in numerous townships where thirty years ago not a word of French was spoken, you would not be understood to-day if you spoke in English"<sup>1)</sup>. Mr. Hector Garneau, grandson of the famous Canadian historian, states that there are records of municipal governments in Quebec which, though formerly bilingual, have received permission from the provincial government to conduct all business solely in the French tongue for there were no longer any English people in the municipality to make the use of English necessary. This fact has been confirmed by the Department of Municipalities in Quebec.<sup>2)</sup>

What is true of the Eastern townships, is equally true of several other parts of the province, such as on the east bank of the Ottawa in Argenteuil, or in the Gaspé peninsula in the counties of Charlevoix and Gaspé. In the latter, Henri Lemay says, "There are whole townships of "habitants" bearing English names, calling themselves Macdougall or Fraser, but not knowing a 'yes' or 'no' in the tongue of Shakespeare"<sup>3)</sup>. This statement is borne out by proofs from real life. Thus John Jones Ross, premier of Quebec 1884-87, though obviously of Anglo-Saxon origin, could hardly speak English. The same is true to-day of the present lieutenant-governor of Quebec, the Hon. Mr. Carroll, and of Mgr. Ross, Bishop of Rimouski, both of whom are Anglo-Saxon by descent, and yet whose mother tongue is French.

While the French language was gaining the ascendancy over the English in certain sections of Quebec, it was making a simultaneous penetration into Ontario at three separate points ~~88333~~---the Southwest, the East, and the North. Early in the

1) Henri Lemay "The Future of the French Canadian Race", article in the Canadian Magazine, May 1911.

2) Private letter sent to the writer.

3) Lemay op. cit.

the 19th century migrations from the Province of Quebec into Ontario took place and were at first directed to the County of Glengarry.<sup>1)</sup> But it was not until 1830 that this migration became extensive<sup>2)</sup> and began to flow into Manitoba and the western provinces. Exception must be made, however, to some 4,000 whose settlement in the western part of Ontario, mainly in the counties of Essex and Kent, dates back to the days of the early French explorers and furtraders.<sup>3)</sup> This group was considerably reenforced by newcomers from Quebec. In 1867 its population numbered 13,400 souls<sup>4)</sup> and now aggregates over 33,000.

It was in the Eastern part of the province that the first important expansion of Quebec into Ontario took place. Though the migration began early in the 19th century, at the date of the union of the two Canadas (1841) the French tongue only counted 14,000 adherents. Mainly drawn from the agricultural class, they<sup>5)</sup> took up lands in the counties of Glengarry and Stormont and along the banks of the Ottawa River beginning with Prescott and Russell. In the three adjacent counties of Prescott, Russell and Glengarry, the total population was roughly 68,000 in 1871, of which 28,000<sup>6)</sup> or 41% were French. By the 1921 census this percentage had increased to 68%, turning the French minority into a preponderating majority. Even in neighbouring counties such as Stormont, Grenville, Frontenac, or Hastings, though the French are still ~~xxx~~ a minority, their number is increasing relatively ~~xx~~ to the English inhabitants there.

Following the course of the Ottawa River and reaching the capital we find that in 1921 the French formed 28% of the population. Passing northward through the county of Renfrew the pro-

1) "French Canadians Outside of Quebec", Senator Belcourt, in the Annals of the American Academy, 1923.

2) Ibid 3) Ibid 4) Ibid

5) Ibid

6) Census of 1871.



portion of French gradually increases, especially as we reach the Mattawa and North Bay district. At this point the line of settlement divides itself into two distinct lines,<sup>1)</sup> one extending towards Temiscaming where settlement conditions are found very favourable for both agricultural and mining purposes. The other line follows the shores of Lake Nipissing pushing directly to the west and taking in such quickly-developing centres as North Bay, Sturgeon Falls, and Sudbury.<sup>2)</sup> From here one branch turns south along Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, while the main line of French settlement continues west along the northern shore of the North Channel to Sault Ste. Marie and the surrounding country.<sup>3)</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting and significant phase of the migration from Quebec is the settlement of many French-speaking citizens in northern Ontario especially upon the great clay belt of the province which is traversed by the National Transcontinental Railway. They are engaged in the task of clearing vast areas of agricultural land, and have assumed, unconsciously no doubt, the work of bridging the chasm between the East and West, and filling up the gap caused by 1200 miles of uninhabited territory.<sup>4)</sup>

In all the above mentioned French settlements in Ontario the "habitant" brings with him his institutions---his religion, culture, birth rate, and above all, his language. We quote an excerpt gleaned by chance from the Montreal Gazette of October 31, 1929;-

"The little town of Bondfield, near North Bay, is proud of the fact that it has 180 families with an average of 10 children each. Of the grand total, 178 families are French. Bondfield plainly, is a little bit of Quebec in Ontario".

1)Atlas of Canada, Map showing origin of population. Dept of Interior.

2)Ibid

3)Ibid

4)Belcourt op.cit.

Indeed, as Senator Belcourt points out, many parts of Eastern Ontario are in appearance and in fact as typically French as those<sup>1)</sup> of Quebec.

### THE MARITIMES

As in every other province of Canada, so in the Atlantic provinces, French was the tongue of the first civilized settlers. Here the use of French remained unchallenged until the 18th century, when, after a period of 60 years during which the possession of Acadia see-sawed back and forth between France and England, the latter finally remained in undisputed ~~possession~~ control. After the expulsion of the Acadians, the settlement of New Englanders, and the arrival of the Loyalists, the English tongue assumed the ascendancy which it still holds, although in recent years the tremendous increase in the Acadian population of New Brunswick foreshadows a possible future challenge to the security of the English tongue in that province.

In 1767 the Acadians first established themselves in<sup>2)</sup> Northern New Brunswick. Their descendants to-day, constitute over one-half of the component populations of the northern 7 counties of the province-----Gloucester, Kent, Madawaska, Northumberland,<sup>3)</sup> Restigouche, Victoria, and Westmoreland. Hence in New Brunswick, where the use of the French language is accorded no political or legal status, one may travel from Madawaska to Gloucester, and from Gloucester to Westmoreland, and hear French spoken more often than English.

In the two remaining provinces the French are scattered and their language areas do not present the compactness which is to be found in New Brunswick. Though every county of Nova Scotia

1) Belcourt op.cit. ----

2) Kingsford "History of Canada"

3) Census 1921



numbers French Canadian inhabitants among its population, the French form the nearest approximation to compact groups in 3 separate sections of the province---<sup>1)</sup>first, on the west in Digby and Yarmouth where they constitute  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>2)</sup> of the population; second, in the vicinity of the Straits of Canso where their combined numbers in Antigonish and Richmond total three-eighths of the population;<sup>3)</sup> third, in Inverness where they lay claim to 22% of the population.<sup>4)</sup> In Prince Edward Island they are also scattered, although they aggregate  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the citizens of Prince County.

Taken as a whole, the Maritimes do not present a very favourable field for the future development of a French language area. It is only in Northern New Brunswick that the French language has held its ground and shows the possibility of future conquest; but in southern New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, where the proximity and influence of Quebec are lacking, and where the groups of French Canadians are less numerous, their cohesion is more difficult to bring about. Hence the pressure of greater contact with English forces them to become bilingual. This statement is borne out by the census of 1921, which shows that the percentage of French population over 10 years of age which could not speak English was 3.43 in Prince Edward Island, 13.26 in Nova Scotia, while in compact French New Brunswick the figure reached 35%.

The stagnation or retrogression of the total population of the Maritimes has often been alluded to by French Canadian writers as an index of French advancement in this section of Canada, their claim being that while the total population remains steady,

1)Atlas of Canada, map according to origin of pop.

2)Census 1921    3)Ibid    4)Ibid

that of the French with their superior birth rate, continues to increase. This "a priori" statement finds its own negation in the last three censuses of the Dominion, which show that the proportion of the French to the total population in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island has remained about the same, namely one-tenth in the former and one-eighth in the latter; while New Brunswick is the only province where the proportion of French registered a gain,<sup>1)</sup> increasing from 23% of the total population in 1901 to 31% in 1921.

### THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES

There remains only one other important sphere of the French language in Canada, namely, the Northwest. This immense "Pays en Haut" with its vast prairies continued until the 19th century to be <sup>the</sup> exclusive domain of the Indians and the French "Coureurs de Bois". The fur trade was almost completely in their hands, of the latter. An official record now in the London office shows that in 1767, of the 121 canoes licensed to carry on the fur trade in the Northwest, 107 were owned and manned by the French.<sup>2)</sup> In 1790 marriages between Canadians and Indians began,<sup>3)</sup> and their intrepid offspring, known familiarly as half-breeds, became the most energetic and active part of the population. French was their mother tongue and Catholicism was their religious affiliation. After the arrival of Lord Selkirk's Scotch colony, and especially after the union of the rival trading companies in 1821, the hegemony of the half-breed was subjected to a slow attrition. French Quebec had always cherished the hope that the Northwest would some day form an outlet for its own French-speaking population, and would become a new French colony with French traditions and language. For a while this dream seemed possible of realization, espec-

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1) Census 1901, and 1921

2) Belcourt op.cit.

3) Ibid.



ially after the transfer of the territorial rights of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion, which date marks the beginning of a migration to the Northwest of considerable numbers of French-speaking Canadians, both from eastern Canada as well as from the United States. The Manitoba Land Act of 1872 reserved certain townships for French immigrants, and five of these were set aside for repatriated French Canadians who moved in from the United States."It is estimated that several thousand from across the border<sup>1)</sup> settled the new province in this way."

But Canada's Northwest population was destined to be augmented by a new immigration from without and by migration from within. The 80's, 90's, and first decade and a half ~~and~~ of the 20th century saw such an influx of non-French into the Canadian West, that the French speaking element became a hopeless minority, while the scattered nature of their settlements laid their language open to invasion. When Manitoba became a province<sup>2)</sup> in 1870 one-half of its 12,000 people was still speaking French,<sup>3)</sup> while in 1901 only 6% were of French origin. The population of<sup>4)</sup> Manitoba doubled every two years between 1871 and 1883, most of the settlers coming from the British Isles or from Ontario, with its traditional antipathy to everything not essentially English. The horizon of French hope was thus darkened with dim forebodings of an impending catastrophe.

A short period of about 25 years spans the interval between 1871 and 1896. Yet 1870 saw the French language achieve its supreme triumph when the new province of Manitoba was made bilingual. But this privilege along with others was swept away

1) Hill "History of Manitoba".

2) Census 1871.

3) We were obliged to use the census of 1901, for that of 1891 gives no figures for the origin of the population.

4) Hill op.cit.

by the onrushing current of immigration, and 1896 marks the last great stand for its rights of a French minority, which only a quarter of a century earlier had had visions of a French language and a Catholic religion spreading from Quebec through Northern Ontario to the Rockies.

To-day the principal French settlements in the west are to be found in southern and southeastern Manitoba, especially along the Red River to the American boundary<sup>1)</sup>. They also occupy scattered settlements in other parts of Manitoba, and also in Sask and Alberta. In the former, Regina, Qu'appelle, Villeroy, Weyburn, Estevan, Swift Current, Mosse Jaw and especially Gravelbourg<sup>2)</sup> are their main centres. In the latter they are located principally at Edmonton, St. Albert, Morinville, Beaumont, and particularly in the flourishing and exclusively French colony<sup>3)</sup> of Trochuvallee. Here live these descendants of the early French settlers, reenforced by compatriots from Quebec. Their combined number in the three provinces amounts to some 120,000.

A chapter dealing with the French language areas in Canada would not be complete without some mention of the French in the United States. The exodus of French to the United States began in 1834 and has continued with varying intensity to the present day, adding to the population of the United States a number of French Canadians variously estimated up to 1,750,000<sup>4)</sup>. Though they and their descendants are to be found in every state<sup>5)</sup> in the union, about 75% reside in the New England states. The main cause of so many departing from their native soil arose out of the industrial and financial crisis which prevailed under the union of Ontario and Quebec, as well as the hope of higher wages and

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1) Atlas of Canada; map according to origin of population.

2) Belcourt op.cit. 3) Ibid 4) Ibid

5) Wm Macdonald "French Canadians in New England".



better living conditions in the land to the south. Many, in fact, hoped to earn enough to liberate their properties from indebtedness and to resume some day the tilling of their Canadian farms. Owing to the indifference of Canadian governmental authorities little attempt was made to arrest the exodus or to bring back those who<sup>1)</sup> had left. By 1900 over 84% had become naturalized.

Until now most efforts to repatriate them had been sporadic and half-hearted, and consequently fruitless. But of late, the Taschereau Government has been making a serious and conscientious attempt to bring the lost ones back to the fold. If we may judge by the report which has been presented to the Quebec legislature by the Honourable Hector Laferte (Jan. 1930), the policy is meeting with a measure of success. To date Quebec has succeeded in bringing back a large number of French Canadian families who have found that economic conditions in the United States were not as favourable as they appeared to be.<sup>2)</sup> In any case, ~~xxx~~ it is obviously impossible to repatriate all of our French compatriots who have left us, and we can never hope to regain more than a small slice of the heritage we have lost.

As for the security of the French tongue under the Stars and Stripes we quote the following extracts from current periodicals:

"The French Canadians in New England are gradually losing their identity and coalescing with other nationalities, especially the Irish. I have myself heard French people say they were ashamed to speak French in their United States home. The birth rate among them is lower than in Quebec; child mortality, especially up to five years, remains high.....The influence of industrial life and free public schools is doing the rest".<sup>3)</sup>

1) Ibid. Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 12

2) Editorial "Le Canada", Jan. 17, 1930.

3) Macdonald op.cit.

Then, again, the following article in the Literary Digest confirms the above:-

"French children born here(ie. in U.S.) grow up thoroughly American. So much is this the case that a difficulty found in some French families, we are told, is to have the children preserve their ~~k~~nowledge of French. Not infrequently it happens that while children can understand their parents when addressed in French, they are incapable of responding in that language because they have no opportunity to talk it outside their own home. Thus results an odd contrast; while many Americans have made it a cultural ambition to have their children learn French from childhood, many French people have found their children more or less unconsciously abandoning French for the exclusive use of English".<sup>1)</sup>

Such, then, is the area covered by the French language in Canada and in the United States. From its maximum compactness in Quebec it spreads south into the United ~~Sax~~ States, and southeast into New Brunswick, with scattered patches in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. To the west it enters Ontario following the Ottawa valley, and then, striking north across the great clay belt, forms a dim, shadowy, arm connecting the scattered outposts of the French tongue in Southern Manitoba, in Alberta and Saskatchewan. In the Province of Quebec lies the brightest future for the French language on this continent, for there its adherents come into least contact with the dominant English tongue; while a lack of this cohesion and more open diffusion with Anglo-Saxon culture, detracts from the certainty of a similar future for the French language in at least two of the Maritime provinces, in Ontario, and in the Canadian West.

1) Literary Digest Jan. 31, 1920



Then again, the Roman Catholic church with its hierarchical omnipresence is more strongly entrenched in Quebec than in any other part of the Dominion, and will continue to act as a retarding influence upon too rapid a change in the language used by the French Canadian; while at the same time, this influence becomes negligible in the scattered condition of the French communities outside of Quebec. Furthermore, conservatism and adherence to tradition are a glaring characteristic of the French citizen, and this racial quality is best preserved in the compact French social life of Quebec rather than in the diluted replica of French social life elsewhere in Canada. Finally, the centripetal action of the French tongue in Quebec with the parallel centrifugal one outside may also be explained by legal and political considerations. For in no other province in the Dominion is the use of the French tongue endowed with the legal sanction and political status that it has in Quebec. But this brings us to our next chapter to which we may now turn.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL STATUS OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE IN CANADA

#### (i) In Government

We have seen how 60,000 French-speaking Canadians have in one hundred and seventy years evolved into 3,000,000 British subjects, nearly all of whom claim French for their mother tongue, and 50% of whom are still unacquainted with English. A natural question at once arises: How is it that on a continent essentially English-speaking the language of such a minority group has not only not been dessicated, but has extended its sway farther and farther afield? Surely the 120,000,000 inhabitants of North America who use English every day of their lives would by now have absorbed this mere "drop in the bucket"? How has the French language been able to persist for so many generations in Eastern Canada when in the Canadian West communities composed of such diverse ethnic groups as "Hungarians, French, Bohemians, Germans, and Scandinav-<sup>1)</sup>ians .... all speak a common language within a generation or two"?

Although we may call to our aid diverse reasons--- ethnic, economic, legal and constitutional, physical features of the country, and so forth,--- to explain this phenomenon, certain it is that the French tongue, spoken by a numerical minority, could never have achieved the eminent position it now holds had it not

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J.T.M. Anderson "The Education of the Newer Canadian". P.34

been firmly entrenched behind a rampart of legal and constitutional safeguards. This chapter, therefore, has for its aim an historical appreciation and present survey of the legal status of the French language in Canada.

Within a few years after Columbus had revealed to an astonished world the existence of a new hemisphere to the west, French explorers were penetrating the Northeast part of the continent and claiming possession thereof for the King of France. By 1760, as a result of their activities and of the aggressive colonial policy of the French government, French influence extended from Cape Breton to the Rockies and from the basin of the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>1)</sup> Meanwhile French settlement in north America totaled some 70,000 colonists mainly confined to the valley of the St. Lawrence and to parts of Acadia. Over this whole area French was the only European tongue to be heard, and English was almost entirely unknown.

Hence the claim of the French language for legal recognition was not the humble supplication of a minority requesting a privilege, but the demand of a whole nation for the right to use a language whose very "raison d'être" was justified by the fact that for over a century and a half it was the only civilized mode of speech to be heard in New France.

Professor J.E. Prince of Laval University sums up the position of the French language at the Conquest when he says:-

"Au moment de tomber sous la dépendance de l'Angleterre en

1763 le peuple Canadien n'était pas composé de hordes errantes

1) J.G. Bourne "History of Canada", 1760-1900, P21.



et sans lien social, mais possédait tous les attributs essentiels d'une nationalité. Il parlait une langue à lui, le français, son unique organe; c'est en français que ses tribunaux jugeaient des différends, qu'une jurisprudence déjà ancienne était consignée dans ses archives; c'est en français que le gouvernement portait des décrets, que les écoles enseignaient, que l'église instruisait, que parlait et <sup>1)</sup> écrivait enfin toute la colonie".

At the conquest Quebec contained 60,000 French Canadians none of whom could speak English, while according to Professor Kingsford, <sup>2)</sup> the English-speaking element numbered a bare 200 by 1764. Thus even did Great Britain desire to enforce upon the French the exclusive use of English, the task would have been an impossible and an impractical one. The French tongue was bound to persist, due to the sheer superiority of the number of its adherents. With the coming of the Loyalists this inequality was lessened, but the French continued to constitute the majority of the Canadian population till the census of 1851. By that date they had grown too numerous and too powerful to be deprived of their language rights.

The Articles of Capitulation of Quebec and Montreal make no mention of language. The Proclamation of 1763 was also a Delphic oracle in this respect, although by proposing to substitute English law for French law, a parallel substitution in language might be implied, because the application of English law in the

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1) "Premier Congrès de la langue française" 1912, pp 61-62.

2) "History of Canada" Volume 5, pp 158-59.

French language would have been a very strange procedure. However all doubts were cleared up by the Quebec act of 1774 which enacted that

"His Majesty's Canadian subjects...may also hold and enjoy their property and possessions, together with all customs and usages relative thereto, and all civil rights"<sup>1)</sup>.

It is true that the word "language" was not directly included here, but surely one's language is the dearest of one's "customs and usages". Besides, the establishment by this act of French Civil Law in the province made the use of the French Language a necessary adjunct of court procedure. Judge Constantineau<sup>2)</sup> of the Ontario County Court adds further proof of the officiality of French when he states that from the first session of the Legislative Council in 1777 the use of English and French was optional both in the debates and in the public documents.<sup>3)</sup> "N'est-ce pas là une officialité admise?"

Professor Prince regards the Quebec Act as the Magna Carta of French privilege in Canada: "La situation légale de la langue française est désormais établie incontestablement, irrévocablement.....l'acte de Quebec peut être considéré comme la première<sup>4)</sup> charte impériale de la langue".

The Quebec Act had been framed on the assumption that Quebec was destined to remain French. It made no provision for the preservation of English rights and of the English language because its framers could not foresee the Loyalist invasion of

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1) Houston "Constitutional Documents"

2) "Premier Congrès de la langue française" p84.

3) Ibid p84.

4) Prince in "Premier Congrès" pp 67-68.

Canada. Hence the Constitutional Act of 1791 created an Upper Canada which was to be the sanctuary of Loyalist traditions. But was it to be the exclusive domain of the English tongue? Most historians assume that it was, and that the use of French was to be relegated to Lower Canada only. It is our contention that this was not the case.

As a matter of fact, the Constitutional Act implied a continuation of French in Upper Canada as had existed before 1791, for Article 33 states that all laws dating from 1774 and based on the Quebec Act of that date were to continue in force until legislation to the contrary is passed in either province.<sup>1)</sup> As no law abrogating the use of French in Upper Canada ever passed its assembly, and as a law continues to exist until it is repealed, the legality of the French language in Upper Canada cannot be denied.

We may also adduce positive evidence to prove that the legislation of 1791 intended the newly-formed province to be bilingual. Section 24 of the Act states:

"Every voter...shall...if required...take the following oath which shall be administered in the English or the French<sup>2)</sup> language".

Again, Section 29 reads:

"No member either of the Legislative Council or Assembly, in either of the said provinces shall be permitted to sit or vote therein until he shall have taken...the following...<sup>3)</sup> oath...in the English or French language".

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1) Houston p 124

2) Ibid p 120

3) Ibid p 122



In addition to this formal acceptance by the Imperial government of the use of ~~the~~ French "in either of the Said Provinces" there is definite proof of the recognition of the French tongue by the assembly of Upper Canada itself. Thus a motion was passed by that body June 3, 1793 to the effect

"That such acts as have already passed or may hereafter pass the Legislature of this Province, be translated into the French Language for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Western District of this Province and other French settlers who may come to reside within this Province, and that A. Macdonell, Esquire, Clerk of this House, be likewise employed as<sup>1)</sup> a French Translator for this and other purposes of this House".

It should be noticed that the above intended not only a French translation of the Statutes, but it also recognised the use of French for other "purposes of this House". An official "Translator" was even appointed.

In view of the above evidence it would be most difficult to disprove that in its early days Upper Canada was bilingual at least in theory. In any case, since all members of the Upper Canadian Assembly were English and since the percentage of French in the province gradually decreased after the beginning of the nineteenth century, English became in practice the official mode of speech. The bifurcation of old Quebec into an Upper and Lower province on the basis of race, paved the way for that condominium of language which is to-day an important feature of the federal administration.

In accordance with Durham's and Sydenham's mistaken

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1) Journals House of Assembly Upper Canada 1793. Ont Archives 1909, p 23

ideas of the possibility of rapid assimilation of the French-speaking inhabitants of Canada, the Act of Union of 1840 was pregnant with governmental changes inimical to French interests."La première escarmouche fut dirigée contre la langue", states Professor Prince.<sup>1)</sup> This may be seen in Article XLL section 41 of the Act

"...all writs, proclamations, instruments for summoning.. the legislative council and legislative assembly of the Province of Canada, and for proroguing and dissolving the same...and all public instruments relating to the legislative council and legislative assembly..shall be in the English language only..."<sup>2)</sup>

Similarly all records were to be kept in English only. It will be noticed that this act did not directly impair the right to use French in the debates of the new United Parliament, but as all records were to be kept in English, there was obviously a premium on speeches in that tongue.

But this disfranchisement of French was shortlived. The narrow majority of the Conservative Draper-Viger ministry elected in 1844 forced them to embark upon a policy of concessions to the French in order to gain more votes. Hence in 1844 an address was made to the British Parliament urging the removal of the restriction on French,<sup>3)</sup> and finally in 1848 an Imperial Act sanctioned<sup>4)</sup> the restoration of French to its former status. From that day to this the parity of both tongues in the Dominion government has been established by law.

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1) Prince op. cit. p68

2) Houston op. cit. p 163.

3) Skelton "Language Issue in Canada" Queen's Quarterly 1917. p4

4) 11 and 12 Victoria, Chapter 35.

The British North America Act embodied and continued duality of language, which, with the exception of the short period from 1840-48, has existed since 1774. Article 133 provides:-

"Either the English or French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of Parliament of Canada, and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec, and both these languages shall be used in the respective records and Journals of the Houses; and either of these languages may be used by any person or in pleading or process in or issuing from any court of Canada established under this act, and in or from all or any of the Courts of Quebec. The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both these languages".

Hence all documents and publications issued by the Federal government and by the government of the Province of Quebec are to be printed in both languages; Parliamentary debates at Ottawa and at Quebec may use either method of speech; and proceedings in the Supreme and Exchequer Courts and in the courts of the Province of Quebec may be carried on in both languages.

It is interesting to note that the very freedom to use French has to some extent taken away the desire to use it. French is hardly ever heard in Federal Courts, and in the Federal Parliament it is used much less frequently than it was 40 years ago. When a speech is delivered in French the English members become restless and usually leave the Chamber. The following is an excerpt from Hansard to illustrate our point:

Mr. Amyot: "I think honourable gentlemen of the House might keep order while a speech is being delivered in French. I am sitting very close to the honourable member from L'Islet (Mr.



Tarte), yet it is with difficulty that I can hear what he is saying because of the want of order. We have rights in this House. We have a right to speak French here, and even if honourable gentlemen cannot understand it, at least they ought to give those who do understand, an opportunity to hear what is <sup>1)</sup> said."

In the Quebec legislature, on the other hand, a reverse process is in operation. Up to the accession to power of Mercier in January 1887, the cabinet was usually half, or nearly half, English-speaking. The Chapleau cabinet, the Ross cabinet, and the first Taillon cabinet even had a majority of English-speaking members. <sup>2)</sup> The debates took place at Quebec at that time almost as often in English as in French. <sup>3)</sup> To-day all that is changed. Whereas formerly 3 or 4 out of the 7 cabinet ministers were English, to-day the proportion is one out of eleven. "As for the debates, it is an exception to hear English spoken in our ~~k~~ legislature, for apart from the report of the treasurer, which is made in English, <sup>4)</sup> French is almost exclusively used". ~~x~~ Again, in Quebec both the Cities and Towns Act, and the Municipal Code, enact that all public notices must be given in both languages. But in practice there are many municipalities that never have occasion to use English from one Year's end to the other, and under the provisions of the Municipal Code, they obtain from the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council permission to make use of only one language. To date, 687 Quebec municipalities, nominally bilingual, have received permission to <sup>5)</sup> issue all publications in French only.

1) Hansard March 6, 1893, p 1774.

2) Annuaire Statistique Province de Quebec, 1919 and 1927.

3) Henri Lemay "The future of the French Canadian Race" 1910.

4) Ibid.

5) Letter Minister of Municipalities, Que., Nov. 27, 1929.

Hence the official bilingualism of the Dominion and Quebec Governments has resulted in practice in an English unilingualism at Ottawa and a French unilingualism in Quebec.

The growing insistence by the French in Quebec upon the right of the French language to have the fullest measure of equality with English in that province may be seen in the Lavergne Act of 1)  
1910. This act now forms Articles 1682c and 1682d of the Quebec Civil Code, and reads as follows:

"The following shall be printed in French and in English:  
passenger tickets, baggage checks, way-bills, bills of lading, printed telegraph forms, and contract forms, made, furnished or delivered by a railway, navigation, telegraph, telephone, transportation, express, or electric power company, as well as all notices or regulations posted up in its stations, carriages, boats, offices, factories or workshops.

"Every contravention by a railway, navigation, telegraph, telephone, transportation, express, or electric power company, doing business in this province, of any of the provisions of the foregoing article, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding twenty dollars".

The context of this law leaves no room for ambiguity. The companies falling under its provisions must print the specified publications in both tongues. No option is allowed. Further, these documents must be bilingual. It does not suffice to place at the disposal of the public, tickets which are printed in English and those which are printed in French. On a railway ticket, for example, or on a baggage check, both English and French must appear side by side, and one must be the exact translation of the other.

1) 1 Geo. V Chap. 40. -----

The Lavergne Act applies to seven kinds of companies whose services are public in nature. Each one carrying on business in this province is subject to it, whether it be a Canadian firm or a foreign one, whether it be a corporation lying wholly within the province of Quebec or a Quebec branch of a larger Canadian concern.

The efficacy of the above legislation may be judged by the report on the Lavergne Law made by Mr. Camille Tessier, the Vice-President of the A.C.J.C. (Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Canadienne-Francaise) in 1912, only one year after the law had gone into effect. Questionnaires were sent to every company in the province that came under the act that endeavoured to ascertain the extent to which the new language regulations were being observed. The report indicated a complete obedience to the law. In the words of Mr. Tessier: "L'innovation s'est peu à peu généralisée, et voici que maintenant tous les billets sont conformés à la loi"<sup>1)</sup>.

These bilingual notices, signs, sets of regulations, and so forth, always form an object of curiosity for the visitor to Quebec. Greeting him from every noticeboard and signpost, they help to impress upon him the fact that Quebec contains a mixture of the continental along with its American atmosphere.

A significant development in the bilingual situation occurred when the Naturalization Act was revised by the Federal Parliament in 1914. For the first<sup>time</sup>, that act prescribed an educational qualification for all candidates for naturalization. It was considered undesirable to admit to citizenship aliens who could

<sup>1)</sup>Premier Congrès op. cit. p 129



not use a language familiar to their fellow-citizens. What was that language to be? Unanimously Parliament accepted the proposal of the government that "an adequate knowledge of English or French"<sup>1)</sup> should be required.

The constitution places language on an official bilingual basis in the Federal and in the Quebec governments. In the other eight provinces each government is left to deal with the matter as it sees fit. In the three Maritime Provinces, in Ontario, and in British Columbia, where the vast majority of the population is of Anglo-Saxon origin, there never has been any question as to the language that may be used in assembly debate, in the courts, or in government publications. In fact, none of these provinces has even seen the need to pass a law declaring English to be the only official tongue. What would happen, we may inquire, if a deputy did arise to address one of these assemblies in French? There is no positive ruling to prevent him from doing so. By the standing orders of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia in all unprovided cases the rules, usages and forms of the British House of Commons are followed, and it has been decided there that a member must address the House in English. Hence the same ruling<sup>2)</sup> would be followed at Victoria. This common law practice would probably hold in the other of the aforementioned five provinces, with the exception of New Brunswick where Acadian representatives have at times addressed its house in French and are still permitted to do so, though they seldom avail themselves of this prerogative<sup>3)</sup> to-day.

1) Skelton "The Language Issue in Canada"

2) Letter, Clerk Legislative Assembly of B.C. Jan 2, 1930.

3) Letter from Clerk Legislative Assembly of N.B. Dec. 20, 1929.

From the above it is evident that the Maritimes, Ontario and British Columbia have never been troubled by a language problem. But the three prairie provinces, though officially unilingual to-day, have presented a language complex because of their early French affiliation.

We have already seen in Chapter I that by the time the Dominion took over the Northwest Territories the French constituted 50% of the population of that region. When Riel drew up the constitution for his provisional government in 1870, article 13 expressly placed both languages "sur un pied d'égalité". This duality was embodied in the Manitoba Act of 1870 as one of the conditions under which Manitoba entered the union. Article 23 says:

"Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of the Legislature, and both those languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of those Houses; and either of those languages may be used by any person, or in any pleading or process, in or issuing from any court of Canada established under the British North America Act....The acts of the legislature shall be printed and published in both those languages."

To remove all doubt as to the powers of the Dominion Government in passing the Manitoba Act, that act was confirmed by the British North America Act of 1871. Hence bilingualism in Manitoba, already sanctioned by Dominion statute, was further confirmed by Imperial enactment. Surely no greater safeguards were necessary to ensure the legality of both tongues. However the insignificant minority into which the French had evolved by 1890 caused the Greenway-Martin government in that year to pass "An Act to provide that the English Language shall be the official Language of the Province

1)  
of Manitoba". It made English the only mode of speech in debate  
and required all acts of the province to "be printed and published  
2)  
in ..English.."

French protagonists from all over the country claimed  
that the province had exceeded its powers for it could not nullify  
what had been validated by an Imperial Act. In fact the Manitoba  
government itself was not sure just how far its jurisdiction in  
this connection extended, for section 2 of the act stated:

"This act shall only apply so far as this legislature has  
jurisdiction so to enact",

which was the equivalent of questioning its own power to pass the  
act. However it took the stand that it had the right to amend its  
3)  
own constitution. To appeals by French sympathisers against these  
"spoliations anticonstitutionnelles" and "violations d'une condition  
4)  
sine qua non de notre entrée dans la confédération", the Dominion  
government turned a deaf ear and refused to disallow. In the opinion  
of the Minister of Justice the question was one for the courts to  
decide and not of a character justifying such drastic action as a  
federal disallowance. But from a strictly legal standpoint the  
claims of the French were undoubtedly valid, for in passing the  
act the province virtually nullified an Imperial statute.

The following observations from Mr. Tarte's speech on  
the language episode indicated the general attitude of the French  
to the obnoxious legislation:

"Where is the political man who will contend that the

Manitoba legislature had a right to abolish the French language?

1) Statutes of Man. 53 Victoria Chap 14.

2) Ibid. Section 1.

3) B.N.A. Act, Article 92, section 1.

4) Judge Prud'homme of St. Boniface County Court, Man. Premier Congres  
p 101.

...They (the people of Manitoba) prevent us from speaking the French language in the legislature and they do not want it to be taught in the schools. In a word they say to us: we are two against one; we abolish your language not because you have no rights, but because we are stronger<sup>1)</sup> than you".

In June 1916 a case was introduced in the courts of Manitoba which was calculated to test the legal status of the French language in judicial proceedings. This case arose from the fact that a statement of claim in a civil action was rejected by the Prothonotary on the ground that it was written in French, and counsel for the plaintiff sought to secure a ruling from the courts on the matter.<sup>2)</sup> As the courts upheld the law of 1890 we may safely assume English to be the only official mode of speech in Manitoba. As a matter of fact, the legislation of 1890 was really a statement of a "fait accompli". It rendered "de jure" what already existed "de facto". The proportion of French members in the legislature and of French inhabitants in the province had rapidly dwindled. In 1875 the second Manitoba assembly contained<sup>3)</sup> 8 French-speaking members out of 24. In the House elected in 1927<sup>4)</sup> only 3 out of 55 members claimed French for their mother tongue.

Turning to Alberta and Saskatchewan, the original charter of these two provinces was the North West Territories Act of 1875 which made no reference to language. But in 1877 the Dominion Parliament introduced legislation which legalized the use of both English and French in debates of the legislature, in court proceedings, and in printing the records and journals.<sup>5)</sup> In 1890 Mr.

1) Hansard, Mar. 6, 1893, p 1766.

2) G. M. Weir "Separate School Law in the Prairie Provinces". P 47.

3) Journals of the Man. assembly, 1875.

4) Parliamentary Guide, 1929. p 407.

5) Statutes of Canada. 40 Vic. Chap 7.



Dalton McCarthy introduced a bill in the Federal House, the effect of which would have been to make English the sole official tongue in the Territories. Speaking to this bill Sir John A. Macdonald used, in part, the following words:

"I believe that it(the suppression of French) would be impossible if it were tried, and it would be foolish and wicked if it were possible....Why, Mr.Speaker, if there is one act of oppression more than another which would come home to a man's breast, it is that he should be deprived of the consolation of hearing and speaking and reading the language that his mother<sup>1)</sup> taught him".

Similar opinions were expressed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Richard Cartwright and others,<sup>2)</sup> while Sir John Thompson brought the debate to a close by moving the following amendment which was carried:

"That the legislative assembly of the North West Territories should receive from the Parliament of Canada power to regulate, after the next general elections of the assembly, the proceedings of the assembly and the manner of recording and publishing such proceedings"<sup>3)</sup>

In other words, the matter was left entirely in the hands of the local assembly. With this authorization, on January 19, 1892 Sir Frederick(at that time Mr.)Haultain, brought ~~xx~~ a bill into the assembly of the North West Territories "that it is desirable that the proceedings ~~xxxx~~ of the legislative assembly shall be recorded and published hereafter in the English language only".

With the passage of this bill English became the only

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1)Hansard Feb. 1890

2)Ibid. passim

3)Ibid.

official language in the Territories.

The 25 articles of the constitution of Alberta and of Saskatchewan make no mention of language. But article 16 of both acts provides that all laws and regulations passed by ~~x~~ the government of the North West Territories shall continue in force until repealed by the governments of the new provinces.<sup>1)</sup> Hence the enactment of 1892 making English the only official language still remains on the statute books of both Alberta and Saskatchewan.

The government of Saskatchewan publishes its principal statutes in French; but these laws are also printed in German, Ruthenian, Norwegian, Russian, and so forth, so that French is accorded no greater recognition than any other non-English tongue.<sup>2)</sup>

Summing up: The B.N.A. Act adopted the principle of leaving to each province the choice of ~~x~~ official language or languages, the one exception being the province of Quebec which is bilingual by constitutional enactment. In five of the provinces--- Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, and British Columbia,--- English is the official language, although there do not exist precise statutes so defining it, and there is no ground in the present condition of these provinces for making any other language than English the official language of the province. Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan were formerly bilingual due to their early French affiliation, but the rapid peopling of the prairies by non-French inhabitants has caused even these provinces to fall in line with the others. Outside of the Federal administration, then, Quebec is the only governmental authority that is bilingual.

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1) Alta Act (1905) and Sask Act (1905), Article 16.

2) Premier Congrès p 107.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL STATUS OF THE FRENCH

#### LANGUAGE IN CANADA

##### (ii) In Education

In Canada the most important language issues have arisen in connection with education. True, the question of the language to be used in court or in legislative proceedings is occasionally raised, but here the legal status of language has been so ably defined that there has been little room for ambiguity and therefore little friction has resulted. On the other hand, the greater uncertainty of the status of language in education has not always been productive of the most harmonious results; and not infrequently the spirit of the Confederation compact has been sacrificed to political rancour and racial prejudice.

The language question in education arises out of Section 93 of the British North America Act which guarantees the rights of educational minorities. This section grants to each province complete autonomy in the management of its educational affairs, with the exception of those provinces where separate schools existed by law at Confederation. The "Rights and Privileges"<sup>1)</sup> of these separate schools are beyond the competence of the province to molest.

What are the "rights and privileges" of a separate or denominational school? A denominational school is one based on religion and not upon race or language, and therefore language should not be regarded an imprescriptible attribute of a denomination-school, though the minorities in the various provinces have always claimed that it is. Hence the confusion. While the language question

1) B.N.A. Act, section 93, subsection 1.

in education should be legally and technically distinct from the religious question in the schools, it has always been intimately connected with it. The history of the struggle of language rights in education in Canada is a history of the conflict between two great principles---one contending that the province has the sole right to regulate the language used in education, and the other claiming that section 93 of the B.N.A. Act meant language to be an irrevocable "right and privilege" of "denominational" schools and therefore beyond the power of provincial enactment.

It is unfortunate that in Canada the division of the people according to religion very nearly coincides with that according to race and language, for if the members of each religious sect spoke different tongues, language would not have come to be regarded as so important and indispensable a feature of a separate school as it now is.

Yet the issue has not been quite so simple as would appear from the above, for there has been much diversity of problem and practice in the different provinces. It is necessary to take them up one by one or in groups.

#### THE MARITIMES

In the Maritimes no separate schools existed by law at the time of Confederation, though denominational education did exist in practice. Thus the three provincial governments have plenary authority in dealing with the question of language in education. Following Dr. Tupper's free school campaign in 1864, all three of the provinces adopted systems of free, compulsory, and non-sectarian education. English is the language of instruction in

1)

I) Skelton "The language issue in Canada" p 5.



all of the schools, though language concessions are granted the Acadians in the lower forms.

In Nova Scotia every child is required to learn English, but in the case of children whose mother tongue is French, instruction in the elementary grades is permitted in French, the object being to familiarize the pupil with English as soon as possible so that he or she may be fitted to acquire all future education in that tongue. In 1902 a commission was appointed to inquire into the adequacy of the teaching in the schools in Acadian districts. The commission found that the attempt to teach French children exclusively in English even when they did not understand English, resulted in the serious neglect of the general education of the French-speaking pupils.<sup>1)</sup> The result of this report was the adoption of regulations whose object was to facilitate in the case of Acadian children, the transition from French to English as a medium of instruction. While in many cases English teachers unacquainted with French had hitherto been foisted on French pupils who could not speak English, the new ruling provided for French teachers who were, however, to know English.<sup>2)</sup> A special inspector, himself an Acadian, is provided for the Acadian schools; brief summer courses are carried on to give French-speaking teachers a mastery of colloquial English; French readers are permitted as ~~xx~~ far as the fourth year,<sup>3)</sup> but after that all instruction must be carried on in English. However, the province only recognizes one language, and therefore teaching in French in the Acadian schools is reduced to

1) Skelton op. cit. p 6.

2) Ibid.

3) Ibid.

the necessary minimum. The "Acadian Reader", the bilingual textbook used in elementary grades of Acadian schools, contains colloquial lessons, but teaches no French grammar or French history.<sup>1)</sup> Candidates for teachers' diplomas must write their examinations in English,<sup>2)</sup> and the board of examiners is composed only of English-speaking members.<sup>3)</sup>

In Prince Edward Island, on the other hand, bilingual education in the Acadian schools has acquired a much greater recognition than in Nova Scotia. "Les écoles de l'île sont de vraies écoles bilingues",<sup>4)</sup> says Mr. Marin Gallant, the inspector of French schools in the province. Beginning with his second grade the young Acadian is taught in both languages concurrently until the end of his primary education.<sup>5)</sup> Reading and French grammar receive as much attention in one language as in the other. Usually the morning session is devoted to a study of French, while English occupies the program of the afternoon. But here, as in Nova Scotia, there is no legal sanction for this state of affairs.

In New Brunswick, shortly after Confederation an agitation was set on foot to revoke the privilege, enjoyed by the Roman Catholic minority since 1858, of giving religious instruction in their schools. This movement culminated in 1871 when the provincial legislature passed a statute abrogating this privilege, and making all schools receiving government aid non-sectarian and free. The case was appealed to the law courts, to the Dominion Parliament, and to the Privy Council, which confirmed the power of the province to pass any laws it desires concerning education. As for

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1) Premier Congrès p 248

2) Ibid

3) Ibid

4) Ibid p 252

5) Ibid p252

language used in education, "the English language is used in all<sup>1)</sup> schools in the province including the French-speaking districts", though for the benefit of young Acadians unacquainted with English, instruction in French is allowed up to the fourth grade.

It is essential to recall that in the three Maritime provinces language concessions are merely tolerated and do not exist in the eyes of the law. They form a sort of language framework that has grown up beyond the pale of legal recognition, and which may be torn down at the whim of the government. They bridge the gap that exists between law and practice.

### QUEBEC

In Quebec we have the most complete adoption of the denominational principle. There are no public or non-religious schools. The whole school system is under the control of the Council of Public Instruction which is divided into two virtually independent parts---the Protestant Committee and the Catholic Committee, each of which is in charge of the schools of its own denomination and can teach therein what it chooses in the language that it chooses. As a matter of choice, nearly all the Protestant schools being English-speaking, make English the language of instruction throughout, but French is a compulsory subject of<sup>2)</sup> study from the third to the eleventh grades. In the same way the great majority of the Catholic schools, being French-speaking, make French the language of instruction and include English as a compulsory subject of study from the first grade<sup>3)</sup> up, though in practice this is only carried out in the cities and some of the country schools. In a large number of Catholic schools in Irish

1) Letter from Clerk of the Legislative Assembly of N.B. Dec 20, 1929

2) "Education in the province of Quebec", by the Dept of Public

3) Ibid.

/Instruction

or English communities, English is the language of instruction and French a subject of study from the first year. The situation is made less difficult by the fact that for the most part the racial elements are locally distinct. In the case of mixed communities of the same religion but of different tongue, no rigid rule or regulation exists. It has been considered<sup>r</sup> that local good will and common sense will suffice to overcome any difficulty. Besides the local board often has several schools under its jurisdiction, so that the pupils may be distributed among different schools in the same municipality according to language spoken.

The Report of the Department of Education of the Province of Quebec for 1927 shows that in 1925, exclusive of the colleges and universities, there were 441,789 French-speaking pupils in the province and 86,384 English-speaking pupils. Of the former, approximately 158,000 or 36% were learning English as part of their curriculum; while 57,000 or 66% of the English pupils were learning French.<sup>1)</sup> These figures would indicate that while 2/3 of the English pupils are acquiring a knowledge of French, only about 1/3 of the French are learning English.

There are several reasons for this divergence. In the first place, French is a compulsory subject of study between the third and eleventh grades in all Protestant schools, while the compulsory study of English in all Catholic schools is only made effective in the cities. Furthermore, most of the Protestant schools are located in the towns where instruction can be organised on a more efficient basis, while the scattered rural communities in which many of the French schools are situated, and the diminished

1) NOTE: due to the incompleteness of the figures furnished in the reports, these percentages are only approximate.



contact with the English tongue to be found here, militates against the instruction of a second language. Besides, urban school districts are more capable financially of undertaking the additional cost involved. In the County of Chicoutimi, for example, which is a rural district and populated almost entirely by French-speaking inhabitants, of the 7,124 French pupils in the elementary schools, <sup>1)</sup> only 290 are learning English; while in Montreal over 9,000 French <sup>2)</sup> children out of over 14,000 were learning English.

On the other hand we cannot fail to observe the gradual increase in the proportion of French pupils in Quebec who are learning English. This is illustrated by the following table:

YEAR	TOTAL NO. OF FRENCH PUPILS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	NO. LEARNING ENGLISH	% LEARNING ENGLISH	
1894	246,659	48,000	19	
1910	323,000	97,000	30	
1925	441,789	158,000	36	3)

It is interesting to note that if the language to be used in education rests with the province, and if language is not the necessary right of an educational minority, the Protestant minority in Quebec use the English language in education subject to the will of the Quebec government; just as the right of the French educational minority in Ontario to the use of French rests with the Ontario government. And the Orangeman in upholding the competence of his province to deal with the language of instruction, affirms equally as well the subservience of the English language in the Quebec Protestant schools to the Quebec government.

1)Que sessional Papers 1927. Educational Statistics, p64.

2)Ibid.

3)Sessional Papers.Report Dept of Public Instruction for these years.

NOTE: these percentages are only approximate for the year 1925.

In point of law, then, the Protestants in Quebec could be forced to carry on their whole educational program in French, including the use of French text books though in practice such an indiscreet act would be the height of absurdity.

### ONTARIO

Quebec is one of the few provinces in which the question of language in education has aroused little friction. But just as the Laurentian province has achieved tranquillity in this respect its sister province of Ontario has become the byword for conflict between the two opposing language interests.

The French language episode in Ontario has occasioned such an outpouring of ink, of oratory, of money, of racial antagonism, and of passion, that its story is a matter ~~x~~ of common knowledge. As an excellent discussion on the whole matter may be found in such authorities as Sisson's "Bilingualism and Education in Canada", we shall not deal with this subject, for a thesis should be in the nature of an original contribution. We treat, therefore, of the period since the passage of Regulation 17 when Professor Sissons opus first appeared.

As the Separate School Laws of 1843 and 1863 established separate schools by law in Ontario before Confederation, the Catholic minority are constitutionally entitled to their own religious and denominational schools; and still have them to-day. But did these religious privileges include language rights? The French claim they did; the Orange order and many Irish Catholics claim they did not; and therein lies the whole difficulty. As in every other problem the root of the trouble may be traced to the beginning. For the French had been permitted the unmolested use of their own language until the 80's of the last century, when the government

first began to interfere. By that time what was regarded by the authorities as a custom, tolerated at the most, came to be considered by the French as their constitutional right. Had there been an Ontario government to insist on the use of English from the beginning, much later dissension could have been obviated. However the United Parliament of Canada contained enough French members to prevent the ~~assurance~~<sup>establishment</sup> by George Brown and his followers of such an eventuality.

The most vivid proof of our contention that religious educational rights and language privilege do not necessarily go hand in hand, is to be found in the events leading up to the passage of Regulation 17. In 1906 the "All-English" party, demanding the exclusive use of English in education, came into power in Ontario, and the Irish Catholics constituted a considerable proportion of this party. Race tendencies became more manifest and racial consciousness became stronger than the unifying bond of religion. The split between English and French speaking Catholics reached its climax when an Irish bishop, Bishop Fallon of London, denounced the education in the French schools of his diocese as decidedly inferior, and affirmed ~~x~~ that the children left them in a condition of crass ignorance. A commission, ~~was~~ appointed to look into the matter, vindicated his accusation, and recommended the adoption of what later became Regulation 17. That Regulation, therefore, was born of conflict, not between English Protestant and French Catholic, but between Irish Catholic and French Catholic, clearly proving that religion and language do not always make congenial bedfellows.

The purpose of the famous Regulation was to make sure that French children attending either public or separate schools

should acquire an adequate knowledge of English. It therefore forbade the use of French as a medium of instruction beyond the first form(second year), and permitted its use in higher grades only if the children<sup>were</sup>/still unable to understand English. Apart from the denunciation of the law by French Canadians from all over the Dominion, involv~~ing~~ even the intervention of the pontificate at Rome(an ironical situation when the greatest religious power in the world has to interfere in a matter entirely secular) the Regulations themselves have been attacked by many sensible English-speaking Canadians, on the ground that they are ~~H~~ "harsh<sup>1)</sup> and arbitrary" and do not accomplish what they were meant to do. Hence on October 21, 1925 Mr. Ferguson, Minister of Education, appointed a Committee of Inquiry to examine the educational conditions in the "English-French" schools. "These Regulations (17) have been in operation now for over 12 years, and I am desirous of obtaining accurate information respecting their practical working, especially in respect to the efficiency of the pupils<sup>2)</sup> in the English and the French languages". The report of the Committee was presented in September 1927. The government accepted its recommendations and announced that they would go into effect.

Though generally referred to in newspaper articles and in platform and public discussions as carrying the abolition of Regulation 17, it was pointed out by the Premier that this was a<sup>3)</sup> mistaken view. The regulation was not revoked; its application only was modified. The Committee found that Reg. 17 failed to produce the results hoped for with respect to the teaching of English in 70% of the schools to which it was applicable.<sup>4)</sup>

1) Pamphlet issued by the United Farmers of Ontario, 1921.

2) Letter from Ferguson to Dr. Merchant, head of the Committee, Oct. 1925

3) Canadian Annual Review 1927-28, p 381.

4) Report of Committee Appointed to inquire into the Condition of of the schools attended by French-speaking pupils, Sept. 1927.



According to the report, the schools attended by French children were of three types:

1. Those where the French children knew English when they come to school.
2. Those in which the French children who know little English before coming to school, have ample opportunity to learn it by contact with English children attending the same school.
3. Schools in French communities where the French children are unacquainted with English and have no opportunity to learn it except in class.

"We are convinced that no rule which prescribes the medium of instruction for different forms or grades can be applied impartially to all schools;....a rule which confines the use of French to the first form is a decided disadvantage to children in attendance at schools of the third type; while a rule which allows the use of French up to the end of the Second Form and prohibits it at a later stage has a tendency to postpone the use of English in schools of the first and second types, and to prevent the use of French in higher forms even when it could be used to advantage for purpose<sup>1)</sup> of explanation." Therefore in dealing with the above conditions, are so varied that no definite rule can be laid down which can be applied without variation to all cases. Hence a permanent committee was appointed whose duty is to make a special study of each case as circumstances required, and<sup>2)</sup> to approve of the procedure in respect to the language of instruction to be followed in individual schools or groups of schools".

Thus the principle of Reg. 17---- to ensure English as a sole medium of instruction in schools attended by French children ----was not weakened. On the contrary, it was strengthened, for by applying this regulation differently according to different circumstances, the ultimate realization of the principle is

1) Ibid. p. 28-29.

2) Ibid. p. 29.

expedited.

The Ottawa Separate School Board, which had long opposed the Regulation, approved of the changes as recommended in the Merchant Commission Report and pledged support to its recommendations. Premier Taschereau of Quebec and other Francophil individuals and bodies, as well as the French language press, likewise nodded<sup>1)</sup> their approval.

#### LANGUAGE IN THE EDUCATION OF THE NORTH WEST

While in Eastern Canada the language question has merely been one of English and French, in the Canadian West this issue has been complicated by the presence of new settlers of great racial diversity. In Manitoba, for example, in 1871 the population was composed one-half of English and one-half of French. On the other hand, according to the 1921 census, of 610,118 people in Manitoba, nearly every European element was represented, most of them in as large a proportion as the following:-

40,000 French	16,000 Jewish	14,000 Russian
19,000 German	26,000 Scandinavian	7,000 Ruthenian
16,000 Polish	20,000 Dutch	5,000 Belgian

In the other two prairie provinces the population is still more polyglot. It will be noticed from the above that the French constituted only about 6½% of the total population.

In Manitoba there is to-day no legally established schools Separate School System. The denominational/with their religious and language rights established by Dominion statute in 1870, were abolished by the Greenway-Martin administration in 1890. After the Federal election of 1896 which culminated the fierce legal and constitutional conflict between the two opposing sides, the newly-elected Laurier regime and the Manitoba government came  
1) Canadian Annual Review 1927-28, p 382.

to an agreement which permitted religious teaching in the last half hour of the school~~x~~ day by representatives of any denomination<sup>1)</sup> when requested by parents of a specified minimum of pupils. This settlement also granted liberal language concessions. Clause 258 reads:

"Where 10 of the pupils speak the French language, or any ~~other~~ language other than English as their native tongue, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French (or such other language) and English upon the bilingual system".

The reason for not restricting the privilege to the French alone was to include the Mennonites to whom the government<sup>2)</sup> in 1872-3 had pledged liberty in education and religion. But this clause soon took on a new significance. The turn of the century marked the hitherto unforeseen immigration to the West of European races, and each racial group set up bilinbual schools of its own. In 1915 nearly one-sixth of the schools were bilingual---143<sup>3)</sup> teaching English, 70 German, 121 Polish, 60 Ruthenian. Normal schools for the training of bilingual teachers in English and in<sup>4)</sup> their own language were maintained by the different racial groups. It was this polyglot multilingualism that caused Sir Herbert Samuel in 1913 to describe Manitoba as a "generation behind the rest of the civilized world".

In 1915 the Norris government, elected on the education issue, began to set matters right. Mr. Thornton, Minister of Education, urging the need of a common language, succeeded in repealing clause 258; and to-day no racial group, including the French, has any language rights in Manitoba. English is the sole

1)Sissons pp 117-18-----

2)Skelton op. cit. p 17.

3)Ibid.

4)Sissons op.cit. p 120.

medium of instruction in all of the public schools.

The North West Territories, it will be recalled, were formally organized by Dominion Act in 1875. Various extensions of home rule were made during the next 30 years, until in 1905 the Autonomy Acts admitted Alberta and Saskatchewan as full-fledged provinces.

The new provinces admitted separate schools to exist in a mild form, but a degree of control was insisted upon which made them denominational public schools rather than separate schools. Thus religious instruction was relegated to the last half hour of the day; teachers of both public and separate schools were obliged to pass the same examinations; while a uniform system of inspection<sup>1)</sup> and uniform textbooks were authorized for all schools.

As regards the language to be used in the schools, the territorial authorities themselves adopted certain measures which are still in force. It was not until 1888 that a primary course<sup>2)</sup> in English was made compulsory. In 1892 it was enacted for the first time that all schools must be taught in English, and that it should be permissible for trustees of any school to cause a primary course to be taught in the French language<sup>3)</sup>. A further privilege is embodied in the ordinances of 1901, which summed up all previous legislation dealing with language and still forms part of the school law of both provinces. By these Ordinances, the board of any district is empowered to employ one or more competent persons to give instruction in languages other than English to the pupils whose parents so desire, on condition that such instruc-

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1) Revised Statutes of Alta. 1922, pp 667-9; and R.S. Sask 1920.

2) Section 82 Ordinances N.W.T. 1888.

3) Sec 83 Ord N.W.T. 1892.

tion shall in no way interfere with the instruction required by the general regulations, and provided that the cost of such instruction shall be met by a special levy on the parents of the pupils concerned.<sup>1)</sup> All these measures are still in force in the two provinces.

From the above it is evident that the French language occupies a privileged position as compared with other non-English tongues. But this is entirely due to legislative enactment both of the Territories and of the provinces, and its continuance in this position remains entirely with the legislative assemblies of both provinces.

Of recent date the school question has again come to the fore in Saskatchewan. As long as the Liberal party was in power ----and it has been since the creation of the province in 1905--- the question was not disturbed; but the provincial election of June 1929 stirred up the whole matter once again. Dr. Anderson, the new Conservative premier, has pledged himself to school~~x~~ reform. As early as February 21, 1929 at the Annual Convention of the Sask. School Trustees Assn., a resolution was passed declaring that English should be the only language of instruction in the public schools and on the school playgrounds of the province.<sup>2)</sup>

The premier has already abolished the exchange of degrees between his province and Quebec, an exchange granted by his predecessors, to permit French-speaking districts to appoint teachers who could instruct in French.<sup>3)</sup> How far he intends to continue this process remains to be seen. His fears of "Catholic domination" has also led him to touch the language sphere. For the present, only foreign languages are to be barred from the schools, and although the

1)Ord. N.W.T. 1901; and R.S.A. 1922 p 667.

2)Candn Annual Review 1928-29, p483.

3)Quebec Action Catholique Nov. 15, 1929.



premier has on ~~ex~~ various occasions claimed that he does not consider French to be a foreign language, still, the Liberal press like the Regina Star, and the French press like the Quebec "L'Evenement" and the "Action Catholique" fear for the security of the French language <sup>in</sup> /Saskatchewan schools. In a letter sent to the writer by the Deputy Minister of Education, the latter stated that the present government of Saskatchewan has no intention of altering the law concerning the use of French in the schools. At the time of this writing the newly-elected house has not yet met, and all that can be done for the moment is to await events.

In view of the extent and heat of the discussion which now centres about these separate schools, it is interesting to note how few of them really exist. For example, in 1928 there were in Saskatchewan only 31 separate school~~s~~ districts out of a total of 4776, showing that the claims of the separate schools are receiving attention out of all proportion to their numerical importance.

In truth, in both Alberta and Saskatchewan the French question is relatively unimportant for the French population is small compared with that of other peoples who do not speak the English tongue. Numerically the Ruthenian problem is the greatest, although the Russians and Austrians also present a more important language aspect than do the French. In fact the language question out West <sup>results</sup> from the heterogeneity of the racial ~~xx~~ origin of its population rather than from the simple difference between English and French as is the case in Eastern Canada. In this connection the Manitoba Free Press has commented as follows:

"In the Prairie Provinces they must either adhere to one language or go on, not to bilingualism, but to multilingualism

....the country must either be English-speaking or polyglot, for it is politically impossible to give special legal privileges by law to the French and deny them to the other and more numerous non-English-speaking races".

Yet at the present time the French tongue, though spoken by a minority that is numerically inferior to that of other minorities in both provinces, is accorded a legal privilege which the other languages do not possess.

### BRITISH COLUMBIA

This is the only province which in the strict sense of the word, has never been troubled by a school question. Six years before it came into Confederation it had established a school system which the Educational Act declared "shall be conducted upon strictly non-sectarian principles"<sup>1)</sup>. Another section of the law reads "all books of religious character, teaching denominational dogma, shall be strictly ~~excluded~~ excluded therefrom". In 1872, a year after it came into the union, British Columbia amended the Education Act of 1865; and when Robertson, Provincial Secretary in the McCreight administration, who was in charge of the bill, introduced it into the legislative assembly, he intimated that one of its basic principles was that the system should be free and unsectarian.<sup>2)</sup> There has never been any question as to language in the schools of British Columbia. The fact that the school act has never deemed it necessary to mention language, is properly indicative of this state of affairs.

Taken in its entirety, the language question in Canadian education has been an integral part of the broader and more important Separate School issue, and the two have more or less run

1) The Common School Act 1865, 28 and 29 Vict. c.6.

2) Porrit "Evolution of the Dominion of Canada".

hand in hand. Only two of the existing nine provinces, Ontario and Quebec, had separate schools at Confederation; and if we consider Manitoba which was awarded separate school rights by the Dominion only to have them taken away by the province, there are only 3 provinces in which the French tongue had any constitutional claim to existence in education. To-day, outside of Ontario and Quebec, the provincial governments have unrestricted control over education, and therefore any separate school or language privileges that may exist, do so at the pleasure of the provincial assembly, and can be abolished without redress at law.

In Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and British Columbia there are no separate schools. In Manitoba they have been abolished, while in Saskatchewan and Alberta religious instruction is limited to the last half hour of the public school program. With the abolition or reduction of these separate school privileges, all possibility of instruction in the foreign tongue has in most cases also been abandoned. Only in Ontario and Quebec Alberta and Saskatchewan have separate school privileges been retained so as to allow the<sup>legal</sup> possibility of a second medium.

In practice, French language concessions are granted in the three Maritime provinces, in Ontario, Alberta and Saskatchewan; but here they are only permitted in the lower grades, and their object is to aid the French child in the transition from French to English as a medium of instruction. Thus in Prince Edward Island the use of both languages is permitted up to the end of the primary school education.<sup>1)</sup> In Nova Scotia the Regulations of 1902<sup>2)</sup> allowed Acadian French as a medium up to the fourth grade. Similarly

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1) See above.

2) See above.

1)

in New Brunswick French is permitted up to the fourth grade.

In Alberta and Saskatchewan, since the days of the territorial administration, a primary course has been allowed through the

2)

medium of French, but not beyond the first or second grade. Like-

wise in Ontario French as a medium has since 1912 been restricted

3)

to the first Form. Quebec is the only province in which French as a language of instruction exists throughout the school system side by side with English.

### CONCLUSION

The competence of the provincial legislature to restrict the teaching of language in publicly supported schools is a matter that is questioned less and less as time passes. On the basis of the historic past the argument is frequently advanced that French is entitled to exceptional recognition over other non-English languages, and thus the question resolves itself into one of equity and public policy. But from a purely legal viewpoint it would appear an untenable assumption to maintain that the teaching of French or of any other non-English language is a "right and privilege with respect to separate schools". Some ground for this contention would doubtless exist if it could be established that French, for instance, is fundamental to religious instruction; but on this basis as strong a case could be made out for Latin. Hence if bilingualism is not a legal phase of the distinctly separate school question, Ontario or any other province is unfettered by the British North America Act in regulating language instruction, so long as the denominational characteristics of separate schools are not thereby prejudiced. Theoretically, it may be true that Quebec can exercise similar powers with respect to English, but it

1) Manual of the School Law of N.S. 1921. P 308.

2) See above.

3) See Reg. 17.

would scarcely venture upon so absurd and fatuous a course as to impose restrictions on the leading language of the Dominion.

The new laws restricting immigration into Canada that have come into being since the war will inevitably affect the attitude, especially of the North West towards the use of the French tongue in education. Until now the French have been one of several groups each clamouring for some recognition of their own tongue, and this common aim has enlisted the sympathy of each group for the other. Furthermore, the provincial governments have been too busy attempting to Canadianise the newcomers to be able to pay much attention to the French. But in a generation or two, the "crazy-quilt" of European races that now forms some 40% of the population of the three prairie provinces, lacking the support of further immigration from Europe, will be almost entirely Canadianised. From their new national outlook will emanate the desire to <sup>r</sup> further the process of language homogeneity, to give the English language a place of first importance in all of our schools, and to sacrifice it in no way to any other tongue. This eventuality may already be envisaged in the discernible future( for example, the ominous rumblings of the Anderson coterie in Saskatchewan) and can only be averted by a sufficient influx from the overcrowded ranks of French Quebec.



PART II

RECENT ECONOMIC FACTORS INFLUENCING THE  
TREND OF BILINGUALISM IN  
THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

## CHAPTER IV

### INTRODUCTION

If we could turn back the hands of time, and find ourselves in the province of Canada about the year 1850, a very different picture of social and economic life would be presented to our gaze than is now to be found in the same section of the Dominion. Life was still in the primitive agricultural stage that usually marks existence in a pioneer country. Karl Wittke says that in 1840, five out of every six Canadians were engaged either<sup>1)</sup> in farming or in lumbering. In Lower Canada the unprogressive and often illiterate habitant continued to cultivate his ribbon-like farm in the manner of his ancestors a century before. The law permitted even school trustees to affix their marks to their official reports in lieu of signatures. Agricultural methods and agricultural implements were primitive;<sup>2)</sup> the French "paysan" seldom rotated his crops. Economic life here consisted in living frugally upon the simple natural products of the country.<sup>3)</sup> Most of the village communities were self-sufficing. Articles, like clothing, which today are manufactured, were home-made, and the hand-loom, spinning-wheel, and outdoor oven formed an important part of the domestic furniture. Such commerce as did exist involved the exchange of surplus natural products for a few staple manufactured products<sup>4)</sup>

1) History of Canada p. 135

2) Ibid

3) Canada and its Provinces, vol 5, p. 185

4) Ibid

drawn mainly from Great Britain.

Efficient means of communication were significantly absent. There was no telephone. The telegraph had hardly begun. Radio was still a child of the future. Newspapers were few; in 1864 there were only 22 dailies in all Canada, most of which were<sup>1)</sup> to be found in Ontario. Such newspapers as did exist had a small circulation, and news was issued often a week, or even a month, ~~after~~<sup>after</sup> the event recorded took place.

Lack of proper transportation facilities completed the isolation. In 1850 there were only 66 miles of railway in the<sup>2)</sup> whole of Canada. The rivers and lakes were still the main highways of transportation. Apart from a few "Grand Trunk" roads, communication by land was relegated to footpaths or to the few miles of local roads that were in existence. Even the main highways were largely impassable in the spring and fall. On many of them, during these seasons, the mail coaches travelled not more than 2 or 3 miles per hour, although on the main roads they could attain the frightful<sup>3)</sup> pace of 7 or 8 miles per hour. It took 2 weeks to travel from Montreal to Sherbrooke by coach, a journey that can be performed to-day in 2½ hours.

This isolation made for social and cultural stagnation. New ideas and new learning generated in Europe or in the United States were slow to penetrate the stronghold of the "habitant". Little contact existed between Englishman and Frenchman, except in the towns, thus reducing to a minimum the possibility of any language osmosis between the two races.

And this static life of Quebec with its parochial outlook

1) McKim's Canadian Newspaper Directory

2) Jackman "Economics of Transportation", p 14.

3) Skelton "Economic History of Canada"

as compared with the 1930 dynamic society and its cosmopolitan perspective, was by no means confined to the Province of Quebec. It was a state of affairs that existed in the rest of Canada, in most parts of the United States and of Europe; it was a condition of life, which though more accentuated in the Province of Quebec and less subject to change here than elsewhere, was directly proportionate to the economic development<sup>of its inhabitants,</sup> and to the quantity and quality of its means of communication and transportation. And as most of the so-called civilized countries were characterized by economic backwardness and sluggish communications, the difference between them and Quebec was one of degree rather than of kind. Yes, everywhere, not only in Quebec, but in Europe and America the diffusion of intelligence and knowledge was painfully slow.

But a change was coming, and the new methods of transportation and communication became the universal solvent that achieved the gradual intermixture of what had hitherto been discrete cultures. The railway, the steamship, the automobile, the airplane, the telegraph and the telephone, combined with the gradual change from an agricultural to an industrial western world, have altered the character and outlook of civilization. We are no longer citizens of one state drawing our knowledge from a narrow sphere; we are cosmopolites with the intellectual resources of the whole world to draw upon. It is true that Quebec, has not partaken to the same extent as the rest of the world of the new economic and cultural interdependence that is rapidly transforming the civilized world into one cultural unit. This has largely been due to the inherent conservatism of the French-Canadian and the restraining influence of the clergy.

But no white race living on the North American continent and conscious of its own existence, can remain in complete oblivion of this unifying tendency; no civilized people living only a day's

journey from New York City can remain in perpetual ignorance of what is going on around them. Whether the French Canadian himself is willing to admit it or not, he has been affected by this world movement and at an increasing rate his isolation is being dissipated by the penetrating rays of a cosmic culture. Nearly every book that has described French Canada has pictured Quebec with its feudal tenure, strong church domination, patois language, economic stagnation, and Tibetan isolation, as a piece of Medieval Europe flourishing in America. That picture is no longer so true to-day, and as time passes it becomes less so, Goldwin Smith's theory of French Canada as a relic of the historical past "preserved like a Siberian Mammoth in ice"<sup>1)</sup>, does not work. The French Canadian is living and expanding irresistibly in his own way. In particular, we point to the last decade in which, Quebec, under the tutelage of the Taschereau administration, the most progressive government this province has ever had, has made the most rapid strides towards bringing herself abreast of the rest of North America.

This broader outlook, engendered by an increasing contact with things un-French, has also reacted upon the language spoken by the French-Canadian. He still uses French, of course; but any one who has lived in Quebec over a period of years cannot help but observe the increasing number of French people making use of English. It is our intention in the following sections to outline some of the more conspicuous factors contributing toward this language trend.

Our lives are too complex to enable us to set up a simple relation of cause and effect by which we can explain an important social movement to be the result of one or two forces only. We realize that underlying this metamorphosis of Quebec there are

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<sup>1)</sup> Political Destiny of Canada.

there are many causes, direct and contributory, all ramifying into one another; but space only permits us to mention a few of the more important and most outstanding ones. We name first, the increasing facilities for communication within Quebec, and more important still, between Quebec and the rest of the world; and second, the growing industrialisation of the province largely aided by the development of its immense natural resources. The order in which these two factors are discussed, matters little, for they are both intimately correlated with each other. Third, the increasing dependence of the Quebec farmer on the outside world for the satisfaction of his wants. Fourth, the increasing use of periodicals of both languages by the French in Quebec. Fifth, the effects of the Cinema and the Radio upon language trend.



## CHAPTER V

### TRANSPORTATION

A comparison of transportation facilities in Quebec to-day with those of three generations ago will reveal that Quebec is not so "medieval" as many writers would have us believe. In 1836 there were only 16 miles of railway in the province. To-day there are almost 6000~~x~~, reaching nearly every village and hamlet of importance and bringing them within an hour or two of the great population and industrial centres like Montreal and Quebec. The provincial highways are another essential factor helping to dispel the bogey of isolation; and they have only been developed in the past ten years. In 1912 the total mileage of improved road in Quebec was about 200. Travel by automobile between towns was virtually impossible. As late as 1919 the writer recalls that it was almost suicide to travel by car to a point only 15 miles out of the city of Montreal. To-day there are over 7,000 miles of improved road in the province. The last report of the Department of Roads stated:

"In 1911 there were no good roads. Most villages and parishes in the province were practically isolated. Fifteen years have sufficed to build a road system comparable to the United States, and<sup>1)</sup> superior to most in Canada".

Macadamized or gravel roads now cover the province like a network, connecting towns and centres of any importance, and linking it up with its neighbours. In addition to the 7,000 miles of road already  
1) Report of the Department of Roads, 1929.

improved, new construction is being carried on at the ratio of some  
1)  
700 miles a year.

What is more important still, are the number of connections provided between the neighbouring provinces and states. Five main highways connect with Ontario, four with the state of New York, four with Vermont, four with Maine, and two with the Maritime Provinces.<sup>2)</sup> It is these new highways which in the past decade have made Quebec a mecca for tourists. Since 1915 the number of American autos entering the province has increased from 3,400 to 523,000 in 1929,<sup>3)</sup> an amazing increase of 15,300% in the short space of 14 years, or an average increase of 1,000% per year. And what are we to say about the 3,500,000 foreign cars that entered Ontario in 1929? A goodly number of these must undoubtedly have visited Quebec, though the actual figures are not available. Probably more American cars crossed into Quebec from Ontario than came directly from the United States. Even at an estimate of three persons to each car, the above figures are impressive as to the number of people from across the border who visited this province in 1929, and will set statisticians figuring the amount of money this multitude left in the province, with the ramifying economic effects upon its French inhabitants. An interesting feature of the report ~~for~~ for 1929 is the increase in the number of cars which remained in Canada for some considerable period. In every province except Quebec the majority of the cars came for a period not exceeding ~~forty days~~ 25 hours. But in Quebec 320,000, or three-fifths of the total received permits of admission for a period not exceeding 60 days. In other words, Quebec is the only province where the majority of the tourists remain for any

1) Report 1926.-----

2) Ibid

3) Report of the Minister of National Revenue, 1929.

length of time, thus permitting the possibility of greater intercourse between the visitors and the French Canadian citizens of the province.

The above situation which would have been ridiculed as a Utopian fantasy only a decade ago, has been rendered a reality by the new road and liquor policy of the province combined with the growing facilities for cheap tourist travel in the United States.

Apart from the far-reaching opportunities of economic development afforded by the annual tourist expenditure in Quebec of approximately \$75,000,000<sup>1)</sup>, this contact of the visitors with the French is bound to produce a broadening effect the significance of which is only beginning to be appreciated. As a matter ~~of~~ fact this state of affairs has progressed with such rapid strides, that only its more immediate economic effects are being considered for the present, while its sociological aspects have not as yet become a subject of speculation.

A whole new industry is springing up in Quebec to cater to the tourist trade. Many of the rural dwellers are setting up hotels, garages, repair shops, gas stations, and stores to accommodate the wants of the thousands of English-speaking visitors who penetrate Quebec's hinterland every year. Surely under these conditions the English tongue must make some impression on even the most conservative French-Canadian. Consider, for example, the situation that arises when a party of American tourists spends a holiday in the Laurentian Mountains. As is generally the case, none of these visitors is able to speak French. If they stop at a gasoline station or at a garage, lodge in a hotel or buy provisions, how can their wishes become known to the French-Canadian

1) Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

standing behind the counter unless the latter is acquainted with the English tongue? In this case a knowledge of English becomes the "sine qua non" of earning one's bread and butter.

And now comes an innovation. Instead of American tourists visiting Quebec for a short while and returning home, it is proposed to establish in Canada large colonies of American vacationists who will actually buy the lands upon which they will build their vacation homes, thus assuring ~~not only~~ their annual return to Quebec. In this way, the organisation of the Lucerne-in-Quebec Community Association which will transform the historic Papineau seigneurie at Montebello, Quebec, and its associations with Louis Joseph Papineau, into a \$6,000,000 community playground, constitutes an innovation into the Canadian realm of vacation enterprise. This new type of project will bring into still closer relationship the French Canadian and his American neighbour, and assure the increasing need for the former to acquaint himself with English.

The number of French owning cars increases yearly. In 1907 only 254 cars were registered in the province. In 1929 this number had mounted to 169,105, 57% of which were owned outside of Montreal, the main centre of urban traffic. <sup>1)</sup> "A feature of the report of the Quebec Department of Roads for 1929, is the increase in the number of automobile owners belonging to the agricultural class", stated Mr. Oscar Senecal, superintendant of the motor section <sup>2)</sup> of the Provincial Revenue Department in Montreal. In 1929 farmers were in possession of 24,207 cars. This was an increase of 33 1/3 % over the year before when only 18,000 cars were listed in the employ of farmers. In 1921 there were 221,000 inhabitants of Quebec over 10 years of age engaged in agriculture. Of these

1) Report Dept Roads, 1929.

2) Article Montreal Star Feb, 10, 1930.

70,000 are farmers' sons working with their fathers, and 26,000 were agricultural labourers, leaving a total of about 123,000 farms. With 24,000 cars in the hands of agricultural interests, we see that there is one car for every five farms in the province. Even if we allow for a natural increase in the number of farms since 1921, the result will not be much altered. This increase from about zero in 1920, when an automobile on a Quebec farm was a rarity, to a ratio of about 1 in 5 to-day is indicative of the tremendous increase in mobility in rural communities, and shows the rapidity with which the former isolation is being dispelled.

So the "medieval" habitant is no longer confined by natural barriers to his native parish, for the facilities exist by which he may in his own car, ride from the farm to the nearest large city in a few hours, or else motor across the border for a trip into the country of the Star Spangled Banner. The number of Quebec-owned cars entering the United States increases yearly. In 1928 it stood at 98,500<sup>1)</sup>; in 1929 the figure had jumped to 145,000<sup>2)</sup>, an increase of almost 50% in one year. If we figure conservatively on 3 occupants per car, ~~maximizing that~~ (and when a French Canadian family goes touring the car will usually contain a good deal more) we find that 450,000 inhabitants of Quebec crossed the border into the United States in 1929 compared with about 300,000 in 1928. True, many English people are included in these numbers, but as the English only constitute 20% of the population of Quebec, the figures must surely comprise a considerable proportion of French Canadians. In any case, they form a satisfactory, even though not an absolute, means of indicating the general trend.

1) Ibid

2) Ibid

But land transportation is not all. For river and canal navigation, the telegraph and postal service, the telephone, ever improving and increasing in service, are changing Quebec's parochial villages into units of a larger cosmic culture. Even the smallest hamlet has its telegraph office and telephone exchange, which, linking it up with the rest of the world, serves to reduce its distance from the large centres of population to a matter of a few minutes.

The amazing annual increases in automobile travel within the Province of Quebec as illustrated by the above figures, show that people are rapidly beginning to appreciate this mode of conveyance, and indicate that we are only at the beginning of a new cycle of development in this sphere. How far this cycle will continue to unfold itself in the future, we cannot judge with precision, but certainly it has still a considerable period of development ahead before it reaches its natural level. And what are we to say of the broader social effects which the evolution of this cycle is bound to carry in its wake? Of its effects upon the language spoken by the French Canadian we have dropped such hints as are already apparent from the infant movement. And we feel fully justified in prophesying the continuation of this trend toward bilingualism as the natural concomitant of the gradual broadening of our French compatriots---a broadening brought about in the main by the economic factors enumerated in Part **II** of this thesis.



## CHAPTER VI

### INDUSTRIALIZATION

Parallel with the development of transportation facilities has come the gradual, but increasing, industrialisation of the province. Quebec is no longer a purely agricultural society, for its immense and varied natural resources have attracted much foreign capital, and many industries have been established by Americans in Quebec because of the cheap power afforded by its numerous waterfalls. Along the St.Maurice River, in the Lac St.Jean district, and in the Eastern Townships a new industrial life has been created which has brought conspicuous progress to the villages and towns, and this is also true of many other parts of the province. <sup>1)</sup> The success of their pulp and paper-making works, viewed in the light of limitless resources of French Canadian forests, their amazing water-powers, and their sane and intelligent use of them, open before us the view of an almost endless industrial and commercial expansion.

Whereas the Earl of Durham could state that in 1838 "the great mass of the French are engaged in agriculture", <sup>2)</sup> to-day the occupations of the French Canadians become more and more diversified. Professions and trades are increasing. Even in the rural districts there is a growing number of banking agents, of local correspondents, newspapers and agents of all kinds for agricultural and commercial interests. <sup>3)</sup> Formerly, there being few occupations outside of farming, the "habitant" could not emancipate himself from the soil, but to-day if he wishes to leave the plough, he finds many avenues open to him. French Canadian society has lost its

1) Bracq "Evolution of French Canada" p. 250

2) Report

3) Bracq op.cit. p 243

former rigidity. The more enterprising young French farmers do find their way into the towns, attracted by higher wages and the greater possibilities for advancement. In a barber shop of Montreal--- this is true of many tonsorial establishments in Canada----the seven barbers were all sons of farmers. The children of these barbers attend the best available schools, and when their education is completed, they will become clerks, bookkeepers, dentists, doctors, or government employees. The barber shop for these men has been ~~x~~ a stepping-stone to higher things. Hence this growing predilection for an industrial existence shows young people easy ways to emerge from the stereotyped life of half a century ago, and it has made that life more varied and broader.

The increasingly important role played by French Canadians in Canada's commerce~~e~~ may be seen <sup>by</sup> ~~xx~~ a glance at "Who's Who and Why" for Canada. Nearly one-tenth of the individuals mentioned in the 1924-25 issue are of French origin. The growing importance of Quebec's interest in commerce has been recognised by the Canadian Manufacturer's Association which now publishes a French section in its review, "Industrial Canada". Similarly, the Canadian Pacific Railway issued splendidly illustrated brochures in French, in view of the increasing ocean travel of French Canada. The annual reports of such large corporations as Shawinigan Water and Power, Dominion Textile, and Montreal Power, are issued in French, indicative of the increasing number of French names on their shareholders' ledger. Most of the larger financial houses in Montreal and Quebec have a special French department to look after their French clients.

By a real reaction against classical education in the colleges, a great impulse has been given to commercial instruction and training. Apart from the regular schools of commerce, commercial

courses are given in the classical colleges at Levis, Three Rivers, Arthabaska, Montreal, Longueuil, St. Jerome, St. Laurent, and Valleyfield.<sup>1)</sup> Commercial training is also being given by the different orders of brothers in their several institutions.

It should be noted that there is a group of younger men who are clamouring for greater activity, more practical thinking, and urging their countrymen to take their share of the abounding wealth about them. A young sociologist, Errol Bouchette, published "Emparons-nous de l'industrie", and in it voiced this new ideal. Moreover, many young men and women are at work in English commercial houses of the cities of importance, who with their bilingual education, are becoming valuable auxiliaries. "The commercial rivalry of bygone days has lost something of its one-sidedness. One is impressed in Montreal and in Quebec by the numerous signs over stores and offices of Anglo-French associates".<sup>2)</sup> What a contrast between the present situation and that of 100 years ago when E.A. Talbot said: "very few French Canadians are now employed in the commerce of this city".<sup>3)</sup> In fact, the movement is so positive that protests have already been heard that population is being drawn away from agriculture.<sup>4)</sup> "Our industrial life has expanded so rapidly in recent years that agriculture seemed to be lagging behind", stated Premier Taschereau in an article written in January 1930.<sup>5)</sup>

Statistically speaking, the total number of people gainfully employed in Quebec increased by 132,000 between 1911 and 1921.<sup>6)</sup> Of this number, 17,000 or only 13% entered the agricultural field.<sup>7)</sup> The vast majority sought employment in the manufacturing, construc-

1) Le Canada Ecclesiastique, p 412.

2) Bracq p 425

3) "Five Years' Residence" Vol II p282.

4) L'Action Populaire, Oct 21, 1920.

5) Annual Statistical Review, Monetary Times for 1929. p22.

6) Census of Canada 1911 and 1921.

7) Ibid

tion, transportation, professional, and financial trades. Again, compare Carl Wittke's statement that in 1840 five out of every six  
1)  
Canadians were engaged in agriculture or lumbering, with the results of the 1921 census which indicates that only 28% of the gainfully employed people in Quebec are classified under agriculture. True, this classification is not strictly along racial lines, but as 1,900,000 of Quebec's total population of 2,300,000 are French, this percentage gives us a fair indication of the occupational trend of the French-Canadian.

This change in occupation is again indicated by the change in the ratio between the rural and the urban population of Quebec. In 1891 the urban population of the province was 28.7%, and  
2)  
the rural 71.3%. In 1921 the majority had shifted, and 52.8% now  
3)  
live in the cities, while only 48.2% are rural dwellers. And this movement is not peculiar to Quebec; it is almost universal. It is expressive of a tendency to abandon the former sociological fixity of an agricultural economy for the richer, more diversified, and broader life of an industrial society.

What connection exists between this occupational change and language trend?

As long as the French Canadian was willing to confine himself to an agricultural existence, his grasp upon his institutions, including his language, remained unshaken, and could have remained so almost indefinitely. An agricultural community was, until very recently, largely self-sufficient and had relatively little dependence on the outside world. This fact, combined with the lack of the proper means of communication in the Province of Quebec reduced

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1) Hist of Canada p 135  
2) Census of Canada 1891  
3) Ibid 1921

to a minimum the French Canadian's contact with outside culture, and rendered unnecessary as well as improbable his acquisition of a knowledge of English<sup>1)</sup>, the language of the rest of the North American continent. Long ago Cartier stated: "If we would assure our national existence, if we would preserve our institutions, our language and our religion, we must stick to the soil.....attachment to the soil is the secret of the future greatness of French Canada".

A commercial and industrial existence, on the other hand, is based on a division of labour, which means a dependence on the services of many people. Hence the need for frequent and intimate contact with people of another race has obliged the increasing number of French Canadians engaging in i<sup>n</sup>d<sup>n</sup>stry to acquire a good knowledge of the English language. Furthermore, life in the cities is no longer the dull, narrow, and isolated existence it was on the farms. It involves a broader and more diverse well-being that carries with it not only the need to learn the English tongue, but, and increasingly so, the desire as well. "Having tasted of the forbidden fruit, the French Canadian is now beginning to realize what he has missed and hastens to learn English that he may enjoy to the full the benefits which an urban existence afford."<sup>2)</sup>

1) Boyd "Life of Cartier" p 350

2) Hector Garneau, librarian of the City of Montreal, conversation.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE GROWING DEPENDENCE OF THE RURAL AREAS ON THE OUTSIDE WORLD FOR THE SATISFACTION OF WANTS

Though the French Canadian urbanite ultimately tends to become bilingual, his compatriot who remains on the farm no longer exists in his former isolation. There is a growing dependence between the farm and the city for the satisfaction of the former's wants. An increasing division between town and country is evident. Articles formerly made at home such as clothing and furniture, are now purchased in the city. The old spinning wheel and outdoor oven have become relics of the past. And, mirabile dictu, the farmer who used to raise the family victuals in his own backyard, now buys canned goods from the manufacturer in the city.

The Quebec farm has even been invaded by agricultural labor-saving machinery. No longer is the "habitant" required to work from dawn till sunset in order to wrest a bare living from the soil, for his spare time affords him the opportunity of mental uplift. "Our agricultural awakening is ~~xx~~ rather made perceptible by the general spirit moving our rural districts. Fundamental changes are going on everywhere as by enchantment. The by-word of reform has been so generally adopted as to reach the subconscious mind of our farmer. Instinctively he now discards his old methods and smiles at the spirit of routine from which he could not formerly be moved. Apparently in vain had our schools of agriculture in past years preached new methods of cultivation and invited farmers to group themselves so as to cope with the requirements of modern economic life. Now they no longer look down upon the new gospel and they are now anxious to hear and follow the suggestion of our



professors of agriculture and agronomists who have been studying in Europe and the United States, and who come to them with very progressive ideas as to the kind of products that should be raised, and the mode that should be adopted to reach the markets".<sup>1)</sup>

The great world life has penetrated into the country in spite of their reputed feudalism. The native mind has been opened to the larger world of impulses, and ideas are resistlessly entering though under restraints, yet entering. Even the most Conservative Catholics are obliged to be of their time in defending their conceptions of mental, moral, religious, and cosmic fixity. Illiteracy has receded and practical knowledge has come and lingers.

To the poverty of half a century ago has succeeded a new financial well-being. Professor Bracq states that the wealth of the Quebec farmer is greater than that of the tiller of the soil in the New England states.<sup>2)</sup> "In a parish half way between St. Jean and Montreal several trustworthy persons estimated the wealth of the average farmer at from 6-7 thousand dollars. In the vicinity of Rimouski reports were about the same, and in 2 parishes near Roberval the valuation was from 11-12 thousand dollars."<sup>3)</sup> With this has come a freer use of money, telling upon the appearance of the home and dress of the farmer. The housekeeper has changed also. She is much better educated and devotes a smaller proportion of her time to the drudgery of domestic chores. The old white-washed chaumiere is gradually being replaced by modern dwellings with urban sanitary conveniences, and where formerly a tallow candle or coal-oil lamp was employed to dispel the "instruments of darkness", electricity and an Edison incandescent hold sway.

1) Premier Taschereau in Annual Review Monetary Times for 1929. p 23

2) Bracq op. cit. p240

3) Ibid.

Rural life has broadened. It no longer revolves around the plough as a sole axis. A trip into the city by train or auto is no longer a novelty but an integral, routine, and important part of the farmer's existence.

When the scientific spirit does not find admission ~~kk~~ through religious channels and the schools, it enters by commercial ~~and~~ and materialistic avenues. Civilization comes to them more and more outside of the church and the schools. Modern life is becoming an incomparable teacher for them, and more and more they are absorbing the ideas of the ~~ix~~ century. Of this the great bulk of Anglo-Canadians are not aware.

What effect has all this on language? Why, we may ask, is this broader life not compatible with the use of only French to the total exclusion of English? Why is the language of the "habitant" here to be any different from that of the average farmer in France? Why will one tend to learn English, and the other not? The answer is that the farmer in France lives amid surroundings entirely French. His native land, its civilization, its industrial manifestation, its patriotic being, its art, its education, and its literature, are all part of one homogeneous "folksgeist" or spirit of the people, as Savigny called it. Hence all find expression through the medium of one tongue,----French. There is no need for any other. But the French Canadian civilization occupies only a small corner of the North American continent. It is surrounded by a foreign culture whose adherents outnumber the French Canadian 40-1. It has not even a country that is all its own, but forms a minority adjunct of a larger Canadian aspiration. Here the "folksgeist" is no longer homogeneous, and language, the expression of that spirit, will either be heterogeneous, or tend to be that of the majority. And the smaller group, in order to

share in the more transcendent national life, finds itself under the duress of learning the latter's medium of expression.

CHAPTER VIII  
ENGLISH PERIODICALS

Examine the following table:-

NAME OF MAGAZINE	CIRCULATION PER 1000 OF NON-FRENCH POPULATION IN EACH PROVINCE				AVERAGE CIRCULATION PER 1000 NON-FRENCH POP. FOR 3 provinces OF ONT., N.B., and N.S. COMBINED <sup>n</sup>
	NOVA SCOTIA	NEW BRUNSWICK	ONTARIO	QUEBEC	
Mac Lean's	19.2	24.8	20.4	30.5	20.6
CANADIAN HOME JOURNAL	10.7	15	18.18	24.25	17.1
SATURDAY EVENING POST	9.7	11.2	14.3	35.0	13.3
LADIES HOME JOURNAL	13.8	12.4	16.6	30.7	15.9
COLLEGE HUMOR	1.8	2.8	3.8	10.8	3.4
ATLANTIC MONTHLY	.47	.46	.72	1.9	.67
AMERICAN MERCURY	.2	.18	.2	.68	.2

The above table contains a list of certain representative American and Canadian periodicals; and it shows their circulation per 1000 of non-French population in each province of Eastern Canada. In the last column is given the average circulation for the combined populations of the three provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Ontario. Hence we can compare the circulation of these magazines per non-French population of Quebec with that of Nova Scotia, of New Brunswick, of Ontario, and with an average of the three taken together. In each case it will be observed that the circulation

per 1,000 of the non-French in Quebec is much higher than that in any of the other three provinces, and higher than the average of ~~the~~ the three. Why should this be so, consistently?

Here are seven magazines, different in nature and in the tastes to which each would appeal. Some are of Canadian origin, some are American, some are serious, some are light; some are designed for the cultured mind, some for the practical domestician; and yet, in each case their circulation per capita of the non-French in Quebec is abnormally higher than that in the other provinces of Eastern Canada.

We have no reason for believing that the non-French in Quebec read more extensively than do those of Ontario, Nova Scotia or New Brunswick. Assuming, therefore, that their reading habits are similar, we are justified in attributing the abnormally high proportion in Quebec to sales among French Canadian readers.

We may even go further than this general statement. We may venture to figure out the approximate number of copies of each magazine that circulates among the French in Quebec. If we assume that the English in Quebec receive per capita the average receipts of the other provinces of Eastern Canada together, the difference between ~~the~~ sixth and fifth columns in the above table will show us approximately what the French circulation is. For example, the difference between the circulation of MacLean's in Quebec and the average for the three provinces is 9.9 per 1,000 non-French population of Quebec (see above); there are 400,000 non-French in Quebec, and by multiplying  $9.9 \times 400$ , the resulting figure, 3960, shows us about how many copies of MacLean's reach French Canadian homes in this province. In the same way we arrive at the French circulation of the other magazines:-

NAME OF MAGAZINE	APPROXIMATE FRENCH CIRCULATION IN QUEBEC	TOTAL CIRCULATION IN QUEBEC	APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL QUEBEC CIRCULATION THAT IS FRENCH
MACLEAN'S	3,960	12,200	30%
CANADIAN HOME JOURNAL	2,920	9,760	30%
SATURDAY EVENING POST	8,832	14,152	62%
LADIES HOME JOURNAL	5,958	12,318	48%
COLLEGE HUMOR	2,990	4,350	68%
ATLANTIC MONTHLY	514	782	65%
AMERICAN MERCURY	193	273	70%

It is true that the above figures are not exact, but they do give us a fair estimation of the trend among the French reading public toward the use of English periodicals. We can see no reason whatsoever for believing that the English in Quebec are more addicted to reading than are their compatriots in the other provinces of Eastern Canada. And even if they were, the difference in reading habits would not be <sup>as</sup> ~~xx~~ marked as would be indicated by the above figures. We have omitted the consideration of Prince Edward Island because the magazine circulation among its scanty population is so small as not to alter materially the above conclusions.

It is interesting to note that among the periodicals with a heavier circulation, those of a lighter nature, like the Saturday Evening Post and College Humor find many more readers among the French than do the journals of a more serious trend. This is an example of that general tendency manifest among imm-



igrants and other people who are learning a new language, namely, that they begin by reading the literature of the new language which contains pictures or written matter that is easier to understand.

It is unfortunate that the above formulae applied to magazines cannot be used to determine similar results in connection with the newspaper. It is, in fact, impossible to compare the circulation of a newspaper in one province with that in others, as we have done in the case of the magazines above; because each newspaper, containing news that is mainly local in nature, has only a local circulation. In order to effect a proper comparison, we must consider those periodicals which will be of the same interest to people in all parts of the Dominion, and which consequently will have the same opportunity of circulation in each province. That is why we have based our observation on a comparative circulation of magazines. The English newspapers of Quebec themselves do not know what their French circulation is. The Montreal "Star" claims a sale of 15,000 copies "among the business, professional, and better-class French-speaking families"<sup>1)</sup> of Montreal. But it cannot verify this exactly. The Montreal Standard has a country<sup>2)</sup> circulation in Quebec of 7,600; the Montreal Gazette, 5,000; the<sup>3)</sup> Montreal Star, 13,359; the Sherbrooke Record has a country circ-<sup>4)</sup>ulation of over 3,000, while the Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph, the remaining English language paper of the province, has a country circulation of 1,000. Of course, much of this country circulation as well as that in the cities, finds its way into English homes, but if we were able to subtract the total number of French readers, the above figures would undoubtedly shrink to a considerable ex-

1) Desbarats Advertising Manual

2) Audit Bureau of Circulations Report

3) Ibid

4) Ibid

tent. Beyond this general statement we are unable to arrive at as accurate a conclusion as we did in the case of the magazines above.

## CHAPTER IX

### CINEMA AND RADIO

As in the case of the newspaper, the radio distributing agencies in Quebec are unable to separate the number of sales to French customers from those to their English clientele, so that we cannot tell within the bounds of figures just how many radio sets do find a domicile in French homes. However, as 80% of the inhabitants of Quebec are French, the radio statistics that are to follow can be considered as an approximate manifestation of the general trend.

It is now less than eight years since the first radio broadcasting station was established in Quebec, and it was just about that time(1922) that the worth of private receiving sets began to receive a general recognition. We have no means of finding out the total number of sets in the province in 1922, but they could not have totalled more than a few hundred. But since that date the organisation of the industry on a large scale, and the application of modern advertising and high pressure salesmanship methods together with a reduction in price which places the product within the reach of even those of moderate means, the number of sets in the hands of French Canadians has increased incredibly. According to Mr. J.M.Colton, Federal inspector of radios for the Province of Quebec, the number of licenses granted to radio fans in the province during the fiscal year 1928-29 was over 49,751. The number for the year 1929-30 amounted to over 75,000 showing an increase of 50% over that of the year before. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the total was on the island of Montreal. But these figures by no means indicate the

final number of receiving sets in the province. They only show the total of licensed owners. Probably as many more have not applied for a license to operate a set, and of these, a goodly proportion will be found in the country districts where the law compelling owners to secure licenses is laxly enforced.

The educational and broadening value of the radio was recently recognised by the Quebec government when it instituted the Provincial Hour, which is a bi-weekly broadcast of a program arranged under the auspices of the provincial government. In the inaugural program on December 17, 1929 Mr. Edouard Montpetit, secretary of the University of Montreal, outlined the objectives of the innovation:

"We have enlisted the collaboration of some of our best known lecturers, writers, and experts in many fields, and it is the intention to offer the public the benefit of their lifelong experience in inviting them to contribute short addresses during the course of the provincial hour. These programs will help to establish a closer contact between the intellectual leaders and the people. Besides addresses from time to time by members of the government, movements of social reform will be explained whenever the occasion arises".

According to the official declaration of the government the prime motive was to stir mental acquisitiveness amongst the people in rural districts, as the rural dwellers were to be the more immediate<sup>1)</sup> concern of the government's initiative.

At présent there is being waged by the French people and press in Quebec a campaign against the proposal of the Dominion government to nationalize all radio broadcasting stations in Canada. This was the substance of the report of the Aird Commission which

1) Editorial Montreal Gazette Dec. 12, 1929.

suggested that all broadcasting in the Dominion should be in the hands of the Federal government. The report has not yet been brought up at the present session of Parliament(March 1930), but meanwhile the French people have shown themselves bitterly antagonistic to its recommendations. Letters from private citizens and editorials published in the French newspapers openly proclaim the fear that the rights of minorities, especially the language privilege, might be placed in jeopardy should the Aird proposals be adopted. The following extracts from the LaPresse of a recent date<sup>1)</sup> reveal this sentiment:

"Nous avons aujourd'hui une <sup>n</sup>grande confiance en nos législateurs, mais notre pays n'étant pas exclusivement unilingue, nous aurions peut-être un jour la grande déception d'entendre un programme uniquement dans la langue favorisée par le gouvernement. Qui en souffrirait? Ce serait une ~~ma~~ minorité illégalement privée de ses droits, et à qui l'on voudrait imposer une langue étrangère".

"Aujourd'hui ne jouit-on pas de programmes irradiés dans les deux langues? Les postes actuels d'irradiation font tout en leur pouvoir pour contenter les plus difficiles. Pourquoi faire des changements et ~~ma~~ mettre en danger les droits d'une minorité?"

This action on the part of the French population illustrates the far-reaching and ramifying effects which the radio might have upon the social life of a people, upon its institutions, and upon the language it speaks.

The connection between the radio and the French language in this province has also found a repercussion in the question of the broadcasting of church service. The Catholic church forbids the

1)Feb. 15, 1930.

transmission of its services over the air, but the Protestants make a prolific use of this medium. This undoubtedly results in a certain amount of irritation on the part of the French Canadian who finds much of the Sunday program taken up with the services of a different faith; and his resentment is added to by the fact that the language of the Protestants is different from that of the Catholics, who are mainly French. There are many who feel that if the control of the radio is left entirely to the provinces, as seems likely, the French majority might make some attempt to curtail the broadcasting in general of church services.

The "Talkies" are probably the youngest and the latest of the factors affecting the trend of language in Quebec, for as far as this province is concerned, they are just about able to celebrate their first birthday. The "talky" indeed presents a rather unique illustration of an economic influence that is inherently bound up with the question of language.

It is true that the moving-picture industry, satisfying only a recreative want, will not have the profound social and language effects which changes in the means of transportation or alterations in the economic occupation of a people are liable to evince. But it is essential to remember that as time passes, objects regarded at first as a superfluity, become an integral part of our well-being. With the advance of civilization that which was unknown to the standards of living of our parents and grandparents, constitutes an indispensable part of our own. Our wants expand to meet the newcomer, and soon they cannot do without it. So it is with the moving-picture. A generation ago it was little known, and the desire for it was consequently absent. But to-day it plays an increasingly



important role in our lives. In fact there are many who are already prepared to call it indispensable.

Apply the above thesis to the French Canadian in Quebec. He was slower in accepting ~~the~~ moving picture than were his compatriots elsewhere in Canada. Yet, probably induced by the compromise of subtitles in his own language, he gradually recognised its recreative value, so that ~~there~~ are to-day over 200 moving-picture theatres in the province, only 85<sup>1)</sup> of which are in Montreal, Quebec, and Sherbrooke, showing that the majority are situated in the rural communities. Slowly but surely the cinema was playing a larger and more important part in the recre<sup>ea</sup>tive life of our French Canadian friends. It first engendered, and then satisfied, a definite want.

As long as the "movie" was silent, the words spoken by the actors were projected on the screen in bilingual form for the benefit of those unacquainted with English. But the introduction of the sound picture turns into uttered words all that was formerly written, in this way rendering impossible simultaneous translations into another tongue. Here, then, the French Canadian whose interest in the movies has gradually changed from a spasmodic to a regular attendance, whose recreative desires have found a definite satisfaction in the screen, now finds that this means of enjoyment is meted out to him in the English language instead of in his own tongue. And what is more to the point, as 99.9% of the films shown in this province are produced in Hollywood, there is little likelihood of receiving films made in any other language but English.

Either the the French will patronize the innovation and so broaden their knowledge of ~~French~~ English or else they will refuse to

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1) Information supplied by the Prov. of Que. Theatre Owners Assn.

accept it.

Although it is less than one year at the time of this writing (Feb. 1930) since the first "talky" was installed in Quebec we are able to outline a definite attitude toward the neophyte by the French Canadian. In brief, he has accepted. At first many owners feared that the change to sound pictures would cause a falling off in attendance. But all evidence points to a contrary movement. Mr. O. R. Harvey, General Manager of the research department of the Northern Electric Co. which has installed over 60% of the "talkies" in this province, states that at present in Canada over 1,000,000 more people are attending the theatre each week than did so a year ago. He mentioned cases where theatres in the country sections of Quebec had actually been losing money under the silent drama. "Now", he added, "although the "talkies" had increased their overhead by 25%, these same theatres are able to report most favorable financial returns, indicating an augmented attendance". One owner in particular from a community almost 100% French felt that the priests would advise the people not to patronise this English innovation because it would wean them away from their own tongue. Mr. Harvey stated that six months after installation this same manager reported the largest returns he has ever had. The best proof that ~~Mrs. Harvey could adduce~~ to show the complete acceptance of the change was that, of all the theatres in which the Northern Electric had installed the new apparatus, not a single owner had complained of diminished attendance.

The sound picture has ~~thus~~ been accepted by the French Canadian in Quebec as it has by the English in Ontario or in any English-speaking province of the Dominion. At present there are

1)

forty sound theatres in the Province outside of Montreal and Quebec. These are situated in districts almost 100% French, and the number is increasing every day. For within one year the silent production have dropped to 10% of the total and within six months, at the present rate of decrease, their number will be almost nil. Those theatres, then, that have not acquired the new equipment, will either have to do so or close their doors.

From the above, the far-reaching, social and especially language effects of the "talkies" upon French-Canadian life are apparent, and need no elucidation. They are becoming an increasingly important factor, making for the inclusion of English in the repertoire of the average French-Canadian.

1) Ibid-----

## CHAPTER X

### A STATISTICAL SUMMARY

Whether we believe that a materialistic interpretation of history is the only true analysis of the forces behind historical events, or whether we concede that it is simply one force among many, we cannot deny that in the development of any people, economic reasons have an important bearing upon the trend of languages. In other words, if it is increasingly profitable for those whose mother tongue is, say, French to become proficient in English, they and their children will rapidly acquire a knowledge of English and will use that language. This is just what is happening in the Province of Quebec. In the present chapter we have traced the definite effect of a changing economic background upon the trend of the language of the French-Canadian. In the city, and less so in the rural sections, economic factors are making for a slow but sure use of both English and French where formerly French alone was the rule.

English is becoming an integral part of the newer and broader French-Canadian.

Turn to the Canadian census of 1901 and of 1921, and you will find therein statistics to confirm the above views. The preamble to the enumeration of 1901 contains the following: "As English is now in a very large degree the language of commerce throughout the world, it is desirable to ascertain ~~xx~~ to what extent the citizens of French origin are able to speak it in addition to their own." <sup>1)</sup>

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1) Census 1901, Vol. 1, intro. p. vii

Let us see to what an extent this objective of the preamble was fulfilled. In 1901, <sup>1)</sup> 32% of the French population of Canada were able to speak English; twenty years later this figure had risen <sup>2)</sup> to 50%. Now consider the Province of Quebec. Whereas in 1901 <sup>3)</sup> 28% of its French inhabitants were acquainted with English <sup>4)</sup> 42% were credited with that accomplishment in 1921, that is, the percentage of French speaking English had increased by 50%.

In 1901 only <sup>5)</sup> 529,000 French in all Canada could speak English. In 1921, this number had reached <sup>6)</sup> 878,000, an increment of roughly 350,000 or 66%. Of this amount Quebec contributed <sup>7)</sup> almost 200,000, showing that 4/7 or 57% of the total increase in the number of French learning English took place in Quebec. This was the largest recorded gain of all the provinces. And yet the Laurentian province is the very one where the French language area is most compact and where the "habitant" is likely to offer the most resistance to the introduction of bilingualism.

The figures also present a most interesting situation <sup>8)</sup> in Ontario. While its French population increased only 19% during the period in question, the number of French speaking English almost doubled. This sharp increase maybe attributed to the rapid industrialization of Ontario as well as to stricter enforcement of the use of English in the school system.

Again, statistics will corroborate the statement made above that the use of English in Quebec is not only confined to the towns, but is also spreading into the French rural districts. In <sup>9)</sup> 1901 only 22% of the French people resident in rural sections were

1) Census 1901 vol. iv p. 325	2) Census 1921 vol. iv pp. 188-215
3) " 1901 " " "	4) " 1921 " " " "
5) " 1901 " " "	6) " 1921 " " " "
7) " 1901 and 1921	8) Ibid.
9) " 1901 and 1921; Percentage was compiled by writer from figures given.	

conversant with English. By the 1921 census this figure had expanded to 32%.

In accordance with the inconsistency that usually marks the actions of governments, and much to our own chagrin, the language statistics in the censuses of 1901 and of 1921 are not compiled upon the same basis. Thus in the above paragraph the figures from the enumeration of 1901 deal with all French people over five years of age, while that of 1921 considers only those over ten years of age. This fact introduces a margin of inaccuracy into the above comparisons; but it is an inaccuracy that errs on the side of conservatism. For by raising the age limit, the 1921 census has reduced the potential field of French Canadians speaking English, as compared with the census of 1901. Consequently the comparison does not even indicate the true situation to as great an extent as it actually exists.

It is unfortunate that this writing takes place at a time so far removed from the last census, for our figures have to be drawn from a state of affairs that existed nine years ago. As the language trend described in the second part of this thesis has been especially accentuated in the past decade with the development of the road system of the province, the rapid spread of the use of conveniences such as the automobile and radio, and the mushroom growth of industry, since its recovery after the break in 1921, it is to be regretted that the statistics afforded are not able to present an up to date picture of the language situation. In fact they are only able to indicate the beginning of the movement described above, our anticipated extent of which will ~~undoubtedly~~ undoubtedly be justified by the 1931 census.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE FUTURE OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE IN CANADA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO QUEBEC

About a quarter of a century ago the late Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, Premier of Quebec said that the population of Quebec reminded him of the famous staircase in the Castle of Chambord, which was so constructed that two persons could ascend it at the same time without meeting save at rare intervals. "And so," said Mr. Chauveau, "we in this Province of Quebec, French and English, move onward to the destinies that await us, without knowing, without meeting each other, and only seeing each other on the landing place of politics. As to society and literature, we are greater strangers than the French and English in Europe." At one time the comparison was only too well founded. But it was not in the nature of things that such estrangement between neighbours and fellow citizens should last forever, and for some years before his lamented death M. Chauveau had the satisfaction of observing that mutual knowledge and kindly reciprocity had begun to bear fruit. The evidences of the welcome change are manifold, probably the most noteworthy being the growing tendency already described above, of the French Canadian to acquaint himself with the language of his English compatriots. For it is only by learning the language of the other people that we are able to appreciate its culture, characteristics and traditions, the experiences peculiar and dear to it, and the mentality which marks it. Language has always been the great barrier to the existence of a sympathetic understanding between different races, because it is behind just such



a barrier that there is always bound to accumulate prejudice, intolerance, mutual distrust and even hate. Break down that barrier, and idealist's dream of a "bonne entente" becomes a reality. Why? Because intolerance and partisanship result from ignorance of the other man's point of view. Learn his language and you can understand him as he is, "chez lui," and not as you thought he was when viewed "du loin." "...one knows that once the most bigoted English speaking Ontarian has been in real contact with a French Canadian for a few weeks or at least a few days, they understand each other perfectly well and have a mutual respect each for the other.<sup>1)</sup>"

In the last chapter we pointed out the greater interpenetration of the two cultures in Quebec due to the increasing tendency to bilingualism in that province, and we showed that that predilection was hastened by material factors which forced the French Canadian to learn English if he desired to share in the great economic prosperity which<sup>is</sup> the heritage of the North American continent. We outlined certain definite forces such as the radio, cinema, improved means of communication, and most important of all, a shift in the occupational background of the French Canadian, which by broadening his social life, are augmenting his need and whetting his desire to become conversant with the English tongue.

How long this process will continue in the future, we cannot say. But if we assume that the evolution of French Canadian life will continue in the direction it has followed during the last decade or two, we feel justified in looking forward to a time when all of our French neighbours will be as well acquainted with English as they are with their own tongue. Just when this state of affairs

<sup>1)</sup>  
<sup>1)</sup> Quebec "Soleil" 1927.

will have been consummated it is difficult to state. In the complex unfolding of a nation's destiny it is impossible to see the idiosyncrasy or mutation that may suddenly appear to arrest this normal development in a given direction. The evolution of so important a social characteristic as a change in the language spoken by a people cannot be gauged with the exactitude and precision of mathematical formulae. Each group advances according to its own peculiar rhythm, which may at one time be faster and at another slower. Certain it is that if the proportion of French speaking English has increased from zero in 1759 to 50% in 1921, we may carry the process to its logical conclusion and visualize a time when all French Canadians will be bilingual, especially with the rapid penetration of French life by the material factors described in the last chapter.

Under the present conditions of travel and intercourse, business and social activities are constantly bringing French-speaking citizens into direct contact with the smaller and larger English-speaking centres of population. A knowledge of English, therefore, is necessary to those who find a sphere of usefulness in their home communities, and is indispensable to those who are to seek a successful career in the wider world outside.

But not only is the French Canadian borrowing an emotional existence from his English neighbours, he is being affected by the peaceful economic and cultural penetration of Quebec by forces from the United States. Quebec gets her music, her slang, her tooth-paste, her moving pictures, her periodical literature, almost everything from news dispatches to Rotary clubs, from automobiles to chewing gum, largely from across the Border. American baseball, rather than the native French-Indian game of lacrosse is now the national summer sport of Old Quebec. Much of her economic and

industrial evolution closely parallels that of the Northeastern states, and many economic and political policies have been directly borrowed from them. French newspapers look more and more like those of the United States and their rotogravure/sections, coloured comics, sport and stock pages, magazine and theatrical revues, indicate the use of much the same kind of material. The prices of many Canadian staples are fixed in American markets, as also are the fashions of men's and women's clothes. The French university student has even patterned his college yells after those of the United States.

Whether we disparage or approve of this growing spiritual and psychological vassalage to the "Stars and Stripes," we cannot overlook the ultimate importance of its bearing upon those tendencies in French Canadian speech outlined in this thesis.

Granted, then, that all the descendants of New France will include English in their heritage of the future, what will become of their own French tongue? Will they completely forget it as did their compatriots in Louisiana, and as is rapidly taking place in New England, or will they continue to use it alongside of English? There are many who agree with the claim that the former eventuality is inevitable. They point out that English is the language of 125,000,000 people on this continent; practically all business, even in Quebec is conducted in it. The French Canadian simply must learn English, and in consequence he does learn it. The English-Canadian and the British immigrant, being under no such compulsion as regards the French language, either do not learn it at all, or only in a very superficial way. So French gradually tends to give away before English. All the department stores and shops in the large cities are filled with French Canadians of both sexes, able to wait with equal facility on customers speaking either tongue. English is the

commercial language of the country, the bulk of the wealth is in English hands, and the French could hardly find employment at all in the large stores unless they had a speaking acquaintance with both languages. In process of time then, runs the claim, there is little doubt that English will be universally spoken, while the need for French no longer present, that language will ultimately disappear.

The above views may be vindicated by the passage of events outside of Quebec, still within the province itself there are several vital factors which militate against this movement toward complete unilingualism. In the first place, we must remember that in the Province of Quebec, unlike any other part of the Western Hemisphere, the French tongue is accorded full legal status, and this in itself constitutes a legal safeguard to the continuation of French in this province. Further, the rate of increase in Quebec is much higher than that of the rest of North America. This fact assures us that an increasing proportion of the future inhabitants of this continent will be French-speaking. Again, we cannot overlook the restraining<sup>influence</sup> of the Roman Catholic church which is more strongly entrenched in Quebec than in any part of America, and which will do its best to restrain any rapid or radical changes in the social life of the French Canadian. In fact, the extent to which French Canada will be able in the future to keep in line with modern progress will depend very largely on the ability of the systolic influence of the Church to overcome the diastolic effects of material factors. Besides, one cannot discount the far-reaching influence of such organizations as the "Societe du Parlez Francais", of which Judge Adjutor

Rivard is the guiding influence, or the "A.C.J.C."<sup>1)</sup> whose sole purpose is to propogate and perpetuate the use of the French language and of French institutions in the Dominion. Finally, it is essential to consider that cardinal quality of our French neighbours, namely its natural and inherent reluctance to relinquish those characteristics which mark it as a race, especially its language.

The matter then, does not by any means end with the solution of the problems of barter and exchange or even of a more elevated desire for intellectual contact. There are spiritual and racial obstacles to the ultimate disappearance of French. The language of a man's home, his people, his school, and his church is the man's native tongue. That is the language in which he thinks. He may learn another tongue but unless he hears and reads nothing else for many years it will be a long time before it becomes the language of his thoughts. And if his native medium of expression remains that of his intimate life, the new one will never oust it completely.

It is for these reasons that we cannot agree with those who would forecast a complete disappearance of French from Canadian life. Material factors will ultimately<sup>force</sup> every French Canadian to learn English, in order that he may not be handicapped in his relations with the outside world, but they can never be powerful enough to induce the complete substitution of English for French in his intimate existence.

The above conclusions are to a large extent borne out by statistics. In 1921 almost 60% of the people of French origin over ten years of age in the Province of Quebec could not speak

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1) Association Canadien de la Jeunesse Canadienne-Francaise.

speaking English; while only 16.3% of those outside of Quebec were unable to do so. At the same time 95.6% of those outside of Quebec were still able to speak French, that is only 4.4% had completely abandoned French for English. These figures would indicate that once the French Canadian has migrated from his language stronghold in Quebec to English-speaking centres in other parts of the Dominion, he will eventually become bilingual, while his natural adherence to his native tongue prevents him in most cases from carrying the process to its logical conclusion and becoming a purely English-speaking individual.

But though the French-Canadian learns English, his English-speaking compatriot shows little desire to learn French; and so upon the French-Canadian alone devolves the task of preserving the use of the French tongue in Canada. He will receive little support in the process from the English-speaking element. Canada is a bilingual country; yet, strange as it may seem, while 50% of the French can speak English only 4% of the English are acquainted<sup>1)</sup> with French. If the two languages are destined to go along side by side indefinitely, the matter of learning French should be a very serious duty with English Canadians. We spoke before of prejudice being accumulated behind the "barrier of language." This state of affairs can only be obviated by a French-speaking and English-speaking citizens coming into more familiar intercourse in order to understand one another not simply in the matter of exchanging words, but in the larger matter of perceiving their respective ways of looking at things. Some of the English newspapers have also stressed this view, and the "Toronto Mail and Empire," the leading Conservative organ in that city, said not long ago of the Ontario student

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1) Census 1921.

who spent some years learning French:

"He can read French and write French, but he has no facility in speaking French and finds it difficult to follow the spoken remarks of any fluent or cultured Frenchman or French woman. Great as a person's efficiency in an acquired language may be, it must remain for him an imperfect instrument if he can neither speak it or understand it when it is spoken by one born and nurtured in it....If English-speaking Canadians mix more freely with their French fellow countrymen and women they would be surprised at the rapidity with which they would obtain a serviceable use of the French language."

Why this apathy toward the French language on the part of the English element in Canada as compared with the active attempt on the part of the French to learn English? The same reason will explain these two divergent tendencies. The explanation is a psychological one.

With two languages existing side by side as do the French and English in Canada, and especially in the Province of Quebec, it is only natural to expect a certain amount of linguistic osmosis to take place between them. Some French will learn English, and some English will learn French. But this mere passive contact will produce no appreciable results. We may hear of French and English meeting each other socially, of French and English learning each other's language for cultural and educational purposes, but after all man is as Emerson says, "a lazy animal" who will not of his own free will undertake the insufferable toil of thought". He will follow the line of least resistance and in practice use his own language, especially if that action is sanctioned by the legal parity of the two tongues. What is wanted is some active external



pressure to act as a catalyser to hasten the interaction between the two language ingredients lying in juxtaposition in the Canadian racial crucible. To this external pressure may be given the generic name of necessity. If educational, cultural, religious, and social reasons do not suffice to cause sufficient contact between the people of both languages, commercial and political reasons do. The pressure of economic necessity on the one hand and of political exigencies on the other, overcome the language consciousness of the Frenchman and force him to meet the Englishman in the latter's own tongue.

But the English Canadian, forming the numerical majority in the Dominion, controlling the government and most of the large financial undertakings, and adopting the condescending air of conquerors, are not under the same duress to learn French, and consequently do not do so. The Canadian youth of Anglo-Saxon origin maintains that in these strenuous days it is not reasonable to expect him to devote several years of his life to mastering a language which will be of very practical use to him anywhere in Canada, except in Quebec; (and even here most of the business undertakings are conducted in English) and that, however admirable a knowledge of French may be from a cultural point of view, competition is too fierce in this workaday world to allow him to give the necessary time to a purely academic pursuit which could be more profitably used in some practical field of endeavour. Without the sharp spur of necessity to drive him, as it drives a French Canadian to learn English, he neither masters French nor feels it incumbent upon him to do so.

Of course, this indifference formerly took the form of a bitterly hostile attitude, especially in Ontario, towards everything French. But just as this spirit of animosity has been modified into

one of indifference, so there evidences today of that indifference shading into an appreciation of the French tongue with some attempt to learn it. A recent series of editorials in the Montreal Gazette have emphasised this tendency. "The public is hearing less frequently the old Ontario argument that a child brought up in that province is never likely to need a knowledge of the French language. More often we here repeated the assertion that a boy or girl will be better equipped for his or her career in adult life if endowed with a working knowledge of the French tongue.<sup>1)</sup>" Canadian public men in increasing numbers are propagating the doctrine of bilingualism. The Hon. J. C. Elliott, Federal Minister of Public Works, at a banquet in London, Ontario, expressed the opinion that it is desirable for Canadians to know both the English and the French languages. "In Canada", he said, "we have a blending together of two great countries, England and France, and our residents should be able to speak both languages." Editorial comment on the Minister's address reflects general approval in Ontario of the sentiments he expressed. The "Border City Star" declares there is every reason for, and not a single reason against, an educational system that will give Ontario people both languages. The Windsor newspaper expresses a hope that the progress that is being made in the teaching of French in the schools will be extended and urges the adoption of a system whereby this teaching "would be just as common in all our schools as the teaching of English," so that, eventually,<sup>2)</sup> "every Canadian would have an equal acquaintance with both tongues."

The manner in which the idea is spreading in Ontario is encouraging. At the semi-annual meeting of the "Provincial Council of Women" held in Toronto in December, 1929, a resolution was

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<sup>1)</sup> Montreal Gazette, December 18, 1929.

<sup>2)</sup> Border City Star, December 16, 1929.

unanimously adopted urging the government to include French as a compulsory subject in the curricula of the Ontario public schools. The latest Francophil manifestation in Ontario took the form of a petition on April 15, 1930 by the Ottawa Public School Board for the right to teach the French language in several of the lower classes of its public schools; and it is interesting to note that this city was formerly the scene of the bitterest clashes over the question of the French language in education. All this reflects a determination to inculcate amongst the inhabitants of Ontario a better appreciation of the ultimate value, economic as well as cultural, of a knowledge of French. If this changed attitude continues to bear further fruit, it will greatly enhance the possibilities of the survival of the French tongue in Canada.

Clearly, language is the key that will either open or lock the door to a better understanding between the two great races of the Dominion. The French Canadian has done more than his share in an attempt to keep that passage way open. It is up to his English fellow-countrymen to meet him at least half way and assure him that the door will never close. The French language we shall always have with us, and it is essential for Canadians of other origin to make themselves familiar with its idiom and literature. No citizen will find it a burden, but rather it will prove a means to wider opportunity in, and a clearer knowledge, of, one's own country. As language barriers are broken down, as mutual acquaintance progresses, the mythical nature of many of those supposedly irreconcilable differences of character will be manifest, and those differences which remain will appear only as necessary to a perfect national symphony.

Quebec can only achieve her destiny through the moral

unity of her people; and that moral unity can only be encompassed by a mutual understanding. A language is a precious instrument and each of us naturally cherishes his own. But, after~~all~~ language is not an end in itself; It is only a means of communicating to others our thoughts and our feelings; and the Canadian of English origin who uses the French language to unlock the hearts of his compatriots of Quebec is inviting a "rapprochement" which posterity will with interest repay.

FINIS

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