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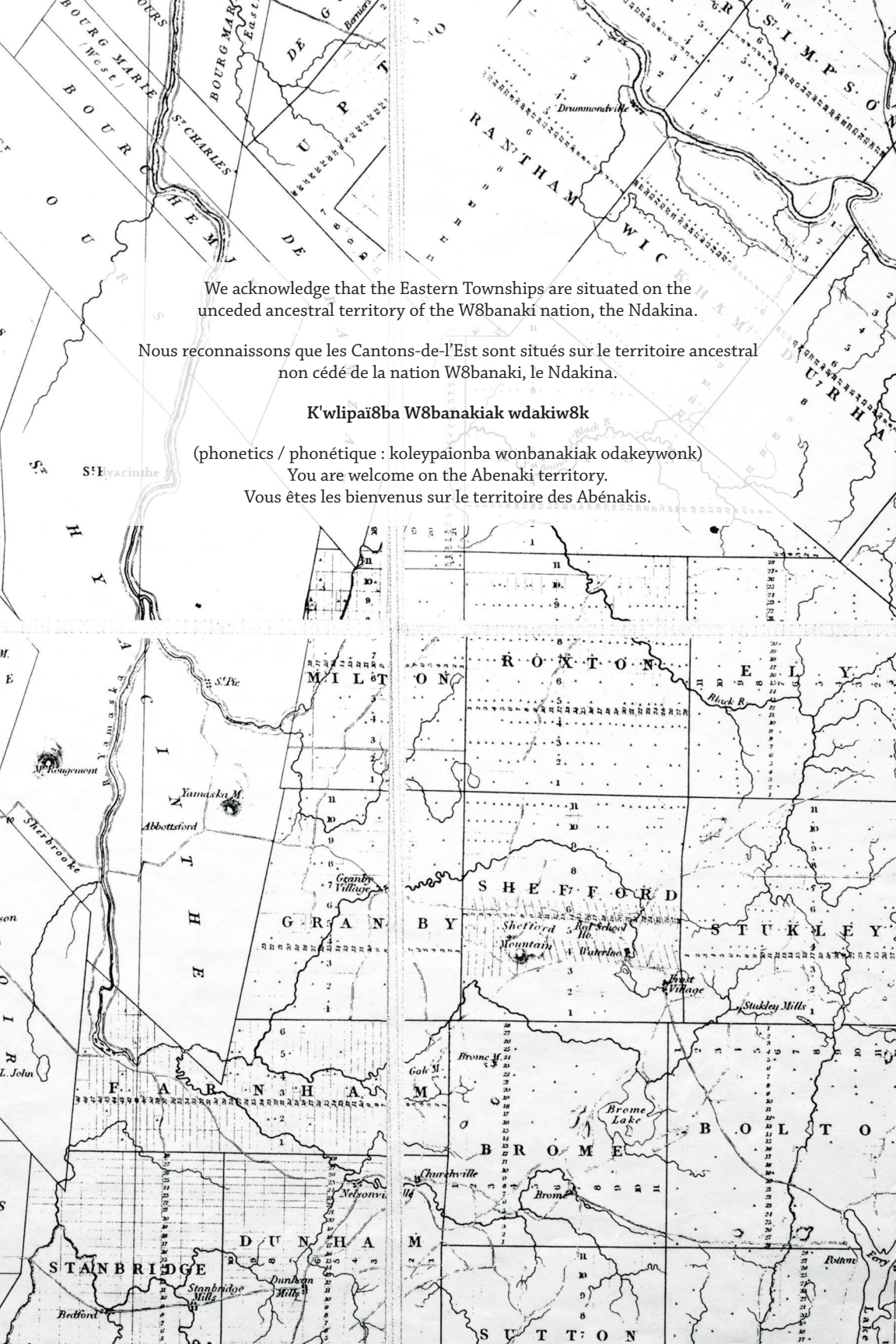

We acknowledge that the Eastern Townships are situated on the unceded ancestral territory of the W8banaki nation, the Ndakina.

Nous reconnaissons que les Cantons-de-l'Est sont situés sur le territoire ancestral non cédé de la nation W8banaki, le Ndakina.

K'wlipaï8ba W8banakiak wdakiw8k

(phonetics / phonétique : koleypaionba wonbanakiak odakeywonk)
You are welcome on the Abenaki territory.
Vous êtes les bienvenus sur le territoire des Abénakis.

JOURNAL OF EASTERN TOWNSHIPS STUDIES

REVUE D'ÉTUDES DES CANTONS-DE-L'EST

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NOTE DES ÉDITEURS

Volume number 49 of the *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies/Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est* (JETS / RECE) is pleased to present the latest research and scholarship on the Eastern Townships and Quebec. This issue features three scholarly articles, two contributions from undergraduate and graduate students, a timely archival note, and two book reviews on recently published academic works squarely focused on Quebec.

Our first scholarly essay by Patrick Lacroix, examines the works of historians focused on the French-Canadian diaspora in the United States and suggests that the overwhelming core of these efforts concentrate (and indeed are biased) on a preoccupation with all things urban. In short, Lacroix effectively argues that such studies, largely revolving around metropolitan locations in New England, fail to fully capture a vital element of the French-Canadian or Franco-American experience in the U.S. Lacroix observes that there is much to be gained by stepping away from commercial hubs and mill experiences to consider the daily lives of "farmers and farm labourers, lumberjacks, teamsters, and tradesmen."

Yulia Bosworth, professor of French Linguistics at the State University of New York Binghamton, considers identity-related discourse in the English language political party leaders' debate during the course of the 2018 provincial election in Quebec, and how that discourse informs and impacts the formulation of "group identity by Quebec's English-speaking community." In a careful, original, and significant article, Bosworth argues that based on an intensive examination of the discourse employed in the context of the party leaders' debate, there continues

to be "a significant identificational disaffiliation" between English and French-speaking groups in Quebec. There are, she notes, several significant barriers that need to be addressed regarding "the integration of English-speaking Quebecers" into Quebec's "civic, intercultural identity."

In a compelling essay that introduces readers to efforts in scoliosis detection and testing methods, Carolina Martinez, Marie Beauséjour, and Hubert Labelle, advance the case for a promising new approach, developed in Quebec, which offers considerable potential for application as a widespread initial screening tool in Quebec and beyond. This new method, build on proven scientific approaches, such as use of the Scoliometer employs an "inclinometer smart phone application" to allow various stakeholders (e.g., trained parents, educators and medical professionals) to undertake effectively early detection of progressive scoliosis in children. An "easy-to-use, affordable, reliable, and valid tool" marks a most welcome development in scoliosis screening.

The first essay in our section dedicated to undergraduate and graduate efforts comes from Olivia A. Kurajian. Based on a review of the secondary literature, Kurajian examines the world of colonial New France—specifically, Detroit between 1701 and 1760. She suggests that historical interpretations of Detroit have largely been rooted in scholarship focused on "imperial visions," with strategic considerations of Detroit's role in trade and military affairs at the forefront. Kurajian offers an important counter-narrative, suggesting that any comprehensive understanding of Detroit's place and function in the world of New France must also account for the "lived realities" of Europeans and Indigenous peoples alike by incorporating "on-the-ground policies, decisions, and alliances." Gabriel Martin's work, "*Sur les traces d'Anna Canfield, aux interstices des archives*," offers a case study examination of four primary source documents associated with a "pioneer" of the Eastern Townships, Anna Canfield. This research note by Martin suggests that Canfield was an atypical individual. Living in a colonial, traditional, male-dominated society, Canfield effectively managed to eclipse gender defined boundaries; she was "an active, educated, and supportive woman".

Our archival note, researched and penned by ETRC Archivist Jody Robinson, breathes life into a significant Eastern Townships educational institution: the Dunham Ladies College (later renamed the St. Helen's School). Located in Dunham, Quebec, the school that existed from 1875 to 1972, focused on higher education for girls, something that "was sorely lacking in the rural parts of the province". With a clientele that included students from Quebec, the Maritimes, and beyond Canada, St. Helen's

curriculum was decidedly "Eurocentric" in nature. The St. Helen's School fonds, Robinson convincingly suggests, testifies to a vibrant, engaging aspect of Quebec's educational history.

JETS 49 concludes with two book reviews: Cheryl Gosselin examines Denyse Baillargeon's 2019 publication, *To Be Equals in Our Own Country,* while Christopher Kirkey reviews and evaluates Nicole Neatby's 2018 contribution, *From Old Province to La Belle Province: Tourism Promotion, Travel Writing, and National Identities, 1920-1967*.

We trust that you will find the current edition of the *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies/Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est* a rewarding experience. Please enjoy volume 49 of the journal!

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L'équipe de la Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est (Journal of Eastern Townships Studies - JETS) volume no 49 est ravie de présenter les dernières recherches et des articles universitaires sur les Cantons-de-l'Est et le Québec. Ce numéro présente trois articles universitaires, deux contributions d'étudiants de premier et de deuxième cycles, une note d'archive ponctuelle, et deux critiques de livres sur des travaux universitaires récemment publiés et axés sur le Québec.

Notre premier essai universitaire, rédigé par Patrick Lacroix, porte sur les travaux d'historiens qui se sont penchés sur la diaspora canadienne française aux États-Unis et suggère que la très grande majorité de ces travaux tiennent compte (et sont en effet biaisés) des préoccupations relatives aux aspects urbains. En bref, Lacroix soutient effectivement que de telles études, axées en grande partie sur des zones métropolitaines de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, ne parviennent pas à saisir pleinement un élément essentiel de l'expérience canadienne française ou franco-américaine aux États-Unis. Lacroix observe qu'il y a beaucoup à gagner à s'éloigner des centres commerciaux et des expériences vécues dans les usines pour étudier la vie quotidienne des « agriculteurs et des ouvriers agricoles, des bûcherons, des camionneurs et des commerçants ».

Yulia Bosworth, professeure de linguistique française à l'Université d'État de New York Binghamton, étudie le discours identitaire dans le contexte du débat des chefs des partis politiques anglophones pendant les élections provinciales de 2018 au Québec, et la façon dont ce discours informe et influence la formulation de « l'identité collective au sein de la communauté anglophone du Québec ». Dans un article soigné, original et significatif, Bosworth soutient que, selon une analyse approfondie du discours utilisé dans le contexte du débat des chefs de partis, il continue d'y avoir « une désaffiliation identitaire importante » entre les groupes anglophones et francophones au Québec. Il existe, indique-t-elle, plusieurs obstacles importants qui doivent être surmontés relativement à « l'intégration des Québécois anglophones » dans « l'identité citoyenne et interculturelle » du Québec.

Dans un essai convaincant qui présente aux lecteurs des travaux portant sur les méthodes de détection et de dépistage de la scoliose, Carolina Martinez, Marie Beauséjour et Hubert Labelle plaident en faveur d'une nouvelle approche prometteuse, développée au Québec, qui a un énorme potentiel d'application en tant qu'outil de dépistage précoce très répandu au Québec et ailleurs. Cette nouvelle méthode, qui s'appuie sur des approches scientifiques éprouvées, comme celle de l'utilisation du Scoliomètre, faisant appel à une « application de téléphone intelligent inclinomètre » pour permettre aux intervenants (par exemple les parents, les éducateurs et les professionnels médicaux formés) d'entreprendre efficacement la détection précoce de la scoliose progressive chez les enfants. Un « outil facile à utiliser, abordable, fiable et valide » qui constitue une avancée très positive dans le dépistage de la scoliose.

Le premier essai de notre section consacrée aux travaux des étudiants de 1er et de 2e cycles est signé par Olivia A. Kurajian. En se basant sur une revue de la littérature secondaire, Kurajian se penche sur le monde de la Nouvelle-France coloniale, en particulier sur Detroit entre 1701 et 1760. Elle suggère que les interprétations historiques de Detroit ont été en grande partie fondées sur des études axées sur des « visions impériales », mettant à l'avant-plan les aspects stratégiques du rôle de Detroit dans le commerce et les affaires militaires. Kurajian propose un contre-argument important, suggérant que pour bien saisir la place et la fonction de Détroit dans le monde de la Nouvelle-France, il faut également tenir compte des « réalités vécues » par les Européens et les peuples autochtones en intégrant « les politiques, les décisions et les alliances sur le terrain ». L'ouvrage de Gabriel Martin, « Sur les traces d'Anna Canfield, aux interstices des archives », propose une étude de cas portant sur quatre documents de source primaire associés à une « pionnière » des Cantons de l'Est, Anna Canfield. Cette note de recherche de Martin suggère que Canfield était un individu atypique. Vivant dans une société coloniale, traditionnelle et dominée par les hommes, Canfield a effectivement réussi à éclipser les frontières définies par le genre; elle était « une femme active, éduquée et solidaire ».

Notre note d'archives, recherchée et rédigée par l'archiviste du CRCE Jody Robinson, donne vie à une importante institution d'enseignement des Cantons de l'Est : le Dunham Ladies College (rebaptisé plus tard St. Helen's School). Située à Dunham, au Québec, cette école, qui a existé de 1875 à 1972, était axée sur l'enseignement supérieur pour les filles, ce qui « faisait cruellement défaut dans les régions rurales de la province ». Comptant une clientèle composée d'étudiantes du Québec, des Maritimes et d'au-delà du Canada, le programme d'études de St-Helen's était de nature clairement « eurocentrique ». Le patrimoine de l'école St-Helen's, affirme Robinson de façon convaincante, témoigne d'un aspect dynamique et mobilisateur de l'histoire de l'éducation au Québec.

L'édition numéro 49 de JETS se termine par deux critiques de livres : Cheryl Gosselin analyse la publication de Denyse Baillargeon de 2019, Repenser la nation : l'histoire du suffrage féminin au Québec, tandis que Christopher Kirkey étudie et évalue la contribution de Nicole Neatby de 2018, From Old Province to La Belle Province : Tourism Promotion, Travel Writing, and National Identities, 1920-1967.

Nous espérons que votre lecture de la présente édition du Journal of Eastern Townships Studies/Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est sera des plus enrichissantes.

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DISRUPTING THE FORTY-FIFTH PARALLEL: AN INVITATION TO QUEBEC SCHOLARS

Patrick Lacroix

Abstract

Policymakers are, as a rule, more concerned with people crossing into their jurisdiction than with those who leave. Historians easily fall into the same pattern in their respective areas of study, but scholars focused on the history of Quebec have ample reason to study the hundreds of thousands of French Canadians who left the province (or Lower Canada) in the century after the 1830s. These emigrants did not merely alter the political, demographic, and cultural character of Quebec; their large-scale settlement across northern New York and New England suggests in some ways, Quebec itself expanded and lived under a different name beyond its actual boundaries. By studying this diaspora, scholars stand to enrich an *histoire nationale* and articulate a more nuanced understanding of borders.

Résumé

Les décideurs politiques sont, généralement, plus préoccupés par les personnes qui entrent dans leur territoire que par celles qui en sortent. Les historiens tombent facilement dans le même schéma dans leurs domaines d'étude respectifs, mais les spécialistes de l'histoire du Québec ont de bonnes raisons d'étudier les centaines de milliers de Canadiens français qui ont quitté la province (le Bas-Canada) au cours du siècle suivant les années 1830. Ces émigrants n'ont pas seulement modifié le caractère politique, démographique et culturel du Québec; le fait qu'ils s'installent à grande échelle dans le nord de New York et en Nouvelle-Angleterre suggère, d'une certaine manière, que le Québec lui-même s'est développé et a vécu sous un autre nom au-delà de ses frontières actuelles. En étudiant cette diaspora, les chercheurs sont en mesure d'enrichir l'histoire nationale et de proposer une compréhension plus nuancée des frontières.

In Canada and the United States, present-day political borders continue to structure history curricula in high schools and survey courses at the post-secondary level, suggesting that these borders are more or less immutable, or were indeed, predestined. It is no less true in Quebec, where a strong sense of collective identity invites us to project the province's territorial integrity back in time. While the promise of borderland studies and transnational history—developed to acknowledge historically fluid identities and boundaries—has yet to be fully realized, scholars of Franco-American history are among those who have sought to break, with limited success, longstanding national silos.[1] Even though efforts are promising and should continue, the challenge remains of inserting the French-Canadian diaspora into existing, though incomplete narratives. There is ample reason, from the standpoint of Quebec history education, not to abandon French-Canadian expatriates to the American national narrative—as people lost to the "nation" and thus exiled from the "national narrative." As argued in this essay, the economic hinterlands of the North Eastern United States offer a basis from which to assert the relevance of this diaspora to a standard, Quebec-centred view.

On the surface, there is nothing new in asserting Franco-Americans' relevance to Quebec history. Bucking historiographical trends, some scholars have argued that the mass emigration of French Canadians from their traditional homeland along the St. Lawrence River from 1840 to 1930, was one

of the most consequential events of late nineteenth-century Quebec.[2] This *grande saignée* did not merely deplete rural parishes along the St. Lawrence; it was not totally a negative force that took from Quebec society without altering it, although it seemed so. Time and again, emigration reverberated in politics and policy-making as leaders in Quebec City and Ottawa studied the issue, even if forceful and consistent responses were few. Many provincial leaders committed to domestic colonization, perhaps the first *projet national* of magnitude to develop after Confederation. And, while annexation was hotly debated, returning migrants invigorated Quebec culture with a spirit of *américanité*. More than ever, Quebec became a North American, if not an American, society.[3] Although they underscore the relevance of Franco-American history to modern narratives centred on Quebec, emphasis on these effects exaggerates the historical significance of political borders. A frame of analysis that integrates the economic and cultural hinterlands of the U.S. Northeast offers a solution.

Historians have closely studied the transplanted French-Canadian communities in major American cities, the "Little Canadas." This urban bias in Franco-American research is somewhat justified in light of the high concentration of French-Canadian workers in industrial districts and the institutions they developed. Life in the Little Canadas generally revolved around one or several national parishes, mutual benefit societies and cultural organizations like the *Sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, an ethnic newspaper, and small businesses owned and patronized by Franco-Americans. The migrants also marked the urban landscape with strikes, conventions, and annual processions on June 24. Yet the transplantation of French Canada did not occur merely in such large factory cities as Fall River and Lowell (Massachusetts), Manchester (New Hampshire), and Lewiston (Maine).[4]

The emphasis on Boston's industrial periphery—and on a dozen specific *colonies* detached from the homeland—misses a large portion of the Quebec diaspora and perhaps a large part of Quebec history as well. Leslie Choquette notes that "[t]he Franco-American monument in Quebec City, a gift of Franco-Americans to the people of Quebec for the city's 400th anniversary in 2008, lists 168 New England communities that were important migrant destinations, including twenty-one in Vermont. That list is nowhere near exhaustive."[5] Evidently, French Canadians were not simply transplanted here and there; Quebec itself expanded beyond its appointed boundaries, flooding a predominantly rural region with its people, institutions, and economic concerns. As historians consider the French-Canadian farmers and granite workers of northern Vermont, the men labouring in the pulp and paper mills of Berlin, New Hampshire, and loggers in countless locations from the Adirondacks region to northern Maine, they cannot but be

impressed by the sheer magnitude of this geographical expansion—a reality easily overlooked by the focus on Lowell and the like. Less numerous in absolute terms than residents of the Little Canadas, this other set of migrants often amounted to a larger fraction of the local population. Across the U.S. Northeast, in town and country, immigrants formed communities whose social and institutional life often replicated that of the home country. If it is misleading to also deem these clusters Little Canadas, it remains that, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, much of French Canada's—and Quebec's—historical drama unfolded on foreign soil.[6]

Though Franco-Americans in the hinterland were typically not served by a local ethnic press, resources that tell of their experience survive. Population statistics, oral testimony, and the record of institution building enable us to bridge local histories often authored by independent researchers. Other newspapers, either Canadian or American, also carried items about migrants in geographical peripheries, but often without identifying individuals—who were relegated to social notes, advertisements, or legal notices in back pages—as migrants or cultural minorities. In light of the limited scholarly attention devoted to northern New York and northern New England, the importance of reimagining a regional narrative is patent. In so doing, we may find that we are developing a larger view of Quebec, geographically and conceptually.[7]

It was this region of the U.S. Northeast, dotted by "mini-mill towns," that first received significant numbers of migrant *Canadiens*. According to geographer Ralph D. Vicero, of the approximately 8,000 French Canadians in New England at the end of the 1830s, some 90 percent were likely living in either Maine or Vermont. By 1850, "[m]ore than 48% of New England's French-Canadians were to be found in the four counties (Grand Isle, Franklin, Chittenden and Addison) which front Lake Champlain."[8] Their five largest centres in Vermont were all a short distance from the border: Burlington, St. Albans, Swanton, Highgate, and Colchester (including Winooski). In fact, it was in 1850 that Burlington became the site of the first French-Canadian national parish in New England. In Maine, small pockets of settlement emerged in Waterville, Old Town, Orono, and Skowhegan, but altogether the *Canadiens* in these towns still amounted to less than a thousand in 1850; more migrants settled in the northern Aroostook region.[9] Beyond Vicero's study, New York State was also a major destination for those seeking income on U.S. soil.[10] From different sources of data, scholars have formed widely diverging estimates of French-Canadian migration prior to 1861, a challenge amplified by the seasonal and temporary nature of some migrants' movements. Still, we can expect that the net migration from Lower Canada to New England in this period exceeded—perhaps considerably—Vicero's estimate of 22,000.[11]

The emergence of a cohesive rail network across the Northeast and the expansion of the textile industry in the 1850s altered French-Canadian patterns of settlement. It became easier to travel to the Merrimack Valley and southern New England and more alluring to seek easy wages in manufacturing establishments. Consequently, beginning with the Civil War, historians tend to shift their gaze to the Little Canadas rising in the shadow of smokestacks. The Franco-American communities of northern New York and New England did not disappear, however, nor did the region cease to attract immigrants. In fact, Franco-American life became increasingly structured, between 1865 and 1900, in the less populated areas of the Northeast just as it did in large cities.

Bishops in the U.S. Northeast responded to this influx of Roman Catholics by creating national parishes where previously there were simply missionary circuits or "Irish" churches. In the 1860s, such parishes appeared in quick succession in villages and small towns like St. Johnsbury, Winooski, East Rutland, and Fairhaven, all in Vermont, and Waterville, in Maine.[12] A critical mass of French Canadians also justified the creation of cultural, fraternal, and mutual benefit societies in places far removed from large agglomerations. In 1884, a great celebration of *la Saint-Jean-Baptiste* in Montreal included delegations from Champlain, Cohoes–Troy, Glens Falls, Plattsburgh, Rochester, and Whitehall in New York; Montpelier and Vergennes in Vermont; and Berlin, Claremont, and Lebanon in New Hampshire. Two years later, the biennial congress of Franco-Americans was held not in Massachusetts' industrial heartland, but in Rutland.[13] Scholars should only warily claim that Quebec was "transferred bodily" in these rural regions, as they have in studies of large textile centres, yet it remains that the "hinterland Canadians" could be as noticed, as disruptive, and as thoroughly connected to the homeland as their city-dwelling compatriots.[14]

The mere mention of the above places hints at the diverse occupations that enabled French Canadians to complement or replace income earned in Canada. Vicero drew attention to the docks and ships of Lake Champlain; the woollen mill of Winooski; stone and marble work in Rutland County, Vermont; the boot and shoe industries in the Cocheco River region of New Hampshire; agriculture in northern Aroostook County, Maine; and lumber and wood trades along the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers.[15] Historian Susan Ouellette adds that Plattsburgh, "a modest but lively commercial hub," offered the varied opportunities that accompany a diverse economy. Canadians in and around the city worked as farmers and farm labourers, lumberjacks, teamsters, and tradesmen.[16] As David Vermette has argued, woollen and cotton mills did employ thousands upon thousands of French Canadians over the course of generations. And yet, again, to focus *entirely*

on those mills is to impoverish our understanding of Quebec's nineteenth- and twentieth-century diaspora.[17]

The weight of French-Canadian immigration shifted across sub-regions in New York State and New England as new opportunities arose between 1870 and 1930, but this shift did not favour industrial cities only. Maine's Aroostook County was an early destination for French Canadians, especially those living downstream from Quebec City. Other areas became more attractive at the end of the nineteenth century, as with Berlin, Rumford in Maine, and the Upper Androscoggin basin, thanks notably to the pulp and paper industry.[18] Upstate New York tended to decline in importance and some Vermont towns and villages saw a net loss in French-Canadian population in the 1860s and 1870s. Yet "Franco" life still thrived in small centres—Claremont and St. Johnsbury, or Laconia in New Hampshire—and beyond. In 1910, 42 percent of Franco-Americans in Vermont were still deemed rural, hardly the sign of a headlong rush into factories.[19]

It may be tempting to argue that this distinct cultural experience in northern New York and northern New England was to be short-lived; less concentrated than their cousins in major cities, French Canadians in geographical peripheries would have felt the pressure to conform or assimilate to an Anglo-Saxon mainstream even more strongly. That may be. But contemporary evidence indicates that the French Canadians of the hinterlands were neither invisible nor suddenly "melted" into the great American experiment. Even as privileged destinations changed, a distinct Franco-American life invigorated by new waves of migrants endured. An article on St. Johnsbury, then a town of about 6,500, published in *The New England Magazine* in 1891 made that point explicitly and perhaps with characteristic disparagement. The town seemed to be "rapidly filling with a tenement-house population of French Canadians, who form the major part of the parish, and who are coming across the line in constantly increasing numbers." E. A. Start explained that "[t]hey are not especially obnoxious neighbors; but their clannishness, the ignorance of the mass of them, and the patriarchal authority of their religious leaders, debar them from sympathy with the spirit of any American community."[20] In Berlin, French Canadians in many ways *became* the town, electing many of their own to the mayoralty in the early twentieth century. In Old Town, where the cultural lines appear to have been more fluid, it became standard practice for small businesses to "employ at least one French clerk to attract the important French trade."[21]

Immigration from Quebec entered a lull at the turn of the century. The apparent fracture was not definitive, however. Here, again, Vermont represents an interesting and worthwhile case study. In 1920, when heavy

immigration resumed, French Canadians and Franco-Americans constituted both the largest foreign-born group and the largest group of "foreign white stock" in the state.[22] According to newspapers reports of the time, *Canadiens* were again buying Vermont farms "with considerable cash" and earning praise in the process.[23] The small industrial centre of Winooski became a city in 1922 and remained, for its part, a bastion of French-Canadian culture. A special print feature marking the city's incorporation celebrated friendly interethnic relations and workers' quality of life.[24] Only two months later, a far different scene played out in Barre. There, a corporate offensive provoked a strike that paralyzed the granite quarries—temporarily. Employers recruited Quebec men to break the strike, sapping interethnic trust in the city and subjecting even its longstanding Canadian residents to the anger and hatred of other groups.[25] For good or ill, across varied local experiences, French Canadians were an inescapable and at times disruptive presence in Vermont, as they were elsewhere in the Northeast.

From the 1860s to the 1960s and beyond, the dissolution of Franco-American identity occurred at different paces in different localities. It is equally significant that Quebec identities also shifted in that time, from which arose a growing identification of the *nation* with provincial boundaries. Regular coverage of Franco-American life as a distinct column in *La Presse* appears to have ended in July 1960, coinciding almost exactly with the election of Jean Lesage's Liberal government.[26] Only eight years later, a supplement for the same paper asked whether there still were Franco-Americans. It was soon followed by an article subtitled, "the end of a beautiful dream in New England," meaning the alleged collapse of French culture south of the border.[27] Between the rise of neo-nationalism and fatalistic reports such as these, it is little wonder that even Quebeckers of French-Canadian descent banished from their historical consciousness those who had chosen expatriation—apparently, into cultural oblivion. And yet, there is ample cause today to highlight the ties and physical presence that long connected Franco-Americans to their ancestral homeland, ample reason to return to an expansive view of Quebec society.

In fact, in seeking to bring hinterland stories into a coherent whole, we might end where we started and where the migration itself began—in Quebec, the large common denominator of this saga.[28] By looking beyond Fall River, Manchester, Lowell, and Lewiston, scholars may trace the true extent of this Canadian diaspora, a geographically and economically diverse movement that cannot be captured by studying the shadows of the smokestacks only. From Plattsburgh's waterfront to the shops of Old Town and certainly all across Vermont, French Canadians were far from a "quiet presence."[29] Of course, in urban and rural areas alike, too much can be made of a

transplanted Quebec. French-Canadian immigrants and their children adjusted to the culture, opportunities, and barriers of their adoptive country. They formed new communities. But, even in the twenty-first century, scholars and students of Quebec history cannot overlook the familial, economic, and cultural ties that still bound this diasporic group to the homeland, the institutional network it built, and the long-term cultural survivals and impacts of the migrations.[30]

Because the international boundary has come to be seen as immutable, especially so in the age of terrorism and nationalistic populism, it is tempting to see the northern reaches of New York and New England as the economic and social hinterlands of decision-making centres farther south—truly American peripheries. The border conceals much of the story, however. This northern region became, after 1840, part of a French-Canadian *écoumène* gradually expanding outwardly from the St. Lawrence River valley. New York and New England also happened to be a *Quebec* hinterland—economically, as remittances flowed back across the border, and culturally, through religious, literary, and other ties. As scholars contemplate varied immigrant experiences, Quebec remains the anchor. From this transnational angle, historians of Quebec are invited to better explore the continuing drama of French-Canadian history on foreign soil, for that "national" narrative was not suddenly extinguished as people crossed borders. It simply evolved as the immigrants and their Franco-American children acquired new cultural capital, and did so under the democratic-republican institutions of the United States.

A lens that focuses more intently on northern New York and New England may also yield insights beyond the sheer geographical expansion of Lower Canada and, later, Quebec. Many areas of the Northeast presented conditions befitting a temporary cultural borderland—places of fluid sociocultural identities, evolving political allegiances, and disparate institutions, with few serious controls on migration until the 1920s.[31] This may prove to be the next fruitful avenue of research among scholars of Quebec and Franco-American studies, especially as we continue to study the place of Quebec and its diaspora in the United States. While we fulfil teaching mandates that place historical narratives in firmly national frameworks, as historians we must do justice to the realities of our historical subjects, and Franco-Americans are among those whose varied, complex experiences await a fuller depiction.

ENDNOTES

[1] See, notably, Molly B. Gallaher Boddy, "Beyond Boston: Catholicism in the Northern New England Borderlands in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Hampshire, 2015) and Yukari Takai, *Gendered Passages: French-Canadian Migration to Lowell, Massachusetts, 1900-1920* (New York City: Peter Lang, 2008).

[2] J. I. Little, "La Patrie: Quebec's Repatriation Colony, 1875-1880," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, vol. 12 (1977), 67; Yves Roby, *Histoire d'un rêve brisé? Les Canadiens français aux Etats-Unis* (Quebec City: Septentrion, 2007), 7.

[3] Patrick Lacroix, "Parish and Nation: French Canada, Quebec, and Providential Destiny, 1880-1898," *The Historian*, vol. 80, no. 4 (winter 2018), 725-748; Magda Fahrni and Yves Frenette, "'Don't I Long For Montreal': L'identité hybride d'une jeune migrante franco-américaine pendant la Première Guerre mondiale," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, vol. 41, no. 81 (May 2008), 75-98. See, on the concept of *américanité*, Gérard Bouchard and Yvan Lamonde, editors, *Québécois et américains: La culture québécoise aux XIX^e^ et XX^e^ siècles* (Montreal: Fides, 1995). See, as a contemporary account that addresses Franco-Americans' significance to Quebec, "New England Influences in French Canada," *The Sun* [New York City] (May 5, 1897), 6.

[4] Among the most important surveys of the subject are Robert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains* (Montreal: Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique, 1958); Gerard J. Brault, *The French-Canadian Heritage in New England* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986); François Weil, *Les Franco-américains, 1860-1980* (Paris: Belin, 1989); Armand B. Chartier, *The Franco-Americans of New England: A History* (Manchester, Worcester: ACA – Institut français of Assumption College, 1999); Roby, *The Franco-Americans of New England: Dreams and Realities* (Quebec City: Septentrion, 2004); David Vermette, *A Distinct Alien Race: The Untold Story of Franco-Americans* (Montreal: Baraka Books, 2018). See, for recent historiographical surveys, Sacha Richard, "American Perspectives on La fièvre aux Etats-Unis, 1860-1930: A Historiographical Analysis of Recent Writings on the Franco-Americans in New England," *Canadian Review of American Studies*, vol. 32, no. 1 (spring 2002), 105-132; Frenette, "L'historiographie des Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1872-2015," *Bulletin d'histoire politique*, vol. 24, no. 2 (winter 2016), 75-103.

[5] Leslie Choquette, "French Canadian Immigration to Vermont and New England (1840-1930)," *Vermont History*, vol. 86, no. 1 (winter/spring 2018), 4.

[6] Recent work on "migrants on the margins," that is, outside of the most populous "Little Canadas," includes Susan Ouellette, "Mobility, Class, and Ethnicity: French Canadians in Nineteenth Century Plattsburgh," *New York History*, vol. 83, no. 4 (fall 2002), 367-384; Kevin Thornton, "A Cultural Frontier: Ethnicity and the Marketplace in Charlotte, Vermont, 1845-1860," *Cultural Change and the Market Revolution in America, 1789-1860*, ed. Scott C. Martin (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005); Jason L. Newton, ""These French Canadian of the Woods Are Half-Wild Folk': Wilderness, Whiteness, and Work in North America, 1840-1955," *Labour/Le Travail*, no. 77 (spring 2016), 121-150; Kimberly Lamay Licursi and Celine Racine Paquette, *Franco-Americans in the Champlain Valley* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2018); Lacroix, "Le cas particulier de la famille Mignault: Prospection d'une histoire transnationale," *Quebec Studies* 65 (June 2018), 37-55. Older works appear below.

[7] As well as eighteen counties in New York, the present study considers northern New England outside of the large cities whose Little Canadas have been most scrutinized, specifically Manchester and Nashua, New Hampshire, and Biddeford–Saco and Lewiston–Auburn, Maine. These were cities of first and second importance in sheer numbers of French Canadians according to Ralph D. Vicero's classification. See his "Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1968), 289.

[8] It is especially significant that there were no major natural geographic obstacles between Lower Canada and the states of New York and Vermont; the forty-fifth parallel was thus very much an artificial creation and one with few controls and little surveillance until the 1920s. See Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England," 96, 154. Peter Woolfson develops the concept of "mini-mill towns" in "The Rural Franco-American in Vermont," *Vermont History*, vol. 50, no. 3 (summer 1982), 151-162.

[9] Whereas territorial parishes made no distinction of race or ethnic origin, national parishes were carved to serve the spiritual needs of a minority group. See Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England," 154-156; Mason Wade, "The French Parish and *Survivance* in Nineteenth-Century New England," *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 36, no. 2 (July 1950), 163-189.

[10] See, on Plattsburgh for instance, Ouellette, "Mobility, Class, and Ethnicity," 368-371.

[11] Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England," 131-132. See, for an early, official assessment of the *grande saignée, Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly, Appointed to Inquire into the Causes and Importance of the Emigration Which Takes Place Annually, from Lower Canada to the United States* (Montreal: Rollo Campbell, 1849). Using different data, Gilles Paquet and Wayne R. Smith offered a counterpoint and stated that the outmigration in the two decades prior to 1851 was, on average, on the scale of 9,600 migrants per year. They neither factored migrants returning to Canada at a much later date nor focused uniquely on departures to New England, but their estimate likely still exceeds Vicero's. See Paquet and Smith, *"L'émigration des Canadiens français vers les Etats-Unis, 1790-1940: problématique et coups de sonde," L'Actualité économique,* vol. 59, no. 3 (September 1983), 440. See, as well, Yolande Lavoie, *L'émigration des Canadiens aux Etats-Unis avant 1930: mesure du phénomène* (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1972). Historians long attributed this exodus to depleted soils and crop failures that imperilled agriculture for decades, but scholars have since nuanced that story. Allan Greer has emphasized intergenerational disparities: overpopulation prevented young men from accessing the wealth amassed by their fathers. Leslie Choquette adds that the rise of commercial agriculture undermined smaller farms' viability. Whatever the reason, when hard times hit Lower Canada, there were no consistent state controls on immigration to the United States. See Greer, *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); Choquette, "French Canadian Immigration to Vermont and New England," 2; Woolfson, "The Rural Franco-American in Vermont," 151-162.

[12] Edouard Hamon, *Les Canadiens-français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Quebec City: N. S. Hardy, 1891), 179-452.

[13] Reflecting some of the first fields of migration, St. Albans, in northwestern Vermont, had hosted a similar event in 1870. See P. P. Charette, ed., *Noces d'or de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste: Compte-rendu officiel des fêtes de 1884 à Montréal* (Montreal: Le Monde, 1884), 38-89; on Franco-American conventions, Félix Gatineau, *Historique des Conventions générales des Canadiens-Français aux Etats-Unis, 1865-1901* (Woonsocket: Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique, 1927).

[14] The quotation is from "The French Canadians in New England," *New York Times* (June 6, 1892), 4.

[15] Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England," 167-177, 298, 338. See, on Canadian migrants and Franco-Americans in wood extraction industries, Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England," 338-339; James P. Allen, "Franco-Americans in Maine: A Geographical Perspective," *Acadiensis*, vol. 4, no. 1 (autumn 1974), 41; Newton, ""These French Canadian of the Woods Are Half-Wild Folk,'" 122-123.

[16] Ouellette, "Mobility, Class, and Ethnicity," 370, 375, 379.

[17] Vermette, *A Distinct Alien Race*, esp. 109-111.

[18] Allen, "Migration Fields of French Canadian Immigrants to Southern Maine," *Geographical Review*, vol. 62, no. 3 (July 1972), 366-383; Allen, "Franco-Americans in Maine," 41-43, 44, 65.

[19] Vicero identified five clusters of Franco-American settlement in Northern New England: the Merrimack Valley, southern Maine, Western Vermont, the Berkshire region straddling Vermont and Massachusetts, and the Aroostook region in Maine. But an additional portion—almost 10 percent of all Franco-Americans in New England—lived outside of these clusters in 1910. On the basis of Vicero's statistics, scholars may expect that 15 percent of all Franco-Americans in New England lived in the northern half of the region, outside of the major centres of Nashua, Manchester, Biddeford–Saco, and Lewiston–Auburn. See Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England," 284, 290-294, 301-302, and on settlement patterns in northern New England, 305-310, 338-339.

[20] Bureau of the Census, Eleventh Census of the United States (1890), Vol. 1, Part I, General Tables, Table 5, 344; Edwin A. Start, "A Model New England Village," *The New England Magazine*, vol. 9, no. 6 (February 1891), 701-719. St. Johnsbury had attracted similar attention two years prior. See "An Immigration Problem," *The Caledonian* (October 10, 1889), 2; "Letter from Father Boissonnault," *The Caledonian* (October 17, 1889), 4.

[21] "Centres franco-américains – Le maire de Berlin, N.H.," Le Canada (March 31, 1904), 10; Bruno Wilson, *L'évolution de la race française en Amérique, Tome I: Vermont, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode-Island* (Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1921), 73-74; "MM. Pierre-M. Gagné et J.-A. Vaillancourt sont réélus maires," *La Presse* (March 13, 1925), 9; "Dans les centres franco-américains," *Le Soleil* (March 17, 1925), 5; Robert Grady, "Noted French Canadian Personalities," Library of Congress, Manuscript/Mixed Material, Federal Writers' Project [FWP] [https://www.loc.gov/item/wpalh000607/] (accessed 2018-10-23). Eric Joly provides some historical background on Berlin in "L'identité dans un milieu minoritaire: enquête auprès de la jeunesse franco-américaine de Berlin, New Hampshire," *Francophonies d'Amérique*, no. 12 (fall 2001), 71-81.

[22] The U.S. Census Bureau included among the "foreign white stock" three groups: "the foreign-born whites, the native whites of foreign parentage (both parents born abroad), and the native whites of mixed parentage (one parent native and the other foreign born)." Vermonters identified as French-Canadian based on these definitions amounted to 39,419, approximately 11 percent of the state's population, in 1920. This number would not include Canadians who might not have declared their French ancestry, or third-generation Americans. The proportion may actually be as high as 15 percent. See Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920), Vol. I, Chapter 2, Table 49, 134; Vol. II, Chapter 9, 891, and Table 5, 902-905; Vol. III, Chapter 8, Table 6, 1049.

[23] "Increased Canadian Immigration," *Orleans County Monitor* (August 13, 1919), 2. Mildred H. Huntley studied this population in "The Canadian French of Franklin County" (M.A. thesis, University of Vermont, 1941).

[24] When future governor Madeleine M. Kunin began her career as a local reporter, she had to contend with town meetings held in a distinctive *franglais*. See "Social Life Is of the Highest," *Burlington Daily News* (February 17, 1922), 13; "Winooski's Workers Prosperous, Satisfied," id., 14; Madeleine M. Kunin, *Living a Political Life: One of America's First Woman Governors Tells Her Story* (New York City: Vintage Books, 1994). See, more broadly, on French Canadians in Burlington and Winooski, David J. Blow, "The Establishment and Erosion of French-Canadian Culture in Winooski, Vermont, 1867-1900," *Vermont History*, vol. 43, no. 1 (winter 1975), 59-74; Betsy Beattie, "Opportunity Across the Border: The Burlington Area Economy and the French Canadian Worker in 1850," *Vermont History*, vol. 55, no. 3 (summer 1987), 133-152; Beattie, "Community-Building in Uncertain Times: The French-Canadians of Burlington and Colchester, 1850-1860," *Vermont History*, vol. 57, no. 2 (spring 1989), 84-102; Beattie, "Migrants and Millworkers: The French Canadian Population of Burlington and Colchester, 1860-1870," *Vermont History*, vol. 60, no. 2 (spring 1992), 95-117.

[25] Numerous interviews conducted under the Federal Writers' Project describe the hostility that followed from French-Canadian strike-breaking. See especially Roaldus Richmond and Mayor Duncan, "The Mayor," FWP [www.loc.gov/item/wpalh002687/]. C. Stewart Doty compiled and annotated oral interviews from Barre, Old Town, and Manchester in *The First Franco-Americans: New England Life Histories from the Federal Writers' Project, 1938-1939* (Orono: University of Maine at Orono Press, 1985). See, for an overview of that trouble year in Barre history, Lacroix, "An All-American Town? Ethnicity and Memory in the Barre Granite Strike of 1922," *Vermont History*, vol. 88, no. 1 (winter/spring 2020), 35-56. The illicit trade in alcohol from Quebec meanwhile led to greater public scrutiny of those crossing the border.

[26] Preliminary research indicates that the last issue carrying this column would have appeared, fortuitously or not, on July 4, 1960.

[27] Paradoxically, little over a decade later, the Parti Québécois, which long held Franco-Americans as a cultural cautionary tale, was warned by a U.S. consul for actively seeking Franco-American support in its campaign for independence. See Lysiane Gagnon, *"Y a-t-il encore des Franco-Américains?" Le magazine de La Presse* (June 8, 1968), 4-6, 8-11; Victor-Lévy Beaulieu, *"Le Québec d'en-bas… ou la fin d'une beau rêve en Nouvelle-Angleterre," Perspectives* (December 5, 1970), 2-4, 6-7; Pierre Tourangeau, *"Le Québec et les Franco-Américains: des relations que certains trouvent trop actives," La Presse* (March 26, 1984), A-10.

[28] This is not to deny the near-simultaneous migration of people of French descent from New Brunswick, whose specific circumstances have also suffered from historiographical neglect.

[29] The expression is taken from Dyke Hendrickson, *Quiet Presence: Dramatic, First-Person Accounts; The True Stories of Franco-Americans in New England* (Portland: Guy Gannett Publishing, 1980).

[30] See, on these cultural legacies in the second half of the twentieth century, Allen, "Franco-Americans in Maine," 52-66; Woolfson, "The Rural Franco-American in Vermont," 158-159. Beyond French speakers themselves, the legacy of this migration is apparent at the dawn of the twenty-first century in the Franco-American Centre in Orono, Maine; the French-Canadian genealogical societies based in Dannemora, New York, and Colchester, Vermont; the celebration of l*a Saint-Jean-Baptiste* in Cohoes and French Heritage Day in Winooski; and other cultural initiatives, including Janet Shideler's "Je Me Souviens Project" at Siena College and Katharine Harrington's "Bienvenue New Hampshire," which developed at Plymouth State College. Economic factors have often justified public interest in, and support for, such initiatives. See Lacroix, *"Histoire des Franco-Américains: nouvelle utilité, nouvelle efflorescence?" HistoireEngagée.ca*, August 3, 2017 [http://histoireengagee.ca/histoire-des-franco-americains-nouvelle-utilite-nouvelle-efflorescence/] and "Why Was the Quebec Flag Flown at the Statehouse in Connecticut?" *History News Network*, August 13, 2017 [http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/166428] (both accessed 2019-02-16).

[31] See, for a discussion of the borderland paradigm, Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the People in between in North American History," *American Historical Review*, vol. 104, no. 3 (June 1999), 814-841.

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"FRENCH IS GROWING, WE ARE DECLINING!"

ENGLISH-SPEAKING QUEBECERS' DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY AND BELONGING IN THE CONTEXT OF THE 2018 PROVINCIAL ELECTION ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PARTY LEADER DEBATES

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ABSTRACT

The study examines the current state of the conceptualization of group identity by Quebec's English-speaking community in the context of identity-related discourse of English-speaking Quebecers generated during the online streaming of the English-language party leaders' debate during the 2018 provincial election. A critical discourse analysis of the use of referential terms to designate group identity and of discursive practices in constructing and enacting a stance toward the French language and symbols of the "traditional" Quebec identity strongly suggests a disaffiliative stance toward and disidentification from the dominant group, likely an obstacle to fostering belonging to Quebec's new civic identity promoted in official discourse.

RÉSUMÉ

L'étude se penche sur l'état actuel de la conceptualisation de l'identité collective au sein de la communauté anglophone du Québec dans le contexte du discours identitaire des Québécois de langue anglaise généré lors de la diffusion en ligne du débat des chefs de partis de langue anglaise dans le cadre de l'élection provinciale de 2018. Une analyse critique du discours sur l'utilisation de termes de référence pour désigner l'identité collective ainsi que des pratiques discursives dans la construction et l'adoption d'une position vis-à-vis de la langue française et des symboles de l'identité québécoise « traditionnelle » suggère fortement une position de désaffiliation et de désidentification vis-à-vis du groupe dominant, ce qui constitue probablement un obstacle à la promotion de l'appartenance à la nouvelle identité civique du Québec promue dans le discours officiel.

INTRODUCTION

After experiencing a significant shift in the conceptualization of its collective identity since the era of the Quiet Revolution, the English-speaking community of Quebec (ESCQ) has become firmly rooted in the French-Canadian fact. While the conclusions of the 2001 Larose Commission report present a largely positive evaluation of the community's perceived status within Quebec society (*Gouvernement du Québec 2001*) as a stakeholder in the confirmation of French as the language of participation in Quebec society (with many community members identifying as citizens of Quebec and seeing a greater acceptance of the community by Francophone Quebecers), the report also contains evidence of the community's anxiety over its identity and future, fearing exclusion from the social debate and loss of historical recognition. As such, many questioned the report's positive outlook with respect to the ESCQ's status as part of an inclusive Quebec identity (see for example, Oakes and Warren 2009). Indeed, the 2008 Bouchard-Taylor Report describes anxiety and insecurity on the part of English-speaking Quebecers, caused by decline in English-speaking population (Bouchard and Taylor 2008, 211).

The sense of insecurity, reinforced by the trends of outmigration, an aging population, and increased immigration and bilingualism, has prompted

the community to re-define itself (Gosselin and Pichette 2014: 14). Crucially, for many, English-speaking Quebec is "a community of communities with one third of English-speaking Quebec composed of immigrants" (QCGN 2013b). Or, these are "multiple communities that are diverse, multicultural and multiracial", including "citizens throughout Quebec who choose to use the English language and who identify with the ESCQ" (QCGN 2005, 8). With almost a third of the English-speaking population composed of immigrants (Corbeil, Chavez, and Pereira 2010), the Larose report's definition of the ESCQ reflects the growing number of Quebecers of various origins who use English most frequently in everyday life (223) and affiliate with the historic Anglo-Quebecer core (*Gouvernement du Québec 2001*, 224). Crucially, younger English-speaking Quebecers continue to display attachment to the ESCQ and a commitment to preserving its future (Magnan 2018, 395).

In an attempt to gain further insight into the current conceptualization of group identity by English-speaking Quebecers and, crucially, to diagnose the current state of their sense of belonging to Quebec, this current study examines identity-related discourse generated on selected Canadian media outlets' Facebook platforms during the streaming of the party leaders' English-language debate in the context of the 2018 provincial election. In the era of widespread use of social media, free access to user commentary offers a novel and unique investigative tool for scholars of language and society. It allows the researcher to collect a large body of data demonstrating linguistic and discursive practices indexing identificational stance and affiliation. The analysis of the corpus of commentary developed in this study is driven by two principal research questions, as follows: Firstly, How do discursive practices recovered in the comments inform our understanding of the ways in which English-speaking Quebecers construe their (out) group identity and that of the dominant majority (in)group, Francophone Quebecers of French-Canadian background? Secondly, How do English-speaking Quebecers position themselves with respect to the dominant in-group identity? Following the methodology of critical discourse analysis (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Fairclough 2003), this investigation targets the commenters' use of terms referencing the group identities of self and other and the use of pronouns in delineating identity boundaries, on the one hand, and to references indexing a stance—affiliative or oppositional—to core symbols of the dominant group identity, namely, the French language and elements of collective memory.

This work begins with a brief presentation of the profile of Quebec's ESCQ, represented by the population in this study. The section that follows presents an overview of the relevant aspects of the theoretical framework adopted for this study—Critical Discourse Analysis, which views language

and texts as having the capacity to effect change, shaping our attitudes, values, beliefs, social relations and even actions through series of linguistic acts performed consciously by language users (Fairclough 2003, 8). The analysis and discussion are advanced in the main section, with an initial focus on the discursive construction of identity as evidenced in the use of referential terms designating group identity and the use of person deixis in delineating identity boundaries. The remaining discussion focuses on the subjects' discursive construction of (dis)affiliation to the French language and French-Canadian Quebecers' collective past, as well as an oppositional stance to its prominent place in Quebec's collective identity. The study concludes with a brief examination of divergent conceptualizations of identity between English-speaking Quebecers and Francophone Quebecers of French-Canadian background, likely an obstacle to the integration of the former into the newly forged civic identity of the Quebec nation.

DEFINING QUEBEC'S ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

The cultural homogeneity of the ESCQ—its very status as a community with a distinct group identity, and the conceptualization of that identity—have been subjects of vivid scholarly discussion over the past two decades (Gérin-Lajoie 2011; Lazar 2011; Magnan 2005, 2008, 2010, 2018). While the Quebec English-language community is widely viewed as rooted in a historic core of Anglophone Quebecers (see, for example, *Gouvernement du Québec 2001*, 224), the increasing socio-cultural diversity with multiple identities arising from immigration calls for a broader definition, inclusive of those for whom English is not a mother tongue, but is the dominant language of daily life—a community whose numbers are growing in Quebec (Oakes and Warren 2009, 153). In fact, it has been shown that the ESCQ and its institutional base serve as a bridge for newcomers looking to integrate into Quebec society, where "a diversity of newcomers" can securely "build a sense of attachment and belonging to Quebec" (Gosselin and Pichette 2014, 10).

As such, the ESCQ of Quebec consists of a diversity of identities, or a collective identity consisting of multiple, bilingual (or trilingual) identities. For example, the findings of Magnan (2007 & 2011) point to the existence of a hybrid identity among young Anglophones, affiliating with both Anglophone and Francophone groups. Forty percent of Anglophone adults surveyed in Quebec as part of a Statistics Canada study identified with both French and English linguistic groups (Corbeil, Grenier, and Lafrenière, 2007). These kinds of findings prompt scholars such as Oakes and Warren (2009) to suggest a "blurring [of] boundaries between Anglophones and

Francophones due to growing bilingualism among younger generation Anglophones and their multiethnic origins" (171).

While Oakes and Warren advocate for the existence of a strong sense of belonging of English-speaking Quebecers to Quebec's civic nation, others point to their persistent, although recently slowed, out-migration (see Warren and Oakes 2009, 156). Indeed, there is evidence of a strong sense of disaffiliation of Quebec English-speaking Anglophones with Quebec society, many of whom choose to leave the province due to perceived lack of acceptance by Quebec Francophones and insufficient language skills (Magnan 2005). Oakes and Warren (2009) provide an account of *La Presse* readers' responses in July of 2005 to "Are Anglophone Quebecers less Québécois than the rest? Might Quebecers be chauvinistic?" The report outlined "a polarized range of opinions about Anglophones" from "outright hostility" to more nuanced "positions of support and inclusiveness" (159). Notably, the authors highlight the enduring negatively connoted association between "Anglophone" and "*Anglais*", "*méchants*" or "*maudits Anglais*" as a possible source of some Quebecois' reluctance to accept Anglo-Quebecers.

The emergence in the 1970s of the term "Québécois," as a nomination of group identity of Francophone Quebecers, subsequently led to a re-definition of the identity representation of Quebec's Anglophones, with the term "Anglo-Quebecer" first appearing in scholarly circles in the early 1980s (Magnan 2018, 387)—a term that simultaneously captures the group's historic and territorial affiliation with Quebec and its disaffiliation with the Francophone status. As such, Oakes and Warren (2009) astutely point out the ideological marker with the use of Anglo(phone) in "Anglophone Quebecers", indexing the views of those who use it—in particular, those who adopt an exclusionary definition of the term as referring only to those whose mother tongue is English. More recently, the Larose report's use of "English-speaking" community or Quebecers as *d'expression anglaise* has been widely generalized in both official, or top-down, and unofficial, or bottom-up, discourse, with the Secretariat for Relations with English-speaking Quebecers created in 2017 by the Quebec government as a very recent example[1]. Likewise, the Bouchard and Taylor report contains thirty occurrences of "English-speaking", while "Anglophone" is completely absent.

It must be noted, however, that while "English-speaking" has a more inclusive connotation than "Anglophone", it is also true that both terms categorize the group as a function of linguistic affiliation, solidifying the group's status as "Other" with respect to the dominant in-group of Francophone Quebecers of French-Canadian Background (FQFCB). The latter, defining itself primarily in terms of cultural and affective affiliation with

the French fact (Oakes and Warren 2009, 151), further complicates the negotiation of group identity for the ESCQ. Crucially, the growing ambiguity of the identity marker "Québécois" used in Quebec is becoming increasingly problematic:

> "We can perceive another sign in the ambiguity that the term Quebecer[2] implies more than ever before: some people believe that it encompasses all Québec citizens while others maintain that it must be reserved for French-Canadian Quebecers. Still other people shift from one meaning to the other depending on the circumstances. <...>. The appropriation by French-Canadian Quebecers of the designation 'Quebecer' creates an ambivalence that gives rise to detachment if not to exclusion" (Bouchard and Taylor 2008, 206).

Of the 251 occurrences of "Quebecers" in the report, 73% (183) are used without being supplemented by an additional identity reference, reinforcing an inclusive conceptualization of the identity marker advocated by the authors of the report. Notably, the majority of the modified occurrences of the term, 88% (60/68), make a reference to the French-Canadian aspect: "French-Canadian Quebecers" (37/60), "Quebecers of French-Canadian origin" (22/60), and one token of "Quebecers of French-Canadian background". Arguably, this discursive practice is reflective of the authors' intent to diverge from the widely perceived and enacted equivalence between "Quebecers" and "French-Canadian Quebecers".

Undoubtedly, the modification of the core term "Quebecer/Québécois" creating a host of hyphenated identities can be construed positively, as a mechanism of acknowledging the many ways of being a Quebecer. Not reducing the identity marker to a single referent allows individuals and communities to maintain attachment to heritage, ethnicity, or language. In fact, hyphenated identities are very common in modern societies, with a growing number of people defining themselves in terms of multiple attachments, very comfortable with a plural, hybrid identity (Caglar 1997). According to Verkuyten and Martinovic (2012), in Canada, "these hyphenated labels are accepted and combine the notion of national identity with that of a distinctive ethnic identity: the one is not an alternative to the other" (86). At the level of the State, a hyphenated identity can be assigned to a community in order to direct resources to its members (Hamann and England 2011, 207). In the case of Quebec, however, where official discourse promotes the development of a sense of belonging to a single majority culture, hyphenated identities, acting as markers of difference, can signal otherness and disaffiliation from, or an incomplete affiliation with, the majority culture, one that strongly resonates with the French-Canadian fact.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

This study utilizes the approach and elements outlined in the methodology of critical discourse analysis, (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Fairclough 1989, 1995, 2003; Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Wodak and Meyer 2015), a framework of research that construes discourse as a platform where social actors manifest and negotiate "knowledge, situations, social roles as well as identities and interpersonal relations between various interacting social groups" (Wodak 2002b, 149), subjecting linguistic and discursive practices to a close textual analysis. In this approach, linguistic forms and structures that are commonplace in ordinary discourse acquire special significance in identity-related discourse. Referential, or nomination, terms denoting the "ingroups" and "outgroups" acquire importance in conceptualizing group identity (Wodak 2002a, 41), from both the emic and the etic perspectives. As such, the current study places a prominent focus on the subjects' membership categorization behaviour with respect to the groups representing self and "Other". Furthermore, the use of person deixis—personal pronouns "we" and "they", along with their inflected and possessive forms can be used to construe inclusion or exclusion of social actors. The identificational use of person deixis plays a critical role in the ways that texts represent and construct group identities, positioning social actors and constructing inclusion and exclusion of those actors.

Group identity is defined herein following Buchholz and Hall (2005) as the social positioning of self and other (586), with its construction equated to "discursive construction of difference" (Wodak 2002b, 146). It is language that serves as a primary vehicle of expressing identity boundaries, available social categories for inclusion or exclusion of identities and the means for displaying and negotiating identities (De Fina 2000, 135). In this perspective, linguistic behavior becomes indexical: it can relate to speakers' ideologies, social representations about group membership and individual and collective stances (De Fina 2010, 215).

The dataset of this corpus-assisted study is a collection of social media users' comments generated during the first in Quebec's history English-language provincial party leader[3] debate, held on September 17, 2018. The Facebook page of Radio-Canada Information, available freely on the worldwide web, was accessed for data collection on the airdate of the debate. The corpus consists of 1,236 user comments entered on CBC-Montreal Facebook page and 558 user comments on CTV-Montreal Facebook page, two of the platforms live-streaming the English debate, retrieved using the setting of "most relevant". The relevant data points were recovered using the built-in search functionalities of Adobe Acrobat and were subjected to a

series of basic descriptive statistical operations; namely, a frequency count, which consists of simple tallying of the number of a token's occurrences in the corpus, and extraction of selected lexical co-occurrence patterns (McEnery and Hardie 2012).

Given the lack of reliable and cohesive metadata allowing the researcher to construct precise profiles of all commenters, this study assumes a collective profile reflective of the constitution of the ESCQ discussed in the previous section. The practice of making inferences based on users' names and an evaluation of their command of English is rejected here as highly unreliable for a variety of socio-historic and sociolinguistic considerations, some of which are discussed in this work.

The presentation of the findings in the following section begins with an analysis of the discursive construction of the out-group's own identity—that of the members of the ESCQ of Quebec—largely construed as construction of difference in relation to FQFCB. Crucially, an additional focus will be placed on the referential scope of the identity marker "Québécois", more specifically, its pervasive use as co-extensive with FQFCB. The analysis is mainly concerned with the nomination strategies used to refer to the "ingroup" and the "outgroup" and the "Us vs. Them" delineation enacted through lexis and syntactic and semantic structure.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

A close examination of language used in representing membership categorization, namely, the referential terms used in group nomination, can offer meaningful insights into the conceptualization of a group's collective identity (Fairclough 2003; Wodak 2002a). The following distribution of referential terms denoting members of Quebec's ESCQ were exhaustively recovered in the corpus:

Table 1: Referential terms representing English-speaking Quebecers

REFERENTIAL TERM	*N TOKENS*	*% TOTAL*
Anglo	19	16.9
Anglophone	19	16.9

Subtotal	38	42.7
English community	15	16.9
(the) English	13	14.6
English people	11	12.4
English speakers	4	.04
English-speaking person	2	.02
English students	2	.02
English kids	1	.01
The English population	1	.01
English folks	1	.01
English-speaking residents	1	.01
Subtotal	51	57
Total	89	100

The data points to a clear preference for the term "English" as the dominant component of the referential representations. Notably, only a very small number of tokens (7/51, 14%) contain "speaker" or "-speaking". This stands in contrast with referential representations of the ESCQ in official discourse, where the term "English" is used to refer exclusively to the English language—never as an ethnonym, with the term "English-speaking" used as the main identity marker to represent the ESCQ. The widespread use of "Anglophone" (42.7%) constitutes an additional divergence from official discourse, as evidenced, for example, by the complete absence of "Anglophone" in the English version of the Bouchard-Taylor report (Bouchard and Taylor 2008), with 30 occurrences of "English-speaking", and, likewise, by the dominance of "English-speaking" over "Anglophone" in the 2011 Senate report on the state of English-speaking communities of Quebec (Senate of Canada, 2011), with 582 and 111 occurrences, respectively. In our corpus, however, the ratio is substantially less biased in favor of "English-speaking": 51 vs. 38 occurrences of "Anglo(phone)". Arguably, the avoidance of "Anglo(phone)" in official discourse as a reference to the ESCQ reflects an intent of official actors to exert a top-down push to construct a more inclusive and more

neutral representation of the multiplicity of identities in this group, removing the mother-tongue implication of "Anglophone" on the one hand, and on the other, suppressing the connotation of the historical antagonism between the two "solitudes". Our findings, however, suggest that this use is far from generalized in the non-official, bottom-up discursive practices, and that the restrictive and ideologically marked "Anglo(phone)" is common currency in identity-related discourse within the ESCQ.

Crucially, the corpus contains only five referential tokens in which English/English-speaking/Anglophone co-occurs with "Quebecer": "English-speaking Quebecers" (3),

"English Quebecers", "Anglophone Quebecker"[4] signaling disidentification of English-speaking Quebecers with the identity marker "Quebecer"[5]. Furthermore, the virtual absence of the unmodified use of "Quebecer" in reference to own individual or group identity suggests that the term connotes French-Canadian background[6].

This insight is further supported by the behavior of the French term "Quebecois"[7]. The use of the French ethnonym in this English-language corpus is significant in that it constitutes an adoption by the "outgroup" of the dominant "ingroup" membership categorization. The discussion that follows will show that the "ingroup" term is largely used to establish disaffiliation from and to construct a negative stance toward the group. Table 2 summarizes the relevant aspects of the use of "Quebecois"/"Quebecer(s)".

Table 2. Referential use of unmodified "Quebecois"/"Quebecer(s)"

	TOTAL	MODIFIED*	INCLUSIVE	=ESCQ	=FQFCB	NEGATIVE STANCE
Quebecois	8	2[8]	0	0	6	4
Quebecer(s)	16	10[9]	1[10]	1	4	2

* e.g., Anglo, Francophone, all

A salient and meaningful trend arising from an analysis of the two identity markers' behaviour is the predominantly unmodified use of "Quebecois" (2/8, see also note 5), which is used crucially and exclusively to denote FQFCB. "Quebecer" on the other hand, tends to be modified to specify its referential scope (10/16), yielding a range of hyphenated constructions designating Quebec's distinct communities: "English-speaking Quebecers" (3), "English Quebecers", "Francophone Quebecers", "French-speaking Quebecers",

"Indigenous Quebecers", "Anglophone Quebecker", and "all Quebecers". This trend in the use of identity markers is complemented by the virtual absence of the use of either term inclusively—with all citizens of Quebec as their referential scope. With respect to the construction of stance, it should be noted that four of the six occurrences of "Quebecois" exemplified in the four comments reproduced below, are negatively connoted with respect to the referenced group, expressing a negative judgment of a character trait (1), an action (2) or an ideological stance (3), (4).

(1) MV: **Québécois** are snob on most job.[11]

(2) EK: Ontario is having a field day having **Québécois** heading down the 401! Wake up and smell the coffee!

(3) PPSL: Most **quebecoi**s are nationalists and think Quebec needs to be a country and doesn't recognize Canada as theirs. Very sad.

(4) MN: Is French language the only purpose for **Quebecois**?
It's like all **you peopl**e talk about. It's always about language.

The use of the derogatory "you people" in (4) reinforces the highly negative stance and the disaffiliation from "Quebecois". In examining the discursive behavior of "Quebecers", we find that of the four occurrences referring to specifically to FQFCB, two are construed negatively. For example,

(5) MG: The reason why people leave Quebec it's because of the goddamn French language we should be proud to speak to language[12] **quebecers** just stop thinking about the language and think about creating jobs.

While the limited number of these data points prevents us from developing a quantitatively robust, general conclusion with respect to the patterns of use of "Quebecois" vs. "Quebecer" as a function of reference scope (FQFCB or inclusive) and of stance (negative or positive), the following trend arising from the analysis is difficult to ignore. The use of "Quebecois" is strongly favoured in restrictive, FQFBC-biased references, and is somewhat favoured when constructing a negative stance toward the dominant in-group.

Now turning to the construction of an individual identification stance, a notable pattern emerges. Comments that are structured with an initial affirmation of one's group identity affiliation, "I am", followed by a statement of attitude or position on an issue, as though inviting the audience to evaluate that statement as a function of the identity affirmation. Examples (6)-(9) illustrate identity statements conceived by English-speaking Quebecers who also speak French. Crucially, all four comments are positively or neutrally connoted with respect to the French language (further discussion of this aspect to follow).

(6) SC: I'm **Anglo** and have a hard time speaking **french**, but I can read and understand. If you live here for more than 5 minutes and can't decipher a heavy french accent that's on you.

(7) CK: I am **English** and I speak **French** but when it comes to my healthcare I would like to have someone speak English.

(8) SAS: I am an **anglophone** and learning **French** now as it is the common language in Québec and I do like it and respect it and will encourage my kids to learn it same as English exactly.

(9) RF: I'm an **Anglophone** Quebecker. I also speak 5 other languages, **French** being my second tongue. Why don't other Anglophones simply learn French?

A presence of the "reverse" configuration with respect to identity and language is detected in

(10) NGL: I'm **french** and learned **english**. You don't see me complaining.

For some people, an affiliation with the French or English fact is secondary to the more practical ability to speak both languages. The people who commented in (11)-(12) forgo an explicit statement of affiliation with one of these identities, advocating for the primacy of the bilingual ability.

(11) EB: The real problem is that Quebec yes it is a province that first language is French but both **anglos** and **franco** need to be BILINGUAL. I'm **bilingual**.

(12) DK: I had to rephrase my question many times from English to French on more than one occasion, **I'm happy I'm bilingual**, unfortunately many people aren't.

In (13), signaling an immigrant identity, neither the English nor the French fact is evoked in identity construction, relying instead on territorial belonging:

(13) KC: I'm a new **Canadian**, living in **Quebec**.

While this is just one example representing one immigrant voice, it can be viewed as echoing the stance of many immigrants in Quebec who are more likely to adopt an affiliation outside the English-French divide. Another kind of hybrid affiliation construed via a territorial reference is illustrated in (14), in which the comment asserts partial affiliation with the "Quebecois", while at the same time professing a different identity, as an Ontarian, supported by the use of "your" and the subsequent use of "we" with "Ontario" as the point of reference.

(14) KC: **Les Québécois** should be encouraged with your choices, can't believe I am saying this, even Lisee. In Ontario we have Doug Ford.
As a **Québécois** living in Ontario, I would take these choices any day over what we have.

Finally, the comment in (15) illustrates what is likely quite common among English-speaking Quebecers—the identity projected by one's last name is often incongruous to the actual identity of the individual, to the great frustration of that individual:

(15) SLV: I hate when people think **I'm French** because of my last name and when I speak they are like oh **your**[13] **English**.

In summary, our analysis of identity stances constructed in the comments reflects a wide range of multiple identities found in the ESCQ community. The dominant identity is that based on the ethno-historic or a linguistic affiliation with the English fact. Although infrequent, some of these identity references do demonstrate affiliation with "Quebecer" status, albeit constructed as a hybrid identity (e.g., "Anglophone Quebecker"). Other hybrid identities detected by the analysis are conceived in terms of linguistic affiliation, prominently featuring identity construction based on individual bilingualism, and territorial affiliation, prompted by immigration or outmigration from the province.

In constructing discursive opposition between the ingroup and the outgroup, comments often rely on the use of person deixis to delineate identification boundaries and signal affiliation. The reference to "they/them" at the time of production, likely a reference to the party leaders to whose discourse these comments constitute a reaction, also can be interpreted as co-extensive with the ingroup represented by these party leaders. The generic pronominal representation of the dominant group, contrasted with the various nominal references to the out-group—Anglos, English people, English-speaking Quebecers—aids in creating distance and disaffiliation between the two groups.

(16) RW: Seems like none of **them** want to help **ENGLISH SPEAKING QUEBECERS**.

(17) SS: None of **them** have suggested anything to stop the Decline of the E**nglish Community** Except to teach the **English Community** More French.

(18) MN: **They** will tell **anglos** if **they** dont like it here, leave.

(19) LZ: **They** dont care about **english people**.

(20) TC: All **they** are talking about is teaching French to **English community**. When we are the ones who go to bilingual.

The use of "we", however, signals out-group solidarity, affirmed by a specific reference to the English-speaking Quebecers:

(21) CP: This just shows the **Anglo community we** only have 1 choice, Liberals.

(22) ECC: **We english ppl** have no problem learning more than one language and **we** are proud!!

Finally, the comment in (23) embodies what serves as perhaps the most direct discursive construction of opposition found in the corpus, encapsulating a widespread sentiment in the ESCQ concerning its future:

(23) DF: **French** is growing, **we** are declining!

The subjects of these two syntactically identical clauses construe English-speaking Quebecers, represented by "we", inclusive of "I" of the comment, in opposition to the dominant ingroup, denoted by "French". The use of this term, that can ambiguously refer to both the language and its speakers, reinforces the perception of the divide between the "English" and the "French", who are excluded from "we", as does the semantic opposition of "growing" and "declining".

In conclusion, when analyzing comments that use referential terms denoting group identity, it should be highlighted that English-speaking Quebecers' group identity construction and performance in this corpus are conceived as a function of difference from the dominant in-group, evident in a number of discursive behaviors. First, the French term "Quebecois", denoting almost exclusively FQFCB and often negatively connoted, is clearly used to posit distance from the dominant ingroup. Second, while the use of "Quebecer" is frequently featured in self-references, collective and individual alike, the frequent modification of the English term "Quebecer" signals the uncertainty on the part of the subjects, its referential scope, when unmodified, does include them. Third, the persistent use of "English" and "French" in constructing references to both group identities indexes the enduring antagonism between the *Two Solitudes*, despite the widespread recognition that the ESCQ is composed of a plurality of identities.

It seems that for many English-speaking Quebecers, "French" is a term with a wide referential scope, indexing a range of attitudes, perceptions, and ideological stances, whether it be French-speaking Quebecers,

French colonial past, the French language, or language laws. Collectively, French is what the members of this community are not. The discussion that follows examines discursive construal of the French language and related aspects, such as language laws, construed here as a proxy for attitudes toward FQFCB.

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUAL OF LANGUAGE AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Attitudes toward a language can index attitudes toward its speakers, serving as a vehicle and a proxy for these attitudes (see, for example, Milroy and Milroy 1991[1985]; Woolard 1998). In this light, the emphasis on creating an affective attachment to Quebec and the French language on the part of all Quebecers acquired an even greater significance than the explicit goal of making French the common public language of the province (*Gouvernement du Québec* 2001). The findings of the QCGN 2013 report indicate that while the majority of English-speaking Quebecers (60%) accept and support the primacy of the French language in Quebec, it is not the foundation of Anglophone identity (QCGN 2013b).

In our corpus, this is reflected, *inter alia*, in a pervasive negative stance toward the French (F) language (L), evidenced by the following collocations:

(24) FL restrictions, F aggression, goddamn FL, colonial L, dying L

A negative discursive representation of the French language in these examples is achieved via deployment of negatively connoted lexis and references that couch the French language in a negatively connoted sociohistoric context. In fact, the construal of the French language as something associated with the past occupies a prominent place in the corpus discourse: French is described as the language of the past, of limited import, that must cede to the lingua franca of the global economy. In (25), French is clearly disaffiliated with the present in "colonists", while English is posited as the language of the present through the use of "real". Arguably, for some members of the ESCQ, the evocation of a superior global status of English serves as a defense mechanism allowing them to cope with their own problematic status by self-elevation through identifying with the global prestige of the English language (see Groff, Pilote, and Vieux-Fort 2016, 122). For the commenter in (26), the reference to the past sets us all the way back to the 17th century, construed in opposition to 2018. Finally, in (27), Bill 101, here a proxy for the French language, indexes the past, which is not relevant to the "we" of the present, construed in opposition to "40 years ago".

(25) JB: Time for **French colonists** to learn the **real language** of this area…

(26) LA: is it the **17th century** ? nope its **2018** still the same topic of **language**.

(27) PL: Why we still need the **Bill 101** that is set **40 years ago**.

This attitude marks a divergence in the conceptualization of the past and its place in the collective identity between the commenters in our corpus representing the ESCQ and the collective stance toward the past by the FCFQB. According to one prominent scholar of Quebec's collective memory, Jocelyn Létourneau, Quebecers place a great deal of value on the collective French-Canadian experience of a "difficult, sometimes tragic past" (2014, 4-5). Indeed, common history and common cultural representations that arise from collective memory are critical in the constitution and maintenance of national identity (Wodak 2002b, 146-47). Frequent indexing of Quebec's collective memory in the discourse of party leaders and commenters alike were found in the context of the French-language party leaders' debates directed at a mainly French-speaking audience (see Bosworth, forthcoming 2021). Crucially, these references are exclusively positively connoted. However, it is not the case in the current corpus. A notable comment targeting the personality of René Lévesque is presented below:

(28) MR: I am for the Liberals French and English got along just fine till **Mr Levesque (The drunk Driver and Murder)**

Quebec's language laws, a cornerstone of Quebec's self-affirmation, are construed in very much the same way. In the following co-occurrences, references to language laws are constructed with lexis denoting force and debilitation or elimination:

(29) **crippling** LLs, **stupid** LLs, Bill 101 is **dead.**

(30) **drop** LLs, **ditch** LLs, **get rid of** Bill 101, **remove** Bill 101,

(31) LLs **handcuff** companies,

In fact, all sixteen corpus occurrences of "Bill 101" are negatively connoted, in contrast with no such occurrences in the French corpus study alluded to earlier. In (32), Bill 101 is discursively associated with the dominant in-group represented by "they", construed in opposing to "the English."

(32) MV: **They** hate the **English. Bill 101** speaks volumes.

A rare enactment of a positive stance toward the past is found in (32) and (33), in which the commenter evokes the dual contributions of both groups to the making of the city (likely referring to Montreal) and the country (here, Canada).

(32) RC: **We** built this city **Historically Together.**

(33) AD: **both English and French languages** are part of the **history of Canada** that formed this beautiful nation.

Indeed, Pichette and Gosselin (2013) argue that maintaining a memory of the history of the contributions of Anglophones to Quebec society "helps the ESCQ <ESCQ of Quebec> bolster its sense of belonging and define its community space" (17).

A negative stance toward the French language and its speakers is also performed through code-switching (Auer 1995; Meyers-Scotton 1988). In (34)-(37), intervening French words, phrases, or full sentences reinforce the commenter's disapproval of the party leaders associated with the dominant in-group[14]:

(34) CB: Freaking **gouvernement** of Quebec can't even hire bilingual employees this is ridiculous.

(35) MK: Liberals make jobs…the rest are pieces of **merde**.

(36) CN: Lisée's points re immigration and anglos totally flies in the face of the PQ I know. Sounds like **n'importe quoi** …

(37) ABF: They got to improve their English… **Ça devient ridicule.**

In (38), history and language come together in the use of French in an ungrammatical reproduction of the well-known phrase and a well-known historical occurrence associated with it, largely positively construed by the dominant ingroup, once again performing the outgroup's perception of the ingroup's view of the past. The interrogative syntax and the future tense of the verb invite the ingroup to question the role of the past in its present and future:

(38) NA: ARE WE GOING FOR "VIVRE LE QUEBEC LIBRE"?

In sum, the finding of a pervasive negative stance toward the ingroup with the French language as a proxy for embedding the negative attitudes is viewed here is problematic for successful adoption of the civic, inclusive Quebec identity by Quebec's English speakers given the strong collective stance, which is also highly affective and emotional in nature, toward the French language fostered within FQFCB.

CONCLUSION

Bouchard and Taylor (2008) advocate for a civic, inclusive Quebec identity based on the principles of inter-culturalism, a model that prioritizes French-speaking Quebecers of French-Canadian background. It is this "French-speaking core" that constitutes "a framework for civic exchanges" and the locus of "the development of a common identity" (Bouchard and Taylor 2008, 19-20). Notwithstanding, French-Canadian ethnicity is no longer construed as the defining component of Quebec identity—Quebec's contemporary public culture is cast in "inclusive, civic terms, with Quebecers of all backgrounds encouraged to contribute to political debate" (Oakes and Peled 2018, 65). Bouchard and Taylor conclude that "the time has come for reconciliation" (Bouchard and Taylor 2008, 25).

With respect to the integration of English-speaking Quebecers into this civic, intercultural identity, the findings of the present study indicate that many obstacles remain. This analysis of the discursive construction of English-speaking Quebecers' identity reveals persistent trends disaffiliation and distance in identity-related discourse generated in the context of provincial elections by members of this community. Notably, the discourse clearly delineates the identity boundary between FQFCB in-group, and English-speaking Quebecers, as evidenced by the discursive behavior of referential terms "Quebecois" and "Quebecer(s)". Moreover, the study suggests that the identity boundary is continually construed along the divide between the "English" and the "French", as shown in the analysis of group nomination references containing these terms. Crucially, this constitutes a divergence from discursive practices with respect to group nomination in official discourse, which has adopted more ideologically neutral and inclusive references.

The analysis of discourse targeting the French language reveals a presence of a prominent negative stance, evidenced by negatively connoted discursive construal of the French language, Quebec's language laws, and the pragmatics of code-switching. If these negatives attitudes are to be interpreted as serving as proxy for negative attitudes toward FQFCB, this becomes highly problematic for Bouchard and Taylor's reconciliation. Similarly, the two groups stances toward Quebec' collective past, as evidenced by this study, are mostly incompatible.

In sum, the discourse analyzed in this study, diagnoses a substantial discrepancy in the conceptualization of identity by the two groups, with the English-speaking Quebecer discourse featured here displaying a negative, critical, and, at times, hostile stance toward core elements of Quebec

identity—the French language and the shared symbols of collective memory. While this study is admittedly very limited in scope and the subject population does not in any way exhaustively represent the views of the ESCQ, its finding of the existence of a significant identification disaffiliation between the two groups is not surprising and is likely at least partially generalized to the community at large.

ENDNOTES

[1] See, for example, "The Secretariat for Relations with English-speaking Quebecers is officially launched." Quebec.ca. November 24, 2017. http://www.filinformation.gouv.qc.ca/Pages/Article.aspx?lang=en&idArticle=2511247102.

[2] *Québécois* in the original French-language version.

[3] The debate featured four provincial party leaders: the Parti Libéral leader Philippe Couillard, the Coalition Avenir Québec leader François Legault, the Parti Québécois leader Jean-François Lisée and the Québec Solidaire co-spokesperson Manon Massé.

[4] The corpus contains two total occurrences of this anglicized spelling.

[5] Occurrences containing "Quebec" instead of "Quebecer"—"Quebec English citizens", "English in Quebec", "English-speaking people in Quebec" are excluded from the count as they position these citizens with respect to territorial affiliation with Quebec serving as a modifier of the identity marker or anchored in a prepositional phrase denoting location, instead of identity marker itself.

[6] For further discussion of discursive construction of FQFCB identity, see Bosworth (forthcoming 2021).

[7] Half of all occurrences are used with and half without diacritic marks. No discernible tendency with respect to their distribution can be determined in the current dataset, and is therefore not considered in the analysis.

[8] Crucially, in these two occurrences, "Quebecois" is specified via quantification—"all" and "a diversity of". Given that it is precisely these quantifying expressions that assure an inclusive referential scope of "Quebecois", the identity marker itself is analyzed here as modified but not inclusive.

[9] Following the reasoning outlined in note 5 above, the single occurrence of "all Quebecers" is classified as modified but not referentially inclusive. Moreover, this occurrence originates in top-down discourse—a comment of CBC Montreal.

[10] A top-down occurrence recovered in a CBC Montreal comment.

[11] All comments are presented as is, preserving the original spelling—including graphical features such as diacritic marks and capitalization—punctuation, grammatical structure.

[12] =two languages

[13] =You are

[14] Arguably, the use of the in-group's identity marker "Quebecois" can be analyzed as a manifestation of that trend.

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FROM SYSTEMATIC SCREENING PROGRAMS TO INCREASED COMMUNITY AWARENESS

PAST, PRESENT AND THE FUTURE OF SCOLIOSIS DETECTION IN CHILDREN

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ABSTRACT

Screening for scoliosis continues to be a controversial issue. Quebec researchers are proposing an innovative tool that may improve scoliosis detection effectiveness. The focus of this proposal is to understand its implications and historical development. One of the challenges for early detection has been to find an objective measure. Adam Forward Bending Test was used as a screening test by nurses in schools, and the specificity of the detection method was improved with the use of an inclinometer, the Scoliometer. Recently, an inclinometer smart phone app has been developed and is available to non-professionals for early detection in the community.

RÉSUMÉ

Le dépistage de la scoliose est une mesure encore controversée. Des chercheurs québécois proposent un outil novateur qui pourrait améliorer l'efficacité de la détection. Cette proposition vise à comprendre ses implications et son évolution historique. Un défi majeur du dépistage précoce fut de mettre au point une mesure objective. L'Adam Forward Bending Test fut utilisé comme premier test de dépistage par les infirmières dans les écoles. La spécificité de la détection a été améliorée avec l'utilisation d'un niveau à bulle, le Scoliometer. Une application pour téléphone intelligent est désormais disponible pour les utilisateurs non professionnels pour favoriser une détection communautaire.

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the milestones in the development, validation and dissemination of a non-invasive screening tool in Quebec for the early detection of back asymmetry associated with scoliosis in children. Quebec researchers have led the International Task Force on Screening mandated by the Scoliosis Research Society (SRS) to review the evidence on the value of the screening tools available to orthopedic specialists (Labelle et al. 2013; Beauséjour et al. 2013; Feldman et al. 2014). They have proposed a reliable, valid, easy-to-use and affordable version of the tool (Driscoll et al. 2014; Beauséjour et al. 2019a), in the form of a smart phone application with partners in Quebec's biomedical industry, and are proposing innovative ideas for community use of this tool, outside the specialized-care environment.

This work consisted first of an historical review of principles and practices of screening for scoliosis in Quebec, based on the revision of scientific material gathered by the Scoliosis Research Society International Task Force on screening, which summarized the evidence from peer-reviewed original studies published between 1978 and 2015. We also based our review on a public health perspective historical review from Linker (2012), as well as on reports from the Canadian Task Forces on the Periodic Health Examination published between 1979 and 2018.

The creation of the dissemination plan took place at Bishop's University in the Eastern Townships, an institution that is considered one of the pioneers in knowledge dissemination in Quebec. The first step of the dissemination plan consisted of collecting evidence from clinical studies regarding the validity and reliability of the new tool to demonstrate its value. Target audiences were identified from expert opinions and a specific plan describing materials and means of dissemination was elaborated for each audience. Interviews with end-users documented their experience using the tool and provided recommendations for improvement. The dissemination plan was validated through oral presentations, both to knowledge mobilization trainees and experts (Martinez and Beauséjour 2019), as well as to physicians and researchers at the *Société de la scoliose du Québe*c annual meeting (Beauséjour et al. 2019b).

To comprehend the value of this innovative tool it is important to point out that Adolescent Idiopathic Scoliosis (AIS) is highly prevalent in the 10-18 year-old population. The prevalence of scoliosis in the Quebec pediatric population is 2% according to large epidemiological studies (Rogala et al. 1978, Robitaille et al. 1984, Morais et al. 1985) and was estimated at 1.3% [1.0%-1.7%] from an international meta-analysis (Fong et al. 2010). This particular type of scoliosis, which represents 80% of all cases (Negrini et al., 2018) is notable in that there are no known causes of the disease. Scoliosis is characterized by the 3D deformity of the spine, rib cage and pelvis. A significant scoliosis curve is diagnosed from a postero-anterior radiograph of the full spine, showing a lateral deviation of the spine of more than 10° (as measured by the Cobb technique) combined with vertebral rotation.

The 3D rotational deformity of the trunk creates a posterior protuberance of the ribs and/or of the flank. This back asymmetry, which correlates with the magnitude of the scoliosis curve, is considered an early sign of scoliosis (Labelle et al., 2013). Identifying and measuring this asymmetry represents a potential for early detection of scoliosis in youth. Nevertheless, scoliosis screening, especially school screening of asymptomatic children as a preventive program has been the subject of much discussion. Whether it should be an essential part of preventive medicine or not has been hotly debated over time.

SCOLIOSIS SCREENING TOOLS: AN HISTORICAL DEBATE

One of the challenges for early detection has been to find a valid objective measure to ensure the technical efficacy of the test. In addition, there should be sufficient evidence to support the clinical effectiveness of the

detection method, as well as to demonstrate that an effective treatment is available and acceptable for detected cases. These conditions are the criteria of the World Health Organization in the assessment of screening programs (Wilson and Junger 1968).

Table 1. Useful definitions (adapted from Porta 2008)

Reliability	is the degree to which an assessment tool produces stable and consistent results.
Validity	is the property of an assessment tool that's accurately measuring what it's supposed to.
Sensitivity	is the probability of correctly detecting a case or the probability that any given case will be identified by the assessment tool (true-positive rate).
Specificity	is the probability of correctly identifying a non-diseased person with an assessment tool (true-negative probability).

Historically, it was strongly believed that incorrect posture was one of the determining factors of scoliosis. In the first half of the 20th century, large campaigns were conducted advocating good posture to battle scoliosis (Linker 2012). The standard test for suspected child scoliosis was based on photographs illustrating positive and negative postures, and comparing them to students. In the early 1960s, beginning in Delaware, school children's posture examination evolved into spinal screening for idiopathic scoliosis (Cronis & Russell 1965). The idea spread rapidly in many states and several countries, including Canada, promoted by the SRS. The Adams Forward Bending Test (AFBT), described in lectures by Adams at the end of the 19th century (Adams, 1865), was suggested as an instrument to "reveal" the presence of back asymmetry under visual inspection. In Quebec, rigorous examination was performed by school nurses as a routine evaluation for boys and girls aged 8 to 15. A trained examiner searched for the presence of a prominence of the scapula, ribs or para spinal muscles, with the child in a forward bending position (Figure 1)—a position that may emphasize the visible asymmetry.

Figure 1. A child executing the Adams Forward Bending Test

Despite significant efforts put into the detection of scoliosis in many jurisdictions, not all professionals agreed on the proper method and approach. The AFBT was considered to offer a high rate of detection since the examiners were well-trained to identify even mild back asymmetry (Linker, 2012). As a consequence, large volumes of children were sent for orthopaedic evaluation following school screening. However, a major objection against screening arose quickly because of the radiography used (and consequently a higher exposure to radiation) on a large number of children who did not present with a clinically significant curve (Cobb angle < 11°) and/or would never need treatment (Morais et al., 1985; Warren et al., 1981). The rate of unnecessary referrals was estimated to reach upward of 80% (Morais et al., 1985; Robitaille et al., 1984; Beauséjour et al., 2015). School scoliosis screening of asymptomatic children with AFBT was considered as a sensitive measure (very few clinically significant scoliosis were missed), but not sufficiently specific, as it led to a high rate of false positives.

For these reasons, school screening programs using the AFBT as a detection tool were not considered to be a cost-effective preventive measure by the Canadian Task Force on the Periodic Examination (CTPFE). This led to a recommendation against scoliosis screening in 1979 (CTFPE, 1979). A reaffirmation of this position was advanced in 1984, at which time scoliosis screening was officially discontinued in Canada, including in Quebec.

This policy decision resulted in a shortage of publications on scoliosis prevalence studies in Canada and in Quebec. It also had an impact on the management of children with a progressive deformity. The impact was documented years later based on a multicenter survey in southwest Quebec (Montreal region, Eastern Townships and Outaouais) on the referral patterns of suspected cases of SIA in orthopaedic clinics (Beauséjour et al. 2009, 2015 and 2019c). It demonstrated that 20% of patients were referred "late" to a scoliosis clinic to benefit from appropriate and timely management with an orthotic (spinal brace) treatment.

IMPROVING THE TOOLS FOR SCOLIOSIS SCREENING

Improving the value of screening for scoliosis would invariably involve answering questions about the validity of the screening tools for early detection of significant cases and early conservative management of the curve by bracing. The psychometric properties of the AFBT had the potential to improve, and there was a need to develop tools that were less reliant on subjective appraisal. In 1984, Bunnel proposed the use of a tool, called Scoliometer (see Figure 2). The device was an inclinometer that would allow the precise quantification of the back asymmetry when performing an AFBT (Bunnell, 1984). According to Bunnel, the implementation of the tool to measure the angle of trunk inclination (ATI) would maintain a high level of detection with a higher degree of specificity, in turn, reducing the amount of (unnecessary) consultations in orthopedic services. Further studies have shown that the specificity of the Scoliometer, though highly variable according to differences in the populations in which the study samples were taken, was better than the specificity of the AFBT alone (Pruijs et al., 1990 & 1995; Amendt, 1990; Korovesis & Stamatakis, 1996; Côté et al., 1998; Huang, 1988 & 1997; Karachalios et al., 1999; Bunnell, 1984). In particular, Côté et al. (1998) demonstrated a specificity of the test at 83% [73%-93%] using a Scoliometer, in comparison to 60% [47%-74%] with the AFBT alone—for scoliosis curves that were above 20°.

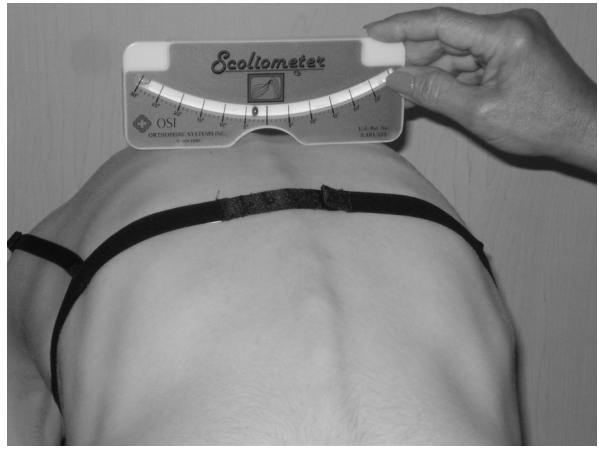

Figure 2. Measurement of the angle of trunk inclination (ATI) on a young patient with a Scoliometer. Photo provided by the *Unité de recherche clinique en orthopédie*, CHU Sainte-Justine.

In 2010, the presidential body of the SRS entrusted an international task force to examine the value of scoliosis screening. The SRS Task Force was presided over by Dr. Hubert Labelle and included members from Asia, North America and Europe, and a scientific coordination team (supported by Marie Beauséjour) at the *CHU Sainte-Justine*. A systematic review of the literature was conducted by the SRS Task Force with the intention to answer specific questions on the technical efficacy, clinical, program and treatment effectiveness of scoliosis detection, and to obtain expert consensus (Beauséjour et al. 2013; Labelle et al. 2013). The SRS Task Force agreed on the principal topics and area of focus; in particular, on supporting the AFBT, with an objective measure from the Scoliometer, as the best tools in terms of reliability and validity, to detect back asymmetry in children. The threshold for seeking medical advice, and one that should correspond to a significant and potentially progressive scoliosis curve was suggested to be in the range between 5°-7° of ATI (Labelle et al., 2013). The choice of threshold would have the potential to lower the amount of referrals. There is also supporting evidence that it allows for patient identification and referral at an earlier stage. Finally, there is strong evidence to support treatment by bracing. The cost-effectiveness is still the one element where there was no consensus (Labelle et al., 2013; Feldman et al. 2014). A nation-wide screening program could entail costs that have not been proven to be sustainable.

ALTERNATIVES TO THE SYSTEMATIC SCREENING PROGRAMS

To overcome the debate about systematic screening programs, other alternatives were explored. An initial proposal focused on encouraging family doctors to screen for scoliosis in children during healthy child visits. Despite the practicality and feasibility of it, a key coverage problem persists, as 30% of the pediatric population in Quebec is not registered with a family doctor (*Institut de la statistique du Québec*, 2018). Moreover, registration does not imply access continuity, as only 63% of parents declared having access to a regular source of medical care for their child (Beauséjour et al. 2015). In addition, one needs to consider how screening for scoliosis would impact physicians' workload and how it would be integrated in practice, considering that getting a healthy child an appointment is difficult. As an alternative, the accessibility of users to the detection tools becomes an interesting option. If non-professionals have access to an easy and affordable tool, it would broaden the detection possibilities. A non-professional user could become medical ally in the detection process.

Researchers from *CHU Sainte-Justine* and developers from Spinologics, Inc. created an accessible, easy-to-use-tool to measure the back asymmetry: an inclinometer smart phone application (Driscoll et al., 2014). While the standard Scoliometer is usually only available at specialized clinics, the application would allow for larger public use. Smart phones have imbedded inclinometers that enable angle measurement. Using this feature, an application (see Figure 4) has been developed to be able to measure the ATI during AFBT. The validity and the reliability of the smart phone application proved to be slightly lower (0.89) to that of the standard Scoliometer (0.95), but sufficient for first step screening (Driscoll et al., 2014). When compared to a *CHU Sainte-Justine* expert surgeon, using the Scoliometer, the smart phone tool was shown to be highly accurate in the hands of the surgeon (interclass correlation coefficient ICC = 0.86), the nurse (ICC = 0.86), and even for the parent (ICC = 0.85). Similar results, confirming the accurate measurement properties of the inclinometer smart phone application, were obtained by Balg et al. (2014) at *CIUSSS de l'Estrie-CHUS* under user testing.

Recently, the authors and their team have produced a 4-minute training video with the support of the *CHU Sainte-Justine* Learning Center. It provides a step-by-step description and demonstration of the procedures to follow when using the inclinometer smart phone application: standard instructions to guide the child's execution of the AFBT, positioning of the observer, a demonstration on how to slide the smart phone on the child's back with both thumbs underneath, how to search for and register the

maximum rib hump value along the back, as well as a follow-up action decision support chart based on the measured ATI.

In a clinical validation study with 69 patients, the authors and their team demonstrated that the inclinometer smart phone application could be validly and reliably used by non-professionals; for example, by parents of adolescents, following a short video-training (Beauséjour et al., 2019a and b). The lay-users did not receive guidance or instructions by any of the health professionals. Agreement between non-professionals and experts on the identification of the threshold for consultation (ATI > 6°) occurred in 83 to 90% of cases. The results indicated that parents could reliably monitor the back asymmetry of their child and properly decide if medical validation is indicated.

Figure 3. Measurement of the angle of trunk inclination using an Inclinometer Smartphone Application. Spinologics provided and authorized the use of the picture.

One of the challenges associated with the digital screening of scoliosis is the need for widespread community awareness of the existence of the tool. A dissemination plan was designed to improve access to the Quebec population, so they could potentially benefit from the smart phone app (Martinez & Beauséjour, 2019). The creation of the dissemination plan took place at Bishop's University. The initial idea was to implement or to find a general dissemination model that could be used as a guide at least at the initial stages of the project. No general protocols or guidelines were found addressing the dissemination of an application in the orthopedic field, therefore, an original plan was proposed. Amongst the literature collected, lack of trust in digital tools from all stakeholders was highlighted (Chatzipavlou, Hristoforidou, and Vlachopoulou, 2016). For this reason, the researchers decided, as the first step of the dissemination plan to collect and summarize evidence about the validity and reliability of the application to support its value and promote its credibility.

Another topic that emerged amongst the findings in the literature review was the importance of particular interests of different stakeholders in the tool. This indicated that having a general guideline for dissemination was not ideal: dissemination methods should be tailored and adapted to different targeted audiences, leading the project to focus on each stakeholder's specific interests in an effort to build a stakeholder network. An onion diagram identifying all the stakeholders was designed, clearly identifying three types of audiences: family physicians and other primary care providers, orthopedic surgeons, and non-professionals such as parents and educators. Family doctors need more information about the musculoskeletal system and its pathologies such as scoliosis, as well as convincing data about efficacy of the method. Secondly, support strategies for behavioral changes in the use of an objective measurement for suspected scoliosis is recommended, such as the study of their socio-demographic characteristics, practice preferences and fast guidelines (Grimshaw et al. 2002). For family physicians and other primary care providers, the regular use of the application may support decision-making as to who and when to refer individuals to a specialist. Clear standardized guidelines for referral have been embedded as well.

Orthopedists require a more specialized, medically-tailored strategy to be introduced to the application, as they already use a Scoliometer. The orthopaedic surgeons surveyed revealed the potential of using the application, when a standard Scoliometer is not available.

Out of the three segments, lay-users were definitely the critical population. To learn about their specific needs, semi-structured interviews were conducted, to further explore their perspective. The interviewed lay-users were the participants to the *CHU Sainte-Justine* validation study. There were several important findings. Participants mentioned appreciating the accessibility and ease of use of the inclinometer smart phone application. They felt confident in using the tools and considered that the video on using the device was sufficiently clear. There was a suggestion to have an additional in-person training or validation with a health professional (e.g., to validate findings with the family doctor) to complement the online video (Beausejour et al., 2019; Martinez & Beauséjour, 2019).

Concerning questions and solutions to concerns, when lay-users were asked if they would be willing to take part in a training or certificate program, there was a negative response. The lay-users suggested that it would be useful for the health care professionals, as it would help a nurse or a physiotherapist to speed up accurate triage of a suspected scoliosis patient. Regardless of this advantage, it is not a concern for the parent or the

primary care-giver. The essential concern was to ensure correct use of the tool. It seemed ideal to create a space in which the health professionals could reassure parents that they were using the tools correctly, and answering their questions. The application is also starting to be used as a monitoring tool for patients between follow-up visits. Regarding the application, a more appealing design and colors, as well as adding audio instructions would encourage adoption.

CONCLUSIONS

Progressive forms of scoliosis may have a deleterious impact on the health and quality of life of affected individuals. In particular, the deformity may have a significant impact on self-image, pain and function. Left without supervision or proper management, the spinal deformities may progress rapidly in the growth period (Weinstein & Ponseti, 1983) and potentially lead to decreased pulmonary function. The early detection of progressive scoliosis curve in a growing child may improve timeliness of brace treatment and even open the door to new treatments, such as growth sparing instrumentation. In the absence of systematic screening of all asymptomatic children, accessibility to non-professionals to an easy to use, affordable, reliable and valid tool for early detection of back asymmetry, and increased awareness about scoliosis in the community, offers a promising way to alleviate the burden of progressive forms of scoliosis in children and on our health care system.

The dissemination plan for the use of the scoliosis screening tool is a fundamental part, which was created at the center of the Eastern Townships region. It is an important advancement toward the use of the smart phone application in the community. Despite all the positive aspects, some limitations exist, such as ensuring that the person has access to a mobile phone, and the ability to properly use the device. There needs to be simple guidelines to follow to prevent an increase in the number of false positives. Scoliosis detection, as a community endeavour, is rapidly becoming a possible solution in the face of cost-effectiveness issues associated with a national screening program. It also favours patient and caregivers participation in health care and well-being.

DISCLOSURES

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GRADUATE STUDENT ESSAYS /
ESSAIS D'ÉTUDIANT.E.S AU DEUXIEME CYCLE

COMPLICATING "THE STRAIT" PATH:

A CONTRAST BETWEEN IMPERIAL VISIONS AND THE FRENCH COLONIAL EXPERIENCE, DETROIT 1701-1760

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ABSTRACT

Colonial New France was shaped by imperial visions and on-the-ground policies, decisions, and alliances. This was especially true in Detroit, from its founding as a trading post for the French, to its function as a militarized fort, to its eventual fall in 1760. Fort Detroit was surrendered to the British on November 29, 1760, after the fall of Quebec, but the history of its importance in the Pays d'en haut is not limited to this date during the Seven Years War. This paper, addresses the ways in which imperial visions of Detroit as a strategic post for trading and military control differed from the lived realities of the people, as well as the power dynamics that emerged and manifested in the territory of New France.

RÉSUMÉ

La Nouvelle-France coloniale a été façonnée par des visions impériales ainsi que des politiques, des décisions et des alliances conclues sur le terrain. Cela s'est particulièrement avéré à Détroit, depuis sa fondation comme poste de traite pour les Français, jusqu'à sa fonction de fort militarisé, puis sa chute en 1760. Le fort Détroit a été cédé aux Britanniques le 29 novembre 1760, après la chute de Québec, mais l'histoire de son importance dans le Pays d'en haut ne se limite pas à cette date pendant la guerre de Sept Ans. Cet article traite des façons dont les visions impériales de Détroit en tant que poste stratégique pour le commerce et le contrôle militaire différaient des réalités vécues par les gens ainsi que de la dynamique du pouvoir qui a émergé et s'est manifestée sur le territoire de la Nouvelle-France.

Modern Detroit is best known for its musical history, automobile industry, and cuisine. However, the history of Detroit predates the Belle Isle Aquarium and Motown. Originally a meeting site for Indigenous trade due to its strategic location on a major waterway, the city now called Detroit was squarely on the radar of colonial empires as early as the 16th century. Originally used as a site for trade amongst North American Indigenous peoples, Europeans quickly began to understand its power and worth as a trading post. After infiltrating the trade networks already in place, Europeans, mainly French, craved its power. Colonial New France was shaped by imperial visions and on-the-ground policies, decisions, and alliances; the latter group which are too often overlooked in the historiography of Detroit. From its founding as a trading post for the French, to its function as a militarized fort, to its eventual fall in 1760 when it was surrendered to the British, the colonial history of Detroit in the 18th century is rife with contradictions.

The significance of Fort Detroit and its importance in the *Pays d'en Haut* is not limited to November 29, 1760—the day it surrendered to the British during the Seven Years War. This paper examines the ways in which imperial visions of Detroit, as a strategic post for trading and military control, differed from the lived realities of the people and the power dynamics that actually manifested in the territory of New France. I seek to stress the importance of decision makers that are not traditionally regarded as influential in

the historiography of New France. These agents are women, free Indigenous peoples, and Indigenous slaves—all of whom had a role in shaping the reality of the colony and the history of the continent.

Through a comprehensive understanding of the geo-politics of the Detroit River region, we are able to contrast the imperial visions of the French Empire in North America to the realities of the region and the particularities of Detroit as a fort and as a colonial mission. While scholars like Brett Rushforth, Michael A. McDonnell, Allan Greer, and Richard White, among others have begun to give significant attention to Indigenous and French relations in an academic setting, there has not been a comprehensive study that reflects the diversity of decision makers in Detroit under French rule. Although academic study on the French has regarded either imperial visions or the experience of mostly male migrants and traders, there have been very few studies that focus on the differences in policies and experiences between different groups at Fort Detroit during French rule.

This paper seeks to outline the ways in which current secondary source literature on Fort Detroit and the *Pays d'en Haut* can be woven together to begin to explain the differences in imperial visions of Detroit and the French colonial experience. Preserved primary source material often inhibits understanding the points of view of women, Indigenous peoples, and other marginalized groups in documents relating to Fort Detroit. However, these untold stories are woven between the lines of both primary and secondary source material relating to Fort Detroit. Europeans and Indigenous peoples created history and exposed the ways in which imperial visions of colonialism and conquest contrasted with the reality they lived.

RIVERS AND THEIR TRADERS: INDIGENOUS ALLIES AND ENEMIES

Exploring the interior of the North American continent meant navigating not only massive stretches of land, but also complex waterways. When Europeans first arrived in North America, they were met by Indigenous peoples of varying nations possessing vital information about the land and waters of the continent.[1] These people were not a homogeneous group, but were instead culturally, religiously, politically, and linguistically diverse. In the geographical region later claimed by settler peoples as New France (*La Nouvelle France*), Indigenous nations had complex alliance networks. As allies or as enemies, the diverse nations were able to maintain trade networks and kinship groups that were not easily understood by the European newcomers.[2] French settlements started to be constructed on land that was already occupied and served as meeting places for trade. Regarded by these

new arrivals as a *terra nullius*, or land that was not legally deemed belonging to any other people through colonial understandings of property ownership, French settler people were eager to benefit from the new environment in which they found themselves.[3]

Connected by the St-Lawrence Seaway, the Great Lakes region benefited from the movement of supplies, trade goods, and people. Detroit, founded in 1701 as a Fort by Antoine Laumet de la Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac, served as a meeting place for peoples long before European encounter. This strategic geographical location was intricately related to other European colonial settlements at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. Fort Michilimackinac, Montreal, and Quebec City were the most important of these relationships.[4] Yet, these networks were not created by the French, and were instead pre-existing and historically rooted in the alliance networks of the Indigenous nations of the region.

In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, there were several Indigenous nations who inhabited the Great Lakes region, including the Wyandot, Ottawa, Obijbwa, Sauk, Fox, Kikapoo, Potawatomie, Mascouten, and Miami.[5] With so many different nations competing for territories or trade, there were often conflicts between groups. In what the French called the *Pays d'en Haut*, which was roughly the Great Lakes region and the upper portion of the Mississippi Valley, the uniqueness of the different nations was not well understood by imperial powers of the French mainland.[6] Indigenous forms of diplomacy, warfare, peace negotiations, kinship networks, and cultural practices were not well known to Europeans afar.[7] To understand better the culture unique to each individual nation, the French had to embed themselves in the kinship networks and work to understand Native geo-politics from the ground up. In many cases, French men married into Indigenous communities by wedding a Native wife, thus, securing their place in the web of kinship networks.[8] Another way of infiltrating these networks was through slavery and adopting captives.

According to historian Brett Rushforth, "Among the Indians of the *Pays d'en Haut*, slaving was not only a means of bolstering population and production; it was, perhaps primarily, a performance of ethnic identity. Slave raids helped to maintain alliances by enforcing their boundaries, defining who was included or excluded and demonizing those on the outside."[9] Indigenous slavery was widely practiced around Detroit as a means to encourage diplomacy, reinforce barriers, and promote trade. In addition to expanding the colonial settlement at Detroit, the slave trade in New France between the French and various Indigenous nations strengthened relations with groups like the Ottawa, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Saulteur, and Huron.[10]

In fact, extensive networks of fictive kin were developed between French and various Indigenous nations, allowing for further attempts at peace.[11] The French were inextricably bound to trade networks and increased access to geo-political spaces.

Although the French in North America were active players in the Indigenous slave trade, imperial forces were less apt to condone it. It was necessary then that France "drew a sharp distinction between the practice of slavery and the act of enslavement. By placing all of the moral and legal burden on enslavement, the French distanced themselves from both the moral dilemmas and the practical problems associated with slaving violence."[12] Despite feeling that it was immoral to enslave another person, the French on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean benefited from this type of diplomacy. Trade was of utmost importance at the turn of the 17th century as a purely agricultural-based society was not sufficient to adequately develop the settlement.

Naively, French officials often disregarded the impact that Indigenous alliance networks played in the development of the colony.[13] When at war, Indigenous peoples would often take enemy captives to serve a variety of roles within the society. Therefore, the 'raid-and-trade networks' in which Indigenous allies and enemies engaged, produced captives that were adopted as fictive kin, bartered as hostages, or taken as slaves.[14] These roles were all linked to trade in some fashion, either as producers of goods, labourers for services, or objects of bargaining power.[15]

The capturing of members of enemy nations was widely practiced in the *Pays d'en Haut* and has been documented most heavily in the historiography of New France since the early 1700s as more French settlers began to participate in the trade.[16] Yet, the practice of slavery in New France was much different than that of slavery in other parts of the expanding French Empire. While there was not an absence of violence or violation of human rights, Indigenous slaves were certainly regarded by the French as more than simply mere property. Religious groups like the Jesuits even believed that through adopting aspects of Indigenous cultures, even temporarily, they could forge stronger relations with the native population. In this vein, the French did not seek to fully assimilate Indigenous peoples. Rather, through understanding and infiltrating certain parts of Indigenous cultures, the French were able to better position their native captives to perform various physical tasks for the slaver society and also serve diplomatic roles and fulfill means of solidifying relationships.[17] At Fort Michilimackinac, approximately 500 kilometers northwest of Detroit, *voyageur* Ignace Durand sold Pierre Hubert dit Lacroix an Indian slave called Pierre. After several years of enslavement, Pierre was freed by his master of the

same name who subsequently hired him on a two-year contract.[18] This ambiguity of slavery and relationships between groups was a normal occurrence in the history of New France. Relationships and alliances were susceptible to change and required constant negotiation.

French relationships with Indigenous peoples around Detroit were sustained, in part, by trade goods. In other words, the French required a substantial amount of bargaining goods and supplies to keep their alliances with Indigenous people secure. Metal tools such as knives, guns, gunpowder, bullets, and articles of clothing were some of the items that were most privileged by the Indigenous allies.[19] If these goods were not provided, it could spell catastrophe for both the traders and settlers on the ground and the French imperial powers overseas. However, in the early years of French settlement in the Detroit River Region, the French permanent presence remained comparatively small in scale and the immediate impacts to the Indigenous population had less to do with population and more to do with politics.[20]

FURS AND FERVOR: A COLONIAL MISSION

In an attempt to colonize the Indigenous peoples and their land, extract resources from the interior, and spread Catholicism throughout the region, the French claimed various successes and experienced many failures in what historian Robert Englebert describes as the "French River World".[21] One of the most important endeavours of early French settlement in North America was based on resource extraction. Beaver pelts were in high demand in Europe and the animal was plentiful on the overseas continent. These furs were traded regularly by Indigenous peoples but the fervor grew as styles in Europe demanded more pelts.

Indigenous nations often welcomed French traders onto their lands as settler numbers were weak in comparison with the thousands of native peoples in the area. French promises of military protection and material goods outweighed the potential land encroachment.[22] However, these agreements are seldom found in the archival record as they were often made in accordance with traditional oral dealings between parties.[23] These spoken agreements emphasize the way in which decisions about trade and territory at Detroit were never a one-way dialogue. Alternatively, it was a multi-player conversation in which many distinct groups participated in the socio-political and economic exchanges.[24] Further adding to the complexity of territory and trade, as fixed borders were not quite established in the first half of the 18th century, the flow of goods and conversations were much

more easily achieved than in later eras.[25] The lucrative flow of beaver pelts surely served as a conversation starter in the early days of the fort. However, with imperial restrictions tightening, the trade began to take other forms. In the first half of the 18th century, staples such as those identified by economic historian Harold Innis (e.g., fish, fur, and timber) were increasingly important as they were produced or acquired through extraction and then exported for profit.[26]

These profits were important, of course, to the French empire. The flow of goods was made possible throughout the Great Lakes Region mostly due to the extensive travel networks mastered by Native peoples and eventually navigated by the French. European newcomers to *Pays d'en Haut* observed the sites in which most trade happened between Indigenous peoples—naturally located at the intersections of waterways. French traders and settlers appropriated these spaces and built forts to assert their perceived dominance over their neighbours and trading partners.

These forts were constructed to lay claim to the land and serve as defense against newly acquired enemies. Over time, furs were brought from these trading posts and forts from the *Pays d'en Haut* back to Montreal to be shipped to France. "Michilimackinac became a major *entrepôt* in the upper Great Lakes, and Détroit assumed this position in the lower Great Lakes. Approximately equidistant from Montréal, both were strategically located about halfway to the western extremities of the Great Lakes. They served as interior headquarters for the Montréal traders, as transhipment [sic] points for trade goods and furs, and as major Jesuit missions. Détroit [became] an important military base and was intended to supply agricultural products to the garrisons of the lower Great Lakes…Trade at all posts was authorized by the crown."[27] Whereas, the French government was in support of fort construction as to defend the imperial interests in the region, it often came at a high cost. The cost of constructing and defending these forts was increased by the need to participate in Indigenous means of diplomacy by often dispensing expensive gifts.[28] If not careful with these relations, the French settlers and traders could upset fragile bonds with their allies.

In one account, the Anishinaabeg of the *Pays d'en Haut* were traditional trading partners with government sponsored French exchangers and trappers known as *voyageurs*. These *voyageurs* differed from *les coureurs des bois* after 1681 when it became mandatory to hold a license granted by the French crown to continue activity in the interior of the continent. The fur-seeking *coureurs des bois*, during the 18th century were fiercely denounced by the imperial government as they were viewed as illegally operating in the Upper Country.[29] Thus, at Detroit, the relationship between *voyageurs* and

Indigenous traders could prove a more useful comparison. Yet, alliances between the *voyageurs* and Indigenous nations such as the Anishinaabeg weakened with the closure of the "French post at Michilimackinac, combined with the opening of Detroit, [and it] seemed to signal a change in French policy that could only favour old enemies."[30] Imperial policies instituted by the French were often enacted with poor understanding of the complexities of the fur trade and the players involved. The construction and maintenance of forts under European control could prove damaging to existing relations between Indigenous nations and also for Indigenous-French alliances.

Imperial decisions operating from the top-down created schisms in the delicate relationships between groups in the 'French River World'.[31] Thus, "the French decision to establish a new settlement at Detroit the same year only deepened these divisions."[32] This decision was executed on the ground by Antoine Laumet de la Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac in 1701 and marked a critical period in the history of New France.[33] Not only was Detroit founded in this year, but later the same year and further up the Saint Lawrence River, The Great Peace of Montreal attempted to secure peace between the French Empire and thirty-nine distinct Indigenous nations. Cadillac believed that the establishment of Detroit would bring further peace to New France and would solidify alliances with Indigenous nations.[34] After petitioning Louis Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain, Cadillac garnered support for his mission. His official goal to develop a colony and defend French commercial interests was appealing to France.[35]

Cadillac was a man caught between two worlds. He worked diligently to appease his imperial superiors in Montreal, Quebec, and France. Yet, he had other plans for himself and for the future settlement of Detroit. Cadillac craved control and sought personal wealth while imperial leaders were grasping at straws trying to control illegal trade and the actions of independent actors like the *coureurs des bois* and Indigenous traders.

CADILLAC, CONTROL, AND LES COUREURS DES BOIS

By the end of the 17th century, conflicts with Indigenous nations were mounting as resource extraction and competing interests dominated the landscape of the Great Lakes Region. Colonial leaders were catalysts of problems with the fur trade. The French announced in the year "1696 that they were closing their western posts and withdrawing their traders from the *Pays d'en Haut*. Citing a glut in the market for beaver furs, and continued frustration with their inability to regulate the movements and trade of the *coureurs des bois*, the crown decided to restrict all trade to the St. Lawrence Valley."[36]

Coupled with the perceived threat of British intrusion, the instability of Indigenous alliances with the French and between distinct nations opened up the possibility for Antoine Laumet de la Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac to convince colonial officials to let him solidify a French post at "The Straits".[37] As the French were abandoning other posts, fears of possible English and Iroquois violence heightened. This imperial anxiety was used by Cadillac to advance his personal ambitions.[38]

In addition to the fear of conflict with other nations, Cadillac had won over the imperial powers by emphasizing the importance of commerce for the French state and the spread of Catholicism throughout the *Pays d'en Haut*. After two trips to France to petition the Crown to allow the construction of a fort at Detroit, the King approved Cadillac's plan and awarded financial support. However, this support was to be channeled through a new enterprise called the *Compagnie du Canada*: Cadillac himself was to directly work for the company.[39] Much to his delight, the company began to experience financial difficulties and ultimately in 1705, he gained control of the fort.[40] Through promises of profit, Cadillac was able to persuade French, Catholic settlers and fur traders to use the fort to their advantage. However, he was planning to pocket more than his fair share of the wealth.[41]

As McConnell observes, "when Cadillac established the post at Detroit, he signaled French intentions to welcome all the Western nations. He also claimed they would help mediate peace between nations in conflict, usurping the Anishinaabeg role at Michilimackinac. Colonial officials dreamed of an extensive and more peaceful Western alliance that would bankroll and secure their foothold in North America. Cadillac dreamed of the personal riches that would accrue to him by making Detroit the preeminent post for a vastly extended trading network."[42] This trading network certainly included the movement of beaver pelts throughout French North America but was also a site of exchange for other goods. In fact, one of the most important commodities to be traded at Detroit, from its designation as a geographical territory under French control until its loss to the British in 1760, was actually deer hides.[43] Along with various animal products, land around the fort became a commodity. Prior to his dismissal from Detroit's post, ten years after founding the fort, Cadillac benefited from control of land. Out of 353 valuable acres of land that were available to settlers, Cadillac possessed 157 of them.[44]

A complex character, Antoine Laumet de la Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac, was also at odds with the Jesuit missionaries of New France.[45] As the Jesuits frowned upon the exchanges between Native populations and French traders, bitter Cadillac found them a hindrance to his personal and professional

mission at Detroit.[46] However, he did find that the education of Indigenous peoples in Catholic, European ways was worthwhile, even if he believed that their baptism was meaningless.[47] Cadillac, believing the Indigenous peoples he encountered were subaltern part of the human family, "had a very pronounced policy toward the Indians. Father to them, yes; but equal with them, never."[48]

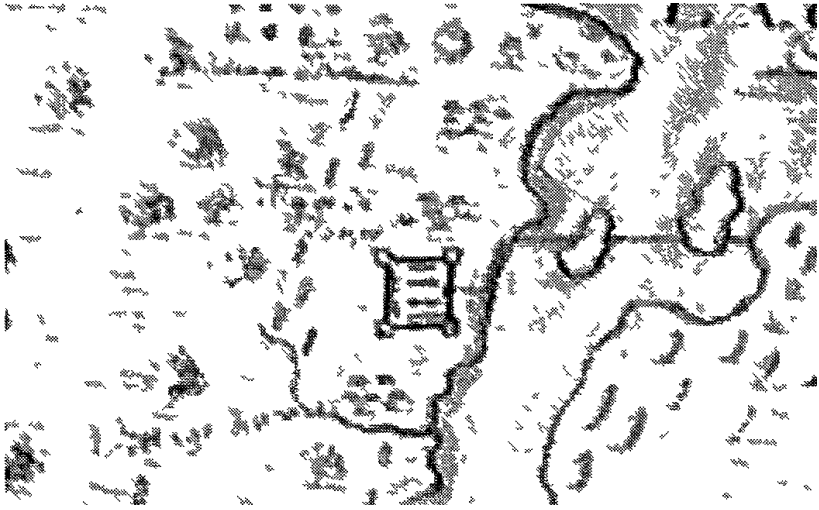

Figure 1

Cadillac's Representation of Fort Pontchartrain du Détroit and neighboring Indigenous settlements 1702.

Even in Cadillac's earliest maps of the fort and surrounding Indigenous settlements, he demonstrates the physical distance between the settlers and the native peoples. Figure 1, adapted from Andrew Sturtevant's doctoral dissertation, is one of these examples. The map detailed by Antoine Laumet de Lamothe, Sieur de Cadillac, is entitled, *Carte du Detroit, 1702*. It was retrieved by Sturtevant from the *Service historique de la Marine*, Chateau de Vincennes, France.[49] The map depicts the settlement patterns of the French and three Indigenous nations: Ottawas, Hurons, and Mohicans (Loups). Each settlement, while nearby, were territorially distinct. Sturtevant argues that, "the peoples of Detroit demonstrated repeatedly in the coming decades that, although willing to cooperate with one another, they continued to be separate peoples with separate agendas and goals."[50]

While Indigenous nations maintained their own agendas, there is no doubt that interaction between these groups was constant and commonplace. Extending beyond typical trading partnerships, Indigenous peoples and French settlers engaged in a variety of impactful interpersonal

relations. Cadillac's paternalistic attitude towards the native people of his new settlement was seldom well-advised. Instead, the relationships between Indigenous peoples and the French presence at Detroit were mutually contingent, wherein all players were active agents in shaping the history of New France in the 18th century.[51]

Despite the flexibility of these bonds, Cadillac's ideas towards Indigenous neighbors and fellow traders shaped the discourses and practices that evolved in the settlement over the course of the 59 years of French control. As the population increased throughout the six decades of continual French presence, the relationships between settler and native groups became more entangled. For example, French settlers and traders on the ground were keenly aware of the possibilities that Indigenous slavery could provide them. In time, the imperial visionaries of the settlement began to understand the important socio-political and economic implications that this form of human trafficking could provide. The Indigenous slave trade "if conducted according to Native customs, offered one of the most important available means of forging and maintaining alliances among Indian nations. This realization would inspire French colonial officials to rethink their policy on Indian slavery, not only allowing but eventually promoting the trade in Indian slaves."[52] Governor-General of New France from 1703-1725, Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil was in accord with the local practices of Fort Detroit. While writing to his superiors in France in 1708, he told the crown that the imperial government in New France was doing everything possible to keep relations with Indigenous peoples agreeable. He noted that "only this alliance can secure the happiness and safety of the Colony [at Detroit]."[53] (McDonnell, p. 83)

Despite his handling of relationships with the various nations around the fort, Cadillac aspired to be in sole control of the settlement at Detroit. However, he was stuck in the middle of politics that were too broad and far-reaching for him to navigate easily. He was ultimately accountable to Quebec and his superior officers throughout New France. He was legally bound by the French Crown to execute his duties honestly in the forming colony. Yet, Cadillac, with his appetite for the economic dominance behaved more like the *coureurs des bois*, often operating outside of the scope of the imperial vision.[54] This behavior was not unique to Cadillac and his short time at Detroit. Rather than stately policy, individual actions by those locally engaged in the politics of place were more instrumental in the formation of settlements and colonies like Détroit, Montréal, Trois-Rivières, and Québec.[55] Unofficial decisions continued to shape the realities at Detroit. Thus, the population and politics at Fort Detroit and its subsequent settlement was more heavily based upon on-the-ground judgments rather than

imperial policies. However, after a decade at Detroit, Cadillac was dismissed from his post, losing his claims to the land, and was appointed as Governor of Louisiana, a vast territory which Cadillac despised.[56]

POPULATION AND POLITICS AT FORT DETROIT

Debates on whether or not Detroit should be viewed as a colony, settlement, or a post, during the period of direct French control from 1701-1760, continue to the present day. Unlike the British forts of the same period, the forts and posts of New France became populated at a significantly slower rate.[57] Detroit's population over the six decades of French control should, however, not be discounted due to its small size. The complexities of population and politics at Fort Detroit are worthy of dialogue. Imperial visions of the trading post that became a fort, evolved into a French settlement, and eventually was taken over by the British were important as money poured into the Great Lakes region. The actions of individual children, women, and men at the settlement were, however, more significant than the French empire's official plans for Detroit.

Strategically located in the *Pays d'en Haut*, the Detroit area was "a tinderbox" insofar as it contained the perfect *mélange* of circumstances to explode into violence or hullaballoo at any point.[58] Potentially explosive because of the mosaic of interloping interests; French and several Indigenous nations were competing for territory and trade that best benefitted them as individuals and communities. In the earliest years of Detroit's function as a French-claimed trading post and eventual fort, the Indigenous population far outnumbered the French population. One of the most significant ways in which the Indigenous population was maintained in the 59 years of French control was through slavery. The French population was able to grow exponentially during this time period because of the various domestic, public, and agricultural tasks that were performed by these slaves and Indigenous allies in general. Figure 2 illustrates the population of Detroit from 1701-1761. In interpreting this data, one must consider that the population here is not mere numbers—the very composition of the types of people accounted for at the Fort differed each year. Originally dominated by French male traders, their slaves, and Indigenous allies, Detroit became more populous as imperial policies and on-the-ground actions proliferated.

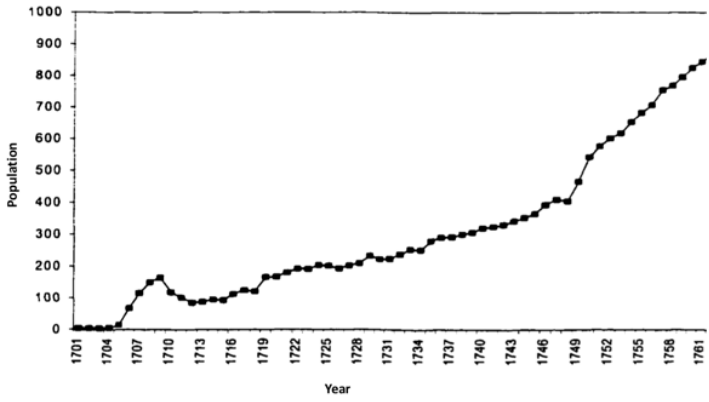

Figure 2

Population at Detroit 1701-1761.

Relationships between individuals were more impactful than the imperial decisions made regions and continents away by the French. Thus, "population growth, migrations, instability among neighboring nations, and exogamous marriages meant relationships [between Settlers and Indigenous peoples] continued to thicken and expand."[59] Kinship networks, both fictive and genetically-based, trade, and warfare were the avenues through which the demographics of Detroit were shaped.[60] The kinship networks certainly included Indigenous slaves and the complex process of their captivity, exchange, and status within society. Rushforth argues that, "Indian slavery became an important component of Detroit's expansion, boosting agricultural production while strengthening flagging alliances between the French and their Indian neighbors. According to Detroit's first census, conducted in 1750, more than a quarter of the ninety-six French families there owned Indian slaves, who constituted about 7 percent of the enumerated population."[61] These slaves were responsible for a wide variety of tasks and were subjected to different regulations than many other enslaved peoples in the continent. Enslavement had a socio-political and economic function. Mostly preferring women and children, victorious nations were able to increase the population in their own nations and compensate for losses in wartime. Males were less desired as they did not have the same reproductive capacity.[62] Captors and slave owners further exploited women, using them as a means to increase population. In fact, traders at Detroit knew that one of the best ways that they could manipulate their environment and increase success for them as individuals was to marry or reproduce with an Indigenous woman.[63] The children of these marriages were often baptized Catholic, but retained many of the cultural aspects of their Indigenous roots as they were often raised exclusively by the mother and her family.[64]

As such, the resulting blending of cultures through the generations contributed to what historian Richard White has coined as the "middle ground" wherein a new type of culture was created and constantly subject to change. Neither French nor Indigenous, this "middle ground" was shaped by on-the-ground realities with little input from imperial decision makers.[65] As the significant amount of Indigenous slaves had less to do with imperial powers and more to do with interpersonal relations in the region, the population at Fort Detroit was heavily subject to warfare and alliances outside of French imperial control.

Trembling between traditional friends and foes, the French were constantly working towards appeasing their neighbors. While "Fort Détroit had a winter population of about 200 [French] and a summer population of perhaps 400 [French] in the early 1750s," the population surrounding the settlement was significantly larger.[66] For example, in the 1750s, just one Jesuit mission in the Great Lakes basin alone was home to more than 2,5000 Indigenous people.[67] Broken promises on behalf of the French imperial government created problems for those in and surrounding the Fort.[68] A combination of imperial decisions and local events and politics led to fall of the Fort to the British in 1760 and served as a warning to the settlements across the North American continent.

THE FALL OF A FORT AND THE SPRING OF A NEW ERA

Decades of imperial mismanagement of the French presence at Fort Detroit proved catastrophic for the settlement and the French stronghold in the Great Lakes region. After Cadillac's dismissal from his post, the French Crown was so preoccupied with its settlements out east and affairs on the European continent that it did not properly develop Detroit. Thus, Fort Michilimackinac became more important than Detroit for purposes of trade and exchange in the Upper Country.[69]

By the mid-18th century, colonial officers were still untrusting of the Indigenous nations that were so integrally linked with the French settlers.[70] Unable to assert their self-perceived dominance in the Great Lakes region, many Indigenous nations began to align with the British over the French.[71] Following a smallpox outbreak in 1757, Detroit was left especially susceptible and the Indigenous groups living in and around the Fort were keen to blame the French for the destruction in their communities.[72] This same year, New France as a whole was suffering from poor harvests and was becoming increasingly vulnerable.[73] An increased reliance on the Indigenous nations within and surrounding the settlement led to a more unequal

balance of power that further undermined the artificial French authority in the Great Lakes basin.

The cultural, political, social, and economic concerns of Fort Detroit were constantly changing in response to the relationships between and amongst Indigenous nations, the French, and competing European colonial powers.[74] Imperial policies thrust upon the settlement were not in accord with the realities of the region, resulting in Detroit becoming more at risk of outside domination. Detroit was thus "defined by the interplay between [its] global contexts—economic, cultural, and political ties, as well as the regulations of uninformed and distant policymakers—and their diverse local actors. In frontier cities [like Detroit], natives and newcomers, hemmed in by practical considerations" of the regional realities, "were shaped by both front-door policy decisions and back-door intimacies and interactions."[75] In the case of Detroit, the distant policymakers and the uninformed decisions regarding policy and practice at the settlement were the key to the demise of the Fort's French control.

However, the French remained the preferred allies of most Indigenous nations as their situation necessitated them to be more vulnerable to the Indigenous people that they encountered and engaged with. Certainly, the British believed they were more civilized and cultured than the French, were even apt to admit the fact that the Indigenous peoples of the Great Lakes region preferred French relations to those of the British. This has little to do with imperial policies and much to do with the way in which people interacted with one another on a more personal level.[76]

The worldwide conflict known in Canada as the Seven Years War ended in 1763 with the Treaty of Paris, with France relinquishing important North American territories. Rushforth argues that "the significance of Natives' regional and linguistic divisions, as well as the ways that slavery both revealed and re-informed them, was lost on most British officials, who carried to the *Pays d'en Haut* a set of ideas about Indians that emphasized their supposed racial similarities over their cultural and historical particularities. By misreading this essential aspect of slavery's history in French North America, British officers blundered their way into a conflict that grew to terrifying proportions in 1763, when an Ottawa warrior named Pontiac struck back after the execution of an enslaved Indian woman at Detroit."[77] After the English gained control of this region, the imperial decisions on behalf of British colonial powers were such that the Indigenous peoples were further misunderstood and weary to trust the new Europeans occupying the Fort. Many of these nations had hoped for a continued experience with the British newcomers that was similar to the relationship they had with the French as they maintained more control and influence.[78]

However, under British control, the inhabitants and traders of the settlement found themselves in a precarious situation. Both Indigenous and French people felt the discomfort of British rule as it was militarized and did not [pay] attention to the already established kinship networks and complex relationships. The British were unwilling to view the Indigenous peoples in the proximity of the Fort as distinct nations—each with their own political, economic, cultural, and social particularities.[79]

In the fall of 1760, Fort Detroit was handed over to the British. This change in leadership was unwelcome and distrusted by those who lived at the settlement, both French and Indigenous. Overlapping intentions, policies, practices, and goals were apparent in the fall of Fort Detroit and the abandonment of the French imperial officers towards the French settlers throughout the continent. With a change in leadership, diplomacy took on a new face and was often subject to harsh criticism.

CONCLUSION

Detroit's strategic geographical location meant that it had been used as a major hub for Indigenous trade long before European arrival and territorial appropriation. As early as the 16th century, French colonial officials knew of the importance of this location and were aware of the people that inhabited and frequented the region. However, this did not prevent European imperialists, namely the French, from regarding—what was later known as Detroit—as a *terra nullius*, belonging legally to no one. Without proper consideration of Indigenous cultures, customs, practices, and relationships, French colonial powers were significantly weakened. The imperial disregard for the complexities of the existing geo-politics of the *Pays d'en Haut* was apparent in the handling of Detroit from its inception as a French fort in 1701 until the British replacement in 1760.

Antoine Laumet de la Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac played a vital role in the history of Detroit. He was not a one-dimensional character who flawlessly served his imperial government. Instead, his personal desires and actions in the first decade of the Fort's existence showed that the local realities were impossible to ignore. His disregard for much of the financial policies imposed by the Crown revealed the influence that the interpersonal relationships and power structures of the *Pays d'en Haut* could have on leadership and colonial management. Consequently, it suggests that the various Indigenous nations within and neighboring the Fort during its decades under French control were active agents in shaping the history of this geo-political region.

The entire colonial New France was shaped by imperial visions and on-the-ground policies, decisions, and alliances. In Detroit's history, these players were all important as imperial and local politics often widely differed from one another in both scope and content. From its founding as a trading post for the French, to its function as a militarized fort, to its eventual fall in 1760 as it was surrendered to the British, the colonial history of Detroit in the 18th century is rife with contradictions.

Imperial decisions, both on and off the North American continent, were made with a certain degree of ignorance and hubris. These decisions were often at odds with the on-the-ground lived experiences of Settler and Indigenous peoples. This discrepancy in understanding ultimately led to the vulnerability of Detroit in the late 1750s and was undeniably tied to the fall of the French regime throughout the continent.

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SUR LES TRACES D'ANNA CANFIELD, AUX INTERSTICES DES ARCHIVES

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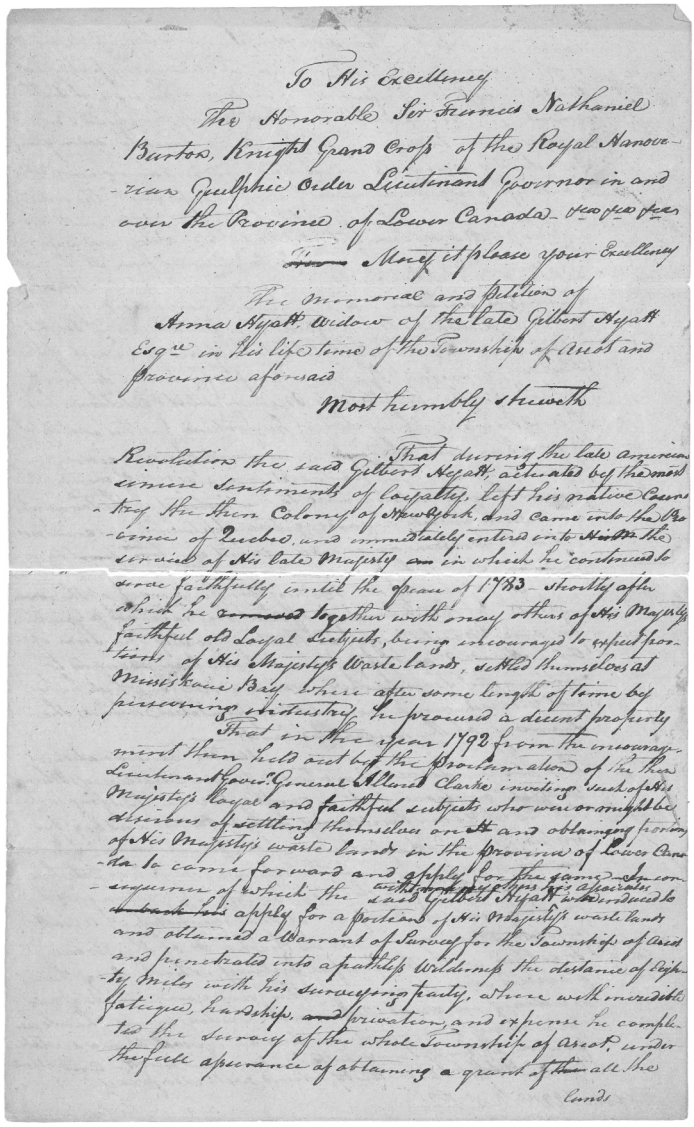
ABSTRACT

Anna Canfield (1772-1825) is much less known than her husband Gilbert Hyatt. To provide a closer profile of this potentially significant figure in the history of the Eastern Townships, we reproduce four key documents related to her life: a deed of sale that she signed in 1812 to acquire vast parcels of land located in what is now the heart of Sherbrooke; a letter written in 1824 to the Lieutenant Governor of Lower Canada (to whom she deftly claims financial compensation); her burial certificate; and lastly, a judicial petition filed by one of her sons after she passed away. These documents illustrate that this pioneer was an active, educated and supportive woman, whose presence certainly influenced the development of the region.

RÉSUMÉ

Anna Canfield (1772-1825) est nettement moins connue que son époux Gilbert Hyatt. Afin de mieux faire connaître cette figure potentiellement importante dans l'histoire des Cantons-de-l'Est, nous reproduisons quatre documents clés liés à sa vie : un acte de vente qu'elle a signé en 1812 pour acquérir de vastes terres situées dans ce qui constitue aujourd'hui le cœur de Sherbrooke; une lettre écrite en 1824 au lieutenant-gouverneur du Bas-Canada à qui elle réclame habilement une compensation financière; son acte de sépulture; et pour conclure une requête

judiciaire déposée par un de ses fils après son décès. Ces documents montrent que cette pionnière était une femme active, instruite et soutenante, dont la présence a certainement influencé le développement de la région.



To His Excellency
The Honorable Sir Francis Nathaniel
Burton, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Hanove-
rian Guelphic Orda Lieutenant Governor in and
over the Province of Lower Canada &c &c &c
May it please your Excellency
The Memorial and Petition of
Anna Aspatt Widow of the late Gilbert Aspatt
Esq^re in His life time of the Township of Ascot and
Province aforesaid
Most humbly sheweth
That during the late americ-
Revolution the said Gilbert Aspatt actuated by the most
sincere sentiments of Loyalty, left his native Coun-
-try the then Colony of New York, and came into the Pro-
-vince of Quebec, and immediately entered into his Majesty the
service of His late Majesty and in which he continued to
serve faithfully until the year of 1783 - shortly after
which he removed together with many others of His Majesty
faithful old Loyal Subjects, being encouraged to expect pro-
-perty of His Majesty's Waste lands, settled themselves at
Missisquoi Bay where after some length of time by
persevering industry, he procured a decent property
That in the year 1792 from the encourage-
-ment then held out by the Proclamation of the then
Lieutenant Gover^r General Alured Clarke inviting such of His
Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects who were or might be
desirous of settling themselves on and obtaining portion
of His Majesty's waste lands in the Province of Lower Cana-
-da to come forward and apply for the same - In con-
-sequence of which the said Gilbert Aspatt proceeded to
apply for a portion of His Majesty's waste lands
and obtained a Warrant of Survey for the Township of Ascot
and penetrated into a pathless Wilderness the distance of Eigh-
-ty Miles with his surveying party, where with incredible
fatigues, hardships, and privation, and expense he comple-
-ted the survey of the whole Township of Ascot, under
the full assurance of obtaining a grant of the all the
Lands

Illustration 1 : Première page d'une lettre datée du 22 décembre 1824, rédigée par Anna Canfield à l'attention de Francis Nathaniel Burton (extrait du document 2).

Depuis près d'un demi-siècle, des historiennes et historiens soulignent combien la sous-représentation des femmes dans les documents d'archives est problématique en cela qu'elle minimise leur apport, qui est dès lors plus susceptible d'être marginalisé dans la production contemporaine. Comme l'observait déjà Micheline Dumont dans les années 1970 : « la majorité des documents sur les femmes [...] ne sont, en somme, que des témoignages indirects. Les principales intéressées n'ont guère laissé de traces dans les archives. » (Dumont, 1975 : 423-424) Le caractère lacunaire des sources primaires sur les femmes des siècles passés est assez généralisé au Québec. À cet égard, les sources sur les Cantons-de-l'Est ne font pas exception.

En fouillant dans les « interstices » des archives, il demeure toutefois possible trouver les traces de quelques femmes importantes, de mettre en valeur les informations récoltées et d'ainsi contribuer à compenser les biais documentaires qui influencent une grande partie de la production historiographique contemporaine. Dans cette optique, notre article vise à faire connaitre quatre des principaux documents en lien avec Anna Canfield (1772-1825), pionnière des Cantons-de-l'Est nettement moins connue que son époux Gilbert Hyatt (~1762-1823). Chaque document est précédé d'un résumé de son contenu, d'une mise en contexte et d'indications complémentaires. Cette contribution s'inscrit dans le même sillon que les travaux de Stephen Moore, qui a publié l'essentiel des *Hyatt Papers* de l'Université Bishop's dans l'édition inaugurale de la *Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est* (Moore, 1992 : 89-108; voir aussi Moore, 1993 : 113-114).

Avant de présenter ces documents, nous offrons une synthèse des principales informations récemment mises en lumière sur cette femme et sa famille. Cette mise en contexte est une version fortement remaniée d'un article précédemment publié (Martin, 2018) qui a été revu et enrichi d'après deux travaux subséquents (Conley, Connolly et Martin, 2019 et Connolly et Martin, 2019). Un retour à ces articles permettra aux chercheuses et chercheurs qui le désirent d'accéder à toutes les sources justificatives et à une mise en contexte plus substantielle.

Nous souhaitons que le présent article, en plus de donner accès à des documents peu connus et difficiles à déchiffrer, contribue à stimuler les recherches sur Anna Canfield et à favoriser la prise en compte de ses actions dans les futurs écrits sur l'histoire de la région.

ANNA CANFIELD : LES GRANDS JALONS DE SA VIE ET LE CONTEXTE SOCIAL

Anna Canfield nait le 7 mars 1772 à Arlington au Vermont de Lois Hard et Nathan Canfield. Quelques années avant sa naissance, probablement en 1768, ses parents quittaient le Connecticut en raison de leur affiliation à l'Église anglicane. Il semblerait que leur foi ne pouvait pas s'exprimer en toute liberté dans leur communauté d'origine, où la tradition calviniste dominait. Les membres de la petite famille, qui sont suivis de nombreux membres du « clan » Canfield, figurent parmi les pionniers d'Arlington. Le père d'Anna s'illustre d'ailleurs comme un personnage de premier plan de la localité, où il fonde une société épiscopalienne en 1784 et joue un rôle important dans la construction de la première église des lieux.

À l'issue de la guerre d'indépendance des États-Unis, les sujets demeurés loyaux à la Couronne britannique migrent en masse vers les terres du nord —que nous appelons aujourd'hui Canada. Aux alentours de 1798, Anna se marie à l'un de ces loyalistes, un certain Gilbert Hyatt de New York, qui partage selon toutes vraisemblances les affinités politiques des Canfield. Quelques années plus tôt, dès 1792, Gilbert et ses associés avaient commencé à arpenter et préparer le territoire du canton d'Ascot en vue de s'y établir. Les premières terres ascotoises qu'ils habitent sont situées au confluent des rivières Coaticook et Massawippi, et correspondent aujourd'hui au hameau de Capelton dans la région des Cantons-de-l'Est.

Peu de temps après son mariage, entre 1799 et 1803, Anna vient s'établir dans cette parcelle du Bas-Canada avec son époux et leur jeune fils Galen. Dans la douzaine d'années qui suivent, elle accouche de 5 autres enfants, Charles, Maria, George, Gilbert et Henry, dans les conditions difficiles que suppose la vie en ce coin de pays encore en friche. En dépit de sa situation précaire, la famille se prévaut tout de même d'une réelle respectabilité sociale dans la petite communauté anglophone dont elle fait partie, conformément à ce que suggère le titre de courtoisie officieux d'*écuyer* (en anglais *esquire*), utilisé par Gilbert pour être symboliquement associé à la noblesse terrienne.

Une documentation riche, amplement citée[1], permet de prendre acte du rôle prépondérant joué par Gilbert Hyatt dans le développement de ce qui deviendra Sherbrooke. Mentionnons, entre autres choses, qu'après avoir dépensé d'importantes sommes d'argent pour l'arpentage du canton d'Ascot, il a fait construire, aux alentours de 1802, un moulin à farine sur la rivière Magog (près de là où se trouve l'actuelle centrale hydroélectrique des Abénaquis). Ces investissements, bien qu'ils aient contribué à la viabilité de

la ville en devenir, ont laissé Gilbert Hyatt fortement endetté. Il s'est alors retrouvé contraint de liquider une partie de ses terrains.

Bien qu'Anna Canfield ne soit pas mentionnée dans les études de référence, ou qu'elle y soit uniquement nommée sans plus de détails, on se leurrerait de l'assimiler à une épouse passive ou effacée qui n'a joué aucun rôle dans le développement de la région. Sans Anna, le cœur de Sherbrooke n'aurait sans doute pas le même visage aujourd'hui. C'est du moins ce que laisse croire un acte de vente daté du 19 aout 1812, passé devant le notaire Léon Lalanne, par lequel elle achète en son propre nom deux lopins de terre à David Moe, un autre pionnier de la région (voir le document 1 et l'illustration ci-dessous). En prenant part à cette transaction foncière, Anna aide activement son époux à récupérer certains terrains qu'il avait perdus. Il n'y avait là rien de particulièrement inhabituel pour Anna puisqu'elle avait signé ses premiers actes notariés au début de son adolescence en 1784, à titre de témoin pour son père, lorsque la famille habitait à Arlington.

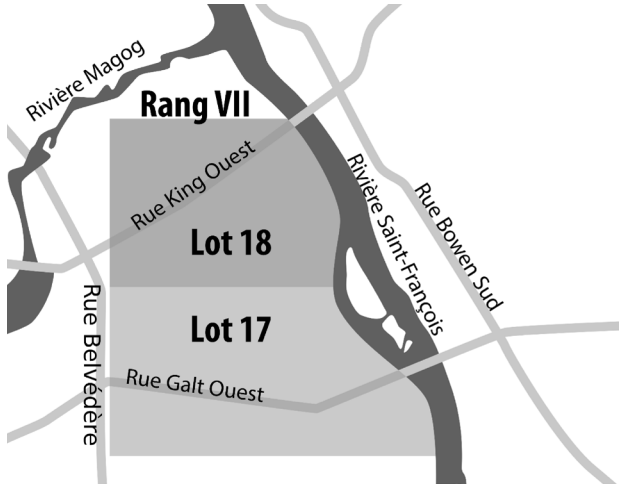


Illustration 2

Carte qui met en évidence les parcelles des lots 17 et 18 du 7e rang, acquises en 1812 par Anna Canfield. Ces terres se situent sur la rive gauche de la rivière Saint-François et sont de nos jours traversées par la rue King Ouest et la rue Galt Ouest (d'après le document 1).

Dans les années qui suivent, Anna retourne parfois dans sa ville natale, comme le révèlent les archives foncières de 1815 et 1821, où figure sa signature.

Un peu plus d'un an après le décès de Gilbert Hyatt le 17 septembre 1823, Anna continue certaines des démarches qu'il avait entreprises et de-

mande que les travaux d'arpentage qu'il avait effectués soient compensés financièrement (voir document 2). Le document permet d'apprécier combien Anna était instruite. Elle écrit pratiquement sans fautes et se révèle être bien informée des affaires familiales et du contexte politique de l'époque. Elle insiste sur la sincérité du loyalisme de son défunt époux, un détail qui dépasse le pur tour rhétorique : Anna était en effet tout à fait consciente que certains colons anglophones avaient été attirés par la promesse de se voir concéder des terres gratuitement, sans être véritablement attachés à la Couronne. Sans qu'il soit possible de le prouver hors de tout doute, les principales données disponibles sur les ancêtres et la descendance de Gilbert Hyatt (voir Boyd, Green-Guenette et Larrabee, 2002) suggèrent fortement qu'il était un authentique loyaliste. Malgré l'allégeance manifeste de la famille et la qualité de la demande d'Anna, l'administration gouvernementale n'accède pas à sa requête, la laissant elle et ses enfants dans l'infortune.

La famille n'est pas au bout de ses peines, puisqu'Anna décède le 23 novembre 1825, comme le révèlent les registres de l'église anglicane d'Ascot (voir document 3). Elle laisse alors dans le deuil quatre fils et une fille, un peu plus de deux ans après la mort de son mari et une dizaine de jours après celle de Galen, son fils ainé de 26 ans.

Le 14 juin 1826, un peu moins d'un an après qu'Anna se soit éteinte, Charles Hyatt, âgé de 25 ans, requiert qu'on nomme un tuteur qui veillerait sur ses trois frères et qu'on nomme un responsable qui s'occuperait des terrains laissés vacants par ses parents (voir document 4). La demande évoque les dettes d'Anna et les quelques biens ménagers, outils agricoles et animaux d'élevage qu'elle laisse derrière elle, un héritage qui offre un vague portrait des possessions matérielles de la famille.

Au-delà de ces bribes d'information tirées d'archives vieilles de pratiquement deux siècles, on n'en sait guère plus sur Anna Canfield. Sans donner prise aux fantasmes hagiographiques ni verser dans de hasardeuses conjectures, il semble tout de même autorisé de considérer que l'histoire de cette pionnière puisse contribuer à jeter une lumière plus franche sur l'idée que nous nous faisons de la colonisation des Cantons-de-l'Est. Comme bien des femmes de l'époque, Anna Canfield est reléguée aux interstices de la documentation de première main. Comme bien des femmes de l'époque aussi, elle est ignorée par l'historiographie traditionnelle, qui sous-représente les membres de certains groupes sociaux, sous les oripeaux d'une scientificité plus biaisée qu'on ne le voudrait sans doute.

Anna Canfield demeure aujourd'hui dans l'ombre, alors que les noms de différents lieux des Cantons-de-l'Est — dont le pont Gilbert-Hyatt — péren-

nisent la mémoire de son époux depuis plusieurs années. Nous souhaitons donc que la toponymie régionale compense les lacunes documentaires et honore un jour cette pionnière à son tour[2].

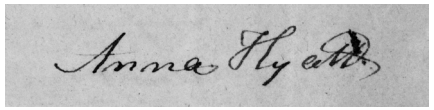


Illustration 3

Signature d'Anna. Bien qu'elle soit systématiquement nommée avec son nom de naissance dans les documents de première main, elle utilise le nom marital d'Hyatt dans ses signatures (extrait du document 2).

TRANSCRIPTION DES PRINCIPALES SOURCES PRIMAIRES

Lors de la retranscription du texte, certains ajustements ont été effectués afin d'en favoriser la lisibilité. Ainsi, afin d'éviter toute confusion avec la lettre f, les s longs (ſ) ont été remplacés par leurs équivalents courts, dans les nombreux mots où la variante archaïque était employée (*aforeſaid, Aſcott, aſignſ, diſtrict, eſquire, heirſ, hiſ, premiſeſ, preſentſ, theſe, thoſe, townſhip*, etc.). De même, toutes les abréviations ont été remplacées par leurs équivalents en toutes lettres, dans lesquels les crochets signalent les ajouts (*afores[ai]d, esq[ui]re, gent[leman],* etc.). De plus, la casse et la typographie ont été légèrement retouchées, afin de se rapprocher davantage de l'usage contemporain, ce qui favorise le décodage des textes. Le cas échéant, les annotations marginales présentes sur les originaux ont été intégrées dans les textes. Enfin, les passages raturés et les parafes présents dans les documents originaux n'ont pas été retranscrits.

Document 1
Acte de vente passé le 19 aout 1812 entre Anna Canfield et David Moe

Le premier document est un acte de vente passé le 19 aout 1812 entre Anna Canfield et David Moe chez le notaire public Léon Lalanne, devant les témoins Moses Nichols et John Sullivan. Les parcelles des lots 17 et 18 du 7e rang, achetées dans cette transaction foncière, se situent sur la rive gauche de la rivière Saint-François et sont de nos jours traversées par la rue King Ouest et la rue Galt Ouest. Par cette acquisition, Anna aide activement son époux, Gilbert Hyatt, à récupérer certains terrains qu'il avait perdus en raison de ses dettes. On remarque qu'Anna se présente chez le notaire sans que son mari soit présent, un fait particulièrement frappant qui rappelle qu'avant l'adoption du Code civil du Bas-Canada en 1866 (qui ne fut modifié qu'en 1964), les femmes mariées étaient en mesure d'exercer leur capacité juridique.

Le document original est conservé à BAnQ Sherbrooke, dans les greffes du notaire public Léon Lalanne (cote CN502, S26). Un facsimilé sur microfilm est aussi disponible dans le même centre d'archives (cote M500, 56). Ce document comporte trois annotations marginales, signalées par un caret d'insertion (ʌ) et parafées. De plus, il comporte quelques mots et passages raturés.

La photocopie d'une retranscription vidimée du document est aussi conservée à la Société d'histoire de Sherbrooke (cote P52.1.118).[3]

Le 19 juillet 1830, une copie du document a été déposée au Bureau d'enregistrement de Sherbrooke (aujourd'hui appelé le Bureau de la publicité des droits de Sherbrooke) par le greffier adjoint Joseph H. Barnard, à la demande de David Moe. Ce document est maintenant archivé au Centre de numérisation et de conservation du Registre foncier. Le document, qui porte le numéro d'ordre 40, se trouve aux p. 28-29 du Registre B (volume A1, 6 juillet au 6 décembre 1830) de la circonscription foncière de Sherbrooke (numéro d'inscription 28 RBA1) .

Ce dernier document a été partiellement reproduit dans un ancien article de journal ([s. a.], 1924 : 7) et a été partiellement reproduit, sous une forme traduite, dans un recueil amateur de glanures historiques (Demers, 1969 : 184).

19 August 1812 sale by David Moe to Anna Canfield

Before the subscribing notary public residing at Shefford in the County of Richelieu in the District of Montreal in the Province of Lower Canada, personally appeared David Moe, of the Township of Ascott, in the District of Three Rivers, yeoman, who, in the presence of the said notary and of the witnesses herein after named, voluntarily declared and acknowledged that for and in consideration of the sum of four hundred dollars unto him in hand well [and] truly paid before the execution of these presents by Anna Canfield, the wife of Gilbert Hyatt, of Ascott aforesaid Esquire, (the receipt [and] payment whereof the said David Moe did [and] doth hereby acknowledge [and] thereof [and] every part thereof acquit, exonerate [and] discharge the said Anna Canfield, her heirs [and] assigns for ever) in manner and at the periods herein after mentioned, he the said David Moe hath, bargained, granted and sold, and by these presents doth bargain, grant, sell, alien, enfeoff, convey and confirm, from henceforth for ever unto the said Anna Canfield, present hereto [and] accepting all the remainder [and] remainders of those two tracts of land situate, lying [and] being in the aforesaid Township of Ascott, known [and] distinguished by lots number seventeen [and] number eighteen in the seventh range of lots in the said Township, the said remainders consisting of all that the said lots contain be-

sides those parts thereof which have been conveyed to Moses Nichols, Esquire, [and] to Willard Carleton and those parts of the said lots which lie on the easterly side of the River St. Francis, the parts hereby meant to be conveyed being what remains of what lies between the said River St. Francis [and] Magog River be the contents of such remainder what it may, as the same is with all the improvements erected [and] made thereon and generally all and every the Estate and Estates, Rights, Titles, Interest, Property, Claims and Demands whatsoever of him the said David Moe of, in, to, or out of the said remainders of lots of land and premises and every part and parcel as the said lots were unto him conveyed by Lewis Gugy, Esq[ui]re, sheriff of the afores[ai]d District of Three Rivers Dated the 7th day of May A[fter] D[eath] 1811.

To have and to hold the said remainders of lots of land [and] premises and every part and parcel thereof with their appurtenances unto the said Anna Canfield, her Heirs and Assigns, to the only use and behoof of the said Anna Canfield, her Heirs and assigns for ever, by virtue of these presents: Subject, nevertheless, to the terms [and] conditions, provisors, limitations, restrictions [and] reservations in the Letters Patent of the said Township of Ascott set forth [and] contained.

And the said David Moe in the presence of us the said Notary and Witnesses for himself his Heirs, Executors, Curators and Administrators, did and doth hereby grant and covenant to and with the said Anna Canfield, her Heirs and Assigns that he the said David Moe and his Heirs, the said remainders of lots of Land and premises and every part and parcel thereof with all and singular their rights, members and appurtenances unto the said Anna Canfield, her Heirs and Assigns against him the said David Moe and his Heirs, and against all and every person and persons whomsoever shall and will so far as regards his own deeds [and] promises only, warrant and for ever defend by these presents. And further, that he the said David Moe [and] his heirs and all and every other person or persons and his and their heirs any thing having or claiming in the said remainders of lots of Land and Premises or any part thereof by, from or under him shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter, upon every reasonable request and at the cost and charges of the said Anna Canfield, her heirs or assigns well and truly make, do and execute or cause to be made, done and executed, all and every such further and other lawful and reasonable act and acts, conveyance and conveyances, thing or things, whatsoever necessary for the further, better and more perfect granting, conveying and assuring of all and singular the said remainders of Lots of Land and Premises above mentioned with their appurtenances unto the said Anna Canfield, her Heirs and Assigns for ever as by the said Anna Canfield, her Heirs or Assigns or their counsel learned in the law, shall be reasonably devised, advised or required.

And for the due execution of these Presents the Parties thereto have respectively made election of their Domicils at Ascott aforesaid, where, [et]c. notwithstanding. [et]c. promising, [et]c. obliging, [et]c. Renouncing, [et]c., thus done and passed at

said Ascott; in the house of [sic] in the afternoon of the nineteenth day of August in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twelve in the presence of Moses Nichols Esq[ui]re and John Sullivan gent[leman] the said Witnesses, and the Parties hereto have to these presents (first duly read according to law) set and subscribed their names in the presence of the said Notary and Witnesses, who, with them the said Parties, have also hereunto set and subscribed our names in faith and testimony of the premises.

[Signed]
Moses Nichols
J[ohn] Sullivan
David Moe
A[nna] C[anfield] Hyatt
L[éo]n Lalanne, N[otary] P P[ublic]

Document 2
Lettre datée du 22 décembre 1824, rédigée par Anna Canfield à l'attention de Francis Nathaniel Burton

Le deuxième document est particulièrement remarquable. Il s'agit d'une lettre d'Anna Canfield à l'attention de Francis Nathaniel Burton (1766-1832), lieutenant-gouverneur du Bas-Canada et chevalier de la Grand-Croix de l'ordre royal hanovrien des Guelfes. Dans ce témoignage de première main, Anna rappelle les grandes lignes du parcours de son époux, Gilbert Hyatt, qui a quitté la colonie de New York après la révolution américaine, pour arpenter le canton d'Ascot et y établir une première colonie permanente. Elle évoque la proclamation faite le 7 février 1792 par l'ancien lieutenant-gouverneur Alured Clarke (1744-1832), qui promettait la concession de cantons en tenure libre et en pleine propriété aux groupes d'associés qui en auraient fait la demande. Elle insiste sur la sincérité des sentiments loyalistes de son défunt époux et sur le fait que les terres sur lesquelles il a résidé 27 ans demeurent la propriété de la Couronne britannique. Elle réclame une compensation de 75 livres sterling et intérêts pour les travaux d'arpentage faits par son époux. Cette lettre suggère qu'Anna était une femme instruite, puisqu'elle écrivait pratiquement sans fautes. Elle était par ailleurs manifestement bien informée des entreprises de son mari, qu'elle décrit en détail.

Il existe deux versions de ce document. La première version de la lettre a été rédigée en 1824, un peu plus d'un an après le décès de Gilbert Hyatt. La seconde version de la lettre est datée du 22 décembre de la même année.

Les deux originaux sont conservés au Centre de ressources pour l'étude des Cantons-de-l'Est (CRCE) de l'Université Bishop's, dans la série « Correspondance » (cote P004-003) du fonds d'archives de la famille Hyatt (cote P004).

Des retranscriptions presque intégrales ont été publiées par Moore (1992 : 103-105) et par le Centre de recherche des Cantons-de-l'Est (1993 : 52-54). Nous sommes parvenus à déchiffrer les quelques mots marqués comme illisibles dans ces transcriptions antérieures.

Dans la transcription qui suit, les passages propres à la version préliminaire de la lettre sont rayés (~~mots retirés~~) et les passages propres à la version augmentée et revue du 22 décembre 1824 sont soulignés (mots ajoutés).

> ~~*Your petitioner begs leave to represent to Your Excellency*~~ *To His Excellency The Honorable Sir Francis Nathaniel Burton, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, Lieutenant Governor in and over the Province of Lower Canada, [et]c. [et]c. [et]c.*
>
> *May it please Your Excellency The memorial and petition of Anna Hyatt, widow of the late Gilbert Hyatt Esq[uire]r in his lifetime of the Township of Ascott and province aforesaid*
>
> *Most humbly showeth*
>
> *That during the* ~~*rebellion in the American colonies, now U[nited] States*~~*, late American Revolution* ~~*your petitioner's husband Gilbert Hyatt Esquire*~~ *the said Gilbert Hyatt, actuated by the most sincere sentiments of loyalty, left his native country, the then* ~~*colonies*~~ *Colony of New York, and came into the Province of* ~~*Lower Canada settling*~~ *Quebec, and immediately entered into the service of His late Majesty in which he continued to serve faithfully until the peace of 1783. Shortly after which he together with* ~~*many other Loyalists in*~~ *others of His Majesty's faithful old loyal subjects, being encouraged to expect portions of His Majesty's wastelands, settled themselves at Missiskoui Bay [Missisquoi Bay] where, after some length of time by persevering industry, he* ~~*accumulated*~~ *procured a decent* ~~*independency*~~ *property*
>
> *That in the year* ~~*1798*~~ *1792 from the encouragement then held out by the* ~~*Proclamation of*~~ *proclamation of the then Lieutenant Gover[nor] General Allured [Alured] Clarke,* ~~*the then Governor of the Province*~~*, inviting such of His Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects who were or might be desirous of settling themselves on and obtaining portions of His Majesty's wastelands in the Province of Lower Canada to come forward and apply for* ~~*the settlement of the waste lands of the crown, your petitioner's husband*~~ *same. In consequence of which the said Gilbert Hyatt with many others [of] his associates was induced to* ~~*embark his fortunes in that business. He*~~ *apply for a portion of His Majesty's wastelands and obtained a Warrant of Survey for the Township of Ascott and penetrated into a pathless wilderness the distance of eighty miles with his surveying party, where with incredible fatigue, hardship, privation, and expense he completed the survey of the whole Township of Ascott,*

under the full assurance of obtaining a grant of ail the ~~land,~~ lands comprised in his survey. Immediately after completing the survey, at great expense in ~~opening~~ assuring a passage into the wilderness for the purpose of making a permanent settlement in his township with his family, he effected this arduous undertaking, where he resided twenty-seven years, constantly using ail his exertions, and enduring incredible hardships and inconveniences in order to promote the individual and general prosperity of the townships, until his excessive ~~fatigue~~ fatigues brought him to a premature end, something more than a year since, leaving, from ail the ~~lands~~ land granted to him ~~and his associates~~, but ~~barely~~ two hundred acres, for the maintenance and support of ~~your~~ Your Excellency's memorialist and petitioner, and six children and considerable debts to be paid ~~from~~ even out of this slender remnant of a more ample fortune. In point of fact ~~your~~ Your Excellency's memorialist and petitioner's husband sunk the bulk of his fortune in this unhappy business—not thro[ugh] any want of due exertion or calculation on his part, but thro[ugh] a series of events, which proved highly detrimental to the ~~interests~~ interest of the townships; and ~~which no~~ such events [regarding the applicants] as could not either before seen or guarded against by any human sagacity prudence or foresight, on his part, ~~could prevent~~.— After paying the ~~whole monies~~ money for the survey of the whole of the Township of Ascott he received a grant of for one moiety only—, so that in reality the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds have been advanced, to ~~government~~, Government twenty-seven years since, for which he has not received ~~not~~ even a ~~nominal~~ normal compensation. towards the survey of the ungranted lands—

Under consideration of the above described nature ~~your~~ Your Excellency's memorialist [and] petitioner feels a confidence in ~~appealing~~ applying to the justice of Your Excellency in her ~~case~~; cause, and begs permission to solicit a return of the monies [money] ~~which the late Gilbert Hyatt Esquire~~ or a remuneration therefore, for the expense which her late husband paid out for the sole benefit of the government by Government in surveying that moiety part of the Township of Ascott, which still remained in the hands of the Crown, meaning £75 together with the lawful interest which may have accrued since; or any other provision which Your Excellency in ~~your~~ great wisdom ~~or~~ and justice may think her case may warrant; ~~and your Petitioner~~, such as an equivalent in a suitable portion of the yet ungranted lands in said Ascott—

And your mem[orisalist] [and] pet[itionner] as in duty bound, ~~shall~~ will ever pray

~~Anna Hyatt~~

Ascot 22nd Dec[embe]r 1824 widow of the late G[ilbert] Hyatt Esq[ui]r[e]

En raison de sa valeur particulière, nous traduisons la seconde version de ce document, afin d'aider certains chercheurs et chercheuses à en comprendre toutes les nuances :

À Son Excellence, l'honorable Sir Francis Nathaniel Burton, chevalier de la Grand-Croix de l'ordre royal hanovrien des guelfes, lieutenant-gouverneur de la province du Bas-Canada, etc. etc. etc.

Qu'il plaise à Votre Excellence que le mémorial et la requête d'Anna Hyatt, veuve de feu Gilbert Hyatt, écuyer [esquire], de son vivant du canton d'Ascot [Ascott] et de la province précitée, montrent très humblement :

Que pendant la récente Révolution américaine, ledit Gilbert Hyatt, animé par les plus sincères sentiments de loyauté, quitta sa contrée natale, à l'époque la colonie de New York, et vint dans la province de Québec, où il entra immédiatement au service de feu Sa Majesté [George III], où il continua à servir fidèlement jusqu'à la paix de 1783. Peu de temps après, avec nombre d'autres fidèles et loyaux sujets de Sa Majesté encouragés dans leur espérance de recevoir des parcelles de terres incultes de Sa Majesté, il s'est installé dans la baie Missisquoi [Missiskoui Bay] où, après un certain temps, par une persévérante assiduité, il s'est procuré une propriété décente.

Que, dans l'année de 1792, les encouragements alors prodigués par la proclamation du lieutenant-gouverneur général Alured Clarke invitaient les loyaux et fidèles sujets de Sa Majesté qui voulaient ou pourraient vouloir s'établir et obtenir des parcelles des terres incultes de Sa Majesté dans la province du Bas-Canada de se manifester et de présenter une demande en ce sens. Par conséquent, ledit Gilbert Hyatt et beaucoup d'autres de ses associés furent incités à demander une parcelle des terrains incultes de Sa Majesté et obtinrent un mandat d'arpentage pour le canton d'Ascot et pénétrèrent dans une nature sauvage sans chemins sur une distance de 80 milles [environ 130 kilomètres] avec son équipe d'arpentage, où, avec une fatigue incroyable, des difficultés, des privations et des dépenses, il acheva l'arpentage de l'entièreté du canton d'Ascot, avec la certitude d'obtenir une concession de toutes les terres comprises dans son arpentage. Immédiatement après avoir terminé l'arpentage, ayant frayé un passage dans la nature sauvage à grands frais dans le but de constituer une colonie permanente dans son canton avec sa famille, il a réalisé cette entreprise ardue, où il a vécu 27 ans, déployant sans relâche tous ses efforts et endurant des épreuves et des inconvénients incroyables afin de promouvoir la prospérité individuelle et collective des cantons, jusqu'à ce que ses fatigues excessives le conduisent à une fin prématurée, il y a un peu plus d'un an, laissant de toutes les terres qui lui avaient été concédées seulement 200 acres [environ 81 hectares], pour l'entretien et le soutien de la mémorialiste et requérante de Votre Excellence et de six enfants, et des dettes considérables à acquitter avec les maigres restes d'un avoir qui fut plus abondant. Dans les faits, l'époux de la mémorialiste et requérante de Votre Excellence a investi son mari a englouti la plus grande partie de sa fortune dans cette entreprise infortunée — non pas en raison d'un quelconque manque d'effort ou de réflexion de sa part, mais en raison d'une série d'évènements qui se sont avérés extrêmement préjudiciables aux intérêts des cantons et des évènements

(concernant les demandeurs) qui ne pouvaient être ni prévus ni prévenus par aucune prudence ou anticipation de sa part qui fût accessible à la sagacité humaine. Après avoir déboursé l'argent nécessaire à l'arpentage de l'ensemble du canton d'Ascot, il a reçu une subvention ne remboursant que la moitié du travail, de sorte qu'en réalité une somme de 150 £ [livres] a été avancée au gouvernement depuis maintenant 27 ans, sans que ne soit reçue de compensation normale pour l'arpentage des terres non concédées.

Considérant la nature de ce qui est présenté ci-dessus, la mémorialiste et requérante de Votre Excellence a confiance en l'esprit de justice dont fera montre Votre Excellence envers sa cause, et requiert la permission de demander un remboursement des fonds investis ou une rémunération en conséquence, pour la dépense que son défunt mari a payée pour le seul avantage du gouvernement dans l'arpentage de cette partie du canton d'Ascot, lequel demeure entre les mains de la Couronne, c'est-à-dire 75 £ [livres] ainsi que l'intérêt légitime qui a pu s'accumuler depuis; ou toute autre disposition que Votre Excellence, dans sa grande sagesse et justice, pourrait juger justifiée par la situation, telle que la concession équivalente d'une partie appropriée des terres non encore concédées dans ledit canton d'Ascot.

Et votre mémorialiste et requérante, comme requis par ses devoirs, continuera de prier.

Ascot, 22 décembre 1824,

Veuve de feu Gilbert Hyatt, écuyer

Document 3
Acte de sépulture d'Anna Canfield dans les registres de l'état civil du Québec, daté du 24 novembre 1825

Le troisième document, demeuré inédit, est l'acte de sépulture d'Anna Canfield, dans lequel il est indiqué qu'elle est née le 7 mars 1772 et décédée le 23 novembre 1825. Elle est enterrée par le ministre Clement Fall Le-Febvre, en présence de trois de ses enfants, Charles Hyatt, George Hyatt et Maria Hyatt.

L'extrait en question est situé à la p. 23B du registre de 1825 de l'église anglicane d'Ascot. Ce registre est conservé à BAnQ Sherbrooke, dans la série « Ascot Anglican Church » du fonds « Cour supérieure. District judiciaire de Saint-François. État civil » (cote CE501, S32)[4].

On this twenty fourth day of November one thousand eight hundred & twenty five, Anna Hyatt, widow daughter of Nathan Canfield & [Lois] Hard his wife, born [on] the seventh of March one thousand seven hundred & seventy two died November

twenty third on thousand eight hundred & twenty five, was buried in [the] presence of her sons & daugther by me.

C[lement] F[all] L[eFebvre]
Minister of Sherbrooke

C[harles] Hyatt
Geo[rge] Hyatt
M[aria] Hyatt

Document 4 — Requête judiciaire déposée par Charles Hyatt, 14 juin 1826

Le quatrième document, aussi inédit, est une requête judiciaire déposée par Charles Hyatt, fils d'Anna Canfield et Gilbert Hyatt, faite en son nom, en celui de son frère George Hyatt fils et en celui de leurs frères et sœur mineurs. Ce document, en plus de comporter les noms de plusieurs personnes de l'entourage de la famille, permet d'avoir une idée du petit héritage matériel laissé par Anna après son décès.

L'original est conservé à BAnQ Sherbrooke (fonds « Testaments. District judiciaire de Saint-François », série « Greffe de Sherbrooke », sous-série « Registres des procédures et des jugements », cote CT501, S8, SS2, contenant 1980-05-703/1).

Province of Lower Canada
Inferior District of St. Francis
Sherbrooke

Ex parte on Petition of Charles Hyatt, and George Hyatt & al. [et alii] minors

To the Honorable John Fletcher Judge of His Majesty's Provincial Court of and for the Inferior District of Saint Francis

The Petition of Charles Hyatt of the Township of Ascot in the Inferior District of Saint Francis, yeoman

Respectfully showeth

That Anna Canfield widow of Gilbert Hyatt deceased in his life time of the Township of Ascot in the said Inferior District of Saint Francis yeoman who died in or about the month of September, one thousand eight hundred and twenty three, intestate, departed this life on the twenty third day of November last past, also intestate, leaving four Sons and one Daughter, to wit, Charles Hyatt, your Petitioner aged

twenty-five years, Maria Hyatt, aged twenty three years, and George Hyatt aged twenty years, Gilbert Hyatt aged fifteen years, and Henry Hyatt aged thirteen years. Minors

That at the time of her decease as aforesaid, she left certain moveable or personal property consisting of Household, Furniture, Farming utensils and Cattle subject by Law to division between them also a variety of Debts, due and owing by and to her the said Anna

That it is necessary that a curator should be appointed for the administration and management of the vacant estate of the said Gilbert Hyatt, and Anna his widow, and also a Tutor and Subtutor for the administration and management of the Property, Rights, and Interest of them the said George Hyatt, Gilbert Hyatt, and Henry Hyatt, Minors as aforesaid, and for the care of their persons

Wherefore your petitioner prays that a competent number of the Relations, and in default of Relations, of the Friends of the said Minors, may assemble at such time and place as your Honor may appoint, to the end that a Curator of the said Vacant Estates, and a Tutor and Subtutor for the said minor children, may in due form of Law be appointed

Sherbrooke, 14th June 1826
Ja[me]s Hallowell
att[orne]y for C[harles] Hyatt

***

Charles Hyatt of the Township of Ascot, in the Inferior District of Saint Francis, yeoman, maketh oath, and saith, that the facts stated set fort in the foregoing Petition are true and well founded

Charles Hyatt

Sworn before me at Sherbrooke this 14th day of June 1826
J[ohn] Fletcher J[udge] P[rovincial] C[ourt]

Set a competent number [of] the Relation and Friends of the said Minors assemble at the Court House in the Village of Sherbrooke forthwith for the purpose of the foregoing Petition

Sherbrooke 14th day of June 1826
J[ohn] Fletcher J[udge] P[rovincial] C[ourt]

***

Province of Lower Canada
Inferior District of St Francis

Be it Remembered that on the fourteenth day of June one thousand eight hundred and twenty six in conformity to an order of mine for that purpose granted on the Petition of Charles Hyatt of the Township of Ascot in the Inferior District of Saint Francis, yeoman, son of the late Gilbert Hyatt and Ann Canfield deceased in their life time of the said Township of Ascot, in the said Inferior District of Saint Francis, praying that for the reason therein set forth a Tutor, and Subtutor should be appointed to and for the administrator and management of the Property Rights and Interest of George Hyatt, Gilbert Hyatt and Henry Hyatt, sons of the late Gilbert Hyatt and all Minors -and for the case of their Persons -and that the nearest Relations, or Friends of the said minors in the said Township of Ascot might accordingly - assemble before me for the purpose of proceeding to the election thereof, the following Persons to wit The Rev[erend] C[lement Fall] Lefevre Rector of the Village of Sherbrooke in the Inferior District of Saint Francis and Nathan Parker of the same place, yeoman, Charles McDougall, David Moe, Sewel Haskell, and Galen Blodget all of the Township of Ascot in the District aforesaid. Yeomen and William Jones of the Village of Sherbrooke in the District aforesaid Mason -Personally came and appeared before me John Fletcher Esquire. Judge of His Majestys Provincial Court of and for the said Inferior District of Saint Francis, at the Court House at Sherbrooke in the said Inferior District for the purpose of proceeding to the Election thereof - and being severally sworn, to choose and nominate fit and proper persons, to be Tutor and Subtutor to the said George Hyatt Gilbert Hyatt and Henry Hyatt and having maturely deliberated thereupon do unanimously choose and nominate Cornelius Hyatt of the Township and District aforesaid yeoman, to be Tutor and Abraham Hyatt of the same place to be subtutor, to the said George Hyatt, Gilbert Hyatt, and Henry Hyatt, which nomination I have approved of and do confirm

And the said Cornelius Hyatt and Abraham Hyatt, being present, on the day and year aforesaid [these presents having been first duly read, and the several Persons herein before, named hereunto set and subscribed their names] do severally declare their acceptance of the said Office and trust of Tutor and Subtutor respectively to the said George Hyatt, Gilbert Hyatt, and Henry Hyatt - and on accordingly now sworn well, truly, and faithfully to discharge the duties of the said offices of tutor and subtutor to the said George Hyatt, Gilbert Hyatt, and Henry Hyatt severally and respectively, according to the best of their skill and capacity, and as the Law directs and have also hereunto severally set and subscribed the signatures

att [sic] Sherbrooke the day and year first above written

C. F. LeFevere
Nathan Parker
Charles McDougall
David Moe
Sewell Haskell
Galen Blodget
William Jones

I do hereby accept the above Office of Tutor
Cornelius Hyatt

I do hereby accept the above Office of Subtutor
Abra[ham] Hyatt

Approved of and confirmed
J[ohn] Fletcher J[udge] P[rovincial] C[ourt]
C[harles] B[ridgeman] Felton P[rothonotary] P[rovincial] C[ourt]

Province of Lower Canada
Inferior District of St Francis

Be it Remembered that on the fourteenth day of June one thousand eight hundred and twenty six in conformity to an order of mine for that purpose granted on the Petition of Charles Hyatt of the Township of Ascot in the Inferior District of Saint Francis Yeoman Son of the late Gilbert Hyatt and Anna Canfield deceased in their life time of the said Township of Ascot in the said Inferior District of Saint Francis praying that for the reasons therein set forth a competent number of the Relations and Friends of the said Minors and your Petitioners might appear Before me at such time and place as I might appoint, for the purpose of appointing a Curator to the Estate of the said Gilbert Hyatt, and Anna Canfield aforesaid deceased, the following Persons to wit The Rev[eren]d C[lement Fall] Lefevre Rector of Sherbrooke, Nathan Parker, David Moe, Sewel Haskell, Galen Blodget, and Charles Hyatt all yeomen of the Township of Ascot, in the Inferior District of Saint Francis and Charles McDougall of the Township and District aforesaid Yeomen and Sawyer and William Jones of the Village of Sherbrooke aforesaid Mason Personally came and appeared Before me John Fletcher Esquire, Judge of His Majesty's Provincial Court of and for the Inferior District of Saint Francis and being severally sworn to choose and nominate a fit and proper Person to be Curator to the Estate of the said Gilbert Hyatt and Anna Canfield deceased and having maturely deliberated thereon to choose and nominate Hiram Bullis of the Township of Ascot in the Inferior District of Saint Francis Blacksmith, to be a Curator to the said Estate, which nomination, I have approved of and confirm - and the said Hiram Bullis of Ascot aforesaid Blacksmith being present on the Day and Year aforesaid

[these presents having been first duly read, and the said Persons herein before named hereunto set and subscribed their Names] doth declare his acceptance of the said Office and Trust, and is accordingly by now sworn, well, truly and faithfully to discharge the duties of the said Office and the trust reposed in him as Curator to such Estates of the said Gilbert Hyatt and Anna Canfield deceased accordingly to the best of his skill and capacity and as the Law directs and has also set and subscribed his signature hereunto

C[lement] F[all] LeFevre
Nathan Parker
David Moe
Sewel Haskell
Galen Blodget
Char[le]s Hyatt
McDougal[l]
William Jones

I hereby accept the Office of Curator
Hiram Bullis

Approved and confirmed
J[ohn] Fletcher J[udge] P[rovincial] C[ourt]
C[harles] B[ridgeman] Felton P[rothonotary] P[rovincial] C[ourt]

ENDNOTES

[1] Voir notamment Kesteman, 1984 et Kesteman, Southam et Saint-Pierre, 1998. Le *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada* consacre aussi un excellent article à Gilbert Hyatt, accessible en ligne (www.biographi.ca/fr/bio/hyatt_gilbert_6F.html), qui est légèrement daté, mais qui a été efficacement retouché en 2020.

[2] Notons que nous désignons Anna comme une *pionnière* et non pas comme une *cofondatrice* de Sherbrooke. La distinction est importante. Comme l'a rigoureusement prouvé Kesteman (1984), Sherbrooke n'a pas de fondateur ou de fondatrice à proprement parler. Il demeurerait toutefois possible, dans une approche conduite dans un esprit de patrimonialisation (à ce sujet, voir Beaudoin et Martin, 2019, p. 43-44), de considérer qu'Anna Canfield représente, comme Gilbert Hyatt, une figure clé de l'établissement de la ville.

[3] Il est possible d'accéder à la numérisation de l'acte en question à partir du site du registre (www.registrefoncier.gouv.qc.ca).

[4] Une copie du document est accessible en ligne sur le site de Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/3966329?docref=xXc0vfbD6OEfhG59CJLYag). Notons que le nom français de District judiciaire de Saint-François, utilisé par le centre d'archive, correspond au nom anglais de *Judicial District of St. Francis*.

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ARCHIVAL AND RESEARCH NOTES ON THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS / NOTES D'ARCHIVES ET DE RECHERCHES SUR LES CANTONS-DE-L'EST

ST. HELEN'S SCHOOL FONDS (P017)

Jody Robinson
Archivist, Eastern Townships Resource Centre

The founding of St. Helen's School, by the Reverend Ashton Oxenden dates to 1875, though it did not open its doors until 1878.[1] Initially called the Dunham Ladies' College, the school was an Anglican private boarding school for girls located in Dunham. The College was marketed primarily for its dedication to the higher education of girls, which was sorely lacking in the rural parts of the province during this period. It also flaunted its healthful location in the countryside full of clean air, which appealed to parents who wished to protect their children from crowded, urban cities. Administered by a corporation composed of Anglican clergymen and lay people, religion was a key component in the education and day-to-day life of the girls but admission to the College was not restricted only to those of Anglican faith.[2]

Dunham Ladies' College encountered many financial problems in the early years and had to close from 1885 to 1888 and from 1890 to 1894. In 1913, with the College still facing financial difficulties, the Corporation leased it to the then principal, Miss Wade. Under its new management, Dunham Ladies' College was renamed St. Helen's School. Miss Wade appears to have been a gifted administrator as the school flourished under her direction and avoided any periodic closures during her tenure, even funding the construction of an extension onto the main building in late 1920s. To the disappointment of many, after 34 years as headmistress ill health forced Miss Wade's retirement in 1947. Over the next 25 years, Miss W.M. Hague, Mary J. Grant, and Warren M. Reid followed in her footsteps as headmistress/headmaster.

From early on and throughout the school's existence, the student body drew heavily from Montreal and the surrounding areas such as Waterloo and Stanbridge, but also attracted students from the United States, the Maritimes, and the occasional daughter of Anglican missionaries abroad. The enrollment rates stayed more-or-less stable throughout the decades with 53 girls enrolled at the school in 1898 and 60 girls enrolled in 1971.

ETRC-P047-015A_005: St. Helen's Basketball team, 1932 (Joyce Marshall fonds)

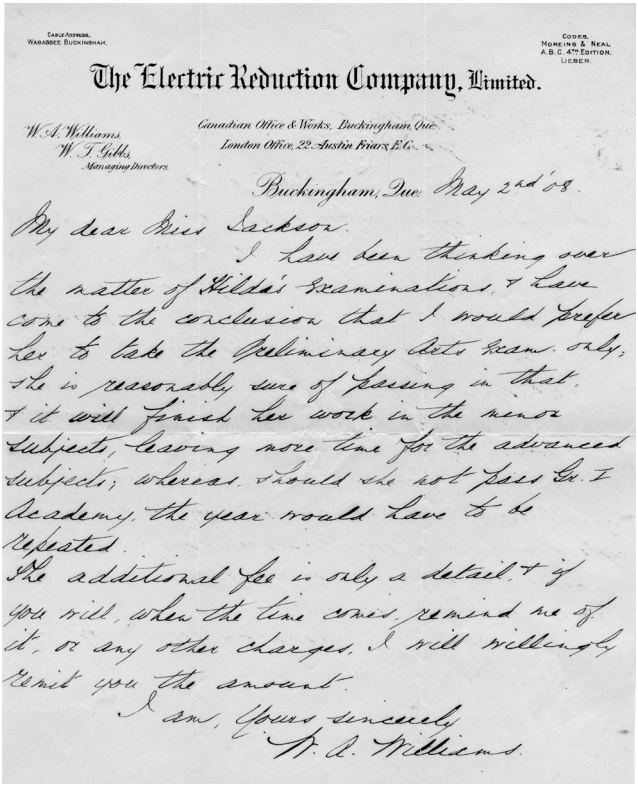
St. Helen's School was Eurocentric in its curriculum and focused on music instruction and languages, including German, Latin, and French. Algebra, book-keeping, drawing, and painting were also included in the early years and later subjects included physics, chemistry, and mathematics. By the 1920s, sports had also become a prominent activity at the girls' school with options including hockey, tennis, skating, skiing, basketball, and horseback riding. Up to the very end, the school retained its European influence and included relatively little relating to Canada or Quebec.[3]

One famous alumna of the school was Joyce Marshall, Canadian author and award-winning translator. Born and raised in Quebec, Marshall spent her last three years of high school in the early 1930s at St. Helen's School. The school provided the setting for her first novel, *Presently Tomorrow* (1946), which recounts the experiences of an Anglican priest and four students during a religious retreat held at school on the girls' final weekend there, set in June 1933. The narration alternates between the priest and Ann Leslie, one of the four girls, who is modeled on the author herself. *Presently Tomorrow* and Marshall's second novel, *Lovers and Strangers* (1957), explored new and delicate aspects of sexual relationships in subtle language that earned substantial critical praise at the time of their publication. The former literary contribution remains of interest for its questioning of the Church's priorities and for the glimpses of life at a private girls' school.[4]

ETRC-P058-010-005-005-001: St. Helen's School, ca. 1930, with addition to the main building (Herbert Derick collection)

One aspect of the school's history that cannot be captured through statistics and dates is the personal experiences of the girls who attended St. Helen's. The school's yearly magazine, the St. Helen's School Magazine reflects some of the vivacity, talent, and—at times—mischievousness of the "old girls" (as graduates of St. Helen's are known, similar to other private girls' schools of the time). In 2020, the ETRC received a new addition to the material already in the archives from Margaret (née Armour) Sellers, student at St. Helen's in the 1940s. Included among the material is a charming scrapbook, which includes the expected school class photos but also many snapshots with clever or descriptive captioning and serves to help paint a fuller picture of the history of St. Helen's.

Facing changing times and financial challenges, St. Helen's School closed in 1972 after almost a century of existence. Many of the girls who had been students at St. Helen's opted to attend the newly co-ed Bishop's College School in Lennoxville. In 1976, the property was sold to *Jeunesse en Mission*/ Youth with a Mission and the original school building still stands today.[5]



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Buckingham, Que. May 2nd '08.

My dear Miss Jackson.

I have been thinking over the matter of Hilda's examinations & have come to the conclusion that I would prefer her to take the Preliminary Arts exam. only, she is reasonably sure of passing in that & it will finish her work in the minor subjects, leaving more time for the advanced subjects; whereas, should she not pass Gr. I Academy, the year would have to be repeated.

The additional fee is only a detail & if you will, when the time comes, remind me of it, or any other charges, I will willingly remit you the amount.

I am, Yours sincerely

W. A. Williams.

ETRC-P017-005A_001 : Excerpt from a Dunham Ladies College school calendar from the 1899-1900 (PSt. Helen's Schools fonds)

ENDNOTES

[1] Unless otherwise noted, the information in this article was obtained from documents in the St. Helen's School fonds (P017).

[2] Dunham Ladies College school calendar, 1879, 1903-04, P017/005a.

[3] Stock, Sandra. "Traditional Education, Changing Times: St. Helen's School, 1875-1972." Quebec Heritage News, Summer 2013. p. 6-7.

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TO BE EQUALS IN OUR OWN COUNTRY

Denyse Baillargeon
Translated by Käthe Roth (UBC Press, 2019), 214 pp. ISBN 9780774838481.

Reviewed by Cheryl Gosselin
Editor-in-Chief / Bishop's University

Once again, Denyse Baillargeon has produced an impassioned and comprehensive examination of Quebec women's history. In keeping with her previous works, *Les Ménagères au Temps de la Crise* and *A Brief History of Women in Quebec*, the author gives her readers a meticulously researched and finely detailed narrative of Quebec women's struggles to gain the right to vote and increase their political representation in the province. Quebec women's long and unique path to suffrage has been taken up as a topic worthy of study by different historians, but Baillargeon is the first to devote an entire book on the many struggles and antagonisms women faced along the path to achieving their desired goals.

Baillargeon begins her narrative by questioning the conventional wisdom as to why it took Quebec women longer to experience enfranchisement than their Canadian counterparts in other provinces—the ideologies of conservatism and nationalism. The author delves deeper into this reasoning to provide a more thorough contextualization of the sociopolitical terrain of the time. It was the fear of politicians and clergy together, desperately clinging to traditional notions of gender roles for women, who sought to limit their influence to the household. Hence their opposition to wives and mothers participating anywhere in the public sphere, let alone the political world. Just as much as the nationalist views of women as guardians of the

nation was a conviction held by many of Quebec's male elites, so too was the affection for family and the Catholic Church among some French Canadian feminists. The adherence of family and religious values shared by feminists, clergy and male politicians led to a lack of radicalism among first generation suffragists which, as Baillargeon explains, caused the delay in obtaining the vote for Quebec women. Although, the author is quick to point out that even if the path to achieving political rights took longer in French Canada than other parts of the country, feminist struggles in many European countries followed a similar timeline to female suffrage.

The author's work spans several generations from the late 1800s to current times. In addition to chronicling the challenges faced by Quebec's suffragist movement, Baillargeon takes the time to invite her audience into the lives of individual women who made the goal of gender equality in all spheres of society their lifetime commitment. Readers will already be familiar with the contributions of Marie Lacoste Gérin-Lajoie, Thérèse Casgrain and Françoise David to women's causes, but Baillargeon also gives due recognition to the importance of Indigenous women to the cause as well as in their quest in seeking social justice for First Nations peoples. The text is number three in a seven-part series on Women's Suffrage and the Struggle for Democracy. Truly a must read for students and scholars of women's history and lovers of anything Quebec.

FROM OLD PROVINCE TO LA BELLE PROVINCE: TOURISM PROMOTION, TRAVEL WRITING, AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES, 1920-1967

Nicole Neatby
(Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018): 339pp. ISBN 97807735549624.

Reviewed by Christopher Kirkey
Editor-in-Chief / State University of New York, College at Plattsburgh

The widespread examination of Quebec's social, political, economic and cultural history has been a longstanding staple of scholarly investigation. In short, there is a recognized cache of excellent general and case study historical inquiries that have successfully contributed to a robust understanding of the workings of Quebec society. A recently published volume by Nicole Neatby, *From Old Quebec to La Belle Province: Tourism Promotion, Travel Writing, and National Identities, 1920-1967,* follows in this tradition. Neatby's outstanding work examines the origins and evolution, between 1920 and 1967, of two concurrent developments: efforts by the Government of Quebec, and city of Montreal, to promote Quebec—both inside and outside of Canada—as a tourism venue; and, publications of leading travel writers (Americans, English Canadians, and French Canadians) to determine their perspectives on Quebec as a tourist destination. What Neatby reveals is a complex, intriguing pathway of shifting priorities that contributed to and intimately reflected significant changes in Quebec's national identity.

The periodization utilized in *From Old Quebec to La Belle Province* is anything but coincidental. The start of "motorized leisure travel" in 1920 aligns with regular efforts by the Quebec state to actively promote the province as a tourism destination. 1967 marks the high water mark in attracting tourists to Quebec with Montreal hosting the world's Universal and International Exhibition (Expo 67). (17) As Neatby argues effectively, the forty-seven year span of Quebec tourism promotion and travel writing not only reflected but also served to accelerate the titanic evolution (and marketing re-branding) of Quebec's national identity from "Old Quebec" to a progressive, modern "New Quebec" with Montreal squarely situated in the foreground of this effort. This transition, the author observes, was effectively recognized and made complete with Expo 67.

While the chapters that focus on the shifting focus of travel writings on Quebec prove to be compelling (especially with regard to pre-conceived characterizations of what constituted Quebec tourism), the brilliant gem of this volume is the careful tracing of provincial-sponsored and municipal (both private and public) efforts focused on tourism promotion. We learn that activities dedicated to attracting tourists to Quebec essentially went through three phases: an initial period, up until the late 1920s, when Quebec was billed as "Old" and "New;" a second and extended nearly thirty year period, running until the late 1950s, during which Quebec was distinctly promoted as "Old"; and, a third episode starting in and around 1960 in which the unmistakable focus of Quebec tourism is punctuated by a commitment to expounding on the virtues and attraction of modern Quebec, most notably with reference to metropolitan Montreal.

Phase one, Neatby underscores, marks the beginning of the state of Quebec "as an active participant in marketing the province as a tourist destination"; a participant that clearly focused, largely spearheaded by the Roads Department, on promoting Quebec's past. (15) "Old Quebec" meant emphasizing "religious festivals … sturdy reverent peasantry … ox-drawn ploughs and dog-drawn carts." (15) Significant investments in "state road infrastructure development and modernization" were designed to facilitate tourism promotion efforts. In short, while "government tourism promoters had come to realize that old Quebec was a drawing card," officials also sought to "make the point to visitors … that Quebec was in step with the modern world." (28, 29). This so-called "double image of the province" encouraged tourists to indulge in the colonial and immediate post-colonial traditions of Quebec, while inviting them "to take stock of the province's extraordinary economic development." (32, 36)

Neatby argues that phase two of tourism promotion was wholly characterized by a pronounced focus on the "Old" Quebec brand; a focus, energetically promoted and championed, and aligned with the preferences of a "traditional nationalist intelligentsia—an elite extremely concerned about the fate of the nation's cultural survival." (37) Direct lines were drawn, most acutely during the years of Premier Maurice Duplessis, "between tourism promotion and questions of national identity"; efforts at double imaging were set aside. (39) "The links made by traditional nationalists between the survival of the province's French character and a healthy tourism industry," Neatby notes, "essentially remained unchanged through the 1940s and 1950s." (62) "National identity should continue to be inspired by tradition and tourism could be harnessed to serve that vision." (68)

Phase three ushered in an equally unique period in tourism promotion: the placement of a "New" vibrant, modern "La Belle Province" of Quebec—led by Montreal. This re-branding, reflected and contributed to the forces propelling the Quiet Revolution in Quebec. The image of Quebec would now be tailored to exude a "secular, urban, and industrialized" society in an effort, "to showcase and celebrate a modern Quebec." (199, 200)

We further discover that the direction of Quebec tourism promotion efforts is intimately tied to the prevailing values and priorities of leading personalities and organizations directly responsible for shaping this effort. Albert Tessier, Paul Gouin, Robert Prévost, Jean Drapeau, Lucien Bergeron, the Montreal Tourist and Convention Bureau ("dominated by members of the English Canadian business elite"), the *Chambre de commerce du district de Montréal*, and the Quebec Department of Tourism, Fish and Game were all central to these efforts. (132, 203)

From Old Quebec to La Belle Province features everything that a superior book volume on Quebec should. The work is grounded in a wealth of primary source archival documents focusing on Quebec government tourism promotion materials, an exhaustive range of informative secondary sources, fifty-four pages of well annotated endnotes, a very useful index, and forty-five black and white illustrations that complement the narrative. Finally, the book features an especially attractive front cover design; in short, a magnificent user-friendly work of scholarship from start to finish.

The story of Quebec tourism promotion and travel writings on the province did not, of course, end in 1967. Tourism has remained and indeed expanded as a significant economic source of revenue for the government, who actively continue to promote Quebec as a leisure tourist destination. Travel writers across the international community further continue to

feature Quebec as a focus in travel writings. These collective efforts, it should be underscored, are united in their depictions of Quebec as a cosmopolitan, modern society with an emphasis on regional landscapes, authentic cuisine, and unique attractions. While it must be acknowledged that current activities regarding tourism in Quebec are severely challenged by the realities of the COVID-19 virus, there can be little doubt that once the pandemic is effectively addressed, Quebec will once again be front and centre in efforts aimed at tourism promotion, and in the hearts and minds of travel writers—a fact so compellingly conveyed in *From Old Quebec to La Belle Province*.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS BIOBIBLIOGRAPHIES

Marie Beauséjour is an assistant professor at Department of Community Health Sciences, Université de Sherbrooke and a researcher at *Centre de recherche Charles-Le Moyne-Saguenay-Lac-St-Jean sur les innovations de santé* and at *CHU Sainte-Justine* Clinical Research Unit in Orthopedics. Prof. Beauséjour received a bursary from *Fonds de la recherche du Québec – Santé* (2018-2022) to develop a 4-year research program on designing and evaluating innovative health care trajectories in musculoskeletal surgical care, evaluating the implementation and impacts of the *Centres de répartition des demandes de services* (Québec's program for regional management of referrals in specialized care), as well as studying collaborative models of care delivery in the orthopedic field (trauma and deformities). She has coordinated the Quebec Scoliosis Network, assumed the scientific coordination of the *Scoliosis Research Society International Task Force on Scoliosis Screening*, and acted as an external reviewer for the *U.S. Preventive Services Task Force* in the publication of *Screening for Adolescent Idiopathic Scoliosis* in 2017.

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Olivia A. Kurajian is a current law student at Michigan State University. Kurajian holds two degrees (BA'19, MA'20) from McGill University, Montreal. She is a multidisciplinary scholar interested in international and comparative histories, museology, and gender studies. While her research spans multiple areas of study, she concentrates upon representing marginalized voices in the academic literature.

Patrick Lacroix is a native of the Eastern Townships and graduate of Bishop's University, Brock University, and the University of New Hampshire. His doctoral dissertation, "John F. Kennedy and the Politics of Faith," is set to appear at the University Press of Kansas in 2021. Beyond his work on modern U.S. religion and politics, Dr. Lacroix is widely published in the field of Franco-American history; his research has appeared in the *Catholic Historical Review*, the *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, and the *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*. He has recently taught at Phillips Exeter Academy, Mount Saint Vincent University, and Acadia University.

Hubert Labelle received a M.D. degree and completed his residency in Orthopedics at University of Montreal, in 1981. He completed a two-year fellowship in Paediatric Orthopedics at Sainte-Justine Hospital in Montreal, Rancho Los Amigos Hospital, CA and the A.I. Du Pont Institute, DE. Since 1982, he has worked in the Department of Surgery, University of Montreal and at St-Justine Hospital. He is currently a Professor of Surgery, holder of the Movement Sciences Research Chair of Sainte-Justine Hospital and University of Montreal, and Head of the Orthopedic Division at University of Montreal. His clinical work focuses on the evaluation and treatment of spinal deformities in children. His research interests are concentrated on the 3-D evaluation and treatment of spinal deformities, with a particular emphasis on computer-assisted surgery, 3-D design and evaluation of braces for the treatment of idiopathic scoliosis, and 3-D evaluation and simulation of surgery for spinal deformities.

Gabriel Martin est détenteur d'une maîtrise en études françaises avec cheminement en linguistique (Université de Sherbrooke, 2020). Ses principaux travaux portent sur le français québécois, la toponymie et la gentilistique ainsi que sur l'histoire des femmes, plus particulièrement sur l'histoire des figures de l'ombre ayant vécu ou été actives dans les Cantons-de-l'Est (Maggie Sirois, Antoinette Beaudoin-Giguère, Monique Béchard, etc.). Ses recherches ont été mises à profit pour nommer de nombreux lieux du Québec en l'honneur de femmes, notamment à Montréal (croissant Alice-Guy, parc Palomino-Brind'Amour, rue Grace-Hopper, etc.) et à Sherbrooke (rue Margaret-Robertson, parc Irma-LeVasseur, parc Thérèse-Lecomte, etc.). En 2019, il a reçu le prix Raymond-Lambert pour ses recherches sur Anna Canfield. Il est auteur et coauteur de quelques livres, dont le Répertoire des gentilés officiels du Québec (2016), rédigé avec le toponymiste Jean-Yves Dugas, et le livre Femmes et toponymie (Éditions du Fleurdelysé, 2019), rédigé avec l'autrice féministe Sarah Beaudoin. Il finalise actuellement la préparation du Petit dictionnaire des grandes Québécoises, un collectif à vocation vulgarisatrice dont la parution est prévue pour 2021.

Carolina Martinez is a chronic pain researcher and knowledge disseminator. She graduated from Bishop's University in June 2019, after finishing an Honors thesis in Applied Psychology. After graduation, she certified herself as a knowledge disseminator at Bishop's. During her internship, she had the unique opportunity to work with Prof. Beausejour, who introduced her to the topic of scoliosis. She has continued research in the field, under her supervision and co-supervised by Prof. Chantal Camden in a Masters in Health Research at Université de Sherbrooke. She finds the historical background of scoliosis to be a fundamental for advancements in research.

Jody Robinson is the Archivist at the Eastern Townships Resource Centre (ETRC) at Bishop's University. After receiving her diploma in liberal arts from Champlain Regional College, she attended Bishop's University where she graduated in 2005 with a B.A. in History and Université de Sherbrooke where she earned an M.A. in History. She has worked with heritage organizations in the Eastern Townships, including the Colby-Curtis Museum and the Eaton Corner Museum. As ETRC Archivist, she is working to preserve the history of the English-speaking communities of the Eastern Townships.


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ABOUT THE ETRC

For over 30 years, the ETRC has been a recognized organization for the study of the Eastern Townships of Quebec. While its Archives Department concentrates on the acquisition of private archives related to the English-speaking community, the Centre's mission, mandate and on-going activities are meant to be inclusive of all communities present in the Eastern Townships.

À PROPOS DE CRCE

Depuis plus de 30 ans, le CRCE est un organisme reconnu pour les études portant sur la région des Cantons-de-l'Est du Québec. Son Service des archives se concentre sur l'acquisition de fonds d'archives privés portant sur la communauté anglophone, tandis que la mission, le mandat et les activités courantes du Centre portent sur l'ensemble des communautés présentes dans les Cantons-de-l'Est.

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