USEFUL FORTUNE:
CONTINGENCY AND THE LIMITS OF IDENTITY IN THE CANADAS
1790-1850

by

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ABSTRACT

In this study I analyze how Lower and Upper Canadians in the period 1790-1850 articulated ideas of the self in relation to concepts provided by the Enlightenment and more particularly by the notion of self-love. Canadians discussed the importance of individual self-interest in defining the self and in formulating the ties that would unite a multitude of strangers who were expected to live in peace with one another regardless of their religious, cultural and social affiliations. Scholarly discussion about the making of identities in the Canadas has, for the most part, focussed on community-defined identities even though it has always largely been accepted that the Canadas were 'liberal' and individualistic societies. The writings of known and educated Canadians show that the making of identities went well beyond community-defined attributes.

To widen the understanding of the process of identity-making in Canada, I have utilized a well-known medieval metaphor that opposes order to contingency or, as in the civic tradition, contrasts virtue and fortune-corruption. It becomes evident that those who insisted on a community-defined identity that subsumed the self in the whole had a far different understanding of contingent motifs than those who insisted on the primacy of the self in the definition of humanity. But both ways of dealing with contingency continued to influence how Canadians came to understand who they were. No consensus emerged and by 1850 the discussions of the Canadian self were rich and complex.

The dissertation pays special attention to the methodological implications of utilizing binary oppositions such as the trope order vs contingency in fashioning the images of peoples and nations in ways that engage 'post-modern' notions regarding the construction of the identity of the 'Other'.

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INTRODUCTION

The Age of Reason regarded chance as the superstition of the vulgar but, contrary to general belief, ideas associated with chance and contingency did not disappear in the 'modern' age. Indeed, they endured and even entered in the service of rationality. Nowhere is the persistence of those ideas more clearly in evidence than in the small and new societies of British North America as the inhabitants of those societies found themselves at once emerging into an era of modernity and striving to build ordered and stable communities. In the first half of the nineteenth century, those inhabitants were particularly mindful that making sense of their circumstances and their identities in the midst of the intellectual, social and political upheaval which they, in common with other western beings, were experiencing involved invoking both old and new ideas.

Ian Hacking tells us in The Taming of Chance that eighteenth century thinkers had not grasped how chance had been put to work in the service of rationality and order. Claiming that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, chance, luck and randomness had been harnessed by those who devised probability mathematics and laws of chance, Hacking argues that the statistical science which emerged from this strengthened order and control in the nineteenth century. Indeed, these sciences enabled the categorization, inventorying and classification of 'normal' human behaviours which contributed to make the world a more predictable and more stable place to live. By the same token, the thrust to enumerate and to categorize defined new classes of people had "consequences for the ways in which we conceive of others and think of our own possibilities and potentialities."[1] Hacking's analysis dealt with the scientific and

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[1] - Ian Hacking, The Taming of Chance, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, P.6. See also his earlier work that traces the passage of chance from a notion of dispersion to one that provided scientists like Leibniz and others with the basis for probability mathematics, a science that enabled the calculation of the probable outcome of things. The Emergence of Probability, a Philosophical Study of Early Ideas About Probability, Induction and Statistical Inference, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975. Barbara Shapiro provides a more detailed account for English society in Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England, A study of the relationships between natural science, religion, history, law and literature, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983. Suzanne Zeller studied how categorization and inventory sciences lead to a new form of Canadian identity in Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

mathematical aspects of contingency and provides a picture of the constructive role played by randomness.

Chance and randomness were concepts that had a greater ambit than mathematical and statistical expressions. Ever since the Ancients, contingency had provided themes and ideas that were discussed by humans who longed for control over their earthly destiny. It provided them with the tapestry against which ordering and making sense of the human experience were constantly being tested. Early nineteenth century Canadians, therefore, inherited a rich baggage of notions and ideas about randomness and made use of it when they negotiated societies of self-interest.

As Christians, they drew from a discourse of contingency that had roots in medieval Christianity which, in part, had settled on the notion of Fortune. Invoking it allowed contingency to be named, given a shape, a gender, a face and a multitude of attributes, allegories, symbols and associations over a millennium or more. Inherited from the Romans who revered Fortuna as a goddess that answered to no God, not even to Jupiter, Christianity both embraced her and rejected her. Studies reveal the important association between Fortune and Christianity and allow us to distinguish the themes that remained important to those who wished to make sense of their earthly passage.[2] Many of these themes were still providing Canadians with a challenge to be met if their societies were to be morally and intellectually meaningful and stable.

The Middle Ages and the Renaissance presented Fortune - undoubtedly a feminine force - as the Goddess of the winds and the seas because primal forces - like her - could not be controlled nor could they

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[2] - The following works analyze Fortune in the medieval and the Renaissance periods along with her association with Christianity. Howard Rollin Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927; The Tradition of Boethius, A Study of His Importance in Medieval Culture, New York: Oxford University Press, 1935; "The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Philosophy and Literature", Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol.III, No.3(July 1922), P.131-235 and "Fortuna in Old French Literature", Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol.IV, No.4(July 1923), P.1-45. Pierre Courcelle, La Consolation de Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire, Paris: Etudes Augustiennes, 1967. Daniel Martin, Montaigne et la Fortune, Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1977. Hanna Pitkin, Fortuna is a Woman, Gender and Politics in the Thought of Niccolò Machiavelli, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. Thomas Flanagan, "the Concept of Fortuna in Machiavelli", in Anthony Parel, ed., The Political Calculus: Essays on Machiavelli's Philosophy, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1972. Jerold Frakes, The Fate of Fortune in the Early Middle-Ages, The Boethian Tradition, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1988. There exists no literature on Fortune in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, something that puts the researcher of the nineteenth century somewhat at a disadvantage.

be owned. From the outset, Fortune was a metaphor for movement and transition. She ruled all human circumstances. She bestowed gifts - riches, power, rank and reputation - that were hers alone to give: fickle and capricious, she distributed them at random seemingly rewarding the unmeritorious and spurning the worthy. She never recognized merit, she was blind. As arbitrarily as she gave them, she took back her gifts altering the circumstances of humans - collectively or individually. Being endowed with her gifts resulted in recipients falsely believing they were worthy of the possessions she bestowed. Therefore those who defined themselves in reference to worldliness acted like her: they acted arbitrarily, were blind to their 'real' worth and wore 'masks' that made them appear what they were not. The ties they formed, the bonds they developed and the conventions and the laws they made to keep them were relative and subject to change. Fortune was Janus-faced. Her appearance was relative to one's perspective; one understood her in relation to the circumstances she herself created. One person's good fortune was someone else's misfortune. When she destroyed the destinies of some, she created opportunities for others and ruled over the period of transition. She ruled the present and the future of the humans embroiled in her artifices: bound to her wheel, they lost control over their destiny. She recognized no human made laws, habits or customs; no laws ruled her. She was known to be the muse of poets and to rule the human imagination. She had no core, no essence, she was unseizable, wandered endlessly, constantly moving about altering the destinies of humans. She was arbitrariness, patternlessness, dispersion and relativism personified.

Christians understood Fortune in two specific ways. One tradition, derived primarly from Boethius' The Consolation of Philosophy, written in 524 AD,[3] viewed Fortune as an agent of Providence that offered Christians the opportunity to reflect on the contingent nature of earthly matters and question the 'truth' behind their worldly positions and beliefs. This enabled them to exercise free will and dedicate themselves

[3] - The work was continuously translated throughout the middle-ages and the Renaissance. Monarchs read it for inspiration and Elizabeth I made a translation of it. Luminaries such as Nietzsche commented on it. It is still used today in religious studies, in philosophy and in intellectual history. All references to The Consolation in this study are to Richard Green's translation, New York: Bobbs-Merill Company Inc, 1962.

to God.[4] Those operating in that tradition saw their encounter with Fortune as an exhilarating and disturbing experience that was useful and necessary in the uncovering of Providential will. In the other tradition, more orthodox and otherworldly, Fortune was simply banished and contingency rejected as a component of God's will.[5] This better known Christian tradition constructed an opposition between virtù and Fortuna and, later, between virtue and Fortune-corruption. This discourse was given its fullest interpretation by J.G.A. Pocock in his seminal work on the civic tradition.[6] Pocock traced the recasting of an Augustinian discourse of denial from early Christianity through the Renaissance and its anglicization in the seventeenth century as it embodied and organized the ideals of the political entity known as the republic. He also provided a re-interpretation of the intellectual baggage that informed the creation of the American state.[7]

The discourse of the civic tradition hinged on the very important notion that virtue offset the deleterious effects of fortune. Republican men could establish and maintain a stable Republic provided they demonstrated at all times, and in common, the selflessness necessary to its existence. That selflessness consisted in denying their natural impulses to satisfy human passions and to acquire earthly rewards: they had to remain 'transparent', untainted by the artificiality and the deceit that defined those who indulged

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[4] - See Jerold Frakes, The Fate of Fortune in the Early Middle-Ages, The Boethian Tradition, Howard Patch The Goddess Fortuna and Daniel Martin, Montaigne et la Fortune.

[5] - For the different Christian stances see entries on Fortune in The Dictionary of the Middle Ages, P.145-147; entries on Fortuna and chance in The Encyclopedia of Religion, P.192-196 and 394, entries on Fortune in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, P.1035-1036 and entries on Fortune, Fate and Chance and on free will and determinism in the Dictionary of the History of Ideas, P.225-236 and P.236-248. As a rule Augustinians shun the notion altogether while Aquinians incorporate the notion but dismiss the goddess and references to Fortuna preferring the less pagan notion of causeless events: res contingentium. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Contra Gentiles, The Third Book, Literally translated by the English Dominican Fathers from the latest Leonine Edition, London: Burns and Washbourne Ltd., 1928 and particularly the section entitled "The World Order" in Summa Theologiae, Latin text and English translation, Introductions, Notes and Glossaries, London and New York: Blackfriars in conjunction with Eyre & Spottiswoode and McGraw-Hill, 1970.

[6] - J.G.A Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment, Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.

[7] - In this he connected with the works of Bernard Bailyn and Gordon Wood, two historians whose works provided a revisionist view of American politics and society. See Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, Cambridge Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1967 and Gordon S. Wood, The Creation of the American Republic 1776-1784, New York: W.W. Norton Co. 1979.

themselves. Morally-minded men of virtue were forever battling their human impulses and when they were victorious they gained access to a stability and a moral worthiness that was contrasted to the arbitrariness, the corruption and the inevitable decline of those who let Fortune gain the upper hand. The opposition between the virtuous and the fortune-driven was replicated in the relationship between republics and corrupt regimes.[8]

When eighteenth century thinkers like Mandeville, Helvétius and others proposed that self-love and the pursuit of pleasure were the natural and universal motivators for human action, they put the discussions on a whole new footing. Inspired by a knowledge of the natural laws that governed the physical world, they found that, far from destroying the individual and his/her sociability, the pursuit of self-interest and pleasure led to the acquisition of riches, power, reputation and rank in ways that contributed simultaneously to the self's perfectibility and complexity and to the public good.[9] This, in turn, enhanced the individual's aptitude to enter into a sociability that facilitated relationships and interdependence with strangers. The 'masks' and the 'deception' that marked a sociability of this sort were discussed openly. The deception involved in formulating codes of morality and behaviours and laying out how these contributed to peace and fellowship

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[8] - The tradition incorporates the more modern notions of court and country and has influenced many Canadian historians in re-assessing the political discourses of Canadians from 1790 to Confederation. See Gordon Stewart, The Origins of Canadian Politics, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986. Jane Errington, The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada, A Developing Colonial Ideology, Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987. Janet Ajzenstat, The Political Thought of Lord Durham, Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988. Louis-George Harvey, "Le mouvement patriote comme projet de rupture (1805-1837)", in Yvan Lamonde and Gérard Bouchard, éditeurs, Québécois et Américains, La culture québécoise aux XIXº et XXº siècles, Montréal: Fides, 1995. Peter J. Smith, "The Ideological Origins of Canadian Confederation", Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique, XX:1 (March/mars 1989), P.1-29 and Allan Greer, The Patriots and the People, the Rebellion of 1837 in rural Lower Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993. Only Allan Greer asked for an analysis of Canadian republicanism that would cross over Upper and Lower Canadian linguistic boundaries. See Allan Greer, "1837-38: Rebellion Reconsidered", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LXXVI, No.1(March 1995), P.1-18.

[9] - Jacob Viner analyzed the religious environment that made this kind of approach possible in The Role of Providence in the Social Order, an Essay in Intellectual History, Philadelphia: Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 1972. Albert O. Hirschman explored the constructive relationship between the passions and the interests in The Passions and the Interests, Political Arguments for Capitalism before its Triumph, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984 and William Letwin studied the natural law framework necessary for such an arrangement in The Origin of Scientific Economics, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1963.

was also taken into consideration.[10] This new group of thinkers thus addressed change and movement in ways that sustained the perfectibility of humans and contributed to growth and civilization. They did so, moreover, in ways that differed significantly from the more orthodox view presented in the discourse of the civic tradition.

In company with Quentin Skinner, J.G.A. Pocock stressed in a particularly important way the idea that thought was always embedded in, and expressive of, a kind of discourse.[11] Beyond mere words lay intellectual traditions and constructs that endured over time and helped explain why contexts and events were interpreted in the manner they were by the men who lived them. Behind words, images and interpretations lay intellectual tapestries that were not always evident to the eye, the ear and the intelligence of the actors but that nonetheless affected, oriented, and sometimes dictated the manner in which things were understood. These tapestries had, at times, such authority that actors became quite distanced from 'reality': we must, in consequence, be wary of supposing that speakers were motivated by the things they said they were. Speech-actors sometimes became captive of the rhetorical devices they used.

Undeniably, the core of the civic tradition, as Pocock reconstructed it, was the incessant battle of manly virtue against a feminine Fortune. This had been recast by seventeenth century Puritans into the struggle between virtue and corruption and a certain reading of Pocock's works shows that the contours of corruption had, in many ways, been borrowed from the attributes of Fortune. Those who sought their self-interest, pleasure and possessions behaved in a Fortune-like manner: they acted arbitrarily, destabilized the republic and corrupted its citizens. Pocock's attention turned to virtue since the enduring strand of intellectual thought he sought to recover lay in understanding it in the various historical contexts of the time; in his works, fortune-corruption was present but did not get explored in its own right. It is my contention it

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[10] - This particular aspect of modernity was explored by Edward G. Hundert in The Enlightenment's Fable, Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

[11] - Quentin Skinner,"Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas", History and Theory, Studies in the Philosophy of History, Vol.III, 1969, P.3-53, J.G.A. Pocock, Politics, Languages and Time, Essays on Political Thought and History, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989 and "The concept of a language and the métier d'historien: some considerations on practice", in Anthony Pagden, ed., The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

should.

A certain reading of contingency centres on the duality between virtù and Fortuna-corruption. Use of this trope clarifies for those who speak it and for those who hear it the opposition between the virtuous and the sinner-corrupted. It dramatically fashions their identities. However, virtuous identities can no more stand on their own than can corrupt ones because they are inherently tied to one another as a result of the trope being utilized. Identity-building never takes place in a vacuum; rather, the images of one group are always weighed against the images of other groups. Canadians made copious use of this identity-building mechanism.

Understood in the republican manner, virtue was the glue that held a community together since it represented the denial of individual impulses to ensure that a community of self-sacrificing beings could endure. Personal identity in this paradigm was subsumed to the whole; it was what individuals shared in common and would fight to preserve that gave them the identity of citizen. Fortune, however, enticed humans into individual pursuits aimed at satisfying private pleasures in ways that broke citizenship ties and risked sending all citizens into a state of unrelatedness (corruption), where, atomized and dispersed, they had no meaning nor identity. From the vantage point of Fortune, however, the story unfolded differently. Indeed, Fortune enticed individuals to acquire her gifts (power, reputation, rank and riches) and then took them back arbitrarily, leaving the individual isolated, cut off from all human ties and forced to reflect on the nature of human worthiness. The deceit that went into the formation of all human ties, even virtuous ones would thereby be revealed. The individual would then be free to start anew. He could re-embark on the wheel and develop new ways of rationalizing the human experience or dedicate himself to God. The paradigm of republican virtue dealt in the elements that entered into the formation of a community-defined identity; one centering on Fortune emphasized the components that went into the making of individual worth and lent itself more readily to understanding how isolated human beings went about creating sociability.

The question of identity is central to Canadian history and it has dominated our historiographical scene in various guises. Canadians have always been concerned with the national identity of Canada in

contrast to that of the United States. In the wake of the Révolution Tranquille, they discussed identity in regards to the duality of the Canadian self. In turn, the attention stimulated an interest in multiculturalism and various new cultural identities came under scrutiny. In the interim, emphases on class, local, regional, aboriginal and gender identities have surfaced. The Meech Lake Agreement, the Charlottetown Accord and the 1995 referendum revealed that all these, in one way or another, are part of the collective view we hold about ourselves.

The making of identities in Canada has been studied through the prism of social categories of analysis. Class, gender and ethnicity have enhanced our understanding of what goes into their formation. Recent works, particularly Joy Parr's The Gender of Breadwinners, have underlined the importance of not getting caught up in single-category analyses because they hinder our ability to recover the complexity and the multiplicity of elements that enter into the formation of identity.[12] For the most part, however, Canadian historians have studied identity from the vantage point of the particular groups that colour and shape the identity of the individuals who belonged to them. Such an approach subsumes the identity of the self in the identity of the group as if individuals did not reflect about themselves as entities existing independently of the qualities they hold in common with others and over which they have no choice. Paradoxically, the group-category approach favoured by Canadian historians overlooks the making of the private identity in societies that are otherwise acknowledged to be individualistic and 'liberal'.

This thesis attempts to show that the process of identity-making in the early nineteenth century involved reflections about the nature of the self conducted in a post-Enlightenment environment that focussed on what were believed to be the universal characteristics of humans. That environment influenced discussions about the identity of the self. It also provided Canadians with the notions necessary to build their collective identities. Following the use early nineteenth Canadians made of the language of contingency, the thesis attempts to draw out the implications of utilizing this particular tapestry to construct these individual, cultural, gender and social identities. In the end, as the thesis will show, doing this permits

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[12] - Joy Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990, P.3-11.

us to speak of them all.

The thesis also attempts to uncover a contingency-oriented narrative in the Canadas and to shed light on the manner in which these pre-Victorian North American societies made sense of their modernity at a time when they had not developed the moral-legal consensus that supposedly characterized the later years of the century. The vocabularies they used were not religiously or linguistically exclusive and do not respect the boundaries which would eventually be set by Canadian historians of the period. The discussion, then, moves between the words of figures from Upper and Lower Canada and between French and English-speaking Lower Canadians because discourses and ideas do not always recognize geographical boundaries or linguistic barriers. Althought there is a much greater emphasis on Lower than on Upper Canada, the thesis is very much about the two.

Canadians inherited discussions on contingency at a time when the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada were in turmoil. Indeed, living in the aftermath of the Conquest and of the French and the American revolutions and experiencing a war of their own as well as rebellions and the union of the two colonies, early nineteenth century Canadians found contingent motifs particularly useful in the fashioning of their identities. Establishing societies of self-interest proved to be a more difficult proposition than it may have appeared to be at the beginning since there existed no consensus as to who or what constituted the contingent elements among them.

Because my intent was to recover the various discussions in play rather than tell the story of particular actors, many citations retain the anonymity that characterized the articles, the newspaper pieces and the pamphlets of the time. In other cases, I have deliberately chosen the words of known figures in Canadian history - Strachan, Thorpe, the Bédards, Blanchet, Papineau, Parent, Christie, Collins, Mackenzie, Garneau, Ryerson - not with any biographical intent in mind but to demonstrate the manner in which even leading figures drew the terms of their thinking from the many vocabularies in use in eighteenth century Europe and earlier.

Motifs and themes of contingency manifested themselves in virtually all departments and activities of Canadian life. Chapter 1 explores how modern Canadians addressed the issue of individual worth in

societies of self-interest where the majority of the inhabitants had not been favoured by Fortune as they charted out the ways in which only meritorious individuals were to be recompensed. They stressed the importance of perfecting natural talents, of working and getting educated so that rewards were earned as a result of individual effort and rational conduct. They further undertook to build institutions that would respect the principles of meritorious behaviours in awarding offices and monetary benefits. As a result, they gained an enhanced sense of self worth and reworked the understanding of the ties that bound strangers together. In their estimation, these new principles distinguished Canadians and their societies from the old world where earthly benefits were bestowed on the wealthy and the well-born, men who were born rich and powerful without necessarily meriting the rewards they enjoyed.

Contingency also came into play when Canadians discussed the terms by which their public reputation - a gift of Fortune - could be made secure in view of the masks, the appearances and the artificiality that were necessary in societies of self-interest in order to foster a peaceful coexistence between unrelated, self-oriented individuals. Indeed, Canadians understood well that a sociability composed of self-interested strangers brought with it public identities that involved artificiality and deceit and that, as a result, their hard-earned reputation was fragile and subject to misrepresentation. Chapter 2 analyzes how Canadians sought to satisfy the need they had to feel that they merited the esteem that was extended to them and to feel secure that the esteem they extended to others was merited. They counteracted the instances where a discrepancy existed between private intent and public display by seeking to harmonize their private and public images and by publicly denouncing when they were not. The efforts they undertook in this regard led them to look inward in order to recover a personal core that remained stable through it all. On the other hand, a modern sociability proved unacceptable to others who saw in it a lie and a deception and proposed a kind of otherworldly sociability free from the trappings of modernity that could still be found in those who had yet to suffer its corruptive effects.

Discussions of growth, comfort and plenty focussed the attention more specifically on one gift of Fortune - wealth - and brought into play the constructive changes to individual and social ties produced by wealth in commercial societies. Here again Canadians were careful to outline the ways in which wealth

could work in a meritorious manner and the ways in which it could not. Chapter 3 studies the articulation of the distinction between wealth that ran counter to notions of human worth and wealth that fostered it. The chapter also shows why land appeared to many as a contingent-free commodity that defined the class identity of those involved in producing food for the many.

Chapter 4 examines how Canadians reacted to their 'democratic' institutions in ways that shaped their identity as citizens. Some Canadians integrated a spacious and ambivalent sociability into an electoral system that took in self-interested individuals regardless of class, gender or ethnicity. Others saw in this capacious edifice the corruption of their privileged political identities. For others still, it put virtue in question. The chapter also examines the attributes of the 'self-interested' and the 'selfless' politician in ways that makes clear the difference between a 'transparent' and a 'negotiated' representation.

Chapter 5 explores how the Enlightenment's theory of stadial development provided the framework structuring images and identities of nations. It became clear that some believed that societies of self-interest which respected the principles of the Enlightenment and accorded esteem according to the principles of individual meritorious behaviour would subordinate cultural identities. However, ethnicity and religion proved to be tenaciously resistant to Enlightenment universality since they were viewed by others as contingent-free and commonly-held attributes that anchored identity in a far more stable and morally acceptable manner. Formulating identities in terms of ethno-religious characteristics involved utilizing the trope order vs contingency in ways that both enhanced and fragmented national identities.

Chapter 6 uses an investigation of historical writing to show how the search for written and immutable truths in the face of artificial and ephemeral human productions manifested a particularly important phase of what was taking place. It also explores the manner in which contingent-related patterns regarding the passage of time shaped the Canadian historical consciousness. The linear, the cyclical and the patternless were marshalled by these writers to identify and place individuals and nations in the grand scheme of things.

Chapter 7 surveys some reflections on prose and poetry to reveal an on-going concern about the productions of the imagination. It continues in this vein by examining how the metaphors, figures of speech,

images and symbols associated with contingency coloured the 'aesthetic' judgements Canadians passed on one another and how they reinforced various identities. The chapter pays particular attention to the gendered nature of the trope that opposes order and contingency.

The written sources include printed pamphlets and magazine articles as well as newspaper pieces, histories, printed speeches and manuscript documents. Poems, plays and novels were also consulted since they were part of the literary legacies of the era and authors frequently wrote poems in addition to their works in prose in ways that fleshed out some of their ideas. The punctuation, the capitalization, the spelling of French and English words as well as the manner of accenting French words varied widely from text to text; these variations were left intact in the quotations unless they impaired the understanding of the text. On many occasions, citations are repeated in different chapters because they add layers of meaning to various aspects studied. Lastly, I have not italicized or underlined citations in French because their numbers alone would have distracted the attention of the reader.

CHAPTER ONE

WORTHINESS AND SELF-INTEREST

Nature provided the reference point when eighteenth century thinkers advanced the argument that humans were naturally motivated by self-love to pursue the praise of their peers while indulging their passions for worldly matters, all the while unintentionally contributing to the public good. Furthermore, they added, the process was neither chaotic nor disorderly but necessary to the order and the growth of civilized society. This manner of understanding human behaviour and its consequences contrasted with the moral and otherworldly sense of matters that, for centuries, had equated social order and stability with the denial of individual self-interest and the curtailment of human passions.[1]

Orthodox Christianity took a dim view of worldly man, seeing him as corrupted by his passions for sensual pleasures and material possessions. To be saved, men had to channel their passions into denying the part of their nature that sought immediate gratification and remain steadfast in their self-sacrificing resolve. Should they fail, and the odds were that they would, men would be embroiled in the web of deception that defined the self in reference to worldly matters instead of in relation to God's certain and stable truth. The worldly self, then, was unworthy and corrupted (taking this term in its original Latin sense of 'unrelated'). It stood alone, selfishly seeking sensual satisfaction in temporary worldly things and falsely believing that the framework of human ties that possessions created, and that defined the self, constituted a true and stable edifice.[2]

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[1] - For the process by which self-love and self-interest become regarded as a way of allowing the passions to work for public as well as personal purposes, see Albert Hirschman, The Passions and the Interests, Political Arguments for Capitalism before its Triumph, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977. See also Nannerl Keohane, Philosophy and the State in France, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980, Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff, eds., Wealth and Virtue, the Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983 and Edward Hundert, The Enlightenment's Fable, Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

[2] - According to Christians, sceptics and epicurians indulged their pleasures and their passions in consequence of their beliefs in the arbitrariness and the unpredictability of the order in which they lived.

At the time of the Renaissance, the otherworldly understanding of the self was recast into a political discourse known as the civic tradition, civic humanism or republicanism.[3] Rejecting medieval contemplation and escape from worldly affairs, the civic tradition proposed active participation in political life while rejecting self-interested action. Men could gain a measure of political stability and forge a collective political identity in the republic if they functioned as One by refusing to indulge their individual passions. Unity would endure as long as all citizens, dependent on one another, remained steadfast in self-sacrificing commitment. Within the confines of republican citizenship, worthy citizens transcended their 'worldly selves' and made themselves complete by becoming self-governing. They enjoyed stability and cohesion unhampered by the individualism that accompanied indulged desires and sent autocratic regimes on a path ruled by Fortune. Following the Reformation, Puritan republicans associated community and stability with a 'second nature' closely linked to God's grace and recast the notion of Fortune into corruption.[4] Republican men embraced frugality and the ideals of simplicity and self-sacrifice in contrast to corrupt papal and monarchical regimes which indulged in material possessions and arbitrary rule. By the eighteenth century, European thinkers conversant with new and strange societies pointed to the relativism of customs, habits and codes of morality and looked at universal human features that fostered interdependencies among a diversity of cultures and individuals. Trade could build on these features since trading nations and trading individuals needed peaceful relationships that were mutually beneficial.[5] Trade, however, meant the exchange of worldly goods and entailed a configuration of the self that took into account human passions, material

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[3] - The most comprehensive study of this process is J.G.A. Pocock's The Machiavellian Moment, Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975. For an analysis of a court-country discourse in American society see Bernard Bailyn The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution, Cambridge, Massachussets: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1967. For developments in Britain, consult J.G.A. Pocock, Virtue Commerce and History, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. For application of the court-country model to the politics of Canadian society see Gordon Stewart, The Origins of Canadian Politics, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.

[4] - Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment, P.370.

[5] - Here also Hirschman's The Passions and the Interests is important along with William Letwin The Origin of Scientific Economics, London: Methuen & Co., 1963 and Jacob Viner's The Role of Providence in the Social Order, An Essay in Intellectual History, Philadelphia: Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 1972.

goods and the masks and deception associated with them. They proceeded from a seventeenth century concept drawn from natural law. They relied on a 'state of nature', an imperfect and universal condition from which individuals and societies historically emerged.[6] Shaping, and in turn shaped by, the development of the arts and sciences, individuals and societies developed according to natural laws. Universally motivated by self-love to seek happiness in worldly matters, men found their most dangerous passions naturally curbed by self-interest, since delaying immediate gratification ensured greater personal fulfilment later on. In the process of pursuing self-interest, thus understood, individuals accumulated knowledge and material possessions which attested to their degree of civilization and to their advance towards perfectibility which in turn contributed unintendedly to the growth and civilization of their societies. Humans no longer feared that their passions and their selfish tendencies lead them to their corruption: simply following the designs of nature, they could engage them without fearing the consequences.

Early nineteenth century Canadians lived at a time when societies of self-interest were still in the process of being intellectually negotiated. Many of the concerns they expressed about what was happening can be analyzed against a tapestry of notions about contingency since most of the discussions that went on sought to clarify the principles of human worth. Canadians insisted that earthly benefits be acquired by those who merited them in order to distinguish their society from those where rank, esteem, riches and power had been distributed to individuals in an arbitrary fashion.[7] The modern age, they thought, should stand apart from other ages and places by rewarding the worthy instead of relying on unnatural arrangements that favoured those born to riches and power who were deceived into thinking that they merited their elevated stations. Canadians, then, believed that individuals of the New World would acquire earthly benefits without the intervention of contingency. Furthermore, they remained particularly focussed

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[6] - There was no particular consensus over time as to what the "state of nature" looked like. For Hobbes it resembled a state of war, for Locke, a state of peace and for Rousseau, a state of natural isolation and timidity. For the Encyclopedists and Adam Smith it was characterized by the activity of hunting and gathering.

[7] - Religious authorities had not been able to explain why temporal benefits were not distributed according to virtue or merit. It was largely for this reason that "theologians claimed that a heaven and a hell had been established, so that justice would ultimately be rendered." Viner, The Role of Providence, P.106. The conundrum was central to the story of Fortune.

on demonstrating how individuals could strive for plenty and comfort and become 'civilized' without becoming deceived and, by extension, corrupted by their possessions.

1) MERIT

Self-love motivated all human actions, according to a contributor to Le Canadien.[8] It motivated the brave to face danger in battle; it inspired ministers and priests to meditate or preach; it stimulated those who sought public office; it prompted individuals to seek knowledge and acquire material possessions and it even induced humans to act virtuously. Self-love, then, was "le principe du bien comme du mal, de la vertu comme du vice." The motivator, the author added, was good or bad only according to the objects pursued; the pursuit itself, however, was universal, god-given and not subject to moral judgement. A well directed self-interest contributed to the happiness of the individual and to the public good provided the individual knew what constituted his or her best interest. Knowledge of the self and of its abilities was essential for self-love to work in ways that benefited the individual and society. Otherwise humans would only pursue frivolous pleasures to fulfil immediate and inconsequential wants instead of "des plaisirs solides" that lasted.

Most early nineteenth century Canadians accepted self-love as the universal motivator for actions but sought to gain a measure of influence over the manner in which individuals conducted the pursuit of self-interest and the subsequent acquisition of earthly rewards. Such a natural impulse, they reasoned, ought to be utilized to perfect human talent. The passions could then be channelled into avenues that perfected attributes and contributed to the growth of the individual in a naturally appealing way.[9] Human passions long considered sinful - pride for instance - could if used to stimulate natural talents improve the self. It was to Jacques Viger's pride that his cousin Denis- Benjamin Viger appealed when he congratulated him on the written introduction to a political pamphlet. He urged his cousin to develop this natural gift. "Je

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[8] - Le Canadien, 3 Octobre 1807. The author was commenting on a passage from Helvétius' Réflexions sur le pouvoir de la Raison et des Passions.

[9] - "Discours Préliminaire", Journal de Médecine de Québec/The Quebec Medical Journal, Vol.1, No.1, 1826, P.X.

te prierais donc de t'appliquer à le perfectionner et tôt ou tard tu en tireras avantage."[10] Your talent for analytical writing, he added, could bring you consideration from others and even perhaps the way to earn an honourable living in the future. Jacques' pursuit of self-interest, his kin pointed out, lay in developing a natural talent for which he could be socially recognized and monetarily rewarded. By introducing the perfection of talent, Denis-Benjamin Viger was incorporating a crucial distancing step between the pursuit of self-interest and the mere acquisition of earthly rewards, a step that entailed the conscious decision to improve the natural self. While the young Viger may have had little choice in following his self-interest - this, after all, was a natural impulse - he retained the ability to decide how to accomplish this. Doing it by improving a natural talent would earn him the consideration of strangers, the ability to make a living and a measure of private control over his actions. Enacted in this manner, the pursuit of self-interest gave a measure of moral satisfaction since the individual would demonstrate a rational and disciplined understanding of what it took to advance his or her condition. Furthermore, the rewards obtained as a result would in no way be acquired by chance since that individual could trace the esteem of his peers, his enhanced social status and the monetary benefits he received to the knowledge he had of his natural abilities and to the effort he displayed in perfecting them.

Jacques Viger assured his wife that awarding offices on the strength of merit instead of contacts would mean nothing short of a revolution in manners that would be highly profitable to both the state and to justice.[11] The revolution envisaged by Viger was indeed far-ranging since it involved a new

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[10] - National Archives of Canada hereafter called NAC, Manuscript Group, hereafter called MG 24 L8 M8, Ma Saberdache Bleue, D.B. Viger à Jacques Viger 19 Mars 1809. Jacques Viger was the editor of Le Canadien for a few years and later became Montreal's first mayor. Equipped with a fine sense of history he neatly recopied in several volumes his lifelong papers and correspondence. Denis Benjamin Viger was a prominent statesman who had a lengthy and fruitful involvement in public affairs. At the time of this exchange, he had just published a pamphlet outlining his analysis of current events in Lower Canada entitled Considérations sur les effets qu'ont produit en Canada, la conservation des établissemens du pays, les moeurs, l'éducation etc, de ses habitans et les conséquences qu'entraîneront leur décadence, par rapport aux intérets de la Grande Bretagne, Montréal: James Brown, 1809.

[11] - MG24 L8 M-8, Ma Saberdache Bleue, Jacques Viger à sa femme, 17 Mars 1809. "...il conviendrait, je crois, de songer à établir une autre règle celle par exemple de donner les places aux hommes. Je crois que ce renversement de l'ordre établi serait une révolution profitable à l'Etat et à la justice." Underlined in the text.

understanding about the principles of human worth. Lower and Upper Canadian reformers made the argument for recognition of talents and merit a central element in their battles against the reigning powers. Upper Canadian Francis Collins, the editor of The Canadian Freeman, used that argument to denounce the men who had used the Alien Bill to oust the reformer Barnabas Bidwell. Bidwell, a lawyer "...of deep research, consumate knowledge and superior talents...", had been expelled at the behest of the Attorney-General J. B. Robinson and his friends, "...who were basking in the sun-beams of family patronage."[12] John Rolph used it in his battle for the recognition of Methodists and their aspirations to office and a share of Clergy Reserves.[13] François Blanchet used it to attack the Lower Canadian Legislative Council's notion of creating a nobility in Canada. This would mean disregarding talented and worthy men, something that constituted "...une anomalie politique.." and went against the very nature of Canada.[14] Common to all these arguments was the idea that, in the new world, earthly benefits would be awarded on the basis of talent and merit rather then on the strength of a fortuitous birth that extended unfair advantages to the unmeritorious who remained unaccountable for their actions. Furthermore, as resolution 13 of the 92 Resolutions pointed out, birth, rank and riches conferred artificial advantages based on chance. On the other hand, talents "...que la fortune ne peut acheter..." conferred merited rewards to those who perfected them.[15] Talent was the least manipulable element of the human personality. It fell completely outside the control of any human agency. But though humans could not create it, they could develop it and organize the structures of society in ways that would acknowledge its worth. Those who had perfected their talents would be worthy of earthly rewards, rewards that included the exercise of power and the accumulation of

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[12] - Francis Collins, An Abridged View of the Alien Question Unmasked by the Editor of the Canadian Freeman, York: Printed at the Freeman's Office, 1826. P.3.

[13] - Speeches of Dr. John Rolph, and Christoph'r A. Hagerman, Esq. His Majesty's Solicitor General, on the Bill for Appropriating the Proceeds of the Clergy Reserves to the Purposes of General Education, Toronto: Printed by M. Reynolds, Cor.& Adv. Office, 1837.

[14] - François Blanchet, Appel au Parlement Impérial et aux Habitans des colonies anglaises dans l'Amérique du Nord sur les prétensions exorbitantes du Conseil Législatif de la Province du Bas Canada, Québec: Imprimé par Flavien Vallerand, 1824. P.11-12.

[15] - The 92 Resolutions reproduced in N.-E. Dionne, Pierre Bédard et ses fils, Québec: Typ. Laflamme et Proulx, 1909. P.334-362

riches hitherto largely unavailable to anyone born outside the nobility. Talents alone, however, were not a sufficient base for human worthiness. Since individuals had no control over their allocation[16] humans sought a more reassuring and controllable connection over the consequences of perfecting human talents. They focussed their sights on effort and education as the true measures of worthiness.

[16] - Talents were gifts of nature or Providence. Arguably they were allocated on a random base, something that favoured arbitrarily some individuals over others.

2) WORK AND EDUCATION

Effort became central to the notions of merit and worthiness in the Canadian discussions regarding societies of self-interest. This aspect of modernity had deep roots in Christianity which long regarded idleness as "la maîtresse qui enseigne tous les vices".[17] A necessary if not enjoyable activity, work calmed the passions, even among the totally unskilled, because it channelled time and energy into life-sustaining activities that provided food and shelter.[18] Even when directed at subsisting rather than providing earthly comforts, work distinguished between meritorious and unmeritorious men. The true character of merit, an observer noted, did not so much reside "in the performance but in the effort."[19] Those who could work, and did, proved their worth by not being a burden to society and enjoying a measure of independence. Those who could not work as a result of illness or age were considered worthy of benevolence; but those who could work and chose not to were considered unworthy, idle and dangerous.

Early nineteenth century discussions of what constituted human worthiness in relation to charity distinguished early on between the worthy sick and the unworthy poor.[20] The unworthy poor, or those who received assistance without meriting it, were invariably identified as able-bodied men who refused to work; who, indeed, chose idleness as a way of life. And when men chose to beg they were described by the moral-minded as behaving like animals. "Semblables en quelque sorte à ces animaux sauvages..." these men, bereft of home and hearth, scrounged or begged for food. Idle and wandering, beggars swarmed

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[17] - Nothing good could come from idleness. It was the cause of all disorder according to Bishop Humbert. Pierre Hubert Humbert, Instructions chrétiennes pour les jeunes gens; utiles à toutes sortes de personnes, Québec: no publisher cited, 1802, P.267.

[18] - "Une ressource indispensable contre l'ennui. La nature nous en fait un besoin; la société un devoir: l'habitude peut en faire un plaisir." Magazin du Bas-Canada, Tome I, No.5, Juin 1832, P.223.

[19] - "Introduction", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.I, No.I, July 1823, P.4.

[20] - The discussions preoccupied many European countries since they dealt with identifying the authority responsible for charity and the manner in which it was to be financed. Leading the thinking of the day, Holland proposed to finance the maintenance of the aged and sick poor through municipal levies and to force able-bodied men to work. Le Canadien and The Quebec Mercury conducted a dialogue of sorts on the Dutch proposals during the spring of 1807.

about[21] ready to drink, gamble and become a danger to society.[22] An idle man, warned The Quebec Mercury, "positively tempts the devil."[23] The idle could go to great extent to indulge their inactivity; according to one commentator, some even bought lots in the remotest places to escape public scrutiny and moral condemnation.[24] In other words, idle men were likely to act in fortune-like manner; they would be swept away by their passions and escape the moral and legal injunctions of their fellow humans. In contrast, men who worked would meet their basic needs and those of their families and contribute to social tranquility and order. Working played a socializing function because it coerced man into curtailing his most self-destructive and anti-social impulses in order to provide for his survival and that of his immediate family - something that he was duty-bound to do but could not be morally legislated into doing.

As inheritors of the Enlightenment's civilizing development of the arts and the sciences, Canadians saw work as something more complex than a mere stabilizer of the passions. Work, for them, became the activity by which man improved his natural self, smoothed the roughness of his nature and built his experience into ever more sophisticated and complex identities and behaviours. Working became a many-sided expression of self-interest because it enabled humans to perfect themselves, accumulate earthly rewards and produce useful outputs for which they could be esteemed. Moreover, the activity focussed the attention away from the motives for self-interested pursuits in commercial societies where having good intentions was not sufficient for perfectibility and growth.

The appeal to the passions mediated by self-interest to induce farmers to work permeated the

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[21] - The Quebec Mercury, 5 July 1805.

[22] - Le Canadien, 14 Février 1807 and The Quebec Mercury, 25 May 1807. The 1834 discussions on the Poor Laws in England were framed in much the same terms when it came to worthiness and unworthiness but differed on the method of financing preferring a centralized organization working in conjunction with Parish Vestries. James Struthers' book No Fault of Their Own, shows how much these categories of analysis were still being used in the first half of the Twentieth century. James Struthers, No Fault of Their Own, Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State 1914-141, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1983.

[23] - The Quebec Mercury, 10 October 1808. Christian morality, be it Protestant or Catholic, did not accommodate idleness in any way. The medieval contemplative life never centred on idleness but rather on the active contemplation of God.

[24] - Le Canadien, 26 Septembre 1807.

writings of nineteenth century literate Canadians. For those concerned with such development, it was essential to look beyond the sort of subsistence economy that left men undifferentiated and without scope. Farmers who cultivated for simple necessity lacked the foresight that came from a developed self-interest and, insofar as one commentator was concerned, worked only to meet immediate needs and showed no concern whatsoever for their future: "...le présent seul occupe chaque individu."[25] Others, however, demonstrated an enlightened self-interest when they cultivated with a view to improvement and adopted specialized crops in order to meet market demands. In his bilingual pamphlet on the cultivation of hemp, Charles Taylor emphasized increased yield per acre, easy tending and assured profits, all of which would appeal to a farmer's self-interest.[26] While both kinds of farmer worked, the latter made a more efficient 'use' of his passions by choosing to channel them into endeavours, that, over the long term, yielded greater pleasures. Furthermore, these farsighted farmers contributed, even without intending to, to the growth of Canada and England while subsistence farmers did not. Here was a clear instance in which pursuit of self-interest enhanced the public good. A Terrebonne notary, François-Hyacinthe Séguin, might also reflect that the best way to induce farmers to compete among themselves and ameliorate their agricultural practices was to publicly reward the winners with distinctive honours during the annual fair.[27] The farmers' pursuit of this recognition would produce a twofold result: they would strive to excel in their craft to gain esteem and society would benefit from increased yields. Séguin was not alone in appealing to the passions of ordinary men. William F. Buchan in his Remarks on Emigration published in 1836 sought to entice potential migrants to the Eastern Townships by appealing to their mediated sense of pride and possession: "...by his own industry [the emigrant] stands lord of his grounds and possessing the realities and not the

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[25] - Le Canadien, 20 Aoust 1807.

[26] - Charles Taylor, Remarks on the Culture and the Preparation of Hemp in Canada, Quebec: John Neilson, 1806. P.18.

[27] - MG24 I109, Notes prises à Terrebonne par François-Hyacinthe Séguin, hereafter referred as Notes, 12 Septembre 1831. Séguin thought it better to offer public honours rather than money as rewards. He estimated that the status gained would last while the money would be quickly squandered on drink.

mere name of a home."[28] Taylor, Buchan and Séguin called on the passions of farmers to energize them into altering their habits in ways that added to their wealth and perfectibility without their having to form any intent to profit the general good. They could be enticed into proper behaviours on the promise that in both the short and long term, their social status and their wealth would be increased as a result of their own private exertions which guaranteed that they merited what they acquired.

Work was necessary in order to lay a claim that things acquired were merited: it distinguished one's conduct from that of those who possessed things without personal effort. It was also something which, in a carefully planned commercial environment, made the individual productive year round; this gave a measure of control over leisure time when human minds and hands drifted towards a dangerous idleness. One commentator urged women to continue to manufacture hats because the activity kept them occupied all winter.[29] Another suggested that "Employment could be given between feed time and harvest until other object might offer by introducing summer fallow and hoe crops....It is only by a full employment of time that poverty can be kept out of doors. Indolence has ever proved the mother of distress."[30] The time was ripe to wean farmers from their habits of working according to the seasons and the crops, a way of life that left them without ambition and at the mercy of forces over which they had no control.[31] Without

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[28] - William F.Buchan, Remarks on Emigration: more particularly applicable to the Eastern Townships Lower Canada, Devonport: Baldwin & Cradock, 1836. P.14.

[29] - Le Canadien, 16 Mai 1807.

[30] - The Quebec Mercury, 2 March 1807.

[31] - That the peasantry lived at the mercy of circumstances out of their control was a view that had been around for some time. In 1708 a visitor by the name of Dièreville described the long colonial winters that imparted to the inhabitants habits of idleness. A commentary that he followed by a poem.

L'oisiveté leur plait, ils aiment le repos
De mille soins fâcheux le Pays les délivre
N'étant chargez d'aucun impôts
Ils ne travaillent que pour vivre.
Ils prennent le temps comme il vient
S'il est bon ils se réjouissent
Et s'il est mauvais ils pâtissent
Chacun comme il peut se maintient
Sans ambition, sans envie
Ils attendent le fruit de leurs petits travaux
Et l'aveugle fortune en les rendant égaux

regular, disciplined work, Etienne Parent told his audience, man's intelligence would go unused and his ability to develop the arts and the sciences and improve himself and his condition would go to waste.[32] Productive work, on the other hand, provided humankind with the means to escape the fatalism of less developed societies who believed that uncontrollable forces ruled the course of things. Productive individuals and productive societies, however, could set their own course and gain control over their destiny.[33]

The modern age was first and foremost an active age; an age where private action, whatever its intent, was necessary to ensure the growth of society and the worthiness of those who engaged in it. Indeed, work became an index of civilized behaviour since it contributed to personal and social growth; it also became an index of moral behaviour since it ensured the worthiness of the participants. The moral boundaries of Canadian modernity were made clear by Etienne Parent in his 1847 address when he clearly distinguished between the industrious and the idle. Modern societies would be composed only of "des hommes progressifs ou rétrogrades, des égoistes ou des libéraux."[34] By contrasting a worthy behaviour to an unworthy one in ways that left no doubt as to the nature of right and wrong, of good and evil, Parent set a standard of personal identity and worth that opened avenues to all individuals but, by the same token, also set the limits of free will. Individuals were not free to remain idle but Parent and others believed that they would choose to work once they had been made aware of the personal benefits they could reap if they perfected their talents.

Work was an essential component of commercial society. Without it, individuals could not develop their talents and channel their energies into productive activities. This left them at the mercy of their own

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Les exempte de jalousie.
Cited in Léopold LeBlanc, éditeur, Ecrits de la Nouvelle France, Vol.1, Montréal: Les Editeurs de la Presse Ltée, 1978, P.208.

[32] - "Sans le travail, l'intelligence des hommes ne s'expliquerait pas." Etienne Parent, "Du travail chez l'homme" Conférence prononcée à l'Institut Canadien, 3 Septembre 1847 reproduced in Jean-Charles Falardeau ed., Etienne Parent, 1802-1874, Montréal: Les Editions La Presse, 1975, P.150.

[33] - Ibid., P.155.

[34] - "Du travail", P.166.

unmediated passions, something that made their lives precarious in the present and left them with a future over which they had no control. With work, however, individuals could call on their passions with a measure of certainty that the result would not lead to their decline; working at perfecting their talents, gave individuals a measure of personal control over their lives and ensured that the present and particularly the future could hold something secure entirely due to their own abilities and exertions. As a consequence, humans gained a measure of moral comfort about the social esteem and the material possessions they accumulated since they were the extension of willed behaviours instead of arbitrary circumstances. This type of arrangement liberated humans from thinking that only the 'lucky' - those born to riches and power - and therefore the unmeritorious had a place in society. The working of commercial societies brought with it a reflection on human worthiness grounded in natural talents and personal effort and undermined social ties dictated by time and arbitrary circumstances.

Grounding social esteem in talents and work held much promise for those who wished to change the premises on which public recognition had been extended in the past. While still possessing the potential to foster hierarchy - albeit on different grounds than noble birth - such grounding opened up avenues of worth to wide segments of the population. Anyone who could direct his or her impulses into constructive self-interested actions could become the subject of public recognition in ways that enhanced the individual's stature in the community. Esteem and respect once automatically extended to seigneurs and appointed authorities could be now directed at and obtained by 'ordinary' individuals. The new Canadian age, in theory at least, extended to all those who worked and got educated the tools to access human worth. When two aboriginals tribes petitioned Lord Elgin for their lands, they made it clear that to be able to fully participate in "l'état civilisé", they should be given the chance to acquire an education and work the land, first as farm hands then as owners.[35] According to the moderns, aboriginals, like anyone else, could access earthly rewards in a meritorious manner if they deployed the wherewithal to claim their place in civilization.

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[35] - MG24 B1 Vol.26, Pétition des tribus Algonquines et Népissingues à James Elgin Gouverneur Général, 9 Février 1831. The petition was probably written by John Neilson on their behalf.

Women, as well as men, could be endowed with talents that were far ranging and diverse. Indeed, nothing prevented them from making a contribution to the development of the arts and the sciences and the growth and progress of civilization and, in the process, winning individual social status and monetary reward. As human beings, women were no less motivated than men by self-interest to delay the gratification of their passions so as to acquire greater satisfaction in the future. Enlightenment understanding of personality and the individual held the promise of equality between the sexes.

Women, like men, could calm their passions through work in ways that enabled them to perfect their talents and acquire reputation and monetary comfort in a deserving way. They were under the same kind of Christian injunction to work and needed an environment conducive to the perfection of their natural talents.[36] That environment, however, was not physical labour in the fields but activity in the home. Indeed, a correspondent of Le Canadien was alarmed when he witnessed women working in the fields, a type of activity that was, he thought, the natural domain of men. The practice was contrary to civilized habits and usually found "...chez les peuples abatardis par le despotisme", societies that had yet to adopt civilizing behaviours.[37] Work in the home was the only activity that could develop "..ce coup d'oeil facile, cette dextérité, cet esprit de détail nécessaire pour la conduite de l'intérieur d'une maison..."[38] In calling for women to work in the home, commentators were proposing a work environment that calmed the passions and gave women the opportunity to perfect their natural talents.[39]

Contrary to the civic tradition where women were not only absent from the republic but where the virtue of men - steadfastness, denial, transparency and frugality - was opposed to notions associated with women - profligacy, capriciousness, deceit and instability - Enlightenment-minded Canadians were

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[36] - William Buchan contrasted a worthy woman "skilled in domestic affairs" to an unworthy and useless one "who never washed anything but her hands". Buchan, Remarks on Emigration, P.48.

[37] - Le Canadien, 16 Janvier 1808.

[38] - Ibid. A few years later, another observer questioned the appropriateness of a 1781 ordinance that called women to corvées in times of war. Le Spectateur, 4 Octobre 1814.

[39] - The school reform activist Joseph Lancaster identified a woman's dexterity as "the tendency to industry and civilization." MG24 B1 Vol.15, Joseph Lancaster to Louis-Joseph Papineau, Undated.

concerned with integrating all working individuals in the scheme of things. They extended to women the same categories of analysis they utilized for men. However, the treatment differed in one important aspect. As long as they worked, men could be perfectible in as many areas of endeavours as human nature offered; but women's talents were named: beauty, dexterity and nurturing. By naming the talents of women, men placed them in the scheme of things in a way that limited their sphere of activity and arbitrarily determined for them the path they could follow and the avenues that could earn them merit.[40]

Work enhanced the sense of the self but true self-interest could only be uncovered by education. Here too the drive for knowledge had its source in a natural impulse common to all individuals. Curiosity, according to a correspondent to The Quebec Mercury, was a universal passion that knew no bounds:

> Since then curiosity is a passion inherent in the human mind, in every situation from the gilded palace to the mud-walled cottage and operates with incessant activity upon every degree of human understanding, it is an object of great utility and importance in the right ordering of the mind, to direct the operation of so operative a quality to such object of enquiry as may be conducive to real improvement and lead us to the knowledge of mankind;[41]

Thus understood, curiosity could be harnessed by education to direct the energy of the passions into perfecting the self in ways that accumulated experiences and knowledge and reduced contingent instances. There was something special about an educated person, something that both adorned the self and gained the esteem of others without recourse to artificiality. Indeed, as Lucius pointed out in Le Canadien, education could very well make up for the shortcomings of a lowly birth and obviate the lack of social

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[40] - In her book Taking the Veil, Marta Danylewycz demonstrated that unmarried women - in this case Catholic nuns - found ways of developing their natural talents in supposedly non self-interested avenues other than marriage. Within the institution of the convent, women became doctors, professional nurses, painters and educators while enjoying something like the rights of citizenship when they ran for office or elected their superiors. Marta Danylewycz, Taking the Veil, An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987. By 1852, Etienne Parent was distressed by the lack of openings available to women who wasted their intelligence, their talents and energies in "les occupations sédentaires et monotones de la domesticité." Furthermore, he could see no rapid improvement in a society that barely accommodated the skills of their brothers. Etienne Parent, "De l'intelligence dans ses rapports avec la Société", reproduced in Falardeau's Etienne Parent, P.304.

[41] - The Quebec Mercury, 18 April 1808.

recognition that came with it.[42] But more than anything else, education enabled the individual to recognize his true self-interest and plan his future in a moderate and rational manner.

In 1830, William Lyon Mackenzie published his Catechism on Education, a short pamphlet in which, in the best scholarly fashion, he analyzed the benefits of widespread education.[43] Among other benefits, education would strengthen the more constructive natural qualities of man such as temperance, which Mackenzie defined as: "A perfect command over a man's appetites and desires; the power of restraining them whenever they lead in a hurtful direction; that possession of himself which ensures his judgment against the illusions of the passions, and enables him to pursue constantly what he deliberately approves."[44] Education reinforced the natural qualities that calmed the passions because it encouraged delay of the immediate gratification of pleasures, while charting a way to enjoy them according to true principles of self-interest. Longer life, greater wealth, increased respectability, and other earthly rewards came to those who could channel and control their appetites.

Learning helped man uncover his self-interest by giving him greater insights into his personal character. It illuminated the best way to perfect those talents and qualities that were his exclusively: knowledge, argued a correspondent of The Canadian Magazine, gave "...a man resources within himself; which discovers to him the certain though remote, consequences of vile conduct; and which enables him

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[42] - Le Canadien, 7 Février 1807. See also Quebecensis: "...to give a child an education is to give him that which will supply the place of a fortune." The Quebec Mercury, 29 January 1810. Years later, a correspondent of Lord Gosford wrote that whoever got an education forever acquired "...un bien être impérissable et celui qui le possède, possède le trésor le plus précieux."MG24 BI Vol.30 Un Sincère ami de l'Education à Lord Gosford, 15 Octobre 1835.

[43] - William Lyon Mackenzie, Catechism on Education, York: Colonial Advocate Press, 1830. The pamphlet helps situate Mackenzie intellectually since most of the text is composed of footnotes quoting his sources. They tell of a widely read man, well versed in the philosophical underpinnings of the issues of the day and owning much of his thought to what is currently known as the Scottish Enlightenment.

[44] - Mackenzie, Catechism, P.5. Here Mackenzie shows himself the inheritor of Adam Smith in referring to a natural morality; temperance, as distinct from reason necessitating an act of will, worked naturally to calm the passions. See Hundert's analysis of Adam Smith's natural morality in chapter five of The Enlightenment's Fable.

to employ his talents, to the greatest advantage for himself, his family and his country."[45] Education gave individuals an insight into their own personal make-up and that knowledge permitted the full exploitation of their talents and capacities as well as the assurance that their destiny, if well managed, could unfold predictably. In short, according to noted reformer Pierre Bédard, education enabled man to anticipate the future.[46]

When educated in the workings of self-interest, humans could clearly see the deception at play in purely selfish behaviours and make rational choices about the company they kept. Michel Bibaud's poem on ignorance warned of the uneducated man's tendency to view as sorcerers and magicians people who mesmerized him. Deceived, he too readily extended to them unfounded power: "Il attribue à l'homme un pouvoir surhumain."[47] The uneducated could not distinguish between la poudre aux yeux and truth, between fiction and veiled intents. Particularly vulnerable to deceivers, they tended to put their faith in charlatans and demagogues who were the most adept at deceiving them. The same held true of women who, without education, would be prey to deceivers unless they learned to recognize their best interest in the relationships they developed. As one commentator put it: "When it comes to women, it is undeniable, that ignorance, and the thoughtlessness arising from ignorance are the sources of the greatest number of deviations from virtue and respectability. Ignorance leaves women a prey to the arts of the seducer."[48] Ruled by selfish passions, the seducer sought his own satisfaction, incapable as he was of experiencing "...one generous feeling in behalf of another."[49] Devoid of natural sympathy for his fellow beings, the seducer sought the sort of immediate gratification of his passion. "Studying his own safety alone, he is prepared for the perpetration of every crime, whenever power shall secure his impunity. If fortune permits,

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[45] - "On the Expediency of Educating the people of Lower Canada", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.II, No.VII, 1824. P.17. Written in 1810, the article was published in 1824.

[46] - MG24 BI Vol.32, Pierre Bédard à John Nielson, 2 Janvier 1814.

[47] - Michel Bibaud, Epitres, Satires, Chansons, Epigrammes et Autres Pièces de Vers, Montréal: Ludger Duvernay, 1830, P.52.

[48] - "On the Expediency of Educating the People", P.123.

[49] - The Quebec Mercury, 30 January 1809.

he will be murderer, a parricide, or a regicide, as his present interest may direct."[50] Seducers, like all deceivers, were characterized by an unchecked desire for satisfaction and a propensity to corrupt others through deceit and manipulation and were at risk of becoming ruled by forces like fortune over which they had no control. By coming to understand the passions, by refining the mind, the uneducated acquired the insights into human behaviours that enabled them to differentiate between those who sought immediate gratification through deceit and those who merited what they acquired.

Contingency was prevented from affecting the lives of individuals in other areas as well. Education provided humans with an understanding of the causes of things and therefore undermined the practice of allowing chance to rule the important questions of life. For instance, an ignorant people was unlikely to be able to tell the difference between a good and a bad government and would not have any rational reason for liking the one or disliking the other. Their attachment would be, according to an author, "always accidental."[51] "If by chance" they were pleased with the government they would support it, otherwise they would criticize it for all the wrong reasons and might even engage in activities to change it. But education gave the people a clearer understanding of what constituted good or bad conduct in an administration along with a clearer knowledge of the imperatives that governed rulers. In more ways than one, then, mass education ensured that the process of rule unfolded free from contingencies.

Importantly, work and education levelled the inequality of conditions created by arbitrary circumstances.[52] In the past, only those born rich and powerful had access to earthly rewards. Now anyone could aspire to the greatest achievements in life. Indeed, pointed out William Lyon Mackenzie, many men born of poor parents had risen to untold heights and took their potential as far as it would go. Now

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[50] - Ibid.

[51] - "On the Expediency of Educating", P.19.

[52] - Etienne Parent viewed work and education as essential to "corrige[r] le hasard de la naissance." Parent, "De l'intelligence", P.303.

renowned, famous and even rich, they enjoyed the merited accolades of the public.[53] Etienne Parent was no less adamant in claiming that all humans had an equal right to earthly benefits. In his words, all humans were born equal and "Chacun a un droit égal aux avantages de la société et doit par conséquent être mis en position de pouvoir jouir de ces avantages."[54] The societies and the men and women of the new world would accede to the cornucopia of goods that had previously been arbitrarily reserved for the few including those distinctions of rank that Europe so enjoyed.[55] Le Canadien agreed. In contrast to European societies, North American democratic habits, a correspondent wrote, "n'admettent plus d'autres supériorités que celles des intelligences cultivées."[56] New World societies would extend esteem only to those who were worthy of it. Canadians became adamant about linking the esteem they extended in ways that were free of the irrationality and arbitrariness of European systems. Contrasting their sense of worthiness with the habits of Europe contributed to giving Canadians an identity that was distinct and 'American'.

In a system that accepted that humans were motivated by their passions and their self-interest, delayed gratification replaced denial as the expression of virtue. Indeed, modern Canadians differentiated between those who sought the selfish and immediate satisfaction of their pleasures and those who acted according to an enlightened self-interest. They marshalled the language of contingency that had characterized all those who sought their self-interest and reserved it for those who had not learned the moderation necessary to function as civilized beings. In doing so, they opened up the avenues of worth and growth to individuals who had been previously excluded from participating in a sociability reserved for

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[53] - Mackenzie cited the names of Haydn, Castalio, l'Abbé Hautefeuille, John Prideaux, Sir Edmund Saunders, Linnaeus, Ben Johnson, Molière and countless other renown figures whose parents were of low birth. Catechism on Education, P.13. According to The Quebec Mercury, without education a man could not rise higher than a manual labourer "while a man of education may, if he is ambitious aspire to govern empires." 29 January 1810.

[54] - Parent, "Du travail", P.161.

[55] - One author insisted of North America that: "That high aristocratic feeling which unfortunately prevails in circles in Britain will not be found here. Dependent as we are upon each other for the real enjoyment of intellectual and social life, such distinctions in respectable society would be as misplaced as injurious." "The Arrival", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.I, No.II, 1823, P.114.

[56] - Le Canadien, 18 Décembre 1833.

the few and with it they established new boundaries between the orderly and the disorderly and between the meritorious and the unmeritorious. By the same token, they underscored that merit - as they understood it - was a standard of allocation of earthly benefits that minimized contingencies.

3) ALTERATION

Work and education altered the self; moulded by work and education, man moved from a state of nature where the self was coarse, the instincts dominant and the ties uncomplicated to a state of civilization where the self was complex, the passions mediated and the ties sophisticated and ambivalent. The process of transformation from a 'natural' and instinctual self to one that was modern and refined took many years to accomplish and owed nothing to sudden and unexplainable causes. Indeed, self-love took a lifetime to learn. The whole thing started in infancy and spread over one's entire life, according to a commentator who linked the learning of self-love to one of maturing: "A trois ans, on aime sa mère; à six, son père; à dix, les fêtes; à seize l'ajustement; à vingt, son amante; à vingt-cinq, sa femme; à quarante, ses enfans; à soixante ans, on s'aime soi-même."[57] By the same token, the learning of rational self-interest and rational pursuits took some doing. It required the interplay of experience and knowledge in ways that added slowly but surely to the complexity of the self. Success depended "not on sudden impetuous efforts but on slow, regular and persevering industry."[58] In this way, the unveiling of proper self-interested pursuits prevented too hasty a change that could spell trouble.

Young men were particularly dangerous in this regard. Immature and unschooled in what constituted real self-interest, they would act imprudently and without the maturity required to detect the solid from the glitter. Blinded by their impetuosity and lack of tempered self-knowledge they were "apt to catch at the brilliant and enticing bait of pleasure, to indulge in gratifications which, surrounded by the charm of novelty, promise nothing but happiness."[59] They would let themselves be tempted by what, on the surface, promised the most excitement. According to one commentator, this had happened when young assemblymen had acted hastily and forced Governor Craig into taking drastic measures in 1810. The country was now in "un état de crise" because young men "qui sans autre but que leur ardeur dont ils

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[57] - Magazin du Bas-Canada, Vol.I, Tome 1, Janvier 1832, P.65.

[58] - The Quebec Mercury, 9 March 1805.

[59] - The Quebec Mercury, 9 March 1807.

ignoraient le mobile risquaient d'incendier leur patrie, uniquement pour satisfaire une passion qui doit son origine à la légèreté et à la pétulance."[60] Immature and passionate, young men were more likely than any other human beings to take risks without thinking about the consequences for themselves and for others. The individual control of one's destiny and the destiny of society was fragile.

Properly paced, change benefitted mankind; but improperly managed, change could alter individuals and circumstances in ways that became uncontrollable. This certainly was to be kept in mind when only a few among the uneducated received schooling. The result could certainly disturb the orderly development of an individual who could find himself "elevated above his former associates..." and, dreaming of higher pursuits and nobler undertakings, "...becomes discontented...and engages in schemes beyond his talents, and unsuitable to his attainment." He could even end up questioning authority, embarking on dangerous projects, being corrupted, and endangering society.[61] The moderns acknowledged that societies of self-interest altered the self. This did not constitute a problem provided that the rate of change neither overtook the individual's capacity to adapt to the changes nor altered his circumstances to such an extent as to create desires and wants that were inconsistent with his capacities and his sociability.

The alteration, however, was real. From having been instinctual, gullible and routine-bound, the modern individual came to control his emotions, see through deceivers and take on projects that challenged his capacities in ways that distanced him from his original nature. Education was mainly responsible for the alteration according to one observer who argued that the benefit of education gave

> additional spring to agriculture, husbandry and commerce [and] polishe[d] the fine qualities of the human heart; it is a soother of his sorrows and his most precious jewel. - In short, the European or his descendant is indebted for his very existence to education: ignorance would not have disentangled him from the broils incident to a savage life...Ignorance being the source of every vice and cruelty, the savage knows no pleasure but in the calls of nature.[62]

For one thing the educated individual altered his work habits. He would leave behind the unchallenging

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[60] - Le Vrai Canadien, 17 Octobre 1810.

[61] - "On the Expediency of Educating the People", P.23.

[62] - The Quebec Mercury, 16 February 1805.

but instinctual activity of foraging for food and finding shelter and engage in activities that taxed his intelligence.[63] With the proper education and work habits any farmer could bid adieu to a subsistence economy and improve his properties with an "...agriculture [based] on the most advantageous and scientific plan."[64] Farmers would alter their agricultural practices to increase the productivity of their fields in ways that matched their own more complex behaviours. In this kind of intellectual environment, an attachment to old ways revealed that an uneducated mind and the practices of a subsistence economy were counterproductive and served no one's interests.[65]

Other practices would change as well. With a little education, farmers were likely to accept new medical procedures for themselves and their children. This became evident during cholera epidemics that raised the necessity of having children vaccinated. Without a modicum of education, it was thought, farmers would continue to refuse the procedure.[66] With some schooling, however, they would agree to the procedure, thereby demonstrating their "...disposition to improvement"[67]. What may have been perfectly

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[63] - Parent, "Du travail chez l'homme", P.145.

[64] - The Quebec Mercury, 9 March 1805.

[65] - "On the Agriculture of Canada", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.II, No.X, April 1824, P.330. Terrebonne notary Séguin reflected that the practice of not seeding on Fridays was widespread even if no one could explain its origin. "Il n'est pas facile de déterminer ce qui a pu donner lieu à cette superstition vu que ceux qui en sont imbus se contentent de l'observer sans en donner le motif." Séguin, Notes, 21 Avril 1831.

[66] - The Quebec Mercury, 13 March 1809. In his 1819 poem Contre l'Ignorance, Michel Bibaud wrote that ignorance prevented men from seeking proper medical care. Believing that illnesses were sent by God and could not be fought off, ignorant men shied from doctors and their remedies. Michel Bibaud, Epitres et Satires, P.50.

[67] - The Quebec Mercury, 19 February 1810. Yves Marie Bercé looked at the reaction of common folks to vaccination campaigns and found similarities in all the countries - France, Italy, England and Spain - studied. As a rule, country folks believed that smallpox came and went like the seasons and accepted it as a fact of life. They were not predisposed to listen to doctors who spoke an incomprehensible medical language. This was perceived as a sort of scientific dogmatism to which they were not privy and that suggested giving the disease to a healthy child who might never catch it in the first place. Unexposed to the notion of perfectibility and progress, they regarded the doctors intent on displacing their own remedies as interlopers. Doctors, for their part, regarded their obduracy as evidence of ignorance and superstition. Doctors and their followers believed in the unquestionable supremacy of their cause. Messire de Courval attested to this when relating that the smallpox vaccine tested on criminals bound for the gallows had yielded successful results. This, he said, showed that "...tout doit céder à l'expérience surtout en médecine." L' Aurore, 28 Mars 1818. Bercé, Yves Marie, Le Chaudron et la Lancette, Croyances populaires

rational behaviour in view of what constituted order in the past was now considered the unwelcome lingering of pre-civilized manners. Education contributed to the alteration by substituting new scientific facts for old superstitious beliefs and by making work productive and enjoyable: the end result was the emergence of a different type of individual: civilized, proficient in the intricacies of the written word, shaped by new medicines and new agricultural practices and able to shape the world around him.

Modernity altered more than the farming and the medical practices of the educated and industrious; it altered the kind of sociability and ties that had been the norm in the past. Indeed, farmers were expected to let go of their associations with country healers and develop a trusting relationship with scientifically-trained doctors on the strength of knowing the scientific fact that the cure of the later outperformed the cure of the former. Educated and industrious individuals were expected to widen "le cercle de leurs connaissances."[68] They were expected to be able to relate to a greater number of individuals on a greater number of matters. Perfecting and working within more specialized boundaries changed the nature of the self and of the ties that bound individuals to each other. William Buchan made this clear in his instructions to emigrants. At the beginning they would be expected to "...raise their own crops & to mingle one business with another. As, however, numbers increase, the joint employment will cease and each [would confine] himself to his proper occupation."[69] Properly functioning societies of self-interest, Buchan implied, would inevitably generate the division of labour, for they needed the development of the multiplicity of natural talents that would come from allowing each individual to excel in his own sphere. With the emergence of the division of labour, self-interested strangers became dependent on one another by virtue of the services and products their individual skills allowed them to provide and not by virtue of ancestral bonds and localized kinship ties that characterized societies of subsistence. The modern individual would cease to share with his neighbours a likeness that had made one farmer indistinguishable from another in the past. Just the opposite, he would develop specialized skills in tune with his talents and his efforts that would

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et médecine préventive 1798-1830, Paris: Presses de la Renaissance, 1984. Particularly Part 2, P.99-197.

[68] - Parent, "Du travail", P.147.

[69] - Buchan, Remarks on Emigration, P.33.

break the uniformity that may have existed between one undifferentiated farmer and another. This did not mean that the individual began a life of independent solitude. To the contrary, the individual became tied to others - strangers - who needed his services and products as much as he needed theirs. Hidden interdependencies based on perfected talents and self-interested pursuits would develop among individuals who needed each others' uniqueness. Modernity altered the nature of the ties as much as it altered the self and, in some cases, the alteration produced levels of sophistication and ambivalence that had to be reckoned with.

When, in 1827, a group of doctors thanked François Blanchet, a doctor and a Member of the Legislature, for his exertions on behalf of the medical community they noted their disagreement with his political principles but publicly praised his contributions to the profession.[70] Blanchet was a man of many talents and he was able to develop his aptitudes in medicine as well as his political talents creating for the public who observed him two different personalities. The doctors' assessment took into account that Blanchet's skills and exertions as a doctor contributed to the public good and were worthy of praise; they could not, however, see the public good emanating from his political activities. Conversely, others may have thought Blanchet's medical practice shabby while agreeing with his political stance and Blanchet himself might have interpreted all this differently. Blanchet was far from being an enigma but he certainly gave pause to those who may have wished to sing his praises unconditionally. The modern self had lost its singular identity and acquired a multiplicity of defining characteristics. It had become complex and diverse; its projected images, its appearance to others and the judgments they passed were relative to their own perspective on things. The moderns had to learn to live with the degree of uncertainty that an acquaintance with enhanced talents and diversified activities produced. They had to incorporate into the way they thought about themselves and others a measure of ambivalence that made the extension of esteem and rewards open to doubt. Clearly they needed something that could distribute esteem and other rewards on an impartial basis and anchor the circumstances in which individuals could expect to receive merited accolades in the future. For that purpose they turned to institutions.

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[70] - "Medical Lectures", The Quebec Medical Journal, Vol.II, No.5, 1827, P.118.

4) CONTROLLING CIRCUMSTANCES

Uncontrolled circumstances could alter the process of individual maturation and growth. An observer remarked on the uncertainty of the future in this regard when he noted that: "Les talents sont innés, l'éducation les développe, les circonstances les mettent en jeu ou les rendent inutiles."[71] Indeed, unless future circumstances were subject to some sort of predictability, talents, effort and education could go to waste.[72] The quest for certain and stable future circumstances underscored much of the thinking about medicine and medical care that scientifically-trained doctors were proposing during the first half of the century.[73]

Getting public recognition for various and specialized talents became the object of doctors in the Canadas many of whom were known reformers.[74] One of the first to express this concern was Columbia-trained François Blanchet who believed that doctors who delivered services according to the dictates of medical science - something they could do only if they were fully conversant with the science of health - could aspire to, indeed merit, the gratitude and the esteem of a population that "...n'oubliera pas ni vos soins ni vos bienfaits. Elle vous peindra toujours comme une puissance supérieure..."[75] Talents developed

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[71] - Le Vrai Canadien, 1 Aoust 1810.

[72] - Hughes Heney commented on the uncertainty regarding Jacques Viger's chances of obtaining a militia position no matter what his qualifications were by remarking that "Rien n'est si incertain que la Bonne Fortune." MG24 L8 M-8, Ma Saberdache Bleue, Hughes Heney à Jacques Viger, 18 Juin 1811.

[73] - Adam Smith reflected on the role of Fortune in the context of merit. Men were responsible for their intent and for generating actions but the consequences of these actions remained in the hands of fortune. As a result, they could not control the circumstances in which rewards would be extended. See The Theory of Moral Sentiments, edited by D.D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie, Indianapolis: LibertyClassics, 1982, Part II, Section III, "On the Influence of Fortune", P.92-104.

[74] - J.K. Johnson notes that Upper-Canadian doctors were also involved in politics. The statement holds true for Lower Canada as well. J.K. Johnson, Becoming Prominent, Regional Leadership in Upper Canada 1791-1841, Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989. P.23.

[75] - Blanchet's thesis advocated a multidisciplinary approach to medicine in order to produce a science that united mathematics, anatomy and chemistry. He was a specialist in chemistry whose work demonstrated the causes and consequences of chemical imbalances in the body. François Blanchet, Recherches sur la médecine ou l'application de la chimie à la médecine, New York: Parisot, Chatham Street, MDCCC. P.194.

within the boundaries of natural and scientific laws merited public esteem because they connected so obviously with the preservation and growth of the species. Scientific dispensers of health did not provide surplus goods and fashionable trinkets but extended life according to proven scientific facts that contained empirically verifiable truths. No matter how passionately they pursued their self-interest, the consequence of their actions catered to society's essential needs.[76] Not only did they keep citizens alive and productive but they enabled them to enjoy the fruits of their earthly labours.[77]

Society, it followed, had an obligation to accommodate endeavours so obviously tied to the public good and it - through its agent, government - should open hospitals that functioned according to the natural laws of health. Hospitals that were run by professionals and that dispensed scientific care, according to one author, would ensure that doctors, motivated by self-interest, could excel in their crafts for the benefit of all since the structure itself would guarantee it:

> En effet, pour s'assurer que le Médecin s'attache d'une manière infatiguable à l'avancement de son art, il est seulement nécessaire que son crédit s'y trouve intéressé. Ce puissant mobile qui a conduit aux plus haut faits, et qui est le premier moteur de toutes les actions des hommes, est cause que l'homme dans quelqu'état qu'il soit, éprouve toujours le besoin même de redoubler d'efforts pour acquérir les connaissances qui lui manquent, et de perfectionner celles qu'ils possède.[78]

While humans had no control over the universal motivator that was self-love, they had a measure of influence over the manner in which self-love was expressed: they could demand that institutions parallel

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[76] - One can see this when one considers that for much of the nineteenth century, the growth of a nation was thought to consist in increasing its wealth, a concept that included having a large number of citizens. A country's stature came from its ability to produce and maintain a growing population of productive citizens; conversely a shrinking population signalled a nation's decline. Efforts to convince the 'lower ranks' to get vaccinated against smallpox were inspired by the idea. For instance, on January 16, 1808 Le Canadien published a letter urging the clergy to convince their parishioners to get vaccinated because the procedure was "...si essentiellement liée à ses véritables intérets, la conservation et l'augmentation de la population."

[77] - Without health an individual could not enjoy life. Lord Clive, for instance, returning from Madras where he had accumulated glory and riches, found himself unable to enjoy his relationships, his family and his fortune because of his poor health. Concluding that "Je ne suis donc heureux en rien" he shot himself. Magazin du Bas Canada, Tome 2, No.6, Décembre 1832. P.219.

[78] - "Essai sur la nécessité d'établir à Québec, Capitale du Canada, un Hopital Général, considéré comme le moyen le plus efficace d'être utile à l'humanité et à la Science Médicale en Canada", The Quebec Medical Journal, Vol.II, No.5, 1827. P.96

the functioning of perfectible talents and work according to the principles of medical scientific laws. Furthermore, the emergence of the specialized self created other specialized identities, since scientifically-run hospitals would treat the sick instead of harbouring the poor. The care of the 'worthy poor' then passed into the hands of specialized benevolent associations.[79] These associations gave their members ways to express their benevolence and fulfil their need for praise. It did not matter that self-interest was the source of movement towards the public good: once an apparatus that ensured that the process worked independently of their intentions had been built, that process could simply continue. Individuals were thus left with the satisfaction of being able to claim that a public good resulted from their actions and gloss over their own selfish intent.[80]

Whatever else can be said about the rise of nineteenth century institutions, it clearly addressed the tricky issue raised by self-interested action and merited rewards. The rise of those institutions showed that it need no longer matter that individual undertaking was motivated by self-interest because the outcome of that undertaking was guaranteed, by virtue of the impartial institutions wilfully created, to augment, without fail, the wealth and the well-being of society as it was then understood. The institutional outcome gave private, personal action a public dimension.

Nineteenth century Canadians still spoke and wrote of the corrupted self created by the unchecked passions, and the more they insisted on the development of natural talents the more they condemned those who indulged their need for money, status, rank and power in a purely private way. Doctors had a generic term to describe the corrupted and corrupting: 'charlatans'. When they talked of charlatans, they reverted to biblical language and used a terminology that for centuries had been directed at infidels, unbelievers and barbarians. The civic tradition had adopted this language to describe those who sought their self-interest

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[79] - Professional distributers of benevolence acquired a particular social status that was once reserved for kings and clergy.

[80] - According to one author, public morality and unselfish duty towards the sick and the worthy poor were the sole motives behind the construction of the Montreal General Hospital. Women's benevolent associations, the Protestant Church, doctors, influential citizens and political figures rallied to provide British immigrants with the care they needed. "An Account of the origin, rise and progress of the Montreal General Hospital", The Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository, Vol.4, 1825, P.100-126.

and threatened the political life of the republic: stock jobbers, corrupt ministers in the pay of private interests, mercenary soldiers and an array of others. Not to be outdone, societies of self-interest reoriented its scope to indicate those who, in their estimation, made money and status the immediate goal of their self-interest in the multitude of avenues opened to them.

The accusation of charlatanism appeared like a litany in the writings of Canadians, particularly those who were scientifically-minded. Unconcerned that many of those he denounced for practicing "unscientific" medicine were in fact born in Canada, L'Ami du Peuple described charlatans as a foreign-bred force:

> Vraiment mon humanité souffre en considérant cette race vagabonde; rien ne s'oppose à sa propagation, elle se perpétue dans le sang même de ceux qu'elle immole; elle exerce sans ménagement ses mains meurtrières sur nos Canadiens, elle s'en rit, elle s'en moque d'elle; elle ne trouve aucun obstacle pour arrêter ses progrès. Tous les ans il arrive dans notre Province quelqu'uns de ces êtres merveilleux qui viennent s'établir; il en vient de toutes les nations. Où sont leurs licences, leurs sciences. Ils l'ignorent eux-mêmes; cependant aussitôt arrivés, les voilà docteurs." [81]

Wandering in from the outside like the plague or a horde of Hottentots, the 'race' of charlatans featured Fortune-like attributes. It was unstoppable and struck at random and with impunity. Like Fortune, charlatans laughed at order - where were their degrees, their permits, the proof of their scientific knowledge - and displaced those who were qualified to dispense medical care. Their remedies were panaceas that cured by chance[82] and gave them an ill-merited reputation which they manipulated with "...the most refined artifice in order to delude the unwary."[83] By deceiving the population, quacks and charlatans carved out for themselves a place in society. Using illusion and deception, they went about acquiring riches and status in exchange for fallacies and pipe dreams that were detrimental to the very people that held them

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[81] - Le Canadien, 22 Aoust 1807.

[82] - The contingency that embroiled the charlatans' knowledge and cures was noted in a small poem: "L'ignorance en courant fait la ronde homicide/L'indifférence observe et le hazard décide." Le Vrai Canadien, 26 Septembre 1810.

[83] - 'A Friend to Good Society' in The Quebec Mercury, 12 October 1807. The author went on to say that charlatans resembled magicians: their remedies were cure-alls, they mesmerized the population by their tricks and they created impressive displays out of nothing. The same thought was expressed in Le Canadien, 12 Aoust 1807.

in esteem. Attempting to portray the injustice in the situation, The Quebec Mercury told the following story. A quack and a physician of learning who did not have "...the success in his practice he deserves..." discuss why the quack has a country house, a town house and a carriage while the physician is impoverished. The answer is simple enough: only one of a hundred people passed on the street has common sense. "...That one", says the quack, "comes to you and I take care to get the other ninety-nine."[84] Cunning and smart in the ways of the world, charlatans garnered unmerited esteem and wealth from the unwary.

According to those who commented on their activities, the quest of charlatans differed markedly from the quest of scientifically-trained doctors. Their self-interested pursuit gratified the lust for earthly rewards without the cleansing mediation of work and education, without any requirement that they perfect their natural selves and without the institutional structures that led to the public good. When the medical journalist Archibald Hall built his case for the regulation of the profession, he proposed a scientific curriculum that would rid the profession of "...ignorant pretenders of all classes, sex and ages, tampering with diseases and employing remedies of various descriptions, according to their whims and fancies.[85] Charlatans did not work for their rewards, they simply tricked people and so 'created' themselves out of illusion and deception; motivated by a desire to create reality out of nothing, they (as Blanchet put it) ran after chimeras.[86] With nothing moving them but their greed and ambition, these men functioned in a patternless universe and so resembled the barbarians of yore who, in the words of Bishop Strachan, "...act[ed] by the caprice of the moment, who were governed by the passions and the cravings of their

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[84] - The Quebec Mercury, 27 July 1807.

[85] - Archibald Hall, Letters on Medical Education (originally published in the Montreal Gazette) addressed to the members of the Provincial Legislature of Canada, Montreal: Armour & Ramsay, 1842. P.13. The denunciation of charlatans lasted until doctors acquired the right to regulate their profession, to determine the type of education required to practice, and the ability to define the proper conduct of their members. In his 1855 Address to Victoria College, John Rolph was still condemning medical practices based on magic and superstition. In his study of the medical profession in Quebec, Jacques Bernier quotes similar condemnations in 1879. See Jacques Bernier, La Médecine au Québec, naissance et évolution d'une profession, Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1989.

[86] - Blanchet, Recherches, P.XVI. Les charlatans "...couraient après des chimères que l'envie de tout créer faisaient naître."

appetites."[87] However, unlike barbarians and unbelievers, they were not to be repulsed by force of arms or burned at the stake; in societies of self-interest, they were simply legislated out of existence. Nonetheless, they remained free, as individuals, to adopt behaviours and habits that would bring them merited rewards and make them worthy in the eyes of society.

Throughout the century, Canadian physicians remained aware of the argument, so widely held up to this time, that a seeking after earthly possessions was inevitably accompanied by corruption and downfall. Consequently, they insisted that offices, émoluments and the monetary rewards that came with them be awarded on merit. They aimed their weapons in two directions simultaneously: charlatans and appointed doctors. On the surface, these two may not have had much in common but they shared an important characteristic: both were creations of arbitrary circumstances. The former acquired money and esteem by artifice and the deluding of others; the latter emerged from "the lottery of birth" to acquire unearned wealth and social standing. Neither merited the possessions he received and neither was worthy of esteem from the individuals who recognized the kind of deception that was being played out. Appointed doctors brought to their positions no other qualifications than birth and fortune, conditions rarely associated with talents.[88] They threatened the development of medicine in Canada since their self-interest made them likely to promote unmeritorious colleagues over scientifically-trained Canadian physicians who, in turn, would receive unmerited status and salaries. Casting aspersions on those who owed their position to arbitrary circumstances rather than merit became a common way of underscoring the emerging problem of disorder:

> ...on consulte moins le mérite, pour remplacer ceux qui remplissent aujourd'hui ces situations avec tant d'avantage, que le désir de favoriser des individus qui n'apporteraient d'autres qualifications que la naissance et la fortune: ce qui serait aussi préjudiciable aux intérêts de l'humanité que j'invoque qu'à ceux de la science que je désire voir prospérer

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[87] - John Strachan, A Discourse on the Character of King George the Third, Addressed to the Inhabitants of British America, Montreal: Nahum Mower, 1810. P.19.

[88] - Essai sur la nécessité, P.98."...les talens [sic] se trouvent rarement alliés à la fortune et à la naissance."

parmi vous.[89]

Ridding the profession of caprice, whim and arbitrariness meant ridding it of those who came to it with no real worth. Replacing them with scientifically-trained men of merit would permit things to follow their natural course. As Le Canadien pointed out: "Le temps n'est pas éloigné où les hommes et les choses prendront leur place naturelle; les charlatans seront mis de côté, les ignorants seront dans leurs bancs, et les hommes de mérite seront employés et payés."[90] Employed and paid by virtue of their merit, not of their birth, Canadians would enjoy earthly rewards without being open to charges that they were pursuing nothing but self-interest or had got there by chance. Moreover, being employed and paid by institutions made their earthly rewards less artificially acquired. Emphasis on natural talents and merit also strengthened the argument of reformers as they sought to make public structures conform to principles of order rather than incorporating more contingent aspects.[91] They proposed impartial institutions and structures such as hospitals and schools that would guarantee that talents, education and work would be rewarded on a secure, predictable and consistent basis. If this was done, the future circumstances of the doctors and the health of the community would escape all arbitrary and contingent interferences. It would further ensure that the doctors could pursue their self-interest without having to fear the consequences of their actions since they could rely on free-standing institutions to channel private exertions into useful public benefits. While they could conceive of an orderly development to self-interested pursuits, the doctors continued to apply selectively the well-known motifs and expressions associated with contingency in ways that helped them both delineate the boundaries between order and chaos and facilitate a changeover from an old to a new manner of understanding and distributing medical care and earthly rewards.

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[89] - Ibid. The same sentiments were echoed in The Resolutions of the Quebec Medical Society published the same year. The Quebec Medical Journal, Vol.II, No.5, 1827. P.106.

[90] - Le Canadien, 21 Octobre 1846.

[91] - Archibald Hall proposed to a standardize the curriculum and the examination procedures because the existing ones, in his words, left too much to chance. Hall, Letters on Medical Education, Letter III, P.13 and 16.

5) MODERN MORALITY

Societies of self-interest considered that engaging the passions and material possessions were a necessary prerequisite to order and stability. A rational engagement was possible if those involved conducted their pursuit in a self-interested manner, something that altered significantly the notions of morality that came into play. The discussions on drink and prostitution showed just how these could conflict.

From an otherworldly point of view indulging the passions without restraint made humans resemble uncontrollable forces. Very much like a volcano that devastated all, the passions, once engaged, were uncontainable. According to a Quebec Mercury correspondent: "Thus as, in the natural world, the strife of elements, so, in the moral world, the conflicts of the passions produce the most destructive results."[92] Unchecked, human passions, aping nature, sent man into a fiery death. This, more or less, was how morally-minded people couched their references to unbridled human behaviours. Attesting to the enduring presence of the conservative Christian discourse regarding the passions throughout the nineteenth century, writers, both lay and clerical, warned of the effects of alcohol in apocalyptical language. Drinking was an activity, which, once embarked upon, became practically impossible to stop, a fact resulting in inevitable devastation. First indulged in with caution, drinking enticed the young man on a sublime and devastating adventure where: "...every relapse carries him further down the current (the violence of which increases) and brings him still nearer to the fatal rock in the midst of the whirlpool; till, at length, stupefied and subdued, he yields without a struggle and makes shipwreck of conscience, of interest, of reputation, and of everything that is dear and valuable in the human character."[93] Not to be outdone, the Quebec Grand Jury called drunkenness the "...nourrice de l'impudicité, du désordre, et de tous les crimes les plus odieux..."[94] Some forty-five years later, the Upper Canadian reformer John Rolph was no less relentless

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[92] - The Quebec Mercury, 11 September 1809.

[93] - The Quebec Mercury, 28 September 1807.

[94] - Le Vrai Canadien, Des Grands Jurés au Quartier de Session de Paix, 18 Juillet 1810.

in his criticism: excessive drinking, he stated "...involves the whole body in self-conflagration."[95] Drinking led to the destruction of the self but, importantly in societies of self-interest, it also led to social disorder. Under its influence, men lost all sense of place, shed their civilized demeanour and returned to a state of natural barbarism, where, in perfect equality, they indulged their passions in an unrestrained fashion instead of pursuing their interest. Broken families, forsaken promises, robbed employers and general social chaos resulted from the passions unchecked and humans could hardly survive the experience. Moral guardians, therefore, sought to control these behaviours by banning them altogether, since they could not count on uneducated individuals to moderate such dangerous impulses.

Doctor Blanchet, however, thought that drinking in moderation could do no harm[96] and others believed that moderate use was permissible for those who understood the principles behind the rational indulgence of pleasures.[97] When he suggested reducing the number of drinking establishments, Charles Mondelet argued his case on the basis that it would reduce crime rather than on the moral grounds of denying the passions.[98] Indeed, the passions could be indulged provided the individual kept in mind his long term interest in the matter.[99] An exchange of letters on prostitution in The Quebec Mercury revealed with particular clarity the differing moral notions that were playing themselves out in the Canadian

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[95] - Rolph, Address of the Honourable John Rolph delivered before the Faculty and the Students of Medicine of the University of Victoria College, Toronto: T.H. Bentley, 1855. P.10.

[96] - Blanchet, Recherches, P.7.

[97] - Le Canadien, 2 Mai 1807, 2 Janvier 1808 and Le Glaneur, "Conseils sur la santé", Vol.1, No.1, Septembre 1807, P.148-149.

[98] - Jan Noel analyzes both strands of alcohol-related morality in "Dry Patriotism: The Chiniquy Crusade", The Canadian Historical Review, Vol.LXXI, No.2(June 1990), P.189-207.

[99] - Later on the century, some societies of self-interest adopted the conservative Christian language of the passions unchecked when it described the relationship between the uneducated and idle 'lower classes', immigrants and alcohol. The Temperance Movement succeeded in outlawing alcohol in Ontario but not Quebec in the later part of the century. See Richard Allen, The Social Passion, Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1971 and Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water: moral reform in English Canada, 1885-1925, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991.

colonies.[100]

On the one hand, L' Ami de la Patrie considered prostitution an immoral pursuit that led to the corruption of the whole; on the other hand, 'Cosmopolitus' believed that the same pursuit belonged to the realm of private morality and could, if conducted rationally, ensure the health of those concerned without endangering the community at large. In his letter of December 1808, L' Ami de la Patrie wrote that such a pleasure as prostitution brought with it a myriad of ills including "...fraud, rapine and every act of injustice; loss of health, disease and distress in families." To those who took the long view and argued that prostitution contributed to social stability and fuelled the economy, L'Ami answered that, because of the expense involved, clerks defrauded their employers, children plundered and ruined their parents, servants robbed their masters and husbands ruined their families. In short, prostitution lead to the dissolution of all existing ties.[101] L'Ami, therefore, proposed to regulate the moral conduct of humans by calling on the legislators to enact "...wise and salutary laws for which they have divine authority." Incapable of controlling their passions, citizens had to be coerced by law to deny their passions and conduct themselves morally in order to protect the public good. Cosmopolitus' view was quite different.

For him, individuals were motivated by self-interest to conduct themselves in the most responsible manner possible and there was no need to resort to state legislation for something that clearly belonged to the domain of private morality. He stressed the moral relativism of views regarding prostitution by stating that it was a fact of life in cities, many of which - Berlin for example - ascribed no moral consequences to the action. Indeed, he added, L'Ami's reaction showed its thinking to be "...circumscribed within some

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[100] - Conducted in an exchange of letters to The Quebec Mercury, the debate eventually degenerated into a series of personal insults. See issues of 26 December 1808, 2 and 9 January 1809.

[101] - The Quebec Mercury, 26 December 1808. The language of contingency sometimes included pitting the virtue of the country and its folks against the corruption of the city and its folks. Still on the subject of prostitution and obviously in favor of its curtailment, a writer described how poor and virtuous country boys were seduced by the glitter of the city and its brothels and soon started to steal from: "...leurs pères, leurs maîtres, et tout ce qui leur tombe sous la main pour le porter à l'infâme objet de leur amour effrené." He too suggested legislating morality in order to stop "les progrès du vice" that broke kinship and paternal ties. Le Vrai Canadien, 29 Aout 1810.

island town of Scotland."[102] Prostitution raised no other problem than the risk of diseases, and, aware of their self-interest in the matter, client and prostitute as equal and rational individuals would both take the necessary precautions; they thus ensured their continuing good health and their ability to go about their daily lives. The motives they had for behaving the way they did were their business, did not harm, and therefore ought not be legislated.[103]

Modern morality did not demand that humans curtail their vices. Indeed, some Canadians understood that a life of comfort and plenty exposed them to 'sinful' situations that did not exist in societies of poverty. Their morality did not involve denying their impulses but managing them in ways that did not hurt themselves or others. Civilization did not make them moral; it did, however, render them fit to live in beneficial harmony with strangers. Furthermore, modern morality held individuals responsible for their actions. With insight into the workings of self-interest and an understanding of the rational manner of handling their impulses in ways that did not endanger their health or the public good, humans gained control over their conduct and their destiny. Given this type of intellectual environment the moderns were freed from blaming their ills on obscure and uncontrollable forces. As John Neilson remarked to Andrew Stuart: "We are somehow the authors of our own misfortune but it is a consolation which is allowed to the unfortunate to lay their bothers on the shoulders of Dame Fortune."[104] It was soothing to the conscience and to the soul to be able to blame everything on Fortune, but Neilson was aware that the knowledgeable individual remained at all times the master of his destiny. Blaming her was just a way of refusing to own up to one's responsibilities. Etienne Parent shared these thoughts but added that the age of personal responsibility and knowledge was still in the process of unfolding and only slowly were humans accepting to be held accountable for their actions. Over time, however, individuals would mature and recognize that inconsistencies were no longer the doing of external forces but the consequence "...du travail et de la

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[102] - The Quebec Mercury, 9 January 1809.

[103] - It is important to remember that this type of early nineteenth century discourse on morality hoped to demonstrate the ability of all humans to conduct their lives independently and in a rational manner against authorities that sought to legislate all - moral, political, economic - human behaviours.

[104] - MG24 B1 Vol.12, John Neilson to Andrew Stuart, 14 January 1818.

conduite de chacun."[105] Men of merit stopped blaming Fortune for altering their destinies; they did not, however, stop blaming humans who acted in a fortune-like way. They held the well-born, rich and powerful, the deceivers, the idle and the ignorant responsible for preventing them from realizing their potential and obtaining their merited rewards.

The modern virtue of the moderns differed with a more otherworldly sense of morality in the view they held of earthly possessions. For the more conservative-minded true worth resided in denying the impulses to acquire them and finding solace in having little. But for those intent on engaging life in the fullest it meant demonstrating rational conduct in relation to their possessions. They refused to see poverty as a sign of moral valour. Poverty, according to the next author, hardly called for restraint. Aboriginals, for instance, may "possess many virtues; yet these are to be attributed more to their poverty, than to their ignorance. When plentifully supplied with the necessities and pleasures of life, they have generally given themselves up to odious vices and brutal sensuality."[106] Being modern meant to engage the goods of the earth with reason, not to shun them altogether. Poverty might force people to be virtuous but that type of virtue had nothing to do with will or choice. Real virtue consisted in being challenged by the encounter with earthly benefits and rationally engaging the cornucopia of modern life in ways that demonstrated measured restraint and careful indulgence. That kind of behaviour built the self-esteem of the individual and earned the respect of peers. In modern thinking, active engagement with the goods of the earth added complexity to the understanding of moral behaviour and human worth in ways that poverty and abstinence did not.

Fresh from a trip to England, Egerton Ryerson addressed his fellow Methodists, declaring that after having examined the doctrine of "political economists" he found them to be immoral. "Man as a moral being", he wrote, "is entirely overlooked".[107] Early in the century, religious and secular individuals objected to an arrangement based on self-interested pursuits. They refused to regard any improvements to the self

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[105] - "Du travail", P.161.

[106] - "On the Expediency of educating the People of Lower Canada", P.21.

[107] - Egerton Ryerson, Wesleyan Methodism in Upper Canada: A Sermon preached before the Conference of Ministers of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Canada, Toronto: J.H. Lawrence, 1837, P.1.

as extensions of the 'natural' self. Far from perfecting natural attributes, societies of self-interest had counterfeited nature and offered nothing but a distorted and artificial version of it.[108] Professionals such as doctors, lawyers and merchants altered their selves to such an extent that they had become deceivers themselves, ready to lead the unsuspecting into uncharted waters by promising them greater liberty. That certainly was the opinion of Colonel Vassal de Monviel. Borrowing a biblical metaphor, he accused certain doctors of acting like snakes to tempt the peasants with lies and deceits so that the peasants "se laissent séduire par ces langues envenimées" and succumbed.[109] "Ce germe corrupteur", wrote de Monviel of these doctors, had to be destroyed if the countryside was to remain at peace. In many ways he agreed with a local seigneur who argued that doctors and other educated individuals had insinuated themselves between lord and peasant and enticed the inhabitants to break their traditional ties; accordingly, the doctors were "peut-être les êtres les plus dangeureux pour la religion et le gouvernement."[110] Some commentators never lifted their suspicion of the professionals. After the rebellions, l'abbé Ducharme of Sainte-Thérèse parish blamed the doctors, notaries and lawyers for heading the rebellion and seducing the people into violent behaviours and ungodly expectations.[111] Self-interested individuals posed a threat. Many agreed with him. The literature of the time was saturated by poems, riddles and accusations against doctors who neglected their patients for money[112], against lawyers who stole from their clients, against merchants who venally betrayed their countries, against politicians who mistook their self-interest for the public good and against men and women who married for sex and material gain.

As the century wore on, the middle ranks of society were under constant attack by those who,

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[108] - Le Vrai Canadien, 5 Septembre 1810.

[109] - MG24 B1 Vol.24, Traité sur la Milice, chapter three, unpaginated.

[110] - Le Vrai Canadien, 4 Juillet 1810.

[111] - Quoted in Mason Wade, The French Canadians 1760-1945, Vol.1, London: Macmillan, 1967, P.192.

[112] - The accusation was constantly levelled at doctors during cholera epidemics according to Geoffrey Bilson. See chapter 2 of A Darkened House, Cholera in Nineteenth Century Canada, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1980.

refusing to define themselves according to the principles of self-interest, held on to the otherworldly notion that those principles were directed exclusively at the pursuit of individual benefit to the detriment of the community. They certainly disagreed with the premise that all actions were motivated by self-interest including aspiring to be praised for denouncing corrupted practices. In their eyes, only those who publicly professed that self-interest could lead to a better and moral life were embroiled in the deceit, the artificiality and the shallowness that came from defining worth in a 'worldly' way.

When they negotiated societies of self-interest, modern Canadians remained aware that engaging earthly rewards necessitated discussing the principles of human worthiness. They therefore sought to become civilized without becoming corrupted by defining 'worth' in ways that ensured that esteem went to meritorious individuals and they searched for a more familiar moral understanding concerning the public benefits of selfish pursuits. Only men and women who perfected natural talents, worked, got educated and produced useful results that benefitted all of society would be considered worthy beings. Canadians further sought to bring the future under control by creating institutions that would act as impartial evaluators of behaviours and distribute rewards according to established standards of merit. In defining the boundaries of meritorious behaviours, modern Canadians acquired an identity that differentiated them from Europeans who were in the habit of extending esteem, power and riches to the 'lucky' and from those who acted in fortune-like manners. In rejecting the old code of denial and replacing it with one that allowed for a moderate engagement, they redefined the ties of society. In a modern community, strangers would become united because they would hold in common a belief in universal features that led them to develop mutually beneficial exchanges. To be sure, the 'old' was not abandoned completely: borrowing from a Christian injunction against idleness and unchecked passions, Canadians used a 'traditional' device to mark out the newly excluded and define the terms of their exclusion. Though this spoke volumes to a Christian population and facilitated the transition from the old to the new order, it did not eliminate the orthodox condemnation of self-interest.

CHAPTER TWO

MODERN SOCIABILITY

Orthodox Christianity took a dim view of life in the material world. That life, Christians thought, embroiled humans in a web of deception created by their propensity to define themselves in worldly ways: through power, riches, rank and reputation. And, having thus defined themselves, they lived in the fiction of 'worldly life' created by Fortune's gifts where everything was shadows and appearances, where unworthy men were revered, good ones ignored and everyone wore the masks associated with what arbitrarily came into their possession. Humans, then, enacted laws and moulded institutions that entrenched deceit. When men actively pursued the objects of their passions, they moved towards their separation from God - their corruption. They deceived themselves, their ties were false and their future was precarious. As a result, humans lost the transparency and purity that defined the 'naked' self and enabled them to aspire to God's truth.[1]

Those of a republican cast of mind sought to gain a measure of control over the ownership of power without the concomitant loss of purity and transparency by collectively denying their worldly impulses and actively dedicating themselves to forming a polity based on selflessness. Republicans thought that ties among 'citizens' were of an otherworldly and transparent nature because they were forged out of a capacity to transcend the things of this world. Their identity as pure and selfless citizens was enhanced by contrasting themselves with the deception and illusion that characterized the ties of the self-interested. The civic tradition isolated one of the 'worldly goods' - power - and through vigilant, incessant and selfless tending, turned it into a virtuous behaviour that replicated for later puritan republicans God's transparency.[2]

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[1] - An early Christian expression of the contingency involved in this state of affairs appears in Boethius' The Consolation of Philosophy. It describes Fortune as the arbitrary force that alters the destiny of men and blinds them to their own worth and as the providential agent that offers them the opportunity to discover the deception in worldliness and exercise free will.

[2] - Here again J.G.A. Pocock's The Machiavellian Moment is crucial to understanding the 'pure second nature' that the Republic conferred. Charles Trinkhaus' Adversity's Noblemen, The Italian Humanists on Happiness, New York: Octagon Books Inc., 1965 traces the passage from a contemplative to an active life.

Eighteenth century thinkers debated at length 'the masks' of society and concluded that artificiality was an extension of the natural and necessary to social order and stability. Indeed, they added, the 'old' virtue was nothing more than the appearance of virtue brought by the self-interested need for praise. They accepted masks, deceit and artificiality as the inevitable condition of civilized life, a condition that one had to be aware of but which one could neither escape nor want to escape if civilization was to progress.[3] An analysis of society revealed that 'civilized' humans were bound by a web of hidden interdependencies that resulted from the pursuit of self-interest. Furthermore the division of labour reinforced these ties as individuals became dependent upon each other to satisfy their needs for the services and products that contributed to their comfort and happiness. In turn, the reputation, esteem, power and wealth they gained by excelling in their respective activities reinforced the standing they had in the eyes of the community. And because individuals were naturally drawn to emulate and respect those who had much in the way of earthly power and possessions, society as a whole benefitted from the increased productivity of its citizens.

Early nineteenth century Canadians sensed that kinship, neighbourly and paternalistic ties could no longer embrace an increasing number of individuals - strangers by virtue of rank, religion and language - who had nothing in common except the fact that they were all motivated by self-interest. Such individuals, they reasoned, would have to relate to one another in vastly different terms than in the past. Reflecting on this, Canadians found themselves putting notions of contingency into play. Chief among these was the importance of trusting that individuals were what they appeared to be. An individual's identity had to be accepted as being expressed in the images he projected of himself as well as how he appeared to others. Since no one could know the intent and the motives at play in the actions of self-interested individuals, the images of the self could be perceived differently by actors and assessors and become a maze of

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For the gendered nature of republicanism, see Carol Blum, Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue, the Language of Politics in the French Revolution, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986.

[3] - For the most lucid treatment of the masks of commercial sociability see Edward Hundert's The Enlightenment Fable. Also important for understanding the philosophical and psychological implications of the notion is Jean Starobinski's La Transparence et l'Obstacle, Paris: Gallimard, 1971. For the religious antecedents of the unmasking of moral virtue see Dale Van Kley, "Pierre Nicole, and the Morality of Enlightened Self-Interest", Alan C. Kors and Paul J. Korshin eds., Anticipations of the Enlightenment in England, Germany and France, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

contradictions and deceptions. This made the public self - its public identity - a fragile construction and Canadians, aware of that, sought to reduce the instances in which deception and misrepresentation played a role. They sought to minimize the deception and artificiality in play by harmonizing their public self and the 'essential' self in order to feel morally and legally comforted that rewards went to the truly meritorious.

1) DISPLAY AND APPEARANCES

In the past, solitary life had been offered as an antidote to the complexities and immorality that seemed to plague all aspects of worldliness: it allowed contemplation and tranquility in the face of everyday artifice. It was still presented in this manner in the early days of the nineteenth century as one can see in examining the romantic comedy The Wheel of Fortune, written by British playwright Richard Cumberland and staged in Quebec City by Bostonian actors in the fall of 1808.[4]

In this play, the lead character, Pendurrock, a country gentleman of small means and few desires, sees his life arbitrarily changed by a sudden and unexpected windfall in the form of an extremely well appointed estate, the result of the gambling debts of Harry Woodville, a man who, long ago, betrayed their friendship by marrying the woman they both loved. Pendurrock leaves the silence of his country cottage and travels to the crowded city streets where "...all without is noise and all within me is anarchy and tumult...". Bemoaning his paradoxical fate - "How rich was I in my contented poverty! how poor has Fortune made me by those soul-tormenting riches!" - Pendurrock enters his new house and is both fascinated and appalled by its splendor, its glitter, its decor and the number of servants who are now at his beck and call; he is at once attracted and repulsed by the ball being readied to welcome him and by the esteem automatically extended to him by the well-born. After battling with his conscience, Pendurrock decides to turn over his new acquisitions to Woodville's son and to return to his solitary country life. He gladly accepts the praise of a friend for his decision: "I'll not decline your praise; for doing this I've struggled hard against an evil spirit that had seized dominion of my heart and triump'd over my benevolence." Tested by the opportunity offered by Fortune, Pendurrock examined his behaviour and freely opted to return to his contemplative and solitary life where he could once again "...look Nature in the face..." and be at one with it.

The play offered food for thought to the audience. Some might have interpreted Pendurrock's

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[4] - Richard Cumberland wrote The Wheel of Fortune in 1795. It was still being staged in London in the fall of 1834, according to The Morning Chronicle, 26 Novembre 1834.

return to the simple and picturesque country life as demonstrating otherworldly virtue. Denying any passion for revenge and for unmerited earthly rewards, Pendurrock's spurning of the 'civilized' in favour of the pure and transparent made him turn his back on the artificiality and glitter of corrupting cosmopolitan life. Others, versed in the workings of self-interest and the meaning of the metaphor of Fortune, could have seen his return to the country as motivated by a desire to appear virtuous and gain esteem in the eyes of his friend. On this view, Pendurrock would only be professing virtue in order to receive praise and so was engaged in 'artful', 'deceiving' behaviour. Whether, the audience could conclude, he stayed in the city or went back to the country, he was wearing a mask. Clearly societies of self-interest could interpret individual behaviour in a variety of ways.

The Wheel of Fortune may have been morally uplifting, but the sociability it presented was ill-suited to a way of thinking that included perfectibility among the features of the human personality as well as the company of others to assess its public usefulness and extend merited accolades. Without others to see them, to judge them and to evaluate their behaviours and actions, modern men stood outside the civilizing process. The modern sociability rejected isolation and embraced social interraction. Indeed, the kind of stoicism solitude seemed to recommend was, in the view of the reformer Pierre Bédard, no longer required: "Je ne crois pas qu'il soit vrai qu'on puisse se suffire à soi-même et se passer de tout le monde; c'est une ancienne philosophie."[5] Terrebonne notary François-Hyacinthe Séguin went even further when he provided an unflattering picture of solitude in his comments on two men after their deaths. Concerning the first, Antoine Filion, Séguin remarked that he disdained the company of women and remained a bachelor all his life. Indifferent to the fashions of the day, Filion wore the same clothes his entire life. "Ce vieillard", Séguin concluded, "a toujours été séparé en quelque sorte du commerce des hommes par son attachement pour le lieu qui l'a vu naitre et son éloignement de toute sociabilité."[6] Seemingly Filion wore no mask: he lived frugally and was impervious to the fashionable as well as to the 'art' of courtship. The problem with this, Séguin made clear, was not that Filion was an eccentric but that he was not useful in the context of modern

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[5] - MG24 B1 Vol.4, Pierre Bédard à John Neilson, 30 Septembre 1824.

[6] - MG24 I109, Notes, 17 Juin 1832. P.61.

society; his clothes symbolized his refusal accept the tastes of civilized society while his bacherlorhood showed him unwilling to contract an alliance that would add to the country's growth.

Séguin was more explicit about the consequences of isolation in what he said about the second man who died of cholera.

> Cet homme n'était pour ainsi dire qu'à demi civilisé et au teint près, il ressemblait beaucoup aux naturels du pays. Surtout lorsque les dimanches ou les Jours de Fêtes il était afflubé d'une espèce de capot brun dont le gout et l'existence remontaient fort haut. Mais pourquoi cet homme était-il ainsi en arrière des autres. Je ne vois d'autre cause que l'éloignement de son habitation du chemin du Roi, car par là il contracta un genre de vie qui le rendit tellement étranger aux communications sociales que lorsque que quelqu'un arrivait chez lui il prenait aussitôt la fuite et se cachait. Cette remarque peut également s'appliquer à presque tous ceux de son voisinage qui, dans cette partie de la côte se sont retirés du chemin pour être plus près de la rivière. Quoiqu'en général les cultivateurs Canadiens ne s'embarquent guère dans les affaires publiques l'on peut être certain que ceux-là y sont parfaitement indifférents et que rien ne présage en eux des dispositions prochaines pour un gouvernement républicain.[7]

One of the consequences of choosing isolation in the era of modern sociability was to leave man in a state of nature. This, however, was not the idyllic and romantic nature of The Wheel of Fortune, but the nature of man's early ancestors who lacked the 'arts' of modernity. This was the state from which modern man emerged to define himself in contact with others, to perfect the arts and the sciences and to add to the many layers of his personality thereby refining his behaviour and his aesthetic judgements. The masks he was required to wear in consequence of this were inherent in his civilized state: they improved him and facilitated contacts with people he was not familiar with. In choosing to isolate himself, Séguin made clear, the farmer did not achieve greater purity and transparency; rather he stayed outside the frame of social development. He was now 'en arrière' - backwards - in comparison to his community-conscious fellows and out of step with personal perfectibility and growth. His inattention to aesthetic concerns made him unsuited for any kind of relationship other than one with kin. And, since men in such a state of nature were unlikely to take part in another benchmark activity of modern sociability, that of political involvement, he would lose out there as well. Civilization, in Séguin's view, was a process that demanded that man accept and perfect the masks and appearances made necessary by coexisting with others; refusal to do so arrested

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[7] - Ibid., 11 Septembre 1832.

development and left one trailing behind.

Nineteenth century writings reflected the importance of appearances in everyday life. Fashion, clothes, physical stature and deportment became at once objects of curiosity and important features of the new sociability. How individuals appeared publicly indicated their distance from a 'state of nature' where appearances counted for little. Canadians, therefore, examined each other in relation to how they looked. Séguin noted the refusal of his two recluses to dress appropriately. The Quebec Mercury remarked of the election of a sizable man to the Legislative Assembly that the electors must have estimated "capacity for law making by the stone or the weight of jowl," and referred to a piece of legislation it objected to as "...one of the richest jewels in the wigs of the prothonotaries."[8] A little later on, the same newspaper defended Ezechiel Hart and his family by saying that they "...were an ornament to their town."[9] Beggars were noticed because they did not hesitate to expose publicly "leurs haillons et leurs misères."[10] When the reformer Charles-Ovide Perreault described Lord Gosford, he provided details about the Governor's height, hair color and cut, color of eyes, beard trimming, size of mouth and forehead.[11] Modern men were focussing their sights on the representations of humankind, or, as Le Fantasque put it, on what the people "...qui travaille, qui mange, qui boit, qui paie les impots..." looked like.[12] All shared equally in the limelight and external appearances were becoming important markers of identity for those who considered themselves civilized enough to display themselves and to provide aesthetic evaluations of the displays of others. Physical appearances, however, were not the only images that needed to be assessed; the overall sense of oneself one managed to project was also critical in determining worth.

This was particularly important in a community of strangers where one was constantly reminded

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[8] - The Quebec Mercury, 1 August 1808 and 23 February 1807.

[9] - The Quebec Mercury, 20 April 1807.

[10] - Le Canadien, 14 Février 1808.

[11] - MG24 B37 Vol.1 Perreault à Fabre, 12 Novembre 1835. The Canadian Magazine asked its readers questions about their appearances that included "the ordinary weight and height of the inhabitants" along with the color of their skin and hair. Vol.II, No.VII, January 1824, P.10.

[12] - Le Fantasque, 10 Mai 1841.

that appearances could be deceiving. That thought certainly loomed large in Robert Prescott's mind when he wondered about the motives of a newly-arrived Irish doctor who had not presented himself properly. He questioned whether the physician had come "to seek his fortune among strangers ...actuated by motives different from any that he may be expected to avow."[13] In this case, letters of introduction could have helped establish reliability and given a foundation for the establishment of trust among strangers. Joseph Willcocks was well aware of the importance of this. When he emigrated to Upper Canada, he requested such a letter from his older brother because, as he wrote, there were many persons "...who came to this country clothed with the appearance of probity that after some time proved themselves to be imposters and spy's.[sic]"[14] In many cases, appearances were all that existed to evaluate an individual in a community of strangers. Those images, however, as well as their evaluations could be subject to misinterpretations and deception. Since there was much room for error and misjudgment individuals were compelled to explain their intent and their behaviours in order to secure their reputation and the esteem of others.

The historian François-Xavier Garneau hoped to set the record straight when he explained why he had abandoned Pierre Bédard's son, Joseph-Isidore, whom he had met in France in 1832, befriended, and, then left behind to gamble his life away; "C'était un esprit gai, qui, sous une surface mathématique et raisonneuse, cachait beaucoup d'imagination et des passions ardentes."[15] Joseph-Isidore was not what he seemed on the surface, explained Garneau; in the end, his passionate nature won over the exhortations of his friend and left Garneau with no other choice than to leave him to his fate. The surgeon and former rebel Wolfred Nelson made a similar point when in a scholarly article on his successful operation on a strangulated hernia, he was careful to explain that (appearances to the contrary) he was publishing not "to boast of its success," but to inform the profession of a potential medical breakthrough that advanced

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[13] - The Russell Papers, Robert Prescott to the Duke of Portland, 12 December 1798.

[14] - The Willcocks Letterbook, Joseph to Richard, 23 April 1800. After a period of political tribulations that opposed him to the authorities, Joseph Willcocks joined the american forces and died in the war of 1812.

[15] - Cited in N.E. Dionne, Pierre Bédard et ses fils, P.229.

scientific knowledge.[16] Willcocks, Garneau and Nelson were all, in one way or another, making their way in the labyrinth of masks and appearances that was part of the complex and unstable sociability of the modern age. In each case, it was in their interest to explain their 'true' intent so the nature of their actions would not be mistaken. In the end, however, what was taking place never lost its ambivalence because evaluators and witnessess could still interpret actions and appearances in whatever manner they wished. Then as now, the 'intent' of actors could never be truly known except to themselves.[17]

While the moderns hoped to see public offices awarded on the basis of merit, appointments were sometimes clouded by other considerations. It occurred to Governor Charles Bagot that numerous individuals from Kingston requested public offices because "in the absence of other titles the title of office becomes, as in the United States, a distinction to be obtained if possible.[18] Individuals were sometimes motivated by vanity to seek an enhanced sense of public identity rather than finding in offices an outlet for their perfected talents. Bagot further told Lord Grenville that awarding these offices was subject to misinterpretation. Some French Canadians, for instance, were likely to mistake "justice and kindness only as instalments of their own reasonable pretensions wrung from our sense of their consequence."[19] In this case, French appointees thought that they were being rewarded in consequence of their merit while, in fact, Bagot appointed them to redress a wrong. Even merit was a matter of perception.

Nonetheless, being able to deal with masks and appearances marked an individual's degree of sophistication and facilitated peaceful intercourse in polite society. Interaction in it might entail a certain amount of wilful blindness and deceit but the result was preferable to unmediated contact since, when people spoke and acted according to their 'real' mind, they risked hurting the feelings of others thereby

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[16] - Wolfred Nelson, "Cases of Hernia, with observations on wounds of the Intestine", Canada Medical Journal, Vol.1, No.2, 1852 P.65-70.

[17] - Later on in the century, the new science of psychiatry demonstrated that the intent was sometimes masked to the actor himself.

[18] - MG24 A32, Charles Bagot to Lord Grenville, 27 March 1842. That Americans liked to give themselves titles like "squires, colonels and captains" in lieu of the 'real' things had been noted in The Quebec Mercury, 12 January 1805.

[19] - Ibid.

behaving in a socially counterproductive manner.[20] Hiding one's feelings towards individual shortcomings or simply muting personal preferences enabled all to function together and maintain their sense of self-worth. This prevented the deterioration of passions into asocial and even dangerous behaviours.[21] The social masks that modern men and women in polite company wore might not have reflected their true feelings but they contributed to goodwill and esteem among a wider range of individuals who otherwise may not have associated with one another. They made possible a more civilized approach to social intercourse. Indeed, one could say that they contributed to the public good. The civilizing effect of those practices were particularly evident in the private domain of politeness and manners and in the behaviour of the women who were prominent there.

The central importance of 'appearing' in the configuration of the modern self brought women to the fore. Here was, insofar as observers were concerned, a group that had mastered the art. Women naturally handled the representations of the 'real' in order to transform, disguise and enhance their physical and emotional appearances on public occasions. They therefore epitomized this central element in modern social life and were essential to the unfolding of modernity.[22] This certainly was the message conveyed in an article commenting on the social modernization Peter the Great had brought to Russia when he decreed that women would be invited to public ceremonies and recreational activities. The article stressed

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[20] - The newspapers of the day gave countless examples of situations where a lack of politeness contributed to hurting people and to making social gatherings unpleasant. See Le Canadien, 26 Décembre 1807, "O Mores", 4 Juin 1808, The Quebec Mercury, 4 June 1806.

[21] - The Quebec Mercury, 4 August 1806, Le Canadien, 14 March 1807 and 4 Juin 1808. Those who acted 'unfashionably' but still within the bounds of civilized behaviours were appreciated. For instance, people liked eccentrics. It was with evident relish that the lawyer John Prince witnessed the reading of the will of William Dunlop whose testament remained "...a relict of his perfect indifference (an indifference to be admired in my opinion) to what is called "Fashion" even in testamentary matters." MG24 B32 Testament of William Dunlop, 5 July 1847. Others praised men of high birth who could behave in an approachable and friendly manner. According to a diner guest, Lord Gosford was willing to forego some of the most tedious forms of etiquette. MG24 B37 Vol.1, Perreault à Fabre, 12 Novembre 1835.

[22] - Edward Hundert's fourth chapter, "A World of Goods", retraces the importance of the feminine love of luxury in societies of self-interest. In The Fable of the Bees Bernard Mandeville placed women's ability to emulate and deceive at the centre of an universe that needed their skills for peaceful and progressive behaviours. All the while, he ironically attacked the male morality that described them in this manner. See The Enlightenment Fable, P.205-209.

that the Tsar had added that women in attendance would be required to dress in the French manner.[23] Displaying women and their adornments in public was a sign of refinement and sophisticated behaviour that signalled the passage from backwardness to civilization. Lady Aylmer, therefore, was paying a great compliment to her host society when she wrote that Canadian ladies "...dress much better than I had been led to expect and may send to London or Paris for parts of their Toilette..." all of which demonstrated a "rapid improvement" in manners on their part.[24]

When it came to forming social relationships in the marketplace, skills associated with women took on a far greater importance than the mere propensity to spend money in order to follow fashion would suggest. In the thinking of the day, the art of appearing sustained modern commercial exchanges and became an important aspect of a social intercourse that involved much in the way of beneficial contact among strangers.

The skills of handling appearances and displays could certainly be seen at work in one report of an encounter between a man travelling with a friend and a female innkeeper they met along the way. As they entered her establishment, "the genteel, neat looking woman" greeted them at the door. "In her look and action I could perceive she considered him [the friend] a man of consequence - perhaps she thought him rich - at all events her demeanor indicated that her house was honored by his condescension in visiting it. Her face was indeed handsome and appeared to the best advantage in the smiles of welcome. Nor were her endeavours in vain - during her assiduity in showing us into a neat clean little parlour I could distinctly perceive a smile passing across the acid visage of my companion; the first I had seen in that place. Such is the all powerful influence of woman."[25] Without a word exchanged, a friendly relationship was established between the innkeeper and the travellers, one conducive to mutual benefit. A rather surly man was enticed into good feelings and the innkeeper - whose self-interest is impossible to decipher - gained two lodgers. Interpersonal skills set the tone of the social transactions between commercially

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[23] - "Extraits", La Bibliothèque Canadienne, Tome I, No.4, Septembre 1824, P.124.

[24] - MG24 A43, Lady Aylmer's Diary, P.69.

[25] - "The Itinerant", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.II, No.IX, March 1824, P.302.

interested strangers; these interdependencies necessitated appealing to a variety of sentiments that enhanced the self-esteem of the actors so that trust could be established and commerce take place. An exchange of 'good offices' was a corollary to the more tangible exchange of goods and services. Whether the 'art' of commerce involved deceit was not as important as the mutual gain in esteem and benefit that buyer and seller experienced. Furthermore, it was not even clear that there was deception, since one could willingly participate in what was taking place out of rational self-interest.

For some, the tendency to follow fashion, to be vain, to engage into relationships based on "Double-Entendre" [sic] and to be profligate spoke of the weakening of a Christian spirit and of the preponderance of feminine behaviours: "As the general spirit of religion, honour, and public love are weakened and vanished" wrote a commentator, "we may in truth conclude, that the ruling character of the present times is a vain, luxurious and selfish effeminacy."[26] The civic tradition had reinforced the contrast between a masculine virtue and a feminine indulgence using the gendered metaphor that opposed virtù to Fortuna and then virtue to corruption in the public sphere. Certainly Louis-Joseph Papineau thought that women were unable to part with artifices and were therefore unsuited to political virtue. As the crisis of 1837 was approaching, he urged men to boycott foreign-made wine and brandy and switch to locally produced whiskey, but he thought that women could not so easily make an equivalent gesture for they needed their trinkets and baubles: "...il leur faut quelques colifichets pour parure."[27] Inheriting the republican and otherworldly manner of seeing things, Papineau thought of men as creatures of sacrifice and of women as creatures of indulgence. But the eighteenth century thinkers who conceived of the marketplace as the site of free exchanges between all self-interested individuals exploded the duality of feminine artificiality and manly morality. The marketplace was a thriving, pulsating cosmopolitan locus of activity where people came to trade, barter and exchange ideas as well as products and goods; it was open to all who were concerned with building ties among strangers and profiting from the interaction in a peaceful

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[26] - "Characteristics of the Age", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.IV, No.XIX, January 1825, P.62. Edward Hundert relates the fear some commentators had of appearing 'effeminate' when interacting in this kind of environment. The Enlightenment's Fable, P.212-218.

[27] - Le Populaire, 17 Mai 1837.

manner. The behaviours required for this new kind of sociability involved human skills that were, at once, beneficial to the individuals concerned and necessary to the growth of society as a whole. The eighteenth century understanding of the marketplace placed universal self-interest at the centre of the new commercial age and de-gendered the skills involved.[28] Far exceeding the private domain of politeness and manners, the development of those skills was essential to life in society at large.

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[28] - It is important to note that, as a concept, the marketplace was a public place that had nothing to do with the public sphere which was the domain of politics. A category of analysis based on the separation between the public (politics) and private (family) spheres - with their attendant masculine and feminine attributes - cannot come to grips with the kind of sociability that was proposed. Studying the marketplace from the vantage point of the separate spheres 'genders' it in ways never intended by those who wrote about it and perpetuates the view that the only women in the marketplace were prostitutes who bartered sex for money. The study of commercial sociability requires a language in keeping with the type of social organization that viewed the interplay between the passions and the interests as constructive and positive. The morality it proposed differed significantly from the 'otherworldly' duality contrasting masculine with feminine notions that shaped "the common sense of the nineteenth-century social world" recovered by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall in their study of English Protestant England. See Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes, Men and Women of the English middle class, 1780-1850, London: Hutchison, 1987, P.451.

2) THE SEARCH FOR HARMONY

The centrality of appearances and masks in modern sociability raised the possibility that truth did not exist, that all identities were mere appearances and that the self was a creation of the imaginations of all those involved. These thoughts induced one commentator to reflect on the nature of truth and deceit. Affirming the existence of truth, he explored man's natural impulses to use his creative imagination to hide it. Only in deceit did humans find an outlet for their creativity. Deceit - or l'erreur, as he called it - "propose aux facultés de l'homme un vaste théatre sur lequel elles peuvent se produire avec éclat."[29] Bored with the simplicity of truth which offered no possibility for embellishment and therefore provided no outlet for his 'arts', man much preferred to celebrate and challenge his own genius by fabricating versions of it. The commentator made the particularly important point that beneath the layers of deceit and artificial constructs there lay a truth to be found. There was a core that was stable and certain once all the masks had been peeled away. The commentator premised the existence of a truth in a general kind of way; another commentator was much more specific on how that truth could be recovered. He contrasted literature that yielded "to the caprice of opinion or the novelty of fashionable sentiment" with scientific knowledge "that advances with slow but undeviating pace in the footsteps of truth." Cultural and belief systems might change over time, he conceded, but beyond these phenomena remained a hidden but stable and enduring core that science could unveil.[30]

Incorporating contingency within the framework of modernity called for assessing its impact. Commentators felt compelled to reflect on the boundaries in which contingent matters were allowed to enhance life and explore if they composed the entirety of the human experience. If they did, then humans and their beliefs would be nothing more than the creation of their own imaginations which pointed to an edifice that was entirely artificial and that had no 'higher' purpose or end. These two commentators,

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[29] - "La Vérité", La Bibliothèque Canadienne, Tome 1, No.6, Octobre 1825, P.191.

[30] - "General Literature: and the Causes that Influence the Revolutions of Opinion", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.III, 1824, P.513-518.

however, found it necessary to re-affirm the presence of a core, an essence, a truth, however hidden, in order to give meaning to life's experiences. In this, they moved away from some of their eighteenth century predecessors, like Diderot, who believed the self to be nothing else than the sum total of its appearances.

Aware of the ways in which sociability could deceive made the moderns reflect on the nature of the self. They spoke about the instances where deception was obviously at work and discussed the manner in which it could be unmasked. They did not reject artful display but sought to harmonize the appearances of the public self with the invisible and essential self. This did not obliterate the masks but softened the disjunctions that could surface between the 'reality' and its appearance and ensured that earthly rewards went to the meritorious. The search for harmony characterized the manner in which Canadians addressed their various artificial creations.

The way Canadians discussed the naming of physical sites reflected the search for a literary representation that was in harmony with their 'essence'. It was thought that names should respect the topography, the geography and the history of the sites in ways that did not create a disturbance to the mind and the ear. The poet and amateur historian Michel Bibaud expressed his dismay when the names of Niagara and Toronto were changed. Newark and York, he wrote, hardly conveyed the evocative beauty and the 'essence' of the aboriginal names first given. The new ones were positively discordant when compared to the original ones: "D'un côté l'harmonie et la majesté; de l'autre les sons les plus heurtés et les plus durs."[31] The same concern underscored John Fleming's dislike of the new names given by the Lower Canadian Assembly to certain counties. Dating from 1792, the names of Cornwallis, Devon and Effingham reflected the English nature of the colony; replacing them with French names altered their identity.[32] As far, however, as L'Observateur was concerned, the changes were not arbitrary but in harmony with the French nature of the colony and its inhabitants: the new names did not deceive one concerning

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[31] - Michel Bibaud, Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens sous la domination anglaise, Montréal: Lovell et Gibson, 1844, P.171.

[32] - John Fleming, Political Annals of Lower Canada being a Review of the Political and Legislative History of the Province, Montreal: Montreal Herald and New Montreal Gazette, 1828, P.XIV.

the nature of the sites.[33] While the magazine and Fleming may have disagreed about what constituted the essence of the colony, they shared the concern that naming be in harmony with the 'reality' the names purported to depict.

The same kind of concerns surfaced regarding the public display of individuals. An article in La Bibliothèque Canadienne made it clear that the colours worn communicated a message and that individuals ought to be aware that their external appearances spoke of them and of their identities. The art of making colours talk - "l'art de faire parler les couleurs" - had been developed to the point that it was possible to dress in "un habit moral de l'homme [et] de la femme".[34] By wearing certain colours (purple for prudence, grey for knowledge and black for courage, simplicity and virtue) individuals could convey the 'reality' of their essence as they understood it. The disjunction between being and appearing was evident in those who lacked the kind of education that made a gentleman's company enjoyable. A certain Mr.G, for example, certainly could not expect to be esteemed and respected when he tried to impress with his "érudition d'emprunt" and portrayed himself as an expert on everything. The kind of image he wished to convey only made clearer the emptiness of his words and his shallow knowledge. Such individuals, the author added, were a plague on society and ought to be shunned.[35] By publicizing Mr. G's behaviour, the author was pointing out that he was deceiving only himself and that others were on to him. They could unmask the discordance between who he really was and who he pretended to be and refuse to extend the public recognition he so deceivingly sought.

The same point was made by another observer. Concerned that esteem was extended to the wealthy "on whom fortune has lavished her favors", he could not comprehend why people "crouch[ed] or cringe[d] to the arrogant self-sufficiency of wealth, standing on no other merit."[36] The respect shown in this

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[33] - L'Observateur, Tome II, No.1, Janvier 1831, P.8.

[34] - "Le Language des couleurs", La Bibliothèque Canadienne, Tome II, No.2, Janvier 1826, P.64-65.

[35] - "Vous le Connaissez", La Bibliothèque Canadienne, Tome I, No.5, Octobre 1825, P.44. Le Canadien had raised a similar concern about being and appearing on March 14, 1807.

[36] - "Rich Folk", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.I, No.V, November 1823, P.441.

kind of situation was really directed at the things the individual possessed and not at the individual himself. The individual could be brought in line with his unmerited public image if he altered himself sufficiently to fit the role. One commentator accordingly suggested a type of education that would bring him up to the social standards required to resolve the tension. Schooled in the arts necessary to trade, the young man would learn maritime and other law, history, geography, finance and insurance; all the arts and sciences that went along with the scientific manner of doing business. Such an education would give him the knowledge necessary to plan future commercial endeavours instead of relying on speculation and risk; it would also inculcate the habits of 'economy and industry' that characterized civilized men.[37] A coarse man would then be turned into a gentlemen and earn esteem in the way humans ought to: through knowledge, perfected talents and industry; through restraint and calculation. This would also channel his energies into commercial avenues that would benefit the public. The profits thus earned would have moral content and the esteem garnered by the discreet display of the things money could buy would be justified. If, from the outset, an individual only lucked into a sociability of gentlemen, he would eventually fit the mould and through force of habit become one.

When an individual succeeded in harmonizing his public appearance with his perfected talents he became truly meritorious. Ross Cuthbert's description of the 'real' legislator made the point perfectly. Guided by reason and cool rationalizations, his physical presence did not distract the attention but focussed it: "Le port ferme; la physionomie tranquille, la parole douce, mesurée et lente; des idées exactes et lumineuses, rendues avec une précision mathématique sont les qualités les plus naturelles à l'éloquence délibérative."[38] Learned and meritorious legislators not only spoke well but they also looked strong and manly when they were doing it. The masks they wore suited them and were, therefore, not seen as masks

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[37] - "On Commercial Education", The Canadian Magazine, P.9-10.

[38] - Ross Cuthbert, L'Aéropage, Québec, Neilson, 1803. P.7. Cuthbert's long-ish poem compared the deliberation of the members of the Assembly to the hot-headedness of Legislative Councillors. That speech could work with mathematical precision was part of an eighteenth century notion that recovered mathematical patterns in a variety of human expressions. Pierre Bédard had playfully applied probability mathematics to grammar, music and words. Pierre Bédard, Notes de philosophie, mathématiques, chimie, politique et journal, 1798-1810, Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Manuscrit M-241.

at all. An observer in Le Canadien made a similar point when he described two men discussing the chief topic of the day, the election of judges to the Assembly. The man who supported the disliked measure "was fat, dressed in a richly ostentatious coat and posed for the gallery; one hand on his wallet and his other arm nonchalantly draped over a chair"; by contrast, the man who opposed the proposition was thin, soberly dressed and composed.[39] The external signs spoke volumes. They indicated that the former's words were not to be trusted but that the latter's could: he was transparent, what he appeared to be, unemcumbered by a mask. By the same token, the writer was also revealing his position in regards to the hated measure.

Canadians examined the conduct and behaviours of each other to detect any discrepancy between essence and appearance. The times demanded that kind of harmony since men of learning and taste could always tell the difference and that individuals were morally bound to listen to the dictates of their conscience. As Adam Thom wrote to Lord Gosford "moral honesty and literary taste equally demand a perfect harmony between an invisible idea and its visible symbol."[40] While Thom seemed quite certain that deceit could be uncovered, others had to rely on the way things looked: they had to be able to suppose that what they saw indicated what was there.

When they discussed the 'art' of rhetoric, Canadians showed themselves aware that the spoken word was a representation of a 'reality'. They also saw a potential for deception that was overwhelming. Traditionally associated with the legislator, rhetoric was the ability to convince and persuade. Nineteenth century Canadians extended the 'art' of eloquence to a wide range of individuals as part of the process of facilitating social interaction and enhancing exchanges between individuals in everyday life.[41]

In an 1835 book intended for students of the Montreal seminary, Joseph Vincent Quiblier, the Superior of the Montreal Sulpiciens, stressed that rhetoric contributed to all the facets of a man's interaction

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[39] - Le Canadien, 26 Mars 1808.

[40] - Adam Thom, [Camillus], Anti-Gallic Letters: Addressed to his Excellency The Earl of Gosford, Governor-in Chief of the Canadas, Montreal: Printed at the Herald Office, 1836, P.206.

[41] - "On Eloquence", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.III, No.XV, September 1824, P.183, Le Canadien, 31 Janvier 1807.

with others: "...elle influe encore dans tout le commerce de la vie."[42] Indeed, rhetoric was an important social skill; it facilitated the exchange between fellow beings and contributed to advancing one's interest and enhancing the esteem one held in their eyes. Rhetoric perfected the natural talent of eloquence and the combination of the two was unbeatable since it added to an orator's ability to captivate and convince.[43]

Most revealing of Quiblier's modernity was his description of rhetoric as a tool to ape reality without being the 'real' thing. Rhetoric, he said, encompassed des moeurs oratoires, and was something that differed from moeurs réelles - the domain of the moral man. A man who spoke according to moeurs oratoires, then, was not virtuous but 'appeared to be virtuous.'[44] The art of rhetoric did not provide a transparent reflection of the natural self but gave the orator a tool to project a well crafted imitation of it: "Le soin que l'orateur prend de gagner l'estime et la confiance de ses auditeurs, en donnant une opinion avantageuse de son mérite personnel. Par où l'on voit que la Rhétorique n'enseigne pas la pratique, mais seulement l'imitation ou l'expression des moeurs."[45] Quiblier made it clear that an art was an art and produced something that was artificial, something, for instance, that imitated, or represented virtue, but was not virtue.[46] To reassure his audience, however, he added that rhetoric could not make an unvirtuous man appear virtuous. Indeed, its laws and rules were predicated on the assumption that the passions called on, the outrage felt, the sentiments reproduced were genuine; an orator could not pull it off if the sentiments he evoked were false. His lack of sincerity would eventually give him away: "...il se trahiroit

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[42] - Joseph Vincent Quiblier, Cours abrégé de rhétorique à l'usage du Collège de Montréal, Montréal: Leclerc et Jones, 1835, P.7-8.

[43] - Ibid., P.10.

[44] - "Mais qu'un homme paraisse vertueux, quand il parle; il aura ce qu'on appelle moeurs oratoires." Ibid, P.71.

[45] - Ibid.

[46] - Quiblier reflected a Jansenist approach to a virtue developed in contact with worldly matters. In this context, virtue only aped or looked like virtue but was not virtue. Found among other places in the works of Pierre Nicole, the concept was vital to the formulation of Enlightenment secularism. See Dale Van Kley, "Pierre Nicole, Jansenism and the Morality of Enlightened Self-Interest", in Alan C, Kors and J. Korshin eds., Anticipations of the Enlightenment in England, Germany and France, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

toujours par quelqu'endroit."[47] In this case, Quiblier was providing his readers with a way to make the representation harmonize with the reality. He estimated that rhetoric reproduced and amplified for an audience something that was natural to an individual; what an orator wanted to say had to incorporate a part of his nature; the art could hide only for a short time the discordance between what one was and what one professed to be. Rhetoric was an art that one learned, developed and mastered in order to provide others with a full picture of the truth of one's mind and though the picture was nothing but a representation of the intent, it was nevertheless a faithful one.

Egerton Ryerson, on the other hand, believed that when a Methodist minister preached the word of God he spoke in an 'otherworldly' manner. Inspired by Providence, a minister was not motivated by self-interest and worldliness but by grace and his words were not an 'art' that could deceive but divine inspiration.[48] Nonetheless, when addressing men and women in secular contexts, he was likely to deal in modern notions about the 'art' of rhetoric. In his inaugural speech at Victoria College, Ryerson referred to "...the art of speaking well." Speech, he said, was "...a great instrument of intercourse between man and man; and who can speak well, both in public and in private, on all subjects in which he may be concerned, possesses a power more enviable and formidable than that of the sword; he possesses empire over the mind, the more admirable as it is entirely voluntary."[49] Not only did rhetoric serve to enhance one's position in the eyes of others; it also gave one a real measure of power over others that was more subtle than coercion. Ryerson was aware that this could pose a problem: rhetoric, he added, was not the art of "dressing up falsehood in the guise of truth, or fiction in the form of reality"; it was the instrument one used

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[47] - Quiblier, Cours de rhétorique, P.71.

[48] - Egerton Ryerson, Wesleyan Methodism in Upper Canada; A Sermon, Preached Before the Conference of Ministers of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Canada, Toronto: Printed at the Conference Office, 1837, P.6-7 and 13. William Westfall explores the differences and the similarities between Upper Canadian Methodism and Anglicanism in "Order and Experience: Patterns of Religious Metaphor in Early Nineteenth Century Upper Canada", Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol.20, No.1(Printemps 1985 Spring) P.5-24.

[49] - Egerton Ryerson, Inaugural Address on the nature and advantages of an English and Liberal Education, delivered at the opening of Victoria College, Toronto: Guardian Office, 1842. P.18.

to express nature and truth.[50]

Both Quiblier and Ryerson were concerned with man's motives and honesty. They hoped that users of rhetoric would capture with their words the purity of their inner selves. But they could not escape the fact that rhetoric was an oral representation of things and that it could be used to dissimulate and to deceive. There always existed the possibility that someone would be adept enough to fool people and make them believe erroneously that he spoke the truth. After all, some men could use words just the way others used any artful display: to appear to be what they were not. Acknowledging that masks existed and reflecting on their meaning enabled an individual to be critical of an orator's words and perforce of his own; seeing that others wore masks, he would see that he did too. Discussing rhetoric in the context of appearances gave people insights into the workings of social relationships.

According to commentators of the day there was one way to guard against deceivers and that was to be conversant with the laws of rhetoric. These were neither arbitrarily devised nor created on a whim. They were drawn from nature, reason and experience and had matured over the centuries. There was nothing in the laws of rhetoric that did not meet vigorous scientific requirements - something essential when the passions were being marshalled into action.[51] Knowledge of these requirements would give the listener the ability to distinguish between someone who met them and someone who did not. Only this type of knowledge ensured that one could seize upon disjunctions between words that embellished truth and ones which conveyed it: able listeners could distinguish "..between eloquence and the mere tricks of sophistry"[52], between deceiving intents and truthful ones.

In the end, however, no absolute certainty could ever exist about the spoken word: the fact was

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[50] - Rhetoric was "rightly understood and applied, the language of nature and truth - and is designed to exhibit both in their native power and splendour." Ibid., P.18.

[51] - Close adherence to the rules of rhetoric calmed the passions by ensuring that they were in line with the type of opinions expressed and to the kind of response sought.

[52] - "On Eloquence", P.196.

that a cunning and knowledgeable orator could always deceive.[53] He could entice his audience into extending to him esteem and commitments that were unmerited. A sociability and an order that relied on the spoken word would forever be tinged by contingency and the moderns preferred to rely on the stable and verifiable written word for communicating the truth. It too, however, came under public scrutiny in discussions on public opinion and an impartial press and it, too, proved to be open to question.

Certainly public opinion was unstable: 'the airy monarch', as The Quebec Mercury called it, was subject to change for no obvious reasons and nothing could predict its course.[54] "Il est dommage", said Pierre Bédard, "qu'il n'y ait pas un moyen de la gouverner."[55] Public opinion was vague and formless; according to one author it was made up of "...secret whispers and insinuations, quietly, but assiduously circulated among the unthinking multitude." Once in existence, these whispers grew bolder, appealed to prejudices and ended up in 'inflammatory discourses' which bewitched crowds "...who swallow every extravagance...repeat with confidence and communicate with one another without reflexion, without discrimination or any regard to truth."[56] The power of public opinion was clear in the fact that there was no better way to destroy a reputation than with seemingly innocuous gossip.[57] Bishop Strachan warned his pupils that nothing endangered Christian morality and the ties between a teacher and his pupils more than calumny.[58] Another observer remarked that in a public press no one's reputation was secure.[59] The difficulty encountered in finding a stable public opinion was made particularly clear in discussions of an

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[53] - Due to the unreliability of the testimonies of witnesses, empirical and material evidence became necessary to prove the culpability of criminals in courts of law.

[54] - The Quebec Mercury, 26 January 1805.

[55] - MG42 B1 Vol.4, Pierre Bédard à John Neilson, 20 Mars 1824.

[56] - "On the Expediency of Educating the People", P.20.

[57] - Talebearing a Great Sin. A Sermon by Clark Bentom, protestant missionary, Quebec: John Neilson, 1801. P.7-8. Le Canadien, 9 Juillet 1808.

[58] - Strachan, The Christian Religion Recommended in a Letter to his Pupils, Montreal: Nahum Mower, 1807, P.8.

[59] - Le Canadien, 24 Février 1810.

impartial press.

Impartial newspaper writing, according to Thomas Cary, editor of The Quebec Mercury, consisted in going beyond "tenacious and obstinate self-love" to the "rigid observance of impartiality."[60] Impartiality meant setting aside self-interest in writers and audience alike; it meant reporting without bias and proposing facts and evidence that proved a point rather than making unfounded propositions which inflamed the imagination: "Tout ce qui parait dans un papier de la nature de celui-ci doit se soutenir de soi-même par la notoriété des faits et l'évidence des raisons et ce serait introduire un vrai charlatanisme que de vouloir y ajouter foi par d'autres moyens."[61] Presenting facts without interpretation would keep the record straight and permit individuals to see the naked truth and judge it for themselves. It was with this intention in mind that William Lyon Mackenzie published The Legislative Black List of Upper Canada. It cited verbatim speeches made in the Assembly, published the voting record for each member and gave a list of offices and incumbents.[62] Omitting the name of the contributors, as was the practice at the time, served the purpose of having each piece assessed on its merits and not according to the esteem or hatred a reader might have for its author. Indeed, printing the names of authors could turn the freest of presses into "un véhicule de flatterie."[63] A free press had to be strong, occupying the ground between the influential and corrupted "grands" and the virtuous "petits".[64] It further had to inform uniformly, aligning itself with neither side; otherwise, as Pierre Bédard wrote, it would create factions: "...[elle] ne servirait qu'à créer des

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[60] - The Quebec Mercury, 19 January 1805. That impartiality counteracted self-love was a point made often. Le Canadien, 26 Décembre 1806, 3 Janvier 1807, Le Fantasque, 11 Juin 1838.

[61] - Le Canadien, 3 Janvier 1807.

[62] - William Lyon Mackenzie, The Legislative Black List of Upper Canada: or official corruption and Hypocrisy unmasked, York: Office of the Colonial Advocate, 1828. While Mackenzie gave the facts, he chose them carefully and commented on the meaning of various legislations and appointments.

[63] - Printing names "...convertirait sur le champ la presse la plus libre en un véhicule de flatterie." Le Canadien, 3 Janvier 1807 and Camillus [John Henry], An Enquiry into the Evils of General Suffrage and Frequent Elections in Lower Canada, Montreal: Nahum Mower, 1810. P.II.

[64] - Le Canadien, 25 Juillet 1807.

divisions odieuses" and lose its freedom in the process.[65] In other words, newspapers and those who wrote for them had to adhere to standards that allowed them to see beyond the masks of society. In this there was an obvious problem. Self-interested writers addressed an audience made up of a multitude of self-interested individuals and groups steeped in customs and habits and prejudices that required to be informed, wooed, educated and set straight. When a newspaper failed to harmonize its content to the wants of its audience, it risked its own demise even when the audience's taste was ruled by whim and fancy.[66]

Reflecting on the financial collapse of a local newspaper called Le Courier, a commentator from Le Canadien blamed its editors for failing to stay in touch with the needs of its readership. The paper had not carried articles about subjects familiar to its readers in a language they understood. Furthermore, it had paid too little attention to ordinary people; it should have taken its cue from the wily politician - le rusé candidat - who knew that ten votes from 'artisans' were worth more than two from gentlemen. In the end, a paper reliant on public support had to be understood by the people who paid good money for it.[67] Thomas Cary, facing a similar predicament, wrote that "...in order to be all man to all things, wisdom, sometimes, finds it requisite to put on the garb of folly."[68] Newspapers had to be as elusive and as capricious as the public opinion they professed to serve. The key was to know just how far to go.[69] However, unable to translate impartiality into a 'truth' that satisfied them both, Le Canadien and The Quebec Mercury were at odds from the beginning.

The quarrel was rather theatrical, according to one commentator, who referred to: "...ces scènes déshonorantes pour les acteurs et pour le parterre qui y applaudit; où l'on met en action les préjugés et

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[65] - Le Canadien, 22 Novembre 1806.

[66] - Le Canadien, 12 Aoust 1807.

[67] - Ibid.

[68] - The Quebec Mercury, 30 December 1805.

[69] - "Il faut promettre un tant soit peu plus de beurre que de pain afin de tenir le lecteur toujours en haleine; mais il ne faut pas outrepasser les bornes de la possibilité." MG24 L8 M-8, Ma Saberdache Bleue, Debartzch à Jacques Viger, 9 Janvier 1809.

les passions, où la raison et l'amour du bien perdent tous leurs droits."[70] Indeed the modern domain of public opinion was a theatrical display, carried out in public by the public and for the public; it tied actors together in uncharted ways since "nothing was more captivating yet more capricious than public applause".[71]

The problem with public opinion was that it had no stable core, no certainty, no standard. This made it easy for deceivers - demagogues and charlatans - to offer to the crowds what the crowds wanted to hear rather than any impartial 'truth.' Public opinion, then, functioned in fortune-like ways. It acted on whim and fashion, it lacked a core, it deceived and escaped whatever laws or injunctions humans could concoct. That an individual's position could be dependent on such an arbitrary and uncontrollable force reinforced the fragility and the inconstancy of a modern sociability. That fragility, however, was a strength as well as a weakness. The social system's lack of rules and boundaries facilitated entry of a large number of individuals who, in turn, brought a wide array of sensibilities that checked the most preposterous claims to esteem, riches and power that others could put forward. Individuals who put their self-interest ahead of the public good could be discovered and unmasked. In many ways, a varied and prothean public opinion was self-policing; it offered many opportunities for the recognition of merit and, by the same token, it increased the likelihood that those who acted in a fortune-like manner would be unmasked. Deceivers, demagogues and charlatans were denounced in the press, in pamphlets and in speeches at every turn.

A pamphlet denouncing the conduct of Assembly member Louis Bourdages appeared in 1811. It accused him of every trick a conjurer could muster.[72] His politics resembled "l'habit de l'Arlequin".[73] All he

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[70] - Le Canadien, 25 Juillet 1807.

[71] - "Ma Philosophie" par Sir James Scarlett, L'Observateur, Tome II, No.12, Mars 1831, P.180.

[72] - Its uncertain authorship is attributed to Pierre Dominique Debartzch or Jacques Viger, both colleagues of Bourdages. The pamphlet was satirical in that it consisted in a letter supposedly written by Bourdages to his brother in which he acknowledged his many deceptions. The author(s) of the pamphlet thus made him speak the 'truth' about the apparent truths he was publicly expounding thereby exposing what they thought was his real intent. Vie Politique de Mr.xxx, ex-membre de la Chambre d'Assemblée du Bas Canada. &&&, No Publisher given 1814.

[73] - Depictions of Fortune often represented her with one side of her face white and the other black in a domino-like way.

accomplished "sous le masque du bien public" was in fact done to foster his own interest. He lied to the uneducated farmers and vacillated on important questions while exploiting his position on unimportant ones. The Speaker of the House had uncovered his hypocrisy and said of him that he acted only "pour tromper les électeurs; que je [Bourdages] n'étais qu'un charlatan." Manipulating every aspect of the truth to give every one what he or she wanted was a favourite tool of charlatans and demagogues who deceived those who longed for panaceas. Bourdages was a demagogue and, if we believe Bishop Strachan, demagogues were shallow men who revelled in things that were contingent and unstable. "With shallow men, the fashion is everything, whether in their mode of dress or of thinking. On this principle we account for those furious enthusiasts of the present day for undefined liberty and unrestrained licentiousness."[74] Ruled by their own passions, demagogues were likely to deceive and appeal to the equally unmediated passions of those who asked for nothing more than be offered artifices. Denis-Benjamin Viger made the point elegantly when he spoke of demagogues as men who received facile applause from their equally passionate and mercenary friends: "Quelques ignorants applaudissent à un beau nom et ne voient pas, comme le renard d'Esope, qu'un buste quelque beau qu'il soit, est sans cervelle."[75] Far from being true to themselves, those who bent to the political winds cloaked themselves in the appearances of respectability without fooling those who understood that 'l'habit ne fait pas le moine'. Indeed, when Dominique Mondelet changed his political colours and agreed to be nominated to the Executive Council, Louis Hyppolyte Lafontaine was quick to 'unmask his hypocrisy'. Had the silk robe he had put on - la Toge Patricienne - not falsely given him the impression that he could now prophecy?[76] Those who wished to denounce, to unmask the

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[74] - John Strachan, The Christian Religion, P.6.

[75] - Denis-Benjamin Viger, Considérations, P.4.

[76] - Louis Hyppolyte Lafontaine, Les deux girouettes ou l'hypocrisie démasquée, Montréal: Ludger Duvernay, 1834. P.8. In answer, Hyacinthe Leblanc de Marconnay uncovered Lafontaine's pretensions to grandeur in altering the spelling of his name. "Louis Menard dit Lafontaine, autrement Louis Lafontaine Menard, ou enfin L.H. Lafontaine comme if se fait appeler actuellement..." La Petite Clique Dévoilée ou quelques explications sur les manoeuvres dirigées contre la minorité Patriotique, Rome, New York: 1835, P.5. The pamphlet was in fact printed somewhere in Lower Canada. Not to be undone, the reformer Charles-Ovide Perreault accused Leblanc de Marconnay of making these accusations in order to attract attention to himself. MG24 B37 Vol.1, Charles-Ovide Perreault à Edouard-Raymond Fabre, 27 Octobre 1835.

deceivers referred to them in the language of appearances to underscore the fact that their public utterances were not in harmony with their real intentions which made their public posturing an artificial creation of their own doing. They were appearances for appearance sake. The accusation, however, was rather easy to make since the intent of men was only known to themselves; therefore an unmasker could impute any motivation he wished. In the end, in modern sociability, anyone could be accused of deception.[77]

A substantial amount of 'unmasking' in the early nineteenth century consisted in accusing people of functioning according to selfish self-interest and accusing them of hypocrisy. These accusations were unsurprising since the intent of individuals was impossible to know; Canadians realized, too, that civilization offered the 'arts' to ape virtue without being virtuous. All had the ability to deceive. "Il est un métier que tout le monde exerce, dit Sénèque; c'est celui de charlatans" as the Etrennes Mignones put it in welcoming the year 1800.[78]

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[77] - "Quel est l'homme si vertueux qu'on ne puisse le représenter sous les plus noires couleurs si l'on se permet de tout avancer sans fondement." Le Canadien, 13 Décembre 1810. A similar thought appeared in Le Canadien, 24 Février 1810.

[78] - Etrennes Mignones pour l'année 1800, P.24.

3) THE PRIVATE SELF

While the inconstancy of modern public opinion contributed to checking the most blatant manifestations of self-love, it nevertheless left private individuals vulnerable. Faced with a sociability that was both porous and fragile, individuals reflected on the lack of stability and certainty of their public identity, something that forced them to search inward for a solid, private core.

Since all shared in the limelight, the individuals of the 'modern' age were the most consciously watched beings in history. This led to uncertainty: there was something unstable and complex about an identity built on how one looked to others and on their assessments. What, one was bound to ask, would be left when the masks behind which one lived one's life were removed. To explore this one had to conduct the search out of the gaze of others and turn inward to solitude and quietness where "the self found that it feels everything it wants within itself and receives no addition from [the] multitude of witnesses and spectators."[79] If solitary reflection had once been reserved to those seeking the path to God, it now might lead to the discovery of the fullness of being. The search, however, was conducted in much the same fashion; individuals peeled away the contingent layers of their worldly lives to arrive at the truth within.[80] Individuals searched for the truth in the same manner Boethius had; they reflected on the act of living once the inconstant gifts of Fortune had been taken away.

One poet certainly found the experience positive: in his 1820 piece, a man lost his herd and the tools of his trade; fire destroyed his home and ravaged his fields and to top it all his friends abandoned him and his beloved left him. He concluded:

Mais dans mon malheur extrême
Il me reste un trésor
Il vaut mieux qu'un diadème
Il est préférable à l'or
Si je me reste à moi-même

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[79] - The Quebec Mercury, 31 October 1808.

[80] - One author wrote that solitary confinement was conducive to great discoveries of the mind and ended by pointing out that it was when he was alone in jail that Boethius had composed his Consolation. Magazin du Bas Canada, Tome 1, No.3, Mars 1832, P.96.

Je possède encore.[81]

Forced to face life naked and alone, the individual still had his self - his core and that made him rich and secure still. In this case, the examination led to a solidification and enhancement of the inner self. In others, as the experience of Pierre Bédard showed, not much was left once the masks were removed. Appointed judge in Trois-Rivières, Bédard left Quebec city as something of a hero, having been jailed in 1810 on the orders of Governor Craig as a result of his editorship of Le Canadien and because of his activities in bringing the work of the Assembly to a standstill.[82] In Trois-Rivières, Bédard felt isolated from his supporters - out of their gaze - and felt powerless to influence public affairs. His attitude went from bad to worse when his marriage faltered.

His correspondence with John Neilson during this time shows a Pierre Bédard peeling away one by one the masks he had relied upon as an actor in society.[83] He blamed his life's failures on "un défaut d'apparence"; his small stature and natural timidity made it impossible to naturally command respect.[84] In the past, he had made up for his lack of physical presence by meritorious actions and public exertions for which he acquired much esteem and respect. But his wife was now undermining his position in the eyes of all those who surrounded him by spreading innuendoes, rumors, gossip and lies about him.[85] He was now unable to control the household servants: "Je suis dans la maison sans autorité quelconque",

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[81] - "Le Berger Malheureux" by Auguste Norbert Morin, Répertoire National, Vol. I., P.133.

[82] - His appointment as judge was a clever move on the part of the authorities. During the two years leading to his arrest, Bédard had championed a campaign against the practice of allowing judges to run for election to the Assembly. By naming Bédard judge, the authorities silenced him quite effectively, particularly since, by 1814, Trois Rivières was no longer the centre of political activity that it once had been.

[83] - The Bédard-Neilson correspondence on this subject lasted from November 1814 to the autumn of 1816 and can be found in the Neilson Collection, MG24 BI Vol.32. During this period, the Bédards separated once, made up and separated again. Of course, the correspondence only tells his side of the break-up. And even if Pierre Bédard thought and wrote as if his life was over, he remained in political life advising from the sidelines until his death in 1829. History confirmed his status as a 'hero' of the first constitutional struggles.

[84] - Bédard à Neilson, 4 Février 1815, 5 Mars 1815 and 11 Avril 1815.

[85] - Bédard à Neilson, 11 Novembre 1814, 5 Mars 1815

as he told Neilson.[86] In addition, she turned their friends against him[87] and he felt ostracized by polite society.[88] With Neilson's help, he examined the responsibility he bore for the situation: he found that he made enemies of everyone he came in contact with because of his natural "irritabilité" which only compounded his problems. While he may have merited the esteem of others in the past, he now found that this was no longer the case. His immediate solution was to disappear from view[89], to isolate himself completely and to seek in solitude the solace he could no longer find with others.[90]

When he heard rumors to the effect that his political friends were going to ask him to be their delegate to London, Bédard wrote that if his lack of physical presence was compensated for by some kind of evident merit he could probably pull it off. That, however, was not the situation: "...ce défaut n'est compensé par rien...il n'y a pas plus de realité que d'apparence..."; in his case, there was no reality behind the appearance.[91] Unable to see merit in himself and unable to fool others into thinking him meritorious, Bédard asked his friend Neilson to discourage the notion that he be sent to England to defend the interests of the colony.

Pierre Bédard felt he was being pilloried in the court of public opinion. No matter what he said to explain his conduct, he could never be assured of being believed. The requirements of social intercourse in the new age were not easy to meet. No matter how consistent with one's natural self the masks worn were, the edifice created was a fragile one. Experiencing the 'loss' of the masks upon which he depended, Pierre Bédard found little to comfort him. But precisely because he understood what was happening, he could become aware and examine his conduct and his 'real' self. He could reflect, in solitude, on who he

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[86] - Bédard à Neilson, 11 Novembre 1814.

[87] - Bédard à Neilson, 11 Novembre 1814, 5 Mars 1815.

[88] - Bédard à Neilson, 8 Mars 1815, 19 Mars 1815, 11 April 1815.

[89] - Bédard à Neilson, 5 Mars 1815. "Il n'y a point d'autre remède que de se cachez [sic] à la vue de toút le monde."

[90] - Bédard à Neilson, 8 Mars 1815.

[91] - Bédard à Neilson, 4 Février 1815.

really was, something that led to a renewed meaning in the act of living. Had Bédard not been able to confront the fact that he had been engaged in worldly pursuits he might not have taken personal responsibility for his condition; he might have put the blame for his difficulties entirely on others and, alleging that appearance and reality were the same, present himself as a victim.

Examining the unmasked self could also lead to scrutinizing the relationship between collective wisdom and the individual and noting the possible discordance between who one was and the customs, traditions and habits that society imposed on all. Reflecting on the moral, civil, political and economic coverings thrust upon an individual after his birth certainly led at least one observer to interesting conclusions about the implications this had for the self. What happened, he asked, when what an individual was being taught did not match his natural self - son état. In such a case a man might find himself being directed to act in certain ways "mais son état s'y oppose"; if he persisted and did so act the result would be nothing less than slavery. He would be behaving according to the prejudices, the customs, and habits he learned even if his reason told him to act differently.[92] And no matter how prevalent those prejudices, customs and habits were, they remained relative and temporary. They differed in time and in space and should be judged accordingly.[93] The problem of socialization was thus twofold: it created pressures that might distort the natural self - whatever that might be - and severely restrict free will; indeed, the individual could find himself at odds with the cultural values of his birth community, something that would intensify his private identity; it further created the possibility that individuals would mistake a set of contingent values for a timeless, universal truth. 'Un Homme sans Préjugé' therefore stressed the double-edged nature of education: "Oh éducation! fontaine de délices! faut-il que de la même source il sorte des effets si opposés! Oh éducation! qui devrait détruire les préjugés; faut-il que tu les augmentes et les engendres même!"[94]

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[92] - Le Canadien, 23 Décembre 1809. 'Un Homme sans Préjugés'. "C'est un esclavage...qui force l'homme au préjugé même quand sa raison voudrait l'en éloigner."

[93] - Ibid., The commentator gave the example of the harsh judgment passed on the cannibalism of a Chilean. Firstly the man should not be judged harshly since he acted well within the norms of his community and secondly the judgement was based in the values of another culture, values that were equally relative in time and space.

[94] - Ibid.

For him, education was being used to engrain prejudices rather than universal principles. The values specific to communities were not, in his mind, conducive to universal fellow-feeling and tolerance because they strengthened particularist sensibilities. Community values, in effect, were masks that blinded the individuals in ways that were far more profound and pernicious than the manner in which those worn by private individuals blinded them.

4) THE NOSTALGIC SELF

The premise that all individuals were motivated by self-love did not sit well with those who yearned for a self-sacrificing virtue, for an unaltered, transparent self and for the simple ties of kinship; they did not always accept the duplicity involved in the new ways and doubted that it led to the public good. Some turned to the past, or to what they thought the past was: they looked to a period when things were simpler, more moral and more straightforward, an era when people, having little, and living simple lives, wore no masks. In looking for a kind of 'otherworldly' community, modern men found a state of nature that was not 'backwards' but where manners were pristine, pure, and uncorrupted and then opposed this in typical otherworldly fashion to the corruption and falseness of modernity. In doing this, however, they did not always heed the warning published in the Etrennes Mignones for 1800: "Rien n'empêche tant d'être naturel que l'envie de le paraitre."[95] They failed to see that the 'modern' desire to appear 'natural' was itself a kind of deception. 'Naturalness' itself turned out to be a mask.

That nature was a kind of mask was made clear in the nineteenth century romantic poems that celebrated its gentleness. Nothing spoke of its douceur and purity as much as new-fallen snow. "Fall in your wonderful purity, Fair as a bride's unsullied dress" the poet Isidore Ascher wrote, "Fall like the light of an infant's smile, That sweetly beams for a mother alone"[96]. The same gentleness and purity characterized the description of summer scenes.[97] It also appeared in contrasts with far away lands.[98]

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[95] - Etrennes Mignones pour l'année 1800, P.25.

[96] - "The Falling Snow" by Isidore G. Ascher, cited in Dewart's Selections from Canadian Poets, P.290-291.

[97] - "Je me promenais...sur une colline charmante; sa crête était couronnée de frais et touffus bocages dont l'ombre se glissait jusqu'à ses pieds qu'arrosait un lac pur et limpide." Le Fantasque, 21 Juillet 1838. The author likened himself to Jean-Jacques Rousseau "...entonnant une hymne d'actions de grâces en l'honneur de la nature."

[98] - The poem "I've wandered in the Sunny South" by John F. M'Donnell compared glorious southern sunsets and the breathtaking beauties of Italy, Greece and Europe's lands to the poet's northern home where "...her islands and her lakes; And her forests old, where not a sound - The tomb-like silence breaks. - More lovely in her snowy dress, Or in her vesture green, - Than all the pride of Europe's lands - Or Asia's glittering sheen." Cited in Dewart's Selections from Canadian Poets, P.164-165. Similar traveller's

Unspoiled nature - simple, pure and clean - was presented as the alternative to city life rife with noise, dirt, glitter and corruption just as it had been in the Wheel of Fortune. The crime-free country stood in contrast to the troubled city: it was "...loin du spectacle des villes, de leurs vanités de leurs vices et de leurs soucis."[99] Those who inhabited the countryside were as pure as the environment that moulded them. For Denis-Benjamin Viger, the peasantry, untouched by modernity, retained its original characteristics. One could look fondly on: "...la politesse simple et naïve de la majorité de la basse classe des citoyens qui n'a pas encore éprouvé l'influence corruptrice d'un changement de moeurs..."[100] According to another observer, farmers being less vain than city people, were harder to corrupt or deceive and had an instinctual grasp of the truth of things: "...les politesses et les complimens ne les dérangent pas; ils regardent au solide et on ne les dupent pas aussi aisément; mais les villes sont remplies d'un tas de gueux et de demi-gueux, qui tous essayent [sic] de se hausser et sont tous avides des honneurs et friands des politesses des personnes d'un rang élevé".[101] Born to simplicity and frugality, country dwellers were less likely to break familial ties and be enticed by the glamor of the cities.[102] Their kinship bonds were straightforward and non duplicitous; they were free of the displays and artificialities that characterized the individualism of modern sociability.

Some early nineteenth century men made it very clear how much they valued poverty and simplicity over worldliness. When The Quebec Mercury compared the lives of the rich and the poor, it contrasted the

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sentiments are expressed in "Le Luth de la Montagne": "J'ai vu devant moi, sans envie, - S'ouvrir de superbes palais: - C'est toi ma cabane chérie, - Qui peut remplir tous mes souhaits. " La Bibliothèque Canadienne, Tome II, No.2, January 1826. P.48-52.

[99] - Le Fantasque, 21 Juillet 1838. Le Vrai Canadien, 29 Aout 1810. There certainly exists an analogy between what is presented here and the republican-country political paradigm that valued the transparency of the warrior-farmer.

[100] - Viger, Considérations, P.49.

[101] - Le Canadien, 5 Septembre 1807.

[102] - What they had to be on guard against was made clear by Le Vrai Canadien: "Des jeunes gens jusque là sages et vertueux n'ont pas été plutôt entrainés une fois dans ces lieux horribles où l'impureté réside, qu'ils volent leurs pères, leurs maitres et tout ce qui leur tombe sous la main pour le porter à l'infâme objet de leur amour effréné." Le Vrai Canadien, 29 aout 1810.

benefits of having little with the disadvantages of having plenty. Possessing nothing but subsistence, the poor slept soundly, had better health, and, having nothing to lose, did not fear losing it: they "...laugh and dance and sing and love..."[103] On the other hand, rich men worried about losing their riches, overate and grew fat from overindulgence; under close scrutiny, the life of the rich was a dismal affair. Scarcity, meanwhile, enabled an individual to have "that contempt which attends poverty" and pushed him to explore new avenues, something the rich, dulled by money, would not do.[104] Moreover, to attain some kind of social recognition without being born to riches was an indication of real worth and merit. When Louis-Joseph Papineau gave reformer-doctor Jacques Labrie's eulogy, he emphasized Labrie's poor beginnings and subsequent self-sacrifice and praised the doctor for leaving nothing but the memory of his good name: "Il ne laisse pour toute fortune à sa famille qu'un nom sans tache et le souvenir d'une vie pleine de mérites."[105] Living in honest poverty became a badge of honour and a proof of virtue and worthiness. When a witness described the students of one of the poorest parishes, he referred to their torn clothes as "...des drapeaux victorieux..," garments attesting to their triumph over adversity.[106] If nothing else poverty kept people virtuous for lack of things to enjoy and kept them free from the plenty that was sure to bring their corruption.[107] Poverty took on many of the values associated with otherworldly virtue when it was seen through the eyes of the educated and civilized men and women who experienced difficulty in coming to grips with modernity. Their assessment, however, was somewhat ambivalent: the peasants might have a kind of virtue but this came from the fact that they were unmodern and uncivilized and would need to remain that way to stay uncorrupted.

Some commentators recommended a limited education for the inhabitants. They proposed to

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[103] - The Quebec Mercury, 16 June 1808.

[104] - The Quebec Mercury, 20 February 1809.

[105] - Le Canadien, 3 Décembre 1831.

[106] - L'Observateur, Tome II, No.20, Mai 1831, P.319. Poverty was sometimes portrayed as the only human condition capable of conquering Fortune. See Patch, The Goddess Fortuna, P.72-74.

[107] - "On the Expediency of Educating", P.21.

provide them what was necessary to increase their capacity to farm the land but nothing beyond as this would foster dissatisfaction with their condition and make them proud and difficult.[108] They also rejected modern individualism on the grounds that it was based on the irrational and immediate indulgence of pleasures and was a condition which blinded individuals to real worth and rendered their ties mercenary and deceitful. That kind of cosmopolitan sociability offered nothing solid or moral. Look around you, one disillusioned observer wrote, and everywhere you will find a warped sense of community where individuals, seeking facile undertakings, rewarded the deceitful:

> Le monde est ainsi fait: on ne prend que docteur qui vous garantit d'avance une guérison, que l'avocat promettant une cause gagnée, que femme jurant fidélité, qu'ami professant dévouement, que religion assurant le salut, que gouvernement exhibant de la liberté...que marchandises augurant éternité, que le journal esclave de votre opinion.[109]

Joseph Quesnel's 1802 play L'Anglomanie ou le Diner à l'Anglaise[110] unmasked the deception contained in the manners of comfortable society and gave the 'right' set of manners to be adopted by the Canadian population. A rich man of lowly birth, Mr. Prime, and his noble son-in-law, Mr. Beauchamp, await the arrival of the Governor for diner. Mr. Beauchamp had made sure that Prime's family were not on the premises since, being of low birth, they would only embarrass the Governor. Mr. Prime himself, on the other hand, could behave with propriety because, under Beauchamp's guidance, he had acquired proper habits and manners, redecorated his house and bought the clothes required by his position. All, however, was not well because Mr. Prime's mother was balking at all the fuss and objected to the new manners. Mr. Prime refused her request to invite her sister and her cousin saying that the reception was not a casual affair. This dinner required politeness, etiquette and decorum - the masks of society - that the lower ranks had yet to acquire. He chided her for living in the past: " Vous tenez trop ma mère à vos anciens usages." In the end, the Governor sent his regrets; his wife had accepted the invitation because she hoped to meet the entire family; upon learning that they would not be present, she saw no point in coming. A repentant

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[108] - L'Aurore, 'Un Villageois à M. Bibaud', 1 Novembre 1817.

[109] - Le Fantasque, 11 Juin 1838.

[110] - MG24 L8 M-7, Ma Saberdache Rouge, Joseph Quesnel, L'Anglomanie ou le Diner à l'Anglaise. P.74. The play received great reviews in Quebec city.

Mr. Prime discussed the situation with his mother and decided to host a family banquet where 'good taste and pleasure will be united in simplicity'.

This remarkable entertainment revealed how false were the pretensions associated with modernity: in presenting a rich man deluded into thinking he was above his station and rejecting the simplicity and transparence of his kinship ties, it made clear the deficiencies of the 'modern' all the while offering a picture of the manners of the peasantry as simple and direct and so stressed social habits aimed to the heart without the 'arts' that characterized the sociability of the bourgeoisie.

In searching for a communal sociability, another writer examined childhood as a time of immaturity when individuals were guileless. Childhood, "when nature wears no mask"[111] was a transparent age because it predated the time when "the passions urge their fierce control."[112] It also represented the period before socialization and the imprinting of social habits that marked an individual forever.[113] Children lived simply, happily and safely ensconced in the bosom of their families.[114] That simple universe got lost in the process of maturation and civilization. Projected onto the 'immature' peasantry, these notions contributed greatly to the image of the 'folk' as child-like, simple and transparent individuals who were free from the shackles of the passions and the deceits and artifices of self-interest and put a premium on family values

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[111] - The Wheel of Fortune, P.13.

[112] - "Hours of Childhood", poem by A. Bowman, Hours of Childhood, and other Poems, Montreal, Published privately, 1820, P.14. Notary Séguin expressed similar views in his Notes entry of 29 Juin 1831. "...de si heureuses dispositions ne soient obscursies par le faux éclat des passions...". The Canadian poet J.J. Procter detailed the purity of the child in his poem "Childhood" reproduced in Edward Hartley Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets, P.254-255.

[113] - According to an author on the subject, habits first felt like a barrier to the child, something different in nature to the self; but over time, the obstacle disappeared and the child began to think of them as 'natural' - a sort of acquired second skin - that moulded the self imperceptibly according to acceptable social norms. "On Good and Bad Habits", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.IV, No.XXIII, May 1825, P.426.

[114] - Citing a work by the famous romantic writer Chateaubriand, a commentator explored the nature of these strong family ties by recalling 'the smile of a father, mother, sister.' Le Spectateur, 10 Octobre 1814."Anecdote Canadienne" noted that family ties that characterized "les moeurs des hommes pendant la période de l'âge d'or" were still found in the countryside. He witnessed two young farmers married to two sisters each bringing up a family "...à laquelle ils apprenaient à chérir la vertu...Les parents s'aiment. Les enfants imitateurs fidèles de leurs parens, vivaient dans la plus parfaite concorde et donnaient l'exemple de cette harmonie si commune autrefois en ce pays entre tous les membres et les alliés d'une même famille." La Bibliothèque Canadienne, Tome I, No.4, Septembre 1825, P.128.

and selfless motherhood.[115]

In conformity with these ideas, young women were urged to marry for love and not status or money. The first was genuine, the second was glitter; the former was pure and pastoral, the latter corrupting and urban. As a poet put it in 1848:

L' une est la voix du luxe et des beaux équipages
Qui passent à grand bruit sur le pavé roulans
L'autre sort des hameaux cachés dans les feuillages
Voix du pâtre qui chante, et des agneaux bêlans.[116]

Women were celebrated for their selfless love. As the century progressed portraits stressed their gentility and their douceur. Men celebrated women as family nurturers - whether wives, daughters, or mothers. One such was the reformer Dr. Charles Duncombe who wrote an emotional poem to his daughter Eliza Jane, the last lines of which encapsulated the sentiment perfectly:

Thou ar't a mother with that tender name
Comes floods of feeling and a world of care
Three friends have each and almost equal claim
To all they love and each must have his share
A triple zeal must now thy soul enflame;
For triple calls thou must hence forth prepare
So that between, Husband, Child and Father

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[115] - Allan Greer's works on the peasantry hardly sustain this image of the 'folk'. Indeed, Greer shows that the peasantry was particularly adept at making the reformers do their bidding and that many 'bourgeois' reforms originated from the peasant ways of doing things. He also shows them to be astute economic actors within the boundaries of their subsistence economy. See Allan Greer, The Patriots and the People. The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, chapters 3 and 8 and Peasant, Lord and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes 1740-1840, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985. In addition, there exists a great resemblance between Quesnel's view of the peasantry and the view of the 'folk' found in Ian McKay's book The Quest of the Folk. Mckay analyses the refashioning of the cultural identity of Nova Scotia that characterized the folk according to virtues of "honesty, simplicity, straightforwardness and thrift" (P.279) for touristic purposes in the nineteenth twenties. One hundred and twenty years apart, a province, a culture and a language apart, two bourgeoisies seem to hold similar nostalgic views about the 'past'. See Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk. Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994, chapters 1 and 4.

[116] - Cited in Yolande Grisé, Les Textes poétiques du Canada Français, Volume 4, P.857. A young woman's choice of love over money was also the central theme of Joseph Quesnel's play "Colas et Colinette ou le Bailli Dupé" played in Montreal in 1790. Répertoire National, Volume I, P.18-71. Another author prefered young Canadian women who renounced luxury to the beautiful women of past mythology. L'Observateur, Tome II, No.1, Janvier 1831.

Not many idle moments can'st thou gather.[117]

The Lower Canadian poet Michel Bibaud was no less eloquent in his 1826 poem entitled "Le mérite des femmes"

Soit fille, épouse ou mère; en toute conjoncture
Elle est comme un rayon de la Divinité
Quels sentiments exquis! quelle âme tendre et pure!
Quel courage sublime, et quelle aménité

Elle aime à s'immoler; c'est là sa jouissance
Et n'a que sa douceur, ses pleurs, sa patience
Pour désarmer un sexe oppressif et jaloux.[118]

Some nineteenth century men refused to view women as individuals motivated by self-interest and increasingly celebrated the virtue of married women, seeing their capacity for selfless love as central to it. They adopted a more otherworldly view of women and their passions that, in the end, favoured denial of the self to ensure the unity of the whole. A particularly apt expression of this idea appeared in the pages of Le Spectateur when it quoted Rousseau's assessment of a good woman. The eighteenth century figure rejected beauty, intelligence and talents as the attributes that counted and favoured douceur in all cases.[119] Purity of sentiments and selfless dedication to others made mothers particularly adept at distributing benevolence to the needy and the poor and at passing on cultural traditions to children. Indeed their responsibility for this became a distinguishing characteristic by the end of the century.[120]

As the century wore on it became difficult to reconcile what women ought to be with what they were. Most telling was the comment made by an observer in the Magazin du Bas Canada. He chastised those who vilified women as well as those who put them on a pedestal. A more temperate view was

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[117] - MG24 B38, Charles Duncombe to his daughter Eliza Jane, 1835.

[118] - La Bibliothèque Canadienne, Tome II, No.2, Janvier 1826, P.110.

[119] - Le Spectateur, 4 Octobre 1814. The same issue praised the virtues of the recently deceased Marie Louise Peyrimaulx who spent her substantial fortune caring for the unfortunate.

[120] - Mariana Valverde shows how much women had indeed adopted these notions about feminity in their dealings with the passions of uneducated female domestic servants and idle able-bodied men. There was much in this manner of framing things that enabled middle class women to satisfy their interest for esteem and stature in their societies. Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991.

necessary: "...car si l'on connaissait parfaitement le caractère des femmes, on trouverait qu'elles ont trop de bonnes qualités pour être haïes et qu'elles n'en ont pas assez pour être idolâtrées."[121] The observer was celebrating the need to see women as they 'really' were; to get behind masks, distinguishing features, myth and discourse. In a round about way, he was attesting to the importance of masks in the definition of the modern self - 'virtuous' ones as well as 'corrupted' ones.

Early nineteenth century Canadians discussed the public self in relation to the images they projected and took into consideration what others thought of them or at least what they thought others thought of them. They were quite aware that their public identity involved human agency and that it was constructed in interraction with others in ways that they could not control. For that reason, they knew that individual identities were fragile and subject to misinterpretation and deceit. It became obvious that the images that they projected, be they literary or physical, as well their actions and their words involved contingency of some sort, a conundrum they tried to resolve by harmonizing their essence with their appearance in order to ensure that esteem and consideration be distributed only to the worthy. The intimate knowledge they had of their situation spurred a search for a core within the self and for an essence in their beliefs beyond the contingencies of worldly life. Some found the truth within and others found in science the truth they needed to establish consistent standards and references. Others, on the other hand, found the modern environment ambivalent if not corruptive of the simpler things in human existence and sought to recover, in the peasantry, an universe where values were held in common, where worldly pleasures were spurned in favour of a simple life and neighbourly ties, an universe, in other words, that had yet to undergo the alterations to the human soul and to society.

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[121] - "Maximes et Bons-mots du jour", Magazin du Bas Canada, Tome I, No.2, Février 1832, P.65.

CHAPTER THREE

WEALTH

Eighteenth century writers proposed a theory of society that showed humans developing increasingly complex economic behaviours. Hunters and gatherers relied on their own skills to reap earth's offerings, migrating with the beasts and the seasons. Shepherding followed creating more patterned journeying and increasing the variety of skills necessary to make full use of the animals tended. Then came agriculture that stabilized human beings in one place. Freed from wandering, they could labour in relative security and stability, able to predict to a point the outcome of their actions. Humans could build lasting settlements of their own choosing and, barring unforeseen circumstances, such as war, drought and other acts of God, become rooted in one particular geographical spot. Equally spatially bound, patterns of power, economic strategies and sociability gained a measure of unprecedented stability. Also freed from daily pressures to fight for life, food and shelter, humans began to develop the arts, the sciences and the products that would make the peaceful exchanges of the commercial age possible and engagement in worldly life a possibility for all. As societies progressed, individuals engaged in ever more sophisticated pursuits that reworked the ties that bound them together.

The pursuit of wealth, plenty and comfort focussed the attention on one gift of Fortune more specifically: riches.[1] Its possession, it was thought, liberated the individual from former entanglements such as familial, paternalistic and religious ties and promised freedom in unprecedented degree. In return, however, those associated with wealth carried on their shoulders the largest share of ushering in modernity. In a large measure, they and their possessions were regarded as agents of change within specific boundaries. Others, however, reaffirmed the Christian injunctions against the corruption that worldly goods brought and

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[1] - More likely than not, the emphasis on wealth altered the meaning of the word from one that represented a mysterious force that ruled human destiny through the allocation of her four gifts to a more narrow focus on one particular good. The meaning of the word Fortune changed often over the centuries quite possibly reflecting the prevailing attitudes regarding what and who constituted contingency at any given time.

recasted the contrast between the contingency of the worldly and the stability of the otherworldly in the particular context of the times.

1) AGRICULTURAL WEALTH

Most Canadians viewed the ownership of wealth and the ownership of money in different ways. For some, there existed a kind of land-related wealth that banked on human self-interest to modernize the self and the community in natural and imperceptible ways all the while contributing to the growth of society and strengthening the ties between the inhabitants. Instructions given to farmers in 1807 to entice them into growing hemp stressed that personal and long-term interest, personal gain, personal growth and personal wealth were related to the serving of the public good. The newspapers followed suit and presented growing hemp as a practice that spoke of rational self-interest and foresight. With its guaranteed markets, hemp would give the farmer a profit and comforts that he had not been able to acquire until then.[2] The initial inconvenience and insecurity incurred by the farmer would soon be alleviated and in the course of advancing his own interests, he would access an inexhaustible source of wealth while strengthening colonial ties to the mother-country. "En donnant cet avantage à l' Angleterre nous en tirerions un autre pour nous-mêmes; nous établirions une nouvelle branche de commerce qui s'accroitrait d'autant plus qu'elle deviendrait nécessaire pour subvenir aux besoins de la Mère-Patrie. Cette source de revenus et de richesse pour les habitants ne pourrait jamais tarir."[3] Private and public gain meshed in ways that strengthened ties between an individual and his country all the while making the inhabitant become increasingly self-sufficient.

Of course, all efforts to convince Upper and Lower Canadian farmers to grow hemp failed. According to one contemporary analyst the reasons varied. Lower Canadians did not cultivate hemp

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[2] - Le Canadien, 9 Mai 1807.

[3] - Ibid. In order to show how immediate disadvantage could be turned into a long term gain, the author related the case of the shipwreck of a French cargo ship, La Seine, in 1705. New France initially suffered from the disaster but soon enough started manufacturing sails and ropes that left the colony with an economic legacy and a measure of independence. The anecdote is of interest because it replicated Bernard Mandeville's story about the great London fire that explained the complexities of commercial development by showing that a natural disaster (that could be interpreted as a punitive and or inescapable act of God or Fortune) could in the long run be turned into a benefit. See Bernard Mandeville, The Fable of the Bees or Private Vices, Publick Benefits, Indianapolis: Liberty/Classics, 1988, P.lxvii.

because "...neither the soil nor the inclination of the inhabitants were congenial..." to it. For their part, Upper Canadians were hampered by the greed of the authorities who manipulated the local markets and neither colony showed any inclination to "...enter into anything serviceable to the mother-country.[4] Commercial agriculture's goal was to make individuals more comfortable and more independent. But Canadian farmers might have perceived that undertaking the culture of hemp was a far riskier enterprise than it was presented as being. Indeed, they may have understood the process a little too well. They might have foreseen that the demand for hemp would end the day the Napoleonic Wars stopped - as it did - leaving them with fields-full of useless product. They perhaps decided not to chance the experience in a marketplace over which they had no control. If this was the case, they were demonstrating a far more sophisticated grasp of the marketplace than their literate 'betters' as well as possessing a better sense of long term rational self-interest.

Nevertheless, wealth, comforts and pleasures were accessible to all those who put their minds to it. In the process of acquiring them, they ensured their self-sufficiency and their independence from the charity of others. For instance, an Anglican minister, Henry Cotton, told his sister that he wanted to buy a property as an investment rather than to farm it, let it appreciate in value and sell at a profit that would give him a comfortable old age.[5] And Notary Séguin related the case of a simple barrel-maker who prospered by exporting flour from the Seigneurial mill. He then invested his savings, got a loan and, in 1805, started "...un petit commerce." Within ten years he amassed sufficient capital to live off the revenues.[6] That type of monetary gain resulted from the rational self-interest of the two individuals. Whatever esteem and admiration came their way because of it was merited and in keeping with their prudent and ingenious efforts to ensure the security of their old age. If they changed in the process, the alterations would be

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[4] - John Mills Jackson, A View of the Political Situation of the Province of Upper Canada in North America, London: W. Earle, 1809, P.29.

[5] - MG24 J47, Henry Cotton, Diary, 15 November 1807.

[6] - MG24 I109, Séguin, Diary, 23 Février 1833. In a more normative fashion, Le Canadien urged its readers to put their savings in the banks where it would grow on its own. Farmers who did this accumulated enough to be able to buy "...des terres et d'exercer quelque genre d'industrie propre à leur assurer pour toute leur vie une honnête subsistence." 15 Juin 1831.

imperceptible and shared by all in ways that minimized the disjunctions that could occur between an individual's newly acquired wealth and that of others. Their sociability would not suffer or become discordant as a consequence of their pursuits and would not be open to arbitrary and contingent situations.

Working the land provided wealth in ways that made people self-sufficient and independent in a natural way. This aspect of modernization was particularly suited to the Canadian colonies where vast expenses of arable territory needed to be improved and made productive. The space Upper and Lower Canadians occupied needed to be cleared and populated before they could move on to more complex behaviours and sophisticated practices. Canadians emphasized this particular view of their country to distinguish it from Europe which was overpopulated and overcropped: "Si le Canada était un pays ancien où toutes les terres seroient prises et défrichées, le cas seroit bien différent. Il faudrait alors pourvoir autrement à la surabondance de la population. On établiroit, comme dans les pays anciennement établis des manufactures de toutes espèces et dans ce cas le commerce aurait son utilité. Mais quand on réfléchit que la portion du Canada qui est cultivée n'est rien en comparaison de celle qui est à cultiver, on doit sûrement convenir que la vraie et bonne politique est d'encourager les nouveaux établissements."[7] This commentator was pointing out that diversification and commercial enterprise occurred in Europe when, and only when, its population had reached a certain density. Ever conscious that there was a natural progression at play in the historical development of societies, Canadians insisted that things unfold in the proper sequence. To force the colonies to jump a step in their own stadial development and adopt certain behaviours before they were ready would not respect the very nature of the country.

Upper Canada's destiny was no less clear; it needed work and development but not necessarily skilled individuals. As D'Arcy Boulton put it, it was a country "...where labour is more requisite than skills."[8] Manual labour, he added, was far more important to the future of the colony than educated individuals, men

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[7] - Le Canadien, 12 Décembre 1807.

[8] - D'Arcy Boulton, Letters from an American Loyalist in Upper Canada, Halifax: 1810, P.90.

"...who have time and money to devote to public spirited institutions."[9] In this, he echoed the Bishop of Québec's earlier assertion that widespread education was not called for since the arts and the sciences flourished only when there was a surplus population: "L'expérience prouve que les sciences n'ont fleuri chez une nation que quand il s'y est trouvé plus d'habitans qu'il n'en fallait pour cultiver la terre."[10] There was no particular need for specialized individuals when the goal was the settlement of new soil which was rich and fertile and where everything grew without much effort or technical know-how. In Canada, farmers found land: "...qui pouvait sans aucun art rendre autant que les terres les mieux préparées d'Europe."[11] All that was needed was the will to labour in order to reap the benefits of this rich soil: "It is very clear that an industrious settler, even in the remotest wilds where fish and game are abundant - where every vegetable that he sows or plants will yield its increase, should live comfortably and well", a point oftentimes made in the literature destined to prospective immigrants who, for the most part, were from a poorer, and thus - in the thinking of the day - undifferentiated stock.[12] Once settled on the land he owned, the industrious farmer would acquire comforts unknown to him beforehand and begin to acquire a measure of independence that would enable him to move towards the sophistication required by modernity: "By awarding lands in perpetuity to poor immigrants, their status can be raised to that of [the] middle class."[13] Once settled and in possession - as owners of land - of the tools of their own perfectibility, inhabitants would then be in a position to diversify their skills, acquire the arts and develop the products in ways that

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[9] - An American traveller to the Canadian colonies remarked that authorities encouraged the immigration of husbandmen and labourers. The educated and already 'modern' men such as "Clergymen, lawyers, physicians and school masters" were not welcomed. John Cosens Ogden, A Tour through Upper and Lower Canada, by a Citizen of the United States, Litchfield: no editor cited, 1799, P.61.

[10] - Monseigneur Hubert made this comment in 1789 to his coadjutor who disagreed and privately remarked that that type of thinking could delay education forever or until "...les terres soient défrichées jusqu'au pôle." The exchange was republished by L'Observateur, Tome II, No.13, Avril 1831, P.195.

[11] - Le Canadien, 3 Janvier 1807.

[12] - Martin Doyle, Hints on Emigration to Lower Canada; especially addressed to the Lower Classes in Great Britain and Ireland, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1831, P.34.

[13] - MG24 B1 Vol.21, James Allison to Sir Joseph Loffan, 1841. Much earlier Judge Thorpe had raised the same point: "When a labouring man has land, in six years he is independent and in ten he has every comfort." RCA, 1892. Judge Thorpe to George Shee, 1 December 1806.

appealed to their self-interest.[14] In the thinking of the time, these attributes differentiated them, as a group, from the less modern. Those who owned and tilled the land had already shown every sign of improvement and change; farmers, a correspondent wrote,

> en sont presque tous les propriétaires; ce sont eux qui, par un travail inconcevable, ont converti les forêts en champs fertiles; ils sont ingénieux, et adoptent facilement les améliorations lorsqu'ils voient clairement qu'ils y trouveront leur compte...[15]

Slowly but surely, inhabitants-owners were acquiring the behaviours and the know-how of civilization while at the same time refining their sense of enlightened self-interest and developing the wherewithal to handle wealth with equanimity. As the editor of The Canadian Freeman put it: "in all countries, but more especially those newly settled, the increase of agricultural population is the only real and solid basis for the augmentation of wealth and power."[16] To be Canadian in the modern manner was to own land - which was the concern of Upper Canadian reformers who fought the old country ways which had resulted in clergy reserves and land speculations - and to protect what was already owned - which was the concern of Lower Canadian reformers when they sought to preserve seigneurial tenure.

The emphasis that educated Lower and Upper Canadians put on agriculture established the basis of a national identity that differentiated their societies from the mother countries. Certainly the difference was clear to William Lyon Mackenzie who noted that British manufactures inundated and glutted the colony and that, as a consequence, "Luxury is encouraged and the simplicity of our manners lost."[17] Whereas

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[14] - "Property", argued John Henry, "is the sweetness of human toil; the substitute of coercion; the reconciler of labour with liberty. It is moreover the stimulant of enterprise in all projects and undertakings." John Henry, An Enquiry in to the Evils, P.25

[15] - La Prochaine Session du Parlement Provincial du Bas-Canada, Reprinted from the Quebec Gazette, 28 December 1826, Offices of the Quebec Gazette, 1827, P.9.

[16] - The Canadian Freeman, 6 December 1827. The emphasis on agriculture and settlement was sometimes overdone. Armed with a statistical analysis of weather patterns, a writer condemned those who proclaimed that felling trees and clearing large forested areas softened the harshness of the climate. While he recognized the public good of settlement he blamed those who lied for political purposes: "Il est même probable que, dans des vues politiques on ait cherché à encourager l'agriculture en faisant concevoir la flatteuse perspective d'un climat plus doux dans la destruction de nos forêts" "Hygiène Publique", The Quebec Medical Journal, Vol.II, No.6, 1827, P.228.

[17] - The Colonial Advocate, 18 May 1824.

Europe was overpopulated, sophisticated and basking in the luxuries given by wealth and commerce, Canada was pristine, natural and less corrupted. It stood at the beginning of the process of perfectibility. It was the task of its elites to see that its citizens acquired sophistication and wealth without an attendant loss of virtue.

Owning, tilling and improving the land contributed to the sophistication and wealth of Canadians without getting them embroiled in the artificiality and the deception associated with worldly things. In part, their experience differentiated them from a full-fledged commercial Europe that invested capital in trade; whereas in Canada, farmers needed to become fully conversant and at ease with the arts of their specialized profession before they could call on capital to undertake more sophisticated ventures.[18] They took seriously the Enlightenment's sense of orderly and natural historical development that put settled agriculture after the hunter-gatherer stage and before commercial activity since each stage generated the arts and the sciences necessary for the next. And if the assessment of their society distinguished it from a capitalist Europe, it differentiated it as well from the hunter-gatherer stage.

Whatever meaning had been given to the fur trade in earlier times[19], by the first decade of the nineteenth century many Lower Canadians believed their society was at the threshold of a new historical phase characterized by vastly different habits and customs. Their condemnation of the fur trade was comprehensive, forceful and couched in the language of contingency. One author summarized it: "Le commerce des pelleteries ruine la population canadienne."[20] The fur trade favoured the inclinations of an uncivilized and corrupted society. It fostered a spirit of adventure and wandering that distinguished it from

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[18] - Napoléon Aubin, La Chimie agricole mise à la portée de tout le monde, Québec: W. Ruthven, 1847, P.5.

[19] - In the seventeenth century, argues Peter Goddard, the fur trade was part of a religious strategy that favoured a peaceful exchange with the aboriginals known as négoce dévot. Conducted with gentleness, it would lead to conversion and civilization. See Peter Goddard, "Civilization and Christianization in Seventeenth Century French Colonial Thought", Unpublished PhD dissertation, Oxford University, 1990, P.282.

[20] - Le Canadien, 16 Juillet 1808.

a civilized state where "...la propriété foncière est la base de la civilisation..."[21] and humans were settled on spatially boundered areas in full view of God and men. In commenting on the fur trade, Canadians stressed its contingent nature in the context of modern settlement.

According to one observer, the fur trade fostered natural inclinations to idleness, to insubordination and to rough passions: the characteristics of hunter-gatherers who lived only for the day. When uneducated, impressionable and energetic young men associated with the Indians, they moulded their conduct accordingly and shared their customs and habits. The result tended to: "...détruire ses moeurs et lui oter toute idée de subordination.[22] Young men became unruly and escaped into the wilderness. At the time, over six hundred of them were involved in an activity that took them away from land ownership and a settled existence, the two things which, in the view of one observer, constituted the imperatives of a burgeoning modernity.[23] Consequently, the fur trade wreaked havoc on the "...moeurs des campagnes qui devraient être la véritable source de nos richesses. Il arrache les bras nécessaires à l'agriculture"[24], and threatened to derail arbitrarily the Canadas from a pre-determined path of civilization since the colonies needed farmers more than they needed wanderers.[25]

Furthermore, it was clear that those who ruled the trade were in it for themselves and could in no way demonstrate a commonality between their self-interest and the public good. According to one writer,

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[21] - Le Canadien, 5 Décembre 1807.

[22] - Le Canadien, 19 Décembre 1807. Another commentator argued that the relationship eroded religious and moral sentiments: "...toute idée de religion et de pudeur" and noted that the harsh life beyond the frontiers hardened them to all habits of comfort. Le Canadien, 24 Octobre 1807.

[23] - Le Canadien, 5 Décembre 1807. It thus created the sort of situation John Locke had thought the institution of personal property would remedy. Property, Locke had written, "...did confine every man's possession to a very moderate proportion, and such as he might appropriate to himself, without injury to any body, in the first ages of the world, when men were more in danger to be lost, by wandering from their company, in the vast wilderness of the earth." John Locke, Second Treatise of Government, edited by C.B. Macpherson, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company Inc., 1980. Chapter V "Of Property", P.22.

[24] - Ibid.

[25] - By insisting that uneducated young men settle down and till the soil, the elites were also naming their skills and reducing their options for improvement. Their destiny, no less so than women's, was charted for them. See chapter one.

the fur trade was of doubtful utility to England and to the colony; those involved in it had failed to promote public welfare. One could, indeed ask, whether "...motives of a private nature have not yet ever influenced all their action." In this case, it seemed that "...affluence [was] not always the reward of exertion and talent, but [was] bestowed on the most worthless..."[26] The condemnation of the fur trade incorporated the useful argument against selfish self-interest that served well those intent on delineating the boundaries of an orderly society. Indeed, pursuit by the few of their interests corrupted the whole society and led to the claim that this type of commerce "...qui enrichit les gros capitalistes de Montréal et de Québec est pour le Bas-Canada un germe de dépopulation et de destruction."[27] Fur traders, then, were motivated by greed and manipulated the markets in ways that weeded out the competition, the only basis for just commerce. Nothing but "...la soif de l'or" motivated them.[28] Moreover, those who celebrated the actions of fur traders were blinded by their unmerited wealth. One particular admirer had been deceived by the dazzling glow that illegitimately acquired riches brought to its possessors. Others might see through the charade, but that person saw only "...des hommes estimables qui profitent des dépouilles de ceux qui sont sacrifiés à l'autel de l'intérêt. Il a du être ébloui."[29]

In Upper Canada, Judge Thorpe was making the same kinds of accusations against those involved in commerce. There, he argued, traders and merchants behaved like nobles, a shopkeepers' aristocracy as he called them, and manipulated the allocation of land grants in their favour; they "...kept this province in a wilderness for the cultivation of their pockets."[30] Driven by rapaciousness, merchants could not demonstrate that they worked for the public good: "There is a chain of them from Halifax to Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, York, Niagara and so on - this Shopkeeper Aristocracy has stunted the prosperity of

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[26] - The Quebec Mercury, 2 November 1807.

[27] - Le Canadien, 24 Octobre 1807

[28] - Le Canadien, 5 Décembre 1807. Another concerned writer agreed; in the fur trade: "La cupidité, l'avarice, une cruauté même barbare l'emportent." Le Canadien, 19 Décembre 1807.

[29] - Le Canadien, 5 Décembre 1807.

[30] - RCA, 1892, Justice Thorpe to George Shee, 12 March 1807.

the province and goaded the people until they have turned from the greatest loyalty to the utmost disaffection."[31] Concerned only with lining their pockets, merchants endangered the moral and physical life of the colony. And their ability to ally with corrupt officials had made things worse. Consequently, "Nothing has been done for the Colony, no roads, bad water communication, no Post, no Religion, no Morals, no Education, no Trade, no Agriculture, no industry attended to..."[32] Commentators in both Canadian colonies were critical of a type of commerce that encouraged the few while corrupting the many and arbitrarily prevented the inhabitants of both provinces from achieving their perfectibility in a natural way.

Furthermore, as one observer facetiously put it, the riches that kind of commerce produced were temporary and finite since they consisted of: "...des peaux de rats-musqués, peaux de lièvres etc. susceptibles d'être mangées par la vermine."[33] Better to rely on men of talents and capacity then on men whose wealth was precarious. Indeed, a fortune built on the fur trade was destined to disappear as quickly as it had been acquired: "On a vu des fortunes aussi immenses que rapides s'élever et disparaître presqu'en même temps..."[34] Such riches were not of the meritorious and solid variety and conveyed nothing but the illusion of stability. Many families had been ruined: "...pour s'être trop aisément livrées au luxe et s'être parées d'une richesse trompeuse."[35]

What was more, the circumstances under which the fur trade thrived were themselves unstable. It depended on the whim of gatherer-Indians, relied on insubordinate and passionate young men and was activated by the greed of its managers. Its spatial dimension was also uncontrollable given that it extended into the United States' territory. Echoing Thorpe, one commentator lamented that no one could control its flow: it "...prend son cours par les Etats-Unis."[36] Uncontrollable circumstances and corruption characterized

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[31] - Ibid., Judge Thorpe to George Shee, 1 December 1806.

[32] - Ibid., Judge Thorpe to Cooke, 30 January 1806.

[33] - Le Spectateur, 31 Mai 1814.

[34] - Le Canadien, 12 Décembre 1807.

[35] - Le Canadien, 23 Janvier 1808.

[36] - Le Canadien, 17 Janvier 1807.

the fur trade at all levels.[37]

Behind such a forceful condemnation lay the notion that the colonies were at a particular stage of their natural historical development. They were trying to move themselves out of the precarious age of wandering into the age of settled agriculture. The new stage required a change in the moeurs of the people. "Un peuple nouveau qui est nécessairement agricole ne doit pas être entrainé vers des habitudes et des moeurs qui tendent à détruire jusqu'à l'ordre social."[38] What was required was stability of the collective self, of the circumstances of its progress and of the manner in which it would grow into modernity. The condemnation of the fur trade was not a condemnation of wealth in general but a call to acquire wealth in the proper historical order. From the outset, there existed a notion that envisioned the pursuit of wealth through agriculture as the least likely pursuit to produce contingent circumstances and unpredictable outcomes. That process could not be arbitrarily altered by individuals who, seeking to satisfy their greed for selfish purposes, jeopardized the inhabitants and the colony. Justice Thorpe and concerned Canadians were reacting as moderns to an arbitrary alteration in the proper sequence of social development and marshalled the discourse of contingency to identify those who put it at risk. By the same token, they identified themselves in relation to a type of wealth that was land-related and in keeping with the slow process of individual and social maturation in contrast to another type of wealth generated by merchants and traders; a commodity so potent that it could alter the historical destiny of humans.

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[37] - Le Canadien, 16 Juillet 1808. 13 Février 1808. Simcoe had been equally concerned about the effect of the fur trade on Upper Canada. Suspecting corruption at all levels, he recommended to Dorchester that the management of the fur trade pass into the hands of the authorities so that they could "...regulate the Traders, and prevent their Vices from being materially injurious to the Welfare of the Province." Constitutional Documents, Simcoe to Dorchester, 9 March 1795.

[38] - Le Canadien, 5 Décembre 1807.

2) CAPITAL

The modern age relied on the efforts of individuals to ensure that whatever social esteem, reputation and rank came their way was merited. In advancing the cause of the meritorious, society was ensuring that those who came by these earthly rewards without effort would be replaced on the basis of moral and predictable principles. Men would then feel free to pursue their self-interest in whatever endeavours suited their natural talents. For many, the surest way to change the 'old' ways of extending esteem and obedience to the 'merely' well-born was to reach a station in life that increased their comfort and pleasures while increasing the comfort and pleasures of all. The clearest avenue to bring these changes about was the pursuit of wealth and for many Canadians, the merchant became the agent of that change.

The pursuit of wealth through commercial exchanges engaged the natural and universal propensity of individuals to trade and barter in ways that were mutually beneficial and cemented the interdependency between self-interested strangers based on trust and 'good offices'. More than anyone else, the merchant could claim to be the link between private and public interest. When he augmented his wealth, he augmented the wealth of all and strengthened the bonds of unity among society's members. "There are no more useful members of a society in any country than merchants." claimed The Quebec Mercury, "They knit mankind together in a mutual intercourse of good offices, distribute the gifts of nature, find work for the poor, augment the wealth of a nation and increase the comforts and conveniences of life."[39] Merchants increased the wealth of the community in which they lived as a consequence of augmenting their own. Whereas others owed their position and wealth to their heredity "without a single effort of [their] own", a merchant attained his position through hard work and an education that enabled him to rationalize his conduct and his interest in the most profitable way to himself and his society. In advancing this argument,

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[39] - The Quebec Mercury, 19 January 1807.

the newspaper of the Montreal merchants was reflecting common thinking on political economy at the time.[40] A year earlier, it had published the translation of a French article regarding the character of merchants. The article, by one M. Laharpe, stressed the co-mingling of private and public interests: "In general we may observe that [merchants] become rich with the increasing wealth and comfort of the community." Moreover, their dealings were not dependent on the network of contacts acquired through birth: "...their credit rest[ed] upon a reputation of probity and fair dealing"[41] since trust was essential for future mutually beneficial exchanges between strangers. Merchants, therefore, were unlikely to pursue wealth in the selfish fashion that would destroy that trust. More than anyone else, then, the merchant demonstrated the moral qualities of the new age. As Adam Thom made clear to Lord Gosford, to be prosperous, the merchant needed to rationalize his self-interest and "...submit to temporary sacrifices for the sake of ultimate advantage..."[42] Delayed gratification would increase his wealth and enhance his reputation in ways directly related to proper behaviours and exertions. His merits thus clearly demonstrated, his rewards were earned in proper fashion. Even if the meshing of private and public interest was the unintended result of his personal pursuit, it nevertheless was beneficial to all.

No one argued more forcefully for a new type of commercial enterprise than Edward Ellice as, on behalf of the North-West Company, he positioned himself against the claims made by Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company for the control of the fur trade.[43] The outcome would determine whether Canada was to conduct its commerce according to modern laws or according to arbitrarily determined circumstances created by a noble utilizing his rank for selfish purposes. One by one, Ellice addressed issues that

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[40] - The Quebec Mercury, 20 April 1807.

[41] - The Quebec Mercury, 6 December 1806. Another writer argued along the same lines: "Integrity is the basis of commerce. Without a proper fund of this necessary virtue no nation can trade for any length of time or to any extent." Ibid., 3 April 1809.

[42] - Camillus, Anti-Gallic Letters Addressed to His Excellency The Earl of Gosford Governor-in-Chief of the Canadas, Montreal: Printed at the Herald Office, 1836, P.8.

[43] - The conflict was documented by E.E. Rich, Montreal and the Fur Trade, Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966. Rich notes how different the styles of the companies were. The North West Company was characterized by brashness and led by movers and shakers while the Hudson's Bay Company evolved in a more controlled mercantile sphere. P.97. Ann Carlos notes that the Hudson's Bay Company became aggressive after the loss of its markets due to the Napoleonic Wars. The North American fur trade 1804-1821; a study in the life cycle of a duopoly, New York: Garland, 1986, P.78.

differentiated the old mercantile age from the new.[44]

In response to the accusation that individuals of the North West Company sold alcohol to the aboriginals, Ellice distinguished between private and public morality. Pointing out that both companies engaged in the practice, he stressed that commercial enterprise was not ruled by morality and that people remained free to choose their personal conduct. "Individuals in a free country are left to make their own choice, and it would be novel to argue that manufacturers and navigation should be put down or discouraged because those who are employed in them, do not stand the highest in the scale of morality."[45] That people acted immorally in their personal conduct was beside the point; what counted was that trade be conducted according to the laws that nature designed for it. And that meant engaging the aboriginals as equals, and "...trad[ing] and administer[ing] to [their] wants by a fair exchange..."[46] something that Lord Selkirk, taking advantage of his position and contacts, did not do. Far from conducting trade between strangers in ways that respected their rights, satisfied all parties and contributed to the growth of all, Lord Selkirk manipulated the laws and deceived the natives in order to seize their lands. "His Lordship's polar star", as Ellice put it, was "self-interest, to which all public considerations and the rights of others, are invariably sacrificed by him. No man, who had not become callous, could possibly have used magisterial authority for the systematic purpose of destroying rivals, in order to engross their trade by himself and co-partners. He probably presumes upon impunity, by reason of his rank and his influence."[47] Ellice was insisting that self-interest without public utility was a corruption of the laws of trade which necessitated a mutually beneficial exchange between individuals whose properties were unconditionally protected by law.

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[44] - According to the analysis of the time, the fur trade - a trade of hunters and gatherers - fitted in a civilized society because the pelts were no longer used as essential clothing but had become "...the mere object of ornament and luxury." "The Fur Trade in Canada", The Canadian Magazine, No.2, Vol.1, 1823, P.105.

[45] - Mercator, [Edward Ellice], The Communications of Mercator upon the Contest between Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company on one side and the North West Company on the Other. Republished from the Montreal Herald, Montreal: Printed by W. Gray, 1817, P.31.

[46] - Ibid., P.53.

[47] - Ibid., P.10. Underlined in the text.

Men like himself, who arrived at the process through work, were being shortchanged by those who, because of their unearned rank, acted as if they were above the laws of property when they sought to steal the lands of natives.[48]

Nothing but raw greed motivated Selkirk: "...how superlatively sordid must be the avarice of that man, who could descend from the high rank of a Peer to endeavour to take the bread out of the mouths of a thousand, who had no other dependence but their industry. And who could deliberately throw into this community to serve his private views, the firebrand of disunion, discord and personal animosity..."[49] Lord Selkirk's acts were immoral in the sense that they disregarded the laws of property and social order on which peace and interdependence depended. Furthermore, his type of behaviour prevented mere mortals from attaining their legitimate level of perfectibility and sociability in a stable and predictable way. The behaviours displayed by Lord Selkirk had all the markings of contingency. Ellice was establishing his claim based on the fact that, endowed by Fortune at birth, Lord Selkirk acted much like her: he respected no laws, his passion for wealth was pursued indiscriminately and he arbitrarily disrupted the destiny of meritorious beings who ought to have been able to function in a predictable trading environment. The 'earned' ownership of riches, money and capital enabled individuals to pit the merit of those who acquired riches through personal exertion against those who held them in an arbitrary fashion. Here again, the language of contingency gave Ellice a distinctive identity when he delineated class boundaries and behaviours and contrasted the morality of his behaviour with the immoral and illegal behaviours of the nobility and its disrespect of the property laws that underpined the new commercial age.

Property laws administered in a commutative manner protected moveable and immoveable possessions in ways that challenged the authority of traditional ties.[50] In many ways they pitted traditional

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[48] - "If he be in the right, than the criminal code of England is a nullity." P.94.

[49] - Ibid., P.49.

[50] - The intellectual underpinnings of commutative justice and political economy were studied by Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff in "Needs and justice in the Wealth of Nations: an introductory essay", in Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff, eds., Wealth and Virtue, The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

authority against the legal claims of the moderns who sought to bring about a renewal in the ties that bound humans. How far this could be taken was made clear in the legal wrangling that opposed the Bishop of Montreal, Monseigneur Lartigue, to Louis-Hyppolyte Lafontaine in the case of l'Abbé Nau shortly before the Rebellions.

In 1834, Nau was appointed to the parish of St. Jean Baptiste de Rouville. Two years later, the priest was ordered by his superiors to leave the premises and immediately applied for the civil possession of his parish. Monseigneur Lartigue declared that Nau had followed too closely the dictates of his human nature and had formed with his parishioners "...une attache purement humaine." He had acted contrary to the public good when he indulged the "mille intérêts privés qui nuisent souvent au bien public." These worldly concerns blinded him to his duty to God's glory and motivated him to confuse the interests of the Church with his private ones.[51] Lartigue then argued that the Church received its authority from God to regulate the moral conduct of its priests when they acted contrary to "...la discipline canonique et les devoirs de notre état comme prêtres." In such cases, civil laws were of no assistance whatsoever.[52] Taking up Nau's legal defense, Lafontaine stated that the parish priest had acquired "...la possession réelle du bénéfice."[53] Occupancy and good works on behalf of his parishioners had given Nau the right of property over his parish. Lafontaine advised his client not to appear in front of an ecclesiastical tribunal because he did not want to strengthen the claim that the laws of the land recognized such a court of law.[54] Lafontaine insisted that Nau had acted with all the propriety of a 'citizen' by availing himself of the rights of property that were the rights of all individuals. Obeying them, he added, was "...une des premières vertus du bon citoyen..." Lafontaine was opposing the universal rights of stable property to the arbitrary

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[51] - Jean Jacques Lartigue, Mémoire sur l'amovibilité des curés en Canada, Montréal: Louis Perreault, 1837, P.47-50.

[52] - Ibid., P.10 and 45.

[53] - La Fontaine, L.H., Notes sur l'Inamovibilité des curés dans le Bas-Canada, Montréal: Imprimé par Ludger Duvernay, 1837, P.IV.

[54] - Ibid., P.VII. "...il ne veut pas reconnaître par là que les lois du pays aient établi le tribunal devant lequel il est cité."

authority of the Church over its own priests; he declared that priests were 'inamovibles'; they, and their properties, were one. In matters of jurisprudence, added Lafontaine, positive laws regulated ce qui est and not ce qui devrait être, thereby simultaneously affirming the precedence of property rights over moral injunctions and canonical jurisprudence and severely testing the legal authority of the church over the person.

Property laws administered commutatively sustained modern ways against traditionalist thinking. They protected the worldly possessions of the upwardly mobile against any arbitrary force likely to take them away. In making and refining laws of property, the moderns were giving themselves the apparatus necessary to fend off any contingent forces that could arbitrarily confiscate possessions and prevent humans from continuing their quest for perfectibility and the ownership of goods.

Worldly goods and the laws that protected them liberated man from past ties and changed his nature in ways that were unprecedented. No one put it better than William Buchan when in his pamphlet on emigration he compared an emigrant with capital to one without resources. A poor man was limited in the kind of choices he could make. Upon his arrival in the colony, he was condemned to labour for the first employer who offered him work at whatever salary that employer decided. The poor emigrant "was obliged to remain in a spot. Toiling and wasting his strength on what occupation may be casually offered him." He remained beholden to the employer and in a position that might not improve his skills and his purse. The emigrant with money, on the other hand, could travel, obtain information and "...undergo the necessary expenses attendant in sociability...and seek an employment which will amply repay him."[55] Money gave individuals unprecedented choices in their lives. Beholden to none and protected by law, richer men could alter their condition, change their social surroundings, choose their employers, move to those places which

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[55] - William F. Buchan, Remarks on Emigration: more particularly applicable to the Eastern Townships, Lower Canada, London: Baldwin & Cradock, MDCCCXXXVI, P.9. "Such is the influence of money in assimilating man and his actions to the two grand classes of animated bodies - Animals and Vegetables - the first seek their food and home, and choose - the latter are fixed and draw their sustenance from the soil in which they are imbedded."

suited their fancy and command their own price.[56]

Money recreated one's identity and remade the manner in which an individual related to others. He was freer to move about and could remain unaffected by the local, kinship and parish ties that ruled the sociability of the settled. Using money as a means to an end gave the owner the opportunity to choose the relationships that would further define him in contact with others. Its real power came to light in article published by Le Canadien. There, a correspondent suggested diverting energies into a local crop in addition to the usual harvests. He urged farmers to diversify and grow apples as a venture that would bring "...une source inépuisable de richesses."[57] Maximizing land utilization and requiring little effort, the result would add comforts to their lives. But that was not all: in moving in this direction, they could accumulate capital which would enable them to venture into new areas. If they were willing to take a risk, the commodity offered a potential for growth and improvement beyond any of their expectations. Leaving behind an economy of subsistence, they could branch out into the production of cider, adding to their complement of skills and products. Cider could then be sold to local markets where, meeting the taste of some for alcohol, it could eventually create a demand and replace rum. Finally, clever entrepreneurs could export to Europe and to the United States since Canadian apples were known to be superior to anything found elsewhere. The apple farmer, intent on making full use of his natural cleverness, talents and capital would thus benefit the country by making it less dependent on imports while developing peaceful contacts with foreign markets. All the farmer had to do, concluded the writer, was to rely on his "industrie".[58]

The character of the entrepreneur-farmer varied greatly from that of the ordinary farmer. In conjunction with capital, he could diversify his own activities and specialize in the ones he preferred, leaving the heavy work to others and hiring strangers with the required skills thereby increasing their wealth. He

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[56] - Lady Aylmer complained about the high wages paid in the colonies. She was perplexed that the laws of supply and demand did not work in this case. Noting the continuing arrival of an abundant workforce "...the yearly increased hands should prove a decrease of rate of wages.." This apparent contradiction of the natural laws of political economy appeared to her as a "paradox" and an "enigma". MG24 A43, Lady Aylmer's Diary for the year 1831, P.113.

[57] - Le Canadien, 15 Aout 1807. "La nature semble inviter les habitants à ce genre de culture."

[58] - Ibid.

could enter into contractual agreements that laid out in minute detail the services to be performed and the outputs expected,[59] utilizing for the procedure a lawyer specializing in these matters. All in all, our farmer would have changed. Possessing money that acted like a "...liqueur enchanteresse [qui] ranime nos goûts et nos coeurs"[60], he would develop more sophisticated tastes in things and men. Wishing to associate with those who shared his concerns, he would move to the city and change his style of clothing and mannerisms. This would lead to a break with kinship ties, neighbourhood friends and local authorities. He would, in short, develop a kind of sociability more in keeping with his new self; his wealth would give him access to private pleasures and new freedoms that would have otherwise been inaccessible. And he would owe it all not to his exertions on the land but to his creative energies and his use of capital. Properly harnessed, capital became the most effective agent of change in the modern age and the merchant-entrepreneur seemed to many as the most likely character to usher in modernity. He appeared to be the one character most likely to be the architect of his own fortune.

Capital was what William Price had. When the fur trade leases expired in 1828, the Saguenay region was finally opened for settlement. Surveys suggested that it could become a granary for the colony. Price, according to the historian Robert Christie, a man "of sterling worth and high standard", employed his capital, his energy and his farsightedness to make that possible.[61] For Christie, Price represented the promises of the modern age. "By his princely investments in the erection of grist and saw-mills and other establishments in connexion with the lumbering business", he had opened the region for settlement to "thousands who otherwise never would have succeeded nor would have dreamt of emigrating thither from

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[59] - These contracts were elaborate and precise leaving nothing to chance. The article of agreement between Isaac Swayze and Timothy Street for setting up a printing press in the Township of Niagara "for motives of Public Utility as well as Private considerations" lays out the duties of the partners and employees in a precise division of labour. Another contract setting up a distillery lists the exact amounts that will be expanded and the exact measure of grains bought and processed as well as the quantity of whiskey produced. MG24 K5, Article of agreement between Isaac Swayze and Timothy Street, 31 January 1816. In the same collection, The papers of Amos McKenny, 7 January 1819.

[60] - Le Canadien, 2 Mai 1807.

[61] - Robert Christie, A History of the Late Province of Lower Canada, Parliamentary and Political, Volume 3, Quebec: T.Cary & Co., 1850, P.210-211.

the most populous settlements of Lower Canada."[62] Here was a man who used capital to bring about modernity in all. His investments settled the countryside and contributed to its improvement, to the diversification of skills and to the wealth of the settlers. They also created a direct trade with England. A man with capital who utilized it in this fashion, no matter how self-interested he might have been, was clearly contributing to making Lower Canada a better place. Here was someone, according to Robert Christie, who truly changed the destiny of Lower Canada in constructive ways. With nothing but personal effort and a well managed self-interest with which to harness the power of capital to change things, he had put the colony on the path of natural progress and growth in ways that no government - appointed or elected - could have accomplished.[63] Christie made it clear that Price merited the esteem and the praise of all. Entrepreneurs like him brought to fruition the promises of the Enlightenment. They stimulated change and pulled others in their wake. The commercial man, as one commentator noted, "gives encouragement to the cultivator".[64] William Price was truly an agent of change and earned the enhanced reputation, the riches and the status that his efforts made possible. The ownership of earned wealth reinforced the premises on which modern esteem was extended to individuals and to the societies they contributed to build.

Like every one else, moneyed men of merit took seriously the threat posed to their position by those who acquired wealth without effort and the expenditure of energies. While Edward Ellice wrote most forcefully against the nobly-born, others warned about the lack of productivity of those associated with riches in ways that also involved contingency.

One commentator warned about those who acquired riches without effort. In most cases, he wrote, they owed their wealth to "a fortuitous combination of chance events [more] than any effort of natural talent or the exertions of our educated mind"; such persons, he added, were "more indebted to what is termed good luck for their success than to anything else. It is their riches that give them their consequence and

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[62] - Ibid. Lord Durham had already praised William Price in his 1839 Report.

[63] - Ibid.

[64] - The Quebec Mercury, 29 January 1810.

they must depend entirely upon the amplitude of their purse for the reception they meet."[65] Talent, effort and education distinguished the man who had a merited position in life from one who held his by sheer luck and was forced to buy the esteem of his peers. In his case, his sociability was as unstable as it was unmerited since it depended on the purchase of the affections of others. Early nineteenth century men differentiated between the wealth acquired through work and that gained by speculation. Money acquired through speculation continued to be regarded in the light of Christian morality since it was the product of haphazard circumstances or immoral behaviour.[66] In those cases, money gave a position that was clearly not the product of merit and effort. Due to human blindness and envy, however, others would esteem the occupants of that position nonetheless. "The wealthy and idle are nevertheless envied, in consequence of the strange and silly notions which people form of what they would do if they had wealth and leisure."[67] In such situations, the esteem and reputation gained were not in keeping with a naturally perfected self but bestowed in the manner of blind fortune. Nineteenth century wealth, however, was not the product of chance. Rather it was the product of industry prudently handled.[68] Earned in this manner, it could enhance the life and the self of ordinary people in natural and rational ways.

Yet another source of anxiety regarding the acquisition of wealth brought together those who were concerned about the proper extension of social esteem in commercial societies and those who sought to denounce the immorality of riches. The worldly and the otherworldly thus combined against another activity that involved undisguised randomness: gambling.

When they referred to gambling, the moderns spoke in the language of contingency. According to

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[65] - "On Commercial Education", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.III, No.13, July 1824, P.7. The author added a small poem to highlight his thoughts: "There is a tide in the affairs of men which/ Taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." Underlined in the text.

[66] - According to the article the "Characteristics of the Age", men renounced proper endeavours "...for speculation; and in their extravagant haste to get wealth they lose their integrity..." The Canadian Magazine, Vol.IV, No.XIX, January 1825, P.61.

[67] - "Rich Folk", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.I, 1823, P.443.

[68] - It is interesting to note that many authors utilize the two meanings of the word 'industry' indiscriminately. The distinction between diligence at work and commercial enterprise came later on.

them, gambling propelled players unto a course where, frenzied, they would sacrifice family, friends and eventually themselves. Lower Canadian Bishop Humbert warned that the passion for gambling led to a blindness to family duties and eventually to personal ruin, where, far from feeling guilty, the culprit was captured by "...une espèce d'ensorcellement."[69] That certainly had happened to a British gentleman who gambled away a large estate in Northumberland. His loss entailed more than a monetary setback since he forfeited the respect of his peers who taunted him mercilessly until his death in solitary famine and poverty.[70] His wealth squandered and his ability to function as a social being destroyed, the ruined man had no choice but to die. According to nineteenth century morality, gambling led to virtual if not actual death.

Gambling led to the destruction of the self but, importantly in societies of self-interest, it also led to social disorder.[71] When they gambled, men lost all sense of place and acted like barbarians and savages. They shed their civilized demeanour and returned to a state of barbarism where, in 'perfect' equality, they indulged their passions instead of pursuing their interests and associated with individuals with whom they had nothing in common.[72] One form of gambling, the game of chicken raffle, converted "...our house of commerce into a den of thieves" wrote an alarmed subscriber to The Quebec Mercury. "Now we every evening see the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the Jew and the Gentile shaking

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[69] - Pierre Hubert Humbert, Instructions chrétiennes pour les jeunes gens, P.337.

[70] - The Quebec Mercury, 19 September 1808. The loss of social place followed inexorably by death was a familiar and often repeated theme in French and English texts. See, among others, Etrennes Mignonnes pour l'année 1800, The Quebec Mercury, 20 January 1806, 19 September 1808, 19 June 1809. Le Populaire, 19 Mai 1837 warned that the destiny of the gambler was "...écrite en lettres de sang sur les portes de l'enfer."

[71] - A concerned citizen proposed cancelling horse racing since it encouraged gambling, promoted idleness and endangered social order: it "..call[ed] off the clerk from his desk, the mechanic from his labour, the servant from his duty...Why tempt the industrious to quit their labour and expense themselves to error? Why give the lazy and drunken an additional excuse for indulgence in vice?" The Quebec Mercury, 19 June 1809.

[72] - The French commentator Isidore Lebrun noted that while Lower Canadians had some difficulty socializing because of linguistic differences, they all flocked to the horse races bound together by the universal taste for risk and greed. Isidore Lebrun, Tableau Statistique et Politique des deux Canadas, Paris: Treuttel et Wurtz, 1833, P.231.

elbow and rattling the dice with all the noise and the anxiety of a club of the most professed gamesters...Their motto seems to be Make $, Make it honestly if you can, But make $."[73] Religious and secular authorities banned an activity that for the morally-minded brought the individual under the control of his passions and for the modern-minded created a class of wealthy individuals that made a mockery of effort and hard-acquired wealth.[74]

In contrast, the wealth of merchants was morally acceptable because it was acquired through work and perfected talents.[75] The famous combination of education and work was far more than a slogan thrust towards the masses. It represented the only natural and moral foundation for the acquisition of wealth and for the esteem that wealth brought to its possessors. And if it was the kind of wealth and esteem that ensured stability in the present, it also established the foundations of stability for the future. For it guaranteed the good name and the social status of offspring.

Paradoxically, modern Canadians, arguing in favour of inheritance laws and primogeniture, presented themselves as the legitimate replacement of an obsolete nobility that had acquired everything through fortune. Replicating the very same pattern of acquisition for their children which they condemned in others they thus moved to recreate the hierarchy of wealth they had once protested. Logically, their progeny could no more claim merit when born to riches and status than nobles could. They, like the nobles before them, were embroiled in the play of contingency and Fortune that their fathers had sought to eliminate. This, however, was never noticed. The moderns made a very selective and utilitarian use of contingent motifs, reserving them for those they sought to eliminate from the commercial order they were

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[73] - The Quebec Mercury, 20 January 1806. The attitude to the problem was widespread since France intended to reduce the number of gambling houses in Paris to stop a rash of suicides according to an article reproduced in the same newspaper on January 26, 1805.

[74] - Gambling was made illegal in England in 1826 and in Canada only lotteries sponsored by the authorities were allowed to raise money for useful public projects - the building of jails, hospitals and orphanages - that served the community as a whole. It was not made legal again until the 1970s.

[75] - Fernande Roy related how late nineteenth century French businessmen still insisted on the distinction between themselves and the born-rich and still condemned "les jeux de hazard" for the same reasons outlined here. Fernande Roy, Progrès, Harmonie, Liberté, Le libéralisme des milieux d'affaires francophones à Montréal au tournant du siècle, Montréal: Boréal, 1988, P.78 and 127.

ushering in and becoming so successful at this that they were taken at their own valuation.

How this might work was illustrated by Christie's representation of Price. Price had been accused by the labourers of the Saguenay-Lac St-Jean in 1849 of being a "a monopolist of the lumber trade"; they had initiated a petition representing him to Lord Elgin "as a local tyrant an oppressor cruelly taking advantage of the necessities of the poor settlers" and complained "of the extravagant prices of the refuse boards, slabs &c., which the new settlers are obliged, for the purpose of raising their huts, sheds and other erections, to procure at his mills."[76] Price's reputation was under attack by those for whom it did not matter that in the long view of things the entrepreneur fostered in unmistakable ways the growth of the colony. From where they stood, the one enslaved the many as assuredly as any despotic regime could have. Far from contributing to their self-sufficiency, Price's greed made the workers completely dependent on him and he ruled their destiny just as arbitrarily as any goddess of the past. It was Christie's task to get Price viewed in the 'right' way and in this he was largely successful.

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[76] - Christie, A History of the Late Province, Vol.III, P.212.

3) OTHERWORLDLY WEALTH IN MODERNITY

Many Canadians refused the premises of the commercial age. To them, a reputation, a sociability and, indeed, a society built on the principles of self-interest were bound to degenerate into corruption. They spoke their minds about this state of affairs in the otherworldly discourse of contingency that recommended denying the impulses towards worldliness in order to forestall the inevitable human dispersion that the goods produced. They showed themselves to be particularly responsive to the part of the discourse's content that contrasted a commitment to selflessness and collective cohesiveness with the atomizing potential of self-interested actions.

Ever since medieval times, Christians had decried man's propensity to glorify riches in addition to power. Gold, silver, jewels and, later on, paper money were 'things' metaphysically distinct from human nature. Only through convention and agreement did they acquire a 'value' of any sort; men then compounded the illusion thus created by extending to those who possessed riches an esteem commensurate with the 'value' of what they possessed.[77] The civic tradition did little to alter this view of riches. In fact it reinforced the notion since it defined the selfless political acts of citizenship in opposition to those of men - mercenaries, stock-jobbers, traders and speculators - who functioned out of self-interested greed and so contributed to a mounting public debt which corrupted the Republic.[78] By the nineteenth century, little had changed in the view some Canadians held of riches. If, they thought, there was a 'worldly good' that corrupted the true self, riches were it.

Riches brought out the irrational tendencies of humans. What was it, asked one commentator,

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[77] - Boethius' The Consolation of Philosophy explores the deception brought by riches in addition to the deception brought by power in Book II.

[78] - Early eighteenth century commentators held a dim view of trade. In his book, Pocock draws a parallel between the manner in which they spoke about trade and the way Renaissance republicans spoke about Fortune. The Machiavellian Moment, P.453.

about gold and silver that, by a sort of magic, conferred on the owner status and merit?[79] Why was it, asked another, that money "gave a rogue an advantage over an honest man?"[80] For what reason, as the poet Joseph Quesnel put it, could money buy "noblesse, bonheur et plaisir" and everything that went with them.[81] The answer was simple: men worshipped images, idols, appearances - the golden calf. They loved the glitter of riches and sought to bask in its refracted glory by getting it or associating with those who had it and extending them a false esteem because of it.

Riches, then, blinded owners and those around them to the 'real' value of the things owned and of 'real' human worth. The rich enjoyed an esteem they thought warranted; those around them gave them that esteem in order to share in what they could disburse. The ties that linked the rich and the non-rich were so clearly insubstantial and so openly false that it was impossible not to wonder why men kept revering them. But men did, even in the face of the most absurd extensions of esteem to unworthy humans and even when it was obvious that when they were stripped of the appearances that riches allowed them to cultivate they were men without inner worth, in possession of nothing to endear them to others.[82] Moreover, the power conferred by the ownership of money was out of proportion to the real worth of individuals who nonetheless indulged their every whim without the benefit of talent and work and propelled themselves into any social sphere they chose. They could buy a political office for which they were unsuited, acquire a beautiful and much younger bride and establish relationships with the well-born just as if they were one of them and without having acquired the manners and habits that went with polite society.[83] Their sociability was as illusionary as the commodity on which it was built.

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[79] - "Métaux précieux qui, par une espèce de vertu cachée, ou plutôt par enchantement décide dans la société du mérite d'un individu et de l'accueil qu'on doit lui faire." Magazin du Bas Canada, Tome I, No.2, Février 1832, P.74.

[80] - "Rich Folk", The Canadian Magazine, P.445.

[81] - MG24 L8 M-7, Ma Saberdache Rouge, Poem by Joseph Quesnel "Les Effets de L'Argent".

[82] - "On Commercial Education" and "Rich Folk" share this idea.

[83] - "On Squeezing", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.II, No.XII, June 1824, P.521. Le Canadien, 26 Décembre 1807 and Séguin, Notes, 20 Janvier 1833.

Canadians enhanced their views about the inconstancy of riches by linking them to other contingent motifs. They reminded their fellows that riches often befell an individual by luck and arbitrarily endowed the unmeritorious. Some, like Pendurrock of The Wheel of Fortune, came to them by chance as the result of a gambling debt;[84] others received them by inheritance[85]; like nobles, many rich men had done nothing to deserve their fortune. Traders and merchants, whose business it was to make money, lived on the edge and owed their success to speculation and risk; they could be rich one day and bankrupt the next.[86] Another way of getting rich, according to a poem in Le Canadien, was to flatter or steal,[87] or act like charlatans and fool people into giving money in exchange for nothing. For many early nineteenth century Canadians, there was certainly nothing meritorious or edifying about being rich. Those who were had come to riches through luck or in illegal or morally reprehensible ways. Such being the case, they certainly did not merit the esteem and respect they got.

And even if accumulating money for its own sake could make a person rich, the veneration for it cut some people off from any social intercourse. It was a known fact that the miser was irretrievably asocial; consumed by greed, he was incapable of entering into fellow-feeling with others.[88] In this kind of case, accumulated riches isolated an individual from his peers while money spent destroyed his social standing. Money either made the individual irretrievably asocial or subject to an artificial sociability. And what held for individuals held for nations as well. Spain, an observer noted, had savaged nations in search

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[84] - The idea that riches come by chance is also present in the article "On Commercial Education", The Canadian Magazine, P.7 and in Joseph Quesnel's free verse poem La Nouvelle Académie des Belles-Lettres, MG24, L8 M-7, P.42-43.

[85] - "Rich Folk", The Canadian Magazine, P.443. In all the sources cited in this paragraph, riches were awarded by Fortune.

[86] - Dialogue Sur l'Intérêt du Jour, entre plusieurs Candidats et un Electeur libre et indépendant de la Cité de Québec, 1792, P.2.

[87] - Le Canadien, 9 Avril 1808.

[88] - "Rich Folk", The Canadian Magazine, P.443. Séguin, Diary, 11 Décembre 1832. The miser was a familiar figure in the literature. From Dicken's Scrooge to the fifties téléroman in Quebec Les Belles Histoires des Pays d'en Haut, the miser was unable to work out any amicable and socialized relationships with others.

of gold and silver and yet had had only a passing glory.[89] No enduring reputation could be built on such a fleeting commodity.

The ties forged by wealth were sometimes quite unusual. In 1831, for example, Quebec City magistrates voted to close the pubs attached to inns in the city because they were frequented by "voleurs, filoux, vagabonds, ivrognes et filles publiques". But no sooner had this been done than the magistrates rescinded their own regulations because one of them "...aurait perdu quelques louis par la suppression du dit cabaret."[90] As here, relationships based on greed sometimes tied lawmakers to thieves and magistrates to charlatans inverting conventional propriety and creating social linkages that would not have had society's approval. Furthermore, greed pushed people to do things that otherwise they would not do. Labourers might overwork in order to earn more money.[91] Motivated by greed, men could betray their political friends, the case with one Emanuel Burgess who, "...engulfed in the lowest abyss of human depravity when such evidence put money in his pocket...", sold information to the enemy.[92] Relationships based on money put those involved in them at risk of moral corruption and deception at every step.[93]

In the minds of many, riches were not perceived as an agent of growth and improvement that solidified ties between strangers but as an agent that corrupted the unity of the people. For them, the pursuit of money never lost its mercenary character. And it remained easier and more common to unmask the selfish passion - greed - involved in the pursuit of money than to unmask the selfish passion - pride - involved in the pursuit of social esteem that could be had by professing the denial of human impulses. Some Canadians therefore restricted their discussions of the masks of society to the evils attending

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[89] - L'Aurore, 18 Avril 1818.

[90] - Le Canadien, 4 Juin 1831.

[91] - Le Vrai Canadien, 22 Aout 1810.

[92] - The Canadian Freeman, 1 May 1828.

[93] - One of the first Canadian 'novels' drew from an actual court case and depicted the crimes committed by three individuals and their acolytes motivated by greed to steal, kill, torture and rape. See François-Réal Angers, Les Révélations du Crime ou Cambray et ses Complices, Québec: Fréchette et Cie, 1837.

ownership of money and sought a commodity upon which they could exert themselves without being drawn into the corruption associated with the possession of riches. They turned to land.

Land. There was a mystique to land that went back to times immemorial. It had even escaped the Christian injunction against the definition of the self in reference to earthly matters. Even though there was no metaphysical connection between humans and a piece of land - the connection rested on convention and legal agreement - the action of owning and tilling one's property conferred upon humans the stability of place and the certainty of being. The relationship between land and man settled him and his peers in one place. As Alan Ryan points out: "From Aristotle to Jefferson and even nearer to our own time, there has been a tradition of thought which associates political virtue in the citizen and stability in the state with the ownership of land and the cultivation of the soil."[94] Influenced by romanticism's celebration of all things natural, some early nineteenth century Canadians associated land with stability and collective fulfilment. Here was, as far as they were concerned, a commodity that united men rather than atomized them. For one thing, tilling the land soothed and calmed the natural passions and reinforced familial and neighbourly ties. As one writer noted, agriculture "...is perhaps the only firm and stable foundation of greatness. As a profession, it strengthens the mind without enervating the body. In morality it tends to increase virtue without introducing vice."[95] Another observer added that farmers "...have always been found of a graver deportment than the inhabitants of towns, or those employed in manufactures. Their amusements are of a graver nature and their ideas and reasonings are of a more sober cast."[96] Associated with an immovable and stable commodity upon which they laboured, farmers formed an attachment to it: "Le propriétaire s'attache au sol qu'il cultive,"[97] remarked one commentator, pointing out that the bond between land and man dampened individual impulses for material possessions since the farmer could garner self-esteem

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[94] - Alan Ryan, Property, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987, P.4.

[95] - The Kingston Gazette, 9 September 1810. Cited in Jane Errington's The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada, P.40.

[96] - "On the Expediency of Educating the People of Lower Canada", P.27.

[97] - Le Canadien, 12 Décembre 1807.

simply by taking pleasure in the fruits of his labour. These selfless traits were enhanced when farmers were compared to city-dwellers. Whereas a farmer needed little in the way of amusements and lived in a relative but happy poverty in a crime-free environment, a city dweller was enervated by the pleasures of the city that destroyed family ties. There, an observer wrote, it was common for fathers to lose their authority over their sons and masters theirs over their apprentices and domestics: "Le père semble avoir perdu son autorité sur son fils, le maître sur son apprenti ou son domestique."[98] But as long as man remained on the land, traditional ties and traditional behaviours endured and, living in accordance with a romantic view of what was natural, he was happy and contended: "C'est l'état le plus naturel de l'homme."[99] When farmers bequeathed their land, they did not bequeath riches but stability of place and ensured the continuity of ancestral customs and habits. This was a wealth of another kind that enriched the individual by reinforcing his attachments to traditions and strengthening familial ties. Far from altering the self, the ownership and tilling of land reinforced its naturalness.

In contrast with individuals whose self-interest could only be unintentionally tied to the public good, farmers, as a group, could trace a direct and obvious link between their actions and the welfare of the people. Their exertions directly affected the self-preservation of the nation. Farmers grew food, a commodity that was a necessity. Producing necessities for the subsistence of the many was different than producing luxury goods for their comfort. It fed essences not appearances. Those who grew food thus partook of an activity that dealt unequivocally with the preservation of their fellow beings. That act, selflessly pursued, merited the type of esteem once reserved for the mighty from all those who depended on it for their survival. Those, certainly were the terms in which Le Dialogue sur l'Intérêt du Jour enjoined readers to see the farmer when the author of it compared him with nobles, merchants, lawyers and mechanics and found them all wanting:

> Je suis l'homme de la nature par excellence, je suis de la classe la plus honorable et la plus distinguée, campagnard, habitant laboureur, et cultivateur, je compte parmi mes confrères le plus grand empereur du monde, ainsi que tous ses minitres, les mandarins

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[98] - Le Canadien, 29 Aout 1810.

[99] - Pierre Bédard, Manuscrit, P.66.

> de son vaste empire que vous nommez la Chine. Mes droits sont justes et incontestables puisque je nourris le genre humain, vous ne mangez pas un morceau de pain qui n'est été arrosé de mes sueurs je suis l'âme de l'état, je suis presque le tout, sa force, son soutient, mes titres sont clairs, regardez les marques de distinction que je porte dans mes mains, mon corps courbé par les fatigues et les peines que j'ai pour vous nourrir.[100]

In these vaguely religious tones, the author described a character who was the foundation, the stable core on which all depended, a character who worked without self-interest for the survival of others and as such was worthy and deserving of the highest esteem from all.[101] When farmers worked, they laboured out of a sense of duty and selflessness for the good of the nation in contrast to other segments of the population who, motivated by self-interest, laboured for their private benefit. Furthermore, since farmers laboured selflessly and in common, their intent, their motives and their reputation were free from the artificiality that characterized the identity of those who reinforced their individualism in relation to earthly possessions.

The Agriculturist and Canadian Journal restated this argument half a century later when it asserted that "The agriculturists of Canada, and agriculturists every where, are the "first class" in the noblest and best sense. The Merchants, Mechanics, Priests, Lawyers, Artists, Literati &c., &c., are all non-producers - mere hangers-on, dependants of the husbandman. He can do without them, they cannot live without him."[102] The Agriculturalist opposed farmers as a 'class' to all those who, in the author's estimation, were motivated by selfish motives and embroiled - because of it - in fractious chicaneries and deceptions. Indeed, contrary to city-dwellers who were "plotting rivalry, priestly intrigue, scheming political selfishness, legal trickery and reckless commercial gambling", the farmers were motivated by selflessness and duty and so had a collective identity that was free of artifice and deceit. Thus, they demonstrated "genuine virtue, true patriotism, unostentatious benevolence and sterling honesty". The author contrasted the otherworldly self of the farmers to the worldly and contingential self of the cosmopolites. He found the agriculturalists to represent the only stable, transparent core, the essence of the Canadian identity when he added: "Even

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[100] - Dialogue sur l'Intérêt, P.3.

[101] - "You are", William Mackenzie told farmers, "the only true nobility than this country can boast of." The Colonial Advocate, 18 May, 1824. Cited in Greg Keilty's 1837: Revolution in the Canadas, P.46.

[102] - Cited in Trevor H. Levere and Richard A. Jarrell, eds., A Curious Field-book, Science & Society in Canadian History, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1974, P.160.

in a country so young as Canada, with a changing, heterogeneous population, the truth of this contrast becomes every day plainer to view. The sturdy yeomen are the true conservatives of society. They are the substratum - the foundation of the social fabric - and if that be defective, the whole building will tumble in ruins."[103]

Both the Dialogue and the Agriculturalist built the identity of the farmers in terms of their otherworldly qualities and attributes. They toiled selflessly and in common for the self-preservation of others. Motivated by duty to produce a necessity, they showed no inclination to self-interested pursuits that would have weakened society as a whole. Their reputation and rank, then, were no more the result of fortuitous circumstances than they were Fortune's arbitrary endowments. As a result, their motives were not understood through the prism of self-interest but in terms of 'old' fashioned virtue that opposed worldliness in all its forms.

There were many flaws in this type of reasoning. For one, the farmers of 1848 were tied to the demand created by corrupted city-dwellers. The two were tied together by interdependent needs in a supply and demand marketplace that worked according to the self-interest of specialized actors. Secondly, as the metaphor of Fortune would point out, land was no less an earthly possession than riches, power, rank and reputation and, as such, created its own kind of fictional account of worthiness. Nevertheless, the desire for a universe that was less openly and publicly mercenary was strong in populations that needed to believe that a stable and moral core of society existed behind all its artificiality. Professing complete selflessness had always been the surest way to meet the need for stability and moral certainty in those who remained attentive to Christian injunctions about worldliness.

The moderns relied on the familiar ring of the language of contingency to set the boundaries of the new order. The more 'liberal' among them used the discourse selectively to identify those among them who appeared to pursue their self-interest without any concern for the public good. The assessment of selfishness, however, was the result of individual perception and left all those who publicly admitted to being motivated by self-interest open to criticism and evaluations over which they had no control.

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[103] - Ibid.

Furthermore, publicly stating that individuals were motivated by self-interest - as the inheritors of the Enlightenment were likely to do - attracted the attention to the group of individuals who professed such beliefs. Others, who did not hold these views of the self, could always contrast their behaviours and beliefs in ways that also distinguished them as a group. Evidently in the Canadas, beliefs regarding self-interest served as markers of class identity in ways that contrasted one class with another.

The 'liberal' pointed to the nobility and the contingent-rich as a 'class' likely to work according to self-interest without regard for the public good. Such an observer's comments enhanced their identity as a class that pursued self-interest rationally with a view to advancing the growth of society. Conversely, the more 'otherworldly' among Canadians defined as a separate class all those who worked out of a sense of duty for the public good. Accordingly, their class was not motivated by self-interest and was morally entitled to recognition because of that fact. In all these cases, class distinctions could not be articulated unless they were conceptualized against a tapestry of right and wrong provided by the language of contingency. One 'worthy' class needed an 'unworthy' one to give it existence. The making of class identity in Canada owed much to how people utilized the language of contingency and the contrast in which it is woven.

Needless to say, by the middle of the century, class feelings had deepened. Indeed, the working classes could upstage the farmers in otherworldly virtue since - as they pointed out - farmers owned land but workers were identified solely by the possession of their labour. Conversely, analyses of late nineteenth century business men show that they too felt the need to embed their actions in more otherworldly terms. Michael Bliss' A Living Profit and Allan Smith's "The Myth of the Self-Made Man" indicate that commercial behaviours that were understood in the early part of the century as being motivated by self-interest were being presented by the end of the century as actions motivated by public regard and moral concern.[104] Casting 'liberal' beliefs in 'conservative' terms indicated that the age had stabilized enough to speak of itself with a degree of moral certainty that called forth an otherworldly attitude.

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[104] - See Michael Bliss, A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business 1883-1911, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974, P.32 and "The Myth of the Self-Made Man", in Allan Smith's Canada, An American Nation, Essays on Continentalism, Identity and the Canadian Frame of Mind, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994, P.338-340.

CHAPTER FOUR

CITIZENSHIP AND MODERN SOCIABILITY

Nineteenth century Canadians had to come to grips with the meaning of political community and their identity as citizens when the 1791 Constitutional Act replicated British franchise qualifications with the result that large segments of the population could vote. For the times, the franchise of Lower and Upper Canada met in exemplary fashion the utilitarian criteria of maximum numbers.[1] If the political wealth of a nation was measured by the numbers who participated in the process, then the Canadian colonies were wealthy indeed. Reactions to this state of affairs varied according to how one identified with 'democracy' and with the modern sociability it brought forth. For some, a democracy of large numbers meant the dispersion of an order in which they held the upper hand; for others, it meant the natural coming-of-age of a modern Canadian polity. Even for the latter group, however, this political maturation held its own corruptive potential.

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[1] - According to John Garner, most heads of families had the right to vote. Furthermore, due to property laws administered under La Coutume de Paris, Lower Canadian women could vote and did. John Garner, The Franchise and Politics in British North America, 1755-1867, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969, P.74-75 and 154-160.

1) DEMOCRACY CORRUPTS

For some, the answer to who ought to rule was simple: the well-born and men of substantial property. When such people directed political affairs, the stability of society was assured because they escaped, it was thought, motivations of greed and selfish regard when they acted in the public sphere; for that reason, they expected to be appointed to offices and be elected to the Assembly. It certainly seemed apparent that an extensive franchise brought forth the worst in the not-so-well-born and endangered order. Men of substance rejected the view that the system contributed to human perfectibility and referred to its contingent nature when they spoke of its corruption and deceit. In countries like France that had forsaken religion and virtue, warned Bishop Strachan, "...democracy had corrupted the heart by rendering it familiar with deception."[2] When they got involved in the electoral process, men and women became accustomed to falsifying their intentions and deceiving both others and themselves in order to gain satisfaction. Elector and candidate were joined, for the purpose of choosing rulers, in a human charade that appealed to their imperfect and corrupted nature. "Democracy is a permanent disease which strikes deep root in the corruption of our common nature. Its passion is wild and inordinate. It delights in difficulties and disdains everything moderate, solid, secure."[3] Men of substance considered that the electoral process catered to man's lowest and most uncivilized impulses and elevated him to a level of deceiving legitimacy. As one commentator put it in reference to American expatriate landowners discussing the franchise in Upper Canada: "I know their apparent placidity and pliancy and malleability, and their real cunning and deceit and stubbornness - their apparent sincerity and ingenuousness and their real cant and hypocrisy."[4] Those who sought power outside the traditional norms of rule faked flexibility and adaptability in order to convince

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[2] - Strachan, A discourse on the Character of King George the Third, P.23.

[3] - John Henry, [Camillus], An Enquiry into the evils of general suffrage and frequent elections in Lower Canada, Montreal: Nahum Mower, 1810, P.19.

[4] - Cited in Francis Collins, An Abridged View of the Alien Question Unmasked by the editor of the Canadian Freeman, York: Printed at the Freeman Office, 1826 P.13. Collins was quoting a member of the Executive council. Underlined in the text.

others of their good intentions. They faked, connived and deceived in order to achieve their ends.

These men were guided by no moral, legal or traditional standard except that of individual gain. Tied to others only by deceit, their sociability was transient, immoral and false. One writer reminded H. W. Ryland by way of warning: "Democrats are inconstant in all their ways, and there can be no stability in their relations to each other, since none of them act uniformly or consistently nor remains long like to himself. Their friendship is but a league of villainy, which, for the most part, ends when it ceases to be profitable."[5] Monseigneur Lartigue agreed about the perversity of democrats and added that the inhabitants were particularly blind when they thought that they were freely choosing their representatives when in fact they were the dupes of candidates: "Qui ne sait combien de moyens de corruption sont employés et réussissent pour amener des choix de coteries? Qui ne sait, que dans chaque comté, c'est ordinairement une douzaine d'orateurs qui fait l'élection..."[6] The body that brought together the elected was as unstable as the elected themselves. The laws voted in one Assembly could be repealed by the next, John Rolph was reminded by an executive councillor, who added that "...the people who breathed [elected representatives] into political existence must change their political condition as the camelion [sic] changes its colour according to the caprice of an inconsistent and inconstant House of Assembly."[7] Nothing stable, nothing certain, nothing immanently or traditionally true sustained the actions of self-interested democrats; indeed, the edifice constructed by the rising middle-class to accommodate its political aspirations was a fraud.

When he emigrated to Lower Canada, John Henry expected the institutions to function along the same lines as the British ones. In Britain, in addition to the King and the Lords, men of wealth and education, representing the best English society could offer, were elected to the Commons, and ruled the

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[5] - Letter from Delta to Senex, containing some Observations and strictures on a late Manifesto published in the Newspapers, in a Sinister Form of an Address from a Junto of Members of the Provincial Parliament of Lower-Canada to their Constituents, Montreal: Montreal Gazette, 1827, P.52-53.

[6] - Des doctrines", cited in Gilles Chaussé, Jean-Jacques Lartigue, P.203.

[7] - John Rolph's speech on the alien question reproduced in the Canadian Freeman, 8 February 1827.

Kingdom. By his calculations, however, they only had to contend with one ninetieth of the population.[8] But in the Canadas the elected and the electoral process took in the many not just the few. In contrast to the respectable House of Commons, the Lower Canadian Assembly "...which emanates directly from the whole indiscrimate mass of population..." was like "...the bar-room of a country inn or a common stage coach filled with gentlemen, notaries, attornies and attornies' clerks country clowns, dram sellers and bankrupts -

> Black devils and white, blue devils and grey,
> Mingle, mingle, mingle, you that mingle may.[9]

Those elected to the Assembly formed a discordant group. People who did not belong together associated with one another for the purpose of deceiving themselves and the electorate. Furthermore, there seemed to have been little difference between candidates and the people who elected them in this wide-open process. As one commentator put it: "Where the offices of power and emoluments are open to all...the scramble becomes universal and the nation is never at peace."[10] Property qualifications were so low, he added, that anyone could aspire to be a candidate: "...so that an Indian of Cachnawaga, a Beggar from Kamouraska or if you will a Jack, Mr.H___'s Blackman being a native, can be elected if the people chose, in preference to the first man of the land." Men who otherwise ought to have been excluded from rule by virtue of their poverty or racial characteristics were now eligible to participate. Even illiterates and men of small talents could offer their candidacy, as did, for example, a butcher named Samson who ran in the county of Dorchester. But while, as The Quebec Mercury argued, his apprenticeship in a slaughterhouse qualified him to be a good butcher, it hardly made him fit for the exalted post of Legislator.[11] For many, Canadian democracy was a little too democratic and created an equality of condition as candidates and

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[8] - Henry estimated that out of a possible English population of eighteen millions "...not more than five hundred thousand persons have any manner of connexion with the government...and of the representatives of these...at least six tenths are under the immediate influence of the crown and of illustrious families." John Henry, The Evils, P.11.

[9] - Ibid. P.12.

[10] - The Quebec Mercury, 19 February 1810.

[11] - The Quebec Mercury, 23 May 1808 and 22 January 1810. Le Vrai Canadien concurred. For it, the utility of artisans consisted in being the best they could be in their respective spheres of endeavour: "...à bien s'acquitter de leurs devoirs respectifs." 4 Avril 1810.

electors transgressed their traditional spheres in order to find common grounds. It meant extinguishing distinctions of rank, wealth and, increasingly in the Canadian context, ethnicity and requiring men of substance to associate with individuals with whom they had nothing in common. The contest did not oppose two equals who could be judged according to their comparative merit but contrasted a superior with an inferior and seriously undermined the identity of both. The inferior man stood to gain much in illusionary glory but the superior one stood to lose his distinguishing characteristics and, to make matters worse, he might even lose the election.

Courting votes from an electorate that was illiterate and poor put an increasing strain on the identity of respectable men. Uneducated, and therefore unable to see beyond his immediate self-interest and so comprehend the nature of the greater good, the elector refused to vote for anyone "whose opinions are unlike his own." In consequence...

> the representative must by degrees become analogous in all respect to the constituent: and in order to obtain decided control over public opinion and become popular, he must have been guilty of so many mean concessions; submitted to so many kinds of degradation, and run through such a series of dissimulation and dishonor, as to be totally disqualified to be a member of a wise and virtuous legislature."[12]

Respectable and substantial men who submitted to the Canadian electoral process risked losing what distinguished them from the rest of the inhabitants and becoming the creation of inferiors. Otherwise accustomed to observe deference to fortune, rank and learning established by law and usage, the "poor, wooden shoed peasant", in Henry's view "...finds all at once that he himself is the producing cause...".[13] This meant that respectable men would have to explain their actions to a population that was ill prepared for the messages they hoped to convey and they would be subject to a public opinion over which they had no control. Furthermore, the assembly in which they would sit would be peopled by charlatans and vagabonds who acquired their status in fortune-like manner: by artifice and deception. Not surprisingly those who favoured the limited democracy of England reacted ferociously to the repeated demand made by reformers to elect the members of the Legislative Council and to choose elected representatives for

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[12] - John Henry, An Enquiry into the evils, P.15.

[13] - Ibid., P.14.

executive posts.

For Adam Thom, taking away the advantages conferred by birth, wealth and ethnicity would result in the annihilation of the colony. Positions in the executive and legislative councils belonged by right to the well-born and the well-born needed to keep control of them if the colonies were to remain at one with the mother-country. Thom told Lord Gosford that if 'fitness' for office consisted in "...being acceptable to the great body of the people..." then councillors would become dependent on public opinion and subject to the "...elective principle."[14] If that became the case, he added, executive offices would be filled by "French Demagogues."[15] Many Montreal merchants had been unable to develop a political sociability which included the population at large. Unable or unwilling to cross the boundary of status and language that distinguished them from the general population, they would, under Gosford's plan, be excluded from executive offices. And if the legislative council was made elective, they would be excluded from that body also.

Adam Thom's point was not without foundation. Modern political sociability required the development of relationships that forced a reappraisal of a person's identity in order to multiply the means of communication with fellow beings in ways that fostered unprecedented ties. But that type of sociability was unacceptable to the many people who believed in a sociability of peers where the self was less encumbered, where deceit was more difficult, where artificiality was less apparent, and where communications based on the harmony of customs, language and habits happened spontaneously and without rationalization. Unable to get elected as a consequence of wishing to preserve a sociability in which their identities were firmly established, Montreal merchants feared losing their status as 'citizens'. And yet, as Thom remarked, they remained no less the representatives of that community simply by virtue of belonging to it. Even if not elected, they were nonetheless "...the virtual representatives of the English

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[14] - Cited in Thom, Anti-Gallic Letters, P.81.

[15] - Ibid., P.82. Concentrating all legislative powers in the hands of "demagogues" would result in "a despotism worse than Turkish...for no tyranny is so degrading, as that of inferiors." Anglo-Canadian of Old Standing, To the Electors of the City and County of Montreal, Montreal, Printed at the Gazette Office, 1827, P.2.

population"[16] and naturally able to transcend their own interest because of it and thus serve the greater good of the British Crown. Forcing respectable men to submit to an electoral system would force them to work for mercenary motives and for the divisive interests of local factions. It would force them to work according to principles of self-interest.[17]

Egerton Ryerson understood his right to speak on behalf of Upper Canadians in a related manner. He too thought that ties with the British Crown could be retained only if executive and legislative offices were filled by appointments since those involved in the electoral process were creatures of artifice and worked only according to their self-interest. The relationships to which 'democracy' gave rise involved behaviours that were worldly, artificial and duplicitous. That was the nature of the beast and could not be escaped. True representation, therefore, could not be found in the democratic system of rule. True representation existed only when the ties that united persons were based on intangibles operating apart from self-interest. When Ryerson advanced his claim to speak on behalf of Lower as well as Upper Canadians in opposing the 'Canadian Alliance' efforts to link reformers from both provinces, he was at special pains to establish his 'uncorrupt' and 'pure' links to that community and made it clear that he had "...never received a favour from government nor has any of my relatives."[18] Contrary to Joseph Hume and Arthur Roebuck[19] and their Canadian supporters, Charles Duncombe and William Mackenzie, he was, he wrote to The Times, "...a Canadian, by birth and education, recently from Canada, from which I have never been absent two years in my life. All my feelings and connexions", he added, "are Canadian."[20] In contrast to the American-born reformers and their British sympathizers who spoke only on behalf of their factions, he had a 'Canadian' legitimacy based on place of birth that gave him the right to speak on behalf "of my

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[16] - Ibid., P.5.

[17] - According to Adam Thom, only English-speaking "renegades and deserters" acted in this manner. Ibid., P.83.

[18] - Ryerson, The Affairs of the Canadas, P.ii.

[19] - Motivated as they were by "...ambition, covetousness, personal hostility or political theory or all united." Ibid, P.14.

[20] - Ryerson, The Affairs, P.i-ii.

fellow subjects and countrymen who speak the English language [not only in Upper Canada but also] in Lower Canada."

> The residence of my life has been among the people of whom I thus speak. I am one of them by birth, education, feeling and interest. I admit you have republican partisans there; you have, indeed, a "Canadian Alliance" there; but it is not the organ of Upper Canadian principles and feeling, and the animus of its talent, and its weekly lecturer, is nothing but a deposed Catholic priest. The people of Upper Canada are not republicans, nor do they desire a "government purely democratic."[21]

Modern men who objected to a citizenship that brought strangers together in a loose and temporary association based on a self-interest that could yield - in their estimation - no more than an artificial identity-in-making, proposed an arrangement based on links deriving from place of birth and the circumstances of a common upbringing that gave real meaning to a political community. Bonds formed in this manner were seen as more 'natural' because they required no rationalization. Closeness was a product of sharing a geographically-limited space and the familiarity of kinship and neighbourliness. Birth in the community rather than earthly possessions gave members of the group an inherent 'pure' identity that needed not be negotiated. Whoever spoke from this perspective was free of the deception and artifice that marred the sociability of self-interest characterizing loosely affiliated individuals. In contrast to 'the esteem' associated with such individuals the respect and reputation they garnered was entirely based on a natural and uncluttered estimation of the self and others. Un-negotiated and therefore uncorrupted, the identity of cultural birth extended to the native-born a measure of moral superiority over all others and gave them the right to speak on their behalf.

Notary Séguin esteemed traditional ties, wrote warmly about the inhabitants of his seigneurie and seemed to share special bonds with them.[22] He preferred local authorities to central ones, believed in God

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[21] - Ibid, P.19 and P.50. The Canadian Alliance was composed of William Mackenzie, Joseph Hume, Arthur Roebuck, E.B. O'Callaghan and Etienne Parent. O'Callaghan was Irish Catholic and the editor of The Vindicator the English Lower Canadian patriot newspaper that sustained similar views to La Minerve. He was also a friend of Daniel O'Connell - the champion of the Irish cause in the House of Commons.

[22] - Séguin always noted in his diary the births and deaths of the inhabitants. In the case of a death, he entered the date and cause and always commented on the personality traits and special quirks of each individual. On the occasion of the marriage of a fifty year old man with a sixty-eight year old woman he noted with delight that a charivari was planned; his sensibilities were at one with the peasantry on this matter. Séguin Notes, 7 Janvier 1833.

and favoured established political authorities over the newcomers who were elected to the Assembly. That body, he said, corrupted "...les moeurs du pays." What he meant by that showed how deeply the new political sociability cut into existing unitary bonds. The sociability he wished to preserve was one where the political institutions were in harmony "...avec cet amour réciproque qui doit lier des frères."[23] Humans were interconnected by love, respect and charity in a seamless web of benevolence towards one another. It was incumbent on traditional rulers to protect these bonds, developed over years of closeness. Those who ruled had to protect these ties from the encroachments of the elected members who gained favour in the eyes of the people by screaming of oppression and discrediting the administration in the hope of obtaining an office that brought money and honour.[24] They had to be on guard against men who, under the pretext of defending the rights of the people "...n'en convoitent pas moins ses richesses et ne lâchent prise qu'après avoir rempli leurs goussets à discrétion." These men were cunning and interested, they deceived and manipulated, and they played on the emotions of the people and unleashed their passions. Once unleashed, the passions threatened the bonds of good-will that existed between individuals. Creditors lost patience and called in their debts. Employers fired employees who contradicted them. If things continued, traditional bonds would be broken and society would become fragmented, atomized, divided and corrupted. Those who had no personal interest in seeking office must therefore rule, for they alone could maintain fellow-feeling among humans. All others were bound by self-interest to insinuate themselves between rulers and ruled through an electoral system that was built on deception.[25]

If one looked closely at the accomplishments of the elected, wrote Séguin, one readily saw that what they produced was more appearance than substance. Forever preferring quantity over quality, the sheer number of acts passed by the assembly - seventy-two in all - in the 1831-32 session was deceiving.

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[23] - Séguin, Notes, 15 Novembre 1831.

[24] - Ibid. "...pour se ménager une place lucrative et honorifique..."

[25] - He pointed out that in the much acclaimed American democracy regarded by Canadian reformers as "...ce pays libre par excellence..." blacks, who formed more than one ninth of the population, were "...esclave[s] du reste." That democracy incorporated slavery was something "...qui porte à la réflexion." Notes, 8 Avril 1831.

In fact these acts were inconsequential and unimportant. They spelled out in minute detail the most trivial items and, added Séguin, they still made demands on the public purse.[26] Furthermore, these statutes were written in a shocking style, full of legal terms that made them incomprehensible to the uninitiated.[27] Insofar as the Terrebonne notary was concerned, and on top of everything else, democrats were breaking away from an accepted literary style and were making up an entire new language that excluded the unspecialized. They insinuated themselves into every facet of social life. When John Neilson introduced a motion in the Assembly that would give the responsibility of registering births, marriages and deaths to municipal officials, Séguin was outraged by the bureaucratic and secularizing cant of this measure. Here was one more instance where elected authorities were breaking the bonds between priests and parishioners.[28] For Séguin, the new form of government was far more than a simple intrusion in the remote domain of politics. It signified a break with everything he held dear. His personal relationship with the inhabitants, the moral guidance of local priests, the written word and benevolent ties were all being assailed by men who were nothing more than self-proclaimed rulers.

A society needed a central, guiding authority to judge merit and demerit consistently and according to accepted standards: "Le bon ordre veut que dans chaque société il y ait une autorité quelconque d'où doivent découler toutes les grâces mais pour les distribuer avec discernement, if faut qu'elle soit revêtue du pouvoir de juger du mérite et du démérite des personnes et des choses."[29] But in the era of modern sociability, Séguin saw no such central authority or standard; each individual was judge and jury of his own worth. And if this was accurate, then how could anyone judge right from wrong? If this was the case, then

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[26] - Séguin, Notes, 29 Février 1832.

[27] - Ibid., 15 Novembre 1831.

[28] - Ibid., 7 Mars 1833. In 1834, the English Whig government introduced a similar bill in order to get an accurate inventory of the numbers of the English population. It did so with the express intent of taking the responsibility from local authorities - in this case Anglican ministers - who refused to register the baptisms of dissenters. Similarly, the Amendment to the Poor Laws recommended a central and therefore impartial administration of relief in order to break the tyrannical and arbitrary power that local magistrates and Parish Vestries wielded over the poor.

[29] - Ibid.

who could say that the government's decision to jail Daniel Tracey and Ludger Duvernay, the editors of two Patriot newspapers in 1831, was more arbitrary than the Assembly's decision in 1805 to jail Thomas Cary, the editor of The Quebec Mercury and the editor of the Canadian Times in 1823 for supporting the union of the two provinces?[30] For Séguin, elected officials in a majority government could act as arbitrarily as could men in any other form of government. The notary of Terrebonne saw the end of an era coming; he saw that the new sociability did not contain a central point from which all standards of moral and legal judgements emanated. Relativism was thus likely to flourish and society degenerate. He had not grasped that the new sociability, according to those who lived by it, based its certainty and its stability in the laws protecting the self and property and their impartial and commutative administration. He came close, however, to discerning the relativism of systems in general at a time when a shift was underway. He perhaps also came close to grasping that certainty and stability for an individual came from belonging to and believing in a system rather than from any inherent truth contained therein.

Adam Thom, Monseigneur Lartigue, John Henry, notary Séguin and Egerton Ryerson did not have much in common. Indeed if placed in the same room, they would not have had much to say to one another. And yet, beyond the religious, cultural and linguistic characteristics that fashioned their various identities, they believed in something greater that a community of self-interested individuals. They believed in, longed for and sought to conserve an 'essential' community - godly or worldly - where bonds were less artificial and more transparent than individually contrived ones and offered something more secure and lofty than the contingent and deceiving identities-in-the-making of the moderns. Each of them considered that an extensive electoral system ran counter to these bonds, that, indeed it would destroy them. The problem with all this was that few of them would agree on what constituted the 'essential' Canadian community.

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[30] - Ibid.

2) THE MODERN REPRESENTATIVE

Other Canadians believed that an electoral system could yield the type of identity that would make Canada and its citizens distinctive from Europe. The American continent differed in geography, climate and resources, noted the reformer-doctor François Blanchet. It therefore stood to reason that its people were of a different sort than Europeans and ought not to be coerced into customs alien to its condition. In America, he wrote, "Les hommes y sont aussi différemment modifiés, et vouloir leur faire trouver bon en Amérique, ce qu'ils trouvent bon en Europe est une absurdité complète."[31] In Europe, it was customary and suited the nature of European countries to rely, in part, on a hereditary nobility to rule. But that colonial local authorities requested the creation of a permanent and hereditary Legislative Council in Lower Canada struck Blanchet as completely absurd. One could not import into the new world customs and usages that were not suited to it. In America, public opinion "...est en faveur des gouvernements représentatifs."[32] Representative governments, Blanchet argued, were the natural mode of rule of the new continent. Any attempt, therefore, to introduce a privileged class amounted to the corruption of its nature or at least to a denial of its natural development. Those like the Governor-General and his advisors and legislative councillors who wanted to preserve such a class attended only to the protection of their own self-interest[33] and failed to adhere to a fundamental principle of rule that demanded that they conform "aux temps et aux moeurs des pays qui leur sont confiés."[34] In doing what they did they certainly corrupted or attempted to

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[31] - Blanchet, Appel au Parlement, P.11.

[32] - Ibid., P.12. It was commonplace to view the North American continent as a land of vast expanses that accommodated vast industrious numbers and as one that naturally lead to representative institutions. When Papineau compared American to Canadian and English institutions, he emphasized that in the United States all offices were elective and were held by "...l'aristocratie naturelle...l'aristocratie des vertus et des talents tandis qu'en Europe et ici elles sont exercées par les aristocracies contre nature de la naissance, de l'argent de la bassesse intriguante que l'enfer ou la folie ont données aux sociétés." Discours de l'Honorable Papineau, P.15. John Neilson talked about Lower Canadians as "...a people so essentially democratic as is the society of all old colonies in North America." MG24, B1 Vol.12, John Neilson to H.Labouchere, 23 October 1839.

[33] - Le Canadien, 31 Janvier 1807.

[34] - Le Canadien, 17 Octobre 1807.

corrupt the 'naturalness' of the colonies. One only had to look at the present machinery of government to see that, in Canada, British-style institutions did not work. "Le tout", said Pierre Bédard, "ne ressemble-t-il pas à une machine composée de parties montées de poids qui agissent en sens contraire?"[35] No matter how well that type of institutional framework suited England, it did not coincide with the political identity of a democratic Canada.

There was only one aristocracy in Canada, said Charles Mondelet: "La seule aristocratie qui peut exister ici, est celle des talens et de la vertu."[36] Institutions should reflect the nature of a population composed of perfectible and meritorious individuals.[37] Reformers underlined that the new system had reversed the grounds of political sociability. Now, those who ruled owed obedience and deference to the People. Reformers enjoyed pointing out that "Les Rois sont faits pour le peuple et non les peuples pour les Rois"[38] and that only the Assembly, and those elected to it, was the 'natural' institution in Lower Canada. The rest of the machinery was unsuited, dangerous and did not work. Electing legislative councillors and chosing executive officers from the ranks of the elected appeared as the only solution.

Electing and being elected in the era of commercial sociability added new features to the process of rule and entrusted the fate of the polity - its fortune - to the hands of self-interested individuals. Modern social environments brought together a multitude of men and women with different customs, religions and ranks who sought to perfect their natural talents, increase their comforts and function amicably with strangers, be they from the village or from the court, outside the traditional ties of kinship and paternalism. Accommodating these interests without favouring the unmeritorious was best accomplished by electing individuals who perfected their natural talents as well as representing the interests of all. However, the process was fraught with ambivalence since neither the seeker of votes nor the voter could ever be sure

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[35] - MG24 B1 Vol.32, Pierre Bédard à John Neilson, 12 Janvier 1815. The present state of the institutions was, according to Louis Bourdages, "un état contre nature...", Bourdages, Adresse, P.10.

[36] - Cited in Lafontaine, Les deux girouettes, P.50.

[37] - Ibid., P.49.

[38] - Lafontaine, Les deux girouettes, P.8. Monseigneur Lartigue thought the doctrine "absurd and revolting". Cited in Chaussé, Jean-Jacques Lartigue, P.202.

of the intent of the other. Joseph Planté's speech in the House of Assembly made clear the difficulties faced by anyone who sought the favours of the electorate. No distinction of rank, wealth, ethnicity or gender allowed a candidate to escape the ambiguous nature of this particular relationship.

From the moment, said Planté, a man offered himself as a candidate his nature changed: "Il s'inquiète, il s'agite, il intrigue, il fait intriguer les autres; il court, il marche, il va, il vient, il retourne, il perd le boire et le manger, il ne dort ni le jour ni la nuit."[39] From the outset, the candidate altered his calm manner and the chase made him restless and frenzied. Consumed by the task at hand, he neglected his usual business and that of others. Put in the position of competing against an opponent who denigrated him, he devised means to deal with the situation: "Il machine avec ses amis; il dissimule avec ceux qui lui sont contraires; il se compose, il se décompose, il prend toutes sortes d'air, toutes sortes de formes." The candidate dissassembled and recomposed himself to suit the circumstances and the people whose votes he courted; he entered into machinations with his friends, hid his true feelings from those who opposed him and modified his self to suit the circumstances. Should he be told what was said about him behind his back, he confronted all the passions known to man: envy, jealousy, anger, fear, hope: "...toutes les passions l'une après l'autre et quelquefois toutes ensembles lui dérangent tellement le cerveau qu'elles en font un être risible aux yeux du public." Publicly exhibited in this state, his reputation stood to suffer in the eyes of those he wished to impress. And this was not all.

The candidate then had to court an electorate with which he had nothing in common: "Il faut encore se faire petit, s'humilier." He had to salute politely people he would have never otherwise acknowledged, shake hands with individuals he did not know or, even worse, with some he knew too well and would be ashamed to be seen with in other circumstances. He plotted with devious characters because "...ce sont les plus propres à la besogne à laquelle on les emploie" and were more likely to get the job done. He denounced others, who in turn denounced him; both men's reputations were attacked publicly in speeches and in writing and laid bare for all to see. Altogether, the candidate who ran for election wore every mask

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[39] - Le Canadien, 19 Mars 1808. The newspaper reproduced the speech Planté made in the House of Assembly.

he needed to get elected. He put up a front for his friends, his acolytes, his opponents and the electorate: his entire sociability was dictated by the process. That Planté felt secure enough to declaim this in the Assembly and that Le Canadien reproduced it for the readership-electorate attested to the fact that elections in the first decade of the nineteenth century were not understood as an act of civic virtue in the republican manner. Rather, the process was seen to integrate forms of modern sociability in ways that might not be edifying but which still served the public good.[40] In the end, the candidate representing the will of the majority of a vast number of electors would be elected. And that was far more acceptable than having legislation arbitrarily dictated by a few individuals interested in protecting their own interests. Furthermore, if all knew about the process and actively and willingly participated in it, then the charge of deception and hypocrisy associated with this type of sociability would be harder to make.

Altogether, the election remained the subject of much discussion owing to the ambiguous nature of the relationship between the electorate and those who wanted its votes. Any candidate stood to have his motives questioned and his reputation attacked publicly. It did not matter that the accusations were true or false; a candidate could expect them to be made since they were part of the process. Intending to run in Upper Canada, Charles Edwin Beardsley warned the electors of the county of Lincoln that such accusations were going to occur. Anyone who decided to run for such a post, he told them, made enemies who would say anything to defeat him. Therefore, "No pains will be spared to ruin my character, either as a public or a private man...my virtues will be construed into vices..."[41] Getting elected seriously strained the hard-earned reputation of men of merit and seriously endangered the unassailable reputation of the well-born and the rich. To complicate matters, the attacks could come from any quarter and were not limited to opponents.

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[40] - Planté's speech was specially interesting because he analyzed the electoral system in relation to the masks of modernity without attempting to portray it in moral ways. The speech injected a measure of doubt about the disinterestedness of all involved, himself included. But more importantly, it laid bare democracy in an unprecedented manner that could not be sustained by reformers who viewed an elected assembly as their lifeline to political and social liberty. To continue to hold publicly this type of assessment about it would have defeated their aspirations.

[41] - The Canadian Freeman, 24 April 1828.

When friends and colleagues of Louis Bourdages thought that he had overdone his accusations against traditional authorities in the hope of getting elected, they published a pamphlet denouncing his outburst. They accused him of exaggerating when he referred to the administration as monsters "...qui ne cherchaient qu'à dévorer le peuple" and condemned his vanity and self-love for trying to deceive the people. They also noted for the edification of the public that, as a member of a previous Assembly, he had voted the party line on small matters but not on important ones for fear of being perceived negatively by the Governor.[42] Political involvement in the era of modern sociability was certainly not an easy affair. It left candidates open to scrutiny and criticism at every turn. Privately published pamphlets and the press ensured that the behaviours of those who sought electoral favours were kept in the public eye and, by the same token, provided a built-in check to the most outrageous manifestations of individual self-love.

The conduct of the candidates Stanley Bagg and Daniel Tracey came under intense criticism when their 1832 election turned violent, the military was called and three people died. La Minerve, who supported Tracey, was quick to condemn Bagg and his supporters for fomenting the riot and held them responsible for the death of the three.[43] Upon reading La Minerve's account and conclusions, the poet and historian Michel Bibaud, who supported Bagg, felt it necessary to set the record straight. "Un volume suffirait à peine pour réfuter en détail les faussetés, les mensonges et les calomnies propagées..." by the newspaper which would go to any length to discredit those who did not share its views.[44] A reading of the divergent accounts in the newspaper and in the pamphlet would not have determined for the reader where the responsibility for the riot lay. One text checked the other. The reader would have brought to the accounts his or her own prejudices regarding the parties involved and decided accordingly. The 'truth' about the behaviours of the candidates in the 1832 elections was, by virtue of the complex structure of

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[42] - Vie Politique de Mr.xxx, ex-membre de la Chambre d'Assemblée du Bas-Canada, P.14.

[43] - The election even warranted a mention in the 92 Resolutions which condemned military force against the people and referred to its use as "...l'exécution sanglante du citoyen par le soldat." 92 Résolutions, No.84, 6.

[44] - Michel Bibaud, Quelques Réflexions sur la dernière élection du Quartier-Ouest de la cité de Montréal, Montréal: No publisher cited, 1832, P.3.

modern sociability, impossible to establish.[45]

Besides electors could alter their moods and their decisions without notice. When notary Séguin reflected on the 1829 Statute that called for electing local school administrators, he remarked that education would be placed in the hands of individuals who owed their position to "...les chances d'une élection ou [au] caprice des paroissiens."[46] There was an uncontrollable and arbitrary element to an election and the elected candidate could never be certain that his success was entirely due to his merit. And if this was the case, how could he feel confident that he deserved the increased status and reputation that the post conferred? He could not since his post-electoral self was the result of the decisions of others and contingent on their self-interested pursuits or caprice.[47] The elected, then, was in the unenviable position of being the creation of others. But, as John Neilson told Lady Aylmer, once acquired, his attributes were linked indissolubly to him: "...our privileges are inherent in us the moment we are elected, and our privileges give us existence whether organized or not."[48] It, then, became incumbent upon the elected candidate to prove worthy of the honours bestowed: "If we abandon our privileges, we abandon and destroy the confidence that the public have [sic] placed in us." Being elected gave an individual a contingent stature which may or may not have been merited; but worthiness could still be earned, if one applied talents and efforts to the task at hand. One tempered a taste for power and the arbitrariness of winning by acting responsibly once elected. Wealth and a noble birth were no longer necessary to ensure that the electoral process produced a stable and moral polity.

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[45] - Years later, Robert Christie noted that it was impossible to tell which faction had been the most violent. Not only the papers of the day but even the eye-witnesses "differ as to this." Robert Christie, A History of late Province, Volume III, P.398. Putting his own twist on things, William Lyon Mackenzie noted the ethnicity of the candidates. "D. Tracey, was an Irishman...The other gentleman, was Mr. Stanley Bagg, a citizen of the U.S., naturalized in Canada." William Lyon Mackenzie, Sketches of Upper Canada and the United States, London: Effingham Wilson, MDCCCXXXIII, P.20.

[46] - MG24 I109, Séguin, Notes, 1 Juillet 1831.

[47] - In this vein, former constituents reminded Wolfred Nelson that he had publicly and frequently told them that "...votre "nom", votre réputation et votre influence étaient la propriété de vos compatriotes..." MG24 B34 Vol.1, Adresse au docteur W. Nelson, 24 Janvier 1839.

[48] - MG24 A43, Lady Aylmer's Diary, 1831, P.21.

In England, British gentlemen who were elected to the House of Commons were of sufficient wealth and reputation to profess that they were motivated only by the duty to work unselfishly towards the public good. But, in the colony of Lower Canada, the Legislature contained a far different kind of people. Many had neither wealth nor reputation and were therefore open to the charge of seeking elected office purely for monetary purposes and for the esteem and reputation that it would bring to them. So intent on acquiring a personality that was groundless, poor but cunning men could manipulate and deceive the inhabitants into voting for them.[49]

Less fortunate elected men of merit in the Canadian colonies could hardly deny their impoverished circumstances. To circumvent the criticism that they were after the people's money, they requested that an impartial government pay them a salary for their work.[50] Contrary to others who held power without effort because of contacts with a few well placed and wealthy individuals, elected officials worked hard for theirs. Coming from all walks of life, they pursued their particular talents for politics and perfected them in the public arena.[51] They gauged the public pulse, established contacts and worked relentlessly on behalf of the many whom they served. Once elected, it was legitimate, according to Louis Bourdages, to expect that servants be paid by their masters. "Car il est juste que ceux qui servent les autres soient soutenus par ceux

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[49] - Thom, Anti-Gallic Letters, P.50, James Stuart, Observations on the Proposed Union of the Provinces, P.39 and Monseigneur Lartigue, Des doctrines du philosophisme moderne sur les gouvernements, unpublished document, 1837, Cited in Gilles Chaussé's Jean-Jacques Lartigue, P.202-205.

[50] - Bishop Strachan strongly opposed giving wages to the elected. The practice would deter those who ran for election for honour and duty and entice the greedy, something that corrupted the process: "Instead of liberal men of intelligence and candour, your representatives would generally be needy demagogues to whom the wages are an object...You take away the motive of honour and deprive us of any hope of ever seeing wealth and knowledge obtaining their proper influence." Observations on a Bill for Uniting the Legislative Councils and Assemblies of the provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada in one Legislature, London: Printed by W. Clowes, 1824, P.24. Others feared that illiterate and therefore easily influenced farmers would get elected and become the prey of the demagogues in the Assembly who were engineering majority votes. The Quebec Mercury, 22 January 1810. In 1831, the Legislative Council rejected the Assembly's bill for members' wages on those grounds. "Vu l'état général de l'éducation chez la classe agricole, un très grand nombre serait nécessairement menés et menables à la volonté d'un très petit nombre..." L'Observateur, 1831, P.190-1.

[51] - Le Canadien, 25 Juin 1808.

qu'ils servent. Le maître paye son serviteur."[52] Masters decided on the price to pay their employees, therefore, he added, representatives, who acted on behalf of the electorate, could fix the amount "...qu'il convient à donner à chacun des employés du gouvernement." Bourdages envisaged that the monetary rewards acquired for services rendered were earned by talented men at work. In a reversal of traditional political ties, these men entered into a relationship of servant to master with those who paid through their taxes. Furthermore, as William Mackenzie pointed out, wages paid by the government would ensure that a candidate could remain independent from the Executive. The process would attract "...men of moderate fortunes but independent principles..."[53] Bourdages and Mackenzie turned to the machinery of government to fix standards of pay and dispense wages and rewards in an impartial manner. Dispensing wages to elected officials through impartial institutions - as in the case of professional doctors - would enable men of merit to perfect their talents, avoid the opprobrium attached to concern with money and ensure that electors would not be tempted to vote against their own best interests. But more than anything else, it enabled the representatives of the people to remain independent actors and eliminate the arbitrariness that tainted the decisions of appointed officials.

Reformers soundly denounced the executive for involving contingency in the process of rule. The King, who by virtue of a lucky birth, or the Governor, who by virtue of a lucky birth and unmerited contacts, distributed benevolence whimsically. They acted as they pleased and for no other reason than personal preference. "C'est la prérogative indubitable de sa Majesté de donner des places à qui bon lui semble et de juger seule des services de ceux à qui elle les donne."[54] As a rule, the executive rewarded those who knew how to endear themselves to it and excluded all others. What qualifications did such men have to rule, asked Doctor Jacques Labrie, other than being appointed by a king who favoured whoever he liked

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[52] - Louis Bourdages, "Adresse à tous les Electeurs au Bas-Canada, sur le choix de leurs Représentans [sic] à l'élection prochaine, "Par un Habitant", Montréal: Ludger Duvernay, 1827, P.2.

[53] - William Lyon Mackenzie, The Legislative Black List, P.8.

[54] - Le Canadien, 18 Juin 1808.

at whim "...sans exiger souvent d'autre qualification que d'avoir su plaire à un gouverneur en le flattant."[55] Modern men denied that an appointed administration had any standards for judging worth other than individual whimsy; they emphasized its arbitrary ways.[56] Sometimes, acting like Fortune, the administration distributed its largesse without rhyme or reason. At other times it carefully planned its moves. According to Pierre Bédard, the very essence of patelinage, as he called it, was deviousness. "Le patelinage...consiste à employer certains tours adroits au lieu de force ouverte. Le mensonge en fait la base, mais il faut que ce soit du mensonge adroit car c'est principalement l'adresse qui le caractérise."[57] In addition, reformers constantly evoked the weakness of character of various governors, something that made then amenable to flattery and prey to deceit. They tended to be surrounded by sycophants and liars who manipulated them for their own ends.[58] Elected Canadians made clear the contingent elements contained in a system of rule that relied on appointments and, by the same token, reinforced their identity as the independent representatives of all the electors.

A candidate who ran for election entered into contacts with an electorate and had to convince voters that he was worthy of their trust. He had to present his best face, so to speak. The character trait that reformers thought the most appropriate for the task was, as Mackenzie had pointed out, adherence

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[55] - Extract from Jacques Labrie's 1827 work Les premiers rudimens de la constitution britanique, cited in Auguste Gosselin's, Le Docteur Labrie, P.166.

[56] - Sometimes the arbitrariness was plainly avowed. When John Neilson's newspaper lost the government contract to print its proceedings - something that he had been doing for upwards of twenty years, he received a letter from a government administrator who told him: "The Executive conceives that the government patronage of the Gazette rests solely with government - That it may be taken away and given as Government pleases." MG24 B1 Vol.28, J.Ready to John Neilson, 6 April 1822.

[57] - Le Canadien, 19 Septembre 1807. Underlined in the text. Years later during an electoral speech, Louis-Joseph Papineau publicly stated that he preferred Governor Craig for having at least had the courage to act openly, if violently, to Lord Gosford who "...s'est fait humble et caressant pour tromper." Discours de l'Honorable Papineau, 1837, P.5.

[58] - RCA, 1892, Judge Thorpe to George Shee, 12 March 1807. The letter denounced the ascendancy of the 'storekeeper aristocracy' over Lieutenant-Governor Gore, "...this weak, passionate governor". The wife of the reformer William Jarvis said of Simcoe that he was surrounded by "...a lot of pimps, sycophants and lyars." DCB, Vol.V, P.452. The Canadian Freeman viewed Sir Peregrine Maitland "as a man of weak nerve" whose administration harbored "men void of honour, principle and talent, indissolubly bound together by the ties of common interest." 15 May 1828. Papineau remarked of Governor Aylmer that his inherent weakness "...le livre aux méchants." MG24 B1 Vol.15, L.J. Papineau à John Neilson, 6 Juin 1832.

to independent principles. When William Roe thanked the York Committee for choosing him as a candidate he swore that he would consider "...as an imperative duty to waive all selfish views" and that he would "...possess sufficient fortitude to act in the most unbiased and liberal manner."[59] A modern candidate would stand firm, independent of all factions.[60] In the words of the reformer-doctor Charles Duncombe, he would be "...wholly independent of ministerial influence, of factions, of party feeling" having adopted for a motto "all extremes are error, truth lies in between."[61] Situated at the juncture of many interests, the modern representative had to find his own truth. He had to check and balance many interests - his own included - and to come up with a position that he could support and that pleased as many voters as possible. Only in this manner could he pursue his interests and foster the most comprehensive public good and, indeed, get re-elected. In some cases, the process entailed compromising one's views for the benefit of the many.

Louis-Hyppolyte Lafontaine supported the cause of the patriots until the beginning of the rebellion and Etienne Parent spent time in jail because of his outspoken condemnation of the Durham Report that recommended the union of the two colonies. After the rebellions and the Union, both men asked the electorate for moderation and compromise and both sought to strengthen an existing alliance between Upper and Lower Canadian reformers. Strengthening the alliance meant compromising their stance against the Union.

Etienne Parent sensed that the new political sociability would bring together in a united Legislature elected representatives of disparate views, interests and desires. How responses to Governor General Lord Sydenham developed would be an indication of whether those representatives could work together. The newspaper L'Aurore and its supporters had requested Sydenham's immediate recall. The paper had warned

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[59] - The Canadian Freeman, 17 July 1828.

[60] - The Freeholders of the Counties of York, Durham and Simcoe asked Justice Thorpe to become their representative assured that he would be "...equally insensible to the impulse of popular feeling and the influence of power..." RCA, 1892, 7 November 1806.

[61] - MG24 B38, Charles Duncombe, To the Free and Independent Electors of the County of Oxford, 183(?).

that Upper Canadians would have to agree unconditionally to his departure before any talks of an alliance could take place. Parent pointed out that the situation for the elected representatives in Lower Canada was ambivalent. On the one hand, they had to denounce all arbitrary and tyrannical policies that originated in the Governor's office including his unconditional support for the Union. On the other hand, the elected representatives should follow the sound political principles that "...les portent à s'unir" with those of similar principles in Upper Canada. The problem was that Upper Canadian reformers supported some of the Governor General's policies. If reformers were to push for his recall, on what grounds, asked Parent, would reformers from Upper Canada join them?[62]

The course set by L'Aurore was a misguided one. Lower Canadians had to weigh carefully and rationally all their future actions and not sacrifice their long term interest to immediate and passionate ones. Representatives, Parent added, should be careful before they demanded "...le concours des Membres Réformistes du Haut Canada dans toutes ces protestations comme condition absolue de notre alliance avec eux." The new political sociability required finesse and patience; it required listening to potential allies and finding out their particular interests so as to come up with a common strategy. Now, Parent warned, was not the time for public opinion and the partisan press to dictate the conduct of representatives. They needed time and space to develop new ties based on sound political principles. They needed the trust of the electorate so that they could manoeuvre in uncharted waters. Parent understood that, no matter how dangerous the Union was, it could still offer an opportunity for a peaceful and civilized future. Just like the shipwreck that first appeared to be an unmitigated disaster but turned out to be a benefit, the Union could unfold in positive ways. It became incumbent on politicians to seize the opportunity presented and remain flexible. Firmness and resolve may have been needed in the past, but present circumstances required compromising one's views and conciliating strangers for the public good. Elected representatives needed all the resources the modern self could offer in order to enter into a sociability with stranger-reformers.

The compromise arrived at by Lord Durham was to trade the Union of the two colonies in exchange for responsible government. When Louis-Hyppolyte Lafontaine pledged to his constituents that he would

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[62] - Le Canadien, 9 Avril 1841.

continue to serve them in an Union government, he weighed the compromise and opted in favour of responsible government as the only way to obtain, as he called it, full social and political equality. As far as he was concerned, the abolition of aristocratic and sycophantic privileges outweighed the danger of assimilation that the union represented.[63] His stand appeared opportunistic and, to some, treasonable. However, the explanation he gave to his constituents bears attention.

Lafontaine started by reminding his constituents that the Union was an act of arbitrary and tyrannical power that changed the configuration of things. He outlined how the united legislature would be loaded against Lower Canadians. Under the new rules, he told them, "...un petit bourg de quelques douzaines d'électeurs" could send the same number of representatives as a riding of over twenty thousand. The Union threatened what had made the strength of the Lower Canadian reformers: an electorate of vast numbers that repeatedly sent reformers to the Legislature.[64] However, the Union respected the principle of "égalité sociale" in that it did not alter franchise qualifications, but only the number of counties. Lafontaine surmised that social equality would lead to political equality and that the entire government and its administration would fall under the control of the people. He reminded his constituents that "Les réformistes, dans les deux provinces, forment une majorité immense." Majority rule could be found again if an alliance of like-thinking reformers and their electorates worked out a agreement that satisfied them both. To achieve it, Upper Canadians might even be willing to make some concessions on points important to Lower Canadians.

Thereafter, the people could assent to its own laws, vote its taxes and control its spending. It would have a say in who managed the administration and what appointments were made. In other words,

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[63] - Lafontaine addressed his constituents on the twentieth of August 1840 and his speech was reproduced in Le Canadien on the thirty-first. Lafontaine believed strongly that aristocratic and religious privileges were arbitrary and wrong. He had publicly denounced those who did not respect the rights of the people to rule themselves. See his two pamphlets already cited; the first addressed to Monseigneur Lartigue and the second addressed to the Mondelet brothers. Notes sur l'inamovibilité des curés dans le Bas Canada and Les deux girouettes ou l'hypocrisie démasquée.

[64] - Other plans for union were drafted with that particular design in minds according to a Montreal circular that warned that the 1822 Union proposal was inspired by the wish to have a constitution "...d'après laquelle le très petit nombre doit maîtriser le très grand nombre. MG24 B22, 10 Décembre 1822.

the people would operate the machinery of government and directly influence "...les rouages de l'administration..."[65] thereby bringing both executive and legislative power within its purview. It was because of this promise that Upper Canadians supported the union of the colonies. Should it be fulfilled, elected reformers there would seek the support of like-minded colleagues in Lower Canada. They would turn to those who had made common cause in the past in requesting that England award responsible government to Canada.[66]

In his mind's eye, Lafontaine was substituting a Canadian community for a Lower-Canadian one. He was thinking in terms of a sociability of strangers who shared common principles and protected rights and who could negotiate interests in order to achieve a common goal. He was striving for the actualization of Enlightenment values that reached beyond country of origin and the past.[67] The political identity that Canadians could develop together was not predetermined by their distinctive past, customs, language and traditions; rather, it hinged on their willingness to perfect themselves, to create different relationships and negotiate a new entity, one that would be grounded in a sociability that enabled strangers to rationally manage their self-interest in complex ways. Thereafter and in common, as Robert Baldwin pointed out, they could look upon a Constitution that guaranteed them the full expression of their rights as Canadian citizens as the 'essence' of their new country "and conduct their Government harmoniously in accordance with its established principles." The Constitution would provide the fixed point of the new polity.[68]

Lafontaine's stance may have appeared opportunistic and self-serving but it was in keeping with the tenets of a modernity that incorporated the ability to adapt to arbitrarily created circumstances and to

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[65] - Le Canadien, 31 Aout 1840.

[66] - Robert Baldwin called upon the people "...to convert [responsible government] into an element of political regeneration." To the Electors of the city of Toronto, 16 January 1841.

[67] - Canada was the country of their ancestors, Lafontaine told his constituents; it was also the adopted country of various populations who came to thrive and make it their permanent home. They would come to desire its prosperity and growth and over time "Leurs enfants devront être, comme nous, Canadiens." Given a generation, a sociability and an identity based on common social and political principles would develop among strangers.

[68] - Robert Baldwin, Proceedings at the First General Meeting of the Reform Association of Canada, Toronto: The Globe Office, 1844, P.5-6.

reassess one's position and identity in the face of them. The task involved conciliating multilevelled interests and complex relationships in order to achieve a more sophisticated personality for self and country. The elected member of the united Legislature could claim that he worked for the public good when he extended the scope of his public relationships to encompass the individuals of the larger community in-the-making. He was not, however, 'transparent' in the traditional sense, and so, by virtue of a modern sociability where intent was unknown, found himself constantly open to charges of self-interested and opportunistic behaviour.

The expanded electoral sociability feared by the traditional elements in society was real since rights of citizenship extended to all who owned land. Candidates crossed the contingent boundaries of rank, race and gender in soliciting the votes of enlightened property owners and surmised that those who participated in the process would do so according to their best interest. Candidate John Neilson courted the aboriginal vote in his riding seeking their support in the upcoming election; in return, he stressed his ability to defend their claims in land negotiations.[69] It was also customary for candidates to run in electoral districts from which they did not originate preferring to trust their abilities and their message rather than rely on familiar ties. The electoral system in Lower Canada also allowed women to vote, probably a first in the annals of the franchise.[70] Women who possessed land had, then, to be courted by candidates who treated as them as electors and viewed them as possessing the attributes of modern citizenship. When James Stuart ran in the riding of William Henry against Wolfred Nelson, he paid for the transport of his female electors to the hustings and brought some from far away. He even tried to convince a respectable lady to vote in his favour alleging that the properties owned were hers not her husband's.[71] The modern electoral system, then, undermined pre-modern statuses and relationships in ways that promoted equality irrespective of

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[69] - MG24 B1 Vol.12, J. Neilson à N. Vincent, Grand Chef des Hurons de la Petite Lorette, 18 Septembre 1830.

[70] - John Garner notes that it was not illegal for women to vote; it was simply customary that they did not. The Franchise and Politics, P.154-159.

[71] - MG24 B34 Vol.2, Aux Honorables les Représentans [sic] du Bas-Canada, assemblés en Parlement Provincial, 9 Décembre 1828.

gender and race. It functioned like the marketplace, where strangers met, bartered, traded and arrived at a mutually satisfying agreement. Awareness of self-interest and the ability to convince and sway entered into play. This type of individual behaviour required wit, intelligence and information, all of which, according to a petition sent to the Assembly to contest the ruling of a returning officer that had prevented them from voting, the women of Lower Canada possessed. The petitioners, it stated, could not find

> ...any imperfections in the minds of women which place them lower than men in intellectual power, or which would make it more dangerous to entrust them with the exercise of the elective franchise than with the exercise of the numerous other rights which the law has already given them...That property and not persons is the basis of representation in the English government...That it would be impolitic and tyrannical to circumscribe her efforts in society, to say that she shall not have the strongest interest in the fate of her country, and security in her common rights.[72]

Grounded in property rights that enabled the self to develop an identity consistent with ideas concerning perfectibility and self-interest, the era of commercial sociability encouraged the emergence of human skills that individuals possessed by virtue of their universal nature. No contingent factors of rank, race, ethnicity or gender entered into its clearest formulation. Divisions and categories based on custom and usage were set aside in favour of recovering what made humans human: self-love and self-interest. It was certainly in Stuart's interest to convince as many women as he could to vote for him; in return, women got the opportunity to make informed and interested decisions in the choice of rulers. William Lyon Mackenzie's comments on the Bagg-Tracey election seem to indicate that women relished the right to participate in politics. According to his count "...two hundred and twenty-five women came forward to vote", and he added that "several ladies voted one way, and, it is said, their husbands took the other side."[73]

Commentators have remarked that women voted conservatively. The more important point, however, was that they seemed to have felt free to vote according to interests that did not coincide with their husbands'. They appear, moreover, to have been seen by candidates in the same manner that those

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[72] - Petition to the House of Assembly, 4 December 1828. Cited in John Garner, The Franchise and the Politics, P.157-158.

[73] - Mackenzie, Sketches of Upper Canada, P.20. He added that extending the franchise to women dated to the Quebec Act and the acceptance of French customary laws concerning property. He recalled that Lord Canning had promised that should he ever support universal suffrage, he would include women. Mackenzie ended his commentary by writing: "What is it that may not become fashionable." P.21.

candidates viewed their male electors.

When he was called upon to review the electoral system in 1818, John Neilson was concerned that the democratic process could, if based on a self-interest from which the public good was absent, create unhealthy relationships between elector and candidate. Abuses in popular elections came from the fact that "Votes were solicited as personal favors conferred on the candidate and a vain honour in which the interests of the community seemed hardly concerned. The candidate repaid them by personal favors."[74] When Neilson described these proceedings he did so in a manner that showed that both elector and candidate shared a level playing field when it came to negotiating an understanding. According to him, the elector was far from being a passive victim, endlessly deceived by the candidate. To the contrary, an elector exhibited cunning when he or she promised his or her vote in return for future consideration. When self-interest was in play, both actors were equally conniving in attaining what they wanted.

Furthermore, men and women were hardly motivated by public virtue when transportation and drinks were exchanged for votes and candidates asked electors to commit acts of violence. The system seemed to cater to the worst tendencies of humans, as all parties found in it something that soothed their individual passions. As Neilson put it, "...selfish ambition, a factious & overheated party zeal, a silly vanity which grasps at the semblance of honour unable to distinguish it from substance [are realities which] exist in every country; they are always active in proportion to the prospects of a success, they are the bane of all free governments."[75] Neilson never denied that the electoral process included the passionate and self-interested individuals found everywhere. However, his solution was not to deny them their imperfections and call forth virtuous behaviours and self-denial. To the contrary, faced with imperfect men and women, he recommended that the machine be fixed so that humanity's tendencies would be checked by simple impersonal instructions applied impartially by a central authority. Among other things, he suggested holding the elections on a single day and in one central place. He recommended keeping up-to-date voting lists

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[74] - MG24 B1 Vol.12, John Neilson to the Committee for Regulating the Elections, 28 January 1818. Unpaginated.

[75] - Ibid.

by alphabetical order and assigning voting times. Should all this be done "...there would be very few fraudulent voting, little occasion for oaths, no time for intrigue, no pretext for drunkenness and violence."[76] Contrary to those who demanded a change in franchise qualifications to weed out the masses and women prone to act passionately and without mediated self-interest, Neilson believed that the electoral system could be reformed in ways that incorporated the ambivalence, the arbitrariness and the uncertainty of modern sociability, allowed for the expression of self-interest and managed not to endanger the public good.

When Patriot reformers revoked the citizenship rights of women and aboriginals in 1834, they broke with two features of an enlightened political marketplace. They distinguished humans on the basis of contingent attributes - gender and race - and severed an age-old tradition that linked citizenship to individual property ownership.

Patriot reformers reverted to a pre-Enlightenment view of the public sphere that had gendered the site. In that type of thinking, public virtue depended on the manly self-denial of passions for worldly things, something that only men could muster since, as fragile and weak creatures of appearances, women were more likely to be swayed by their vanity in ways that prevented them from fully appreciating the sacrifices required by citizenship. Equally, public virtue relied on the transparent ties of a community of selfless citizens that aboriginals, in want of education, industrious habits and civilized taste, were unlikely to develop. In the patriotic mind, neither category of humans would have met the requirements for true citizenship and self-government.

Moreover, Patriot reformers broke with the principle that linked citizenship to property - a development that made possible the improvement and perfectibility of humans and therefore enhanced their ability to make enlightened political choices at the same time that it restricted the identity of 'citizen' to

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[76] - His recommendations did not include denying women the right to vote. In the same vein, the secret ballot was introduced in 1874.

human categories that were beyond the scope of free will and individual choice.[77] While women, aboriginals and newly-arrived Americans retained their rights of property, they were denied an identity that was central to the formulation of the independent self in society. Consequently, they became exiles in their own polity. In acting this way, patriot reformers reverted to a more orthodox morality in view of the powerful social changes that the modern marketplace offered. The gesture may have reflected 'republican' thinking on the subject, but it was hardly radical.[78] Nevertheless, in the long run, the action may have facilitated acceptance of a universal franchise regardless of property ownership.

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[77] - Divorcing citizenship from property ownership and assigning it on the basis of a contingent feature - ethnicity - was also going on in Upper Canada where the authorities sought to disenfranchise American expatriates. Francis Collins commented that the Alien Bill would "confirm their titles to real estate but deprive them of the elective franchise" a situation that was, he added, "the greatest anomaly in legislation - the deepest laid snare against the rights of the people - that ever appeared in any country on earth." Collins, An Abridged View of the Alien Question, P.5.

[78] - Late nineteenth century suffragists did not campaign for the vote in the language of commercial sociability but in the language of otherworldly virtue and maternal feminism. In the wake of a resurgent Christian orthodoxy, women argued their case by pledging self-denial in the face of earthly pleasures and by fighting off the corruption brought by non-white non-protestant immigrants. It was in the name of the purity and the cohesiveness of the group (family and nation) that they gained the vote. As a consequence, as Carol Lee Bacchi concluded, their condition as individuals remained unchanged. Carol Lee Bacchi, Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.

3) MODERN POLITICAL VIRTUE

Many elected officials were of a different ilk than those who professed civic or public virtue. Public virtue surfaced, however, and some representatives understood their role to demand the denial of one's interests, the display of steadfastness and courage under duress and transparency with one's fellow men. When they encountered the self-interested in their midst, they levelled at them, with all the morality they could muster, the charges of corruption and treason. Virtuous politicians, like all otherworldly men, needed to live out the metaphor of virtue and corruption. They needed an evil to counterpose to their good and, in many cases, they aimed their sights on those amongst them who had betrayed the common trust.

The virtuous did not compromise. The virtuous acted unselfishly. The virtuous were at one with the People and, more often than not, at one with God. Louis-Joseph Papineau valued the denial of private pleasures that public virtue demanded. One could have leisure activities, he wrote John Neilson, but they should be carefully monitored; should they ever become a passion, they would force the individual to "...négliger des devoirs,"[79] and work according to self-interest. It was when he tried to convince Mr. Debartzch and John Neilson to represent the interests of Lower Canada in London that Papineau revealed his belief in the sacrifice of private pleasures demanded by public life. In time of duress, he wrote to John Neilson, "...l'enthousiasme du bien, l'amour du pays deviennent une vertu qui doit maîtriser toutes les considérations d'intérêt individuel à laquelle il faut sacrifier le bonheur, la tranquilité dont vous jouissez au sein de votre famille pour vous charger [de cette] mission dont la responsabilité est si grande..."[80]. When called upon to defend one's country, a man had to let go of all selfish pleasures: business, family, tranquility had to be sacrificed to the greater good passionately embraced. Papineau made it clear to Neilson that nothing monetary could be had by his travel. He could, however, garner the respect and the

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[79] - MG24 B1 Vol.15, L.J. Papineau à John Neilson, 12 Octobre 1829. Papineau's leisure activities - which he called "des plaisirs licites" - that could become passionate pursuits consisted in reading and gardening.

[80] - MG24 B1 Vol.15, L.J. Papineau à John Neilson, 12 Décembre 1822.

esteem of the population who would take note of his sacrifice and feel warmly towards him.[81] The Speaker of the Assembly was stressing that a reputation heightened as a result of sacrifice was legitimate compared to a reputation acquired in pursuit of earthly rewards. He did not point out, however, that sacrifice could be the result of a carefully controlled self-interest in the pursuit of esteem and adulation.

Papineau repeated his plea to Debartzch who turned him down. Debartzch could not, at this point, leave his family. The decision was difficult to reach; he had to weigh the responsibility to his family against his responsibility to the public. In such a situation, wrote Debartzch, "...le devoir est opposé à lui-même..." and the outcome could not satisfy "...toute âme vertueuse."[82] Family and public life each warranted personal commitment but Debartzch opted to give this to family. Papineau insisted and Debartzch declined in no uncertain terms. Beware of a surfeit of public virtue, he told Papineau; it was as passionate a pursuit as any other, and like all immoderate pursuits, it could be dangerous.[83] For Debartzch, the pursuit of public virtue was no different than any other; it did not endow the pursuer with an aura of sainthood or martyrdom. When motivated by passion, it was not exempt from the normal injunctions against immoderation. One could not call immoderate passions virtue.

Papineau thought that disinterestedness was the characteristic of choice for elected representatives. Unselfishly motivated, a candidate could demonstrate a commonality and a transparency between himself and the community of electors. Stressing virtue, that is, the human trait of actively and steadfastly denying one's own impulses for selfish rewards, enabled the actor to claim that the face he presented to the public revealed his true self.

"I know him to be honest, to love his country more than he does himself", wrote E.B. O'Callaghan

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[81] - MG24 B1 Vol.15, 12 Décembre 1822 and 23 Décembre 1822.

[82] - MG24 B1 Vol.15, Debartzch à Papineau, 27 Novembre 1822.

[83] - MG24 B1 Vol.15, Debartzch à Papineau, 30 Novembre 1822. "Ces sacrifices doivent...avoir des bornes; parce que le patriotisme, chez cet individu qui immolerait le repos et le bonheur de sa famille à son enthousiasme pour son pays cesserait aux yeux des gens sages d'être une vertu publique: ce [ne] serait plus qu'un esprit de vertige."

of Louis-Joseph Papineau.[84] As a man who placed the interests of the country above his own, Papineau could claim to be superior to those who showed less forbearance and sacrifice. As events unfolded and positions hardened, Papineau increasingly denounced those who, in his estimation, were corrupted within the ranks. Traitors, vendus, deserters were some of the names he called those who had previously toed the line but that were now breaking rank thanks to inducements by an administration that offered places and patronage in exchange for a more flexible approach to official policies. Here were men that compromised themselves and their own.[85] When he addressed the electorate in 1827, he promised that the next election would unearth the traitors: "Elle [the election] dira aussi combien il y a de traîtres qui, pour un vil intérêt...abandonneront lâchement leurs frères occupés à defendre contre la tyrannie et l'oppression le sol de leur naissance ou leur patrie adoptive.[86] The election would not simply choose a new slate of candidates: it would make public the treason of those who betrayed the People in the name of self-interest.

By 1837, Papineau wore his and his supporters' inflexibility like a badge.[87] In a lengthy electoral speech that contrasted self-love to love of country, he compared the elected representatives who consistently fought off attacks and executive rewards to the traitors who had been bought off. For over thirty years, he said, "...j'ai vu vos représentans [sic] sans cesse et sans relâche assaillis tout à tour par les

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[84] - MG24 B37 Vol.2, O'Callaghan to Perreault, 22 January 1839. O'Callaghan added: "I have always been called 'the sycophant of Mr.Papineau' because I continue to respect him and be directed...by his superior experience."

[85] - "Ce sont pour la plupart des esclaves vendus..." Papineau, Aux Electeurs du Comté et de la ville de Montréal, P.7.

[86] - Ibid., P.4. Papineau had a comprehensive but ambivalent understanding of the cultural community he defended. To those born in Canada were added those of various cultural origins who shared the feelings of French Canadians, that is "...la grande majorité des Anglais, Irlandais, Ecossais, Américains, Allemands, Italiens, Français et autres qui ont fait le choix de notre terre natale pour patrie adoptive et qui y ont des intérêts permanents, les mêmes que les nôtres." Ibid, P.24. He repeated the inclusion of other nationalities provided they "....partag[ent] l'opinion de la masse." La Minerve, 9 Décembre 1834 or provided they were "liés des mêmes intérêts du même esprit patriotique." La Minerve, 27 Novembre 1834. Papineau's community did not exclude other ethnicities but inclusion meant sharing the views that he thought embodied the general will of the French people.

[87] - He wrote to Louis Perreault that he would go to England "...comme accusateur irréconciliable des institutions et des administrations passées pour insister que le pays ne sera jamais réconcilié à d'autres combinaisons politiques..." MG24 B37 Vol.2, Papineau à Perreault, 7 Janvier 1837.

violences, les calomnies, les caresses et les artifices de l'exécutif..." They emerged from each contest and each election "...de plus en plus épurés et dévoués aux intérêts populaires." Each test of strength was met with ever greater courage, representatives emerging purified and rededicated by the experience. He then compared these virtuous politicians to those elected colleagues who had succumbed. Only their love of money and their weakness could have motivated them to break rank: "L'or est le dieu qu'ils adorent, tuons leur dieu, nous les convertirons à un meilleur culte."[88] Money motivated these former associates to break the sacred bonds that united them in the past. Their self-interest severed all societal ties and destroyed "...les fondements de l'union autrefois jurée."[89] The use of religious language was not surprising since Patriots were delivering the homily of the virtuous politician who restricted Patriotism to the selfless who swore they put the greater good ahead of their worldly ambitions. Papineau may have been anticlerical, but he was never more religious than in the days of strife.[90] His language was reminiscent of republicanism in tone and substance since the Republic, dependent on the self-denial of all, was determined by a situation in which the self-interest of a few corrupted general will. The entity considered here, however, was not the ancient republic but the modern nation.[91]

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[88] - Discours de l'Honorable L.J. Papineau, Prononcé à l'assemblée du Comté de Montréal, tenue à Saint-Laurent le 15 Mai 1837, Montréal: TM, 1837, P.13-14-15. Louis Bourdages used a similar language when he asserted that individuals could not serve two masters at once "On ne sert pas deux maîtres à la fois, Dieu et Baal en même temps." Bourdages, Adresse, P.8.

[89] - Le Fantasque, 21 Juillet 1838. The author named the culprits: Viger, Lafontaine, Bédard and Debartzch.

[90] - The republican struggle for independence was oftentimes interpreted as an otherworldly experience. "The British colonists of 76", wrote William Lyon Mackenzie, "fought with their Bibles in their knapsacks - they had learned to prize the sweets of liberty; and panted, not after worldly wealth and distinction but after the freedom of interpreting the Bible for themselves and following its precepts." Mackenzie, Sketches of Upper Canada, P.15. He later revised his judgement when he saw that "...corporations, monopolies, banks...[were] left untouched...This inlet of knavery", he added, "is unsettling everything and giving a mercenary character to a people formed to be an example to the world." MG24 B75, W.L. Mackenzie to Andrew Buell from Rochester N.Y., 12 October 1839.

[91] - Louis-George Harvey argues that French patriots spoke in the discourse of republicanism as described by J.G.A Pocock adding that he fails to see why the discourse - because of its democratic undertones - is considered rétrograde. It is true that there are many similarities between patriot and republican concepts but Harvey's article raises more questions than it answers. First, it does not address the important proviso that Pocock places in all his major works: the discourse of civic humanism and republicanism is reserved for 'English Protestant societies' exclusively. It even excludes French

In an attempt to stem the mounting tensions, Hyacinthe Leblanc de Marconnay, the editor of Le Populaire, explored the difficulty posed in unmasking public virtue. Men like Papineau were, he said, consummate political hypocrites. And they were also the most dangerous "...car ils professent l'hypocrisie la plus difficile à démasquer."[92] Marconnay advised his readers to carefully evaluate the claim of disinterestedness made by Papineau. Do not imagine, he told the people, that "...le désinteressement est l'apanage de tous ceux qui se proclament tes amis."[93] Something lay behind a claim and a behaviour that were publicly called unselfish. De Marconnay estimated that political activism in the name of virtue, like any human behaviour, was a mask conceived to attract praise and esteem. It appeared virtuous simply because actors claimed to sacrifice earthly matters rather than indulge in them, but since the result was public esteem - itself a gift of Fortune - it was nothing more than well disguised self-interest carefully orchestrated and bound to deceive the unsuspecting and to attract a large following who would celebrate Papineau's otherworldly ways. "M. Papineau", Marconnay wrote, "comme tout homme pour lequel le hazard a créé une position, auquel la flatterie vient distribuer la louange, que la faveur populaire honore en est arrivé au point de croire que le pays existe dans lui seul."[94] Marconnay relied on a reference to luck to highlight the arbitrariness of Papineau's own rise to power and his subsequent self-delusion. As things stood, Papineau

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revolutionary republicans. Pocockian republicanism, and the argument is clearly made, is a puritan transcription of the ideal of virtue deeply embedded in 17th century British Neo-Augustianism that continually contrasted itself with the tyranny and the sinfulness of the papacy. The logical conclusion if one agrees with Harvey's argument is that French Lower Canadian Patriots had adopted an entirely English Protestant discourse to make their case. Their French nationalism, then, would be embedded in the most fundamentally orthodox English Protestant discourse: an interpretation that nationalist historians are unlikely to accept. Alternatively, however, the similarities exist perhaps because both Puritan republicans and French patriots shared otherworldly sensivities that drew from a conservative Christian orthodoxy that both Protestants and Catholics professed and that could explain the similarities of sentiments that sustained the ideals of the City and those of the Nation. Louis-Georges Harvey, "Le mouvement patriote comme projet de rupture (1805-1837)", in Yvan Lamonde et Gérard Bouchard, Québécois et Américains, La culture québécoise aux XIX° et XX° siècles, Québec, Fides, 1995, P.87-113.

[92] - H. Leblanc de Marconnay, La Petite Clique Dévoilée ou Quelques explications sur les Manoeuvres Dirigées contre la Minorité Patriotique qui prit part au vote sur les subsides dans la session de 1835 à 1836 et plus particulièrement contre cc. Sabrevoix de Bleury, Ecuyer, Rome, New York, 1836, P.5.

[93] - Le Populaire, 10 Mai 1837.

[94] - Le Populaire, 17 Mai 1837. Also 12 Mai 1837.

had claimed "...le monopole absolu du patriotisme"[95] and restricted patriotism and love of country to those who thought like him while excluding those who did not. In the editor's assessment, refusing flexibility and compromise hardly fitted a modern sociability that required that one act in one's private and public life with "un certain ménagement..."[96] Marconnay feared the hardening of positions that the language of political virtue lead to and the exclusiveness that it entailed.

In the meantime, Adam Thom was not shying away from telling Lord Gosford what he thought of his recent conciliations. Appointing French Canadians like Viger and Lafontaine to important posts in order to have the Assembly vote the civil list was a dangerous precedent: "Indulgence, my Lord, naturally engenders a demand for indulgence. Concession generates concession. Every step in the march of conciliation leads to another step still more fatal - smooth water is gradually quickened into a rapid; and the rapid again dashes itself into pieces in the foaming form of a cataract."[97] Thom's idea of an uncontrollable force was apt since the consequence of conciliation was the inevitable corruption and decline of the British presence in Canada. Giving in to the demands for an elective legislative council and nominating insatiable French Canadian representatives to crucial posts would slowly lead to the establishment of "...a French Republic in Lower Canada by the extension of the elective principle."[98] Any more concessions such as submitting legislation and statutes in both languages would make the situation "...ABSOLUTELY INTOLERABLE" and allow "...the thirty or forty traitorous demagogues [to] achieve over Englishmen of the nineteenth century a victory which the Duke of Normandy of 40,000 of the first warriors

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[95] - Le Populaire, 19 Mai 1837. It seems that by 1843 Papineau was certain of his moral superiority. When told that former colleagues desired his return, he wrote that he would consider this: "S'ils veulent bien par d'humbles requêtes, m'exprimer leur repentance et m'assurer qu'ils ne retomberont jamais dans l'infâme récidive, admettre ma supériorité intellectuelle et morale et prendre moi et mes pareilles pour la boussole protectrice qui guiderai [sic] leur course sur les mers orageuses de la politique canadienne..."MG24 B50 Vol.1, Papineau à O'Callaghan, 5 Mai 1843.

[96] - Le Populaire, 17 Mai 1837.

[97] - Thom, Anti-Gallic Letters, P.52. Thom's denunciation of compromise appears frequently in his letters and he stopped just short of calling Lord Gosford a traitor. See Pages 2,3,33 and 72 in addition to the above.

[98] - Ibid., P.106.

of Europe failed to achieve over Englishmen of the eleventh."[99] If Gosford continued his ill-advised compromising and forced Lower Canada into a culturally diverse sociability, then the annihilation of all Englishmen would follow.

Both Papineau and Thom saw compromise as a act that would send their respective communities to their demise and they highlighted their fears by adopting a discourse that clearly distinguished between a politically virtuous conduct and a traitorous and corruptive one.[100] Each held on to a notion of citizenship that required complete identification with and protection of the cultural features of their community. Compromising these features by seeking private rewards constituted a betrayal of the whole since it meant sacrificing the fabric of society to the demands of self-interest. In this context, self-interest represented an act of treason and betrayal to one's identity and commanded the most public of denunciations.

Beyond their views on democratic institutions, Papineau and Thom spoke of their respective communities in the otherworldly trope that opposed virtue to corruption. Because they used the same language but belonged to communities they had placed in metaphorical opposition, they could no longer communicate. Nor could their respective communities. As the patriot Louis Perreault remarked: "Les deux populations étaient distinctes et se tenaient comme les eaux du St-Laurent et de l'Ottawa; elles mouvaient ensemble sans se mêler.[101] Perreault was echoed shortly thereafter by Adam Thom who warned Lord Gosford that it would be easier to "...effect a permanent mixture of oil and water then to produce a social union of two races of different languages."[102] By 1835, the virtuous on both sides had become the captives of the same discourse. Thom proposed the coerced assimilation of French Canadians and Papineau opted for secession.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Upper and Lower Canadians defined their citizenship

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[99] - Ibid., P.90. Capitals in the text.

[100] - Egerton Ryerson also thought that Hume and Roebuck were treasonous to the British Crown. His letters, published in London, were meant to expose them to the British public as the "London dictators of Canadian republicanism." Ryerson, The Affairs, P.53.

[101] - MG24 B37 Vol.1, Perreault à Fabre, 22 Décembre 1835.

[102] - Thom, Anti-Gallic Letters, P.87.

according to the beliefs they held about the fabric of community. For some, citizenship came from belonging, conserving and protecting a specific group. For others, it was grounded in the human ability to adopt complex behaviours and sophisticated tasks that created for the self and for their society a new identity altogether. Each perceived that the type of identity proposed by the other would lead to the destruction of the ideals it held and both underestimated the power each set of beliefs had in shaping the commitment and the sense of worth individuals held about themselves. These two views of citizenship and community squared off and continued to add texture and breath to the Canadian identity.

CHAPTER FIVE

NATIONAL IDENTITIES

Enlightenment writers had charted the progress of civilization and, as far as they were concerned, the process was underway irrespective of cultural differences in the western world. Each society became civilized one way or another over whatever time it would take. Each nation, looking after its own interest, would develop its genius and find ways of peacefully meshing its arts, sciences, products and services with those of other societies in ways that met the needs of all while simultaneously increasing the liberty and comfort of the citizens. Free to trade, nations would be bound in webs of prosperity since it was in each country's interest to trade with increasingly wealthy societies. In the process of intermingling, modern men would develop the linguistic and cultural skills necessary to deal with one another. For the most part, however, most thinkers reflected on this process within the confines of their own cultural boundaries. Enlightenment writers never dwelled on what would happen should two culturally different societies found themselves under the same geographic, climactic, spatial, political, social and economic roof. When this happened in Lower Canada, Canadians dug deep into their intellectual baggage to understand how their identity as a modern nation could emerge from the experience. It appeared early on that identities based on universal features were fashioned in contrast to identities based on cultural ones. Each, it seems, considered the other a contingent identity.

1) THE UNIVERSAL IDENTITY

Many Canadians believed that an harmonious identity could be reached among culturally different peoples if the general principles of human development could be grasped. They reasoned that the existence of different customs and languages - the markings of ethnicity - did not prevent this since a modern sociability called on the universal features of humans and impelled them to socialize in mutually beneficial ways. Humans brought to the marketplace their individual energy and drive for perfectibility and the cultural characteristics acquired along the way did not preclude the coming together of a multitude of self-interested individuals. Properly instructed and made aware of the opportunities opened to them, humans would find it in themselves to relate regardless of cultural differences. As equals, they would find in each other those qualities that the marketplace valued and that they shared as members of the human species. They would eventually create a new union on a planetary scale. In the words of Etienne Parent, in such a global marketplace

> Les distinctions nationales perdent leur ancienne signification; encore quelque temps, et il n'y aura plus à proprement parler, d'anglais, de français, d'allemands et d'américains; il n'a aura plus que des hommes progressifs et rétrogrades, des égoistes et des libéraux. On ne s'informera plus si tel homme parle cette langue ou cette autre, mais seulement si ses paroles et ses discours sont ceux d'un homme libre."[1]

If the natural laws of human development were followed, national characteristics would eventually be muted to facilitate communication and interdependence among strangers thereby creating a new cultural identity altogether. Parent's vision of what the future held may have been utopian but it nevertheless spoke of a Canadian identity-in-the-making that was neither narrow nor inward looking. Careful not to confuse individualism with egoism - indeed the liberal man was contrasted with the egoist who refused to engage himself, to work and be educated in worldly ways - Parent's modern identity was heterogenous and complex. Perhaps polyglot and multicultural, the individual characterized by it would be beholden to no particular culture and would somehow encompass them all, creating a society rich in skills and diversified in outlooks.

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[1] - Etienne Parent, "Du travail chez l'homme", cited in Jean-Charles Falardeau, Etienne Parent, P.166.

Harmonizing these individuals in one cohesive unit would take time and involve taking the long view of things. Each individual had to set his sights on the future and consider "a period beyond his own sphere of action."[2] That kind of maturation, John Neilson remarked to a friend shortly after the rebellions, had yet to take place. The colony, he wrote, was composed "of various national origins, differing in prejudices, language, religion, customs and usages...and had not yet formed those regular and harmonious social feelings and habits which are essential to popular government."[3] But the time would come when individuals would mature into independence and self-sufficiency. "Le temps fera de nous des hommes", Denis-Benjamin Viger had written him some years back, and individuals would eventually come to esteem each other for their efforts and achievements. According to Parent, the process had been well under way in Lower Canada, notwithstanding the claim of the patriot newspaper, The Vindicator, that the community of Lower Canada was "un peuple français". "Il n'y a pas, que nous sachions, de peuple français en cette province mais bien un Peuple Canadien...ce peuple n'est ni Français, ni Anglais, ni Ecossais, ni Irlandais, ni Yanké, il est Canadien"[4] The Rebellions may have delayed the formation of this type of identity, but Parent never lost faith, even after the Union of the two colonies, that it would emerge.

In Parent and Neilson's way of thinking, extending esteem on the basis of the manifestations of perfectibility and useful deeds fashioned the modern identity in a way quite different than that which resulted from awarding esteem and rewards on the basis of ethnic belonging that gave some individuals an arbitrary advantage over others. This was the point that Colonel Evans made when he recommended educating farmers in the skills of their craft. If all were properly instructed, he wrote, "national prejudices would no longer be felt. No part of the population would assume a superiority over another part or wish to obtain unjust or exclusive privileges on account of origin of any other cause...they [would be content with

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[2] - "On the Influence of Literature", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.II, No.VII, January 1824, P.14.

[3] - MG24 B1 Vol.12, John Neilson to H. Labouchere, 23 October 1839. Neilson did not limit his understanding of a modern Canadian community to whites only. His correspondence with the authorities on behalf of the aboriginals of La Petite Lorette located in his electoral riding show him defending their rights to land and education in order to give them the opportunity to be fully modern. The correspondence can be found in MG24 B1 Vol.5, 12, 18, 26 and 30.

[4] - Le Canadien, 21 mai 1831.

that to which] they may be entitled, by their superior intelligence and good conduct in every situation of life."[5] Indeed, in the face of ethnic definitions of identity, many Canadians insisted on the primacy of the attributes of modernity to establish the basis of worth and merited regard.

Modern Canadians did not dismiss the importance of ethnicity in the formation of identity. As Denis-Benjamin Viger noted, cultural characteristics went deeper than fashionable clothing and other appearances in that one could not change "...la langue et les moeurs d'un peuple comme on change ses habits et ses modes"[6] but they saw no reason why ethnicity should be a criterion for esteem when it was obvious to them that it was a contingent attribute; an individual had no choice in the matter. In no way, then, should ethnicity curtail the unfolding of the universal principles of perfectibility that fostered peaceful relationships among strangers. To the contrary, these were to be integrated in ways that sustained modern principles. How all this could be worked out became clear in the discussions regarding linguistic differences.

The 1791 Constitution guaranteed to Lower and Upper Canadians the positive rights necessary for modern individuals to progress. The right of Habeas Corpus protected the person against tyrannical rule; property rights protected acquisitions necessary to perfect the self as well as gain the franchise; the freedom of the press ensured that individuals had the protection necessary to communicate freely with their fellows, an essential element of society and a pivotal feature of commercial modernity. All humans, by virtue of their belonging to humanity, received those rights under the Constitution. The universalism of these rights - based on general principles and natural law - featured prominently in the literature of the time. In the first decade of the century, authorities threatened to suppress the use of French in the Assembly and requests were made to ban French language newspapers. This prompted a reflection regarding the way civilized humans communicated.

As a species, humans had the universal ability to communicate verbally and taught themselves to

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[5] - Evans, Agricultural Improvement by the Education of those who are engaged in it as a Profession, Montreal: Printed at the Courier Office, 1837, P.100.

[6] - Viger, Considérations, P.11.

read and write in order to relate to one another. Interaction using the spoken and the written word was a prerequisite to social life and to relationships with loved ones and neighbours and a necessity in modernity in order to establish relationships with strangers. In addition, without the ability to speak and to write, modern individuals could not avail themselves of their right to check, in the Assembly and in the press, the arbitrariness of rulers. However, the ability to communicate did not mean much if the particular language one learned to communicate in was suppressed. Indeed, a particular language complemented the universal ability to communicate and actualized it. Suppressing one was tantamount to suppressing the other.

If unable to express themselves in French in the Assembly, how, asked Pierre Bédard, could elected representatives avail themselves of their universal rights? "Dans quelle langue pouvons-nous les exercer?[7] If French was suppressed, asked another commentator, how was one to read property titles and interpret the property laws on which citizenship rights depended? "Comment entendroit-on nos titres de propriétés, comment pourrait-on interpréter les loix sur lesquelles ils sont fondées, si on ignorait la langue dans laquelle sont écrits les uns et les autres."[8] Efforts to suppress their language - oral and written - were quickly interpreted by French Lower Canadians as a way of stripping them of their rights; they were meant to "...nous priver...d'un de nos principaux droits, celui de la liberté de la presse sans laquelle nous [ne pouvons] prendre aux affaires du pays la part que la Constitution nous donne le droit d'y prendre."[9] If citizens were prevented from expressing themselves, they would be powerless to check the influence of the executive and the legislative branches. This rendered the Assembly and public opinion useless and made a mockery of the British Constitution. Insofar as reformers were concerned, the language that one spoke or wrote was more than a cultural appendage; it gave the individual access to a modern personality and was necessary to give full meaning to their political sociability and to take full advantage of their rights. Therefore, they reasoned, language should be protected in like manner. French Lower Canadians were beginning to extend the liberty of expression - that was guaranteed to all - to cover the liberty of expression

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[7] - Le Canadien, 31 Janvier 1807.

[8] - Le Canadien, 1 Aoust 1807.

[9] - Le Canadien, 10 Janvier 1807.

in one's language and to seek for their language the same protection their properties had.

Denis-Benjamin Viger insisted that a similarity of language was not a guarantee of shared affections and sentiments.[10] Loyalty to country was not an accident of birth but came from extending respect to each other on the basis of merit. In any case, as Pierre Bédard pointed out, a similarity in language had never stopped the American colonies from going their own way.[11] Far better to look to the future, where various individuals, secure in their rights of property and culture, came together over the long-term according to the general principles of human development and in the interest of all, thereby developing a sociability where rights and the expression of rights were protected under the law. The linguistic self secure, English could be taught in school to those whose talents destined them to enter into frequent communication with cultural strangers.[12] In this way, community ties among the new elite would grow over a period of time as it learned to negotiate a new identity. And to those who derided the teaching of Latin - a useless and dead language according to them - in French schools, Viger insisted that learning Latin was consistent with a modern sociability and did not hinder its progress. To the contrary, studying Latin and French made learning English easier: it opened the mind to other languages and facilitated interaction between groups that otherwise would not be able to communicate.[13]

Protecting the cultural identity of the individual was different than forming an identity based on ethnic or religious characteristics. Such an identity was not conducive to fellow-feeling between strangers. Indeed, esteem or hatred extended on the basis of cultural, ethnic or religious differences ran counter to

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[10] - Viger, Considérations, P.5.

[11] - "N'est-il pas ridicule de vouloir faire consister la loyauté d'un peuple uniquement dans sa langue." Cited in N.E. Dionne, Pierre Bédard et ses fils, P.22. His son Elzéar wrote in the thirties, maintaining French provided "...la meilleure barrière contre les Etats-Unis."

[12] - "Qu'on encourage l'étude de la langue anglaise; qu'elle entre dans l'éducation de toutes les personnes bien nées et de tous ceux qui sont destinés à jouer quelque rôle important en cette colonie ou au commerce ou aux affaires..." Le Canadien, 1 Aoust 1807.

[13] - Viger, Considérations, P.29. "L'étude raisonnée des langues Françoise et Latine qu'on fait dans nos collèges nous conduit dans le fait plus facilement et plus directement à celle de la langue Angloise." In 1833, Isidore Lebrun, a French commentator, pointed out the difficulty that two groups who did not speak the same language could have to empathize with each other. They could not, for instance, read each other's poetry or attend one another's plays. Isidore Lebrun, Tableau Statistique et Politique", P.231.

universal principles where esteem was accorded in recognition of work and useful deeds. Viger was again quite clear on the subject when he wrote that "On ne déteste pas un homme parce qu'il est né sur le bord de la Tamise ou de la Seine, qu'il est enfant de l'église catholique ou disciple de Luther ou de Calvin... On a de l'affection ou du mépris pour lui en proportion de son mérite."[14] Social standing, then, ought to be extended to those who demonstrated the wherewithal needed to fully participate in the new age.

When, some years later, Etienne Parent off-handedly wrote that: "Au reste, notre nationalité, c'est notre propriété",[15] he was expressing what Pierre Bédard and Benjamin Viger had started to formulate in the first decade of the century. The cultural self could be protected by positive rights. While laws tolerated religious variations, Canadians proposed extending positive rights to cultural features in ways that made them as inalienable as their properties in a system of commutative justice. Their protection was seen as being as fundamental to the perfectibility of humans as other possessions were.

Parent made the point that the types of behaviour that would enhance a group's social reputation in the age of commercial sociability had to come from the aptitudes required by modernity. He urged educated French-Canadians to consider avenues other than the overcrowded career of law and blamed an ancestral prejudice against effort passed on by the Seigneurs to the middle classes (les classes aisées) for the fact that they had not already done this. The result was a waste of talent among many gifted young men. They ended up being of no use to themselves or to their country. They could not claim a meshing of private and public interests and they certainly could not acquire the wealth necessary to increase their social importance since wealth was the greatest if not "...le seul moyen d'acquérir de l'importance sociale..."[16] Parent was pointing out that to acquire the social standing they aspired to and to fully participate to the sociability of commerce, French Canadians needed to diversify their skills into the

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[14] - Denis-Benjamin Viger, Analyse d'un Entretien sur la conservation des Etablissemens du Bas-Canada, des loix, des usages & de ses Habitans, Montréal: James Lane, 1826, P.23.

[15] - Etienne Parent, "L'Industrie considérée comme moyen de conserver la nationalité canadienne-française", Répertoire National, Vol.4, P.3.

[16] - Ibid., P.7 and 13. Underlined in the text. In her book on liberalism Fernande Roy showed that harmonious relationships between the two cultural groups remained a feature cherished by French Canadian businessmen in the later part of the century. Roy, Progrès, Harmonie, Liberté, P.110 and 243.

avenues that produced wealth. Only then would they, and their society, merit and be seen to merit the esteem they sought.

John Neilson did not think that ethnicity barred people from understanding the universal principles of community-building that were at work. Ethnic belonging, he asserted, did not give a mindset that prevented cultural individuals to grasp what was in play. He made his feeling clear about this in response to the repeated calls for assimilating French Canadians after the Rebellions in a letter to Lord Gosford: "I do not see why because their forefathers were French they ought to be held incapable of perceiving their Errors and be prevented from repairing them. I cannot conceive", he went on, "how British Statesmen should fall in to the Vulgar policy of attempting to make the French Canadians, English."[17] As far as John Neilson was concerned, even if ethnicity was a major influence on the minds and the hearts of humans, it did not preclude any individual from perfecting himself and fulfilling his modern destiny.[18]

'Liberal' Canadians sought to align their identity-in-the-making with those of the Enlightenment while still incorporating their cultural characteristics within a framework of rights. For many of them, insisting that recognition and hierarchical superiority go to individuals who belonged to a particular cultural group because they belonged to that group appeared to be a particularly arbitrary manner of distributing esteem. Indeed, Leblanc de Marconnay stressed the contingency contained in such a proposition when he contrasted "les citoyens de l'univers" who favoured merit with those who privileged ethnicity. What did it matter if one was French, Irish, Scottish or English since birth in a particular group was a matter of luck:

> Le hazard de la naissance,
> Nous rend-il plus vertueux?[19]

Leblanc de Marconnay was utilizing the notion of luck to underscore the deception at play in extending moral superiority to those born in a particular ethnic group. Indeed, he took a notion designed to instill

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[17] - MG24 B1 Vol.12, John Neilson to Lord Gosford, 31 January 1840.

[18] - The Canadian Freeman made the same point to Upper Canadian authorities who sought to disenfranchise American newcomers. 1 December 1822.

[19] - " La Saint-Jean Baptiste", poem written in 1836 and reproduced in the Répertoire National, Vol.1, p.392-393.

doubt about a self-proclaimed virtue and transposed it to a modern setting to point out that those who thought themselves above others because of their ethnicity functioned under the same delusion than those who thought themselves superior because of a noble but equally unmerited birth. It further stood to reason that no one born in the 'wrong' group was a lesser being because of an unwilled condition. Leblanc de Marconnay was extending the metaphor of Fortune to modern circumstances that privileged ethnicity and nativism while excluding others.

Concerned about unity and identity in an universe of self-interested individuals, Canadian writers envisaged the eventual coming together of humans based on the universality of self-love in a system that incorporated their individual natures in a complementary fashion based on merit, skill and work. Parent, Evans and Neilson were proposing a solution based on these core principles while integrating cultural characteristics in ways that contributed to the complexity of the individual and enriched the modern Canadian identity. The cultural self that Canadians could develop together was not predetermined by their distinctive past, customs, language and traditions; rather, it hinged on their willingness and ability to perfect themselves in the future and negotiate a new identity that was truly modern. That identity was 'artificial' understood in the most constructive Enlightenment manner. It flowed from the natural proclivity of all self-interested humans to develop complex behaviours and attributes that continually adapted to changing circumstances and new persons. It could accommodate, in principle at least, any cultural individual that demonstrated the willingness to work. It was at once comprehensive, flexible and fragile. In proposing a composite Canadian identity, early nineteenth century 'liberal' Canadians were responding to a situation where ethnicity was being championed as a category of worth in ways that fashioned separate identities for Canadians.

2) BRITISH VIRTUE AND FRENCH CORRUPTION

Nothing had affected the imagination of Canadians more than the French Revolution, the Terror and the Napoleonic Wars. Interpreting these events gave way to assessments that profoundly marked how Canadians viewed themselves and each other as groups. Greatly influenced by Edmund Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France, by William Cobbett's work on the events in France and more subtly by Immanuel Kant's views on the aesthetics of nations and their intimate, not to say instinctive, association with the sublime and the beautiful, many Lower Canadians reworked the old metaphor of virtue and corruption to fit a particular set of individuals that were ethnically defined.[20] The contrast greatly affected the way French-Catholics and English-Protestants perceived each other in Canada. The process did not unfold overnight - far from it - but by 1810, the major strands of conflicting 'ethnic otherness' were present.

Raymond Aron pointed out that during this period it was customary to think that commercial societies were replacing military ones; consequently, the extent to which a society had developed its commerce became an index of civilized behaviour.[21] Emphasizing England's commercial vocation as against France's military one distinguished the identities of the two countries after the very important victory at Trafalgar in 1805. A victory of the moderns over the ancients, it was also the victory of common sense over glory: "Is it astonishing that Bonaparte should so repeatedly treat the only nation that is able to contend with him as a nation of shop-keepers. Can a higher compliment be paid to shop-keeping?"[22]

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[20] - Burke was mentioned in most of the writings of the time. In addition, two pamphlets were circulating at the beginning of the century. The sixteenth edition of William Cobbett's Democratic Principles written under the pseudonym of Peter Porcupine was printed in Quebec in 1799 and Denis-Benjamin Viger's Avis au Canada à l'occasion de la crise importante actuelle: contenant une relation fidèle d'un nombre de cruautés inouïes commises depuis la Révolution française was printed in Quebec in 1798. Both works detailed the horror of the Terror and mourned the loss of Christian morality.

[21] - Raymond Aron, Main Currents in Sociological Thought, translated by Richard Howard and Helen Weaver, Volume 1, New York: Doubleday, 1989, P.74. While many Lower Canadian texts presented the manner in which England perceived France, there are no public sources that gave the French view of England during the first decade of the century probably due to the embargo put on all things French in the colony and because, using the French rhetoric against England during the Napoleonic wars would have been considered treason.

[22] - The Quebec Mercury, 7 April 1806. Underlined in the text.

Indeed, a commercial nation had beat a military one at its own game; or as another commentator put it, "The Theory of sea fighting [had been] reduced to practice by the late Lord Nelson."[23] For still another, Bonaparte's European campaigns were nothing but "...stupid anti-commercial experiments."[24] That the two countries were of a different species seemed clear to these commentators. But there was more to the notion of the military versus the commercial. Military nations were thought to be less civilized and less finely tuned to the complexities of modern government and therefore more likely to act in arbitrary fashion.

"A French system is an arbitrary system, because it is a military one..." wrote a concerned individual over Bonaparte's progress in Europe, adding that someone had to stop him from enslaving the continent: "It becomes therefore the interest not of Englishmen only, but the universe to raise mounds against the progress of French power. To oppose it is a duty."[25] Commercial England's duty to itself and to the universe was to stop military France from extending throughout Europe an arbitrary style of government which would "...frenchify the universe."[26] Whatever its former glory had been, France was now a dangerous and despotic nation made up of despotic men acting in arbitrary and uncontrollable ways.

The French, as the English had known them, were no more. In their stead had come young men who had forsaken all religious principles and become united by false ties. Demagogues propounding the doctrine of equality "...so flattering to those who possess nothing" had gained many converts "...among the lower classes of people" who had entrusted them with a civil and military authority for which they were untrained and therefore exercised tyrannically.[27] Leaders of this movement consisted of "...men of

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[23] - The Quebec Mercury, 19 December 1808.

[24] - The Quebec Mercury, 18 September 1809. Another poem read: "Russia and Austria combin'd, Prove feeble military medlers/ Whence Europe's only hope, we find, Rests on the arms of British pedlars." Ibid., 7 April 1807.

[25] - The Quebec Mercury, 27 October 1806. Building dykes to stop an uncontrollable force was a figure of speech commonly associated with Fortune and the actions that virtuous men ought to take in order to stop her. It figures prominently in Boethius and in Machiavelli's The Prince.

[26] - Ibid.

[27] - Cobbett, Democratic Principles, P.5.

desperate fortunes, bankrups, quacks, the dregs of the law, apostate priests..."[28] who usurped from the rightful and God-assigned rulers power over their fellows. The least that could be said about French democrats was that they were unrelated to each other by any recognizable social bonds, had overstepped their social boundaries and created a fictional identity for themselves. This image differed substantially from that of the guillotined nobility which no longer existed: "The french gentleman is no more..." and those who are left are old and "...a contrast and living reproach to the modern french man."[29]

In the mind of some Lower Canadians, continental Frenchmen were a totally new breed. Having guillotined those who represented the genius and the traditions of France, modern Frenchmen had cut themselves from their core, their 'essence' and were left with an artificial modernity, one without roots. Because of this, they were more likely to get caught up in a web of artificial appearances and to "...catch at the brilliant and enticing bait of pleasure, to indulge in gratification which surrounded by the charms of novelty that promise nothing but happiness."[30] Bereft of ancestors and traditions, the 'new' French could not find in their customs and habits the ways to rationalize their self-interest and to delay gratification in order to attain it. Exposed in childhood to experiences that marked them forever, they overturned all laws developed over time and replaced them by some made "...by rogues and fools, interpreted and executed by villains." For all practical purposes, not only were French laws now the product of the deluded minds of violent upstarts but eventually the whole of society would, through natural imitation, lose sight of true principles and be moulded by corrupted ones. "All this was the natural consequence of low-bred characters being at the head of the society...neither the frenchmen nor their language will ever be regarded in the light they have been heretofore."[31] Unendowed by God and tradition with the capacity to rule, young Frenchmen had usurped an earthly good that was not theirs to have and by contravening the very principles of rule were corrupting an entire society. That these young men were able to do this was due to the capacity to

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[28] - Ibid., P.6.

[29] - The Quebec Mercury, 9 March 1807. Underlined in the text.

[30] - Ibid.

[31] - Ibid.

deceive that went along with unmerited status. More than anything else, they were creations of their own deluded making. Nowhere was this more evident than in the pretensions of the person among them who exemplified the type.

Napoleon had elevated himself "...from an obscure station, to the throne of one of the first monarchies in Europe...But such an upstart instead of conciliating the esteem and friendships of his neighbours, evince[d] the unmeasurable ambition of reigning over the universe at the expense of long established royalty..."[32] As a man of low birth who had elevated himself above others, Napoleon should have managed his interests rationally and compromised some of his designs to conciliate other rulers but he fell prey to his passions and sought ever more grandeur. Entirely at the mercy of his passions, he was doomed: "...a day of retribution inevitably awaits him." Like all corrupted regimes, Napoleon's and the military society that had spawned him was destined to fall[33] and be replaced by men who understood that the modern world could come of age only if it followed the 'natural' commercial line of development exemplified by England "There is no country on earth where nature seems to have given such facility to mercantile intercourse."[34]

Drawing from a rich contemporary British vocabulary, English-speaking Lower Canadians contrasted the virtue of their society to the corruption of France. Language was a case in point. According to one commentator, English was destined to become the new international language because it was the language spoken by mercantile nations "...from the Frozen Ocean to the gulph of Mexico [and in] a great part of the West Indies [it was also] the language of New Holland & Cape of Good Hope, the language used by mercantile men and seamen in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Russia [and] will most assuredly in the

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[32] - The Quebec Mercury, 11 September 1809.

[33] - Another writer underscored the contingent nature of Napoleon's rise to power by describing his actions in gambling terms in The Quebec Mercury, 18 September 1809.

What tricks this Bonaparte plays
His cut false honor brings
He deals in Queens in various ways
And makes his knaves all kings.

[34] - The Quebec Mercury, 9 March 1807.

course of time be the most universal of all languages."[35] Should someone wish to embark on a commercial venture of any sort anywhere in the world "Nothing is so necessary in their successes as the English language."[36] Where, then, French had been the international language of diplomacy and refinement and was spoken everywhere it was now doomed to decline: "The people who recommended the french language to all Europe no longer exist."

Comparing the character and sociability of Frenchmen and Englishmen yielded a similar treatment. Unconnected to their own customs and traditions, Frenchmen lost the ability to rationalize their self-interest; they were more likely to react instinctively and immoderately to their own passions in ways that made them anchorless: "The essence of this character is an exuberance of animal spirit, producing an excess of mobility...mutable, trifling, confident, vain, credulous and incapable of moderation."[37] The French had reverted to a more primitive sociability that "...verge[d] on excess." Having rid themselves of those who through lineage had anchored national traits, they no longer had any foothold in that certain and stable past that shaped their identity. They had become creatures of appearances cut off from their essence. "The French, beyond all people, are the creatures of society; by it their manners and sentiments are fashioned and in it are centered their chief pleasures and gratifications."[38] Without any stabilizing force, without the necessary core that anchored and gave meaning to the whole, the French were incapable of modern improvement and incapable of leading.

They were unable to develop the arts and sciences of modernity since their minds were now turned to petty and shallow things. It was a commentator named Publicus who put it best:

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[35] - The Quebec Mercury, 9 March 1807.

[36] - The Quebec Mercury, 31 October 1808. The thought was reiterated some sixteen years later: "If we recollect that at present day the sun never sets on a country where [English] is not spoken, we cannot avoid viewing it as a subject which deserves an increasing attention, proportionate to its universality..." "Reading and Reciting the English Language", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.II, No.VIII, February 1824, P.121.

[37] - The Quebec Mercury, 9 February 1807. The newspaper indicated that it was reproducing Dr. Aitkin's Geographical Delineations "...on the character of the French nation, just published."

[38] - Ibid.

> In poetry and in the higher range of science, politics and philosophy, the preeminence is generally conceded to the English - But in the familiar stile, [sic] in the language of conversation, in the more nice and minute interchange of sentiments and in the agreeable nullities (riens) of social chat, the French is without a rival.[39]

The principal characteristic of the French man - when compared to the English - was his superficiality and his love of artifice. He loved his own image and empty flamboyant gestures and was more often than not inclined to "...ostentation and galconade."[40] Content with appearing rather than being, the Frenchman was a shell without a core. "Front and tongue are the never failing accompaniment to french breeding. Englishmen are taught to think more than to speak." Most of all, the Frenchman could talk.[41] Master of the trite and the inconsequential, his language was well suited to particular talents: "For talking to children and making love to girls, it is admirable."[42] English writings were claiming virtue for the English in the face of French insubstantiality and decadence. From all accounts, Frenchmen were ruled by Fortune and acted like her. They were now patternless, created fictional identities for themselves, revelled in the artificiality of their own creations and had entered upon a process of decline.

Presenting the French as creatures of contingency enabled the English to stress the 'substantialness' of their own ethnic identity, intimately caught up in the divine and natural progress of the arts and the sciences.[43] They reinforced their claim to substance by contrasting France and Frenchmen's

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[39] - The Quebec Mercury, 8 December 1806. Underlines and French in the text.

[40] - The Quebec Mercury, 9 February 1807.

[41] - The Quebec Mercury, 6 April 1807. The thought was repeated in an article entitled "The French Revolution judged by its Results". "...the quickness of French intellect can seize an object with rapidity, but it is little capable of discussing it with depth." The Canadian Magazine, No.X, Vol.II, April 1824, P.356.

[42] - The Quebec Mercury, 3 November 1806.

[43] - Something that Protestantism had already claimed. Protestant Christianity associated itself with the empirical scientific development usually contrasted with the Catholic propensity for oral traditions and fallacious theoretical musings. Barbara Shapiro situates the opposition between oral and religious cultures in an on-going polemic dating back to the seventeenth century and the Protestant defense "...of rational scripturalism against Roman Catholic assertion of the infallibility of oral tradition." Barbara Shapiro, Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England. A Study of the relationships between natural science, religion, history, law and literature, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983, P.101. The contrast between France's sinful artificiality and Britain's godly substance in this regard was made in Stephen Dickson's longish 1799 poem entitled The Union of Taste and Science. Stanzas 39 to 44 encapsulate the sentiments fairly well:

fortune-like characteristics to England's virtuous ones. By the early 1800s, some English-speaking Lower Canadians had claimed the modern age in its entirety by affirming the connection between the principles of modernity and their traditions, habits, customs, religion and language in the face of "...the volatility of the Frenchman..."[44]

Undoubtedly influenced by this type of discourse, ethnic-minded English Canadians were poised to claim a British essence for Lower Canada. Evidently, John Fleming believed it when he informed British settlers not to be deceived by the appearance of the colony: "Notwithstanding the appearance of this country to a stranger; tho' its outside, the front and the drapery of the picture be French, we have the consolation to know that the background at least, is English." English-speakers gave Canada its core, its essence, while French-speakers provided the frill.[45]

Work and education were indices of the modern age. The industrious and educated could claim a more advanced state of sophistication and perfectibility than those who acted out of idleness and ignorance, traits generally associated with societies in decline. Identifying a group with one or the other of these sets of characteristics situated the group on the ladder of historical development and established the basis for an hierarchical superiority. To emphasize their claim to greater perfectibility, English-speaking Lower-Canadians underscored the poor state of French education in the colony and the inhabitants' inclinations to idleness.

On the twentieth of December 1806, Le Canadien published a small poem called Les Moissonneurs that told of the equal eagerness of the English and the French to work in order to acquire life's comforts.

Aye! let vain France despoil'd of every flage
Still Babel schemes, still unpious cunning brag,
Still fondly hug meritricious art
That blends the judgment and pollutes the heart
While Britain's guardian Genius towers sublime
And walks with SCIENCE in the starry clime.

The Union of Taste and Science, Quebec: Neilson, 1799, P.3.

[44] - The Quebec Mercury, 3 April 1809.

[45] - John Fleming, Some Considerations on this Question: Whether the British Government acted wisely in granting to Canada her present Constitution, By a British Settler, Montreal: J. Brown, 1810. P.17. Underlined in the text.

The poem stated that in the realm of Fortune, circumstances were arbitrarily determined; it was due to Fortune's actions that the English enjoyed a more favourable position, one that enabled them to reap larger benefits while, for an equal amount of effort, the French could only work in the fields.[46] A commentary pointed out that the French should not envy the privileged position that commercial and political ties to England automatically conferred on the English. They ought, nonetheless, to expect a measure of benevolence from the more fortunate group whose relative prosperity was not altogether merited. Two days later, The Quebec Mercury published its own satirical version of this state of affairs. Entitled "The Reapers and the Gleaners", it observed that

> Canadians complain they do but glean
> Whilst englishmen the golden harvest reap;
> The reason is that englishmen are seen
> To plow and sow whilst rivals prate and sleep[47]

French Canadians talked meaninglessly and slept while Englishmen worked and collected merited rewards. The discrepancy had nothing to do with arbitrary circumstances but with the traits of the inhabitants and with the characteristics of Frenchness. Naturally idle, they had the fate that their idleness destined them to have and could not expect redress. The notion that the French were more prone to amuse themselves than to work hard became a constant of the assessment of their character and their habits. Coincidentally, their religion supported far too many holidays. Not only did it impair the march of commerce, but it also increased the inhabitants' natural tendency to dissipation and idleness that were "...totally incompatible with a spirit of commercial enterprise..."[48] French Catholic Canadians did not demonstrate that they had the

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[46] - Le Canadien, 20 Décembre 1806. "Les Moissonneurs"

> Faucille à la main, au champ de la Fortune,
> On voit courir l'Anglois, le Canadien;
> Tous deux actifs et d'une ardeur commune,
> Pour acquérir ce qu'on nomme du bien;
> Mais en avant l'Anglois ayant sa place,
> Heureux Faucheur, il peut seul moissonner,
> L'autre humblement le suivait à la trace,
> Travaille autant et ne fait que glaner.

[47] - The Quebec Mercury, 22 December 1806. Underlined in the text.

[48] - The Quebec Mercury, 21 March 1808.

natural attributes necessary to enter the new age.

Work improved the self and improved the productivity of the land. A group known for its inclinations to work hard could claim a greater measure of individual and national perfectibility. There was no doubt in an observer's mind about who stood on the higher rung of civilized agricultural behaviour; comparing French farmers to Anglo-American settlers was like comparing "...the moon sickening and turning pale at the sight of the sun. As a settler and cultivator, as a man of industry and enterprise, the Canadian taken generally is no more to be compared to the Anglo-American than the former luminary is to the latter."[49] Throughout the first decade of the nineteenth century, emphasizing English industry as against French laxness reinforced the national identity of English-speaking Canadians who could not claim a historical attachment to the soil as the measure of their legitimacy as a nation but did, so it was argued, possess a superior capacity to work the land they did come to possess. Those for whom labour and industry were central qualities of modernity sought to establish their cultural affiliation to them by stressing in others what they perceived to be natural habits of idleness and frivolity. No less than work, education improved the self and enabled the individual to rationalize his self-interest. Superimposed on language and habits inculcated early in the imperfect and malleable child by his loving parents, a good education encouraged good habits or prevented bad ones. Education, therefore, had to be English since a French education would only reinforce the bad habits of Frenchness. As an avid defender of education put it: "It has been said often and it will bear a repetition - as the twig is bent, the tree inclines. A French education will form a Frenchman whatever may be the government he is born under."[50] A French education imparted the values that had lead France into chaos and arbitrariness compared to English education's emphasis on industry, persistence and homogeneous sociability.[51] The education the French currently received reinforced their

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[49] - The Quebec Mercury, 3 April 1809. Howard Patch noted the association between Fortune and the moon. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna, P.50.

[50] - The Quebec Mercury, 27 October 1806.

[51] - It became customary to refer to John Bull - the stereotypical name given to the English - as dull and commonsensical. According to a piece written in 1825, the characterization was self-serving:

There's stubborn stiffneck'd ol John Bull
Who boasts that a meritrous deal of common sense

past habits, entrenching in them the superstitions of Catholicism and making them unfit for any modern task. Indeed it produced nothing but "...a few ignorant parfait Notaries [and] coutume de Paris lawyers...who knell [sic] down upon the Highways and whose tenets [were] made up of a jumble of popish edicts."[52] What was the purpose of learning Latin, asked a commentator, when English was needed to prepare individuals to "...enter into the practical scenes of a busy life."[53] Knowing more than one language was useless to those who equated scientific modernity with Englishness. French Canadians, it continued to be argued, were naturally opposed to education and refused to see its benefits; they all had "...that bias which dispose[d] them to hold education in no estimation..."[54]. And without education, it would be impossible for them to change and "...rise higher in the scale of human beings than that of manual labourers...". Their ignorance would stop them from progressing, from willingly learning the arts that made their actions meaningful. Furthermore, as a proponent of English crop rotation practices argued, ignorance "...arrest[ed] the progress of these necessary arts...and confirm[ed] their prejudices in favour of all previous habits and of all ancient errors."[55] In other words, French Canadians were condemned to be frozen in time.

Others thought that the situation was getting dangerous. French Canadians were increasing in

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It must be blunt if suited to the skull
Which seems of course th' attendant consequence
Thick, dogged and impenetrably dull,,
That proves a bullwark in its own defense.

Levi Adams, Jean-Baptiste: A Poetic Olio, In II Cantos, Montreal: 1825. Reprinted in Ottawa by The Golden Dog Press, 1978. P.31.

[52] - The Quebec Mercury, 31 July 1809. The moderns associated an affinity for the superstitious and the irrational with the less civilized. Like many other attributes, this one could be transferred to others to heighten one's identity. Jonathan Simon Matthew's 'recipe' to make a true Methodist included mixing together "herbs of hypocrisy" with "ounces of ambition, vainglory and impudence" and boiling the lot "over a slow fire of superstition". The Quebec Mercury, 9 January 1805. Many Protestants, however, associated Catholicism with superstition and despotism. According to John Fleming, Catholicism "...rivetted on the necks of the lower classes the chains of ignorance, superstition and vassalage." John Fleming, Some Considerations on this Question, P.10.

[53] - The Quebec Mercury, 3 April 1809.

[54] - The Quebec Mercury, 29 January 1810.

[55] - "On Educating the People of Lower-Canada", P.134.

numbers and by 1808 "...one hundred and fifty thousand souls with French ideas, have been raised in a part of the British dominions and the evils were constant [and] progressive. A more prolific hotbed for raising Frenchmen is not to be found."[56] Lower Canada was full of Frenchmen who could not engage in commercial enterprise since they were bound by their ethnic and religious characteristics to forsake commerce and engage either in idle chatter or in political upheaval. By ancestry and by habit, they could not meet the demands of modernity.

Some English Lower Canadians who vested the characteristics of modernity in Britishness sought to harmonize the appearance and the essence of the population of the colony. According to John Henry, this could only be attained by sharing a common cultural baggage: "They (French and English) can only become one people by similarity of language, laws education, manners and habits"[57] and it only made sense that the culture to be shared be the English one. Indeed, only in this way could French Canadians be able to overcome their cultural and religious tendencies to inertia or chaos and develop the maturity of moderns. Like a child, the French Canadian was attached to its mother but nature dictated that maturity would bring a detachment "from that affection and [operate] a total forgetfulness of the breast."[58] As the more 'mature' of the two cultures, English could raise them to full manhood. According to James Stuart, it was in the natural course of things "to rear the French Canadian population under the fostering care of Great Britain to the maturity and strength which may qualify them to take their stand..."[59] Many Montreal merchants concurred and added that assimilation was for the greater public good of the community. As a

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[56] - The Quebec Mercury, 31 October 1808. Another observer noted: "the regular structure of Social order have no charm for them [French Canadians]. The Pandemonium of confusion disorder and anarchy seems to be the only place fitted to their dark designing and chaotic minds." Ibid, 12 March 1810.

[57] - John Henry, An Inquiry into the Evils, P.27-28, The Quebec Mercury, 24 November 1806.

[58] - The Quebec Mercury, 7 November 1808.

[59] - James Stuart, Observations on the Proposed Union of the Provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, under one Legislature Respectfully submitted to His Majesty's Government by the Agent of the Petitioners for that measure, London: William Clowes, 1824, P.26. An earlier commentator had remarked that "If it be admitted that the situation of a Canadian is ameliorated by his becoming English to a certain extent; his welfare must augment in the proportion of his progress to the completion of that character." The Quebec Mercury, 24 November 1806.

resolution prepared by them stated, consolidating the two groups "into one homogeneous mass, [was] animated by the same views for the public interest."[60] For English speakers who understood harmony in ethnically-defined terms, the only solution to the problem was uniting the two colonies and assimilating all its populations to a British character. From the very outset, references to the illiteracy, the idleness and the artificiality of French Canadians accompanied every demand for the Union of the two colonies.[61]

It also became clear that unless assimilation took place, the perfectibility of the English in the colony was threatened. The prospect was unacceptable to Edward Ellice, for instance, who blamed the slow development of modern trade on the "tenacity of ancient systems [and on] inattention to the progress of the province."[62] Unless the French adopted the English language and English education, manners and customs, not only they but the English as well would be prevented from realizing their destiny to become commercial humans.

Emphasizing French inertia or the French tendency to chaos and therefore decline contributed to heightening the image of English Canadians as industrious and progressive. When the French were compared to Upper Canadians, for instance, the contrast enhanced the progressive image of Upper Canada and reinforced the ethnic argument to unite the two colonies. But that was not all that was at stake. John Fleming gave an additional clue about the identity-building process that was going on. Portraying French Canadians in this manner helped situate Upper Canadians in contrast to Americans and enhanced their image in a North American context. Fleming made his views in this regard clearer when he wrote: "Indeed, the Population of Upper Canada forms a contrast to that of the Lower Province, in general education and avidity of information, more particularly with respect to passing events and Provincial Politics

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[60] - Broadside, 14 October 1822. The resolution was signed by John Richardson, Peter McGill and John Molson.

[61] - This line of reasoning was prominent in the Durham Report and justified uniting the two colonies.

[62] - The Quebec Mercury, 2 December 1805. The article was signed Mercator, the pseudonym used by Edward Ellice.

rivalling in these respects their American neighbours."[63] The identity of English Canadians was being negotiated on two fronts simultaneously. They showed themselves to be moderns in contrast with French Canadians, something that helped them appear almost on par with the image they had of their more 'advanced' neighbours to the south; and blaming French Canadians for their inability to demonstrate their equal competence in commercial ventures also soothed any sentiments of inferiority they might have had. Weighing their modernity against the Americans' as well as contrasting their national identity with them were preoccupations that continued to influence the self-image of English Canadians for many years.[64]

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[63] - Fleming, Political Annals, P.XVIII. A petition signed by magistrates, clergymen militia officers, merchants and landowners underlined how the French dominated Assembly precluded trade improvements such as canal-building in ways that "contrasted with the enterprise and energy evinced by the neighbouring State of New York." MG24 B1 Vol.4, Petition to the King, October 1822.

[64] - Among others are contrasts like the American cowboy and the Canadian mountie. In addition, Allan Smith analysed the differences between the American 'melting pot' and the Canadian 'mosaic' in "Metaphor and Nationality in North America" in Allan Smith, Canada An American Nation?, P.127-159.

3) FRENCH CANADIAN VIRTUE AND ENGLISH CORRUPTION

Some French Canadians were also searching for their 'essential' French identity. They contrasted the solidity of their cultural self by contrasting it to the contingent features of colonial Englishness. For one thing, they questioned the inherent superiority claimed by the newcomers and concluded that the power and reputation the English enjoyed in the colony was not merited. Rather, British expatriates rode on the coattails of the mother-country; their elevated station reflected their ties to England instead of one earned by effort. They came: "...calculans [sic] leur importance individuelle sur celle de la métropole, jouissant de l'opulence que leur donne ses capitaux et bouffés de l'orgueil d'hommes nouveaux dans un pays où ils ne sont point connus, ils méprisent les habitants du pays."[65] Far from being industrious like the French population (here was an interesting turnabout), Lower Canada's English population enjoyed riches and reputations by taking advantage of the privileged position that coming from England gave them. They wallowed in England's splendour but certainly not in its essence: their reputation was artificially constructed rather than earned. Full of unmerited affluence and influence these "pygmies on stilts", as Jacques Viger called them,[66] were in love with the reputation this gave them, they despised those who, unlike them, acquired earthly goods through work.[67] Merchants and British authorities were not men shaped by the natural principles of individual worthiness that governed the colony but by contingent circumstances not of their doing. This became evident in the way French Canadians spoke of the practice English speakers had of distributing rewards on the basis of ethnicity.

Not usually given to this sort of reflection, notary Séguin nonetheless noted that rewards were not awarded on merit when farmers competed in county fairs. There, English judges outnumbered French ones

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[65] - Le Canadien, 30 Décembre 1809.

[66] - MG24 L8 M-8, Ma Saberdache Bleue, J. Viger à J.D. Mermet, 13 Mars 1814.

[67] - John Bull was oftentimes characterized by his vulgar love of glitter, pomp and glory. He was especially prone to be dazzled by shallow manifestations of rank and moved to tears by "...stories about the achievements of Old England." Le Fantasque, 16 Juin 1838.

two to one and favoured Anglo-American farmers.[68] It appeared to Séguin that the system was rigged in ways that arbitrarily favoured ethnicity over merit and reinforced the ethnic consciousness of French farmers. What went on in the country happened even more often in the city where coveted public offices were sought by all. That they went primarily to English speaking individuals made Le Canadien reflect on the insubstantiality of the newly enhanced reputation of the recipients. It stressed their concern with posturing and appearance and pronounced them men who would be unknown in their own country but who had gained instant status in Lower Canada. They were by virtue of their ethnic birth: "[des] cohortes de fashionables qui, insignifians ailleurs, et fiers d'être ici quelque chose (vu la protection qu'on leur dispense si gratuitement) et qui retranchés derrière leurs comptoirs prodiguent l'insulte aux institutions canadiennes."[69] These individuals did not buy land which would anchor their interests in the colony, neither did they use their capital to invest in the colony in ways that benefitted all. Rather, as one commentator pointed out, they accumulated wealth for their selfish enjoyment and took it back home with them in contrast to other immigrants who came here to work and were welcome additions to the population. Merchants became reputable by acquiring unmerited offices while others "...savent, tout en se rendant utiles au pays, acquérir les moyens de subsister."[70]

Louis-Joseph Papineau reinforced these views of the unmeritorious when he wrote to John Neilson to denounce their illusionary importance. Only luck gave them their importance: "Ces hommes que le hazard a fait si grands pour ce pays seraient demeurés si obscurs ailleurs."[71] He went further a few years later when he called the British advisors to the Governor "Oiseaux de proie et de passage qui appellent

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[68] - Séguin, Notes, 12 Septembre 1831.

[69] - Le Canadien, 11 Juin 1831. One seigneur blamed English merchants for the disappearance of the Canadian nobility. Inferior English fellow subjects "...by birth and station were placed above them [nobles] by the protecting power acting under the influence of national prejudice..." The local nobility was thus obliterated by "...the rapid rise of the Traders and other obscure individuals who came to the colony in quest of fortune and who found a ready access to her gifts..."MG24 C7, Remarques par l'Honorable Toussaint Pothier, membre du conseil Législatif, 1829, P.5.

[70] - Ibid.

[71] - MG24 B1 Vol.15, L.J. Papineau à John Neilson, 18 Octobre 1822.

s'enrichir nous gouverner."[72] They were birds of passage because they were adventurers seeking their fortunes and manipulating their way into the good graces of weak men. They had no attachment to the land and entered into no sociability with the inhabitants. They had neither ties nor common interests with the people and were unwilling to develop any, content to socialize with those who most resembled them.[73] Papineau stressed that advisors and ministers came for adventure and remained in the colony only for as long as the sojourn was profitable. They were birds of prey because their greed and lust was limitless. Neither of high rank nor of substantial wealth, these men were motivated by greed to flatter, connive and deceive the authorities in order to acquire an office from which they could plunder the wealth of the people. Office-holders, wrote Louis Bourdages, could then "...prendre selon leur appétit et non selon les moyens du peuple."[74] When it came time to denounce les gens en place, the charge of rapacity was the one most often used by men of merit.[75]

In contrast to those who catered to a preferential sociability based of ethnicity, local elected officials followed the natural laws of perfectibility and human progress and rewarded those who in their estimation had the specialized knowledge and the professional wherewithal to do the job satisfactorily. Their standards

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[72] - MG24 B1 Vol.5, L.J.Papineau à John Neilson, 26 Juin 1826. Underlined in the text.

[73] - Insofar as the American traveller John Cosens Ogden was concerned, the Upper Canadian scene was no better. Earthly rewards did not go to American expatriates but favoured religious and ethnic ties. Pension, place and favour, he wrote, were "...reserved for the English and Scottish adventurers, and the sons of Oxford and Cambridge." Ogden, A Tour Through Upper and Lower Canada, P.57.

[74] - Louis Bourdages, Adresse, P.4.

[75] - In Upper Canada Justice Thorpe was particularly eloquent in unmasking the "Scotch Pedlars", an amalgam of nobodies made important by their own scheming devices and by the plans they devised to enrich themselves on the back of the settlers. Their ethnicity reinforced their lack of attachment to place and the selfishness of their pursuits.RCA, 1892, Justice Thorpe to George Shee, 1 December 1806 and 12 March 1807. Justice Thorpe to Cooke, 30 January 1806. The authorities there favoured religious denominations in addition to ethnic origins. Egerton Ryerson commented that: "In Upper Canada the administration of the executive power was equally [as in Lower Canada] exclusive; favoritism prevailed, in many instances over merit." He added that the situation had been rectified when appointments began including Methodists. Ryerson, The Affairs of the Canadas, P.9-10. This view was not shared by The Canadian Freeman, who published on the seventeenth of July 1828 a poem that ended:

Thus ministers have royal boons
Conferred on blockheads and buffoons
In spite of nature, merit, wit
Their friends for every post were fit.

for allocating offices were public and in accordance with the laws of nature: they favoured the talented and the industrious.[76]

American Loyalists who were settling the Townships fared no better. French Canadians described them as equally the beneficiaries of luck and circumstance. Born to the spirit of risk and adventure, they were motivated by nothing but greed and selfish pleasures. As soon as they peopled the Townships, one could sense "...l'avidité et l'esprit d'accaparement des Américains nés dans le sein du commerce et avide de toutes espèces de jouissances..."[77] The American would do anything to succeed and seemed constantly involved in uncertain money ventures.[78] In addition, his sort was totally unconnected to familial ties. Without a single thought he uprooted himself and disdained friends and family, something that distinguished him from French Canadians who would never abandon "...la maison paternelle." The national character of Americans was not a moral one.[79] For the most part, they were wanderers without moeurs and indulged their passion for money. "Les Américains" concluded their critic, "avoient plus d'argent que les Canadiens; que ceux-ci n'étaient pas d'une nature remuante; qu'ils étaient en un mot l'inverse des Américains." Another observer even pointed out that since Americans were entirely concerned with individual pursuits one could not rightly say that they were a nation: "Les Etats-Unis n'ont pas encore le nom de Nation ni de caractère connu."[80] Emphasizing the rootlessness and the rapacious ways of the Loyalists clarified the 'essential' character of the French Canadian. Compared to the American farmer, the French inhabitant was

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[76] - Of course, men of merit continued the prerogative of rulers: they awarded offices to those who thought like them. Leblanc de Marconnay accused them of favouring their friends to consolidate their position and reminded them that real patriotism never claimed for itself all places and honours but "...égalité dans les places et les honneurs." De Marconnay was pointing out that reformers could not apply one set of standards for the oligarchy and another for themselves and in his own way he was indicating that the problems inherent in a meritocracy were no different than those that characterized the old regime. Le Populaire, 26 Mai 1837.

[77] - Le Canadien, 28 Novembre 1807.

[78] - Le Canadien, 16 Janvier 1808. "...un peuple de commerçans où toutes les fortunes sont toujours flottantes."

[79] - Ibid.

[80] - Le Canadien, 31 Octobre 1807. Denis-Benjamin Viger characterized Americans in the same manner; they were individuals who lived only for themselves. Viger, Considérations, P.31-34.

a solid core. He was attached to land and family, cultivated the soil for personal subsistence and the national good and had a strong sense of belonging to something bigger than him.

The Anglo-American character and the Canadian character came face to face in the debate regarding land ownership. To acquire land in free and common soccage all that was needed was money, something that the Anglo-Americans had plenty of. Here again, the distinction served to reinforce the industriousness of the Canadian character in the face of greed. With common soccage "...il faut de l'argent, tandis qu'avec les autres [seigneurial tenures] on n'a besoin que de vouloir travailler."[81] Changing the manner in which land was awarded meant more than a simple legal change. It meant that Anglo-Americans would eventually buy all the land available and send the inhabitants into a sort of ethnic as well as physical exile.[82] In the end, however, as one observer pointed out, all these newly-arrived immigrants to Lower Canada spoke English, a type of bond that united them beyond cultural origins. "Cette unité de language...fait qu'ils se regardent comme ne faisant qu'un seul, tandis qu'ils nous considèrent comme un corps absolument distinct et séparé d'eux."[83] United by a common language, English speakers became undifferentiated by country of origin when they squared off against those who spoke French.

Altogether, the French characterized the English-speaking population in relation to a moveable and unpredictable commodity, capital, a worldly good known to foster individualism and tempt humans into the most selfish behaviour. By the same token, the comparison enhanced their image as a moral, settled and industrious people who laboured for the public good of their ethnic community and whose ties were unsoiled by selfish motives.

Over the years, the French Canadian ethnic character was contrasted to American rapacity and British love of reputation and wealth. When he reported on the state of the militia in 1810, Colonel Vassal de Monviel wrote that under the French Regime, men were kept poor and stayed focussed on the task at

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[81] - Le Canadien, 12 Décembre 1807.

[82] - Viger, Considérations, P.47. Le Canadien, 12 Décembre 1807. Howard Patch also noted that Fortune ruled exile since it constituted a state of dispersion. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna, P.67.

[83] - Le Canadien, 8 Aoust 1807.

hand. Far from being motivated by self-interest ("...ce sordide intérêt pour lequel nous voyons la plus part des hommes s'avilirent ne leur était point dans ce temps familier") they demonstrated the greatest willingness to fight even when not paid. But under a more benign English administration they had grown idle and distracted. Idle and complacent, they were now at the mercy of the demagogues who preyed on the soft of mind and body.[84] De Monviel was pointing out that English comfort corrupted the spirit of French Canadian militiamen. Increasingly, the virtuous French Canadian character became one of poor rusticity, simple family manners and attachment to place in the face of threatening modern ways that spoke of a new kind of slavery, one created by the love of money and the need for masks and dissembling which the pursuit of money brought with it. In opposition to wealth and its deceits, some French Canadians created a nostalgic image of themselves rooted in the protection of their uncorrupted essence. In doing this, they were greatly helped by English commentators who looked upon them not as an island of virtue in a sea of corruption but as a relic of what the pre-modern past looked like.

In his magazine, Michel Bibaud translated and reprinted many of these descriptions. Macgregor's British America painted a rosy picture of these people. They were simple, virtuous and happy.[85] They were polite and hospitable and brought joy to those who visited them. Always ready to welcome strangers, they opened their houses, fed them and made them feel at home.[86] They lived among charming scenery and all about them spoke of prettiness, idyllic ruralism and of life in harmony with nature. Another article insisted that the peasantry had remained untouched by the "..dreadful shocks which have operated in producing great changes in France." In contrast to the situation there, its author continued, young French Canadians males "have all the carelessness and indifference about providing for the future and that tendency to give full swing to indulgence in mirth and gratification of every whim which seems to say "let

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[84] - MG24 B1, Vol.24, Colonel Vassal de Monviel, Traité sur la Milice, Septembre 1810, P.9 and P.48.

[85] - "Les Habitants du Canada", Le Magazin du Bas-Canada, Tome I, No.4, Avril 1832, P.240.

[86] - Open and generous hospitality seemed to have characterized nineteenth century peasantries in general. "A trait in the national character" of the Russians, for instance, "was kindness" and "their extreme disinterested hospitality." "The Character of Russians", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.IV, No.XIX, January 1825, P.40.

to-morrow provide for itself""[87] What, for some, had been a sign of imperfectibility and backwardness was now becoming for others the characteristic of the uncorrupted: uneducated French Canadians had a certain joie de vivre that made them happy and simple beings. The same sentiments were expressed in another translated article reprinted by Bibaud.[88] There were, it was said, no happier people in the world than the "...masse de la population canadienne [qui] est composée d'agriculteurs." Their work met their basic needs; they were happy with their lot and stoïcally endured the caprices of the seasons and the climate since they were at one with 'natural' nature.[89] In addition, they held tenaciously to their religion, their laws and their habits and were the sworn enemies of change; they were "...absolument ennemis de toute innovation."[90] Furthermore, the peasant remained uneducated and thus untouched by artifice: "Son esprit n'est pas cultivé: ses idées sont bornées. Il a d'heureuses dispositions naturelles" and was not devious by nature.[91] Living on the land on which they were born, they were the children of "...cette terre qui leur avait donné naissance..."[92] They and the particular piece of earth where they were born were linked by symbiosis: it became la mère-patrie, creating an association of common ties which could only be understood in terms of blood and family.

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[87] - "The Itinerant", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.II, No.XI, June 1824, P.501.

[88] - "Le Cultivateur Canadien", La Bibliothèque Canadienne, Tome II, No.6, Mai 1826, P.216-217. If one judges by the poems he wrote celebrating 'la vie champêtre', we can assume that Bibaud agreed with the assessment made by English commentators. The view they provided of the Canadian peasantry suited him as well as them and coincided with the notion of simplicity presented in Joseph Quesnel's play mentioned in chapter two.

[89] - There is some evidence to suggest that English Canadian commentators viewed the French peasantry in the light of a mode of life that had disappeared in their cultural past. Upper Canadian John Richardson's interesting romantic novel Wacousta, for instance, makes it clear that he thought that the Scottish 'original naturalness' had been lost forever. They may have looked upon the French peasantry with the same nostalgic fondness exhibited by French Canadians who were altered irreversibly by modernity. John Richardson, Wacousta: or the Prophecy: a Tale of the Canadas, London: T. Cadell, Strand and W. Blackwood, 1832.

[90] - Ibid. P.217.

[91] - Contrary to city dwellers, farmers were "moins politiques et laissent apercevoir au plus grand jour ce qu'ils avaient dans l'âme." Le Canadien, 27 Décembre 1806.

[92] - Denis-Benjamin Viger, Analyse d'un Entretien, P.V.

Blood, land and family certainly provided Papineau with the thread of his address to the women of Lower Canada: "La patrie est le sol qui nous vit naître sur lequel nous balbutiâmes pour la première fois le nom d'un père et d'une mère chérie, qui recèle les ossements de nos ayeux dont chaque place fut témoin des jeux de notre enfance."[93] The theme grew even stronger after the troubles of 1838. Le Fantasque emphasized the quietness of the countryside and the need to leave the peasantry alone in the enjoyment of its habits, customs and beliefs. The author referred to the French-Canadian peasantry by its stereotypical name: Jean-Baptiste: "Laissez à Jean-Baptiste son culte, sa chaumière et surtout la langue de ses ancêtres, empêchez l'envahissement de ces précieux apanages et JB vous laissera sans les envier le sceptre du pouvoir et la balance de la justice. Garantissez-lui la tranquilité sur la ferme de son père, et il laissera le cours de ses fleuves à vos navires, il laissera à vos marchands le soin de pourvoir à ses besoins et d'aller au loin chercher un superflu..."[94] Respect the farmer and his ways, leave him to hold on to his beliefs and customs and in return he will let the middle classes pursue riches, power and status.

For many concerned French Canadians it was becoming crucial to ensure that the peasantry be left alone by a bourgeoisie that could corrupt it. Farmers needed to be protected in order that a past when mortals lived in harmony with nature not be completely lost. It was critical to maintain a society where family ties were unchanged and valued in the face of the rapidly changing sociability of the new elites. In the eyes of some elite members of society, the peasantry was to remain unchanged. Their idea of that peasantry came to symbolize the essence of French-Canadianess in the face of an increasingly English modernity.

French and English Canadians refined their ethnic identities by contrasting one's virtue to the other's corruption. They followed each other's lead in doing this and gained much psychological reinforcement in the contrast. They accused each other of flaunting their superiority first and, as Hughes Heney remarked to Jacques Viger, the opposition between them did much to reinforce each community's

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[93] - La Minerve, 9 Décembre 1834.

[94] - Le Fantasque, 16 Juin 1838.

internal unity and cohesion.[95] This type of interaction reinforced each's sense of distinctiveness and widened the gap between them.

[95] - MG24 L8 M8, Ma Saberdache Bleue, H.Heney à Jacques Viger, 15 Février 1821.

4) ETHNICITY AND RELIGION

By the 1830s the Catholic Church was moving towards a greater orthodoxy in the face of liberal forces that threatened its temporal and moral territories. In 1832 Pope Gregory XVI issued the Encyclical Mirari Vos that reaffirmed the church's separateness from the corruption of the material world.[96] The message was heard loud and clear by clerical authorities who witnessed various modern individuals spreading ideas of liberty, education and human worth that eroded traditional ties. As a result, education became the focus of intense debates. Since it changed the self, education had to be carefully monitored so that the peasantry could be given the tools to improve within its sphere without changing it to the point of corruption. By 1837, The Bishop of Montreal, Monseigneur Lartigue, was convinced that education was a double-edged sword and recommended that it respect the nature of the peasantry and disassociate itself from knowledge that made the individual rapacious and greedy: "L'éducation de l'homme", he asserted, "ne pouvait consister à le réduire à l'industrialisme, à la recherche de l'or, au pur matériel."[97] Furthermore, Lartigue surmised, modern education by lay individuals or by priests "...blessait les droits sacrés des parents sur le mode d'éducation de leurs enfants"[98] and attacked the Providential right of the parents to oversee the upbringing of their children. Modern education was thus pitted against the moral and divine nature of family ties and values. The one was corrupting, the other virtuous. The one commercial, the other agricultural. Materialism stood against morality.[99]

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[96] - See Anne Fremantle, The Papal Encyclicals in their historical context, New York: New American Library, 1956. P.126.

[97] - Jean-Jacques Lartigue, Un ami du Peuple, 27 Mars 1837. Cited in Gilles Chaussé, Jean-Jacques Lartigue, P.160.

[98] - La Gazette de Québec, Novembre 1833.

[99] - Revealing of the ultramontane reaction to the ideas of the Enlightenment was the canonization, in 1881, of Benoit L'Arbre, the only eighteenth century figure to be elevated to sainthood. A poor, wandering ascetic, Benoit lived in absolute poverty and destitution spending his entire life walking from one holy place to another throughout Continental Europe. He made do without the 'masks of modernity'. The French bourgeoisie who lived in the age of 'soap, light and water' and had washed from itself the traces of a pre-civilized era was appalled. French observers played on the well-known idiom 'mort en état de grâce' and declared him 'mort en état de crasse.'

Eventually the religious view of modernity and the secular-ethnic view of English modernity coalesced into a notion that associated English Protestantism with the corruption of French Catholics.[100] In 1843, N.D.J. Jeaumenne published a long poem in La Minerve inspired by an article published in the Courier des Etats Unis entitled "Raison du Catholicisme et du Protestantisme." Referring to the 'English' - no matter what was his country of origin - the poem went on:

L'un froid calculateur, trafique, boit et mange:
Son temple c'est la bourse et son CREDO, le change.
Point de rêves si doux, point d'innocens plaisirs;
L'argent et le CONFORT absorbent ses désirs
Sans guide et sans mentor, en lisant l'écriture,
Souvent à sa cervelle il fait une fissure:
Heureux, quand il n'en sort qu'une religion ,
Nouveau sujet de trouble et de division![101]

By the Victorian era, Englishness and Protestantism were linked in a single vision. The English pursued wealth methodically and relentlessly and were entirely blinded and deceived by the false sense of worth money extended to the rich. Fundamentally Protestant, they discarded moral guidance to interpret the written word and ended up with a multiplicity of factions and individual interpretations which revealed the self-serving side of their faith, its artificiality and its relativism. As a people, they sought to conquer the world by appealing to the lowest instincts of humankind and creating an imperialism of monied pleasure that enslaved as assuredly as did the despots of an other age. Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau spoke of England's worldwide imperialism in ways that underlined the peaceful nature of the new domination as well as its pernicious nature. Enraptured by their passions for luxury, individuals could not or would not shed the chains that blissfully corrupted them:

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[100] - Catholics and Anglicans had reached an accommodation of sorts after the Quebec Act of 1774. While they jealously guarded their spheres of authority, they had worked out a peaceful arrangement. However, the situation changed with the arrival of American evangelists whose strong anti-Catholic rhetoric surprised some and dismayed others. By the late twenties the tensions had intensified considerably and a perceptible retrenchment into orthodoxy could be perceived in both camps. Very little historiographical documentation exists on the frictions between evangelicalism and Catholicism in Lower Canada during this period even though they considerably heightened the tension between Protestants and Catholics. The religious tensions between modern Catholics and orthodox ones are documented in Gilles Chaussé's Jean-Jacques Lartigue and in Yvan Lamonde's Louis-Antoine Dessaulles: Un seigneur libéral et anticlérical, Québec: Fides, 1994.

[101] - La Minerve, 18 Mai 1843.

Tes combats sont finis, ton arme désormais,
Sur les deux océans, ton arme c'est la paix,
Cette paix adorée,
Qui livre à tes calculs aux chiffres monstrueux
Le monde esclave fier d'un joug voluptueux
D'une chaîne dorée.[102]

The universalizing modernity of England was peaceful but it was no less corrupt than the ancient age of the belligerent monarchs. Indeed, according to Chauveau, man may never have been so blissfully corrupted as he was now, chained, as he was, to his worldly pleasures. This picture of English-Protestant modernity reinforced the morality of French Canadians who, in their pastoral landscapes, went about protecting their laws, customs, language and traditions while refusing to engage worldliness and its corruption.

In a related vein, John Fleming painted a particularly eloquent portrait of the typical 'Anglo-American' labourer by contrasting it to the French Catholic one. The contrast revealed more than a circumstantial connection between the 'British Protestant' character and modernity. It presented a character that was modernity without the attendant corruption that an association with worldly goods produced.

> When an American Labourer has an opportunity of saving...a moderate sum...he will alone, and unaided by associates venture into the forest and make a home there, contending against all the difficulties of incipient settlement. He always looks forward, calculating and contriving his means of conquering the wilds and extending the circle of calculation. His enjoyment is chiefly in anticipating the consequences of his industry; and he perseveres from youth to old age, in reflecting in the past, and speculating in the future, rather than enjoying the present hour. These habits, which partly belong also to the other branches of the great British Family, form an interesting contrast to those of the French Canadians who present the characteristics of an old and corrupted society, in a new country, requiring the vigilance of priests and the power of Feudal Superiors to keep them in order, and prevent them from becoming [as] wild as the aborigines of the Country.[103]

Fleming's observation that the Anglo-American's "enjoyment is chiefly in anticipating the consequences of his industry" encapsulated rather well the way in which a discourse of self-interest directed at the pursuit of worldly goods could be turned into a discourse of otherworldly virtue. A typical British labourer could

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[102] - Cited in Yolande Grisé et Jeanne D'Arc Lortie, Les Textes Poétiques du Canada Français, 1838-1849, Vol.4, Québec, Fides, 1991, P.863. The poem was originally published in La Revue Canadienne, 6 Juin 1848.

[103] - Fleming, Political Annals of Lower Canada; being a review of the political and legislative History of that Province, P.96. Emphasis mine.

delay gratification forever rejoicing in the effort he put forward rather than in the result he obtained. In this type of analysis self-interested pursuit led more to denial than gratification and could even pass for otherworldly virtue. In some measure anticipating Weber, John Fleming was inserting into the discourse of Canadian modernity a component that belonged to puritanism and that signalled that the modern age could be virtuous in an orthodox Christian way while entirely engaged in the pursuit of worldly things.

Fleming defined the Protestant-British self as against the profligate and corrupt self of French-Papists. Their profligate ways, their superstitious beliefs, their inability to be rational about the pursuit of their interests and their propensity to act in terms of carpe diem was completely at odds with the moral modernity the British were making. The assimilation Fleming proposed would erase them forever and pave the way for English Protestant commercial salvation in Canada.

At a time when ultramontane Catholicism increasingly rejected materialism and secular gratification and reinforced the importance of denial as a way of avoiding the corruption brought by worldly goods, modern Protestantism proposed a manner of engaging the goods of the earth without bringing individual corruption. The irony was that both creeds hinged their moral superiority on the same key Christian otherworldly notion - the denial of the impulse towards acquiring worldly goods - but ended up preaching opposite behaviours to their followers.

There was something more substantial than mere appearances in the religious and cultural baggage an individual carried during his or her lifetime; something that clung closer to the skin than clothes and was far more difficult to shed. Those who shared this baggage enjoyed an immediate sociability with each other; a sociability that did not require rational planning and choice, something that signified an effortless closeness. Sharing a cultural baggage facilitated relationships between individuals of different social rank and reputation. To some extent, it levelled distinctions acquired as a result of individual pursuits and overlooked the type of human worth they conveyed. To many, collective homogeneity appeared a more stable feature of modern man than individual talent and the acquisition of property. Based on intangibles and acquired without effort, one's culture seemed a far more natural and moral condition than the taking on of the artificial characteristics involved in pursuing self-interest and enacting human will. In many ways,

it took on the appearance and the vocabulary of otherworldliness.

In his The Affairs of the Canadas published in 1837, Egerton Ryerson sought to establish the legitimate claim of the English Protestant born on Canadian soil. Part of his argument rested on the belief that in the Canadas, the French and the English carried an inherent hatred for each other inherited from their fathers and grandfathers. The division, then, was not newly-minted or a modern mask that could be shed but part of the inclinations that both groups carried in their genes forever. In writing this, he was echoing a thought that had appeared in an article printed in the Patriot newspaper La Minerve in February 1832.[104] Indeed, by the thirties, people were reinterpreting their histories teasing out the irreducible incompatibility of the two ethnic groups. In searching for harmony outside the values proposed by the Enlightenment, some English and French Canadians examined each other through categories of cultural and religious particularities and cast the identities they found in the Christian language of virtue and transparency pitted against corruption and artificiality. They each built identities based on cultural homogeneity born 'in the blood' and spoke the same discourse. But since each cultural group assigned virtue to itself and corruption to the other, they became incommunicable because of it.

Early nineteenth century Canadians sought to specify a 'national' identity. One vision was founded on Enlightenment principles of human worth and subordinated the cultural individual. Another foregrounded ethnicity and subsumed the individual identity. These two views coexisted throughout the first part of the century. The result was ambivalence and an inability to reach a consensus about what, in fact, the 'Canadian' was.

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[104] - Egerton Ryerson, The Affairs of the Canadas, London, J. King, 1837, P.22.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SCIENCE OF HISTORY

Like other modernizing societies, the Canadas gave themselves a history. Historical commentators and amateur historians discussed its purpose and its form, for no modern history could be talked about without a related discussion of the rules that guided it. They emphasized the scientific grounding of the tales they told by contrasting the treatment of their subject with the treatment of other literary genres such as the novel and poetry. If nothing else, the discussions showed that, in the mind of the scientifically-oriented, the modern division of labour brought with it a widening gap in the perception of written works of art and written works of science. Commentators claimed that the differences could be found in the personal training and commitment of authors as well as in the works they produced. In step with European historians, they presented history as a scientific discipline that spoke of their modernity. While they were not innovators, they demonstrated their knowledge of the major patterns of historical unfolding as they existed at the time and showed how the cyclical, the linear and the patternless could be utilized to highlight the identities of Canadians.

1) THE SCIENCE OF WRITING HISTORY

In early nineteenth century Lower Canada, history writing necessitated the possession of a specialized knowledge and the perfection of particular talents. Modern commentators emphasized their claims in this respect by distinguishing history from literary and aesthetic endeavours. By the same token, they signalled that the pursuit of the arts and the pursuit of the sciences were two very different endeavours. History and poetry might be equally based in curiosity ("a passion inherent to the human mind" as one commentator put it) but their goals differed significantly. "Poetry", that commentator added, "is adapted to amuse the fancy, to exalt the imagination and to move the passions rather than to inform the understanding."[1] Poetry entertained, a worthy cause in itself, but one that paled compared to the goal of history that directed enquiry "...to real improvement and lead us to the knowledge of mankind." Poetical works gratified the senses and fulfilled immediate emotional needs but history satisfied more sophisticated human wants and contributed to their perfectibility over the long run. It addressed itself to those profound and serious questions that engaged the mind rather than the body. Like the poet, the novelist was not bound by the natural world and its rules when he created imaginary sites; the characters and descriptions he provided were "...fictitious, and romance like poetry is only an effusion of the imagination... History, on the contrary, relates the actions of men who have really existed and shews what they have suffered, and what they have done. History represents them as they really are or have been. The former, like poetry, paints from fancy, the latter draws from nature."[2] By the early nineteenth century, then, the development of the arts and the sciences and the division of labour it entailed had created a gap between the two literary genres. One was not bound by rules, openly artificial and representative, the other drew from the laws of nature and did not alter it. One was shallow and somewhat trivial, the other serious and useful. "We prefer", as one writer put it, "the substantial realities of a virtuous education, of prudent habits and useful learning to the evanescent and fanciful colourings of modern polite literature...we shall always respect the

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[1] - The Quebec Mercury, 18 April 1808.

[2] - Ibid.

labours of the moralist, the historian, and the traveller before the superstructures of fancy or the brilliant meteors of wit."[3] Canadian commentators and amateur historians thus distinguished scientifically-written history whose goal was to recover the real and the natural from the literary genres that embodied contingent features such as the artificial and the fictional.

If modern historical writing differed from fiction and poetry, it was also unlike the superstitions and divinations that passed for historical analysis in the past. He who analyzed the past "with the calculating spirit of the sage who draws his inferences from his knowledge of the nature of man" differed significantly, according to one commentator, from the "Roman Augur who examines the entrails of a beast or the flight of a bird..."[4] Canadian historians were following in the footsteps of European scientific traditions that distinguished between notions that were recovered by empirical research and those that were divined; the latter being presented as the lot of less developed societies that had not made science the base for enquiry into things and who still sought meaning in the supernatural. A scientific analysis of the past did away with the interpretations that incorporated, according to François-Xavier Garneau, "le merveilleux, les prodiges et toute fantasmagorie" that were the interpretations of choice of less civilized nations.[5] It undermined the notion that God, for some, and Fortune, for others, played a leading role in the destiny of humans.[6]

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[3] - "Introduction", The Canadian Magazine, No.1, Vol.1, 1823, P.7.

[4] - The Quebec Mercury, 3 April 1809.

[5] - François-Xavier Garneau, Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours, 3 tomes, Québec: N. Aubin, 1845, tome 1, P.9.

[6] - A believer in natural philosophy, John Rolph asserted that the order of the natural world demonstrated without a doubt the hand of Providence and proved that chance had nothing to do in the matter. John Rolph, Address of the Honourable Dr. John Rolph delivered before the Faculty and Students of Medicine of the University of Victoria College, Toronto: T.H. Bentley, 1855, P.8. During the Middle-Ages and the Renaissance, it was commonplace to attribute the outcome of wars to Fortune. As ruler of the destinies of men, Fortune decided the fate of empires. In the civic tradition, the Republic endured only as long as citizens fended off the impulse to acquire her gifts. Scientific history removed Fortune as the primary explanation for victory or defeat. Lower Canadian historians followed suit and charted in great detail the battles of the Conquest and of the war of 1812, retracing the causality at play in the actions of men. However, Fortune remained an acceptable poetical figure of speech. Jean-Jacques Loranger used it in his 1843 poem entitled 'L'Artisan' that dealt, in part, with the Conquest. Lines 53 to 56 read:

Québec est le témoin d'une lutte sanglante,
La Fortune longtemps partage les succès,
Mais sur la fin du jour la Victoire inconstante,

Altogether, modern history had a totally different goal than poetry, fiction and divination. It sought the truth, according to Lower Canadian historian and poet Michel Bibaud: "C'est la vérité que l'on cherche et que l'on doit trouver dans l'histoire; elle est faite pour instruire, et le mensonge ne peut jamais être par lui-même un objet d'instruction: on l'admet dans les poèmes et dans les romans."[7] To poetry and novels' beautiful lies and fanciful representations was opposed a written history that modeled itself so closely on reality that it no longer appeared to nineteenth century men to be a representation of it. This was possible because history fashioned itself on reality without distorting it and relied on rules drawn from natural laws to guide the search and present the results. According to François-Xavier Garneau, history had become over the last fifty years "...une science analytique rigoureuse" that rejected everything that could not submit to the most stringent scientific scrutiny and so put aside "...tout ce qui ne porte pas en soi le cachet de la vérité."[8] Their empiricism led nineteenth century historians to the recovery of reality and the truth.[9] Unlike other literary endeavours, their works were not creations emanating from an author's imagination, but faithful depictions of reality: they produced representations that were in complete harmony with the 'realities' they assessed.

In keeping with the demands of their craft, modern historians adopted a style that was sober and less emotional than poetry or novels. At times, noted Christie, the search for impartiality made for "heavy and uninteresting" reading. Indeed, the historian had to match his style to his subject because his duty was to recover "facts of history...not of romance, and the gravity belonging to it, must not be lost sight of."[10] Accordingly, modern history would be written in a prose that distinguished it from writings that called for

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A fait triompher les Anglais.

[7] - "Preuves de l'histoire", Magazin du Bas-Canada, Tome I, No.1, Janvier 1832, P.5.

[8] - Garneau, Histoire du Canada, tome 1, P.9.

[9] - David Thompson, History of the Late War between Great Britain and the United States of America; With a retrospective view of the causes from whence it originated, Niagara, Upper Canada: T. Sewell, 1832, P.VI.

[10] - Robert Christie, A History of the Late Province of Lower Canada, Parliamentary and Political, from the commencement to the close of its existence as a separate province, five volumes, Quebec: T. Cary & Co., 1848, volume I, P.165.

immediate, emotional and short-term attention. Historians, then, ignored the forms and styles used by novelists and journalists whose prose, according to Michel Bibaud, was full of emotional declarations that certainly could not act as guide to reflective thought. He further noted that, since the blossoming of the popular press, authors had neglected the pamphlet as a mode of enquiry that led itself to carefully constructed and reasoned argumentation.[11] Nineteenth century Canadian historians seeking the kind of style that would be appropriate to the writing of history, elected to adopt one that would reflect the nature of the enterprise. They would harmonize form and substance: the type of writing adopted would match the seriousness of the work and appear less obtrusive, and therefore less recognizable as a style, to the reader.

Their 'realism', however, closely matched an element in the style of other writers. Like historians, novelists at the time prided themselves in presenting a 'true' picture of reality in their fictionalized accounts. They relied heavily on a careful rendering of detail to bring to the attention of their readers events and situations they found alarming.[12]

History writing was seen as a particularly effective way of establishing causal links in human affairs. In those affairs, as elsewhere, the laws of nature functioned recognizably through the kind of causality that science had brought to light. In looking at the recent Canadian past to explain the causes of the rebellions, Robert Christie could thus set out to trace "...the matters alluded to throughout their progress, from cause to effect and from origin to result."[13] Under the cool gaze of the trained observer, matters of fact were

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[11] - Michel Bibaud, Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens sous la Domination Anglaise, Montréal: Lovell et Gibson, 1844, P.310.

[12] - François-Réal Angers published in 1837 Les Révélations du Crime, a pamphlet that was translated in English and republished in 1869. Angers had witnessed first hand the trial and sentencing of a group of criminals that had terrorized the countryside for two years. Largely based on the testimony of a key witness, Angers recreated the events as factually as possible. The work explored the motives of each man and the private and public circumstances that lead him to a life of crime. Importantly, however, the work intended to raise public awareness about the state of the prisons, a concern shared by all reformers at the time. Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau published Charles Guérin in 1846 and Antoine Gérin-Lajoie published Jean Rivard in the 1850s, two novels deploring the lack of openings in commerce and in the profession of law for ambitious young French Canadians. Etienne Parent would make this the theme of one of his most important speeches regarding the importance of work.

[13] - Christie, A History of the late Province, vol.I, P.III.

knowable and constituted the means by which humans could investigate "...the motives of human conduct and [acquire] a knowledge of mankind."[14] Given the proper methodology, history stood on the same footing as other sciences and helped recover the exact topography of the mind. To Charles Mondelet, history opened "le domaine des expériences humaines"[15] to the scrutiny of those who looked for the meaning of things beyond what they appeared to mean. As another commentator made clear, scientific knowledge enabled man to penetrate "the darkest and most intricate recesses of history, and [to lay] open to our view the transactions of man in every age."[16] The motives of men and rulers were revealed when judicious persons used scientific analysis to "..pénétrer les motifs qui font agir telles ou telles nations de telle ou telle manière."[17] Motives that were hidden to actors and spectators of the past were now recoverable by modern historians who lifted the veils of time and deceit and provided readers with an accurate picture of what had really taken place. Modern historians thought they could unveil the intent of the dead and read between the lines of their lives. The portrait they would paint would be even more real than the events and actions had been for past actors because historians would not stop at "the representations of the reality" but would look directly at "reality itself."[18] They would, then, present a picture that so faithfully matched the naked truth that it would be undistinguishable from it. For many nineteenth century commentators and historians, the modern and scientific writing of history was a discipline that recovered the past with such precision that it simply could not be referred to in the language of the artificial. The notion of history as a representation - a mask - was lost to them.[19]

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[14] - The Quebec Mercury, 25 April 1808.

[15] - Cited in Gosselin, Le docteur Labrie, P.14.

[16] - "Introduction", The Canadian Magazine, P.2.

[17] - Quote attributed to M.L. Plamondon in 1807 and cited in Le Répertoire national, volume 1, P.93.

[18] - "Introduction", P.4.

[19] - Only François Blanchet seemed to doubt the ability of the moderns to recapture the past faithfully. In an insightful passage, he remarked that men altered over time in ways that would make it impossible for them to comprehend a past with which they no longer had anything in common. As a consequence, humans could only understand the past through the prisms particular to their time. Blanchet, Recherches, P.179.

To succeed, however, the endeavour required more than a methodology and knowledge of the laws of nature. It necessitated a personal commitment to impartiality in order that the truths uncovered not be distorted. It demanded, according to Robert Christie, that the historian gain an amount of self-knowledge and self-evaluation sufficient to mute personal beliefs and prejudices. The historian, he said, "...gives no version purely his own, of any of the important public matters submitted to his reader...He has endeavoured to guard himself against his own prepossessions and prejudices neither approving not condemning...and to confine himself within the province of a faithful pioneer of history recording the things good or evil."[20] Fully aware of his limitations, of his "prepossessions and prejudices", the historian took care not to let his passions and his imagination dictate his analysis so that his work remained "one of narration and not creation."[21] The historian adhered to the truths revealed without introducing personal notions alien to the subject; to do so, wrote Bibaud, would "denature" the science of history.[22] Tainting the narrative with personal prejudice would alter the reality of the past and provide an inaccurate picture of it. With this in mind, David Thompson sought to set the record straight when he wrote the history of the war of 1812 to correct the impressions left by the accounts of American historians who had showed no inclination to curtail their national prejudices and "placed every circumstances regarding that contest in a favorable view as respect to their country."[23] To counteract this state of affairs, Thompson hoped to "lay the truth before his readers" so that British youths could "feel proud of their ancestors and their country."[24] To American lies, Thompson would oppose a British truth.

Judging and evaluating events in an impartial manner was the result of an improved and perfected human mind, Garneau surmised; it was the proof that modern individuals had achieved a level of sophistication that enabled them to weigh things and events according to recognizable standards. In his

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[20] - Robert Christie, A History of the late Province, vol.I, P.IV.

[21] - Ibid., P.17.

[22] - Bibaud, "Preuves de l'histoire", P.5.

[23] - Thompson, History of the late War, P.V.

[24] - Ibid, P.VI-VII.

words, it was "la plus grande preuve que l'on puisse fournir du perfectionnement graduel des institutions sociales."[25] An individual's ability to distance himself from his prejudices and adhere to a set of pre-established rules in order to unveil the truths in the past spoke of an advanced level of civilization and modernization.[26] Producing individuals capable of writing such a history and having such a history written about one's society attested to its modernity. It bore witness to a nation's ability to examine and pass impartial judgements on itself and showed it to be conscious of its presence in historical time. Canadian historians were beginning to talk about the discipline of history as if it was one of the essential components of any modern identity. Without it, a society could not prove beyond a doubt that it had made the passage from the pre-modern state.[27]

In fact, the modern historian displayed a 'modern' orientation when he subjected himself to the rules that responsible oratory and journalism imposed on those who practiced these crafts and, like them, he found that any deviation from a commitment to impartiality negated the public usefulness of his work. "Le journaliste, l'orateur, l'historien, qui, loin de chercher à réprimer, à modérer du moins la fougue des jeunes gens, chercherait à l'exciter, nous paraîtrait manquer essentiellement à son devoir public."[28] For Christie, Garneau and Bibaud, historians were far from perfect beings. They, like the people they studied, were subject to prejudices and passions that clouded their vision; but self-knowledge and the ability to check their own passions - and a good grasp of the rules of history-writing - made it possible to act as impartial spectator-recorders of the past.[29] They could rid it of the inaccuracies and the deceptions that more

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[25] - Garneau, Histoire du Canada, tome 1, P.10.

[26] - Thompson thought that national prejudices were sentiments "confined to the lowest order of men." History of the Late War, P.17.

[27] - Lord Durham's remark about French Canadians constituting a people without a history added weight to his analysis of them as a pre-modern society without the arts and the sciences of modernity and therefore unable, on their own, to become modern. Only assimilation to the modern English population would enable them to make the passage.

[28] - Bibaud, Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens sous la domination Anglaise, P.306.

[29] - One feature of this impartiality consisted in quoting official sources. Christie, A History of the late Province, P.IV and Garneau, Histoire du Canada, P.6, Thompson, History of the Late War, P.VI.

interested parties selfishly brought to the subject. They could, as Isidore Lebrun put it, rid the record of arbitrariness.[30] The histories they produced could then act as checks to the writings and memories of men who did not possess the necessary detachment to weigh their actions, words and memories because of their involvement in the matters discussed.[31] Their words served their self-interest. The words of historians served the greater good.

Scientifically-written histories anchored the past in ways that finally made it stable and certain since written records replaced the failing and untrustworthy memories of men.[32] They certainly prevented a return to the tale-telling associated with "a state of uncivilized nature" that had made it possible for "tradition [to] assume her fabulous and precarious history"[33] and to act as "un art conservateur": they managed, that is, to produce work that conserved knowledge in ways that prevented individuals and nations from returning to a pre-civilized state.[34] For another commentator, modern histories ensured that what had happened could be read by others later on.[35] That way, humans could share the same knowledge about their past and so be drawn "nearer together in the bonds of unanimity."[36] Always concerned about the unity of individuals in commercial societies, commentators presented scientifically-written histories as bodies of knowledge that were stable and enduring and that provided strangers with a bond. Favoured as the reading of choice to form the minds of and educate the young, modern history helped to unite the many unrelated

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[30] - Isidore Lebrun, Tableau Statistique, P.7.

[31] - Both Garneau and Christie had been intimately involved in the events leading to the rebellions and both sought to explain the reasons behind the conflict. As historians they were compelled to tell readers that their accounts of those years would be handled as impartially as the accounts that preceded their involvement political affairs.

[32] - L'Aurore, 17 Mars 1817.

[33] - "Montreal", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.I, No.I, 1823, P.9. They prevented the return to ferae naturae. "On Commercial Education", Ibid., P.8.

[34] - Le Canadien, 17 Octobre 1807.

[35] - François Blanchet wrote of his own medical research that confining oneself to rigorous scientific laws protected discoveries from "...les injures du temps qui détruit tout." Blanchet, Recherches, P.XVI.

[36] - "On the Influence of Literature", The Canadian Magazine, Vol. II, No.II, January 1824, P.15. M.L. Plamondon also believed in the power of history to foster a modern sociability.

self-interested individuals who composed a nation.

Nineteenth century historians such as Bibaud, Garneau and Christie published their histories in order to set the record straight regarding the causes of the 1837-1838 rebellions and contribute to a rapprochement between divided individuals and communities. Seeing themselves as agents of unity, all three blamed the press for inflaming national prejudices and, in the process, presented works of history as checks on a very volatile newspaper journalism. They also blamed the flare-ups on the feverish atmosphere created by young men blinded by their passions, something that mature historians who had mastered their craft were able to control.

A free press was a tribute to civilized societies, wrote Michel Bibaud, but the Lower Canadian one had degenerated into licence. For one thing, French-language newspapers in Lower Canada reflected the same viewpoint. "Le journalisme en langue française", he continued, "était pour ainsi dire, en une même main, mue par le même mecanisme dirigée vers le même but."[37] The press lacked the impartiality necessary to present all sides of a story and was delinquent in checking one viewpoint against another. In addition, it sustained all the pretensions of the majority of the Assembly and had become its mouthpiece.[38] For its part, the English press had acted in like manner, reflecting the thoughts and the emotions of the Executive to the exclusion of all else. Instead of presenting several points of view and mediating public opinion, the Lower Canadian press fuelled the conflict. Its stories no longer reflected reality and had become a tool of division and disorder.[39] This left the public without the tools necessary to make informed judgements and deprived moderate men of their voice. "Pour réprimer, régler l'enthousiasme des jeunes gens, diminuer la violence des partis, les hommes modérés n'avaient point d'organe public." A fettered press discarded talent and genius, concluded Michel Bibaud, and led to a

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[37] - Michel Bibaud, Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens sous la Domination Anglaise, P.288.

[38] - Ibid., P.290.

[39] - According to Bibaud, stories in the late 1820s were so alarmist that American newspaper editors dispatched reporters to the colony only to find the countryside quiet and at peace as usual. Ibid., P.290.

"despotisme sur la pensée."[40] As a historian, Bibaud was setting the record straight about the period in ways that contrasted the volatility of a public press with the stability of historical research. In more indirect ways, he was also contrasting the maturity and moderation of the historian with the passion and intemperance of young men, who "en passant les bornes de la modération et de la prudence" erred and induced others into straying.[41] Young men, he concluded, certainly were the hope of the nation; they were not, however, its best counsel.[42] Better to rely on mature historians to get a more sober picture conducive to reflection and discussion instead of falling prey to the potent brew of press and politics that affected the sociability of the population and made interaction among strangers that much more difficult.

François-Xavier Garneau wrote much the same thing about the times that preceded the rebellions. He blamed "la polémique des journeaux" that increased in violence thereby replicating the passions and hatred found in public speeches.[43] The English press was particularly insulting to French inhabitants, something that contributed to the spiralling reaction of the younger members in the Assembly. In turn, they brought to the debate "leurs idées exagérées" and excited to a frenzy their leaders who needed to be restrained rather than encouraged into hazardous pursuits.(D'autres hazards.)

For his part, Robert Christie assimilated what was happening to his understanding of the way the transition to modernity was to be seen: as moving through subsistence agriculture to commercial enterprise. He blamed the press for shifting attention away from this 'natural' process and ascribing the clash to ethnicities. So far, in Canada, the press, far from checking parties and factions, "had scattered abroad the seeds of discontent, destroyed harmony, produced disunion and division between fellow subjects, on the idle score of their different origin and of language, fomented party spirit, agitated and arrayed the people

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[40] - Ibid., P.307.

[41] - Ibid., P.306.

[42] - Commentators in the first half of the nineteenth century had an ambivalent view of youth. On the one hand youths had the energy necessary to fight for change; on the other hand, they had not yet learned to control their passions and act in a rational and self-interested manner.

[43] - Garneau, Histoire du Canada, troisième édition, 1859, P.245.

in masses against each other..."[44] Like Bibaud and Garneau, Christie accused the press of destroying the sociability that united modern strangers of various ethnic origins. Le Canadien and The Quebec Mercury and the factions they supported had fostered the idea that the opposition was cultural while, in truth, it was a conflict "...between commercial and agricultural interests."[45] In the hands of factions, the press appealed to the least sophisticated part of modern men; it called on those prejudices and emotions that existed in all humans, but that civilized behaviours and learning automatically overcame. The writing of history, however, could reveal the natural causes that were in play and move the debate on to higher more civilized grounds. It could recover the veiled patterns that ruled humankind beyond the deceiving display of the passions.

Since written history revealed general truths, findings about the past could be used to sustain interpretations of recent events. Canadian commentators referred to the history of past societies in order to make their claims in a more natural and less openly contrived manner. They used history as proof. The history of Rome was a case in point. Denis-Benjamin Viger used that history in his 1809 pamphlet to demonstrate that efforts to extinguish the use of the French language, manners and customs were not only misguided but also dangerous. To make his argument, he relied on the proof that the histories of Carthagena, Greece and Rome provided. Having conquered Greece, Carthagena attempted to erase all traces of Greek culture. Its customs and language were forbidden and Greek texts and study were outlawed; but far from strengthening Carthegena's hold, this made Greece one of its most resolved, dangerous and irreconcilable enemies.[46] Carthagena's reign was shortlived. Rome's legacy, however, was

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[44] - Christie, A History of the Late Province, vol.I, P.311-312. Blaming the press and a volatile public opinion was also the explanation of choice for another historian who documented the stress between the Assembly and the Councils. See Joseph-François Perrault, Abrégé de l'Histoire du Canada, 5 volumes, Québec, P.& W. Ruthven, 1832, volume 4, P.162.

[45] - Ibid., vol.1, P.314. Christie repeated his analysis in volume 3. "Much of the evils in which Lower Canada has been involved, is attributable to the injudicious and mischievous writings of political partizans on both sides, who, having obtained possession of the press, and appealing to national prejudices and antipathies...have unhappily produced a feeling which time and good government only can thoroughly remove." Volume 3, P.353.

[46] - Viger, Considérations, P.6.

a different story. Rome thrived by allowing those it conquered the customs, language and manners of their ancestors. Reminding his English readers that Great Britain oftentimes likened itself to the Roman empire, Viger underlined that the Romans had been enlightened rulers and that their empire had grown because it understood the importance of conciliating those it conquered by encouraging the development of indigenous cultures.[47] For David Chisholme, however, Rome endured and grew for exactly the opposite reasons. In his 1832 pamphlet, Chisholme explored the feasibility of electing Canadians to the British House of Commons. He supported his claim that this be done by comparing the extension to the British colonial family of the right to be involved in metropolitan institutions to the actions of the Roman empire. "In a spirit of liberal and enlightened policy worthy of the general imitation of modern nations", Chisholme argued, the Romans "progressively extended the language, the laws, and privileges of the metropolis to all the inhabitants of the empire."[48] Chisholme drew a lesson from history which was quite different from that Viger took from it; however, their invocation of the past rested on a similar faith in its power to guide action in the present.

Another competing interpretation centred on the troubled history of seventeenth century England. For Louis Bourdages, the conflict between King and Parliament arose over the right to vote the revenues and represented exemplary resistance to executive power.[49] John Fleming took a dim view of such assessments when used to bolster the claims of the elected majority in the Lower Canadian House of Assembly. He pointed out that when Le Canadien had "ransacked" the history of the decline and fall of the Stuarts, it must have noted the anti-Catholic context of the resistance. "In Great Britain", he wrote, "the great majority of the population being Protestants, had used certain means and arguments to resist and banish Popish rulers." In failing to notice this, said Fleming, the Lower Canadian "papists" who drew a

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[47] - Ibid.

[48] - David Chisholme, Observations on the Rights of the British Colonies to Representation in the Imperial Parliament, Three-Rivers: G. Sobbs, 1832, P.98.

[49] - Bourdages, Adresse à tous les électeurs, P.12. The right to vote the civil list weighed heavily in the politics of Lower Canada and references to seventeenth century English resolve in this regard were frequent. This question was surveyed in Gilles Paquet and Jean-Pierre Wallot, Patronage et pouvoir dans le Bas Canada, 1794-1812, Montréal: Presses de l'Université du Québec à Montréal, 1973.

parallel between the two situations "...veiled from their dupes the important consideration that the French Canadians, though impolitically concentrated by a conquering power into a separate people, were nevertheless, in law and in fact, a weak dependency of a powerful Empire whose government was essentially Protestant."[50] Fleming was pointing out the problem of citing examples out of their proper context; resistance to Executive power in the seventeenth century could only be understandable if placed in the context of a Protestant resistance to Catholic tyranny. French Catholics could not twist the argument in ways that accommodated their pretensions against English Protestants. As modern commentators, Viger, Chisholme, Bourdages and Fleming set out to appropriate the past in ways that sustained their contemporary claims. In the end, the use they made of history revealed much about the situation in which they lived and little about the past societies to which they referred.

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[50] - John Fleming, A Political Annals of Lower Canada, P.122.

2) THE CYCLICAL

Greece and Rome patterned their histories on the cycle. Following the immutable patterns of nature - day followed by night, seasonal changes and birth, life and death - societies rose, declined and fell. The Romans attributed to Fortune's whim the choice of which society would rise to prominence. Acting without reason, Fortune favoured some and neglected others. The only certain thing about the process was that once bound to Fortune's wheel, a society would rise, reach its apex and fall, its historical destiny inescapable. If they were armed with virtù, citizens of a Republic could forestall their decline for as long as they forsook the temptation of Fortune's worldly gifts. Fame came to those who rode the wheel through its full revolution; societies were remembered because they were elevated to notice and notoriety and gained a measure of fame that endured after their disappearance.[51] The relationship with Fortune was therefore ambivalent: one needed it to attain fame in the eyes of other humans but by the same token, it implicated one in an unstoppable process. J.G.A. Pocock argued that the civic tradition reformulated this discourse and addressed the need for a stable and enduring continuity and the will to acquire a history outside the control of Fortune. Only when citizens of a Republic exercised self-command could they gain the stability necessary to anchor their customs and beliefs and create the institutions necessary to protect them. They had to forsake their 'natural' impulses and operate in terms of the 'historical' traditions, customs and beliefs that were collectively remembered. Republican virtù kept society stable but forced the citizen to regard all changes to forms of government and commerce as corruption.[52] Seventeenth century Puritans christianized the discourse, aligning virtù with the Augustinian denial of worldly things. A republic of Saints and its history endured as long as otherworldly citizens withstood changes to the system of government that private interest brought, thereby escaping cyclical downfall. While the Romans and the Greeks had no

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[51] - Karl Löwith traced this pattern in Greece and Rome. The historical course of societies being known in advance, the ancients developed a historical consciousness that had pre-defined boundaries. The author surveyed the association of the cycle with Fortune in the works of the ancients. Meaning in History, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949, P.8.

[52] - J.G.A. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment, P.466.

other historical consciousness than that of the cycle, pre-modern Republicans gained a real measure of their own existence, past and present, as long as an orthodox Christian morality prevented citizens from indulging their own imperfect humanity. The historical consciousness they gained was predicated on keeping before their eyes, at all times, the dangers of sinful indulgence understood in the classical manner of fortune-corruption.[53]

Another important line of argument saw medieval Christianity rework the Roman tradition and incorporate Fortune as an agent of God's will and Christian salvation to show what was involved in seeking worldly power. That discourse viewed earthly revolutions in a more favorable light, making the notion of the cycle a feature of Providential will.[54] Fortune-induced cyclical changes enabled the individual to gain a greater measure of understanding of the meaning of his existence and seconded his efforts to uncover God's order. However disquieting and unexplainable the cycles were on the surface, a closer examination showed them to fit within the boundaries of Christianity because they provided the impetus to the individual to progress towards his salvation. Over time, the cycle was incorporated into the linear idea of Christian salvation, each revolution marking an accumulation of knowledge and morality that served the next. Christianity's history was the history of perfectible man that engaged earthly life in order to learn from it and grow. From Bacon on, a scientific examination revealed Fortune for the metaphorical expression it was, and it became possible to manipulate the notion in useful ways. The cyclical pattern, then, did not disappear totally from modern linear historical interpretations and was still used to explain the destiny of ancient republics. In addition, judging from the comments of nineteenth century Canadian historians and commentators, cyclical imagery was used in narratives dealing with the end of certain societies and the rise of others, with the overall picture involving a linear pattern of greater human perfectibility and, for some, Christian salvation.

Republics, such as Rome, fell because they became morally corrupt. Or so thought Denis-

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[53] - According to the J.G.A Pocock, American republicanism and British country thought are embedded in the discourse of otherworldly denial. The Machiavellian Moment and particularly chapters XI and XII both entitled "The Anglicization of the Republic".

[54] - See Jerold Frakes, The Fate of Fortune, P.63.

Benjamin Viger. At first, their "austere virtue" preserved Romans from decline, but soon enough, corruption gained ground everywhere. "La solidité des établissements des Romains, l'austère gravité de leurs moeurs les préserva d'abord de la corruption; mais elle gagna bientôt tous les états."[55] Romans fell prey to their passions and pleasures and they plunged to their decline. Individuals sought private satisfaction, something that broke the disinterested ties that united all men: in the general confusion of private pursuits "...tous les liens d'affection qui unissent les hommes en société" were ruptured. Ambition and greed replaced self-denial; men stripped others of their rights and their properties and all social order ceased to exist. Viger used the familiar moral and cyclical interpretation to account for the fall of Rome. As long as Romans kept rejecting the personal pursuit of Fortune's gifts, they could withstand change. But once they softened their resolve, they broke the bonds of citizenship and the cycle resumed its inexorable march. No doubt inspired, in part, by Gibbon, the interpretation was common in the Canadian literature. The fall of Rome, wrote another commentator, happened "...when luxury usurped the seat of learning and degenerated the organic powers of the mind. Rome waned from her glory and became weakened and effeminate."[56] Romans forsook their manly virtue, their self-denial, and became embroiled in the pursuit of Fortune's worldly gifts and in the wearing of her masks. Becoming effeminate, unstable and erratic, they lost the moral glue that held them together and their society disappeared. Canadian commentators, like European ones, used the cyclical pattern in the classical manner to explain the destiny of past Republics. They also utilized the pattern in the case of other types of societies.

Canadian clergymen and lay people extended the cyclical pattern to religions. When Egerton Ryerson addressed an assembly of would-be Methodist ministers, he situated Methodism in relation to Anglicanism and Catholicism. "Systems of religion fundamentally erroneous are falling into decay" to be replaced in the march of times with purer and less worldly religions.[57] But Methodism was not subject to

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[55] - Viger, Considérations, P.8.

[56] - "On the Influence of Literature", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.II, No.VII, January 1824, P.15. The same interpretation can be found in "Introduction", The Canadian Magazine, P.3.

[57] - Ryerson, Wesleyan Methodism, P.VI.

this process: "...it is no other than a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness; united in order to pray together, to watch over one another in love..."[58] A truly otherworldly institution, it would supplant those churches that had succumbed to worldliness like mere mortals. Nothing worldly and deceiving marked the ties that united Methodists; rather their unity came from an absence of worldly possessions.[59]

The Methodists were not the only ones to distinguish between worldly and otherworldly churches and to believe that otherworldly ones were called upon to replace worldly ones. Earlier in the century, Archdeacon Strachan related the history of Christianity in a letter to his pupils. Echoing Catholic assessments, he talked of the corruption in Judaism that had coincided with the birth of Christ. At that time, he wrote, "The sublime principles of the law were covered with innumerable traditions. Ceremony was added to ceremony, till all was shadow and no substance."[60] The Jewish people lost their way when they adopted contingent behaviours and introduced ceremonies catering to the emotions of humans; all that was left were shifting appearances, worldliness and decline. Christianity then rose to take up the march of Christian salvation and history. Juxtaposing Judaism's decline to the corruption brought by worldliness was a useful device to mark the end of Judaism and the rise of Christianity. In 1834, continuing this type of analysis, Bishop Strachan wrote a pamphlet on the occasion of the conversion of the Honorable John Elmsley to Catholicism. He contrasted Protestantism's otherworldly qualities to the worldliness of Catholicism. That religion had become a "gradual accumulation of faith and ceremony under the influence of time and circumstance; it is not the transcript of the Divine Mind exhibited in one harmonious code but a mass which has been formed by circumstance and fashioned by accident, according as necessity or

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[58] - Ibid., P.6.

[59] - The reformer John Rolph was thinking along similar lines when he argued against a plan to award the monies from the sale of Clergy Reserves to four particular churches. These churches, he said, would have "an additional bond of union; but it will be of a worldly kind" something that united them in "interest" rather than "spirit". Thus inspired, he proposed distributing the monies through the impartial hand of the state to all Christian churches thereby escaping the corrupting influence that a direct association with money produced. Speeches of Dr. John Rolph and Christopher A. Hagerman Esq., P.12 and P.5.

[60] - John Strachan, The Christian Religion, P.22.

fortune might seem to direct."[61] In linking Catholicism to fortune and its contingent motifs, Strachan was emphasizing the decline of Catholicism as a leading religion. He indicated that Popery was at the mercy of its self-serving priests whose interpretations varied to fit any circumstance and deceived believers by offering them a multitude of doctrinal interpretations and a surfeit of ceremony to mask the shallowness of its tenets. He emphasized its artificiality and relativism to indicate a loss of core values that signalled an impeding disintegration. Strachan then reinforced these ideas by speaking of Catholicism in the gendered terms used for Fortune itself. In a paragraph that differed stylistically from the rest of the text - there the Catholic Church was gender neutral - Catholicism became a 'she'. Leaving behind the sober tones used to describe Protestantism, Strachan adopted an urgent and emotionally charged language clearly intended to engage the readers. Look at Catholicism, he wrote:

> In the dark ages she had her miracles and wonders to amaze and terrify the credulous; in enlightened periods she has learning and sophistry to confound; for the devout she has solitude and meditation; for the timid purgatory and penance; for the profligate indulgences and absolution; the inquisitive she baffles or satisfies with her scholastic distinctions and divisions; and to the indolent or the ignorant she extends her dogma of implicit faith.[62]

Strachan put this gendered language to good use. Catholicism was a 'feminine' religion that wore no mask and all masks, that deceived and corrupted the minds of its followers. Like Fortune, it had no core, no fixity and no morality. A church mired in the chaos of worldliness and sceptical relativism, it was destined to decline and be replaced by another Christian church known for its otherworldliness. The Christian road to salvation, according to Strachan, was paved on the on-going replacement of corrupted churches by purer ones. He reinforced his case by embedding the contrast between Protestantism and Catholicism in the trope of order and contingency.

The cyclical pattern evident in arguments about religious affairs could also be seen in areas associated with modernity. Archibald Hall writing on the importance of building the proper infrastructure to support a modern scientific medicine in Canada made this very clear. Drawing on an established

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[61] - John Strachan, The Poor Man's Preservative against Popery, Part I containing an introduction on the character and Genius of the Roman Catholic Religion, Toronto: G.P. Bull, 1834, P.IX.

[62] - Ibid., P.IV-V.

manner of looking at things, Hall noted that the arts and the sciences could not have developed without the Reformation. In the middle ages the progress of medicine was retarded because priests were also physicians, an association which "...was by no means favourable to the advance of medicine as a science; the one [part of it] was prostituted from its legitimate aims to secure and maintain the ascendancy of the other, and the treatment of diseases was cloaked under the most superstitious rites and ceremonies."[63] When priests practiced medicine, they handled it with all the superstitions and the artificiality of their faith. The late middle ages had been the worst. The twelfth to the fifteen centuries were remarkable: "...ignorance, superstition and barbarism tyrannised over learning and genius - in which knowledge of any kind was to be sought for only among the ruins of old churches and monasteries - in which fabulous legends supplied the place of truth."[64] Fortunately, Hall concluded, the Crusades, the printing press and the Reformation broke the hold corrupt priests had over science and enabled it to flourish as God intended. Liberated from superstition, Protestants had thereafter been able to develop freely and fulfil their spiritual and human potential. Morally corrupt and intellectually stunted, Catholic societies could not develop the essentials of modernity and were destined to disappear.[65]

Many authors extended these ideas to their treatment of French in relation to British history and development. French republicans, they said, were never motivated by self-denial but always by self-interest; corrupted from the start, the edifice they erected crumbled as quickly as it was built. The Napoleonic regime, like the republic, also had a short life. One commentator noted the endless cycle of rise and fall that accompanied the life of famous leaders and kings and found each to have coupled brilliance with folly. France's latest foray was no different; that "monstrous revolution", he wrote, "mounting too fiercely in its course, warmed into life the whole creation of reptile passion; drew after it the noxious exhalations of

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[63] - Hall, Letters, P.7.

[64] - Ibid., P.8.

[65] - To help matters along, Hall proposed that only diplomas issued by British schools of medicine and by Canadian ones who taught a British curriculum be allowed by law in the colonies. Diplomas from Montpellier - a recognized school of medicine at the time - would become worthless. French Canadians who wished to develop their medical talents would have to study in English-Protestant institutions such as McGill. Letters, P.28.

human depravity; and s[unk] soon into the ocean of time..."[66] The history of the French, then, was one of cyclical repetition: indeed, the French character made their country incapable of stability. Content with enjoying the moment, they could not find it in themselves to delay gratification and organize themselves in terms of long-range conduct. Their penchant for Catholicism was an especially important part of the problem: Napoleon's failure to introduce "...the Reformed religion instead of that of Rome" was therefore critical: had he taken that step, the French may well have acquired the "lights of reason and truth" that would have enabled them to moderate their passionate nature and pursue rational and long-lasting interests. In the event, nothing could be expected from "...this fickle country but a probable return to her former servitude with a recurrence of the frightful means that must attend a fresh emancipation."[67] Without the manly guidance of Protestant rational moderation, and without goal and direction, France was condemned to undergo periodic revolutions, of a feminine nature it seemed, all the while achieving nothing lasting.

Some nineteenth century commentators understood the histories of religions and societies in terms of Fortune's ways and pattern. Unable to delay gratification, entirely taken by the moment, wearing the masks of ceremony and shallowness, Catholic France acted as arbitrarily as the goddess. Commentators used the cyclical pattern well. First, they told a story of rise and decline familiar to readers which would encourage them to see France as unfit for modernity. Secondly, their message was made even more vivid by casting the histories of Catholicism and of France in the unstable terms associated with the ancients as opposed to those of the modern orderly linear configuration they used to write the history of Protestantism and of Britain. Lastly, they employed it to depict themselves as having come to the point where they had perspective on the groups that were gone and so occupying a position which highlighted their more advanced state of development and their secure historical future.

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[66] - Ibid., P.355. Aligning form and substance, the author reinforced the idea of the cycle by using words that reflected the pattern.

[67] - "The French Revolution judged by its results", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.II, No.X., April 1824, P.357.

3) THE LINEAR

Proposed by eighteenth century writers, stadial development appeared as a process of social maturation that aped the natural and predictable unfolding of the human personality. Just as humans matured from childhood to adulthood, societies also grew from the simple and unencumbered to the complex and sophisticated. Focussing their sights on the process of maturation, according to François Blanchet, enabled writers to escape a view of the human journey linked to an inescapable movement of rise and decline and to speak of it as a natural process of growth.[68] Time was on the side of the moderns: as Denis-Benjamin Viger remarked "Le temps et la patience sont des ouvriers bien puissants." If, Viger continued, men retained their taste for work, if they educated themselves, then they could face the future with confidence and deal with whatever came their way.[69] Thinking about historical time in terms of maturation and growth made it possible to understand change as an orderly and natural process that offered a measure of predictable development. The goal of history was to chart the process of transition and growth and to indicate whether one's own society was mature and civilized enough to make its way in the terms specified. The pre-modern past, accordingly, held no particular fascination. The object, in fact, was to move away from it. There was nothing about it that called for nostalgic sentiments. As Isidore Lebrun noted, there was no such thing as a golden age of the past: "L'état de nature avec ses félicités n'est qu'un mensonge."[70] A 'true' modern did not yearn for the past since it represented a rude, unsophisticated and uncivilized state that needed to be outgrown as fast as possible.[71] If there was a utopia, it lay in the future.

The amateur historians François-Xavier Garneau and Robert Christie sought to write the history

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[68] - Blanchet, Recherches, P.18.

[69] - MG24 B1 Vol.33, Viger à John Neilson, 19 Septembre 1824. "Ils seront en mesure pour tous les événements."

[70] - Isidore Lebrun, Tableau Statistique, P.8, L'Aurore, 17 Mars 1817.

[71] - The Quebec Mercury, 17 August 1807.

of Canadian modernity and to recover from the past what was hidden but continuous in its unfolding. Both historians subscribed to the thought that civil societies emerged in conjunction with the development of the arts and the sciences and that they matured slowly but surely through increasing levels of sophistication and perfectibility. Both were also aware of the historical pattern that called for the replacement of military societies by modern commercial ones where conflict was resolved by talk rather than war. Both published during the Union government (Garneau in 1845, Christie in 1848) and both set out to explain the causes of the rebellions as well as to unearth hidden patterns. Both wrote 'modern' histories.

François-Xavier Garneau integrated his history into a larger framework taken from the French historian Louis Michelet.[72] He found Michelet to have treated the modern writing of history as a discipline concentrating on those who industriously developed the arts and the sciences: the people. History-writing, then, consisted in tracing the natural and unstoppable rise to perfectibility of the originally unendowed of the world, a rise that required, among other things, full political liberty.

According to Garneau, American peoples were modern by definition. All revolutions - he was writing of the French, the American and the English - established the primacy of the people; it should not be surprising, then, that the New World "...habitée par une seule classe d'hommes, le peuple, adopte dans son entier les principes de l'école historique moderne qui prend la nation pour source et pour but de tout pouvoir."[73] Garneau considered the history of America in the framework of the universal modernity that heralded the rise and the eventual dominance of those who had made the progress of mankind possible and who had wrenched power from those who traditionally held it.[74] He melded the struggle for political independence, the development of the arts and the sciences and the settlement of the Continent together

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[72] - Garneau acknowledged his debt to Michelet in his Discours Préliminaire of the first edition of his history. The relationship between Michelet and Garneau was explored in Claude Galarneau's La France devant l'opinion Canadienne, Paris: Armand Colin, 1970.

[73] - Garneau, Histoire, tome 1, P.13.

[74] - Garneau showed the optimism of his age in this regard. He considered that the arrival of Europeans in America had given "...un nouvel essor aux progrès de la civilisation...un immense et fertile continent s'est trouvé tout à coup livré au génie des populations chrétiennes, au génie d'une immigration ...[qui] a voulu inaugurer une arche d'alliance nouvelle, une société sans privilèges et sans exclusion." Histoire, tome 2, P.394-395.

in a single story. He wrote of a geographical space discovered because of scientific advances and peopled by the worthy men who made the sciences, the arts and history possible. The story of Canada was their history and no one else's.

Garneau had no doubt about the utopian destiny of America. War and religion had had their day and now "le commerce prend déjà leur place. Il règne, il doit régner en roi sur toute l' Amérique, son génie précipitera de gré ou de force sous son joug les contrées dont l'industrie sera trop lente à se réveiller." Like others, Garneau believed that commerce and liberty would reign in America, something that would distinguish it forever from the "vieilles nations guerrières et aristocratiques" found in Europe.[75] The imperatives of history would make the new world an egalitarian, humanitarian, progressive and commercial site; it was simply a question of time until this came to pass. To be sure, the progress of New France down this path had been impeded, but this was owing to forces beyond its control. There was nothing about the character of French Canadians that prevented their passage to modernity.

Garneau attempted to trace the national character of French Canadians as far back as he could. In doing so, he introduced into his history an element of enduring continuity, a central stable core in addition to natural laws of development. He endeavoured to recover 'French Canadianess', the attributes shared by a people and acquired by it independently of individual effort or merit. He sought, in short, the attributes that made individuals 'transparent', that bound them together as a people and that were unaltered by the artificiality of modernity. Here the category of ethnicity, or as he called it la nationalité, was central. Nationality was an inheritance difficult to repudiate, nor could it be traded or bartered. It was certainly not "un fruit artificiel", a mask that one could wear or take off depending on circumstances or whim. It was impossible to acquire by will and impossible to lose.[76] It united individuals beyond the worldly motives of self-interest. In stressing all this, Garneau was re-evaluating the writing of modern history in order to make room for a notion that could endure no matter what changes were made to the self in conformity with the requirements of modernity. He was introducing into the historical consciousness of Lower Canadians a

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[75] - Ibid., tome 2, P.396.

[76] - Ibid, P.26.

component of unity that Enlightenment universality had cast aside in favour of universal perfectibility.

Garneau distinguished between the 'historical' work of the ancients and what modern historians could do. Lacking 'modern' concepts and ideas, the Greeks and the Romans had been unable to trace their origins and had given themselves mythical and godly ancestors.[77] French Canadians, however, could trace their worldly ancestry to flesh and blood human beings. More, they could uncover the essentials of their 'national' character. Garneau not only dealt with the issue of origins; he also sought to recover the essence of French Canadian-ness by contrasting it with the essence of Englishness.[78]

Throughout his work, Garneau noted the Norman ancestry of the people he studied. But his tour de force consisted in giving the Norman Conquest a significant place in his narrative.[79] He pithily remarked that in the wake of William the Conqueror, the ancestors of the French Canadians spurred the Saxons to action. Norman audacity, activity and greed forced the conquered to organize against the invaders and, as a consequence, the English gave themselves the Magna Carta and a parliamentary system.[80] In the end, Garneau credited the Normans with making England great.[81] Their Canadian descendants shared some of the qualities that had made the Normans what they were. Adventurous and free spirited, independent with "une teinte plus chevaleresque et plus poétique" than the British who were motivated by love of liberty, commerce and the money it promised[82], the first colonists were certainly adventurers seeking an exciting

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[77] - Ibid., tome 1, P.10.

[78] - Louis Mink explored the historical consciousness of romanticism which, in the 19th century, consisted in pushing back "...to the edges of pre-history the national differences of peoples." He remarked of this trend that it represented the dissolution of Universal History. Brian Fay, Eugene O. Goleb and Richard T. Vann, eds., Historical Understanding, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987, P.193.

[79] - Until this point, the references to the Norman conquest in French texts argued the inadvisability of eradicating the laws, language and customs of vanquished nations. Several articles in Le Canadien dealt with it in this manner. Viger in his Considérations did so too.

[80] - Garneau, Histoire, tome 1,. P.7, tome 2, P.4-5.

[81] - Garneau repeated this thought in the conclusion of the third edition. One wonders what the attributes of French Canadian-ness would have been if the 'Other' European actors in Canada had been Spanish or Portuguese.

[82] - Garneau, Histoire, tome 2, P.44.

military life.[83] They found the situation to their liking since the colony was continuously embroiled in battles; for years, French Canadians valiantly defended the colony, first against the aboriginals then against the English. "Peuple chasseur et guerrier", they found in dangerous and risky military encounters the honour and the esteem they sought.[84] Garneau's portrait paid little attention to those characteristics that made up the 'modern' personality. His portrait lacked moderation, sedateness and prudence; it showed a people who cared little for settling the land and working diligently and who liked risk and military clashes. Such attributes, said Garneau, had served them well. Through thick and thin for two hundred years, they had endured because of them. And it was those attributes which would ensure their survival in the future.

Garneau transferred the psychological attributes that had made French Canadians good soldiers to the civil scene of modernity. "Intrépides et persévérans sur le champ de bataille dans la guerre de la conquête, et d'autant plus attachés à leurs institutions que l'on avait fait des tentatives jusqu'en 91 pour les leur ravir, on va les voir montrer la même constance sous la nouvelle constitution et se distinguer également par leur énergie et par des talents qu'on ne leur avait pas encore connus."[85] French Canadians retained the core of their character - the ability to fight against adversity - intact through the passage from military to commercial society. Indeed, after 1791, they were bringing to the political arena of democracy that fighting spirit that historically characterized them as a people. The ability to conserve the essence of that character throughout provided French Canadians with a core around which the modern self could be built. Inherited from the Gauls who had survived the theocracies of Egypt and Asia, the Greeks and the Romans, "ce trait caractéristique de leur pères...échappe à l'astuce de la politique comme au tranchant de l'épée. Il se conserve, comme type, même lorsque tout semble annoncer sa destruction."[86] Garneau ended

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[83] - Histoire, tome 2, P.5. Garneau also distinguished between the first French settlers who came seeking adventure from the first American settlers who were religious refugees who then adopted mercenary ways. David Thompson also differentiated between American French and British motives in examining the causes of the war of 1812.

[84] - Ibid., P.339.

[85] - Garneau, tome 3, P.549.

[86] - Garneau, Histoire, tome 1, P.24-25.

the first edition, published in 1845, with this emphasis on these characteristics of 'French Canadian-ness'. It was a reassurance to the people of Canada East that they could survive the Union which had been imposed on them. Stress on a commonly-held characteristic that remained through stadial changes and was not modified by the contact with the worldly allowed a re-evaluation of the modern identity: it showed that human worth could be understood in terms other than those of work, education and property ownership. Garneau's interpretation, in part, distanced him from the Enlightenment's universal history. It showed him thinking in terms of a 'national' identity, the narrative of whose history could be pushed back to the edge of time and which stayed intact through the maturing process of modernity. The 'essence' of French Canadian-ness was simultaneously eternal and particular to time and place within the greater framework of modernity.

The third edition of the Histoire, published in 1859, showed a more pronounced movement towards otherworldly and immutable tendencies. The first edition had explored the flash points in history where the French and the English had come in contact. The third, however, made ethnicity an accepted category of analysis. When Garneau surveyed the troubles of the first decade of the nineteenth century he had noted merely that the clash "prit, comme de coutume, une teinte de jalousie nationale"[87] as if the cultural-national dimension was not especially central. By 1859, and more in keeping with the type of analysis which had been made in the Durham Report, cultural clashes had become the significant feature of Lower Canadian history; the quest for liberty - the prize that men of merit wrenched from the nobility - had been made more complex by a national struggle.

The conclusion of the third edition showed Garneau to be still convinced that the French Canadian character maintained its most prominent features. It also, however, made clear his conviction that these were not merely feudal and pre-modern. Through thick and thin, alone and isolated, French Canadians had endured: "Détachés comme quelques feuilles d'un arbre, ces émigrants ont été jetés dans un monde nouveau pour être battus de mille tempêtes, tempêtes excitées par l'avidité du négoce et de la barbarie,

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[87] - Garneau, Histoire, third edition, tome 3, P.111.

par la décadence d'une ancienne monarchie et la conquête étrangère."[88] It was against those odds, and without help, that French Canadians had acquired the indices of modernity. Mistreated and abandoned by France, they had grown in numbers without recourse to immigration; they had the resources to survive alone and resist defeat and assimilation; they had grown into a settled and industrious people without the attendant artificial manners of European societies and the "...manières élégantes et fastueuses des populations méridionales"; they had developed the arts and the sciences and increased the number and scope of the professions; painting and literature flourished.[89] Without being involved directly in large commercial enterprise, they nevertheless increased their comforts and pleasures and diversified their interests. Indeed, Garneau's third edition de-emphasized commercial enterprise, something that had been front and centre in the first edition. By the same token, it advanced the suggestion that a kind of modernity and a more sophisticated self was possible without the underpinnings of capitalism. Behaviours could be acquired, manners changed, labour divided, outlooks modified and self-interest pursued outside the customary ways of thinking about commercial modernity.[90]

Robert Christie's history began in 1791 when the political tools of progress were granted to Lower Canadians by the Constitutional Act. Modernity was imposed from above, given by law, identified by date and granted by Britain who set its colony on the path of natural development. Ethnicity, Christie claimed,

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[88] - Garneau, Ibid, P.358.

[89] - Ibid., P.359.

[90] - Garneau's grandson's "reviewed and augmented" eighth edition was published in 1944. In a rewriting of the argument that belonged to the Lionel Groulx school of thought, Hector Garneau emphasized agriculture and Catholic obedience instead of the quest for modern liberty as the organizing principles of French settlement and character. In typical otherworldly fashion, the message sent was that French Canadian Christian virtue opposed corrupt English Canadian capital. The grandson reworked the text and expunged - without always acknowledging the change - all sympathetic remarks about commerce, seriously altering the work and its intent. One example is Hector Garneau's elimination of his grand father's very important Discours Préliminaire and Préface. Another is offered by his changing the third edition's reference to the conflict between the Lower Canadian Assembly and the parti mercantile: the words 'parti mercantile' were replaced by 'commerce' altering significantly the scope and the meaning of the reference. Many English Canadian historical works of the twentieth century followed a similar line of thinking about French Canadians' relationship to commerce. They, however, understood commerce more conventionally, as the stable, central core of modern English Canadian nationalism. There, any detachment from commerce indicated a feudal, immutable and backwards character, not a virtuous one.

hardly entered into the interpretation of what had taken place since then. To the contrary, an interpretation based on ethnicity would obscure the natural forces that were in play.

Longing for the culturally familiar was a fact of humanity. "Each class of subjects", Christie wrote, "old and new, look[ed] for the prevalence of that with which they were most familiar and consequently considered the best."[91] That said, however, such longing was not to be brought to bear in the relationships among modern strangers nor should it be used to interpret the past and the present. But that was exactly what French and English demagogues had been doing. In association with their respective newspapers, candidates "mischievously work[ed] upon the prejudices of national origin in the people" [and] fomented agitation and discord in the colony.[92] They used these sentiments 'artificially' to fashion unrest and then turned around and blamed the troubles on the irreducibility of national sentiments. In Christie's estimation, artificially fostered national prejudices blinded Lower Canadians of both cultures; they prevented the development of a modern sociability and obscured the natural processes in play behind the 'mask' of ethnicity. There was, to be sure, conflict, but it had more profound causes that necessitated a knowledge of the ways of progressive modernity and history.[93]

The history of the revolution in the United States led Christie to believe that a similar drama was being played out in the Canadian colony. He relied on the historical interpretation furnished by the agent of the Montreal merchants, Adam Lymburner, who attributed the American revolution to the fact that there were too many land owners and not enough merchants in the American House of Representatives, something that greatly impeded the development of commerce. Certainly the American conflict had had nothing to do with cultural matters. Nor, thought Christie, did the Canadian. In Lower Canada commerce had always been under-represented. The situation was being perpetuated "...in the parliament of United

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[91] - Christie, A History of the late Province, volume I, P.4.

[92] - Ibid., P.311.

[93] - Christie's history contradicted the well known assessment proposed by Lord Durham who claimed that a conflict between a pre-modern and a modern 'race' explained the Lower Canadian situation. Robert Christie's interpretation was far more 'whig' than that of Durham.

Canada [which was] swarming with attornies."[94] Understanding the laws of historical development revealed the true nature of the divisions so much in evidence: "The apparent origin of [those divisions] is to be found in the conflict previously noticed between the commercial and the agricultural interests...rather than in prejudices of national origin."[95] By 1823, a conflict that was essentially stadial and economic had been misinterpreted as one of national origin by shallow self-serving intemperate men of two cultural backgrounds. The historical imperative of commercial modernity was at odds with the equally modern imperative of ethnicity. Those who sympathized with it now had to show that a focus on ethnicity was deceiving and obscured the real forces that were in play.

There was, of course, a contradiction in all this. Observers like Christie might claim that progress was ethnically-neutral. They tended, however, to equate the fruits of progress with the way they were understood by those operating within the framework of the British cultural tradition and the British understanding of modernity. Christie, exemplifying this, wrote lovingly of the canals that opened navigation from Lake Huron to the ocean,[96] of speedier mail delivery, of the telegraph,[97] and of the steamboats on the St-Lawrence "yet only in their infancy and still susceptible of vastly greater extension."[98] Since 1791, he continued, the Eastern Townships had thrived, the population had doubled, the colonies had won a war, trade with Britain had grown, revenues had increased and engineering feats were found everywhere.[99] Images and indices of progress and modernity, these achievements were "...the gratifying proofs of the superior enterprise and energy of the british race, and british colonists in the Canadas, by whose industry and capital chiefly these great improvements have been effected...The race with whom more frugal but less

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[94] - Christie, A History of the late Province, volume I, P.100.

[95] - Ibid., P.314.

[96] - Ibid., P.85.

[97] - Ibid., P.144.

[98] - Ibid., P.289.

[99] - Ibid., volume II, P.353-355.

enterprising frenchman will be merged."[100] For Christie, the British possessed the attributes of modernity and were more suited than the French to the work of realizing Canada's destiny in the universal scheme of things.[101] It was therefore by historical necessity that assimilation should occur: it would benefit both groups and advance the movement of history itself. But the French did have something to contribute. Their domestic virtue would profit the British.[102] The ensuing union would offset the darker side of modernity associated with crime and corruption. "Progress had its attendant evils," wrote Christie, "in the growth of luxury and its vices."[103] This, however, could be avoided. Merging the two groups would ensure that enterprise and morality would triumph in a modern Canada.

Christie's view of Canada's future was an interesting one. Aware of the dangers of modernity, he fashioned an identity that would be both progressive and moral and made its realization dependent on the marriage of the national characteristics of the French and the British, each bringing to the new self the essence of their 'race'. He contrasted the two groups, but in ways that complemented each other. In an increasingly used 'modern metaphor', the Canadian merger united a moral, docile and family-defined French wife with an enterprising, progressive and marketplace-defined British husband.

In conceptualizing the union between French and English as a kind of marriage, Christie, no less than Garneau, was distancing himself from the Enlightenment's universal history and its vision of unity among mutually interdependent self-interested individuals. The metaphor or trope of the marriage - the

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[100] - Ibid., volume I, P.86.

[101] - References to enterprise as being the main element in the British character are too numerous to count in Lord Durham's Report. M. Brook Taylor examined how English-speaking historians of the time settled on 'yeomanry' as the characteristic that best embodied 'English Canadianess'. Promoters, Patriots and Partisans, P.269. Alan Macfarlane traced these characteristics of Britishness to the twelfth century. The Origins of English Individualism, the Family, Property and Social Transition, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978, P.163.

[102] - While Christie could do without the 'demagogues' in the Assembly, he distinguished between them and the peasantry. He esteemed the inhabitants for their quiet and gentle disposition. "In a religious, moral, and social sense, the french canadian character is not excelled by that of any people in the world. He who would be perfectly acquainted with Jean-Baptiste must visit him at his country residence and abide with him there awhile...see him in domestic circle, in the several relations of parent, neighbour and friend..." History, volume I, P.X.

[103] - Ibid., volume III, P.356.

assimilation of two disparate units into one - signalled the difficulty many 19th century historians faced when they attempted to merge national identities and stadial theories. The search for a 'unity' that would be modern lead to a variety of interpretations that underscored the fact that the nineteenth century was a very different historical place than its eighteenth century predecessor.

Christie's metaphor of unity signalled other things as well. Central to it was a reliance on the nostalgic portrait of the French Canadian peasantry associated with a moral reaction against the corruption of the age of commerce. It also gendered a modern sociability that had been conceived in a gender-neutral way. It viewed Canadian cultural unity in the most organic, paternalistic and moral fashion: it patterned the Canadian identity on the family and on the separate economies and politics of the private and public spheres. But, while the image may have pleased clerical and secular elites of all stripes, it left no room, and therefore no explanation, for the 'modern' characters - noticed by Garneau - that would keep on surfacing.

4) THE PATTERNLESS

Canadian commentators and historians utilized the conceptual frameworks of their age in their efforts to understand and portray the identity and the historical consciousness of their society. Whether those frameworks were cyclical or linear, they accommodated white people. When it came to aboriginals, however, their terms were largely inapplicable. Aboriginals were creatures of movement who, as hunter-gatherers, evolved outside any of the patterns of historical time in terms of which observers thought.

Many evaluations of aboriginals connected in one way or another with the notion of wandering. Their bodies, their minds, their customs were explained in relation to their unsettled nature, an attribute which made it impossible to integrate them to modernity. The 'wandering Indian' was contrasted with the settled farmer, the stable core of modern Canadianism.[104] Their ways prevented natives from forging ahead in the natural development of societies; being constantly on the move prevented them from passing from the hunter-gatherer stage to the agricultural stage, the first and necessary step in the process of human perfectibility and civilization.[105] Everything about the Indian was transient and unsettled.

Indians, wrote one commentator, had no notion of place or of land with boundaries - the hallmark of civilized nations; consequently they were "without home or country" and belonged nowhere.[106] Their lodgings were certainly temporary. In the wilderness, noted another observer, one saw no human habitation except "the moveable hut of the wandering savage."[107] Usually made of an easily degradable material and with little concern as to appearance - something that revealed a poorly developed artisanship

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[104] - Le Canadien translated G. Heriot's travel accounts published in the Oxford Review and printed excerpts of his assessments on natives: "C'est principalement parmi les tribus américaines que l'on continue de mener un genre de vie sauvage et errante; c'est d'eux que nous pouvons tirer des contrastes [et] apprécier les avantages de la civilization." Le Canadien, 31 Octobre 1807.

[105] - "The Indians of North America", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.IV, April 1825, P.414. Garneau, Histoire du Canada, volume 1, P.129.

[106] - Delta to Senex, P.127. "Montreal", The Canadian Magazine, P.9 and "Les arts chez les Sauvages", La Bibliothèque Canadienne, Tome II, No.5, Avril 1826, P.147.

[107] - James Boulton, Letters from an American, P.91.

and a lack of refined taste - the shelter could not last. "Les peuples sauvages" were hunting peoples, "toujours errant", who settled in one place only long enough to pitch a tent made of bark.[108] Even then, they were not at rest since they roamed "in pursuit of the animals of the chase for both food and raiment."[109] Their wandering ways demanded that they live day-to-day, meeting their need for food, shelter and companionship in the most basic and transient manner. Their underdeveloped sense of refinement prevented them from developing courtship practices and lasting familial bonds; they enjoyed no "benevolent affections that elevate mankind so far above the rest of the animal creation".[110] They could not accumulate the wealth and the family ties so necessary for their perfectibility, incessantly occupied as they were with hunting, roaming and providing for their immediate subsistence. The pleasures they enjoyed they enjoyed without delay living only for the present: "Toute leur existence semble bornée aux besoins et aux jouissances du présent."[111] Lacking the necessary stability and knowledge to learn to control their passions, rationalize their interests and refine their manners, their military spirit, their love of alcohol and their violence became legendary.

Unable to plan their lives and rationalize their conduct in the white manner, aboriginals were considered naturally 'idle' in that none of their activities produced anything lasting.[112] In such a condition, savage peoples were, according to a correspondent to The Canadian Magazine, in a perfect state of destitution and unable to acquire the comforts of modernity and develop the lasting infrastructure of laws

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[108] - MG24 L8 M-7, Ma Saberdache Rouge, "Archéologie Canadienne", P.254. Jacques Viger had recopied the Reverend Féliz Martin's analysis of an archeological find on the Sauteux Indians in 1844.

[109] - "Montreal", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.I, No.1, 1823, P.9.

[110] - MG24 J48, John Rolph to John William Whittaker, May 1813. Delta to Senex, P.127. "The Fur Trade", The Canadian Magazine, No.2, Vol.I, P.109. Garneau was particularly appalled by the practice of adopting enemy soldiers because it meant that aboriginals were expected to and succeeded in forgetting their past at will. Garneau, Histoire, P.206.

[111] - "Archéologie Canadienne", P.266.

[112] - Accordingly, they left "ni monuments de leur existence ni trace de leur passage." Garneau, Histoire, P.129. Made of wood, the arms they built were short-lived. Bibaud, Histoire, P.22.

and conventions that characterized civilized nations.[113] Because of this, they could not be judged by modern laws based on the protection of the settled self and its properties.[114]

The minds of the aboriginals wandered as much as their bodies, unable to fix on stable truths. As a consequence, their beliefs were tainted by superstition. Their reliance on an ever changing oral tradition was believed to doom their legacy to oblivion. Their roving ways were thought to prevent the development of the settled existence that afforded humans the time and the leisure to develop their potential; this was why they had no arts and a poor sense of taste: they painted their bodies instead of creating works of art and wore animal skins for clothing.[115] Unschooled in modern writing techniques, they used the signs that characterized pre-modern societies[116], something that condemned them to be forgotten since they could not write their own history.[117]

Totally oriented to the present, aboriginals lived only for the moment and remained unimpressed by the importance of time; their inability to 'tell time' and use it productively was well known. They had no interest in the past or in the future and were therefore unaware of their place in history: "Le passé",

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[113] - "Montreal", The Canadian Magazine, P.9. According to Garneau, they were a people "sans lois et sans biens." Garneau, Histoire, tome 1, P.211.

[114] - In the early 1830s, Elzéar Bédard defended an aboriginal accused of murder. His defense centred on the fact that criminal laws, being conventions of whites, were inapplicable to someone who answered to the laws of nature. He lost the case. Cited in N.E. Dionne, Pierre Bédard et ses fils, P.261-266. In another similar instance, Lady Aylmer remarked that positive laws could not take into account the motives, the circumstances and the beliefs of an aboriginal accused of murder. A pardon was granted by the Governor and the accused was free "to pursue his hunter's habits in life." MG24, A43, Lady Aylmer's Diary, P.81-82-83.

[115] - A missionary remarked of their war chants that "the sounds are formed...almost by chance", underlining the haphazardness produced by a lack of musical rules and taste. But when they sang religious hymns their voices, according to The Canadian Freeman, "went together in perfect unison." Jesuit Relation, Volume 70, P.97, and The Canadian Freeman, 12 May 1831.

[116] - Jesuit Relations, Volume 69, P.168. The Quebec Mercury, 17 August 1807.

[117] - One commentator used the metaphor of the tree, often employed to convey ideas of historical roots and the existence of historical consciousness. He indicated that natives were losing their languages, their customs and their laws as well as diminishing in numbers. In this state of decline, the 'Indian' resembled "un arbre privé de sève vivifiante. Des feuilles désséchées se détachent les unes après les autres sans qu'il puisse espérer un nouveau printemps...il n'attend que la hache du bûcheron." MG24 L8 M-7 "La Destruction des Hurons", 1848.

continued Father Martin, "les intéresse aussi peu que l'avenir.[118] Those interested in them needed the scientific resources offered by anthropology and history; only these could properly document their past.[119]

As peoples "sans moeurs et sans culture"[120] aboriginals had no choice but to end their wandering ways in order to survive. To be productive citizens in the white manner and share in the principles of human worthiness, they had to be morally educated and put to work.[121] They had to become civilized, which meant, that they would have neat houses, make use of beds, tables and chairs, wash themselves, dress appropriately, learn English, profess Christianity and become industrious.[122] Getting them to this stage of development would not be easy. The wandering savage, according to many commentators of the time, could not submit to laws and restraint and, as a result, had to be coerced into modifying his conduct and behaviours or left to decline. When one observer noted that "The time is fast approaching when these Canadian Indians must either be Christianized and civilized or extirpated"[123], he was expressing a common view of their destiny.

These commentators and historians could not decipher the patterns of aboriginal life and so concluded that there were none. The hunter-gatherer stage remained an enigma to them and they could not conceive of a situation where it and its successors in the great progressive scheme of things could co-exist. D'Arcy Boulton was only one of many who thought that "the avocations of civil life are incompatible with the Hunter State; and the latter must decline in proportion to the progress of the former."[124] When

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[118] - "Archéologie Canadienne", P.288.

[119] - MG24 J48, John Rolph to Whittaker, May 1813. Both Michel Bibaud and François-Xavier Garneau included a section on aboriginals in their histories.

[120] - Le Populaire, 5 Mai 1837.

[121] - RCA 1900, Egerton Ryerson to William Lord, 16 June 1835.

[122] - Martin Doyle, Hints on Immigration, P.35-36.

[123] - MG24 B1 Vol.16, Rev. Thaddeus Osgood, An Affectionate Appeal to Christian Benevolence for the Promotion of Education and Industry among the Indians and Destitute Settlers in Canada, 1825, unpaginated.

[124] - Boulton, Letters, P.79. Capitals in the text.

observers predicted the decline or called for the assimilation of native Indians, they were interpreting those Indians' lives in reference to historical models that were familiar and manageable. They were placing aboriginals in the pattern of historical development as they understood it. Few, if any, questioned the 'white' values in play in a formulation of human worth based on work and education when they decried the aboriginals' incapacity to adopt modern customs and habits.

Morally-minded commentators did develop a nostalgic picture of native peoples, one reminiscent of the nostalgic view the moderns had of the peasantry.[125] According to one 'historical account', a young Labrador Inuit was enticed to the city when a traveller depicted its charms and its delights in irresistibly attractive terms. Enthralled, the young man travelled to Quebec City and was at once struck by the style and architecture of the buildings and by the sumptuous and abundant meals. For a time, he was enraptured by it all. After awhile, however, he came to miss his native village where nature was not artificial and its beauties were real. Missing his family and friends, he became despondent and died, tortured by the thought that he would rest "à jamais sous un ciel étranger et dans une terre qu'il détestait."[126] Separated from his unspoiled village and from a uncorrupted sociability, the young Inuit became lost to others and to himself.

In accounts like this, commentators reversed the customary associations and opposed the virtue of the natural Indian to the corruption of the civilized white. Observers, poets and commentators celebrated what they thought represented the 'pure' and unaldurated state of nature of aboriginals in opposition to the corrupt white society to which they had fallen victim.[127] Aboriginals were presented as frozen in time, unaffected by the corruption of the age and free of the baggage carried by the discourse of self-interest. Their poverty, their inattention to material possessions and their inherent generosity were celebrated

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[125] - See chapter 2.

[126] - "Trait d'un jeune eskimaux", La Biliothèque Canadienne, Tome 1, No.5, Octobre 1825, P.192.

[127] - White men had "contaminated by their intercourse their native innocence and stained their character with vice...There is something so lofty, so humane and so generous in the character of a North American Indian in his rude state, uncontaminated with the vice of civilized society." The Canadian Freeman, 12 May 1831.

because these attributes caused them to remain untouched by the deception, the masks and the vices of modernity. In 'The Indian's Refusal', Ethelind Sawtell told the story of a native who refused to sell the burial place of his ancestors:

> No. The white man may cherish his glittering gold
> But the graves of my fathers are free.[128]

Indeed, the aboriginals' love of liberty and independence saved them from the corruption of civilization. Free from a craving for extraneous possessions, their poverty made them rich in the most Christian way of celebrating happiness, purity of heart and human worth.[129] They enjoyed a consensual sociability that spoke of a natural gentleness and purity. Their naturalness served as the counterpoint to modern deception and corruption. Their 'natural' capacity for oratory insured that, unlike whites, they would not be manipulating their audiences through clever, studied rethoric.[130] The absence of civilized plenty and comfort in their lives enhanced their disinterestedness and their uncorrupted nature.[131] In the end, commentators did what they had done with the peasantry: they fabricated an image of the original inhabitants for the purpose of denouncing, in the most orthodox and Christian manner, their own society.

Canadian historians and commentators wrote history in ways that attested to their modernity. They engaged in methodological discussions that drew a parallel between the sciences and their discipline as a way of demonstrating that their interpretations were not as ephemeral as other types of literary endeavours and even other types of history. By following the laws that guided research and evaluation in all the sciences, commentators and historians could, they believed, remove all that obscured the true character of the past. When they utilized notions that were associated with a pre-modern and unscientific historical consciousness - such as the cycle and the motifs of contingency - they did so deliberately,

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[128] - 'The Indian's Refusal' by M.Ethelind Sawtell, 1840, cited in Carole Gerson and Gwendolyn Davies eds., Canadian Poetry, P.76-77.

[129] - Le Populaire, 5 Mai 1837.

[130] - Jesuit Relations, Volume 70, P.98. Poems celebrating the role of Tecumseh in the war of 1812 often mentioned his natural ability for speechmaking.

[131] - Blanchet, Recherches, P.105.

carefully deploying these patterns in relation to societies, ancient and modern, which they wished to portray as having declined. In turn, they interpreted the societies to which they belonged in linear patterns that incorporated the peoples they sought to bring into the mainstream of history. Modern historians disagreed about the role that ethnicity played in linear history. For Garneau, it represented an essential feature that proceeded without alteration through evolutionary social stages. For Christie, attention to it could only obscure understanding of what was taking place. Both French and English, however, contrasted the orderly development of their societies to the patternlessness of those of the aboriginals, revealing that even linearity needed a contingent image to highlight its immutability.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE METAPHORS OF MODERNITY

The refinement of the senses provided the moderns with the ability to make aesthetic evaluations of their environments and circumstances. Among other things, education and knowledge gave individuals the ability to distinguish between what was 'natural' and what was 'artificial' and comment on the features of the two. Furthermore, their aesthetic evaluations were interesting in themselves since how Canadians said things revealed as much as what they said. Indeed writing about things was one aspect of their modernity and writing about things in certain ways gave added breadth to their ideas. The style they used, the metaphors they chose, the allegories they preferred were value-laden aesthetic judgements that enhanced their identities and revealed the on-going connections they had with the discourses available to them.

1) PROSE AND POETRY

History, in contrast with such artificial productions as poetry, may have been the tool of choice to recover the 'truth' but Canadians nonetheless discussed how the literary arts could intensify appreciation of the human experience. The ability to evaluate the beautiful and to enjoy and be delighted by art and the artificial was reserved to those who had already learned to moderate their passions and to refine their taste: they had seen that an appreciation of the representations of reality demanded the ability to distinguish between the natural and the artificial as well as a capacity to evaluate the data of the experience. Art addressed the imagination and the passions in ways that were seen as dangerous in some areas of modern sociability. Art and the artful displays of orators, politicians, doctors, judges and merchants were scrutinized and checked in a variety of ways. Such people could be, and were, denounced as 'artificers' and 'deceivers' by those who thought they were presenting a false image of themselves. In the case of the openly artificial, of course, it was clear that 'art' was indeed deceiving since the images it presented were not 'reality'. As ambivalent as 'artistic' endeavours could be, they were nonetheless necessary to human perfectibility (though not as important as activities concerned to perfect the individual in a more direct fashion). So long, therefore, as they operated within clear limits, they could delight without endangering the public good. Canadians created sites for the fanciful, places where it could be found, watched and regulated if need be.

In the universe of the word, commentators continued to differentiate between the oral and the written and tried to ensure that readers understood the difference between written productions that refined the mind and those that inflamed it; as a consequence they carefully differentiated between prose and poetry. They may have been 'serious' writers, but they were nonetheless writers and the stylistic form they used revealed as much as the substance of their remarks. What they had to say about fiction and how they said it had much in common: both sent the message that works of imagination did not follow the rules that a 'scientific' prose did.

Science came from an examination of nature and the works that took nature as their subject could

be counted on to reveal the truth. The stability and certainty such works offered contrasted with the inconstancy of poetry and other creations of the imagination. While, one commentator wrote, the chief object of the sciences was "the discovery of truth", the object of art was "the development of beauty". One was a pursuit ruled by reason, the other by the imagination. But they could work in association. "Judgement and fancy of mutual assistance", could come together to provide humans with a complete experience. "The human mind", the commentator continued, was "pleased with the contemplation of what is true, and delighted with the appearance of what is beautiful". There was no opposition between pursuing the 'natural' and true and the 'artificial' and fabricated, as long as one could clearly distinguish between the two, something that necessitated an educated mind and the refined taste present in those who had the wealth and leisure to perfect themselves.[1]

In a statement presenting the journal, the editor of The Canadian Magazine made it clear that the publication was going to favour works of prose and rational discussion over material tainted with "party and political influence" and grounded in "such airy and unsubstantial fragments in the affairs of human life...as to render them truly ephemeral."[2] It would, then, concentrate on serious and scientific analyses that differed substantially from the concoctions of the daily press and from "polite literature" - novels, fiction and poetry - that delighted the mind of the initiated and provided amusement but was ill-suited to form "a moral, an industrious and a moral population." The distinction between works of science and works of art was all-important. In the words of another commentator, scientific knowledge unravelled natural processes and advanced "with slow undeviating pace, in the footsteps of truth [while] we engraft on the overgrown trunk of literature, opinions as visionary and fantastic as the airy nothing of the poet, to which, however, we give a local habitation and a name."[3] Clearly distinguishing between written works unshaken by time and

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[1] - "On the Principles of the Fine Arts", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.III, No.XVII, November 1824, P.445-446.

[2] - "Introduction", The Canadian Magazine, No.I, Vol.I., July 1823, P.7.

[3] - "General Literature; and the Causes that Influence the Revolutions of Opinion", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.III, 1824, P.513. In the late medieval period, Fortune became the muse of poets and ruled the imagination.

advancing on a slow and progressive course that would not yield to caprice or fashion and a feminized art that "veer[ed] about like the winds of heaven and prove[d] herself the offspring of man by being constant only in her inconstancy,"[4] the author made plain his preference. Opposing the stability, manliness, truth and certainty of the sciences and their written form, prose, "ce mâle outil"[5], to the contingent, deceiving and unstable nature of a feminine literature reinforced in the minds of readers the moral and natural legitimacy of the sciences to guide the moderns.[6] The distinction between the two sharpened over the next years.

When Edward Hartley Dewart published his anthology of Canadian poetry in 1864, he spelled out in his introductory essay how the distinction between scientific prose and poetry had deepened over the preceding decades. Dewart took great pains to explain why the gap had widened. Noting a general indifference to poetry in Canada, Dewart doubted the ordinary explanation of this state of affairs. He was particularly impatient with arguments attributing that indifference to the fact that the Canadian community was "...engaged in the pursuit of the necessaries and comforts of life" and that few people had sufficient wealth and leisure to spend on an appreciation of poetry.[7] Dewart did not disagree with the assessment but he thought that something else was in play. Too many Canadians regarded poetry "as a tissue of mis-leading fancies, appealing chiefly to superstitious credulity, a silly and trifling thing, the product of the imagination when loosened from the control and direction of reason."[8] Dewart denied that poetry was "some artificial distortion of thought and language by a capricious fancy" and in the act of so doing made it clear that commentators had regarded poetry in much the same manner as others had regarded men ruled by Fortune. Like the charlatans identified by the doctors, like the democrat-demagogues of the

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[4] - Ibid., P.515.

[5] - John Huston, éditeur, Le Répertoire National ou Recueil de Littérature Canadienne, 4 volumes, Montréal, J.M. Valois & cie, 1893, volume 1, P.XXXIV.

[6] - The gender of science had been alluded to in a 1799 poem by John Dickson. As "the eldest son" of nature " wrote the poet, science "rose /Propitious horoscopes announced his birth/ And gratulations rang through all the earth." Dickson, The Union of Taste and Science, P.3.

[7] - Edward Hartley Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets; with occasional critical and Biographical Notes, and an Introductory Essay on Canadian Poetry, Montreal: John Lovell, 1864, P.X.

[8] - Ibid.

authorities, like the French for the English, poetry was defined in terms which revealed a consistent approach to what moderns considered infringement by contingency. Here was a literary genre that appealed to the passions and the imagination without the rules imparted by nature and reason to human behaviours and productions. And without reason and education to temper, rationalize and direct it, the pursuit of poetry could be useless and perhaps even dangerous.

To get to a state of harmony between rational and imaginary works, nineteenth century Canadians had to rid poetry and the poet of the dangerous associations both had with contingency. For one thing, the fears that the poet had complete licence and that poetry was without moral and natural rules had to be assuaged. The poet, it was thought, was a freer being than other humans living in society. Unlike others who could only think certain things in private, the poet could think and write them out as well. Referring to "Les Nonades", one of his 'naughty' poems, the poet Joseph Mermet told his friend Jacques Viger that a poet with a strong imagination had "par ci, par là, le goût dépravé".[9] Indeed, at a certain level, the poet was no more bound by rules of conduct than poetry was bound by natural laws of any kind. As Jacques Viger pointed to his friend: "Qui dit Poète et Voyageur/ Dit, à coup sûr, double menteur."[10] Free from the rules of evidence and from the empirical proof that scientific studies demanded, the poet created "in his own mind and endeavor[ed] to form in the minds of his readers an ideal world."[11] Entirely grounded in the imagination that wandered "de rivage en rivage",[12] poetry created domains and sites that were

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[9] - MG24 L8 M-8, Ma Saberdache Bleue, J.D. Mermet à Jacques Viger, 2 Avril 1814. One distinction that can be made about love poems written at the beginning of the century and ones written later was the emphasis and importance placed on sexual love in relationships. As the century unfolded, poems increasingly celebrated a kind of asexual love between married partners and the love of children.

[10] - MG24 L8 M8, Ma Saberdache Bleue, Jacques Viger à J.D. Mermet, 28 Août 1816.

[11] - The Quebec Mercury, 18 April 1808. Writing in poetic form seemed to have protected the writers from libel and prosecution. Poems appearing in newspapers in Upper and Lower Canada were far more direct in their condemnation of individuals or groups than were political commentaries. Poems condemning lawyers and doctors abounded as did poems denouncing patronage and naming culprits. The tone and the message were eminently clearer in poetical form. In some cases, such as a poem denouncing Papineau sent to the editor of The Quebec Gazette, they were downright cruel. MG24 B1 Vol.15, "Louis Joseph Papineau", 1839.

[12] - Le Canadien, 20 Février 1808.

elusive and could not be easily controlled by laws. Furthermore, the poet and his works addressed themselves to the senses and to the passions of humans, perhaps awakening dormant emotions or sharpening existing ones, a dangerous pursuit when the poet did not quite grasp the nature of the enterprise and ventured too far.[13] Many contributors feared the blinding power of the emotions because, once unleashed, they could not be contained.

Dewart's defense of poetry insisted that it was not a pursuit that was 'artificial' in an unnatural sense but that it came from a human desire to be delighted and to enjoy the pleasures of the senses. To deny humans the enjoyment of their senses was to deny them their humanity. Dewart made his point even clearer when he presented poetry as a complement to other human pursuits: "The useful and the beautiful are both from God. Each has its appropriate sphere. They are not antagonistic: the one is the complement of the other."[14] As a modern, Dewart was arguing for a different manner of understanding the role of the imagination and the unbound. Rather than relegating poetry to a domain that was opposed to meritorious conduct, he argued in the name of the completeness and harmony of the human experience for its inclusion in orderly life. The inclusion, however, was a guarded one. Poetry ought to be placed in a distinctive and complementary sphere, a site that did not infringe on the scientific and the useful but that still revealed certain truths about humanity. That site, moreover, was a gendered one: "Poesie, like Truth, will unveil her beauty and dispense her honors", as Dewart put it, not escaping the gendered nature of a narrative where the 'artificial' was thought in the feminine. Added to that, poets were to be seen as bound by rules of taste provided by the literary critic and the public. The cult of Beauty went hand in hand with the cult of the Useful, twin but distinctive pursuits of the human experience. The cult of Beauty, however, had to meet certain recognizable standards in order to function without danger. According to Dewart, the purpose of the language of the senses - music, the visual arts and literature - had to be in harmony with the essential self.

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[13] - The Quebec Mercury commented on the British poetess Jane Radcliffe driven to madness by the passions she called on to write her works. The newspaper judged her predicament to be a kind of Providential "retributive justice" for having wrought "mischief by bewildering the imagination of thoughtless youth." The Quebec Mercury, 16 February 1807.

[14] - Dewart, Selections, P.XII.

While poetry was not "fruitful in direct and palpable results" it nevertheless accomplished much in the way of expressing feelings and "it refine[d] taste....educate[d] the mind to a quicker perception of the harmony, grandeur and truth disclosed in the works of the Creator."[15] Presented in this manner, poetry was no longer the disruptive and potentially dangerous product of the imagination but an aid to order and moral conduct. Indeed, Dewart pointed out, by 1864 the gift of poetry was no longer linked "with folly, scepticism and licentiousness" and the poet was not "a mere rhymer of idle and foolish fancies." Poetry and poet were instead in harmony with the pursuits of the scientific world: they perfected the soul in the same manner that the sciences perfected the mind.[16]

Dewart accepted that prose was an undiluted reflection of the natural but poets seemed to think otherwise. Some preferred the 'beautiful' to the 'useful' as a form to express the true self. The poem "Prose et poésie", for instance, showed poetry saving the soul from the dreary and mercenary pursuit of the useful by elevating it to levels of beauty and happiness not accessible through prose, inevitably linked, as it was, to ambition and worldly acquisitions.[17] William Berczy expressed the same type of sentiments when he derided his friend Jacques Viger's last epistolary salutation. Viger's "I have received your letter dated June 11" hardly conveyed the sentiments of friendship that the two enjoyed. That type of address, Berczy wrote, was used by merchants and lawyers and was "le style baroque et roide du barreau; le costume diplomatique et mercantile..."[18] Berczy saw prose that was dry and sober as the literary mask of the merchants and the professionals. It may have been eminently suited for a commercial sociability between self-interested strangers, but it hardly suited the more special ties of friendship and the more

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[15] - Ibid., P.XIII.

[16] - Ibid., "But the Poet's work is a lofty and sacred work. It is not merely to wreath garlands around the brow of Beauty, to cover Vice with graceful drapery, or to sing the praise of Bacchus and Venus in Anacreontic ditties: but to refine and elevate the spiritual in our nature." P.XII-XIV.

[17] - La Minerve, 18 Mai 1843. "Prose et poésie", Verses 4-12 and 20-47.

[18] - MG24 L8 M-8, Ma Saberdache Bleue, William Berczy à Jacques Viger, 15 Juin 1809. The poet Mermet accused Viger of the same thing some years later when Viger commented about mutual friends. Be less laconic, Mermet begged Viger, "be less politic and more affable." MG24 L8 M-8, 2 Avril 1814. My translation.

refined sentiments needed to elevate the mind out of the daily grind. As far as he was concerned scientific prose was no less a style than other written expressions. Each, in their own way, was artificial.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, many newspapers commented on events in poetical forms as well as in prose, each genre giving a particular insight into an incident.[19] Also, in the common practice of the times, writers in newspapers and magazines frequently alternated between prose and poetry, adding colour and highlighting in verse the questions they were analyzing in prose.[20] It was only later in the century that the prose was 'cleaned up' and poetry put in a place reserved for the 'arts' in magazines and newspapers. Placing in physically different sites the written word addressed to the mind and the word addressed to the senses and the imagination further enhanced the reputation of scientific writings and lessened the importance of aesthetic works such as poetry and the 'artificial' arts as providers of truth. Removing poetry to the periphery where only the initiated could enjoy it signalled the increasing importance of prose as the proper vehicle of serious thought in modern Canada.

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[19] - The Quebec Mercury, Le Canadien, La Minerve, The Canadian Freeman all make copious use of poetry to add insight to the texts written in prose.

[20] - This was an extremely old and accepted manner of writing. For example, Boethius' Consolation was entirely written in this alternating style.

2) ANIMALITY AND SENSUALITY

Those who wrote in prose sought to harmonize their writing style with the nature of their subject. Matching form and substance was done in many ways. To clarify their thoughts, some modern writers incorporated a distinction in their text and referred to two types of individual in different tones. Thus, an author would write prosaically about one sort of person and emotionally about another, the literary composition deepening the appreciation between 'right' and 'wrong'. Behaviours that were motivated by unmediated passions were depicted in unbridled language; behaviours where the passions were mediated and tamed were described in tamed and moderate language. Joseph Mermet followed just this method in a poem that compared the man of learning (sober, deliberate and engaging) with the flatterer (passionate, tormented and unable to foster fellow-feeling):

Heureux l'homme dont la science
Protège les loix et les coeurs
Le calme de sa conscience
Se communique à tous les coeurs

Malheureux est le sycophante
Qui ne prêche que les forfaits
Les remords que sa rage enfante
Doivent le ronger à jamais

Le premier s'exprime avec grace
On aime son geste et sa voix
On suit les exemples qu'il trace
Il instruit et plait à la fois

Le second dans sa rage impure
Succombant sous de vains efforts
Met son esprit à la torture
Pour y mettre bientôt son corps.[21]

The flatterer, shunning the rules of rhetoric, was thus generally depicted in far more vivid terms and as a more sensually-driven person than the learned orator. When they portrayed those they identified as disorderly, Canadians utilized a literary style associated with the volatile world of oral conversations, a world dominated by the imagination and the senses. Both the descriptions given and the style utilized reinforced

[21] - MG24 L8 M8, J.D.Mermet à Jacques Viger, 9 Juillet 1814.

for the reader the contrast between truth and deception, moderation and passion, fact and fiction. Alternating between 'sombre' and 'emotional' prose strengthened the points one observer made about the Governor and the reformers in the Assembly. The distinctions, and their implications, were worth noting because they show how literary composition sustained the understanding of human worth. In a four page diatribe, that observer opposed the Governor - a modern man of virtue - to eight corrupted assemblymen. The frontispiece ("I hate when Vice can bolt her arguments, And Virtue has no tongue to check her"), made it immediately clear that the contents were cast in the trope of virtue and corruption.[22]

> What, indeed, can be more preposterous, than that His Excellency, the Governor in Chief of British North America, who, besides being of noble dignity and the first blood of the Kingdom, has served his country in every clime, and distinguished himself on no ordinary or common manner, during the last thirty years, in all the splendid theatres of British Glory, should be bullied and barked at by a set of curs, who have scarcely ever emerged from their own stinking mangy kennels and who would be afraid to howl beyond the precincts of their own native dunghills?...In his private character He is in the indisputed enjoyment of a name that will go down to future times conspicuous for every virtue that adorns humanity : Their names and their acts of private munificence will be deposited in the grave with themselves. His acts of benevolence to the destitute stranger, the unfortunate but meritorious pilgrim, and the absolute mendicant will always entitle him to be ranked amongst the most beneficent of men and ensure to him the respect and gratitude of society at large : Their deeds of charity are confined to the protection and maintenance of a few miserable wretches, pretending to be men of talents, and wonderful political research, whom, finding fit instruments for any purpose, they breed in hot-houses of faction and sedition, in order to disseminate political poison among society whenever a suitable opportunity occurs. His hospitality is extensive, generous and magnificent : Theirs is confined to the club rooms of party, and the tavern-dinners of disaffection and Discriminating Toasts. He has never been heard to have either insulted or abused any of the meanest of His Majesty's subjects, but to have protected and succoured them on all occasions : They, on the contrary, not only revile all who take side with government, in their private and public character, but insult the head of the Executive, both as a legislator and as an individual...In a public point of view, the parallel will be found to be equally distinct. He, born in a station which entitled him to the highest rank and educated in those principles of virtuous patriotism... : They, born in plebeian solitude, educated in plebeian manners, with no other worldly hopes than those which generally reward plebeian industry, finding themselves raised a little above their natural condition in life by some accidental piece of good fortune similar to that which some philosophers tell us about the concourse

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[22] - Published in 1827, the 130 page pamphlet was written in answer to a Manifesto published earlier in the year by eight members of the Assembly. Letter from Delta to Senex, Containing some observations and strictures on a late Manifesto published in the Newspapers, in a sinister form of an Address from a Junto of Members of the Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada to their Constituents, Montreal: Printed at the Montreal Gazette Office, 1827. In his Addresse à tous les Electeurs, Papineau called the pamphlet "une production ordurière" and refused to engage it, preferring instead to respond to another pamphlet published by 'Anglo-Canadiensis' in the same year. Anglo-Canadiensis' pamphlet raised the same points as Delta's but in a much more restrained manner.

> of atoms, forgot, in an evil hour for their country, the source from whence they sprung...He, in the exercise of his important functions, is regulated not only by his own personal view of things, by his own individual knowledge, sense, judgement, and discretion but by the most pointed instructions, proceeding directly from the King...They have but the whim of the moment and the noxious plea of national jalousies and prejudices to regulate their actions. He has the Constitution and Laws on his side: They have undue ambition and democratic insolence on theirs. His motives are pure, upright and patriotic: Theirs are personal, seditious and full of danger to the connection presently subsisting between the mother country and the colonies. His measures have the support and countenance of every enlightened mind and every loyal British heart in the Province: Their insidious machinations are only approved by the dissolute and depraved, the ignorant and jealous, the malicious and cowardly![23]

Pitting the Governor and the reformers against each other in this way underscored the components of order and contingency. To the Governor's harmony was opposed the discordance of the reformers. To his stability, their inconstancy; to his singleness, their diversity; to his truth, their deception; to his selflessness, their self-interest; to his terse words, their volubility; to his sombre nature, their passionate one; to his fixity, their whimsy and randomness. And indeed, all the terms chosen to identify the reformers were those usually associated with a certain view of Fortune. The Governor, then, was portrayed as a being who had transcended his own physicality and worldliness. He was a 'transparent' being who wore no masks. The reformers, in contrast, were false and duplicitous. They were animal-like, curs, in fact.[24] The reference to 'animality' enhanced the opposition between two earthly species, one endowed with reason and the other ruled by instincts. In addition, the trope incorporated an evaluation of the reformers that appealed directly to the senses. They came from "stinking and mangy kennels and dunghills" (the sense of smell, vision and taste), they "breed in hot-houses" (the sense of touch), they "howl (the sense of hearing).[25] In contrast, the

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[23] - Delta to Senex, P.20-24.

[24] - References to the animality of democrat-reformers abounded in Delta's pamphlet. They were "pests of society [who] slink away into the dens and caves peculiar to such canines." (P.4) "...revolutionary tigers yelling for blood! blood! to slake their cannibals thirst." (P.17) "cattle" (P.28) "prowling like wolves" (P.68) "incarnate hell hounds" (P.115) "They are all animals of the same tiger species that can gorge no food unless human blood is mixed with it". (P.128).

[25] - The pamphlet engaged all the senses when it came to the reformers. Smell: "stinking sore" (P.27), "pestiferous oracles" (P.41), "pestilential breath", (P.43). Eye and ear: "they slunk like cowards and assassins from the broad glare and sunshine of honour and patriotism, to the tainted shades and corrupt pandemoniums of treachery."(P.7) Ear and touch: "would be hailed with a yell of savage triumph worthy of the ancestors of the majority of them." (P.6) Taste: "those incarnate demons who prefer to gorge the blood of their country" (P.4), "chewing the cud of their own very eloquent and vivacious expression."(P.47).

Governor - a man of civilized and refined taste - had transcended his physicality, had tamed his senses and had removed himself from the realm of those who were sensually referenced. Presumably, he did not smell bad because he washed and perfumed himself with odours that were pleasing and harmonious. His self was in no way defined by the jarring odours that he emanated.[26] Nor was it to be associated with discordant sounds. His speech, indeed, was to be noted for its gentleness and harmony, all the more appealing because the reformers could be heard expressing themselves loudly. Indeed, nowhere in the text were there any visual or sensual descriptions of the Governor, or references to him which involved images of sound, smell, vision, touch or taste. These were reserved for those who, in the author's mind and words, stood in opposition to the ethereal portrait of the Governor. In many respects, the passage revealed how stylistic form and content could come together to vividly identify the stable and trustworthy from the irresponsible and restless. It also pointed to the distinction between those who tasted and those who had taste.[27]

Jansenists and Calvinists used animal metaphors to describe the loathsome moral condition of sinners.[28] Early nineteenth century Canadian commentators found such metaphors equally useful in commenting on their particular circumstances. One of them warned Lower Canadians about the dangers of France's democratic longings. "Cherish the torpid viper" he warned, "and she will attempt to poison you and your infants."[29] The association between French republicans and animals was a common one. Republican France made war "like a thirsting tiger. She seemed to fight for food not fame. Blood was the

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[26] - A commentator noted that a learned man educated his senses in ways inaccessible to an illiterate. The former could "daily pluck some fragrant flower while the later passes unheeded." The Quebec Mercury, 4 November 1805. Alain Corbin studied the sense of smell and noted that only after the bourgeoisie perfumed itself with natural and delicate odours did it start to refer to the 'stink' of the masses; the refinement of the sense of smell having "revolutionized social perceptions." Corbin, Opus cited, P.232.

[27] - 'To taste' is to engage life directly while 'to have taste' is to distance oneself from the sensual experience and provide an aesthetic appreciation of things. The expressions are the same in French: goûter et avoir du goût.

[28] - E. J. Hundert, P.28.

[29] - The Quebec Mercury, 18 November 1806.

aliment of her ambition."[30] Referring to republican France in 'animal' terms increased the distinction between refined England and a wild and untamed country that could not aspire to affect the course of modernity. Indeed, the idea was to separate those fitted to rule from those who were not, and since the 'essence' of the character of Frenchmen was "an exuberance of animal spirits, producing [an] excess of mobility and a perpetual restless activity" they were plainly unequal to the task.[31]

The poor were differentiated from the rich in like manner: "In the name of peace and a quiet life" wrote a commentator, "can no remedy be found in this country for the swarms of beggars with which the public is continually pestered."[32] He was echoed by a French correspondent who noted that the poor who begged from door to door resembled "ces animaux sauvages, qui pressés par la faim, sortent de leur retraites et se répandent dans les lieux habités."[33] Immigrants were described in the same kind of language; according to David Chisholme, they "were thrown upon our shores in thousands like hordes of prowling barbarians." Upon their arrival, the refined and civilized population attended to them; it fed them and cured their diseases. In this way, the cultured "check[ed] their voracity for food" and ultimately "rear[ed] them into useful and industrious members of the State."[34] The refined segment of the community checked the animal behaviours of the masses: it provided food, shelter and an English education. The first two calmed their animal instincts, the third refined their taste to the point where they could harmonize with the host population. Only then would the language of modernity extend to them; only then could they be described in terms of a refined and meritorious self free of animal wants and appearances.

Since all shared equally in the limelight in a modern sociability animal references imaged the

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[30] - "The French Revolution judged by its results", The Canadian Magazine, P.356.

[31] - The Quebec Mercury, 9 February 1807. Annoyed by Etienne Parent's political views, an observer contrasted the King of England's steadfastness to Parent's "senseless desire for change and a craving thirst for plunder." MG24 B1 Vol.28, Letter to the editor of The Quebec Gazette, 183?. Another newspaper reported that Jean-Baptiste had been portrayed to Lord Durham as "un tigre ne respirant que haine et carnage." Le Fantasque 16 Juin 1838.

[32] - The Quebec Mercury, 5 July 1805.

[33] - Le Canadien, 14 Février 1807.

[34] - Chisholme, Observations on the Rights, P.80.

behaviour of 'respectable' individuals as well in order to register a disagreement and check the most obvious examples of self-interested conducts. Robert Christie registered his disapproval when he commented that the united Parliament of the Canadas was "swarming with attornies" who pursued their self-interest instead of the public good.[35] Evangelical preachers fared no better; their oratorical excesses made another observer note that Montreal was suffering from an "infestation of itinerant pulpit orators."[36] Writers reinforced group and individual identities by contrasting the civilized, useful and worthy with those who, like animals, apprehended the world in instinctual and unrefined ways.

Metaphoric language also included a sensual evaluation of the unrefined. Descriptions of charivaris invariably included references to the discordance and the noisiness of the affair. Clatter and cacophony expressed for those with taste the difference between the harmony of the sounds they produced and the quiet they preferred to the sounds of unrefined 'people'. An observer wrote in the reform newspaper The Canadian Freeman that during a recent charivari the streets "were infested...by a numerous mob of this description, who paraded...accompanied with all manner of discordant instruments emitting the most offensive sounds."[37] John Palmer's description of an 1817 charivari included a reference to the revellers "...performing discordantly on drums, fifes, horns, and tin pots, amidst the shouts of the populace."[38] His description also noted the heterogenous composition of the participants who donned masks in a celebration of dissonances. The young men, he noted, "disguise themselves as satyrs, negroes, sailors, old men, Catholic priests etc. etc" an amalgam of disparate elements brought together by the participants who wore masks openly and publicly. The public wearing of masks irked another commentator who remarked that during a similar occasion participants were "all in disguise, even to one another, and enjoyed liberty and equality to a very great extent." "Any young fop", he continued, "may kick up such a deist...at the expense of any one he pleases, and disturb the peace and quiet of the town as long and as often as he likes with

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[35] - Christie, A History of the Late Province, volume I, P.100.

[36] - The Quebec Mercury, 2 February 1805.

[37] - The Canadian Freeman, 21 August 1828.

[38] - Cited in Allan Greer's The Patriots and the People, P.69.

impunity."[39] Observers of charivaris were unhinged by a spectacle that enervated the senses. They thought the display of an openly falsified and discordant sociability shocking. Indeed the habit of wearing masks publicly jarred with the harmony between the private and the public appearance of the self aspired to by the refined who found tasteless the inability or the unwillingness to match the two. Modern commentators wrote about the charivari in ways that emphasized its sensuality. Their descriptions incorporated references to colour, sound and movement that was not present in the descriptions they made of the sophisticated and the refined who had mastered the art of appearing. Candidates for election to public office were described in the same kinds of ways, as Notary Séguin's description of Stanley Bagg and Daniel Tracey revealed. Bagg's appearance was omitted in favour of an assessment that judged him worthy of public office by virtue of what he owned - ses propriétés - while Daniel Tracey who "n'ayant pour appanage que son gentil corps" was described by how he looked.[40] Detailed reference to physical appearances and demeanours was reserved for individuals who in the estimation of the evaluators were still ruled by their senses and were not refined and worthy enough to displace the attention away from their bodies and focus it on the more intangible aspects of the self: merit and virtue.

Those in the habit of talking a lot were less likely to impress the refined than those who manipulated the oral world with deftness and economy. A writer to Le Canadien distinguished between two types of lawyer, one who mastered the art of eloquence in order to marshall arguments in a terse but unassailable manner that appealed to the higher faculties, and another who relied on impetuous bombast to show off to uneducated clients likely to be taken in by the loud display: "enchantés de ce fracas, leurs clients, la bouche béante, semblent admirer ces bruyans [sic] Orateurs." Linked by their lack of refinement, lawyer and client dwelled in the domain of the senses that were eminently recognizable to the educated

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[39] - The Quebec Mercury, 19 January 1805.

[40] - MG24 I109, Séguin, Notes, 23 Mai 1832. The historian Michel Bibaud similarly contrasted Bagg's respectability to Tracey's passion and enervated behaviour. He had "les gesticulations d'un energumène". Bibaud, Quelques Réflexions, P.4.

observer.[41] Noise also arose from a mismatched sociability. Another observer underlined the disharmony created by various ethnicities and ranks coming together for the purpose of gambling by emphasizing noise. "The young and the old, the rich and the poor, the Jew and the Gentile [were] shaking elbow and rattling the dice with all the noise and anxiety of a club of the most professed gamesters." He noted that someone started to make music and much dancing followed. "In short", he concluded, "the yells and discordant screams of this heterogeneous assemblage were such as to disturb the whole neighbourhood who thought that all the savages of the northwest had broken into the house and were scalping the peaceful inhabitants."[42] A random sociability made for a discordant sound. Other senses were marshalled into the discourse in an effort to distinguish between those who moderated their sensuality and those who had not.

Aboriginals, "the red children of the forest",[43] contrasted with the inconspicuous white colour of European populations and, as Garneau remarked, had extremely well developed senses.[44] The peasantry wore colourful clothing. The masses were like "a long visaged but shortsighted Demos."[45] Scots had red hair and a red complexion[46] and they loved the pageantry and fanfare that accompanied the Montreal merchants, ("les McMontréalistes"), everywhere they went.[47] Aboriginals never entered in the subtle game of courtship; their sexuality unrefined, they simply mated. This was true, too, of French Canadians who mingled with them. It became a feature which distinguished the sociability of French Canadians and

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[41] - Le Canadien, 7 Novembre 1807. In Les Trois Comédies du Statut Quo, the author of the last comedy denounced demagogues by pointing out that they were particularly verbose. One of them boasted "une bonne collection de mots fort et ronflants". Les Trois Comédies, P.114. England's view of the French and French Canadians as men who talked and prattled was examined in the third and fifth chapters.

[42] - The Quebec Mercury, 20 January 1806. Another writer contrasted the rambunctiousness of American immigrants to the sedateness of the British. The Quebec Mercury, 5 December 1807.

[43] - "The Indians of North America", P.414.

[44] - "Ils avaient la vue, l'ouïe, l'odorat et tous les sens d'une sensibilitée exquise." Garneau, Histoire, tome 1, P.197.

[45] - The Quebec Mercury, 12 March 1810.

[46] - Le Fantasque, 24 Novembre 1838. The author wrote that if he wore a red wig and rubbed his face with blood, he could easily pass for one.

[47] - Le Spectateur, 11 Octobre 1814.

natives from that of the British who preferred the more refined interaction that trading and commerce provided.[48] From the French Canadians point of view, the British displayed a certain gross physicality also. They regarded John Bull as someone who gorged on food and drink, forever taken in by silly and colourful displays of grandeur.[49] In addition, the British were lechers, eyeing the 'pure' French Canadian women and drinking themselves into oblivion but refusing to own up to their coarseness: "Ils aiment les jouissances du vice, s'y abandonnent avec fureur mais ne veulent pas être appelés vicieux."[50] All office-holders, regardless of cultural origins, according to Louis-Joseph Papineau, were ruled by their senses in ways that were detrimental to the public good.[51] Even the once refined could revert back to being described by their looks; the unfortunate Jane Radcliffe suffered this poetic fate, yielding too much to the passions, she became describable in reference to her discordant features.[52]

Canadian commentators enhanced the identity of individuals and of groups by evaluating their appearances and behaviours with words that emphasized their sensuality and lack of refinement. By the same token, and without having to add anything to their descriptions, they enhanced their own images as sophisticated impartial observers. They presented the modern self's artificiality as refined to the point of disappearance while a pre-modern personality could offer nothing more than an external shell to be examined.[53] Animal and sensual references highlighted the difference between those who were still at the

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[48] - Fleming, Political Annals, P.XXXIII.

[49] - Le Fantasque, 16 Juin 1838. Le Canadien, 17 Février 1810.

[50] - La Minerve, 4 Décembre 1834.

[51] - Office-holders were "des sensualistes qui tiennent plus à leur vin qu'aux intérêts de la patrie." Discours de l'Honorable Papineau, P.15.

[52] - A poem noted her passage from the ethereal to the physical: "The tender heart, the liberal mind/ The soul by sentiment refin'd/The modest mein, the graceful air/Are gone and all is ruin there/...See the maniac's ghastly stare!/See her loose dishevell'd hair!/See her wildly rolling eyes/Distorted form and piercing cries/See she trembles, writhes and groans/And fills the air with piteous moans." The Quebec Mercury, 16 February 1807.

[53] - It has been noted that, under the pen of the bourgeois, the masses were defined by their externality and the bourgeois class by its internality. Hence the importance of phrenology to the study of the masses, the criminals and the insane and psychiatry to study the bourgeois self. Moreover, many portraits painted of the bourgeoisie in the century rendered notions of stability and sombreness. Mostly dressed in dark

mercy of their senses and their passions and those who had refined them enough to be able to present an aesthetic evaluation of the difference between the two. In the wide open sociability in which they lived, these types of evaluation sustained not only group distinctions such as those of gender, class and ethnicity but contrasted worthy and unworthy behaviours among individuals who signalled to each other their disagreement or their disappointment. This elastic sociability considerably lessened the impact of a language once reserved for sinners.

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colours so as to not distract the viewer from the 'real' self, the typical family, composed of a father, a mother and children held choreographed static poses.

3) MOVEMENT

Modern Canadians cherished change or at least they cherished change as long as they knew the direction it was taking. Stadial development provided for some the certainty that their societies were embarked on a predictable course. Moreover, the self was not static. It matured following a known course of natural growth that led to greater perfectibility. The self developed talents and accumulated knowledge, experience and possessions that changed its original nature in incremental degrees giving the individual the time to digest the modifications and reshape the self and its tastes in ways that harmonized the inner and outer appearances. The individual's sociability increased as each new layer of complexity entitled him or her to form relationships that otherwise would not have been possible. If all went well, if the individual worked and got educated, he or she would grow in stature, wealth and happiness. Altogether, the modern age offered the individual a course of change that was predictable but still needed to be protected from veering off course.

Fortune was identified with numerous types of movement. In addition to cyclical revolutions and the pre-determined and unstoppable move towards decline, she was associated with wandering, atomization and patternlessness. She was known for her fickelness and her aptitude to change appearances at whim and to disregard a set course and rules. For the most part, references to Fortune were made in times of crisis where the future was uncertain. The frightening consequence of the unrestrained passions, the rise of Napoleon, the outset of the war of 1812, the danger posed by arbitrary regimes, a conversion, all presented commentators with behaviours and events that were perceived as dangerous and foreboding. The best way to make their nature intelligible to a Christian readership was to speak of them in the patterns of Fortune.

Fortune ruled the oceans and the winds and was generally associated with natural forces that could not be controlled; when such forces took hold, humans were at their mercy, loosing control over their environment and over their own lives. Just like the winds and the seas she was associated with, Fortune was an uncontrollable force when she held sway over humans. As Boethius had put it in the Consolation

of Philosophy man's rush to build dikes to stop her were for naught.[54]

How being caught up in forces beyond one's control might affect an individual was graphically described by a commentator early in the century. Likening the effect of alcohol on the young to being caught up in a whirlpool, he wrote that

> No skill in the mariner nor strength of rowing can work and escape. The ship is overtaken by currents and is thrown about in ever narrowing circles until it is dashed against the rock and completely disappears. And thus it fares with the hapless youth that falls under the power of any vicious habit. At first he indulges with caution and timidity and struggles against the stream of vicious inclination. But every relapse carries him further down the current (the violence of which increases) and brings him still nearer to the fatal rock in the midst of the whirlpool; till, at length stupefied and subdued, he yields without a struggle and makes shipwreck of conscience, of interest of reputation and of everything that is clear and valuable in the human character.[55]

Many feared the type of movement that was uncontrollable and unstoppable since it lead to perdition. Indulging pleasure, particularly in the young, was a dangerous enterprise that risked sending the indulger on a course that would bring about the destruction of his status in society and his subsequent demise. The wanton indulgence of the passions made humans lose what was fixed in themselves. Out of control, they acted as if under the sway of Fortune.

One observer stressed the implacable character of the forces associated with Napoleon in observing that "too many mounds cannot be raised to oppose the overbearing torrent, which flows with impetuosity that will scarcely suffer the smallest check."[56] And Denis-Benjamin Viger utilized the same type of prose to describe the English-speaking immigration into the Eastern Townships, something that threatened the balance of power in the Assembly. Like a flood, the Americans "inondent une partie de la province...ils sont à nos portes."[57] Referring to individual or collective behaviours in terms of forces that were unstoppable enhanced the importance of behaviours that stayed the course and glorified measures

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[54] - That aspect of the metaphor is also present in Machiavelli's The Prince.

[55] - The Quebec Mercury, 28 September 1805.

[56] - The Quebec Mercury, 27 Octobre 1806.

[57] - Viger, Considérations, P.44. Papineau referred to immigration from the British isles as "le déluge d'une immigration pauvre et sans industrie." MG24 B50, Vol.1, Louis-Joseph Papineau to O'Callaghan, 27 Mars 1848.

and attributes that counteracted them.

The words used by a concerned writer to The Quebec Gazette to describe the United States' political outlook on the eve of the war of 1812 revealed the connection between the existence of an ill-assorted sociability and political upheaval. American society, he wrote, brought together bands "of thieves, Swindlers, idlers, united Irishmen, french spies and vagabonds of every description", a discordant assemblage of individuals motivated by self-interest who enabled republicanism or, as he called it, "anti-federalism" to:

> lift her languid head; but no sooner did she observe these auxiliaries coming to her aid that she sprung with a Bacchanalian frenzy and with these recruits seize the reins of government whilst the virtuous, wise and opulent members of society struck with astonishment stood silent, spectators of the unexampled scene; from [that] time the affairs of the United States have been going to destruction.[58]

An association of passionate men who had nothing in common but a thirst for power acted like Fortune; they spontaneously put in motion the wheel that sent a society into decline while helpless and virtuous spectators stood by.[59]

John Henry's words illustrated how the metaphor was incorporated into the Canadian anti-democratic discourse. Personalizing democracy, he wrote in ways that blended animality and fortune-related notions:

> Democracy is a permanent disease, which strikes deep root in the corruption of our common nature. Its passion is wild and inordinate. It delights in difficulties and disdains everything moderate, solid and secure, Its nature is so anomalous, that it thrives amidst difficulties; and is defeated without feeling a sense of disgrace. It slumbers only to recruit its strength and sharpen its appetite; and returns upon its foe when least expected, with redoubled force and keener vengeance. France is its common parent; [that country] supplies it with fresh vigor and nutriment; and watches it with unabated affection in every quarter of the civilized world...like the goddess in some of her attributes, [democracy] can travel unseen, assuming every shape and speak every language suited to the various and ever varying taste of man. To the poor it promised plenty; to the indolent ease; to the

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[58] - MG24 B1 Vol.28, The Quebec Gazette, Letter to the Editor, 1812.

[59] - Susanna Barrows explored the language utilized by fin de siècle novelists, scientists and politicians to describe the riots in France at the time. The language included allusions to the savagery and the feminity of the crowds. Coarse instincts, unleashed passions, fury and capriciousness characterized the mobs that could not be stopped. Susanna Barrows, Distorting Mirrors, Visions of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth Century France, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981, P.149 and 190. Until recently, it was customary to give hurricanes feminine names.

> licentious exemption from restraint; to the ambitious glory; to the philanthropist a return to the golden age; and to every one happiness![60]

Democracy, then, like Fortune, was a slippery and uncontrollable force that insinuated itself everywhere; meritorious men were powerless to stop it. None of the forms democracy took offered any stability or certainty: it assumed as many masks as there were humans pursuing happiness in easy indulgence. Passionate and wanton, it denied such solid and stable edifices as the English monarchy, the Constitution and the rule of law. Men who relied on it were fools, deceived and in the sway of a blind force. Their fate was pre-determined like that of the many others who had hitched their fate to Fortune.[61] The metaphor, however, was eminently portable. Indeed, Denis-Benjamin Viger utilized it in 1835 to describe another form of arbitrary government, one dominated by corrupt elites. Void of merit and talents, the regime of the elites was "humiliant et corrupteur [et] étouffait tous les sentiments généreux. La justice et la science disparaissent pour céder la place aux passions qui renversaient l'édifice de la civilisation, et de ses débris élevait un trône à l'ignorance et à l'immoralité."[62] Denunciations of aristocratic oligarchies and democracies were effected in the same language, a language that opposed the virtuous to the corrupt and attested to the power of the metaphor of Fortune to mark the difference between orderly change and chaotic movement.

Even modern men of medicine resorted to this type of language to condemn charlatans and warn the population about the danger posed by those who had not acquired their knowledge from the sciences. Charlatans threatened doctors and the unstable and wandering character of their enterprise allowed the physicians to oppose it with a settled and proven medicine. When 'l'Ami du Peuple' wrote to Le Canadien denouncing charlatans he connected adroitly with the feminity of this uncontrollable force by declaring them "une race vagabonde". The expression was potent for it conveyed images of plagues, barbarism and

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[60] - John Henry, An Enquiry into the Evils, P.19-20.

[61] - Another commentator likened the Lower Canadian Assembly's disqualification of judges to popular usurpation. Popular usurpation, he wrote, worked like "an avalanche, [it appears] appears small and feeble at the outset, but increases in its course until finally its force becomes overwhelming and irresistible." Aristides, Supplementary Observations, P.7.

[62] - Cited in Louis-Georges Harvey, "Le mouvement patriote", in Québécois et Américains, P.101.

depredation like none other. From then on, the force had the attributes of Fortune:

> Vraiment mon humanité souffre en considérant cette race vagabonde: rien ne s'oppose à sa propagation, elle se perpétue dans le sang même de ceux qu'elle immole; elle exerce sans ménagement ses mains meurtrières sur nos Canadiens, elle s'en rit, elle se moque d'elle; elle ne trouve aucun obstacle pour arrêter ses progrès.[63]

Strachan's denunciation of Catholicism on the occasion of the conversion of a prominent Upper Canadian included elements that spoke of a force out of control; like John Henry, Strachan insisted on Catholicism's ability to take on many masks. Highlighting its relativism and its ability to offer to humans whatever appearance suited them best in order to deceive them, he personalized Catholicism. As elsewhere, the force of disorder became a she. Compared to Protestantism's manly firmness and fixed tenets, the Church of Rome was changeable and soulless. "Look at this system", Strachan wrote, spreading in Spain, in Italy, in Great Britain; "look at it in Ireland

> since the time of the reformation, actuating and inciting her denuded followers to acts of violence and rebellion, when she can do it in safety, and stretching the broad shield of her infallibility to cover crimes that are shocking to humanity; see it in this country, through the instrumentality of a miserable apostasy, striving to erect its head coalescing alternately with the <u>infidel</u> who denies the sacred scriptures and the politicians who abuses those of its professors who make them their rule of faith and guide unto salvation. Compare her miracles and wonders to amaze and their terrify the credulous; for the devout she has solitude and meditation; for the profligate indulgence and absolution; the inquisitive she baffles or satisfies with her scholastic distinctions and divisions; and to the indolent or the ignorant she extends her dogma of implicit faith.[64]

Acting like Fortune, the Church of Rome preyed on the passions of men and enticed them into unspeakable acts, something she could do because she had no province, no chosen, no elect. She offered to all what suited their fancy and their idle desires. Acting in the manner of John Henry's democracy, she endlessly readjusted her tenets to fit their desires and impulses and offered empty promises and false words and beliefs that deceived her adherents into following her to their own corruption.[65]

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[63] - <u>Le Canadien</u>, 22 Aoust 1807. Another writer called them "le fléau de ce pays." <u>Le Canadien</u>, 12 Aoust 1807.

[64] - John Strachan, <u>On the Character and Genius</u>, P.v. Underlined in the text.

[65] - J.G.A. Pocock noted that it was in the idiom of Fortune that, in 1706, Daniel Defoe personalized credit and trade. Defoe wrote about credit: "Tis a strange thing to think how absolute this Lady is; how despotickly she governs all her Actions: If you court her, you lose her..." He described trade in like fashion: "Trade is a mystery, which will never be compleatly discover'd or understood; its has its Critical Junctures

Catholicism, democracy and trade were not the only things that lacked a core and wore many masks to deceive. These traits characterized individual politicians as well. Indeed much of the denunciation of them included reminding the population of their propensity to change their minds and not stay true to their positions. In other words - like Fortune - they were creatures of fickleness and caprice. Louis Bourdages' politics, for instance, were like "l'habit de l'Arlequin"[66]; they changed whenever the mood took him, whenever his interests changed. Joseph Planté's speech in the House of Assembly in 1808 made it clear that a candidate running for election wore as many masks as necessary to be elected.[67] When Lafontaine wrote a pamphlet denouncing the Mondelet brothers for accepting governmental offices and reneging on their past allegiance, he entitled it Les Deux Girouettes, borrowing from a known medieval feature associated with Fortune, the weathervane, a contraption that turned with the wind. A comment made in Le Canadien made the connection when it denounced Assembly members who altered their votes to suit an influential member: "Car on peut bien appeler ainsi ces personnes qui, semblables aux girouettes, obéissent au vent dominant, au vent qui agit le plus immédiatement sur eux et qui sont aussi susceptible de changement que la cause qui les met en mouvement."[68] Catholic members of the Assembly, borne of a doctrine as shifting as the wind, were susceptible to these abrupt and irrational behaviours which made them poor politicians and much too likely "to depend on caprice and arbitrary constructions."[69] Political

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and Seasons, when acted by no visible Causes, it suffers convulsion Fitts, hysterical Disorders, and most accountable emotions. Sometimes it is acted by the Evil Spirit of general Vogue and like a mere Possession 'tis hurr'd out of all common Measures; today it obeys the Course of things, and submits to Causes and Consequences; tomorrow it suffers Violence from the Storms and Vapours of Human Fancy, operated by exotic Projects, and then all runs counter, the Motions are exentrick unnatural and unaccountable - A sort of lunacy in Trade attends all its Circumstances and no Man can give a rational account of it. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment, P.454.

[66] - Vie Politique de Mr.xxx, P.6. Works on Fortune relate that medieval and renaissance representations portrayed her with domino-like features: one side of her face white and the other black.

[67] - See chapter four.

[68] - Le Canadien, 14 Novembre 1807. Reflecting on the power and the influence of the Governor on the legislative council, Louis Perreault remarked: "Le vent du Château est celui qui fait tourner ces girouettes et ils devraient prendre pour épitaphe: O Vent! Je te salue". MG24 B37 Vol.1, Perreault à Fabre, 12 Novembre 1835.

[69] - The Quebec Mercury, 17 October 1808.

factions worked in the same manner according to a broadside printed to denounce the politics of William Warren Baldwin and his supporters. Like a ship, Baldwin's faction "was kept cruising backward and forward near the Coast and in sight of Cape Despair, on which she was several times near being wrecked from the unsteadiness of the Master...the Crew besides were [sic] ill assorted, being men of different conditions and mutinous for want of pay."[70] The domino, the weathervane and the battered ship imaged rather well self-interested individuals who did not exercise fortitude and stability in their views. They could not be relied on in difficult times, could not be counted on to follow up their promises and could not be trusted to stay the course. The unsettled of mind acted in Fortune-like manner; rudderless, they shifted in the wind subject to their whimsy and attentive only to their self-interest.

Unless written - and entrusted to dictionaries - the meaning of words was unfixed and could be manipulated to suit private interest. Strachan accused the Catholic Church of doing such a thing in order to blind its adherents. Another instance involved those who reacted to Louis Bourdages' inflammatory comments by calling him the Antichrist. In response, Bourdages allegedly told his audience that in scientific language, Antichrist meant "l'ami du peuple et l'ennemi de toute tyrannie."[71] Twisting and turning the meaning of words to suit one's goal was dangerous and had to be made public to put a halt to it. Lawyers were particularly subject to this tactic. An 1841 poem made the case when it linked politically-involved lawyers to deception, money and Fortune:

T'is the grasping lawyers, greedy eyes,
Who broke down the Golden balance made
T'ween evil money and merchandise
Know also why your ever in trouble
Your laws are of a cameleon kind
For words have meaning far more than double
That lawyers, a Fortune, should ever find.[72]

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[70] - "Dreadful Shipwreck" CIHM 43662-43707, undated. According to the legend, Fortune was associated with the sea was the guide of sailors. She held the rudder and guided the ship to good or ill fate. Eventually the wise and forceful man replaced her at the rudder symbolizing the masculine control over one's destiny.

[71] - Vie politique de Mr.xxx, P.12.

[72] - MG24 B1 Vol.30, The Quebec Gazette, 1841. The cameleon was another metaphor that indicated changeability. Louis Bourdages remarked on one of his colleague in the Assembly: "Dumont change d'opinion et de principes comme les couleuvres changent de peau au printemps." Bourdages, Addresse,

With lawyers involved in the political process, nothing was fixed. The laws they passed were not what they appeared to be or what they were represented as and were subject to varying interpretations according to the will of their authors. Lawyers, more than anyone else, spoke to deceive. What was worse, they monopolized the public arena and made their money and reputation in it.[73]

Canadians associated with whimsical and uncontrollable movement all the things, the behaviours and the individuals they saw as dangerous to an existing order. They borrowed from the metaphor of Fortune many of her features that symbolized instability, deceit and decline to check the most outrageous claims of self-interest and to delineate the boundaries of order even when the name and its Christian origin had been forgotten. Consistently with the idea of malleability contained in the notion itself, the metaphor was adapted to fit any circumstance. To whatever was settled (the written word, the working farmer, the family, immoveable property, the law, the Constitution, religion, customs or the sciences), commentators opposed uncontrollable movement in their manner of phrasing things.

P.23.

[73] - "Law and Lawyers", read:

For fees, to any form they mould a cause,
The worst has merits and the best has flaws;
Five guineas make a criminal to-day,
And ten, to-morrow wipe the stain away.

The Canadian Magazine, Vol.IV, No., XIX, January 1825, P.30. Jokes on lawyers' duplicity and rapacity abounded as well as similar jokes on doctors who, more often than not, did not cure but still got paid.

4) THE FEMININE

The most enduring feature of the language of contingency was its feminity. For the Romans and the early Christians, Fortuna, and all the motifs associated with it, were gendered.[74] Early on, then, the way was open for integrating into the narrative of order and contingency a duality based on various understandings of the masculine and the feminine. For the most orthodox, sin and corruption were feminine features that could only be opposed by a masculine characteristic, virtue, where masculine self-command and stability contrasted with female indulgence and inconstancy.[75] From this vantage point, polities dominated by women and by feminine characteristics were considered frivolous, luxurious and, for some, dangerous. Indeed, it was thought that monarchies and aristocracies were dominated by women, something that posed the greatest threat to rational rule.[76] Just like Fortune, women could bring down empires.[77] Republics, on the other hand, excluded women from the public sphere, shunned luxuries and ostentatiousness and relied on the denial of the passions and on the interdependence and transparent

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[74] - According to Hanna Pitkin, the Romans identified Fortuna as "female and her changeability was regarded as typifying the fickle unreliability of women." Hanna Pitkin, Fortuna is a Woman, Gender & Politics in the Thoughts of Niccolo Machiavelli, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, P.138. Pitkin assumes that ideas about contingency were taken from ideas about the feminine. It is outside the purview of this study to examine whether contingency's features were taken from a view of the feminine or if the feminine was shaped by views about contingency. Nevertheless it seems fair to mention that Boethius' view of the feminine was more complex than this. Indeed, in The Consolation, the Muses of Poetry, Fortune and Philosophy are all feminine figures that accompany him on his journey of understanding. Some Renaissance figures, like Machiavelli, chose to restrict the feminine to the notions associated with Fortune in a trope that opposed it to virtue while others, like Montaigne and late medieval poets (Ronsard, Dante and Chaucer) took a more expansive and friendlier view of Fortune and the feminine. See Jerold Frakes, Howard Patch and Daniel Martin for the latter assessment regarding the feminine and Fortune in the lives of humans.

[75] - Many authors have noted the origin of the word virtue; vir meaning man in latin. However, one could argue that linking the feminine and women to forces beyond the control of God and humans was paying them a compliment of sorts.

[76] - This was a common assessment of the French court and was extended in the nineteenth century to the English aristocracy. Le Canadien, 31 Mai 1833.

[77] - The exiled patriot Ludger Duvernay, for instance, attributed the Conquest of Canada to the influence of one of Louis XV's mistresses. MG24 B37 Vol.3, Le Patriote Canadien, publié à New York, Décembre 1838. The thought was also present in Machiavelli's The Prince.

homogeneity among men.[78] The gendered attributes that belonged to the trope of order vs contingency were freely extended to political regimes when republics were compared to monarchical rule.

Comprehending circumstances through the eyes of the trope that opposed virtue to fortune gendered a sociability that was built on worldly pleasures and acquisitions. Those who revelled in such a universe therefore adopted feminine characteristics. The article "Characteristics of the Age", apparently written in the 1770s but not published in Canada until 1825, typified well this type of thinking. According to its author (who longed for the past), "the effeminacy of our manners" had risen to untold heights. Men had lost their past forbearance as they displayed themselves in new clothing, ate foreign and complicated foods, drank wine and adopted social manners that went with a dissolute and fashionable sociability. They turned their backs on effort and simple pleasures and sought facile wealth usually at the gaming tables. "Show and pleasures are the main objects of pursuit", weakening honour, religion and public service and so revealing the "vain, luxurious and selfish effeminacy" of the age.[79]

Some early nineteenth century Canadians thus laboured in an intellectual environment that did not let go easily of gendered notions of order and contingency in their sociability. As far as they were concerned the age in which they lived was artificial, shallow, ruled by fashion, unstable, deceiving and feminine. When individuals sought easy pleasures, according to one writer, they pursued what he called a "false happiness" that "love[d] to be in a crowd and to draw the eyes upon her...She flourishe[d] in courts and palaces, theatres and assemblies and has no existence but when she is looked upon."[80] The pursuit of shallow pleasures and artificial sentiments united individuals who engaged in a feminine sociability that, for someone like the poet Joseph Mermet, characterized decadent nations like Italy and made-up the entire

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[78] - Lynn Hunt noted the predilection of French republicans for "a national civil uniform" in order to maintain the uniformity of appearances and exclude expressions of individualism in dress. See Lynn Hunt, Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution, Berkeley: University of California Press, P.83. Carol Blum analyzed the republican construction of gender during the French revolution. See Carol Blum, Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue, the Language of Politics in the French Revolution, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986. Allan Greer analyzed the republican origins of the Patriots' sense of morality regarding women during the Rebellions. Greer, Patriots and the People, P.189-218.

[79] - "Characteristics of the Age", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.IV, No.XIX, January 1825, P.60-63.

[80] - The Quebec Mercury, 31 October 1808.

social environment of "les femmes de tous les pays".[81] Men involved in these environments exposed themselves to losing their masculine attributes of denial and steadfastness. This was the point that Delta intended to make when he contrasted notions of the masculine with notions of the feminine and highlighted the Governor's manly control and denial of the passions as against the feminine weakness that indulgence constituted. Compared to French demagogues, he wrote, the English people "know their duty and perform manfully."[82] Mermet and Delta's worldview gendered a sociability in ways that affected the identities of individuals and nations.

What lay behind this view of things was the notion that worldliness was ruled by Fortune. Indeed, Fortune ruled life on earth and all the systems concocted by humans to make sense of their existence were imbued by the deception associated with her gifts. The situation was made even more complicated by the fact that anyone wishing to engage life had not only to confront Fortune but rationalize their dealings with her. An orthodox manly virtue remained the most effective way to counteract contingent instances even in an environment that engaged earthly rewards in the fullest sense. Commentators extended gendered descriptions of sensuality, movement and artificiality to men who pursued their self-interest in a selfish or unbridled way in contrast to the refinement of modern men's minds and their acquisition of knowledge; these were immaterial things that were not immediately apparent to the senses and did alter their external appearances. Indeed, as seen previously, meritorious and virtuous men were rarely 'aesthetically' described.[83]

When it came to the relationships with women, some writers could not let go of contrasting gendered notions. They associated contingency with all women, a group of individuals who came to share

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[81] - MG24 L8 M-8, Ma Saberdache Bleue, J.D. Mermet à Jacques Viger, 14 Février 1814.

[82] - Delta to Senex, P.78. The author contrasted the manliness of the governor and of the British people with the vacillating nature of demagogues and the French people several times. Among other things, the "oppositionists" manifesto did not contain "a single honourable or manly sentiment." P.46.

[83] - Joan Wallach Scott warns not to confuse the feminine and the masculine with males and females in order to distinguish between discourse and reality but nineteenth century men did; they readily extended to men and women the characteristics of the feminine and to men those of the masculine. Joan Wallach Scott, Gender and the Politics of History, New York: Columbia University Press, 1988, P.63.

its attributes in common by virtue of belonging to an unchosen community; as a consequence the human worth of individual women was subsumed to an attribute over which they had no control. Moreover, how women appeared aesthetically, at least when they were young, provided the basis for esteem and social positioning. Their looks complemented men's talents and rational abilities in the same manner poetry complemented prose and refined the minds and the taste of a modern community. The useful and the beautiful came together in courtship.

The view some commentators held on heterosexual love revealed how much that particular segment of sociability was considered in contingent terms.[84] Indeed, Fortune provided many of the motifs that observers associated with the physical and emotional states that were as difficult to grasp intellectually as they were enticing and dangerous. Even to those committed to celebrating love and marriage, the association between the object of love and Fortune could not be avoided. A woman's power over her lover was breathtaking: "She exercizes on her fascinated lover", one such observer wrote, "all that powerful ascendancy which results from the united charms of wit, caprice and beauty; one moment dispiriting him with denials the next encouraging him, by kindness."[85] Like Fortune who entranced one minute and scorned the next, a woman utilized her awesome powers to attract her lover. The commitment she gave could just as well be taken away and her promises dissolve into thin air:

How often my fair one hath ardently vow'd
She never could wed other than me
Although even Jove, to her beauty hath bowed
The monarch of heaven rejected should be

She vow'd - but whatever may woman declare
To declare her adorer in love's idle dream,
Go - write it upon impalpable air,
Or inscribe, if you will on the fugitive stream.[86]

In love, the motives of women were undecipherable and uncertain. True of all human beings, this was

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[84] - Both Daniel Martin and Howard Patch note the Renaissance's trait of Fortune to oversee the meeting of lovers and to rule their relationship.

[85] - "Love", The Canadian Magazine, Vol.2, No.VIII, February 1824, P.125.

[86] - Untitled poem by Catullus, The Canadian Magazine, Vol.1, No.2, 1823, P.114. Fortune's association with water and wind has already been noted.

seen as especially evident in women and in women in courtship in particular, something that put men in love at risk. That love worked like Fortune was no secret. Neither could be explained or ordered and neither offered any assurance of stability and endurance: they were two of a kind. They both shunned commitment and confinement. As an author who explored the relationship between gambling, love and Fortune put it:

> The gamester and the gallant find
> Fortune and love are of one mind
> Both are by mere caprice directed
> In vain the generous lover sighs;
> In vain his art the gamester plies;
> Virtue and skills are both neglected.
>
> Fortune and Cupid, all agree,
> Are so stark blind they cannot see
> The worth of any kind of merit:
> Blockheads grow rich ere well aware
> To women fools and fops are dear,
> Dearer than men of wit and spirit.[87]

Connecting with many facets of Fortune, the observer underlined the similarities between gambling and love. Both ruled by Fortune, they rewarded the unmeritorious and shunned the virtuous and wise. The inconstancy of love was the subject of another poem sent to Le Canadien: "L'Amour craint tout engagement, Il ne peut souffrir de limite, Qui veut le capturer, l'irrite, Il ne se plaît qu'au changement."[88] When commentators sought to underline the difficulty of dealing with love, they turned to the motifs that spoke of its unseizable nature. Courtship relationships were presented as difficult to grasp for men whose masculine nature prevented them from blindly embracing the manipulation of sentiments that went along with a sophisticated sociability.

For the poet Joseph Mermet, that kind of sociability was the particular domain of the individuals whose gender made them excel in it. His 1814 poem Le Quiproquo des Coquettes examined the many

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[87] - "Rich Folk", P.445. The poem was the translation of an eighteenth century French poem.

[88] - Le Canadien, "L'Inconstance", 5 Septembre 1807.

ways women acted to mislead.[89] As mothers, daughters, friends, wives and consumers, women manipulated their images and fooled those close to them. Vain and sensual, they mimicked sincerity, modesty and faithfulness and preached and taught what they did not believe in. Using feminine guile and genius, they changed their physical appearance and adjusted their facial and bodily expressions to suit their purpose. There were no recognizable rules that governed their conduct. They fooled all: sons and daughters, lovers and husbands, fathers and neighbours, all indeed, except the poet who was conversant with the workings of the world of masks and appearances. In the end, Mermet's portrait characterized women as having no centre, no core, no self. They were the sum total of their appearances and nothing more and evolved in a completely artificial sociability. Like Fortune, they deceived all the humans with which they came in contact.

Faced with the capricious nature of heterosexual love, men sought relationships and a sociability in sympathy with who they were as gendered beings. They glorified masculine friendships as immune from inconstancy. These friendships came without masks and deceit; they were free of the passions. The poem 'A L'Amitié' described the nature of masculine friendships:

Respectable amitié, vrai trésor de la vie,
Qui plus solide que l'amour
Et dans ta marche plus unie
Ne connais ni fard, ni détour
Toi que l'estime forme, et le temps fortifie
Toi dont les liens sont pleins d'attraits
Tissés par la vertu ne se rompent jamais.[90]

True masculine friendships lasted for life and remained impervious to fashion, taste and change of a shallow nature. Nothing in them replicated the artificiality and deceit that marked the encounters with women. The more orthodox of nineteenth century men looked upon a modern sociability that demanded concealment and negotiation, flexibility and astuteness and found it fraught with deceit and artificiality.

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[89] - Having written it for Le Spectateur, Mermet changed his mind and asked that the poem not be published. See comment in Jeanne D'Arc Lortie, Les Textes Poétiques du Canada-Français, 1606-1867, Volume 2, Montréal: Fides, 1989, P.239.

[90] - British American Register, 9 Avril 1803. The poem was translated from the English and was republished in La Bibliothèque Canadienne, Tome I, No.5, Octobre 1825, P.196. The same type of sentiments was also expressed in a poem called 'Amitié' published in Le Canadien, 25 Avril 1807.

They sought refuge in the attributes they shared in common as gendered beings where the ties were transparent and need not be negotiated. By the same token, they reinforced the binary opposition between gendered spheres that carried particular attributes and strengthened gender identities in both men and women that obscured notions about the self and human worthiness.

In comparison to men who could sacrifice their lives, deny their passions and experience sociability based on a transparent self, women were creatures of the senses and appearances who could not experience female friendships. Their natural vanity coloured the way they saw things and made them cherish all the masks and appearances associated with earthly sensual possessions. They followed the caprices of fashion. They relished being seen in public, displaying their newest acquisitions designed to enhance their beauty and, therefore, their reputation and status in the community. They masked their faults and rearranged their physical appearances. Fashion, caprice and change ruled their lives.

Women lacked the self-command and the education necessary for rational self-interest that would make them curb their deceitful nature. They were, therefore, in need of the wherewithal to distance the self from its 'natural' state.[91] Educating women required curbing their natural propensity for unrefined and facile intellectual experiences. Here again, Fortune's whimsical and fickle nature provided another set of notions commentators associated with women. Just like Fortune, women displayed an inability to fix their attention on anything of value for very long. They preferred literary works that engaged the senses and the imagination seriously impairing the perfectibility of their minds. Novels and romantic poetry were singled out as particularly damaging:

A ces trop frivoles lectures
Comment prendre quelque intérêt
Ce n'est qu'un tissu d'impostures
Dont le but est bien indiscret;
Des aventures merveilleuses
Et des héros bien séducteurs
Que de peintures dangereuses!

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[91] - Leaving women to their senses could put them in a precarious position since they would not know when to stop. Such had been the situation of the young Elizabeth Stapleford who wrote an ardent poem to her lover. The poem - titillatingly reproduced in its entirety - so excited the young man that he raped her. At his trial the judge observed "that young ladies who indulged in such rhapsodies contributed to their own ruin" and acquitted the prisoner. The Quebec Mercury, 21 Novembre 1808.

Et que d'épines sous les fleurs![92]

Novels presented deceits and adventures that made the reader dream and forget the important things in life. Linking women's minds with a literary genre known for its shallowness, frivolity and danger reinforced the necessity to provide them with a useful education that would take the edge off their tendency towards the ephemeral and the shallow. If nothing else, wrote a commentator, "Useful knowledge" would "improve their minds...enabling them [women] to judged [sic] themselves between right and wrong."[93] Novels so engaged the emotions that young women lost their common sense and risked losing their way figuratively and physically as well: two such young ladies, according to an anecdote, went into a forest to look for berries while one read to the other from such a novel. So entranced were they by the story that they lost track of time, got lost and wandered for three days.[94] Other forms of 'silly' literature were also linked to women. The Editor of The Quebec Mercury made it clear that he would not print triviality: "Our opinion", he wrote, "is that Enigmas, Riddles, Rebuses, Anagrams and such conceits are out of place anywhere but in a lady's diary."[95] These forms of amusement required no scientific knowledge and did not produce any lasting effect; in this they rightly belonged to the domain of the artificial that defined the intellectual environment of women.

That environment was also characterized by an important oral component. Indeed, women excelled at shallow conversation, small talk and gossip: they seemed to talk endlessly.[96] Inexhaustibly verbose lawyers were only surpassed by women[97] most of whom relished public occasions to exercise their vocal

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[92] - "Couplet sur la lecture des Romans", La Gazette des Trois Rivières, 1819, cited in Lortie, Les Textes Poétiques, vol.2, P.482.

[93] - MG24, B1, Vol.28, Letter to the Quebec Gazette, 18??.

[94] - "Anecdotes", La Bibliothèque Canadienne, Tome 1, No.1, Juin 1825, P.30.

[95] - The Quebec Mercury, 2 February 1805. Underlined in the text.

[96] - Howard Patch notes that Fortune was known for its volubility and sometimes referred to as Fortuna volubilis. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna, P.38.

[97] - Le Canadien, 7 Novembre 1807.

cords.[98] Like all those who were distinguished from what ought to be the norm of behaviour, women lived their earthly life in a more direct and sensual manner.

From an 'otherworldly' point of view, concerns about beauty and social appearances hardly prepared the individual for the serious things in life; it certainly did not qualify a person to own land and to acquire the rights of citizenship. The more otherworldly of the moderns took the distinction between the masculine and the feminine seriously. For them, the feminine manifested a state of moral and personal ambiguity and unsettledness which pushed individuals to act in an irrational manner and to seek immediate and short-sighted sensual indulgence that could lead to their corruption. These observers refashioned women's identity from the sensual and fractious to the delicate and passive, something that was an easier clay to mould into orderly form.[99]

For all their deficiencies, women could still be useful participants in society. They could use their vanity and beauty to entice the proper males into proposing marriage thereby contributing to the stability of sexual behaviours and to the growth of the population. Indeed teaching women to deny their passions in this case would be entirely counterproductive. Educating women, therefore, did not mean teaching them to deny their impulses and their wants but to instructing them to rationalize them and channel these energies into constructive activities. Learning the proper courtship behaviours, developing the manual dexterity necessary to improve the home and acquiring the basics in reading, writing and general education would make them appropriate participants in modernity.

A useful education included developing the skills that fostered their 'natural' feminity. A refined

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[98] - One poem suggested that God had given men reason and women the propensity to prattle. La Bibliothèque Canadienne, Tome 2, Novembre 1826, P.231. Religious preachers such as Clark Bentom indicated that, since biblical times, women were particularly prone to spread malicious gossip. Bentom, Talebearing, P.15.

[99] - One commentator meshed notions about ethnicity and gender when he compared French and English women. He estimated the former to be devoid of "honour and virtue" and as having mastered the art of flirtatiousness while the former had remained pure, virtuous and gentle creatures. Unsullied by a sociability of masks and manipulation, English women needed "the influence of a man of sense." The image of the virtuous English woman in need of masculine guidance seemed to have been reinforced by the comparison with the more independent and morally loose French woman. The Quebec Mercury, 13 October 1806.

sense of taste in music and reading, embroidery, proper social demeanours and an understanding of the rules of courtship would lead to a suitable match. After marriage, they ought to reorient the caprice, fickleness and the manipulation of appearances that had won them a husband and turn these energies to the next step in nurturing the public good: the production of children and the consumption of household goods and other fashionable items that fostered the division of labour and the specialization of trades. Safely ensconced in the private sphere, they could dutifully perform the useful tasks to which their gendered nature predisposed them away from the violent and corrupting world of the public sphere. When republican-minded patriots took away the franchise they made it clear that they feared that women's timid and delicate nature would be adversely affected by activity on the hustings.[100] Only in the stable and certain atmosphere of the family could women develop the capacity to be virtuous in a 'masculine' way. There, they could deny their own impulses and sacrifice themselves for their husbands and their children in true otherworldly fashion.[101]

When they reflected on the gendered nature of their sociability nineteenth century commentators strayed far and wide from the universal principles of the Enlightenment. These involved supposing that a sociability of self-interested individuals would take in all those who had the resources to perfect their natural talents as independent beings and to work at achieving their goals by moderating and rationalizing their conduct thereby becoming worthy. The universal characteristic of self-interest that involved negotiating identities in a multiplicity of environments and endlessly refashioning the self to foster one's goals had diffused gender categorization and allowed men and women to function according to the dictates of their universal nature. But many nineteenth century commentators lost sight of a worldview that had diffused binary oppositions that subsumed the individual and his/her identity to the attributes of their unchosen

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[100] - La Minerve, 1 February 1834. In the same vein, a writer disapproved of women who witnessed public hangings. That there might have been a discrepancy between discourse and reality in all this was made clearer by his use of a normative language. He indicated that their delicate and timid nature ought to steer them away from such spectacles. "La délicatesse et la timidité naturelles au sexe féminin devraient les éloigner de pareilles scènes." Le Canadien, 1 Avril 1833. Emphases mine.

[101] - The ultimate sacrifice consisting in sending sons to the battlefield in the defense of one's country. In that act, women accomplished an act of masculine virtue of the purest kind.

communities. Gendered images and metaphors framed the identities of Canadians.

What was uncontrollable, deceiving and artificial was referenced in feminine terms. A modern sociability, poetry, imagination, oral tradition, the French people, Catholicism, democracy and charlatans, among others, were all referred to in the feminine in contrast to what appeared stable, true and certain. The public sphere, science, prose, the British people, Protestantism, scientifically-trained doctors, and virtuous politicians, on the other hand, exhibited masculine characteristics of denial and restraint that contributed to order and to changes that were orderly and predictable. Societies, groups, ethnicities and religions were gendered, some masculine some feminine, some stable, some not as a result of being assessed according to a trope that opposed order and contingency.

CONCLUSION

The making of identities owed much to what nineteenth century Canadians thought about contingency. In many ways, contingency and contingent motifs provided the limits of the identities of the self and of the various communities to which individuals belonged. For instance, how Canadians related to an orthodox and otherworldly Christian worldview which contrasted order with contingency reveals much about the manner in which they understood who they were as individuals and as participants to communities.

This discourse placed contingency in sinful opposition to order in the following manner:

ORDER	CONTINGENCY
Virtue	Fortune and her gifts
Stability	Movement-corruption
Oneness	Unrelatedness-dispersion
Belief and morality	Scepticism-doubt-vice
Masculine denial	Feminine indulgence
Truth	Deception and fiction
Transparency and nature	Appearances and artifice

Understanding the world through the prism provided by this elaborately developed set of oppositions reassured those who used it that something solid and lasting could be had in the world, that a core existed, and that 'oneness' could be achieved. The trope made this possible by indicating where right and wrong were and by offering Christians an uncompromising view of the way things worked. Reassurance came from the constant invoking of order as against contingency.

Conversely, Enlightenment-minded Canadians introduced a different arrangement that diffused this type of duality by connecting with an universality that was more morally ambivalent and less resistant to change and diversity. Many of the motifs of contingency (the possession of worldly goods, movement, dispersion, moral relativism, indulgence, deceit and artifice) were integrated into 'order' where they provided the impetus for change in the self, in sociability and in society.

By accepting that all individuals were motivated by self-interest early nineteenth century Canadians diffused the moral distinctions in play in an otherworldly universe that opposed believers and sinners. Regardless of the condition of their birth, all humans were worldly and imperfect creatures who naturally aspired to a measure of perfectibility and happiness in the here and now. When they insisted on work and education to perfect their natural talents, Canadians were extending to all individuals the wherewithal to become rich, esteemed and powerful in a meritorious manner. They wanted to make human worthiness - and the moral solace one gained in acquiring it - possible within the context of worldliness.[1] They wanted to live morally in connection to Fortune's gifts. The virtuous were no longer the dispossessed or those who denied their human impulses. They were those who managed their passions rationally. The moderns never denied their propensity to acquire and enjoy; they did, however, set boundaries to individual and moral behaviour when they insisted that the individual could not refuse to engage his/her potential and remain idle nor could he/she work in ways which would endanger the public good. Within those limits all individuals - regardless of class, gender and ethnicity - were permitted to strive for betterment and worldly benefits.

Nineteenth century Canadians further diffused the otherworldly propensity to regard all movement as leading to corruption and decline in their comment on the manner in which change could occur in a controlled manner. Bringing the notion of maturation to bear on things enabled Canadians to think of change as a constructive process that enriched the person. It also permitted them to dispell the notion that individuals who sought change for themselves contributed to the corruption and the downfall of their community. Social stability could be maintained because, as historical patterns revealed, nations matured into ever more sophisticated stages in tandem with the individuals in them who became increasingly complex and multifaceted beings. The more 'modern' they became the more humans tended to move away from thinking in terms of Fortune-like forces that controlled the destinies of individuals and societies.

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[1] - Charles Taylor's understanding of the making of the modern self involves emphasizing the extent to which the individual must be secure in moral, legal and social terms that he or she truly merits the respect he/she extends to him/herself and receives from and extends to others. Charles Taylor, Sources of the Self. The Making of the Modern Identity, Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989, P.1-24.

Self-interested individuals were not unrelated and dispersed as the otherworldly tradition would have it, nor did their lack of homogeneity preclude them from coming together. To the contrary, individuals constructed networks of interdependency based on the multiplicity and diversity of human skills and needs. Tied to one another by virtue of their perfected talents and sophisticated tastes, strangers could co-exist in peace and in an harmony that allowed everyone the room to flourish. Modern 'oneness' was not to be found in un-negotiated and homogeneous communities of rank, ethnicity or religion that guaranteed preferential treatment to those favoured by Fortune; it rather derived from the belief that individuals had the personal resources and the legal protection to live and let live.

The moderns acknowledged that their social bonds were far from being transparent; indeed, (at least in the first half of the nineteenth century) no one claimed that they were. Far from it: Canadians discussed at length how modern ties could be manipulated and made to deceive. To obviate the most disruptive manifestations of artificiality and deception they proposed to harmonize essence and appearance in an effort to appear who they were. They never, however, claimed to be transparent to one another, a feature of their discourse that greatly facilitated the coming together of strangers. Indeed, modern Canadians remained extremely aware that a claim to transparency could only exclude since the 'true' selves which would be revealed would necessarily differ in ways that would invite the establishment of various sorts of hierarchy and discrimination. The transparency that for some Canadians led to a belief in the homogeneity of rank, race, religion or gender and so represented the apex of unity and social cohesion was seen by many moderns as hindering the coming of age of civilization.

The fragility of these bonds was also acknowledged and accepted. There no longer existed impenetrable barriers that automatically protected those 'lucky' enough to be well-born. No one escaped the levelling effects of the sociability of the marketplace in which universal indulgence played a key role.

Indeed, modern Canadians never claimed that they were denying their appetites for worldly goods. To the contrary, indulging such appetites was necessary to enhance the levels of sophistication that accompanied civilized behaviours. They publicly acknowledged their desires and praised the skills that made the acquisition of modern ways and goods possible. Skills and behaviours considered feminine by

the otherworldly-minded were seen by the moderns as the natural baggage of all humans who needed to exercise moderation but could avoid denial. The gendered distinctions between those who indulged and those who did not were challenged and the binary opposition between feminine indulgence and masculine denial overcome. The kind of sociability practised by the moderns made contingent conduct applicable and necessary to all. As long as individuals had the resources to manage their self-interest in the most profitable manner, they could, in theory at least, aspire to the fullness of being starting from a level playing field.

Formulated by Enlightenment writers and readily adopted by modern Canadians, the universality of self-love diffused the duality that stood at the centre of a certain Christian orthodoxy. Rationally managed, the drive for Fortune's gifts, the deception of worldliness, the uncertainty and the instability of appearances and the artifices of modernity could contribute to the peace and the progress of humankind. This kind of arrangement permitted envisaging the peaceful co-existence, in comfort and plenty, of planetary beings. Of course, it did not work out quite that way.

There were many things that Canadians did not foresee in articulating their vision of the self and its many identities. They held on to the belief that things would unfold in a patterned way - hence their continuing attachment to the maturation of the individual and the stadial development of societies. They seldom paused to consider what would happen if work was unavailable, something that would jeopardize the chances of many to live their lives in terms of the modern definition of human worth or - as Etienne Parent's speeches made clear - seriously impair their ability to work in a field related to their talents. They believed unconditionally in the power of education to eradicate prejudices. They did not pause to think of the consequences of naming the skills of women and of uneducated men. A similar blindness clouded their vision when they relied on wealth to change existing structures and created contingent hierarchies of individuals who then had to be considered unmeritorious when weighed against the terms of human worth they had laid out for themselves. In linking self-interest to work and education, they highlighted the distinction between the industrious and the educated and the idle and ignorant. In this case, they acted as arbitrarily as other authorities when they legislated out of existence the country-healers, folk doctors,

midwives and any one else who did not fit the pattern they had laid out. And they emphasized their 'western-ness' or their 'whiteness' in distinguishing themselves from cultures which did not conceive human worth in quite the same way.

Historians of the time contrasted the maturation of modern societies with the cyclicity of certain nations and the patternlessness of the aboriginals. Native patternlessness threw into high relief the orderliness of whites; it also revealed the difficulty the moderns had in accounting for peoples and groups that did not function according to 'modern' norms. Moreover, those descriptions show how a paradigm exerted authoritative force over the minds of individuals and prevented them from thinking creatively. It was obvious that for early nineteenth century Canadians stadial development was law and the unfolding of societies could only work in a certain direction and in a certain way. Any deviation from the standard such as skipping over the agricultural stage for French Canadians (chapter three) or having a hunter-gatherer stage coexisting with a commercial phase (chapter six) was unthinkable. Thinking creatively about all this became impossible.

As long as they were aware of their connection with contingencies, modern Canadians remained relatively modest about their achievements and about their claims to moral certainty and righteousness. However, when they sought to harmonize the outer appearance with the inner essence, Canadians created the social climate necessary to see things in a homogeneous manner. Over time, they came to agree about the proper appearances of things and lost the ability to see that those appearances remained masks. The awareness of contingency that had enabled them to see the artificiality and the transience of their constructs disappeared. What they lost in the ability to be self-critical, however, they gained in increasing certainty about the way things ought to look. The moderns, hoping to change the way things were done and striving to bring new standards to the definition of human worth, made use of contingency for as long as it helped them establish a new order. Thereafter, however, they lost sight of it as they gained confidence that their hopes were becoming realities; this made it possible to talk about meritocracies in the language of otherworldliness.

Nonetheless, not to acknowledge the importance of Enlightenment concepts in the formulation of

the identity of the individual in the first part of the century would be to deny the richness and the complexity of the identity-making experience and to prevent us from bringing to bear concepts and a discourse that help us recover how the existence of the self was understood. It would further obscure the fact that, at least in the Canadas, these notions of the self counterpointed the view of a self defined by the community at large. As 'users' of a 'liberal' discourse, many modern Canadians refused to believe that individuals were nothing more than the passive recipients of attributes held in common with others.

Other more otherworldly-minded Canadians reacted negatively to the ambivalent sociability of those who acknowledged being motivated by self-interest and who defined human worth in terms that entailed altering the self and incorporating corruptive features. They objected to the mercenary character they perceived to be in play in the new sociability of individualism and sought to anchor their identity in terms that connected with a more orthodox view of human worth. The configuration of identity in 'otherworldly' terms necessitated adopting its trope. It required understanding what was going on through the prism of a 'binary opposition' that pitted order against contingency and virtue against Fortune-corruption. This trope defined in stark terms the identities of believers and sinners which, in the context of nineteenth century Canada, became the binary opposition between selfless and self-interested individuals. The trope was utilized by those who longed for an un-negotiated identity held in common with others who showed an equally unselfish commitment to preserving it. When made operative in an era of self-interested individuals, the trope provided many of the terms by which the moderns defined their selfless communities. To self-interested, effeminate, artificial, deceived and corrupted individuals were contrasted those who, in modernity, could still point to the denial of their impulses toward selfish and private pleasures in order to protect the values and traditions held in common.

The virtuous, then, were those untouched by modernity. They ranged from the peasantry whose members, as the bourgeoisie said, had yet to be exposed to the corruptive environment of modernity and so must be paternally protected from it. Still relatively isolated in the countryside, still evolving in a subsistence economy, the peasantry presented the more conservative of moderns with a group that could withstand the corruption of citified and affluent segments of society. A similar view was held about women

whose virtuous conduct made them the guardians of morality and the 'conservers' of traditions. Similarly, aboriginals' 'natural' ways were to be preserved to provide a living counterpart of modern white corruption. In these cases, groups were presented as social fragments who were relatively dispossessed, and who spurned Fortune's gifts and sociability and remained faithful to their 'unaltered' condition. The ties among them were transparent. They were not marked by the deceit and the artificiality of the moderns and were resistant to individualism and selfish pursuits. The peasantry, women and the aboriginals were poor but happy in ways consistent with the most Christian understanding of felicity: that of having little and sharing that little. As long as they denied their own individual impulses for worldly things, they would endure: that is they would maintain a way of life intact and would be regarded as the guardians of the customs and traditions of the group. They were the 'conservers' of society and, in the view of the elites who wrote about them and saw themselves as their protectors, stood in marked contrast to those who sought change for their own selfish ends.

As the century wore on, the differentiation between selfless and selfish communities increased. Some farmers referred to themselves in the language of the selfless. Compared to the effeminate, corrupted, unrelated, deceitful city folks, farmers appeared as the group most likely to sacrifice its own interests in order to fulfil the needs of others. Shunning the individualism of rich city-folks who came and went, farmers who had little in the way of earthly goods would always be there to ensure the survival of all: for not only did they provide food for the many; they were also - or so the discourse went - the group that held on to and perpetuated the traditions and customs of all Canadians.

The building of group identities which subordinated the self to the whole - as compared to the formulation of the identity of the self and of its sociability - was likely to involve a binary opposition that opposed a commonly-held and selfless order to an individualistic contingency. Indeed, the trope seemed perfectly suited to the task. This became apparent in the building of national identities when commentators defined nations according to the attributes of order or contingency.

The most representative of these portraits - but by no means the only one - was the description of France by England recounted in chapter five. There, we see the image-building power of the trope in

its clearest formulation. Drawing on the Puritan discourse on Catholicism that had sustained Pocock's civic tradition, a confident England began the nationalistic nineteenth century by making it clear that the coming age would unfold along moral lines understood in a quite precise way. Commentators contrasted England's masculine virtue with France's feminine corruption and sensuality. Britain's stability was opposed to France's despotism and deceit; in addition, the French loss of historical roots and decline was opposed to England's unbroken traditions. England's inherent links to science and, therefore, to truth were made vivid by contrasting them to the former's love of fiction and artifice. The comparison in sum, dramatically demonstrated how the tension between order and contingency affected the articulation of national identities in the nineteenth century. The trope defined the 'Other' in the starkest terms.

No one can speak of group identity without talking about the formation of the 'Other'. I refer here specifically to Edward Said's methodological approach to national identity and images.[2] Said makes clear that the type of analysis he brings to bear when he surveys the relationship between European culture and the Orient is embedded in the discourse and in the trope that opposes one entity to another. It becomes clear, however, that this opposition dictates not only the kind of images that can be recovered but also limits the type of things that can be said about them.

Said sees orientalism, or what constituted the images Europeans held of Orientals, as existing in a framework that was hegemonic and racist. He presents England and France as viewing the rise, apex and decline of the Orient (Arabs and Islam) from the position of external spectators who witness it from the perspective of their linear and progressive histories.(P.32) He showed France and England viewing Oriental societies as despotic nations unfit for self-government with whatever government they have being depicted as rudderless. (P.33 and 173) Said demonstrates the way in which those who speak out against the West were portrayed as self-interested demagogues.(P.33) He shows how the Oriental mind was represented as abhorring accuracy, truth and rational logic and demonstrating no ability to reason according to recognizable patterns.(P.38) He makes clear the way Oriental religion(s) were characterized as relative and inclined to accommodate every individual whim. He also remarked how Orientals were perceived as having

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[2] - Edward W. Said, Orientalism, New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

a strong propensity for superstition (P.61) and as engaging their sensuality more openly.(P.103) All this echoes the way in which national and group identities were formulated in the Canadas by those who thought in terms of the trope of virtue vs corruption-fortune. And if I may be so bold as to hazard a guess, I would add that, had Said's argument been developed even further, he would have discovered that Europeans considered Oriental societies effeminate. I can make that guess because the trope yields its own truths irrespective of the societies or groups under study. Operating in terms of the trope gives access only to the elements it defines. To limit the assessment to it is to become its captive and talk about what is going on only in the terms that it allows. That Said concludes that Europe was hegemonic, racist, class-based and, perhaps, sexist is not surprising: that is the only conclusion that can be got when one uses this kind of trope to study the making of identity of meritocracies in an era of post-modernism - when, that is, when one uses it with the view of deconstructing the subject of analysis, and from the vantage point of the 'victim'. The irony is, of course, that the result of the 'deconstruction' is a foregone conclusion. Furthermore, the identity of the excluded victim - whether projected in terms of gender, class or ethnicity - is likely to be made up of the attributes of the selfless. In all likelihood, 'victims' would be presented as being dispossessed and as being transparent to one another. Expected to perform personal sacrifices on behalf of the whole, individuals would see transgressions of that principle as likely to be interpreted as an act of treason to the group which would endanger its survival. The binary opposition, fundamental to many articulations of identity in the western world, simultaneously limits the field of vision and provides the kind of certainty about matters that is more a function of the trope itself than of whatever 'truths' are uncovered.

Moreover, the certainty given by the trope builds on an opposition of its two elements and makes them deaf to all exchanges and dead to one another. Identifying oneself or one's group with the virtuous eliminates the doubt that an acceptance of contingency provides. As a result, humans identifying with order are imbued with a sense of righteousness and uncritical superiority over anyone and anything they identify with contingency. They lose the ability to reflect on and question masks, beliefs and truths. They become convinced of the truth of their beliefs and, over time, unable to connect with notions that see the universe in an ambivalent light.

In the Canadian context, commentators articulated distinctions of religion, class, ethnicity, gender and individual behaviours in ways that made it difficult to see that the distinctions they made were not 'real' but constructs designed to solidify their positions. Their narratives handily assisted their quest for an identity. Revealing of the enormous appeal of what they did was the fact that Canadians of all stripes utilized the device to situate themselves in the grand order of things. That Protestants used it against Catholics and Catholics against Protestants, French against English and English against French, Patriots against the authorities and authorities against Patriots, only reveals its power to strike the human imagination, and indeed the passions. However, the metaphor that condemned the passions was a passionate language and did little to foster peaceful relationships. The feelings elicited became particularly inflammatory when they involved denigrating others for their attributes of gender, class and ethnicity. Matters only worsened when those others adopted an equally righteous position in claiming to be victimized.

The making of identities in the nineteenth century was a complex affair. It dealt with images and perceptions about the self. It encompassed the search for essence and involved notions of human worth. It engaged the transience and uncertainty of human creations. All these issues were related in one way or another to the ways Canadians understood who they were in their particular historical context. One thing remains clear, however: in their identity-making experiences, Canadians engaged notions about the self as much as notions emanating from the communities to which they belonged as it were by chance. Indeed, many of their observations show them intent on universalizing their human ties in ways that identified them as citizens of the world - a community-in-the-making bringing together self-interested individuals who constantly negotiated their positions in it - instead of merely being the inhabitants of particular communities. To limit our understanding of identity-making to these communal categories and to the questions these categories - as categories - tell us are important minimizes the richness and complexity of the identity-making experience. The self may be linguistically constructed - indeed, the vocabulary of the Enlightenment provided the notions around which the self, as a core and as a participant in a sociability of strangers, was built - but to omit the self from an analysis of identity-making fails to account for the

efforts identity-definers made to escape community-defined identities that subsumed the self to the whole. The role of individual free will in their identity-making cannot be dismissed.

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