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LITERATURE AS A TOOL OF SOCIAL CONTROL:

THE POETRY OF THE FRENCH-CANADIAN INTELLECTUAL ELITE, 1838 - 1859

by

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ABSTRACT

LITERATURE AS A TOOL OF SOCIAL CONTROL: THE POETRY OF THE FRENCH-CANADIAN INTELLECTUAL ELITE, 1838 - 1859

Erin L. Williams
University of Ottawa, 1994

Supervisor:
Dr. Pierre Savard

An analysis of literature from an historical perspective brings to light the cultural change experienced by French-Canadian society during the first two decades of the Union period. French-Canadian poetry from 1838 to 1859 reflected the onset of conservative nationalism that would shape Quebec society until the Quiet Revolution. The French-Canadian intellectual elite made increasing use of poetry published in a growing number of newspapers to influence public opinion. By identifying the themes and techniques evident in the poetry compiled in four volumes of Les Textes Poétiques du Canada Français, it is possible to recognize why this elite attempted to control the values and behaviour of the rural population. The significant migration of young farmers from Canada East to the United States was the dominant motivation for the intellectual elite to employ social control through literature by the 1850s. The fight against social change provided common ground for the convergence of the interests of the intellectual and clerical elites in their effort to guarantee national survival through the preservation of the traditional rural lifestyle of the *habitant*. French-Canadian poetry in this period both reflected the mindset of the community and contributed to popular social control by discouraging emigration and promoting colonization. Ultimately, this analysis of the fundamental conceptual change in how the writers viewed the aim of poetry in this period, will permit a better understanding of how the elite manipulated popular culture to reinforce traditional values and to ensure the *survivance* of the French-Canadian nation.

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I would especially like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Pierre Savard, for his comprehensive suggestions and thoughtful insights. The permission of Dr. Savard to use volumes four through seven of Les Textes Poétiques du Canada Français as my main primary source for this thesis is greatly appreciated. Additionally, I am grateful to the School of Graduate Studies and Research of the University of Ottawa for granting a Research Scholarship in the Humanities and Social Sciences that allowed me to come to Ottawa to pursue my interests in French-Canadian history. Finally, I thank my parents Garth and Ruth, my sister Natalie, and my fiancé, Dave Arrowsmith, for all of their love, support, and patience throughout my studies.

Any errors that still remain in the text are entirely my responsibility.

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INTRODUCTION

THE MILIEU OF THE INTELLECTUAL ELITE IN THE UNION PERIOD

To date, historical interest in the Union period has focused predominantly on the importance of Canadian state formation. For historians of Quebec, the Union period was fundamental because pre-Confederation debates decided the future of the French-Canadian nation within British North America. Such a concentration on the political process, however, has resulted in a deficiency in the study of these formative decades from the perspective of cultural history. An examination of the body of French-Canadian literature from 1838 to 1859 will assess how cultural change affected the society of Canada East during these years. This period was decisive because it defined the beginning of the ideology of conservative nationalism that defined Quebec society for the better part of a century and shifted only with the renaissance of the Quiet Revolution.

The question of how this conservatism became ingrained in the hearts and minds of the Canadien population will be explored through the use of the most common printed medium of mid-nineteenth century Lower Canada: the newspaper. More specifically, it was the poetry and song lyrics that entertained and educated the readers of these newspapers which gave writers an effective instrument to manipulate public opinion. By establishing the themes and trends that appear in the poetry from 1838 to 1859, it is possible to determine the extent to which the writers used poems published in newspapers as a means to disseminate specific messages to the rural population. In this context, it will be of central interest to ascertain the social changes that motivated the elite to reinforce the conservatism of the traditional popular culture in the interest of social control. From the evidence, it is clear that by the late 1850s, poets made extensive use of literature to discourage emigration to the United States and to promote values crucial to the persistence of the Canadien rural population.

The main primary source for this study will be four volumes of the recently published anthology of French-Canadian poetry, Les Textes Poétiques du Canada Français, compiled by Yolande Grisé and Jeanne d'Arc Lortie with the collaboration of Pierre Savard and Paul Wyczynski. This anthology comprises poetry published in the newspapers and literary journals of Canada East, as well as in separate nineteenth century collections. The depth of Les Textes Poétiques and its neglect in historical analysis thus far make it an important primary source for the study of the pervasive themes in French-Canadian literature from 1606 to 1867. Additionally, the compilers' decision to reproduce the original format of the texts permits the historian to view the poetry as it appeared in nineteenth century newspapers.[1] This paper will concentrate on volumes four through seven, covering the period from 1838 to 1859. The remainder of the poetry from 1860 to 1867 is still awaiting publication in the archives of *Le Centre de Recherche en Civilisation Canadienne Française* at the University of Ottawa.

It is the growth in the power of the Catholic Church in Canada East during the first two decades of the Union period that gives this study its impulsion. In 1841, the new Bishop of Montreal, Ignace Bourget, aimed to renew French-Canadian enthusiasm for religion by ensuring that the ultramontane influence of the Church touched all facets of the society. Bourget revitalized French-Canadian Catholicism by encouraging the work of new and existing religious orders in the areas of education and social assistance; by combating the liberalism being spread by political and intellectual institutions; and by promoting devotional activities such as religious and social organizations, missions, and pilgrimages at the parish level.[2] Ultramontane ideology was based on the conservation of the three tenets of traditional French-Canadian culture

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[1] In order to demonstrate how each poet put his ideas together, it will be necessary for the most part to cite these poems by keeping their verses intact. A bold highlight will be utilized to illustrate to which lines of poetry my analysis is making reference.

[2] Nive Voisine, "L'Ultramontanisme Canadien-Français au XIXe Siècle," Les Ultramontains Canadiens-Français: Études d'Histoire Religieuse Présentées en Hommage au Professeur Philippe Sylvain, ed. Nive Voisine et Jean Hamelin (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1985), 71-80.

by the majority rural population: religion, language, and an attachment to the land.[3] The convergence of these interests of the clergy with those of the poets publishing their work in French-Canadian newspapers, demonstrates the existence of a common motive for social control among the members of the elite. The greatest fear for these staunch promoters of French-Canadian nationalism was the threat of the loss of a significant proportion of Canada East's francophone population through emigration to the United States.

Important Historiographical Currents for this Study

The historiography of the Union period is quite extensive, but most studies deal almost exclusively with political history. Works by J.M.S. Careless, W.L. Morton, Mason Wade, and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff provide essential background for the issues important to this period and permit the literature to be placed in its appropriate historical context. In particular, Jacques Monet focuses on how politicians, priests, and journalists viewed French-Canadian nationalism in the early Union period and presents an excellent analysis of how newspapers contributed to a new awareness of public opinion. The recent socioeconomic history of Quebec by Brian Young and John A. Dickinson places the Union period in a longer time frame and offers a revisionist comparison to previous interpretations of historians such as Fernand Ouellet.[4]

The idea of social control has been pursued by French-Canadian historians, but has not necessarily been explicitly identified. For instance, Ouellet blames the Canadien elite for convincing the French-Canadian populace of the necessity of

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[3] Nadia F. Eid, Le Clergé et le Pouvoir Politique au Québec: Une Analyse de l'Idéologie Ultramontaine au Milieu du XIXe Siècle (Montréal: Éditions Hurtubise, 1978), 231, 241-2.

[4] For a discussion of revisionism as a recent trend in Quebec historiography, see Ronald Rudin, "Revisionism and the Search for a Normal Society: A Critique of Recent Quebec Historical Writing," Canadian Historical Review 73 (1992): 30-33.

preserving its backward, *ancien régime* mentality for national survival. Jean-Pierre Charland, Guy Trépanier, Serge Gagnon, and René Hardy all look at specific examples of social control by the French-Canadian clergy at the parish level. Jean-Marie Fecteau focuses on how the justice system of Lower Canada at the turn of the century played a role in the "régulation sociale" of the popular classes. Maurice Lemire uses the idea of social control as necessary for the preservation of the social order in his analysis of the French-Canadian literary imagination from 1764 to 1867. In this study, the term 'social control' will be defined as the conscious promotion of a set of values by the elite in the hope of encouraging a specific behaviour among the members of the rural population, such as the agricultural colonization of frontier territories of Canada East. In order for such social control to be successful, the elite had to ensure that it reinforced ideas already present in the popular culture so that the populace would be receptive to following its lead. The poets on whom this paper will focus were only a small part of a larger effort by members of the Canadien elite to promote the ideology of conservative nationalism, but they played a key role in the translation of these ideas because of their intimate knowledge of popular culture.

Historical literature dealing with the question of the development of French-Canadian popular culture in any period is limited. Research in Quebec popular culture has generally been carried out by sociologists, musicologists, and folklore collectors. Such interdisciplinary work is useful, but often lacks an historical perspective to analyze the continuity and change of a culture through time. Some social historians, such as Michael Cross and Stephen Kenny, provide a valuable foundation for further examination of the interaction between dominant and popular cultures. They argue that traditional expressions of popular protest and community justice were directly opposed to the established social order. Studies of the elite's dominant culture, on the other hand, have become more prominent in Quebec cultural history. Gérard Bouchard, in particular, analyzes how the elite constructed a national culture in Quebec after 1840

that was based on the traditions of New France. His thesis gives new insight to the relationship between dominant and popular cultures because he argues that the elite was unable to adapt Canadien culture to the conditions of twentieth century society.[5]

The history of French-Canadian literature and journalism provides the third dimension necessary for this study. Except for the comprehensive work on the Quebec press by André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, historians have generally neglected the development of the French-Canadian print media. Studies of literacy and reading by Maurice Lemire, Allan Greer, Jacques Allard, and Catherine Velay-Vallantin give an idea of the extent to which the mid-nineteenth century Canadien popular audience read books and newspapers. Biographies of poets in reference volumes and articles such as one by Michel Carle explaining the political ideology of Adolphe Marsais, situate the writers in their historical context so that similarities in their backgrounds can be compared. Literary criticism is not referenced in this study because it is the messages that this poetry was trying to convey, rather than the way in which the poems were written, that is most important to the analysis. It is an interdisciplinary use of literature for historical research that permits a new evaluation of the evidence in the hope of deepening our understanding of the social, cultural, and intellectual currents of this period affecting the interaction of the elite and the populace in mid-nineteenth century French-Canadian society.

Periodization and Categorization of the Literature

The Union period encompasses three decades that began with the aftermath of the 1837-38 Rebellions and culminated in Confederation in 1867. These primarily

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[5] Gérard Bouchard, "Une Nation, Deux Cultures: Continuités et Ruptures dans la Pensée Québécoise Traditionelle (1840-1960)," La Construction d'une Culture: le Québec et l'Amérique Française, ed. Gérard Bouchard et Serge Courville (Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1993), 8-12, 21, 35.

political events, however, did not necessarily coincide with cultural trends, even though these trends were often indirectly influenced by reaction to politics. This study will establish a periodization of this era which is dependent on themes recognizable in French-Canadian lyrical poetry to locate pivotal points on a social and cultural historical scale, rather than on a political one. The period from 1838 to 1859 demonstrates both the initial responses to specific problems experienced by the Canadiens under the Union and the beginning of the conservative atmosphere that came to dominate French-Canadian society. The starting point of 1838 marks the sharp contrast between the intense nationalism displayed by songs and poems in the 1830s, and the despair that followed the measures taken by the British authorities after the failed Patriote uprisings. The poetry from the late 1850s illustrates the change in the themes promoted by the writers after they recognized the severity of the emigration crisis and decided to take firmer control of popular values. Additionally, this periodization takes into account important changes outside of the literary sphere, such as the increased influence of the Church, the formation of coherent political parties, the growing frustration with the political system under the Union, and the beginning of industrialization and urbanization in Canada East. This time frame thus permits the analysis of the significant shifts that occurred in French-Canadian society during the Union period while still maintaining a manageable quantity of literary material.

Combined with the revival of Catholicism in Canada East during the Union period was a national awareness that resulted in the blossoming of a true French-Canadian literary movement. This attempt to create a national literature is clear in the four volumes of Les Textes Poétiques from 1838 to 1859. The amount of poetry written during these years increased substantially, with 482 poems being published between 1838 and 1849, 311 poems from 1850 to 1855, 320 poems from 1856 to

1858, and 210 poems in 1859 alone.[6] From this body of over 1300 poems, most of which were written in the second decade of the period, approximately 700 texts matched the established criteria that will be discussed below. Strictly from a numerical viewpoint, therefore, it is clear that the vigour demonstrated by French-Canadian literature throughout the Union period indicates a trend that should be studied in the context of social and cultural change.

As mentioned earlier, the compilers of Les Textes Poétiques du Canada Français garnered much of the poetry of this period from the literature published in French-Canadian newspapers and journals. As both Jacques Monet and J.M.S. Careless emphasize in their studies of the early part of the Union period, the number of newspapers grew dramatically in the 1840s and 1850s, making the print media the main forum for spreading ideas.[7] Thus, such a reliance on newspapers is advantageous for an historian studying the Union period for two reasons. First, these newspapers catered to a wide array of political ideologies and preferences. Secondly, newspapers were reaching a wider, more diversified audience that was becoming increasingly literate. Allan Greer argues that overall literacy jumped from 43% in 1839 to 64.6% in 1861, a growth that stemmed mainly from improvements in rural literacy.[8] Increased literacy enabled the elite to take advantage of the press to spread a specific ideology to a larger percentage of the population by the late 1850s.

The issue of literacy, however, is problematic for the historian because it does not answer the question of whether the newspaper public itself remained predominantly urban after the Rebellions, or whether rural readership actually did increase. Serge

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[6] Yolande Grisé et Jeanne d'Arc Lortie avec la collaboration de Pierre Savard et Paul Wyczynski, Les Textes Poétiques du Canada Français, 1606-1867, Volume VII, 1859 (Montréal: Éditions Fides, 1994), XXIV.

[7] Jacques Monet, The Last Cannon Shot: A Study of French-Canadian Nationalism, 1837-1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 7. J.M.S. Careless, The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841-1857 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 158-9.

[8] Allan Greer, "The Pattern of Literacy in Québec, 1745-1899," Social History / Histoire Sociale 22 (1978): 327, 335.

Gagnon and René Hardy avoid dealing with this issue in their book, L'Église et le Village au Québec, 1850-1930, by choosing "cahiers de prônes" as their source to determine the material that reached rural audiences. These *cahiers* were the notes written by the *curé* for his sermons, often only sketched out so that he could improvise from the pulpit. Gagnon and Hardy argue that because these ideas were the basis for the sermons given orally to the entire parish congregation, they are a more reliable source than newspapers for determining the social control practiced by the clergy in the countryside.[9] Unfortunately, since these *cahiers* are only available for the post-1874 period, the historian interested in similar questions of social control of the populace by the elite in earlier decades must wrestle with the question of the extent to which newspapers circulated in rural villages.

The double function of nineteenth century newspapers in amusing and educating their readers provides valuable clues for addressing the problem of defining the boundaries of the rural audience. In an article discussing the novels published in French-Canadian newspapers in installments, Maurice Lemire emphasizes the role played by these newspapers in education. He argues that newspapers kept their readers informed about politics primarily to educate them about the political process. However, in order to keep the attention of readers and to encourage them to buy a certain newspaper, the editors published excerpts from novels, thereby telling only a short part of the story in each issue. Lemire also points out that due to the continued high rate of illiteracy in the population as a whole from 1830 to 1850, newspapers were read out loud to increase the spread of information. Length was therefore an important way of keeping the interest of an oral audience.[10] Lemire concludes that the educating function of newspapers was combined with a moralizing one because the editors' choice of

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[9] Serge Gagnon et René Hardy, L'Église et le Village au Québec, 1850-1930 (Ottawa: Les Editions Leméac, 1979), 12-13, 17, 32.

[10] Maurice Lemire, "Romans-Feuilletons et Extraits Littéraires dans les Journaux Canadiens de 1830 à 1850," Livre et Lecture au Québec (1800-1850), ed. Claude Galarneau and Maurice Lemire (Québec: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1988), 183-4.

French texts satisfied both the Church's desire to ensure a strict morality among the Canadiens and the newspapers' promotion of the social status quo by encouraging respect for authority.[11] Lemire's work is valuable for this study because it shows not only that, despite illiteracy, articles published in newspapers influenced rural audiences, but also that both the clergy and writers deliberately used the newspapers to promote a specific set of values.

Lemire's demonstration of the elite's use of the print media as a form of social control is an excellent model for the question of whether poetry performed a similar function. The poems and song lyrics published in French-Canadian newspapers in the 1840s and 1850s have recognizable characteristics which indicate whether a text was intended mainly for a readership knowledgeable about the intricacies of politics and the subtleties of literature, or for an audience whose main concerns were farming, family, religion, and, occasionally, elections or tax increases. As Lemire demonstrated with excerpts from novels, length was an important consideration in writing for a popular audience. Poems intended only for an elite audience often had long verses and few stanza breaks. In contrast, poems intended for a popular audience were composed of short verses, often combined with repeated lines or recognizable choruses. Similarly, the poems which can be immediately recognized as song lyrics by the notation "sur l'air de" at the top of the poem, were intended to be read by a wider audience. This rewriting of the words of a well-known or traditional melody increased the possibility that these lyrics would be passed on through singing, particularly given the tendency for newspapers to be read aloud as entertainment.

Subject matter was also an important consideration for writers wanting to appeal to a particular audience with a specific message. References to classical history or mythology fell on deaf ears in an uneducated audience, as did allusions to obscure writers or public figures. Memories of college life and personal memorials would

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[11] Lemire, "Romans-Feuilletons" 187-8.

similarly have been of little interest to a labouring population with no experience of such events. Poems about love or nature imitating French poets such as Alphonse de Lamartine or Victor Hugo, were often imbued with the personal grief or melancholy that characterized nineteenth century Romantic poetry. Although this type of French-Canadian Romantic poetry may have appealed to an uneducated audience because of its intense emotional content, it has not been included in the classification scheme for this study because its lyrical subject matter rarely included any attempt to spread patriotic, political, or moral messages.

Poems and song lyrics published in newspapers not only informed the audience about political events and the current state of affairs, but also entertained it by telling stories and by provoking the singing of familiar tunes. The writers used poetic forms that were well-known and easily understood by its popular audience. They rewrote song lyrics to traditional melodies to reflect current events and ideologies. They also used traditional proverbs and fables to communicate desired beliefs, values, and ideals, many of which encouraged farmers to continue their agricultural lifestyle to ensure the survival of the French-Canadian homeland. In tracing the evolution in the goals of the elite in the 1840s and 1850s, this paper will also compare how poets used these different types of poetry to convey messages to precisely targeted audiences. The formal, literary style used to communicate ideas and to debate arguments within the milieu of the intellectual elite, was distinct, in form as well as intention, from the skeleton provided by a traditional melody or fable used to disseminate a specific message to the rural population. The opposition between these poetic forms makes it possible to determine how the elite viewed its relationship to the popular audience.

This study will focus predominantly on poems which are of short to medium length, those intended to be sung as lyrics to an older melody, and those conveying a simple opinion about current events, patriotism, religion, or morality. The annual publication of New Year's poetry by most of the newspapers in question will also be

included because these poems tended to discuss the current state of the province and its people. Such a concentration must also involve a comparison between elite and popular poetry to determine more conclusively if there was a distinction in the ideology being communicated to different newspaper audiences. Employing such a dichotomy between elite and popular poetry minimizes the complexity of the dynamics of cultural interaction. It is important to keep in mind that while the elite was sometimes able to manipulate popular culture, the populace was also able to assert its independence from this control if the elite ideology was not relevant to the popular experience. The difficulty of studying an oral culture through written documents, however, does not come into play through the use of this methodology because it is the action taken by the dominant culture, rather than the reaction of the popular culture, that is of particular interest. In this context, the poets' attempt at their ultimate goal of social control becomes more important than the question of how successful their efforts finally were.

Defining Dominant and Popular Culture in French-Canadian Society

It is the relationship between the dominant and popular cultures of a society that is the most difficult aspect to delineate in the study of cultural history. It is valuable to define the composition of both of these French-Canadian groups: the dominant culture of the intellectual elite that wrote the poetry and the popular culture of the rural population that read the newspapers. As the larger group, the populace evades description much more than the elite. With the French-Canadian population still largely rural in the mid-nineteenth century, it is probable that farmers and their families were the largest audience for newspaper publishers. However, even the most favourable estimates of rural literacy in this era are cautious about the percentage of *habitants* that could read. Secondly, the extent to which newspapers circulated from Montreal and

Quebec to the villages and rural areas remains undocumented. Nevertheless, analysis of the subscription procedures and articles written in the newspapers studied for this project, demonstrates convincingly that quite a large majority of these papers were intended, at least in part, to reach a rural audience. At least three of the major newspapers published weekly rural editions, while other smaller papers circulated exclusively in the countryside. Additionally, some urban newspapers employed agents in many of the smaller villages to handle rural subscriptions. If one adds the large number of articles and advertisements about agricultural issues in newspapers lacking direct rural circulation, these factors all point to a moderately large rural audience in this period. The predominance of the promotion of an idealized rural lifestyle to discourage emigration and to increase the number of settlers in the colonization program by the late 1850s, would also suggest the necessity of these newspapers reaching an audience concentrated in the countryside.

In contrast, the nineteenth century French-Canadian elite can be more narrowly defined as members of the petite-bourgeoisie, who lacked the capital of the British commercial bourgeoisie, but whose education allowed them to assume a role of social authority. This study will concentrate on the members of what will be termed the intellectual elite, who were primarily involved in journalistic activities such as editing, writing, and publishing, but who were also part of organizations such as the Institut Canadien and less formal literary circles. The intellectual elite often overlapped with other sections of the classically educated petite-bourgeoisie that provided political leadership, professional services, and public administration in French-Canadian society. Some of these intellectuals were also politicians or civil servants, such as Joseph-Guillaume Barthe, Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau, and Joseph-Charles Taché, or priests, such as Charles Trudelle and Henri-Raymond Casgrain. Added to this intermingling of members was a clear hierarchical structure within each section of the elite. While all the members were set apart from the populace by their position of

power, many could not act entirely independently. For example, the clergy was made up of defined levels of authority, from the parish *curé* to the bishop of each diocese. For the intellectual elite, the publication of a poet's work depended on the editor of a particular newspaper, meaning that the writer was not at complete liberty to disseminate his ideas because his text had to conform to the guidelines set by each newspaper.

It was primarily the shared education of the intellectual elite that provided its motivation to enliven enthusiasm for French-Canadian literature in the Union period. The classically educated petite-bourgeoisie which produced many of the lawyers and politicians that had formed the nucleus of the Patriote party in the 1830s, also furnished many of the journalists, writers, and newspaper publishers in Montreal and Quebec. Maurice Lemire argues that this "pseudo-bourgeoisie" lacked the investment capital that would normally accompany its prominent social position.[12] Instead of capital, these men possessed an educational background that incited their desire to answer to those who charged that French Canada was a nation without a culture. It was their common classical education, garnered in the colleges run by the teaching orders in Montreal and Quebec, that provides the most solid clue as to why the interests of the poets and the clergy converged in the 1850s to try to control the flood of emigration out of Canada East. Both these writers and the clergy encouraged the French Catholic population to remain on the land within Canada East and to preserve its traditional culture, hoping to ward off the social changes that modernization was beginning to generate:

> Même si les deux fractions de l'élite affectionnent des idéologies de teintes différentes, elles maintiennent un rapport au peuple sensiblement identique....Ils avaient entretenu avec un succès mitigé l'idéal d'une France nouvelle, agricole et religieuse...même si le peuple n'y avait jamais vraiment souscrit.[13]

An additional advantage enjoyed by the poets was their shared roots in the same rural background as that of the *habitants*. The humble origins of the writers were often as

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[12] Maurice Lemire, Formation de l'Imaginaire Littéraire au Québec, 1764-1867 (Montréal: Éditions de l'Hexagone, 1993), 15.
[13] Lemire, Formation de l'Imaginaire Littéraire 15.

close as their childhood because their social ascent had come by way of education rather than money. Such a familiar knowledge of the traditional French-Canadian agricultural mindset gave writers the advantage of having a common basis of communication with the populace: a wealth of songs, legends, customs, and values, in addition to their shared language and religion, that the poets had not lost through their education.[14] These bonds between the intellectual elite and the people gave the Church a valuable and effective ally in the print media that was similarly interested in preserving the structure of traditional French-Canadian society. By the late 1850s, the clergy and the poets disseminated a common ideology that discouraged emigration through the broad newspaper audiences and the weekly Sunday sermons delivered to the parish faithful.

The following chapters of this study will explore how the themes of French-Canadian poetry reflected the contemporary concerns of the elite and why the writers became increasingly interested in persuading the populace to conserve its rural traditions. In each chapter, I will examine the backgrounds of the most influential poets to determine how they fit into the milieu of the intellectual elite. I will look at how the different ideological perspectives of the poets and the newspapers in which they published their work, affected the extent to which they participated in popular social control. Most importantly, I will identify the techniques used by the writers to ensure that their rural audience received and understood the conservative messages vital to the survival of the Canadien nation.

Chapter One will outline the themes in the poetry from 1838 to 1845 during the atmosphere of despair in Lower Canada that lasted from the aftermath of the Rebellions until the return of the Patriote exiles. The poetry in these early years focused mainly on

[14] Lemire, Formation de l'Imaginaire Littéraire 15. I am also indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Pierre Savard, for this insight.

current political events that threatened the integrity of French-Canadian *survivance*. Chapter Two will argue that while concern about political issues continued during the transition period from 1846 to 1853, poets began to shift their interest to more popular forms of poetry. The cultural awakening of Canadien writers was evident in increased references to nationalism, the history of New France, the impact of the international arena on Canada East, and the first direct references to the question of emigration. Chapter Three will look at the effect European writers had on French-Canadian literature after their arrival in 1854. It will trace the themes of the transition period to the end of the 1850s, demonstrating how the conservative atmosphere of these years changed the nature of political and nationalistic poetry. Finally, Chapter Four will concentrate on the songs, fables, and proverbs that directly addressed the issues of emigration, conservative nationalism, and traditional morality from 1854 to 1859 – a period dominated by the work of two European poets, Paul Stevens and Adolphe Marsais. This study will conclude by assessing the substantial contribution of European writers in the late 1850s in comparison to their French-Canadian counterparts. It will evaluate the extent to which French-Canadian poetry in this period can be viewed both as reflecting the traditional mindset of the populace and as contributing to popular social control through the discouragement of emigration and the promotion of colonization. The end result of this analysis will be a more comprehensive outline of why the French-Canadian elite embraced and nurtured the conservative nationalism that would shape much of Quebec society for the next century.

CHAPTER 1

THE AFTERMATH OF THE REBELLIONS: DESPAIR UNDER THE UNION, 1838-45

A black mood of despair permeated the poetry of the intellectual elite after the failure of the 1837-38 Rebellions. The British troops had not only thwarted the ideological ambitions of the Patriotes and their followers, but also broader hopes for national and cultural independence. Politically, Lower Canada lost the autonomy of its Assembly when Governor Colborne proclaimed martial law in the colony and set up an appointed Special Council to legislate his policies shortly after the first rebellion. Many French language newspapers were also shut down.[1] The situation only worsened after the publication of the much-anticipated Durham report that called for the union of the two Canadas to promote the assimilation of the French Catholic population. Furthermore, the report insulted the Canadiens as a people without a culture or history. The French-Canadian intellectual elite was determined, however, to prove that Durham's claim was false and unjustified. The publication of François-Xavier Garneau's Histoire du Canada in 1845 acted as a catalyst for writers, initiating an immense growth in the amount of both prose and poetry being written by the end of the decade and throughout the 1850s.

The French-Canadian media was still reeling from the unfairness of the policies instituted after the Rebellions, when British Governor Charles Poulett Thomson began to introduce the new system of Union designed to ensure that the French-Canadians lost much of their political influence. Thomson made little effort to conceal either his disrespect for French-Canadian traditions or his cooperation with Tory interests, even to the point of gerrymandering electoral boundaries in Canada East to achieve Tory majorities in both halves of the province in the 1841 election. It was not until 1843 that

[1] Jacques Monet, The Last Cannon Shot: A Study of French-Canadian Nationalism, 1837-1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 20, 40.

the despondent mood of French-Canadian writers began to improve due to the more trustworthy relations of Governor Bagot with French-Canadian politicians.[2]

Tension returned to French-Canadian politics from 1844 to 1845 with the constitutional confrontation known as "La Crise Metcalfe." This affair revolved around a clash of interests between Governor Metcalfe, who believed that the British should keep the reins of the Canadian government, and the reform alliance of Robert Baldwin and Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine, who maintained that under responsible government the Executive Council should have control over patronage appointments. While the crisis led to the resignation of Baldwin and LaFontaine, it also resulted in the popularity of the principle of double majority for which the reformers' opponents in Canada East, Denis-Benjamin Viger and John Neilson, received Metcalfe's approval.[3] By January 1845, Metcalfe and Viger were able to negotiate the long-awaited return of the martyred Patriote exiles, an action that dispelled much of the French-Canadian fear about the Union. The proclamation of Lord Elgin as Governor of Canada in 1847 is symbolic of the renewed atmosphere of confidence in French Canada that led to the achievement of responsible government before the end of the decade.

In addition to French-Canadian politicians, the Catholic Church was a second influential force that was fighting for the survival of the Canadien nation. Bourget's reawakening of French-Canadian fervour for religion went hand in hand with his strong ultramontane nationalism. Clerical opposition to the Union in the early 1840s stemmed directly from British determination to assimilate the French-Canadians. By the second half of the decade, clerical power reached its height with the consolidation of an alliance with LaFontaine's reformers. This alliance used the framework of the Union to promote a conservative form of nationalism that was founded on the preservation of traditional French-Canadian culture. The Church was able to maintain

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[2] Monet 123.
[3] Monet 149, 202, 206-7.

its strong political influence in Canada East throughout the 1850s by continuing to support the conservative coalitions.

Long-established newspapers that were not closed down during or after the Rebellions, took sides in the Union debate before 1840. The Montreal newspaper La Minerve was suspended from 1837 to 1842 because of the pro-Patriote stance taken by the owner-editor, Ludger Duvernay, and did not participate in the Union controversy. Le Canadien in Quebec was the only major newspaper to take a pro-Union position, under the influential editorship of Etienne Parent.[4] The anti-Union position was fought by John Neilson's bilingual La Gazette de Québec, a long-standing newspaper that changed to an English format after 1842. In Montreal, D.-B. Viger kept his newspaper L'Aurore des Canadas afloat while in prison for supporting the Rebellions. Viger eventually persuaded the poet Joseph-Guillaume Barthe to become the editor of L'Aurore to promote his anti-Union stand.[5] The anti-Patriote paper, L'Ami du Peuple, de l'Ordre et des Lois, was supported by the Sulpicians and, accordingly, opposed the Union before disappearing in 1840.[6] With the exception of Le Canadien, the stance taken by these major newspapers reflects the overwhelming rejection of the Union by the French-Canadian intellectual elite, as well as by the clergy.[7]

New journals established in the 1840s were often founded for a specific purpose. For example, La Quotidienne and Le Populaire appeared during the Rebellions to fight for and against the Patriotes respectively.[8] Newspapers such as Le Fantasque from 1837 onwards and Le Charivari Canadien in 1844 used satire to criticize political affairs. Although most of these newspapers enjoyed only a brief existence, they illustrate the beginning of the immense growth experienced by the Lower Canadian press throughout this period that helped stimulate renewed interest in

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[4] Monet 15, 25-7. André Beaulieu et Jean Hamelin, La Presse Québécoise des Origines à Nos Jours, Volume I, 1764-1859 (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1973), 15-17, 55-7.
[5] Monet 65.
[6] Beaulieu et Hamelin 1-3, 73-4.
[7] Monet 55.
[8] Beaulieu et Hamelin 93-4, 97-8.

French-Canadian culture.[9] An important, more successful new addition to the print media in 1840 was the ultramontane clerical newspaper, Les Mélanges Religieux. Instituted by Bishop Bourget to help revitalize French-Canadian Catholicism, the paper initially supported the Viger forces in their opposition to the Union.[10] Les Mélanges Religieux would play an integral role in solidifying the alliance between the Church and LaFontaine's reformers after 1846, as well as in battling liberal propaganda in the late 1840s and early 1850s.

It is clear from a comparison of the backgrounds of the most productive poets that they shared many attributes that were characteristic of the French-Canadian elite in the mid-nineteenth century. The majority of the poets were still in their youth at the height of their literary career, often within ten years of finishing college. The oldest poet influential in these post-Rebellion years was François-Xavier Garneau, thirty-one years of age at the time of the Union. Octave Crémazie, on the other hand, who did not really appear on the literary scene until the late 1850s, was just finishing college in 1840. All of these writers came from established French-Canadian families and were born inside the boundaries of Lower Canada. Many came from modest beginnings, as sons of farmers, merchants, and labourers, and spent their childhood in rural areas, attending parish schools. This background gave these men an intimate understanding of traditional Canadien culture and a close link to the French-Canadian rural population. The only exception to this trend was Charles-François Lévesque, who grew up in Montreal because his father was a protonotary.[11]

In addition to possessing youthful energy, growing up in rural French Canada, and experiencing the momentous changes taking place in the 1820s and 1830s in Lower Canada, these writers also shared one other important characteristic. With the

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[9] Monet 37-9, 126. Beaulieu et Hamelin 96, 137.
[10] Monet 86, 130, 149. Beaulieu et Hamelin 113.
[11] Guy Champagne, "Lévesque, Charles-François," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume VIII, 1851-60, George W. Brown, David M. Hayne, and Francess G. Halpenny, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 502.

exception of F.-X. Garneau, who taught himself the elements of his classical education, all of these writers were educated in French-Canadian classical colleges. For example, Joseph-Guillaume Barthe and Antoine Gérin-Lajoie both attended the Séminaire de Nicolet, Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau and Octave Crémazie went to the Séminaire de Québec, and Pierre Laviolette and Charles Lévesque studied at the Petit Séminaire de Montréal.[12] Many – such as Chauveau, Barthe, Joseph Lenoir, and François-Magloire Derome – continued their education and became lawyers. Others such as Gérin-Lajoie and Marc-Aurèle Plamondon used journalistic careers to support their interest in writing.[13] Crémazie indulged his passion for literature by opening a bookstore in Quebec City. By the late 1850s, an intellectual circle that included Gérin-Lajoie, Chauveau, F.-X. Garneau and his son Alfred, Etienne Parent, and Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain, met frequently at Crémazie's bookstore and eventually published two short-lived but important literary journals that promoted a national literature.[14] It was the shared educational and cultural background of these writers that gave them a common interest in highlighting French-Canadian literary achievements, particularly as the despair over the Union subsided with the achievement of responsible government.

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[12] Pierre Savard and Paul Wyczynski, "Garneau, François-Xavier," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. IX, 1861-70 (1976), 297-8. Jean-Guy Nadeau, "Barthe, Joseph-Guillaume," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XII, 1891-1900 (1990), 65-6. Jean-Charles Falardeau, "Gérin-Lajoie, Antoine," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XI, 1881-90 (1982), 340-1. Jean Hamelin and Pierre Poulin, "Chauveau, Pierre-Joseph-Olivier," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XI, 177-8. Réjean Robidoux, "Crémazie, Octave, " Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. X, 1871-80 (1972), 202. Jeanne d'Arc Lortie, "Laviolette, Pierre," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. VIII, 492-3. Champagne, "Lévesque, Charles-François" 502.

[13] John Hare, "Lenoir, *dit* Rolland, Joseph," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. IX, 464. Nive Voisine, "Derome, François-Magloire," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. X, 225. Andrée Désilets, "Plamondon, Marc-Aurèle," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XII, 853.

[14] Robidoux 203-4. Hudon, Jean-Paul, "Casgrain, Henri-Raymond," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XIII, 1900-1910 (1993), 179. Paul Wyczynski, "*Poésies*, d'Alfred Garneau," Dictionnaire des Oeuvres Littéraires du Québec, Volume I, Des Origines à 1900, Maurice Lemire, ed. (Montréal: Fides, 1978), 598-9.

The major themes that dominated the poetry evident in this first literary historical period from 1838 to 1845 were closely linked to the political events of these years. In particular, the imprisonment and exile of Patriotes who had played major parts in the 1837-38 Rebellions and the British decision to force the union of Lower and Upper Canada, were always at the forefront of the writers' concerns. Many poets contrasted their despair over the current injustice with a hope that the future would improve. These opposing sentiments often depended on which of the parade of British Governors of the Province of Canada in the early 1840s was in office. Cooperation between French and English-Canadian reformers in the Assembly under LaFontaine and Baldwin was crucial to convincing the French-Canadian intellectual elite that the Union would not result in the assimilation of the Canadien people. After the return of the Patriote exiles in 1845, the poetry lost its ambiance of despair and took on a much more hopeful tone about contemporary politics.

The grim atmosphere recognizable in the poetry written after the Rebellions is in marked contrast with the confident nationalism of the pre-Rebellion years. Nowhere is this sense of betrayal and despondency more evident than in poems discussing the fate of Patriote prisoners. Lord Durham was responsible for the exile of 24 Patriote leaders after the first Rebellion. From November 1838 to May 1839, Governor Colborne presided over 108 trials of Patriote rebels, 12 of whom were publicly executed and 58 of whom were exiled to Australia as political prisoners.[15] Jacques Monet maintains that it was the exiles, rather than the executions, that upset the French-Canadians, an argument that is supported by the evidence of a large number of poems about exile. A sentence of exile in a penal colony dishonoured and disrupted the traditional family centered around a male head of household. More importantly, the limitations of nineteenth century travel meant that the exiled Patriote would most likely never return to his place of birth.[16] It was the immense distance of the French-Canadian exiles from

[15] Monet 21.
[16] Monet 22.

their homeland that was dramatized most often in the poetry. For instance, a writer working under the pseudonym of Emile published lyrics for a traditional melody in the pro-Patriote newspaper, La Quotidienne, in 1838 that focused on a description of the grief men felt when leaving Lower Canada:

> **Pour une plage lointaine**
> **Nous allons nous embarquer,**
> Et de la houle incertaine
> Les fureurs il faut braver.
> **Ah! Reverrons-nous encore**
> **Les bords du beau St. Laurent?**
> **Beau Canada qu'on adore**
> **Nous te quittons en pleurant.**[17] (my emphasis)

N.D.J. Jeaumenne used a similar technique to describe the exile's homeland in the first verse of this song from 1840, contrasting his cherished birthplace with the harsh reality of being forced to live in a foreign land:

> Combien j'aimais, dans ma patrie,
> L'aspect du rivage boisé
> De la rivière si chérie,
> Témoin de mon bonheur passé!
> **Au sein d'une terre étrangère**
> **Ce souvenir trop enchanteur**
> **Du trait d'une douleur amère**
> **Hélas! vient pénétrer mon coeur.**[18] (my emphasis)

Poets also imagined the joy of an exile when he finally returned home to Canada. Jeaumenne's poem from September 1842 contrasted the grief of exile to the moment of homecoming, writing "Salut, ô Canada! Terre de mon enfance / Une seconde fois tu me rends l'existence."[19] The most well-known of these poems that brought alive the anguish of exile is a rare example of a political song that quickly became integrated into oral popular culture. Antoine Gérin-Lajoie's "Un Canadien Errant," written in 1842

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[17] Emile (pseud.), "Les Exilés," sur l'air: J'aurais cru que le mariage (La Quotidienne, 20 juillet 1838), Yolande Grisé et Jeanne d'Arc Lortie avec la collaboration de Pierre Savard et Paul Wyczynski, Les Textes Poétiques du Canada Français, 1606-1867, Volume IV, 1838-1849 (Montréal: Éditions Fides, 1991), 109.

[18] N.D.J. Jeaumenne, "À Tous les Coeurs Bien Nés que la Patrie est Chere! [sic] Romance," sur l'air: Sol Canadien, terre chérie, ou de la Romance de Joseph (L'Ami du Peuple, 5 février 1840), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 257.

[19] N.D.J. Jeaumenne, "Le Retour de l'Exilé," no air (La Minerve, 9 septembre 1842), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 481.

and published originally in June 1844 under the title "Le Proscrit" in Le Charivari Canadien, was included in one of the first collections of French-Canadian folk songs produced by Ernest Gagnon in 1865:

> «Ces jours si pleins d'appas
> «Sont pour moi disparus,
> **«Et ma patrie...hélas!**
> **«Je ne la verrai plus.**
> «Oui, mais, en expirant,
> **«O triste Canada,**
> **«Mon régard languissant**
> **«Vers toi se portera.»**[20] (my emphasis)

The clear link made by these poets between the exiled prisoners and their loss of a homeland was an emotional way to criticize the British authorities, as well as an excellent manner in which to revive the shaken nationalism of the confident pre-Rebellion years. These poems about exile also illustrate that poets in the early 1840s did not have a precise target audience to whom they delivered these messages condemning British policy and warning of the risks of rebellion. Similar arguments about the exiles can be found in lengthy literary poems as well as in short, simple lyrics set to popular melodies, indicating that the poets were commenting on a situation common to all Canadiens, rather than on a behaviour specific to the rural population.

While the majority of the poems about exile emphasized a strong attachment to Canada, there were a few poets who highlighted the separation of family members as an even stronger emotional way to lend support to the prisoners' cause. Poems published shortly after the Rebellions appear to have relied most heavily on this theme. The words of an anonymous writer in 1838 were written from the perspective of friends and family who were saying good-bye to loved ones as they departed on a steamship bound for their place of exile in Bermuda:

> ADIEU! adieu! d'une cloche sonore
> Les tintemens annoncent le départ.
> Adieu! adieu! nous espérons encore

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[20] Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, "Un Canadien Errant," sur l'air: Au bord d'un clair ruisseau (Le Charivari Canadien, 4 juin 1844), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 504.

De vous revoir ici ou quelque part.
Chers compagnons des jours de notre enfance,
Nous vous quittons en vous serrant la main,
Le coeur navrés plein de reconnaissance
Adieu! adieu! pensez à nous demain.[21] (my emphasis in bold)

Joseph-Guillaume Barthe's long verse written in 1839 emphasized an exile's personal grief and concern for his family, while another anonymous writer filled his short poem also from 1839 with the bitterness of a young prisoner who discovered he was about to become a father.[22]

As the years passed, poets reverted to more overt methods of persuasion, directly asking Governors to pardon the exiles or using bleak description to incite an emotional reaction from those in power. For example, one of Pierre Laviolette's poems published in La Minerve in 1843 touched on the issues of both homeland and family, but ended with an appeal in the last four verses to the well-liked Governor Bagot:

O Bagot, toi que notre patrie
A nommé son père, son sauveur;
Dans l'exil notre vie est flétrie,
Toi seul peux lui rendre sa fraîcheur.
Tendres fils, épouses éplorées,
Bons amis, tous nous tendent les bras...
Dans tes mains tu tiens nos destinées,
Rive nos fers...ou ne les trompe pas![23] (my emphasis)

In 1844, Joseph Lenoir framed a poem in the form of an exile's daydream of homecoming, with a harsh awakening at the end to remind his readers that the Canadien was still far away from his homeland:

Mais une voix frappa son oreille attentive,
Lui montrant son pays bien au-dela des mers;
C'était le bruit des flots, et la vague plaintive
Dont la rage éveillait les échos des rochers.[24] (my emphasis)

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[21] Anonyme, "Le Depart [sic]," sur l'air: Tout l'univers retentit, etc. (La Quotidienne, 3 juillet 1838), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 104.

[22] Joseph-Guillaume Barthe, "Lettre de M. Depailleur Mise en Vers," no air (Le Canadien, 30 octobre 1839), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 225-6; Anonyme, "A Mademoiselle A.B.," no air (La Minerve, 15 juin 1858, written 12 janvier 1839), 181-2.

[23] Pierre Laviolette, "Plaintes.... Voeux.... Espoir des Exilés Politiques," no air (La Minerve, 3 février 1843), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 542.

[24] Joseph Lenoir, "Reve [sic] de l'Exilé," no air (La Minerve, 26 février 1844), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 623.

Even in January 1845, when the exiles began to return to Canada on a pardon negotiated by Metcalfe and Viger, Gérin-Lajoie's poem about the homecoming in La Revue Canadienne was filled with constant reminders of the grief the exiles had endured for the past six years:

> Quels pensers pouvaient donc ranimer vos courages?
> «Quels pensers? nous pensions à revoir nos rivages.
> «Et tristement assis dans ces horribles lieux,
> «Nos yeux à chaque instant se levaient vers les cieux,
> «Et nos coeurs soupiraient après la délivrance.
> «Que de momens [sic] passés au seuil de la souffrance![25]

The poets thus used the fate of the exiles as a powerful method of gaining popular support to put pressure on the British government to reverse its policy. Their focus on the exiles' grief over leaving their homeland and families behind, depended on traditional facets of French-Canadian nationalism understood by elite and populace alike. These poems did not, however, exhibit the characteristics of later years of an attempt to reverse fundamental social change by reinforcing traditional values in the hope of persuading the people to adopt a favoured behaviour. In the poetry of the 1850s that will be discussed in later chapters, the poets promulgated a much broader range of conservative values to combat emigration, using fables, proverbs, and songs to communicate their messages in a manner familiar to the popular culture.

While poems about the exiles tended to revolve around anguish, poets generally tempered their mood of despair about other political issues with hope for a better future. This combination of hope and despair stemmed from the anticipation that a new Governor would finally listen to French-Canadian demands for reform. In the immediate post-Rebellion years, however, it was often evident that some Governors were doing everything in their power to weaken the political influence of the Canadiens and to threaten their unique culture. For example, three poems in 1838 expected that Lord Durham would liberate the Canadiens. Jeaumenne, Garneau, and Laviolette all

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[25] Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, "Salut aux Exilés," no air (La Revue Canadienne, 25 janvier 1845), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 675. Monet 202.

shared the hope that Durham would realize that the Rebellions had not resulted from disloyalty to the British empire.[26] No poet expressed any despair about the forthcoming union in 1839 or 1840, but this absence is readily explained by the onset of martial law, the suspension of the Lower Canadian Assembly, the closure of some French language newspapers, and the caution on the part of many journalists about expressing criticism in print during these years.[27] Writers articulated similar expectations to those expressed about Durham's appearance prior to the arrival of Governor Thomson, later Lord Sydenham. Four long, very literary poems published in May 1840, three by J.-G. Barthe and one by N.D.J. Jeaumenne, expressed the hope for a prosperous future for Lower Canada under the new Governor.[28] A quick reversal of opinion about Governor Thomson, however, was evident in four later poems written between January 1841 and January 1842. These texts used a much more popular style – with short verses, song melodies, and simple messages – to complain bitterly about Thomson's methods of governing. For example, a poem written by François-Magloire Derome in January 1841 criticized Thomson's opinion of the French-Canadians, but hoped for justice in the future:

> Un fier baron, plein d'une étrange audace,
> A dit de nous: «en nos mains est leur sort:
> **«Des Canadiens frappons l'ignoble race;**
> **«Nous, les vainqueurs, nous vivrons de leur mort!»**
> **Noble Thomson! ton erreur est profonde!**
> Qui t'a donné ce pouvoir souverain!...

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[26] N.D.J. Jeaumenne, "L'Arrivée de Lord Durham, Gouverneur-General [sic] des Canadas," no air (Le Populaire, 4 juin 1838), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 75-8; François-Xavier Garneau, "À Lord Durham," no air (Le Canadien, 8 juin 1838), 80-3; Pierre Laviolette, "Arrivée du Comte de Durham au Canada," music composed especially (L'Ami du Peuple, 16 juin 1838), 83-5.

[27] For a discussion of official censorship and the fears of writers about criticizing the British regime after the Rebellions, see Stephen Kenny, "'Cahots and Catcalls': An Episode of Popular Resistance in Lower Canada at the Outset of the Union," Canadian Historical Review 65 (1984): 184-208.

[28] N.D.J. Jeaumenne, "Au Tres [sic] H. C. Poulett Thomson, sur sa Visite au Theatre [sic]," no air (L'Ami du Peuple, 6 mai 1840), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 283-4; J.-G. Barthe, "À Son Excellence le Tres [sic] Honorable Charles Poulett Thomson Gouverneur-General [sic] de l'Amérique Britannique du Nord," no air (L'Aurore des Canadas, 19 mai 1840), 284-6; "À Son Excellence le Tres [sic] Honorable Charles Poulett Thomson Gouverneur-General [sic] de l'Amérique Britannique du Nord," no air (L'Aurore des Canadas, 26 mai 1840), 290-1; "À Son Excellence le Tres [sic] Honorable Charles Poulett Thomson Gouverneur-General [sic] de l'Amérique Britannique du Nord," no air (L'Aurore des Canadas, 29 mai 1840), 292-3.

C'est l'équité, non la haine, qui fonde:
Et la justice aura son lendemain![29] (my emphasis)

An anonymous satire written from the perspective of Thomson similarly condemned his low opinion of his French-Canadian subjects:

Un peuple riche est difficile;
Il vaut beaucoup mieux qu'il n'ait rien.
La pauvreté rend plus facile,
Et le pouvoir s'en trouve bien,
Etablissons sur cette terre
Le système d'Angleterre,
Tachons de centraliser tout.
Là, les honneurs, la richesse
Appartiennent à la noblesse
Et le peuple n'a pas le sou.[30] (my emphasis)

By the time Lord Sydenham died in late 1841, the poets were once again able to hope that the next Governor would bring prosperity and freedom to French Canada:

Bientôt enfin doit anoblir la scène
Un envoyé muni de haut pouvoir;
Il a touché la rive américaine;
Déjà les coeurs ont tressailli d'espoir.
Lui, fesant trève à des projets infâmes,
De l'équité tracera le chemin;
Et son empire établi sur les âmes,
Pour être aimé sera le plus humain.[31] (my emphasis)

This trend of tempering the discouragement of the Canadiens with hope for the future continued in the years after the Act of Union came into effect, in particular before the arrivals of Governors Bagot and Metcalfe.[32] Such an outlook allowed poets to be critical of the current political situation while at the same time keeping a glimmer of optimism that the bad times would pass.

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[29] François-Magloire Derome, "Adresse *du Petit Gazettier*, aux Abonnés de *La Gazette de Quebec. Quebec, 1er janvier*, 1841," sur l'air: Des Espagnols m'ont pris sur leur navire (feuille volante de La Gazette de Quebec, 2 janvier 1841), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 357.

[30] Amen (pseud.), "Lord Sydenham planant sur la Situation. Parodie d'une Parodie," no air (Le Canadien, 6 septembre 1841), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 394.

[31] François-Magloire Derome, "Adresse du Petit Gazettier, *aux Abonnés de* La Gazette de Quebec. 1er janvier, 1842," sur l'air: Adieu! Adieu! d'une cloche sonore (feuille volante de La Gazette de Quebec, 1 janvier 1841), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 420.

[32] For example, see the poems by N.D.J. Jeaumenne and Pierre Laviolette on Governor Bagot, Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 435-7 and 551-3; and the poems by an anonymous writer and William Vondenvelden on Governor Metcalfe, 614-15 and 682-4.

More generally, New Year's poems often tended to link their main focus on the passage of time to this theme of hope for the future. These poems appear to have been a popular way both to advertise the views of a particular newspaper and to reach more readers through the use of a "feuille volante" format, a loose sheet that was printed separately from regular issues. New Year's poetry aimed to entertain its audience, but also stated an opinion on current issues. For example, a New Year's song written in 1841 maintained that the French-Canadians should look forward to the future with laughter, but emphasized that they should not forget past oppression.[33] A very patriotic set of lyrics written in 1840 to the tune of a traditional melody placed hope for the future in the children of the Canadiens.[34] The majority of the New Year's poems written from 1838 to 1845 used new lyrics to an older melody and short, simple messages to reach as wide an audience as possible. Similar to the poems about exile, the poetry that discussed hope for the future in the context of the arrival of a new Governor or the beginning of a new year, tended to criticize the contemporary political situation rather than encourage a specific type of popular behaviour in the interest of social control.

In contrast to the heady years of nationalism before the Rebellions, writers at the beginning of the Union period only produced a few poems that focused on the role of nationalism in French-Canadian society. Coinciding with Bishop Bourget's endeavour to revitalize Catholicism, much of the poetry with nationalistic overtones tended to be solidly linked to religion throughout this period. For example, a long literary poem published in 1841 in Les Mélanges Religieux stressed the need for French-Canadian Catholicism to reawaken:

> Je fis cette prière, à terre agenouillé:
> «Mon Dieu, jusques à quand pésera l'anathême

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[33] Auguste-Simon Soulard, "Hommage du Petit Gazettier, *à Messieurs les Abonnés du Canadien*. Le Premier Jour de l'Année 1841," sur l'air: L'aurore du bonheur &c (feuille volante du Canadien, 1 janvier 1841), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 352-3.

[34] Anonyme, "Hommage du Petit Gazettier à ses Patrons," sur l'air: T'en souviens-tu? disait un capitaine (La Gazette de Quebec, 2 janvier 1840), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 255, verse 5.

«Sur ce peuple aujourd'hui si rebelle à ta voix,
«Hélas ne veux-tu plus qu'il t'adore et qu'il t'aime
«Comme ses pères autrefois?»[35] (my emphasis)

This connection between nationalism and the traditional centrality of religion in French-Canadian culture was also emphasized in popular poetry. In 1842, J.-G. Barthe's New Year's poem for L'Aurore des Canadas fused a prayer for the future with new nationalistic lyrics to the melody "Sol Canadien."[36] An 1843 song composed for the Saint-Jean-Baptiste celebration combined patriotic pride with an invocation to the saint to watch over his people.[37] In her book analyzing ultramontane ideology, Nadia F. Eid remarks that this association between Catholicism and nationalism was repeated so regularly in the ultramontane discourse found in French-Canadian newspapers that it should be considered a "leitmotif" of the Union period.[38] The poetry from 1838 to 1845 supports Eid's observation by reflecting the beginning of the ultramontane emphasis on nationalism in its religious discourse as the Catholic Church increased its influence in French-Canadian society.

While the beginning of the atmosphere of conservative nationalism promoted by the Church is evident in the poetry from the years following the Rebellions, the poets did not demonstrate much desire to use social control to reinforce the values of the populace. Widespread use of the poetic fable, one of the primary methods of depicting conservative values in the late 1850s, was practically nonexistent in the 1840s.[39] An anonymous set of lyrics from 1840 complained about the high rate of taxation,

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[35] Thomas-Jean-Jacques Loranger, "Le Canada Régénéré, et l'Eveque [sic] de Nancy," no air (Les Mélanges Religieux, 5 novembre 1841), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 407.

[36] J.-G. Barthe, "Etrennes Poetiques [sic] à Nos Patrons. L'Aurore des Canadas, 1er janvier, 1842," sur l'air: Sol Canadien (L'Aurore des Canadas, 4 janvier 1842), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 425-9.

[37] François-Réal Angers, "(Chant Canadien, *Chanté par Mr. J.P. Plamondon au Banquet National de la St. Jean-Baptiste.* Quebec, juin 1843)," music composed especially (Le Journal de Québec, 27 juin 1843), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 574.

[38] Nadia F. Eid, Le Clergé et le Pouvoir Politique au Québec: Une Analyse de l'Idéologie Ultramontaine au Milieu du XIXe Siècle (Montréal: Éditions Hurtubise, 1978), 250.

[39] For example of an early fable, see D*** (pseud.), "La Mouche Luisante. Fable," no air (L'Aurore des Canadas, 23 juin 1842), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 460-1.

suggesting that the poet was reflecting the views of his community rather than trying to incite popular discontent:

> Puis on t'cottiz' par ordonnance
> D'abord cinq par cent pour les ch'mins,
> Six pour monsieur et sa potence,
> Et trois' d'impôt sur tes gamins:
> Ajoute encor six pour les braves,
> Les fous et les enfans trouvés,
> Ce sont des intérêts bien graves
> Pour nos seigneurs les affidés.[40] [verbatim]

Another song promoted the virtues of drinking water as part of the temperance campaign that would become more vigourous later in the period.[41] Finally, an anonymous nationalistic song from 1840 counselled readers on the importance of being charitable and viewed the family as a microcosm of the nation:

> De tous les coeurs souffrants fais-toi la Providence;
> Plains-les bien plus encor [sic] s'ils ont causé leurs maux;
> Tiens une oreille ouverte à toute confidence,
> Prête un bras à tous les fardeaux.
>
> .....
>
> Ne t'écarte jamais de l'esprit de famille;
> **La famille, vois-tu, c'est le peuple en petit;**
> Ne sois point envieux si l'un des nôtres brille,
> Mais sois plus tendre s'il pâlit.[42] (my emphasis)

These themes of strong family ties and values such as charity and satisfaction with one's lot in life, would become prominent later in the 1850s when they were used by the poets to discourage the emigration of the French-Canadian rural population to the United States.

While criticism of contemporary political events was quite strong, therefore, in the early 1840s, the need for social control did not result from the dark years at the

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[40] Anonyme, "À mon ami Baptiste. Mon Opinion sur l'Union et sur les Taxes," sur l'air: Ros' l'intention de la présente (Le Fantasque, 27 juillet 1840), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 305.

[41] Anonyme, "Couplets pour la St. Jean-Baptiste, Patron de la Societé de Temperance [sic]," sur l'air: Vous qui de prêcher la raison, ou Jeunes amans [sic], cueillez des fleurs (L'Aurore des Canadas, 28 juin 1842), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 461-3.

[42] Anonyme, "À mon Fils, le Jour de sa Premiere [sic] Communion," no air (La Gazette de Québec, 14 mai 1840), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 288.

onset of the Union. The intellectual elite reflected the concerns of French-Canadians about the unfair policies of the British authorities in its poetry, but did not attempt to influence popular values or behaviour because the *survivance* of the Canadien nation still depended more on political influence than on the actions of the rural population. The themes of exile and despair were of the utmost concern immediately after the Rebellions, but the poetry became more hopeful as the political climate improved. The focus of our attention will now turn to the transition period of relative confidence and growing ultramontane clerical influence to determine how literature represented the changing concerns of the intellectual elite after 1845.

CHAPTER 2

THE TRANSITION YEARS: POLITICAL CONFLICT, CLERICAL INFLUENCE AND EMIGRATION, 1846-53

The years that stand out as a transition period in mid-nineteenth century French-Canadian literature, marked the end of a political era, the attainment of responsible government. The productive collaboration between Governor Metcalfe and D.-B. Viger after 1844 lessened the French-Canadian apprehension about assimilation that was so characteristic of the period immediately after the Union. The Canadien political elite began to trust in its own ability to protect the unique institutions that had been threatened by the Durham Report and the Act of Union. The Baldwin-LaFontaine alliance was finally able to demonstrate what could be accomplished through responsible government and cooperation in a coalition with conservatives from Upper Canada, instead of through political isolation based on nationality.[1]

This period from 1846 to 1853 can also be defined as the beginning of a new phase in Canadian politics, the sectarian conflict that would eventually lead to deadlock in the Assembly by the late 1850s. This political discord resulted from the intense ideological divisions developing both within Lower Canada and between the two halves of the province. The blossoming of French-Canadian intellectual activity helped create a new group of young radical liberals dedicated to promoting republican ideals who belonged to the Institut Canadien established in Montreal in 1844. These intellectuals formed a zealous political party known as the Rouges and played an important role in leading anticlerical criticism of the influence of the Church and in supporting the movement for annexation to the United States in 1849. Notable Rouges included George Batchelor, who founded the radical Rouge newspaper, L'Avenir, in 1847; Antoine-Aimé Dorion, who was a prominent Assembly politician; Jean-Baptiste Eric

[1] Jacques Monet, The Last Cannon Shot: A Study of French-Canadian Nationalism, 1837-1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 397.

Dorion and Joseph Doutre, editors of L'Avenir after 1847; and Louis-Antoine Dessaulles, one of the editors of the more restrained Le Pays, founded in 1852.[2]

The threat of the Rouge party and its propaganda consolidated the alliance between the Church and LaFontaine's reformers. This alliance first came about as a result of shared opposition in 1846 to the education bill proposed by the Viger administration and the settlement of the question of the Jesuit estates.[3] Both LaFontaine's supporters and the clergy also had a vested interest in keeping Rouge influence to a minimum. The Church was concerned about the spread of liberal ideas such as republicanism and anticlericalism which would harm its position of authority in French-Canadian society – a position that, it argued, guaranteed the survival of traditional Canadien culture and institutions. Bishop Bourget instituted cultural organizations, such as the Oeuvre des Bons Livres in 1844 and the Oeuvre des Bibliothèques Paroissiales in 1845, that promoted the reading of books approved by the Church. Articles published in ultramontane journals such as Les Mélanges Religieux directly attacked the ideas propagated by the Rouge organs, as did newspapers such as La Minerve, Le Canadien, and Le Journal de Québec that supported LaFontaine.[4] The temperance campaigns of vibrant speaker Father Charles Chiniquy that were hugely popular in the countryside in the late 1840s, gave an advantage to the 1849 campaigns against annexation by attracting large crowds for the LaFontaine forces.[5] A common adversary and similar goals cemented the conservative alliance between the reformers, later known as the Bleus, and the clergy.

After the retirement of both LaFontaine and Baldwin in 1851, the conflict between conservatism and radicalism crossed the cultural boundary dividing the two

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[2] J.M.S. Careless, The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841-1857 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 159.
[3] Monet 241-6.
[4] Nadia F. Eid, Le Clergé et le Pouvoir Politique au Québec: Une Analyse de l'Idéologie Ultramontaine au Milieu du XIXe Siècle (Montréal: Éditions Hurtubise, 1978), 261.
[5] Monet 366-7, 370, 373-4. Careless 162.

halves of the Canadian province. Prominent French-Canadian Bleus, such as Augustin-Norbert Morin and George-Etienne Cartier, formed coalitions with the smaller number of Upper Canadian conservatives and used their political influence to promote ultramontane nationalism and to preserve distinct Canadien institutions.[6] On the other hand, the Rouges formed an alliance with the radical Clear Grits in Canada West, whose fight for voluntaryism and the separation of Church and State coincided with the Rouges' intense anticlericalism. Such a dichotomy led to conflict over governing the two very different sections of the province with one legislative body. For example, the battle over separate schools in the 1850s was fundamentally a clash of religious and social ideologies. While private philanthropy and public education were fundamental in Canada West, the growing Church influence in Canada East was promoting the expansion of the Catholic religious orders running hospitals, orphanages, and schools.[7] The political representation of the province by a conservative majority in Canada East, and by a liberal majority in Canada West, eventually led to deadlock in the Assembly, and the conclusion that the political system put in place by the Union had become unworkable.

The Canadas experienced economic prosperity in the 1850s, especially with the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1854 which helped stimulate growing trade within North America. The British shift from colonialism to free trade in the late 1840s, however, directly affected agriculture, timber, and transportation, creating a depression that was hardest on farmers and the businessmen of Montreal and Quebec.[8] Economic hardship compounded the agricultural strife already evident in the countryside. Better opportunities for employment outside French Canada helped to force the problem of French-Canadian emigration to the United States to a critical situation. Young men with no hope of ever farming their own land because of the

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[6] Careless 162-3, 179.
[7] Careless 178-181.
[8] Monet 272-3.

shortage of farmland in the St. Lawrence valley, were migrating westward with their families to states such as Illinois where good agricultural land was widely available. Unemployed workers and farm labourers who had migrated to the cities in the hope of finding employment in the fledgling industries of Montreal and Quebec, were emigrating to find work on farms in Vermont and Maine, or in later years, in the factories and mills of New York and New England.[9] Riskier opportunities such as the start of the California gold rush in 1849 also caused some emigration.[10] Although the rates of emigration from Canada East in the 1840s and 1850s were nowhere near as high as they would become at the peak of the crisis from 1880 to 1890, the trend was severe enough to attract the attention of the elite in the late 1840s.

The activities of the intellectual elite were more prominent in the period from 1846 to 1853 because of the awakening of French-Canadian literary culture. Increased political confidence encouraged the flourishing of intellectual activity which was particularly evident in the expansion of the print media. As of 1843, there were two large, bi-weekly French language newspapers in each city. In Montreal, Viger's L'Aurore des Canadas battled with the conservative La Minerve, while in Quebec, Le Canadien supported the Viger forces against the LaFontaine champion, Le Journal de Québec. With the disappearance of L'Aurore in 1845 and the switch of Le Canadien to support LaFontaine under the editorship of Napoléon Aubin in 1848, the principal battle lines were redrawn between the Rouge papers, L'Avenir and later Le Pays, and the conservative journals that backed LaFontaine and the clergy.[11] The clergy lost the influence of its sole newspaper, Les Mélanges Religieux, after the disastrous Montreal

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[9] J.I Little, Nationalism, Capitalism and Colonization in Nineteenth Century Quebec: The Upper St. Francis District (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), xi. Yolande Lavoie, L'Émigration des Québécois aux États-Unis de 1840 à 1930 (Québec: Éditeur Officiel du Québec, 1979), 7-9, 14-15.

[10] Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 62.

[11] Monet 222, 279-80. Monet argues that the support for LaFontaine shown by French-Canadian newspapers had much to do with La Minerve, Le Canadien, and Le Journal de Québec receiving the contracts for official government announcements; a relationship which allowed these papers to increase their subscriptions, but which also limited their opportunity to criticize the administration.

fire in 1852 destroyed its workshop. The Church was still able, however, to count on the conservative press to promulgate its opinions. The newspaper L'Abeille, founded in 1848 by the Petit Séminaire de Québec, published much poetry that reflected the growing predominance of ultramontane ideology in this period, but as its circulation was limited to the educated college audience, its influence on the rural population was minimal.[12]

This period also produced a large number of short-lived, smaller newspapers, such as Le Castor, La Voix du Peuple, and L'Ami de la Religion et de la Patrie, which offered a varied focus that often included poetry. This diversity in the print media gave journalists and writers plenty of opportunity to express their opinions to a growing readership.[13] J.M.S Careless points out the importance of the expansion of newspaper circulation in the countryside, describing the journals as "...agents of popular culture and instruments of rural dominance...."[14] For example, a small newspaper called L'Écho des Campagnes was dedicated to preserving the French-Canadian heritage in rural areas. Some of the larger papers, such as La Minerve, L'Aurore des Canadas, the Rouge Moniteur Canadien, and possibly Le Journal de Québec, started to put out both a daily edition for their urban readers and a weekly edition for their rural subscribers.[15] Other papers, such as Le Pays, L'Avenir, and later L'Observateur, advertised subscription agents in many of the smaller French-Canadian villages. The prosperity experienced by the French-Canadian media was also reflected in the work of novelists, playwrights, poets, and scholars who published a large number of important works in these years, including Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau's novel, Charles Guérin, that appeared in installments in La Revue Canadienne in 1846. Social and intellectual

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[12] André Beaulieu et Jean Hamelin, La Presse Québécoise des Origines à Nos Jours, Volume I, 1764-1859 (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1973), 114, 162. I am also indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Pierre Savard, for his clarification of the extent to which L'Abeille circulated.

[13] Monet 126.

[14] Careless 158.

[15] Monet 362. Careless 158. Beaulieu et Hamelin 55, 123, 164. Yolande Grisé et Jeanne d'Arc Lortie avec la collaboration de Pierre Savard et Paul Wyczynski, Les Textes Poétiques du Canada Français, 1606-1867, Volume IV, 1838-1849 (Montréal: Éditions Fides, 1991), LXXIII, LXXV.

activities, such as the Saint-Jean-Baptiste and temperance societies, women's lay charitable organizations, and public lectures given at the Instituts Canadiens in Montreal and Quebec, became popular for both the intellectual elite itself and the larger population.[16]

This cultural awakening allowed many of the same French-Canadian poets who were contributing to newspapers immediately after the Union, to flourish due to the new public appetite for literature. The most productive of these poets from 1846 to 1853 were Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, Louis-Thomas Groulx, Joseph Lenoir, Charles Lévesque, Marc-Aurèle Plamondon, and Charles Trudelle. The writers continued to exhibit a professional development similar to those who published in the early years of the Union. Charles Lévesque began a career as a lawyer after his classical education and modelled his poetry on the writing of the French Romantics.[17] Louis-Thomas Groulx was an anomaly among these writers in that he did not attend a classical college, but he did become a lawyer through apprenticeship. Groulx also stands out for his contradictory political views, being loyal to Britain and opposed to annexation like the Bleus, but loathing the suffocating effect of ultramontanism on free thought.[18] Charles Trudelle was a priest whose writing remained confined to the college newspaper, L'Abeille, but his poetry illustrates the commitment of his colleagues to conservative nationalism and the colonization movement.[19] A committed Rouge and supporter of annexation, Joseph Lenoir helped found L'Avenir, and was involved with both Antoine Gérin-Lajoie and Marc-Aurèle Plamondon in the foundation of the Montréal Institut

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[16] Monet 126-7, 130-1, 285-6.
[17] Guy Champagne, "Lévesque, Charles-François," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. VIII, 1851-60, George W. Brown, David M. Hayne, and Francess G. Halpenny, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 502-3.
[18] Guy Champagne, "*Rêveries d'un Bon Chrétien*, recueil de poèmes de Louis-Thomas Groulx," Dictionnaire des Oeuvres Littéraires du Québec, Volume I, Des Origines à 1900, Maurice Lemire, ed. (Montréal: Fides, 1978), 656-7.
[19] Kenneth Landry, "*Trois Souvenirs*, de l'abbé Charles Trudelle," Dictionnaire des Oeuvres Littéraires du Québec, 710-11.

Canadien.[20] The political sympathies of these poets, however, did not necessarily remain with the Rouges after the defeat of the annexation movement. While Lenoir's views remained quite radical, Plamondon and Gérin-Lajoie became much more moderate as a result of their involvement with other Quebec intellectuals. The participation of writers in different careers, political parties, and literary circles demonstrates the diverse composition of the intellectual elite in this period. The variety of intellectual opportunities that opened up in Canada East as the decade progressed helped promote the expansion of French-Canadian literature and the expression of a vast range of views in the poetry of the transition period.

In comparison to the narrow focus on the fate of the exiles and the hope for a more promising future in the early 1840s, French-Canadian poetry in the transition period lacked a similar prevailing theme. Poetry that contrasted the sentiments of hope and despair continued on a smaller scale into the late 1840s and emphasized the survival of the French-Canadians despite threats of assimilation. For example, a long New Year's poem written by Marc-Aurèle Plamondon in 1846 hoped that "...le triste souvenir / Des maux passés...." would be followed by a future of "Nos destins glorieux...."[21] The more confident atmosphere in Canada East after 1845 was reflected in another New Year's poem from the same year. It reminded the Canadiens that they could not control the future and advocated hopefulness instead of despair:

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[20] John Hare, "Lenoir, *dit* Rolland, Joseph," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume IX, 1861-70 (1976), 464-5. Jean-Charles Falardeau, "Gérin-Lajoie, Antoine," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XI, 1881-90 (1982), 341-2. Andrée Désilets, "Plamondon, Marc-Aurèle," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XII, 1891-1900 (1990), 853.

[21] Marc-Aurèle Plamondon, "Aux Abonnés du *Journal de Québec*, 1er janvier, 1846," no air (Le Journal de Québec, 1 janvier 1846), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 715-16.

Notre sort, propice ou funeste,
Est le mot d'un décret divin;
Pour mitiger l'arrêt céleste
Le désespoir n'est-il pas vain?
Ah! si longtemps facile proie
Des regrets toujours superflus,
Sourions ensemble à la joie
Et chantons une fois de plus.[22] (my emphasis)

Two New Year's poems from 1847 predicted that the Canadiens deserved a prosperous future because of their glorious history and recent hardships.[23] Four songs from 1848, three of which were published for New Year's Day, also maintained that the difficult past had cleared the way for a glorious future and celebrated the stability that union had brought to Canada.[24] After 1848, poems encouraging hope for the future disappeared, despite continued French-Canadian political confidence. The severity of the economic depression that lasted into the early 1850s may have tempered enthusiasm about the likelihood of future prosperity.

Despite the absence of a single question as momentous as the issue of exile after the Union, the poetry from 1846 to 1853 exhibits a number of unmistakable themes. The four overriding trends that the remainder of this chapter will discuss are a new consciousness of the significance of international affairs for Canada East; an attempt to educate the people about politics; a revival of popular nationalism; and the beginning of a concerted effort to promote agriculture and traditional values to try to stem the flow of French-Canadian emigration.

An increased awareness of the international arena after 1848 is evident particularly in poems intended to be read by an elite audience, but also in popular

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[22] Anonyme, "Hommage du Petit Gazettier aux Abonnés du Canadien. 1er janvier, 1846," no air (Le Canadien, 2 janvier 1846), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 719. A similar opinion was expressed by Plamondon in 1847 in New Year's lyrics written to the popular tune of "Du haut en bas," 752-3.

[23] Marc-Aurèle Plamondon, "Aux Abonnés *du Journal de Québec*, le 1er janvier, 1847. Souvenir et Espoir," sur l'air: Chant de Juillet-Te souvient-il de ce jour où la France (Le Journal de Québec, 2 janvier 1847), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 754-5; Ledrillo (pseud.), "1847," no air (Le Journal de Québec, 2 janvier 1847), 756-7.

[24] See Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, #404, 406, 407 and 432.

poetry. International affairs were beginning to affect the province more directly, resulting in an attempt by writers to place Canada East in a broader international context. For instance, Britain stopped protecting colonial trade, a policy which had a negative impact on the Canadas in the late 1840s. However, this change enlarged the French-Canadian economic perspective to include prospective markets in Europe and North America that had not existed under the colonial system. Secondly, nationalists in European countries such as Hungary and Italy were using revolutions in 1848 to unify their people through national self-determination. Such revolutionary fervour stimulated new debate in the print media about the aspirations of French-Canadian nationalists. LaFontaine's opponents argued that the strategies of double majority or annexation to the United States would be more effective ways than responsible government to ensure French-Canadian *survivance*.[25] Poets who sympathized with the republican ideals and American admiration of the Rouges viewed the 1848 revolutions in Europe as symbolic of national freedom.

Although revolution was never a public goal of French-Canadian radicals, the theme of liberty became a prominent leitmotif in the poetry of the late 1840s, especially with the appeal of annexation in 1849. George Batchelor was a Rouge poet who founded L'Avenir in July 1847 and moved to the United States a few months later. One of his poems from 1848 commented on the misguided attempts of the Americans to use military force to bring liberty to British North America:

> Fils de Jackson, les armes bas!
> Taisez la voix de vos tonnerres,
> Réprimez vos soifs sanguinaires:
> Liberté veut d'autres combats.[26]

A poem written by Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau that was published in the pro-LaFontaine newspaper, La Revue Canadienne, in 1848, warned Britain that unless it

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[25] Monet 207, 344.

[26] George Batchelor, "Hommage du Gazetier aux Abonnés des «*Mélanges Religieux.*» 1er janvier, 1848," no air (feuille volante des Mélanges Religieux, 1 janvier, 1848), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 829.

granted its colonies liberty, it would experience the same downfall as the Roman empire. This poem illustrates the ambiguous political stance taken by Chauveau in the 1840s in contrast to the conservatism he demonstrated later on. While he sometimes supported the more radical position of Louis-Joseph Papineau, Chauveau never accepted annexation as a viable option for French Canada. For Chauveau, liberty meant British tolerance of the institutions that ensured French-Canadian *survivance*:

> Il est un mot magique au plus fort de l'orage,
> Qui des vents furieux, sait conjurer la rage;
> Ce mot, c'est: LIBERTÉ!
>
> Dis le ce mot sacré, dis le donc à l'Irlande
> .....
> Dis le pour les colons que t'a légués la France
> Et dont tu méconnais la fidèle vaillance,
> Aux bords du Saint Laurent.[27]

By 1849 and 1850, a much larger number of poems focused on the theme of liberty by comparing the European revolutions to the French-Canadian situation. Joseph Lenoir was one of the Rouge poets who was inspired by European nationalism. His New Year's poems published in L'Avenir in 1849 and 1850 linked liberty to the ultimate Rouge goals of republican democracy and annexation to the United States. After describing the battles fought by nationalists in the 1848 Revolutions, Lenoir turned to the plight of his people:

> **Et nous, peuple égaré sur le bord du grand fleuve,**
> **N'aurons-nous point part au banquet**
> **Que donne à l'univers cette liberté neuve,**
> Ecueil du fanatisme et sa plus rude épreuve,
> Maintenant que tout homme en peut faire un hochet![28] (my emphasis)

His second poem from 1850 emphasized that annexation was the answer for French-Canadian nationalists:

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[27] Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau, "À Albion," no air (La Revue Canadienne, 6 juin 1848), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 865. See also Jean Hamelin and Pierre Poulin, "Chauveau, Pierre-Joseph-Olivier," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XI, 178-80.

[28] Joseph Lenoir, "Mil Huit Cent Quarante-Neuf," no air (L'Avenir, 26 juin 1849), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 965.

Nous ne sommes pas faits pour un plus long servage!
Levons-nous! l'heure sonne! allons! Frères, courage!
Oh! n'attendons pas à demain!
Voyez! l'occident noir, en déchirant ses voiles,
A revêtu son front de trente quatre étoiles!
Entendez vous les cris de l'aigle américain![29] (my emphasis)

By the end of 1850, however, the popularity of annexation declined after the Rouges and their annexationist supporters lost a Quebec by-election to the LaFontaine forces.[30] Poems dealing with the ideal of liberty consequently fell into disfavour.

In the early 1850s, international themes continued to be current, but were given a more general focus. Poets wrote about international affairs on a more understandable intellectual level than the Rouge poems about liberty had demonstrated. According to Monet, the downfall of the annexationists was partly due to their high level of discussion which was of little interest to the average Canadien. Additionally, cooperation between the Rouges and English Tories on the issue of annexation resulted in popular hostility towards the movement because of the bad reputation of the Tories in Canada East:

> Despite all their magnificent principles, the *rouge* politicians...were weakest when they were talking to the people. They could not speak plain words on plain things. And apparently the Canadiens saw the young radicals for exactly what they were: a very small intellectual French head attached to a large English Tory body. And they could hardly be attracted to the monster.[31]

If poets recognized this failure of Rouge poetry about annexation to appeal to a popular audience, then they may have realized the advantage of shifting to a popular format to reach a wider proportion of rural readers. Although none of the popular poems about the international arena were written to traditional melodies in 1852, they were organized into shorter, simpler verses. Lenoir continued his tirade against British domination in two poems published in Le Moniteur Canadien.[32] Octave Crémazie published a

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[29] Joseph Lenoir, "Adresse de l'Avenir. Adresse du Jour de l'An. 1850," no air (feuille volante de L'Avenir, 1 janvier 1850), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 978.
[30] Monet 391.
[31] Monet 351.
[32] Joseph Lenoir, "Mil-Huit-Cent-Cinquante-Deux," no air (Moniteur Canadien, 3 janvier 1852) and "Adresse du «Moniteur Canadien» à ses Abonnés. *Premier janvier* 1853," no air (Moniteur Canadien, 7

patriotic poem in Le Journal de Québec that celebrated French-Canadian *survivance* in British North America. Showing his conservative bias, Crémazie painted a dark picture of the upheaval in Europe. He then contrasted the Old World with the freedom enjoyed by the Canadiens under British rule, interpreting the Conquest as fortuitous because it had permitted the preservation of traditional French-Canadian institutions:

> Oui! la France vivra. Car tandis que l'Europe
> Dans son linceul de mort, lentement s'enveloppe,
> **Aux bords du Saint-Laurent, le Canada-Français**
> **Grandissant chaque jour, en honneur, en puissance,**
> A reconquis ses droits par sa forte vaillance,
> **Et domine aujourd'hui sous l'étendard Anglais.**[33] (my emphasis)

A related event that attracted international interest and allowed some poets to express similar loyalty to the British empire, was the World Exposition at London's Crystal Palace in 1851. Published in the conservative Le Canadien and the ultramontane Les Mélanges Religieux, these poems appear to have been aimed at the popular audience to foster support for the fragile reform coalition under Francis Hincks and Augustin-Norbert Morin in an election year.[34] One song catalogued all of the sights from around the world at the Exposition, while the other focused on the peaceful aspects of Britain's political and industrial development in comparison to the tumult of revolution in other European countries:

> Honneur, honneur à la vieille Angleterre!
> Que son exemple au monde soit cité;
> Lorsque partout résonne un bruit de guerre,
> Elle répond: Travail et Liberté![35]

Bringing increased awareness of the international arena to the populace in the 1850s was in the interest of poets who wrote in support of the governing conservatives

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janvier 1853), Yolande Grisé et Jeanne d'Arc Lortie avec la collaboration de Pierre Savard et Paul Wyczynski, Les Textes Poétiques du Canada Français, 1606-1867, Volume V, 1850-1855 (Montréal: Éditions Fides, 1992), 136-7, 231-3.

[33] Octave Crémazie, "Adresse aux Abonnés du *Journal de Québec*, pour 1852," no air (feuille volante du Journal de Québec, 1 janvier 1852), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 123.

[34] Careless 178-9.

[35] Olivier Rolland, "L'Exposition Universelle à Londres," no air (Les Mélanges Religieux, 4 juillet 1851), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 97. See also Anonyme, "Le Palais de Cristal - Exposition Universelle. Chanson," sur l'air: Amis, chantons à l'unisson (Le Canadien, 30 juillet 1851), Vol. V, 101-5.

because they were able to cultivate loyalty to the Empire, an important connection for the party that guaranteed the status quo.

This trend of an increased amount of popular poetry in the transition period is evident not only in poems illustrating the value of French-Canadian loyalty to Britain, but also in those depicting domestic political themes. Mocking or praising public figures was a widespread technique used by writers to interest the populace in politics. For example, one of LaFontaine's political strategies was to attack his opponents in the press in an effort to run their newspapers out of business. The satirical papers, Le Charivari Canadien and Le Fantasque, often lambasted the Viger administration.[36] LaFontaine and Viger were also both praised by their own supporters. One poem from L'Avenir in 1847 explained why Viger was retiring from politics, giving into pressure from LaFontaine's forces.[37] A humourous song printed in L'Avenir around the same time was accompanied by an editor's note indicating that, one evening, he had overheard Viger himself singing the verses in the middle of Rue Sherbrooke in Montreal, "...chère aux poètes...." Regardless of whether the story was true, it supports the hypothesis that popular poetry was able to reach illiterate parts of the population by being sung out loud:

> Vieux Viger, beau vieux! nom magique
> Qui ramenas plus d'un Judas,
> Qui bouleversas la Belgique
> Et fit dormir les Canadas.
> La ministérielle crise
> Prouve, aux ex-ministres légers,
> Que rien n'égale barbe grise
> Ni cheveux blancs du vieux Viger.[38]

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[36] Monet 165-7. For example, an anonymous poem from 1844 mocking an employee of L'Aurore des Canadas appears to have been part of this strategy. It used the melody "Adieu charmant pays de France" to depict the prominent newspaperman, Georges-Hippolyte Cherrier, saying "Adieu, charmant petit bureau." Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 647-8.

[37] Carlos (pseud.), "Imitation de: Monsieur Guizot, l'Homme à la Pale Face," sur l'air: Gastibelza, l'homme à la carabine (L'Avenir, 21 juillet 1847), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 788-90.

[38] Anonyme, "Les Cheveux Blancs. Couplets Incomplets Saisis Pendant le Recitatif Chaleureux de M. Viger, qui se trouvait sous le coup d'une inspiration," sur l'air du Citoyen (L'Avenir, 16 juillet 1847), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 786.

Louis-Thomas Groulx's poem in L'Avenir in 1847 sang the praises of LaFontaine's excellent character. The poem described him as a "Savant, grand politique et fidèle sujet, / Représentant intègre...," as well as a man who "...au pouvoir despotique, / Opposa constamment un courage héroïque."[39] After LaFontaine's retirement, poets used song lyrics to mock the governing political coalitions. For example, a song from 1851 was based on the very popular melody, "Mon père était pot," and may have been more widely available than a more expensive newspaper because it was published separately as a *feuille volante*. It introduced its political subjects by making fun of their love of publicity:

> Connaissez-vous, mes chers amis,
> Tous ces grands hypocrites,
> Qui vous disent d'un air soumis
> Qu'ils sont de saints ermites.[40]

These songs and short poems depicting politicians allowed poets to criticize or praise the governing administration while still entertaining and educating the popular audience.

The persuasion of the electorate of the merits and drawbacks of candidates was perhaps the most important role played by popular political poetry. Mid-nineteenth century elections were sometimes violent and unscrupulous affairs, often depending on unethical electoral practices and the intimidation offered by large crowds for victory. Late 1851 was the first time since the Union that poems were published particularly for an election. Five poems were published prior to this election, suggesting that, although poetry was still not the most effective way to communicate with the electorate, this method was popular enough to warrant some attention by candidates and their favourite newspapers. An anonymous verse in a short-lived democratic newspaper warned about an opposing candidate's pamphlet, a tract which told so many lies that the reader

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[39] Louis-Thomas Groulx, "Un Portrait," no air (L'Avenir, 21 juillet 1847), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 787.

[40] Anonyme, "Les Grands Hommes de 1851," sur l'air: Mon père était pot, etc. (feuille volante, 1851), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 120. See also Anonyme, "Aux Abonnés de l'Abeille. 1er janv. 1852. *La Glissade*," no air (feuille volante de L'Abeille, 1 janvier 1852), 130-1.

was instructed that if "L'avez vous effleurée! allumez vos réchauds, / Semez à pleines mains la chlorure de chaux."[41] The election was a favourite subject for Joseph Lenoir, who published three of these poems in Le Moniteur Canadien, the annexationist newspaper founded in 1849 that focused on instructing rural readers. Lenoir complained in particular about unfair election practices, especially the use of violence. He protested that the opposition had not run a peaceful campaign and therefore had won with neither dignity nor virtue.[42] One poem entitled "Rouge et Blanc" symbolized the purity of the radical Rouges as well as the blood spilt on the snow as a result of the election violence. Lenoir displayed his political bias openly in his description of the opposing political parties:

> Regardez les deux camps: **le parti populaire,**
> **Digne, sans passion, sans ardente colère,**
> Compte ceux qui sont ses amis.
> Dieu de ses actions devra seul être juge.
> S'il se trompe, du moins, il ne prend point refuge
> Dans la fange où toujours rampent **ses ennemis!**
>
> Eh! quels sont-ils pourtant? Hommes à langue inculte,
> Le courage chez eux se traduit par l'insulte.
> Triste hiboux des noirs nuits,
> **S'ils se recrutent, c'est par d'absurdes mensonges;**
> **S'ils veulent vous séduire ils vous content leurs songes,**
> **Cauchemars délirans d'or, d'opprobre, d'ennuis.**[43] (my emphasis)

It is interesting to compare Lenoir's verse to a sharp parody written soon after by Pierre Laviolette. Laviolette held much more moderate political beliefs and often debated in his poetry with the Rouge Lenoir or J.-G. Barthe, who supported Viger. This imitation of Lenoir gave Laviolette's opinion of the election techniques of the Rouge opposition:

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[41] Anonyme, "Impromptu.- Au Peuple," no air (Bulletin Électoral, 22 novembre 1851), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 113.

[42] See Joseph Lenoir, "Les Élections" and "L'Élection Montréalaise," no air (Le Moniteur Canadien, 28 novembre 1851 and 19 décembre 1851), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 114-15, 119-20.

[43] Joseph Lenoir, "Rouge et Blanc," no air (Le Moniteur Canadien, 28 novembre 1851), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 116.

Non, non, vous n'êtes point le *parti populaire*!
Riant de vos clameurs, vous notant sans *colère*,
Il sait où prendre ses *amis*.
Dans le droit immuable il trouvera son *juge*;
La justice est son voeu, l'équité son *refuge*.
Dans les bas-fonds obscurs rampent ses *ennemis*.

Pour vous, la Politique est bien ce champ *inculte*,
Où riant du principe et souillant par *l'insulte*,
Vous faites les beaux jours des *nuits*.
Votre nécromancie a produit ces *mensonges*.
Quelle réalité remplacera vos *songes*?
Par quels discours pompeux cesseront nos *ennuis*?[44] (my emphasis in bold)

These two poems echoed literary poetry common in the 1840s in which a particular poet such as Barthe was mocked or defended. Instead of battling strictly on an intellectual level, however, the poems of Lenoir and Laviolette endorsed opposing political platforms – a subject much more relevant to the populace despite the fact that only a minority could vote.

A third way in which poets attracted the interest of the popular audience in this period was by reviving nationalistic poetry in the late 1840s. This type of poetry had been used successfully prior to the 1837-38 Rebellions, when many new nationalistic lyrics supporting the Patriotes were published to popular melodies. LaFontaine helped reawaken nationalistic sentiment in Canada East by attacking the Viger administration regarding issues of concern to French-Canadian *survivance*. One of the first tricks he used was to bring up an old clause from the Act of Union that restricted the use of French in the Assembly.[45] Although language never became the tool of assimilation that Durham had intended, the French language was not officially reinstated until Lord Elgin read the speech from the throne in both languages at the opening of Parliament in Montreal in January 1849.[46] A rather sarcastic reply to this symbolic action by the Governor was printed in Viger's L'Aurore, probably to downplay the glowing remarks

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[44] Pierre Laviolette, "Blanc et Rouge," no air (Les Mélanges Religieux, 2 décembre 1851), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 118. See also Jeanne d'Arc Lortie, "Laviolette, Pierre," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. VIII, 493.
[45] Monet 196-202.
[46] Monet 327-8.

made in the pro-government newspapers, La Minerve, Le Journal de Québec, and Le Canadien, about the event:

> OH! no, we never talk in French,
> It's [sic] sound no more is heard,
> Our lips are now forbid to speak,
> The smallest foreign word.[47]

This strategic move by Elgin to solidify French-Canadian support behind LaFontaine's new administration was thus reflected in the poetry and illustrates how LaFontaine used the British connection to promote conservative nationalism and to unify his party.

Quite a few of the songs and poems designed to promote this renewed national confidence were dedicated to the celebration of the French-Canadian national holiday, *La Saint-Jean-Baptiste*. Writing new lyrics or composing a new song for the Saint-Jean-Baptiste echoed similar strategies of nationalists prior to the Rebellions. Production of this type of poetry increased in the late 1840s after a slump in the years immediately following the Union. Poetry written for the Saint-Jean-Baptiste is also excellent evidence of poetry written for the populace because these songs were not only published in the newspapers for the holiday, but were also sung in processions or at banquets as part of the celebration. Consequently, this type of poetry was often heard or read by a large part of the population during the holiday festivities. The first Saint-Jean-Baptiste verse to appear during the transition period was a short, nationalistic poem with irregular verses written in 1847 by Marc-Aurèle Plamondon. The poem compared the French Bastille Day celebrations to the French-Canadian holiday, encouraging the Canadiens to be proud of their country and of their glorious past:

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[47] Anonyme, "OH! No, we never talk in French," no air (L'Aurore des Canadas, 30 janvier 1849), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 948. Such a whimper from L'Aurore would have had a limited effect because the paper had folded officially in the spring of 1845. It went bankrupt due to a huge loss of subscriptions and only appeared irregularly until it disappeared for good in March 1849. Monet 222-3, 237.

Amis, c'est notre jour!....
.....
Aux accords ravissants de saintes harmonies
Les cieux s'ouvrent: déjà, sur nos têtes bénies,
Luit le gage de jours heureux!
Sous tes joyeuses banderolles,
Sous tes drapeaux, nobles symboles,
Miroirs d'un passé glorieux;
Aux éclats de la symphonie,
Au nom sacré de la patrie,
Peuple, lève ton front; ton sort s'inscrit aux cieux![48] (my emphasis)

Plamondon's ode shows not only the central focus on the people in this type of poetry, but also the intertwining of nationalism, religion, and music in the symbolism of the holiday. In 1848, three authors produced poems for the Saint-Jean-Baptiste which they intended a wide audience to read. Charles Lévesque wrote a poem with a repetitive chorus in L'Écho des Campagnes that reinforced the importance of family and religious values in traditional popular culture. The sixth verse described the members of the community where the holiday celebrations took place:

Chacun dit l'avenir à sa bonne manière
Ici c'est un marchand qui pronostique bien
Son fermier près de lui prenant part au festin
Avocats, médecins, laboureur et notaire.
Le maire de village
Elève alors la voix,
Il brandit son feuillage
Et propose à la fois
Une double santé. L'honneur et la Patrie,
Au drapeau verdoyant qui ce jour nous rallie.
Soudain mille bravos du peuple réuni
Répondant à sa voix que le peuple est uni.[49]

The other patriotic poems written for the Saint-Jean-Baptiste in 1848 also reveal the extent to which the holiday was a popular celebration in this period. For example, a poem with a chorus by Lenoir described the traditional songs of the culture of his people as essential to his sense of nationality: "Les chansons du pays qui m'a donné le

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[48] Plamondon, Marc-Aurèle, "(Ode. La Saint-Jean Baptiste)," no air (Le Canadien, 28 juin 1847), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 780-1.

[49] Charles Lévesque, "La Feuille d'Érable, Fête Nationale," no air (L'Écho des Campagnes, 22 juin 1848), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 870.

jour."[50] The Saint-Jean-Baptiste holiday thus provided poets with an opportunity to reaffirm their understanding of the popular culture with which they had grown up by merging nationalism and cultural values in poems addressed to the people.

The strength of French-Canadian nationalism continuing into 1849 derived from the last significant protest mounted by the English Tories in Canada East over the political influence gained by the Canadiens. This anti-French Tory sentiment was unmistakable after the Rebellion Losses Bill was passed in April 1849, triggering a series of riots that included the burning of the Montreal Parliament buildings, as well as threats on Lord Elgin's life. English Tories also demonstrated their animosity about French-Canadian political power in their support for the Annexation Manifesto later the same year. Tory opposition, however, only made French-Canadian support of the British regime stronger, uniting the majority of the Canadiens behind LaFontaine's vision of responsible government and *survivance* within the British context.[51] Patriotic poems that appeared in 1849 were not as markedly popular as in 1848 because only two of the seven New Year's poems contained a repeated chorus and simple, straightforward verses.[52] If the late 1840s are viewed as a whole, however, the trend of sparking a revival of popular interest in nationalism indicates the contrast between the confidence offered by the transition period and the despair about the survival of the nation following the Rebellions.

Poetry that was written in the early 1850s continued to incite popular nationalism, although enthusiasm, especially for the Saint-Jean-Baptiste holiday, did

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[50] Joseph Lenoir, "La Fête du Peuple," no air (L'Avenir, 24 juin 1848), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 872-3. See also Lenoir, "Aux Femmes de Mon Pays," sur l'air: Batelier, dit Lisette (L'Avenir, 2 septembre1848), Vol. IV, 901-2; Chalumeau (pseud.), "La Patrie (Imité de l'Anglais)," no air (Le Journal de Québec, 6 juillet 1848), Vol. IV, 874.

[51] Monet 335-45, 398-9.

[52] Anonyme, "Aux Abonnés du Journal de Québec. 1er janvier, 1849, Pensées du Petit Gazettier qui Devient Sérieux sur la Politique Canadienne," no air (Le Journal de Québec, 1 janvier, 1849), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 931-2; Anonyme, "1er janvier, 1849," no air (Le Canadien, 1 janvier 1849), Vol. IV, 943-4.

not reach the level it had in 1848.[53] The publication of translated French lyrics to "God Save the Queen" in 1851 is intriguing because such an outward display of pro-British sentiment had not appeared in the print media since the early 1820s.[54] Other patriotic poems written between 1850 and 1852 often used the specific address "au peuple." Pierre-Gabriel Huot's 1851 poem was supposed have been printed and passed out during the Quebec Saint-Jean-Baptiste procession, except that bad weather cancelled the parade:

> Le peuple a pris ce jour dans sa raison profonde,
> Pour montrer qu'il est fort, pour qu'il soit respecté;
> **Que son drapeau frémisse au vent du nouveau monde,**
> **—Ce vent sonore et plein de chants de liberté!**
> —Pour saluer du coeur tous ceux qu'à notre plage
> Jette le flot des mers, ou mornes ou joyeux;
> **Pour bénir ce qui fut; pour rendre un triple hommage**
> **Aux labeurs, au génie, à la foi des ayeux!...**[sic][55] (my emphasis)

A second poem by Joseph Lenoir rallied around symbols of democracy rather than the traditional facets of French-Canadian nationalism. It was published in the prospectus of Le Pays in 1852 and explained the principles of Rouge ideology to new readers:

> .....
> **L'arbre démocratique** a de telles racines
> Qu'il défie aujourd'hui cent hordes assassines!
> C'est Dieu qui l'a planté! L'arracherons-nous? Non!
>
> **Réunissons-nous donc à l'ombre tutélaire**
> **De cet arbre puissant et déjà séculaire**
> **Gloire du continent nouveau!**
> Soyons fiers de marcher, avant-garde d'apôtres,
> Vers le large avenir qui s'ouvre pour les autres!
> Que les fils de nos fils aient le sort le plus beau![56] (my emphasis)

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[53] For example, Octave Crémazie, "*Adresse* du Petit Gazettier aux Abonnés de l'Ami de la Religion et de la Patrie. 1er janvier 1850," no air (feuille volante de L'Ami de la Religion et de la Patrie, 1 janvier 1850), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 3-4; Charles Lévesque, "La Sorelaise (Composé pour la Fête Nationale, à la Sollicitation de Quelques Amis)," no air (Le Moniteur Canadien, 25 juin 1852), Vol. V, 187-8.

[54] Anonyme, "Victoria (Traduction Canadienne de l'Hymne *God Save the Queen*)," sur l'air: God Save the Queen (Le Canadien, 3 mars 1851), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 82.

[55] Pierre-Gabriel Huot, "Stances. Au Peuple," no air (feuille volante, 24 juin 1851), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 93, 95.

[56] Joseph Lenoir, "Au Peuple," no air (feuille volante, prospectus du Pays, 1 janvier 1852), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 126.

A final patriotic poem was written by Plamondon and handed out at the Quebec Saint-Jean-Baptiste procession in 1852. It appears to have been sung during the parade, with the first and last verses as the chorus. Plamondon underlined Canada's historical connection to France, but emphasized the peace that had come under British rule:

> Le temps, hélas! n'est plus des luttes valeureuses;
> **Le drapeau d'Albion flotte sur nos ramparts;**
> **Mais la paix règne encore aux campagnes heureuses,**
> Et le peuple toujours, de palmes glorieuses,
> Tresse la couronne des arts.[57] (my emphasis)

Since the rise of the Patriotes in the late 1820s and 1830s, the intellectual elite had used nationalism to persuade the masses to support a particular movement. Nationalism is accordingly an excellent indicator of the extent to which writers were trying to address the populace directly in the period from 1846 to 1853. The redefinition of nationalism in 1848 coincided with the cultural awakening of the intellectual elite, as well as with efforts to keep the Canadien population in rural Canada East. These poems reflected both traditional values and the ultramontane fusion of religion and nationalism, elements that were essential to the ideology behind the elite's fight against emigration from the late 1840s onwards. This convergence of the ideas being promoted by both the poets and the clergy, provided the foundation for the social control they employed in the 1850s to persuade the rural population to support national survival through the agricultural colonization of frontier territories.

The final poetic trend that this chapter will discuss marks the beginning of the intellectual campaign to control population movement by encouraging French-Canadian farmers to preserve their traditional rural lifestyle within the boundaries of Canada East. In the transition period, this trend was not yet of the utmost importance to the intellectual elite, but there was a noticeable change in 1853, when a cluster of poems addressed the issue of emigration and counselled people to stay in their homeland.

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[57] Marc-Aurèle Plamondon, "La Saint-Jean Baptiste, 24 juin 1852. Au Peuple," no air (Le Canadien, 25 juin 1852), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 185, 186.

Concern about the problem of increasing emigration was growing within elite circles in the late 1840s, although the problem had originally started before the Rebellions. Yolande Lavoie cites a figure of approximately 30,000 emigrants out of a population of approximately 800,000, leaving Canada East from 1844 to 1849.[58] The clergy was especially worried about emigration because it viewed this movement as a net loss of Catholics from Church influence and a threat to the French-Canadian nation. The priests publicly raised these concerns, exaggerating the miserable working conditions of Canadiens employed in American factories and highlighting the moral state of emigrants who turned to drunkenness and debauchery.[59] These alarmist fears were brought to the attention of the Assembly that assigned a committee in 1849 to report on the causes, magnitude, and future prevention of emigration from Canada East. This committee, chaired by P.-J.-O. Chauveau, relied heavily on the testimony given by missionaries, *curés*, and vicars, as well as on statistics from the dioceses of Quebec and Montreal for its conclusions. Clearly influenced by the clergy's view that this issue was vital to the survival of the French-Canadian nation, the final report promoted colonization, combined with new roads, improved lines of communication, and agricultural education, as the best solution.[60] The report's advocation of colonization obscures the close connection between the Catholic clergy and the colonization societies established after 1848 to encourage settlement of frontier areas of Canada East, such as the Lac St. Jean region, the Laurentian plateau up the Ottawa river, the Saguenay, and

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[58] Lavoie, L'Émigration des Québécois 4-6. In Lavoie's earlier book, L'Émigration des Canadiens aux États-Unis avant 1930: Mesure du Phénomène (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1972), she arrives at this figure by correcting the statistics given by various Canadian and American sources about migration patterns, including the 1849 Report produced by the Canadian Assembly.

[59] Lavoie, L'Émigration des Québécois 11, 15.

[60] Appendix to the Eighth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, Session 1849, reel 9, app. A.A.A.A.A., "Report. The Select Committee appointed to Inquire into the Causes and Importance of EMIGRATION which takes place annually from LOWER CANADA to the UNITED STATES." Summaries of the text of this report can also be found in Maurice Poteet et al., eds., Textes de l'Exode: Recueil de Textes sur l'Émigration des Québécois aux États-Unis (XIXe et XXe Siècles) (Montréal: Guérin, 1987), 33-7 and Michel Allard, ed., Les Deux Canadas, 1810-1867 (Montréal: Guérin, 1985), 38-40.

the Eastern Townships.[61] While colonization was viewed as the answer to the emigration threat, it was largely unsuccessful in the 1850s because the complementary policies of roads and education were neglected by the Canadian government.

Historians have recognized the motive of social control that lay behind the efforts of the Catholic clergy in the colonization movement in Canada East. For example, J.I. Little, in his book on the settlement of the Eastern Townships, argues that "...the colonization movement remains a French-Canadian nationalist reaction to the habitant exodus, but one motivated by the élite's desire to direct that exodus into channels where it could maintain and even strengthen its community-based socio-economic hegemony."[62] Authors such as J.M.S. Careless and Mason Wade have also pointed out the connection between the colonization movement and French-Canadian literature. P.-J.-O. Chauveau's novel Charles Guérin, first published in installments in La Revue Canadienne in 1846, and Antoine Gérin-Lajoie's novel Jean Rivard that came out in Les Soirées Canadiennes in 1862, were particularly influential in promoting colonization as an alternative to emigration and in illustrating agriculture as the ideal way of life.[63] No scholar, however, has appreciated the convergence of the interests of the Church with the motivation of writers to deliver this message of conservative nationalism and the rural ideal to the wide audience available in the newspapers. Impelled by the concerns voiced by the clergy and by their own sense of protecting the *survivance* of their nation and culture, the poets used literature to promote the traditional Canadien rural lifestyle. The poems began to reinforce the conservative values already embraced by the populace in an attempt to persuade the *habitants* that the best way to resist social change was to preserve their popular culture in its traditional rural form. This poetry published in a wide variety of newspapers in the hope of changing the

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[61] Careless 155. Little xi-xii. Monet 293. Normand Séguin, La Conquête du Sol au 19e Siècle (Québec: Les Editions du Boréal Express, 1977), 87-8.
[62] Little xii.
[63] Careless 160. Mason Wade, The French-Canadians, 1760-1967, Volume I, 1760-1911, 1955 (Toronto: Macmillan, rev. ed., 1968), 291-6.

behaviour of a rural population increasingly seeing its future outside the boundaries of Canada East, was a tool of social control as potentially powerful as the sermons and moral missions of the clergy at the parish level.

Poets wanted to entrench the value of agriculture in the minds of peasant farmers to encourage them to stay on the land. This rural ideal was increasingly emphasized in the late 1850s, when the writers were waging the main battle to keep Canada East predominantly agricultural, but the roots of this ideal can be seen in poems from the transition period. One of the best examples of this type of poetry was a poem with four simple verses and repeated lines in the form of a chorus that Charles Lévesque published in L'Écho des Campagnes in 1849. The rural circulation of this newspaper ensured that this poem reinforced the traditional values of the *habitants*:

Laboureur vigilant,
Qui chéris ta famille,
Pour préparer ton champ
Aux coups de la faucille,
Ecoute [sic] ce refrain
Que chante le matin
La petite mésange:
Plus d'hiver, le ciel change;
Adieu la neige et les frimats,
Sème, sème, tu cueilleras.[64] (my emphasis)

Articulating the rural ideal meant stressing values such as hard work and close family ties that the farmers already appreciated. The new message contained within the context of this ideal was that French-Canadian farmers had a duty to preserve their culture by remaining on the land. Such poetry indirectly advocated agriculture in the colonization regions as an alternative to emigration. The intellectual elite was motivated by concerns to preserve a strong French Catholic nationality by keeping the French-Canadian population at a level greater than that of Canada West to retain the gains made under the Union.

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[64] Charles Lévesque, "Refrain de la Mésange," no air (L'Écho des Campagnes, 12 avril 1849), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 956.

By emphasizing family, religion, and other traditional values as the pillars of the rural lifestyle, poets began to act upon the conscience of the farmer who was considering the possibility of emigration. For example, another of Charles Lévesque's simple poems, also published in L'Écho des Campagnes, underlined the centrality of the village church in the rural community, reinforcing the responsibility of the *habitant* to practice his religion:

> La cloche du village
> Sonne la piété;
> De Dieu c'est le langage;
> C'est la chrétienneté.[65]

New lyrics to an old tune written in 1849 by Charles Trudelle, a poet and priest who contributed regularly to the narrowly circulating college newspaper, L'Abeille, demonstrates how the ultramontane ideology of the clergy also strengthened the place of traditional values in the popular culture:

> Amour donc pour la **sagesse,**
> **Heureux** qui la trouvera;
> Guerre à mort à la **paresse,**
> Chantons lui son *libera.*
> Oh! mes amis, venez entendre
> Les souhaits du Petit-Jean.[66] (my emphasis in bold)

Fables were a favourite format used by poets to give lessons in conservative morality, especially after the arrival of the Belgian poet, Paul Stevens, in 1854. The moral from a fable written by Charles Laberge and published in the Montreal literary review, La Ruche Littéraire et Politique in 1853, illustrates how the poet combined nationalism with the traditional value placed on hard work:

> À quoi sert la science
> L'âge et l'expérience
> Si ce n'est pas pour le bien? **Les talents sont un prêt:**
> **À Dieu le capital[,] au prochain l'intérêt.**

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[65] Charles Lévesque, "L'Église," no air (L'Écho des Campagnes, 18 mai 1848), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 858.

[66] Charles Trudelle, "Les Souhaits du Petit-Jean aux Abonnés de l'Abeille. Petit-Séminaire de Quebec, 1er janvier 1849," sur l'air de la Vieille (feuille volante de L'Abeille, 1 janvier 1849), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, 927. Kenneth Landry, 710.

N'est-il pas sur la terre
Maints bipèdes hargneux,
À l'encolure fière,
Bien plus lâches que vieux;
Dormant sur leur avoir, au milieu de leur vie;
À l'heure du danger, laissant là leur patrie,
Quand ils sont bien repus; mais crevant de fureur
Quand la jeunesse veut pour eux avoir du coeur?[67] (my emphasis)

The criticism of laziness in this 1853 fable foreshadows the success of the poetic fable in the late 1850s as one of the main ways in which writers encouraged conservative morality and traditional values in the rural population, indirectly promoting colonization as the nationalistic alternative to emigration.

A small group of poems in the late 1840s and early 1850s contradicted this mainstream conservative current. These poems should be viewed as a parallel thread of counter-morality promulgated by those already voicing opposition to the conservatism developing in Canada East during the Union period. Poems praising Canadien women and celebrating social drinking by poets such as George Batchelor, Joseph Lenoir, and Charles Trudelle, are examples of this type of poetry that usually took the form of song lyrics.[68] Brief mention of these poems is sufficient, but necessary to demonstrate the variety of messages reaching the populace in this period. They remind us of the vast range in views of members of the intellectual elite, despite increasing acceptance of the ideology of conservative nationalism.

Strong Church influence in French-Canadian society during the transition period is indicated in part by the high profile given to charity in many of the poems from these years. While religious orders were in charge of the hospitals, orphanages, and shelters that housed the sick, poor, and helpless, these institutions relied on fund-raising to continue their care. Middle class women's organizations and other lay charitable societies such as the Saint-Vincent-de-Paul held bazaars and charity concerts

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[67] Charles Laberge, "Le Crapaud et L'Éphémère," no air (La Ruche Littéraire et Politique, août 1853), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 264.
[68] For example, see Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, #370 and 403, and Vol. V, # 19, 20, 59, 63 and 81.

to benefit the work of the nuns. The role of the poet was to raise awareness of this need and appeal to people to be charitable on behalf of both their religion and their society. These appeals, however, would not have been directed at the rural popular audience because farmers lived too far away from the misery of the cities and would have been unlikely benefactors due to their subsistence occupation. These poems, rather, were intended mainly for an urban, bourgeois audience that could afford the leisure time for charitable efforts. Examples of such poems are Charles Lévesque's " Aux Riches. La Petite Mendiante" from 1848 and "Bazar. Aux Dames de Berthier" from January 1854, as well as Joseph Lenoir's "La Charité, cet Ange au Doux Visage..." from December 1853.[69] This appeal to the public for charity appears not to have been linked to any one political ideology, since both Lenoir, a Rouge, and Lévesque, a conservative, contributed this type of poetry. Poems published in newspapers also publicized particular catastrophes, such as the huge fire that levelled a large section of Montreal in July 1852, to encourage people to help the victims. Three poems that focused on the 1852 Montreal fire were the anonymous "Complainte sur le Grand Incendie qui a eu lieu à Montreal, les 8 et 9 juillet 1852. Par une des Victimes de cette Horrible Catastrophe," Charles Berger's "L'Incendie de Montreal," and Charles Lévesque's "Conflagration. Montreal."[70]

The increase in the number of religious poems published in newspapers in the early 1850s can be directly attributed to this consolidation of clerical influence in French-Canadian society and the political power wielded by the Church after its alliance with LaFontaine's reformers. These poems can also be viewed in the context of keeping the Catholic flock faithful so that they would not emigrate to the United States. While some poems were purely devotional, or intended primarily for an elite audience,[71] others included elements that distinguished their popular style. An example

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[69] See Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. IV, #423 and Vol. V, #134 and 135.
[70] See Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, #86, 88 and 90.
[71] See Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, #17, 18, 39, 40, and 66.

of a religious poem that successfully appealed to popular interests was one that described the emotions of a new mother whose infant child had died. Her sole consolation was that her child would be in heaven with God and that one day she would also join him:

> Adieu, va rejoindre ton père,
> Il t'aimait tant...priez tous deux;
> Pour que bientôt ta pauvre mère
> Vole vous retrouver aux cieux![72]

Such popular religious poems achieved better results in the area of social control than poems strictly about religion because they situated religious teachings in a framework of traditional values to which the rural population could easily relate. The transition period, however, provides just a glimpse of the intellectual elite's use of poetry and French-Canadian popular culture to influence the behaviour of the *habitants*. As the decade progressed, Church influence solidified, but the problem of emigration did not improve. The intellectual elite accordingly promoted the rural ideal and a conservative value system much more aggressively in the late 1850s in the hope of averting the decline of the French-Canadian nation.

The year 1853 is recognizable in French-Canadian poetry as one in which the emphasis of the writers clearly shifted towards making a concerted attempt to keep French-Canadians from leaving their homeland. Three poems commented directly on the issue of emigration. The first was not dated, but its focus on the California Gold Rush suggests that it was probably written in the early 1850s. This song was published in the early twentieth century in the Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, by E.-Z. Massicotte, a folklore collector who had the lyrics sung to him by a man from Repentigny who had learned it himself from a friend in Michigan in 1878. Such a pattern of oral transmission would suggest that the song belonged to the French-Canadian popular culture and as such, may not represent an elite attempt to keep the

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[72] Michel Giguè (pseud), "La Jeune Mère et l'Enfant," no air (Le Canadien, 27 octobre 1852), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 216.

Canadiens from being tempted by the attraction of the California Gold Rush. However, it does reflect the prevalence of this mindset in the population in these years, indicating popular sympathy for the ideology of conservative nationalism. The song mourns the day the writer left for California, and each verse presents a different reason for his loneliness. The third verse paints a vivid picture of the consequences of leaving one's family and religion behind:

> **Les jours de fêt' et les dimanches**
> **Nous ne faisons que travailler.**
> Le soir, ils nous mettent dehors
> Sur le champ, il faut se coucher.
> **Ah! faut-il donc pour de l'argent**
> **Quitter sa femme et ses enfants?**
> Pour un' si courte vie,
> Hélas! quelle folie.[73] (my emphasis)

A second poem from January 1853 by Octave Crémazie tells the story of Bernard O'Reilly, an Irish missionary in Sherbrooke who originally suggested the idea of setting up a company to promote colonization of the Eastern Townships by French-Canadian farmers in 1847. In this long poem with short verses, Crémazie makes a direct link between *survivance* and emigration, praising O'Reilly "Pour garder au pays le jeune Canadien":

> .....
> Avez-vous bien compris ce grand mot: la patrie?
> Ce ciel que vous quittez pour une folle envie,
> Ce ciel du Canada, le verrez-vous encor? [sic][74]

A final poem from 1853 stressed the significance of dying where one was born. Georges de Blois appealed to those Canadiens thinking of leaving Canada East and asked them to reconsider the loneliness of self-imposed exile from the St. Lawrence Valley. This poem contains all of the elements needed to reinforce the popular culture in the interest of successful social control: an emphasis on the natural and national

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[73] Anonyme, "(Écoutez, je vais vous chanter...)," no air, (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, janvier 1924), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 77.

[74] Octave Crémazie, "Premier Jour de l'An 1853. Aux Abonnés du *Journal de Québec*. Colonisation," no air (Le Journal de Québec, 4 janvier 1853), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 225, 226.

character of the countryside, a constant reminder of religious faith, and an insistence on the necessity of close family ties:

> Voici le banc de pierre
> Où bien souvent le soir
> **Près de ma bonne mère**
> **Je suis venu m'asseoir.**
> L'herbe est fraîche et nouvelle;
> Les rosiers vont fleurir;
> **Mais, ô ma mère, en vain je vous appelle:**
> **Salut vallon, où je reviens mourir!**[75] (my emphasis)

The short length and simplicity of this poem highlight the emotion evoked by the return to one's homeland, echoing the grief depicted in the poems written to support the cause of the Patriote exiles in the early 1840s. The poetry alluding directly to emigration and its solutions in 1853 foreshadows the increased effort by poets as the decade progressed to use literature to articulate elements already established in the popular culture and to promote the survival of the French-Canadian nation.

The themes that appear prominent in the poetry from 1846 to 1853 were very different from those recognizable in the period following the Union. The poetry reflects both the cultural awakening experienced by the French-Canadian intellectual elite in the mid-1840s and the desire to inform the popular audience more readily about nationalism, political issues, and the impact of international affairs on the province. But it was the realization of the threat French-Canadian emigration posed to national survival that began to motivate the poets to promote farming as the essence of the rural ideal after 1849. Combined with the encouragement of traditional values, close family ties, fervent religious devotion, and love for the homeland, this poetry testifies to a developing aspiration to use literature as a tool of popular social control. Actual references in 1853 to emigration and the developing ideology of conservative nationalism were small in number, but they demonstrate the shift towards emigration as

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[75] Georges de Blois, "Vallon de Mon Enfance," no air (La Ruche Littéraire et Politique, juillet 1853), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 257.

the foremost concern for the intellectual elite in the second part of the decade. A literary "invasion" of a group of conservative poets from Europe in 1854 would cement French-Canadian poetry in the atmosphere of ultramontane nationalism and rural idealization that was prevalent in French-Canadian society by the end of the 1850s.

CHAPTER 3

THE EUROPEAN "INVASION": CEMENTING A CONSERVATIVE MENTALITY, 1854-59

The sectional conflicts that marked the tense political atmosphere in Canada in the 1850s increasingly pointed to the need for a new political structure that eventually resulted in Confederation in 1867. Bleus who represented the strong conservative climate in Canada East clashed time and again with Clear Grits from Canada West. Separate schools were a question of intense debate, while the choice of Ottawa as the permanent capital of Canada was also problematic.[1] By 1858, neither coalition was able to maintain a majority in both sections of the province, an inability that posed problems for the principle of double majority. The infamous "Double Shuffle" occurred in the summer of 1858, giving Canada three different administrations in the space of a week.[2]

Frustration among politicians about the increasing impossibility of governing the province of Canada under the system put in place by the Union sparked the proposition of new solutions to the problems of political deadlock and unstable coalition governments. Liberals in Upper Canada called for representation by population to end the French Catholic dominance of the Assembly. "Rep by pop" was a tremendous threat to French-Canadians because the population of Canada East was slightly smaller than that of Canada West; a fact that would be proven in the 1861 census. La Minerve argued that representation by population would mean the end of grants to religious orders, the loss of Church control over education, and the persecution of the French language – all issues of which the Canadiens had won control

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[1] J.M.S. Careless, The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841-1857 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 197. W.L. Morton, The Critical Years: The Union of British North America, 1857-1873 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1964), 17.

[2] Morton 15-19.

under the Union and which were in their interest to preserve. This Upper Canadian demand forced Canadien politicians to go on the defensive and argue that representation in the Assembly should be based on equal status, not on individual population totals.[3] In July 1858, Alexander Galt, a young Independent member from Sherbrooke, first introduced resolutions suggesting the options of a federal union of the Canadas, or the union of the whole of British North America, including the territory in the Northwest.[4] His ideas were not accepted as imperative by the Assembly, however, and would need the catalyst of the threat of an invasion during the American Civil War to make them more attractive.

The flow of emigration continued at a rate slightly higher in the 1850s than in the 1840s. Approximately 45,000 emigrants left Canada East for the United States between 1852 and 1857, a movement that provoked the clergy to demand yet another inquiry into emigration by the Assembly in 1857.[5] The Special Committee produced a report based on much broader sources of evidence than in 1849, but did not come up with any new answers, again promoting colonization as the best solution. The report recognized that the majority of French-Canadian emigrants were young men who were not able to inherit land from their family farms in the old parishes. Accustomed to hard work, these men generally emigrated to take jobs in New England factories, but were also employed in newspaper offices, on farms, and in interior navigation. The report identified the principal causes of emigration as a lack of roads opening up new areas of settlement, large pieces of vacant land held by individuals or companies hoping to make money in speculation or the forest industry, and seasonal unemployment in forestry and farming. Secondary causes, such as the attraction of higher American salaries, the apathy of colonization agents, and encouragement from friends and family that had already emigrated, revealed a fuller picture of why farmers were willing to take the

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[3] Morton 90.
[4] Morton 16.
[5] Yolande Lavoie, L'Émigration des Québécois aux États-Unis de 1840 à 1930 (Québec: Editeur Officiel du Québec, 1979), 11.

risks of emigration.[6] Although colonization was the recommendation made by the report, continued inaction on the part of the government in addressing these primary causes ensured that the only actual constraint on emigration was the cycle of the American economy. A slowdown in American industry from 1857 to 1863 decreased emigration levels until the economy recovered from the impact of the American civil war.[7]

The 1850s also witnessed changes in the French-Canadian media that gave rural audiences better access to newspapers. Local newspapers sprang up in some of the smaller towns, such as Sorel, Saint-Hyacinthe, and Trois-Rivières. Previously, only the newspapers from the bigger cities of Montreal and Quebec had reached these areas, but now there was a choice between reading local editions or the more sophisticated urban publications. Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe began publishing in February 1853. J.-G. Barthe's brother, George-Isidore Barthe, founded La Gazette de Sorel in August 1857. Trois-Rivières boasted two papers for a short time in the late 1850s. The Tory newspaper L'Ère Nouvelle started publishing in December 1852. Its reform adversary, L'Écho du Saint Maurice, was a staunch supporter of the colonization efforts in the Mauricie, but was only published for one year from January 1858 to January 1859.[8]

During this period, the Church lacked an established, widely circulating organ such as Les Mélanges Religieux had been until 1852. The clergy had to rely mainly on the large conservative newspapers that supported the Bleus to promulgate their ideas. To some extent, Le Courrier du Canada, founded in Quebec in 1857 under the direction of Joseph-Charles Taché, and L'Ordre, founded in Montreal in 1858, helped fill the gap left by Les Mélanges Religieux. According to Jean-Guy Nadeau, Le Courrier du

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[6] Appendix to the Fifteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, Session 1857, reel 31, app. 47, "Report of the Special Committee on Emigration."
[7] Lavoie, L'Émigration des Québécois 14-17, 21.
[8] André Beaulieu et Jean Hamelin, La Presse Québécoise des Origines à Nos Jours, Volume I, 1764-1859 (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1973), 177-8, 181-3, 207-8, 212-13.

Canada was founded specifically to combat the Rouge newspapers and to advocate colonization "...as a religious and patriotic duty."[9] Nadeau argues that

> It was essential to create conditions that would lure back those who had left the country for lack of land or on the hope of factory work which seemed more pleasant than farming; such work led to an industrial way of life at odds with the national calling to agriculture and perilous to Christian faith and morality.[10]

A second noteworthy periodical that the clergy used to combat the liberal ideas being spread by the Rouges was the Annales du Cabinet de Lecture Paroissial de Montreal. Founded in 1857, the Annales became known as L'Écho du Cabinet de Lecture Paroissial in 1859 and complemented the work being done by the clergy in the Oeuvre des Bons Livres and the Oeuvre des Bibliothèques Paroissiales. The poetry published in this widely diffused journal supplemented printed versions of lectures given to this literary circle in an attempt to get young people to read literature that had been approved by the Church.[11]

The established Montreal and Quebec conservative newspapers continued to place significant emphasis on poetry in the late 1850s. Le Canadien published an immense number of poems in both 1858 and 1859, most of which were the work of Adolphe Marsais. La Minerve also published a large amount of Marsais' poetry, especially in 1855 and 1856, while Le Journal de Québec made space for poets such as Octave Crémazie. A new conservative newspaper in Montreal called La Patrie published a good quantity of poetry during its existence from 1854 to 1858 and claimed 1500 subscriptions by 1855.[12]

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[9] Jean-Guy Nadeau, "Taché, Joseph-Charles," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XII, 1891-1900, George W. Brown, David M .Hayne, and Francess G. Halpenny, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 1014.

[10] Nadeau 1014.

[11] Beaulieu et Hamelin 203-4, 217-19, 221-2. Yolande Grisé et Jeanne d'Arc Lortie avec la collaboration de Pierre Savard et Paul Wyczynski, Les Textes Poétiques du Canada Français, 1606-1867, Volume VI, 1856-1858 (Montréal: Éditions Fides, 1993), LIX; Vol. VII, LIX. Maurice Lemire, "Les Revues Littéraires au Québec comme Réseaux d'Écrivains et Instance de Consécration Littéraire (1840-1870)," Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française 47 (1994): 532-3.

[12] Beaulieu et Hamelin 190-1, 194.

Rouge newspapers were much weaker during the late 1850s than had been the case during the transition period. While Le Pays gave prominence to poets from 1856 to 1858, the quantity of poetry published in L'Avenir dropped considerably in these years. The late 1850s, however, did see the birth of some popular radical and satirical journals. Le National, a Quebec paper under the editorship of Marc-Aurèle Plamondon, Pierre-Gabriel Huot, and Télesphore Fournier, flourished from 1855 to 1859 by promoting democratic and national ideals in both the city and the countryside.[13] Louis-Michel Darveau's new liberal paper, L'Observateur, existed for only a short time from 1858 to 1860, but had more than 1000 subscribers in the spring of 1859. L'Observateur was locked in polemic debates in Quebec in 1859 with a short-lived satirical journal called Le Bourru. A Montreal newspaper, La Guêpe, that published from 1857 to 1867, used poetry to complement its focus on information and humour.[14]

The late 1850s also witnessed the increased success of a new type of monthly magazine that specialized in literature. La Minerve published the literary review L'Album Littéraire et Musical de la Minerve, from 1846 to 1851. A similar magazine that was first published from 1853 to 1855 as La Ruche Illustrée reappeared in 1859 as La Ruche Littéraire et Politique.[15] These relatively short-lived periodicals demonstrate the small demand for strictly literary reading in the early part of the period. The literary journals produced by the circle of writers that frequented Octave Crémazie's Québec bookstore, Les Soirées Canadiennes of 1861 and Le Foyer Canadien of 1864, were more successful than their earlier counterparts because they focused on promoting national literature.[16] Le Journal de l'Instruction Publique, a specialty journal founded in 1857 to educate teachers, also published quite a bit of poetry. This periodical was

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[13] Beaulieu et Hamelin 194.
[14] Beaulieu et Hamelin 210, 214. Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, LIX.
[15] Beaulieu et Hamelin 58, 178-80.
[16] Mason Wade, The French-Canadians, 1760-1967, Volume I, 1760-1911 (Toronto: Macmillan, revised edition, 1968), 295-6. Lemire, "Les Revues Littéraires" 534-43.

edited by both Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau, who was also the contemporary superintendent of education, and Joseph Lenoir.[17] Finally, although their books were nowhere near as widespread as the newspapers, some of the more productive poets, such as Adolphe Marsais and Paul Stevens, published collections of their poetry in this period. Compilers also began to become more interested in printing anthologies of French-Canadian songs and poetry, a process that became increasingly significant in the 1860s.[18]

The coherence of the period from 1854 to 1859 derives from the major influence of Europe on the poetry, both in terms of international affairs and an influx of prolific European writers. The Crimean war had a major impact on French-Canadian poetry, but not because of the war itself. The traditional enemies, France and England, formed an alliance to combat the threat posed by the expansionist Russian Czar in the Crimea in 1854. This *rapprochement* was viewed by writers in Canada East according to the effect these new relations had on British North America. Canadiens were able to express once again their feelings of historical attachment to France, as well as their loyalty to Britain. The 1855 wartime visit of the French ship *La Capricieuse* stimulated these sentiments even more strongly because it was the first time the French flag had flown in Canada since the Conquest. Poets explored these complex and somewhat contradictory nationalistic feelings in much of the poetry of the late 1850s. They often revisited the history of New France and glorified the past, to a large extent paralleling the conservative nationalism promoted by the clergy in this period. Important anniversaries in 1859, such as the centennial of the battle of the Plains of Abraham and

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[17] Beaulieu et Hamelin 200-1. Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, LX. André Labarrère-Paulé, Les Laïques et la Presse Pédagogique au Canada Français au XIXe Siècle (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1963), 3-4, 8-10, 17.

[18] Adolphe Marsais published his collection of poetry, Romances et Chansons, in 1854 while Paul Stevens published his appropriately named collection, Fables, in 1857. Examples of collections of poetry published in French Canada in the late 1850s and early 1860s are Recueil de Chansons Canadiennes et Françaises; divisé en deux parties (1859), Littérateur Canadien. Recueil de Poésies et Littérature Canadienne (first of three cahiers published in 1860), and La Littérature Canadienne de 1850 à 1860 (1863-4). Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, XLIX and Vol VI, LVIII-LIX.

the bicentennial of the arrival of Bishop Laval in New France, also sparked some nationalistic poems pondering French Canada's relationship with her two mother countries. The war between Italy and the Austro-Hungarian empire was also an important international theme emphasized in the poetry in 1859. The elite expressed ambiguous feelings about this war, sympathizing with the Italians who were trying to gain their independence from oppressive Austrian dominance, but also worrying what would happen to the Pope under Italian nationalism.[19] Additionally, the influence of European technology in the form of railways, steamships, and the telegraph made an impression on poets in Canada East where these testaments to progress were helping conquer the distance barriers offered by the North American continent.

European poets burst on the French-Canadian literary scene in 1854, marking a point in the literature where production increased dramatically. These poets wrote for a living, rather than as a pastime or a secondary career, and aggressively published their work in many of the largest French-Canadian newspapers. Their presence did not so much bring new ideas to French-Canadian literature, but set up a new perspective from which to compare the colonial experience and the Old World. Significantly, their conservative Old World mindset blended easily with the conservative nationalism increasingly dominating Canada East with the decline in the influence of the Rouges during the decade. The four most prominent European poets in Canada East in the second half of the 1850s were Frenchmen Adolphe Marsais, Félix Vogeli, and the more sporadic Adolphe de Puibusque, as well as the Belgian francophone, Paul Stevens.

Adolphe Marsais was the most dominant of these European writers. The quantity of his poetry published in newspapers, such as La Minerve and Le Canadien, increased steadily from 1854 onwards until in both 1858 and 1859, he produced approximately half of the total poetry published. The reason why Marsais decided to come to Canada is unclear, but he travelled extensively in both Upper and Lower

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[19] Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, XI, XV-XVI.

Canada and wrote a good number of poems depicting specific areas of the countryside and the customs of the people. In an article on Marsais' political poetry, however, Michel Carle argues that Marsais was not strictly a romantic poet who focused solely on nature:

> ...Marsais s'est intéressé dans sa vie de poète à autre chose qu'à la campagne canadienne. Sur les quarante-six pièces de recueil, sept seulement correspondent à...«la facette concrète du nationalisme». La grande majorité des textes présentent sans ambiguïté les signes d'une conscience politique réelle bien que naïve....Une relecture de *Romances et chansons* [sic] invite à reclasser Adolphe Marsais comme un poète-chansonnier libéral et à ne plus accepter l'explication de Jeanne d'Arc Lortie, qui propose de voir dans les poèmes politiques de Marsais la faiblesse de quelqu'un qui cède au «goût du temps», «comme tout le monde».[20]

Carle emphasizes Marsais' sympathy towards the United States, his enthusiasm for the liberalism displayed by the Canadian government in comparison to that of France, and his situation of Canada East in an international context, particularly in relation to the Crimean War.[21] Marsais demonstrated a tendency to apply his own ideas to solve Canadian political problems and to explain the relation of French-Canadian nationalism to the Old World in his poetry. It is his predominantly conservative value system that he attempted to disseminate to the Canadien population through his songs, however, that is of the most interest to this study of the interaction between dominant and popular cultures.

The other very prominent European poet during the second half of the 1850s was the Belgian Paul Stevens. Like Marsais, Stevens arrived in Canada in 1854 and moved to Montreal in 1855 where he began to contribute to newspapers such as Le Pays, L'Ordre, Le National, and L'Avenir. Most of his production in this period came in 1856 in the form of the poetic fable, an excellent manner in which to spread a certain message to a popular audience because of the existence of a specific moral lesson at the end. A collection of these fables, most of which were poetic imitations of famous

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[20] Michel Carle, "La Politique dans les Chansons au Milieu du XIXe Siècle: l'Exemple d'Adolphe Marsais," Cultures du Canada Français 5 (1988): 195-6.
[21] Carle 196-7.

fables by writers such as Aesop and Jean de La Fontaine, was published in 1857; the year Stevens also became the editor of La Patrie. Contributing to Rouge, Bleu, and ultramontane newspapers, Stevens does not appear to have sided with any particular political ideology. However, he did become quite involved with the work of the Church, taking a position as principal of the Collège de Chambly and participating in the Cabinet de Lecture Paroissial.[22] Stevens' involvement in activities outside of his writing, and the conservative moral messages put forward in his poetry, substantiate his support of the effort by the French-Canadian elite to encourage the populace to follow a traditional rural lifestyle.

The other two European poets, Félix Vogeli and Adolphe de Puibusque, were much less influential than either Marsais or Stevens, publishing an amount of poetry comparable to their French-Canadian counterparts. Vogeli wrote most of his poetry about progress and international events, or as fables containing conservative morals. Puibusque's poems from 1858 also echoed the atmosphere of conservatism in Canada East in the late 1850s. According to David Hayne, these European poets in Canada and their French and English Romantic colleagues in Europe whose work was reprinted in Canadian newspapers, had a good deal of influence on pre-1860 French-Canadian literature:

> D'autres Français, tels...Adolphe-Louis de Puibusque, ne firent, vers 1850, que de brefs séjours au pays, mais leur influence se prolongea par la moyen de la correspondance qu'ils entamèrent dès leur départ avec les hommes de lettres canadiens.[23]

In his synthesis of French-Canadian history since the Conquest, Mason Wade remarks that the work of European Romantic masters appeared alongside that of French-Canadian writers in the newspapers of the 1840s and 1850s. It was this continual

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[22] Réginald Hamel, John Hare, et Paul Wyczynski, Dictionnaire des Auteurs de Langue Française en Amérique du Nord (Montréal: Éditions Fides, 1989), 1254-5.

[23] David M. Hayne, "Sur les Traces du Préromantisme Canadien," Archives des Lettres Canadiennes, Vol. I: Mouvement Littéraire du Québec (Ottawa: Centre de Recherche en Littérature Canadienne-Française de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1961), 145.

exchange of ideas between the Old and New Worlds, rather than the symbolism of the 1855 visit by *La Capricieuse*, that sparked interest in Romanticism in Canada. Wade argues that "[t]he editors picked and chose their selections carefully to avoid wounding the pious susceptibilities of their readers: the more indecorous features of Romanticism were slighted."[24] Such exact control of the information that was being given to the newspaper's readership, whether it was European or French-Canadian in content, supports the argument that the writing of these poets was chosen with very specific criteria in mind to uphold the ideology that the intellectual elite wanted to disseminate.

Although they were very much overshadowed by this European "invasion," French-Canadian poets who continued to publish in the late 1850s included Joseph Lenoir, Charles Lévesque, Louis-Thomas Groulx, and Octave Crémazie. The peak of Crémazie's literary career came prior to his bankruptcy in 1862, when he was forced to seek a lonely, self-imposed exile in France to escape his soiled financial reputation. The early 1860s also witnessed the height of the literary circle that gathered at Crémazie's bookstore. This group that included Crémazie, Gérin-Lajoie, Chauveau, Casgrain, Louis-Honoré Fréchette, and Alfred Garneau is significant as the first French-Canadian literary movement to inspire a national literature. Many from this elite group produced individual masterpieces in addition to the two important literary journals that they put together in these years. These men were known as the École Littéraire du Québec, to distinguish them from the École Littéraire de Montreal that made important contributions to French-Canadian literature in the early twentieth century.[25]

New French-Canadian poets who appeared on the literary scene in 1858 and 1859 included Louis-Honoré Fréchette, Louis-Joseph-Cyprien Fiset, and Louis-Michel

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[24] Wade 298.

[25] Hayne 137. Paul Wyczynski, "L'École Littéraire de Montréal: Origines, Évolution, Rayonnement," Archives des Lettres Canadiennes, Vol. II: L'École Littéraire de Montréal (Ottawa: Centre de Recherche en Littérature Canadienne-Française de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1972), 11. Réjean Robidoux, "Crémazie, Octave, " Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. X, 1871-80 (1972), 203-4. Wade 302, 304-5, 308.

Darveau. All three poets attended classical colleges and had some background in law. Fiset participated in the founding of the more moderate Institut Canadien in Quebec and only wrote a small number of poems, spending the majority of his time practicing law.[26] Fréchette and Darveau, along with Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain, were younger than the majority of the intellectual elite in this period. Darveau was a Rouge who wrote for a number of Montreal newspapers, particularly Le National, and founded Quebec's L'Observateur in 1858 at age twenty-eight. He sided with nationalists in the Société de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste and liberals from the Institut Canadien in Montreal, such as A.-A. Dorion and L.-A. Dessaulles.[27] Louis-Honoré Fréchette was only twenty years old in 1859 and still a student at the Séminaire de Nicolet. He would go on to a journalistic and political career later in life, but in 1859 published his first poems, mostly in L'Abeille, but also in Le Journal de Québec and La Guêpe.[28] Fréchette was the only one of these poets to gain any real fame within Crémazie's circle in the 1860s. His production in 1859 encompassed a small number of poems in comparison to the successful Marsais, but his emphasis on religion, nationalism, and the role of the poet was in tune with the themes popularized in the latter part of the decade.

In contrast to the first two chapters of this study, the size of the body of French-Canadian poetry from 1854 to 1859 necessitates that the collection be analyzed in two chapters. This chapter will consider only the issues highlighted in the poems of this period that were not directly connected with questions of emigration and the rural ideal, but which were nevertheless affected by the strong atmosphere of conservative nationalism in these years. Discussions of the international context and nationalism

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[26] Guy Champagne, "*Les Voix du Passé*, poème de Louis-Joseph-Cyprien Fiset," Dictionnaire des Oeuvres Littéraires du Québec, Volume I, Des Origines à 1900, Maurice Lemire, ed. (Montréal: Fides, 1978), 775.

[27] Pierre Landry, "Darveau, Louis-Michel," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. X, 213.

[28] Jacques Blais, "Fréchette, Louis-Honoré," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XIII, 1900-1910 (1993), 358-9.

indicated the increased awareness of the intellectual elite about French-Canadian relationships with both the New and Old Worlds. Election propaganda and political satire continued to grow in prominence in popular poetry. Secondly, chapter four will analyze how the writers encouraged participation in the colonization program by fostering the rural ideal, reinforcing traditional values, and directly dissuading emigration. Songs, fables, and proverbs were the poets' favourite techniques for promoting this ideology because they were already imbedded in the popular culture and could be used as a more subtle means of social control.

The centrality of international affairs in French-Canadian poetry from 1854 to 1859 continued the trend of the transition period to situate Canada East in an international context. In particular, events in Europe changed the Canadiens' perception of relations with France and their interpretation of French-Canadian history. In 1855, many poems commented on the cooperation between Britain and France in the Crimean War and the arrival of the French warship *La Capricieuse* in Quebec. In 1859, poets turned their attention to the national self-determination of Italy. The characteristic common to the poetry from both of these years is the overwhelming number of poems that were written to a traditional melody and aimed at a popular audience.

Octave Crémazie and Adolphe Marsais both wrote popular poems about the Crimean War between 1854 and 1857, although Crémazie's poetry was slightly more literary in tone than that of Marsais. Both poets commented on the relevance of the Anglo-French alliance for the situation of French-Canadians in British North America. In a New Year's poem from 1855, Crémazie argued that the Canadiens should use the example of Britain and France as a model for cooperation with their neighbours in Canada West in the interests of peace and prosperity:

Pour nous, O Canadiens! enfants de ces deux races
Dont l'univers entier garde les nobles traces,
.....

Ah! nous pouvons du moins dans des combats paisibles
Unis à leur exemple et comme eux invincibles,
Continuer toujours aux bords du Saint-Laurent,
Ces sublimes vertus, ce bienfaisant génie
Qui vont sauver encore au jour de l'agonie
Le vieux monde expirant.[29] (my emphasis)

Marsais made a similar allusion to the ramifications of the Crimean War for Canada in July 1855 in new lyrics to a popular melody:

Du peuple de France
L'Anglais fut rival;
Mais tous deux, je pense,
S'en trouvèrent mal.
Frères en Crimée,
Comme au Canada,
On vit leur armée
Vaincre aux champs d'*Alma*.[30] (my emphasis in bold)

The two poets also viewed the war in Europe as a lesson about the fragility of peace in Canada. In two halves of a song from 1855, Marsais compared the destruction of war with the peace and happiness he observed in Canada. He then asked God to preserve Canadian harmony in the Union, as much a reference to the dissent beginning to be a serious problem in the Assembly as to the international context:

Le Canada, plus sage,
Loin du bruit de l'orage,
Goûte la paix.
.....

Puisse y rester empreinte
Toujours l'union sainte
Dans tous les coeurs!
Puisse la double race
Qui peuple sa surface

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[29] Octave Crémazie, "*Chant du Petit Gazetier, pour 1855*. Présenté aux Abonnés du «Journal de Québec»," no air (feuille volante du Journal de Québec, 1 janvier 1855), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 505.

[30] Adolphe Marsais, "Souvenirs d'Angleterre," sur l'air: Espérance, confiance, c'est le refrain, &c (La Minerve, 31 juillet 1855), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 603.

O Ciel, gagner ta grâce
Et tes faveurs![31] (my emphasis)

In a poem written after the end of the Crimean war, Crémazie recognized the value of the attitude of conciliation among his people. Showing his fervent conservative nationalism, Crémazie expressed his thoughts about peace in the two final verses of a New Year's poem from 1857:

Pour conserver intact le grand nom de la France
Puisse toujours la paix et sa douce influence
Dominer parmi nous, O Canadiens-Français!
Et jaloux d'accomplir cette tâche si belle,
Puissent nos rangs garder l'union fraternelle
Si féconde en bienfaits.

Et fiers de conserver sur le sol d'Amérique
Des souvenirs français le trésor magnifique,
Renonçant pour jamais aux luttes d'autrefois,
Sachons garder toujours ce brillant héritage
Transmis par nos aïeux malgré les jours d'orage:
NOTRE LANGUE ET NOS LOIS![32] (my emphasis in bold)

The value placed by these poets on the benefits of cooperating within the system of the Union to preserve French traditions in Canada, reflected the conservative atmosphere pervading French-Canadian society by the 1850s. Comparing the situation of Canada East to that of the outside world, the intellectual elite recognized both the advantages of its position and its need to continue to promote French-Canadian *survivance.*

In 1858 and 1859, Adolphe Marsais continued to be write about the international stability achieved by the Anglo-French alliance. His references to international cooperation were brought to bear on the political problems facing the Canadian union. An excellent example of how Marsais used this cooperation to demonstrate the necessity of finding a solution to political deadlock in the Assembly, was a song written in August 1858:

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[31] Adolphe Marsais, "Cantique à la Paix," sur l'air: God Save the Queen (Le Canadien, 26 avril 1855), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 561.
[32] Octave Crémazie, "La Paix. *Premier de l'An 1857*," no air (Le Journal de Québec, 5 janvier 1857), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 200. A variant of this poem was republished in Le Canadien in March 1859. See Vol. VII, 166-7.

Et nous, au Canada, descendants des deux races,
Qu'une heureuse alliance unit,
Joignons aussi nos coeurs et marchons sur leur traces.
La main du Très-Haut les bénit!
L'union fonde la puissance
Et la gloire des Nations;
Elles tombent en décadence
Quand dominent leurs passions.
Puissent la discorde et la guerre
Eteindre leur torche à jamais!
La France soeur de l'Angleterre
C'est le triomphe de la Paix![33] (my emphasis)

The theme of the Anglo-French alliance stayed current in the poetry until the end of the decade and allusions were made to it by both French-Canadian and European poets. These factors indicate the extent to which the international scene affected the outlook of the intellectual elite by the 1850s in comparison to the earlier, inward-looking mindset exhibited in the years following the Rebellions. Poets used songs or simple poems to communicate the relevance of the international arena to the populace and to reinforce the belief that the traditional social structure was worth preserving. The writers thus sought to ensure a strong and prosperous French-Canadian nation within surroundings that were rapidly changing.

An international theme related to the prevalence of the Crimean War was the effect of the 1855 visit by France to Canada East for the first time since the Conquest. Seeing the French flag of *La Capricieuse* in the harbour of Quebec stimulated the nationalistic fervour of the poets and provoked renewed interest in the history of New France. Marsais and Crémazie were once again the two poets most interested in this issue. Marsais' affiliation to France gave him great joy in seeing Canada East reunited with its former mother country. As a Francophile, Crémazie felt similar emotions because he idealized France as the birthplace of his people's ancestors. Two of Crémazie's most famous poems, "Vieux Soldat Canadien" and "Un Soldat de

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[33] Adolphe Marsais, "Victoria et Napoléon à Cherbourg," sur l'air: La victoire, en chantant, nous ouvre la carrière, etc. ou du chant du Départ (Le Canadien, 30 août 1858), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 544-5. See also Vol. VI, #221 and 238; Vol. VII, #3.

l'Empire," explored historical relations between France and New France in the light of the visit of *La Capricieuse* to Canada and encouraged the preservation of traditional Canadien institutions.[34] These poems were quite long, however, limiting their appeal for a popular audience.

Adolphe Marsais, on the other hand, brought the subject of renewed relations with France directly to a popular audience with his song lyrics published in La Minerve and Le Canadien. Two poems from 1855 intertwined the cooperation of French and English both in Canada and on the international stage, with the historic visit of *La Capricieuse*. For example, Marsais composed a set of lyrics to be sung at a banquet in honour of the guests from France. This song reminded the audience how well French-Canadians had conserved ancient French traditions as a living link to their former mother country:

> Rappelez-vous que, dans cette contrée,
> Il est un peuple à la France allié;
> **Son amitié, depuis longtemps jurée**
> **Au nom français, ne l'a point oublié.**
> **Souvenez-vous que naïfs et sincères**
> **Ses *habitants* vous ont traités en frères,**
> Pensez à nous! (bis)[35] (my emphasis in bold)

Marsais incorporated similar sentiments and a reference to the visit of *La Capricieuse* in a song about the re-establishment of commercial relations between France and Canada East with the arrival of the French consul in Quebec in 1859.[36]

Two important anniversaries that occurred in 1859 also underlined the renewal of relations with France. Marsais, Crémazie, and Louis-Joseph-Cyprien Fiset wrote poems for the celebrations of the battle of the Plains of Abraham and the arrival of Bishop Laval in New France, revisiting French-Canadian history and exalting the

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[34] Wade 296-303. Wade explores Crémazie's identification with France and his disillusionment with the reality of French society during his exile there from 1862 to 1879. See Vol. V, #281 (1855), Vol. VI, #159 (1858), and Vol. VII, #52 (1859).

[35] Adolphe Marsais, "Romance. Adieux des Canadiens aux Marins de la «Capricieuse»," sur l'air: Du premier pas, ou Pensez à moi, ou Petit Papa, c'est aujourd'hui ta fête (La Minerve, 16 août 1855), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 625. See also Vol. V, #275.

[36] Adolphe Marsais, "Un Consul Français au Canada," sur l'air du Retour de Pierre (Le Canadien, 7 septembre 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 445-7.

influence of Catholicism. For instance, Crémazie's poem in honour of Bishop Laval linked the preservation of the institutions of New France in contemporary Canada East to the ideology of conservative nationalism that idealized this conservation in a rural, Catholic society:

> Fils de Laval et de Champlain,
> **Le Canadien de ses aïeux**
> **Garde le souvenir pieux**
> Protégee par la croix
> Brillant sur nos montagnes.
> **Dans nos vertes campagnes,**
> **Il conserve ses droits**
> **Et fier de son destin,**
> **Français et catholique,**
> Il montre à l'Amérique
> Deux noms: Laval, Champlain.
> Vive Laval, vive Champlain.[37] (my emphasis)

Renewed relations with France provided an opportunity for poets to express redefined nationalistic sentiments in the context of preserving French traditions. The poets reinterpreted French-Canadian history by glorifying the era of New France to show the populace that, by remaining a rural society, the French-Canadian nation could triumph again in the future.

A final illustration of the importance of international affairs in French-Canadian poetry was the dominance of the issue of the war between Italy and Austria at the end of the period. More than sixteen poems in 1859 addressed this question directly, many of which were song lyrics written by Marsais. Allied defensively with France, the Italians fought their Second War of Independence against the forces of the young Austrian emperor, Franz-Joseph, beginning in April 1859. French-Canadians identified with the nationalistic goals of the Italians fighting for independence from the oppression of the Austrian empire and with the heroic role played by the French army

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[37] Octave Crémazie, "Cantate en l'Honneur de Mgr. de Laval," no air specified (L'Abeille, 16 juin 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 361. This cantate was sung at a celebration at the Séminaire de Québec, but while a description of the ceremony was printed in Le Journal de Québec, the text of the song was only published in L'Abeille. See Vol. VII, #5, 126, 138, 179, and 191 for other poems relating to both of these important anniversaries.

coming to their aid. However, like Catholics around the world, they expressed ambivalence about Italian independence after the war out of fear for the political power of the Pope.[38] This issue affected two of the most influential currents in French-Canadian society in this period: nationalism and Catholicism. However, it is only useful to consider the literary reaction to Italian unification briefly. The majority of these poems were written by Marsais whose personal interest in international affairs was more pronounced than that of the French-Canadian intellectual elite. Unlike his other poems on international themes, Marsais did not attempt in any of these songs to analyze the importance of the Italian war for the French-Canadian situation. He preferred instead to dwell on the power of nationalism and the glory of the French army coming to the defence of Italian patriotes.[39] His poems also do not address the question of the Pope being in danger, suggesting that this issue was not of great concern in Canada East in 1859.

The nationalistic poetry that appeared from 1854 to 1859 continued the trend of the transition period to take patriotic messages to the populace. Increasingly, the atmosphere of conservative nationalism that permeated French-Canadian society in the late 1850s was reflected in the writing of the poets. Nationalism was an important ideology used by the intellectual elite to discourage emigration, but writers had to ensure that this message was put into the context of preserving rural traditions so that it would be accepted by the popular culture. In 1857, Octave Crémazie commented on the threat of emigration for the Canadien *patrie*:

> Heureux qui la connait, plus heureux qui l'habite,
> **Et, ne quittant jamais pour chercher d'autres cieux,**
> Les rives du grand fleuve où le bonheur l'invite,
> **Sait vivre et sait mourir où dorment ses aïeux.**[40] (my emphasis)

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[38] Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, XV-XVI.

[39] See Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, #112, 131, 134, 136, 143, 144, 148, 150, 151, 155, and 158. Three other poems, #33, 54, and 120, under the authorship of different pseudonyms were most likely also written by Marsais, as the introduction to Vol. VII argues on page XXIV.

[40] Octave Crémazie, "Le Canada," no air (manuscript, private collection, 19 janvier 1857), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 202. See also Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, #160, 167 and 245.

A second poem from 1857, by Joseph Lenoir, whose political stance was completely opposite to that of Crémazie, described a group of farm labourers who were able to make a sterile field grow wheat. Surprisingly, Lenoir's poem subscribed to the same conservative mentality as Crémazie's text by idealizing the Canadien farmer, praising the virtue of hard work, and predicting the expansion of the Canadien population:

> Regardez! Le spectacle est sublime et console!
> **Voyez ces travailleurs heureux et triomphans!**
> Peuple d'un million, sur les bancs de l'école,
> **Contemple, avec orgueil, plus de cent mille enfants!**[41] (my emphasis)

These similar nationalistic messages from 1857 reveal the extent to which conservative nationalism was an ideology that surpassed a poet's individual political beliefs. Such congruence stemmed from the necessity of relating to French-Canadian popular culture. Poets had to appeal to the conservative mentality of the habitants to ensure that their message of discouraging emigration was relevant in the framework of the popular culture.

Popular nationalistic poetry in 1858 and 1859 was illustrated with very concrete examples in comparison to the more abstract expression of the ideology of conservative nationalism in patriotic poems directed at an elite audience.[42] Octave Crémazie, Louis-Joseph-Cyprien Fiset, and Louis-Michel Darveau each contributed a song or poem for the Saint-Jean-Baptiste holiday.[43] Other poems referred to the glorious Canadien past or to the preservation of French traditions under British rule. For example, Félix Vogeli used both of these techniques to spark enthusiasm for unity in Canada in a song published in Le Pays in January 1859:

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[41] Joseph Lenoir, "Labeur et Récompense," no air (Le Journal de l'Instruction Publique, février 1857), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 205.

[42] Two examples of this elite poetry would be the very literary, ultramontane poem read at a meeting of the Cabinet de Lecture Paroissial by the author Reverend Messire Pierre-Paul Denis, "Le Canada Conservé par La Foi," no air (L'Écho du Cabinet de Lecture Paroissial, 6 & 13 juillet 1861), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 114-25, and Louis-Honoré Fréchette's very Romantic poem "Hymne à la Patrie," no air (L'Abeille, 10 mars 1859), Vol. VII, 165.

[43] See Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, #200 and 201; Vol. VII, # 145.

De l'Angleterre et de l'Irlande,
Si beaucoup de nous sont venus,
Des races Bretonne et Normande,
Ceux de France sont descendus.
Ah! confondons dans notre histoire,
Ces noms qui sont égaux en gloire![44] (my emphasis)

Adolphe Marsais wrote a song in 1858 which closely echoed one published in Le Canadien in 1822 that had protested the proposed union between the Canadas. He compared the merits of Upper and Lower Canada and praised the Canadiens for their preservation of the French language and customs with which he was familiar:

Ici, j'entends le doux langage
Que l'on parle dans mon pays.
Les Canadiens en héritage
À leurs descendants l'ont transmis.
La religion de ma mère
Est vénérée en ces climats.
Au Haut Canada tout diffère,
C'est pourquoi j'aime mieux le Bas.[45]

Finally, a theme that appeared twice in the nationalistic poems from these years was the remembrance of those who had died for their homeland in the 1837-38 Rebellions. In 1858, a short poem, signed with a pseudonym, asked that people "Aux braves morts pour la patrie, / Donne une larme en souvenir."[46] The following year, another song by a little known poet portrayed the Patriotes of the late 1830s as heroes whose memory had to be kept alive through the continued struggle for *survivance*:

Tu n'est point né pour l'esclavage
Dieu seul est ton maître ici-bas!
Ta liberté, c'est ton ouvrage!
Oh, mon pays, ne l'oublie pas!
Descendants de plus d'une race,
Puisque Dieu nous a réunis,
Que la haine entre nous s'efface,
Efforçons-nous de vivre unis.

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[44] Félix Vogeli, "La Montréalaise," no air (Le Pays, 27 janvier 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 644-5.
[45] Adolphe Marsais, "Le Haut et Le Bas Canada. Chanson," sur l'air: De la pipe de tabac (Gazette de Sorel, 15 juin 1858), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 401. In his preface to Marsais' song, the editor wrote "On *chantera* ou du moins on *lira* sans doute avec plaisir les vers que voici," indicating that there was indeed a tendency among readers to sing these very popular tunes (400).
[46] Virginie L.* (pseud.), "Epitaphe pour le Monument consacré aux Victimes de 1837 - 1838," no air (La Patrie, 14 février 1858), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 340.

Des temps les plus fameux levons les voiles sombres.
Vos bourreaux sont flétris d'opprobes éternels!
Honneur, amour et gloire à vos illustres ombres,
Fils de la liberté! vous serez immortels![47] (my emphasis)

By relating patriotism to the preservation of traditional French-Canadian society, the poets were able to use nationalistic poetry to reinforce the central messages of emigration, colonization, and the rural ideal that dominated the literature in this period. The ideology of conservative nationalism was disseminated by both Bleu and Rouge members of the intellectual elite because it was essential to the preservation of traditional institutions that would ensure national survival.

The third theme of taking politics closer to the people continued in the poetry from 1854 to 1859 and extended a similar trend evident in the transition period. Some poems used fables or proverbs to explain the concepts of democracy or liberty in a simple fashion.[48] Others criticized current affairs by mocking political parties. For instance, a satirical song published in La Minerve in 1855 made fun of the stance taken by the unpopular Rouges on the abolition of the seigneurial system:

Les Rouges enragent, dit-on;
De voir que la tenure
Leur échappe en changeant de nom,
Pour eux quelle torture!
Ils ont beau piailler
Criailler, brailler,
C'est en vain, elle marche,
Et malgré Jobin,
Et Malgré [sic] Papin,
Malgré Dorion et Darche.[49]

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[47] M. Fissiault, "Hymne aux Martyrs de 1837-38," no air (Recueil de chansons canadiennes et françaises; divisé en deux parties, 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 545-6.

[48] See Félix Vogeli, "Les Deux Platanes," no air (La Ruche Littéraire et Politique, novembre-décembre 1854), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 492-3; the anonymous fable describing the Bleu party, "Les Deux Voisins et le Rat," no air (La Patrie, 19 janvier 1857), Vol. VI, 204; Paul Stevens, "La République des Chiens," no air (Fables, 1857), Vol. VI, 264-5; and the last verse of the proverb by a pseudonym, "Proverbe. Honni soit qui mal y pense," sur l'air: Vive le Roi! vive la France! (Le Pays, 7 novembre 1857),Vol. VI, 298.

[49] Le Sage (pseud.), "La Chute des Martyrs de G(aspard) Lemage après leur Apothéose, Chanson," sur l'air: Mon père était pot (La Minerve, 16 janvier 1855), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 520.

Five songs in 1856 and 1857 used very popular melodies to scorn the policies of the Bleu administration. One published in L'Avenir in 1856 used the melody of "La Marseillaise" to mock the instability of George-Etienne Cartier's political coalition and to criticize the uncontrolled spending of his government:

> Amour sacré de l'infamie,
> **Protège la coalition;**
> Afin que cette colonie
> Reste toujours dans l'abjection. (bis)
> **Garde nous de l'indépendance,**
> **Cet horrible état des Yankys [sic]**
> **Conserve la noble alliance,**
> **Qui nous tient soumis aux torys.**
> Au coffre allons puiser,
> Les écus amassons,
> **Prenons, prenons,**
> **Qu'un or très pur paye nos trahisons.**[50] (my emphasis)

The small quantity of political poems written in the mid-1850s is nevertheless important for its popular intentions. This characteristic contrasts with both the larger number of poems that directly commented on political events and the clear distinction made between political poetry for the elite and the populace in the early 1840s.

In comparison to the middle years of the decade, the poets' central concern with politics in 1858 was directly related to the frustrations of deadlock in the Assembly of United Canada. Poets, like politicians, viewed this question as part of larger problems inherent in the Union itself. Much of the discussion focused on which solution was best for the interests of the Canadiens. One writer criticized French-Canadian politicians, such as Cartier, for selling out hopes for *survivance* by cooperating with railway interests in Canada West.[51] Adolphe Marsais vacillated about what the best solution for the Union would be. His poetry ranged from arguing for the repeal of the Union in August, as in "Aux Canadiens. Le Nouveau Noeud Gordien," to strongly

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[50] Sujet malgré lui (pseud.), "Ronde-Pot-Pourri," sur l'air: de la Marseillaise, À St. Malo, and des Girondins (L'Avenir, 22 février 1856), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 24. See also Vol. VI, #8, 9, 109, and 110; Vol VII, #70, 108, and 157.

[51] Anonyme, "Chanson (Hola! Les Canadiens...)," sur l'air: Gai! gai! serrons nos rangs, etc. (L'Observateur, 25 mai 1858), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 380.

supporting the idea of a federation of the British North American provinces as the best way to protect the distinctiveness of French-Canadian culture in the fall of 1858:

> De l'Amérique elle fit la puissance;
> Suis son exemple, ô peuple canadien!
> **Loin d'affaiblir ta fière indépendance,**
> **Renforce-la par un nouveau lien.**
> **Tu garderas tes lois et ton génie,**
> **Tes moeurs, ta langue et ta religion**
> En accueillant, pour signe d'harmonie,
> **La fédération.** (bis)[52] (my emphasis)

A related subject of attention in a few poems was the choice of Ottawa as the permanent capital for Canada. This issue was debated for years in the Assembly and was the initial cause of the fall of the MacDonald-Cartier administration in 1858, at the beginning of the "Double Shuffle" scandal.[53] The poems that argued about such issues as the choice of a permanent capital and the problems with the Union did not generally propose any solutions. With Confederation still a decade away, the debates in 1858 were only a prelude to what would occur in the 1860s.

The other significant political theme near the end of the decade involved the elections held in the winter of 1858 and the subsequent discussions about the need for electoral reform after some instances of electoral fraud in certain ridings in Lower Canada.[54] A large number of songs and poems were written about specific election campaigns and victories. One excellent example was the rather violent campaign of the English Tory candidate for Trois-Rivières, J.S. Dawson. The newspaper, L'Ère Nouvelle, supported Dawson, much to the disgust of its Bleu adversary, L'Écho du

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[52] Adolphe Marsais, "La Conféderation des Provinces Britanniques de l'Amérique," sur l'air: Peuples formez une sainte alliance (Le Canadien, 12 novembre 1858), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 655. See also "Aux Canadiens. Le Nouveau Noeud Gordien," sur l'air: Dis-moi soldat, dis-moi t'en souviens-tu? (Le Canadien, 11 août 1858), Vol. VI, 514-6, and "Le Canon d'Alarme. Epitre aux Canadiens. Sur l'Économie Politique, Industrielle et Commerciale," no air (Le Canadien, 29 septembre 1858), Vol. VI, 586-600. A few poems by pseudonyms in 1859 also discussed the reform of the Canadian political system, namely Vol. VII, #121 and 154.

[53] For example, see Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, #92 and Vol. VII, #89. Morton 17.

[54] Careless 207-8.

Saint-Maurice, that published a song mocking the Tory in July 1858.[55] Secondly, the question of electoral reform was taken up particularly by Marsais, who published many songs about the issue in 1858 and 1859. One song from May 1859 criticized the corruption of candidates who bought votes from electors. Marsais used a popular melody to ensure that this important message reached the countryside:

> **Vendre son vote, c'est infâme;**
> **L'acheter, c'est tout aussi mal,**
> Ces marchés que l'équité blâme
> Portent des fruits le plus fatal.
> Ainsi qu'un poison délétère,
> Il s'infiltre dans le public,
> Et chaque jour, son caractère
> Se corrompt par ce vil trafic.
> Ecoutez ma pensée;
> Voici ma panacée.
> Citoyens, usez-en au jour d'élection,
> **C'est un remède à la corruption.**[56] (my emphasis)

In summary, two trends are recognizable in the political poetry of the 1850s. First, there was a continuation of the trend of the transition period to take politics to the populace, especially in the areas of political satire and election propaganda. Secondly, the decline in the importance of more intellectual discussions of political problems that were evident in the early 1840s, complemented the shift in French-Canadian poetry to issues directly related to slowing the rapid change the society was experiencing. Nationalism, the promotion of traditional values, and the creation of a rural ideal were important techniques of social control that the intellectual elite deemed necessary to discourage emigration.

A brief note should also be made about an additional, less prominent, theme that was related to the persistent concerns addressed by conservative nationalism. European writers, in particular, explored how technology was affecting mid-nineteenth century

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[55] Anonyme, "La Dawsonienne," sur l'air: Il est un petit homme (L'Écho du Saint-Maurice, 30 juillet 1858), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 502-3. For other examples of popular electoral poetry, see Vol. VI, #168, 260, 274, 275, and 288. Beaulieu et Hamelin 177-8, 212-13.

[56] Adolphe Marsais, "Les Élections, Nouveau Système," sur l'air: J'ai deux grands boeufs dans mon étable (Le Canadien, 6 mai 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 279. See also Vol VI, #241, and Vol. VII, #35 and 197 by Marsais, as well as Vol. VI, #265 and Vol. VII, #20 by unknown pseudonyms.

society. These poets recognized that new technology addressed the challenge of distance dividing both Canada itself, and the Old and New Worlds. Some of the fables by Paul Stevens in 1856 illustrated how new technologies such as the train and the telegraph had replaced slower methods of travel and communication such as the horse and the postal service.[57] Adolphe Marsais emphasized railways and the telegraph in his songs, comparing both the positive and negative aspects of progress. His songs tended to be quite critical, especially of the amount of money spent on public works such as the Grand Trunk Railway and the Victoria Bridge near Montreal. Linking the issue to unrestrained government spending more generally, Marsais compared the expense of the new bridge with the economy of the frozen St. Lawrence which cost nothing to cross in the winter.[58] In a much more literary tone, Félix Vogeli also addressed the issue of progress and was especially enthusiastic about the new trans-Atlantic telegraph in 1858.[59] These poems are significant because they illustrate a difference in the way in which the European and French-Canadian poets viewed conservative nationalism. The Europeans saw no contradiction in promoting the new technology of the Industrial Revolution at the same time as they were writing poetry promulgating conservative values. On the other hand, French-Canadian poets avoided the subject of technology, most likely because their cultural perspective regarded progress as a threat to the traditional rural lifestyle that preserved French-Canadian popular culture and ensured national survival. The modernization that was slowly occurring in Canada East with the introduction of railways and commercialization of the economy, jeopardized the agricultural foundation of the society and thus the institutions on which *survivance* was based.

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[57] See Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, #27, 139 and 140.

[58] Adolphe Marsais, "Le Pont de Glace du Saint-Laurent," sur l'air: Cadet Rousselle est bon enfant (Le Canadien, 14 janvier 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 42. See also Vol. VI, #94 and Vol. VII, #168 by Marsais and Vol VI, #255 that was probably written by Marsais.

[59] For example, see Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, #165 and 176.

The international arena, nationalism, political concerns, and new technology discussed in the poems from 1854 to 1859 clearly demonstrate the extent to which the focus of French-Canadian poetry had changed since the Rebellions. Additionally, the poetry continued to indicate the shift towards the writing of a larger proportion of popular poems evident in the transition period. Poets viewed international affairs and political questions from the perspective of conservative nationalism, producing popular poetry that strengthened the desire of the rural population to preserve traditional institutions that derived from their historic connection to France. The songs, fables, and proverbs that directly commented on the issue of emigration through the promotion of a rural ideal, will be the central focus of analysis in the final chapter. The intellectual elite used these conservative poetic forms in the hope that they could more successfully encourage the participation of the populace in the social control program of colonization. These poems reinforced elements already present in the popular culture in the hope of slowing social change in Canada East.

CHAPTER 4

THE RURAL IDEAL: CONSERVATIVE NATIONALISM AS THE SOLUTION TO EMIGRATION, 1854 - 1859

One of the most significant changes between the earlier periods and the poetry of the late 1850s is the flourishing of the popular poetic formats of fables and proverbs, introduced, in particular, by European poets Paul Stevens and Adolphe Marsais after 1856. Fables had appeared as part of the poetic repertoire in a few instances before this period, but not in the same quantity. Popularized by the legendary Aesop in the fourth century B.C., fables can be defined as animal stories that always contain a moral lesson or piece of advice. Paul Stevens' large collection of fables published in newspapers in 1856 and 1857 for the most part comprised poetic imitations of Aesop or new renditions of the fables of seventeenth century French poet, Jean de La Fontaine.[1]

Proverbs similarly advised on appropriate behaviour and often adopted the tune of a well-known song. Poets generally used examples taken from different facets of everyday life to illustrate how they interpreted the proverb. Adolphe Marsais became a master at using the proverb to reinforce the traditional values already present in French-Canadian popular culture. In the course of a single poem, Marsais explained the proverb using a wide range of examples drawn from rural life, business, politics, and the international arena. Fables and proverbs strengthened the overall atmosphere of religious and moral conservatism in French-Canadian society in the late 1850s because they advised moderation and control of the passions, combated vices, and praised virtues.[2] These poems were also useful instruments for

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[1] Réginald Hamel, John Hare, et Paul Wyczynski, Dictionnaire des Auteurs de Langue Française en Amérique du Nord (Montréal: Éditions Fides, 1989), 1255.

[2] Yolande Grisé et Jeanne d'Arc Lortie avec la collaboration de Pierre Savard et Paul Wyczynski, Les Textes Poétiques du Canada Français, 1606-1867, Volume VII, 1859 (Montréal: Éditions Fides, 1994), XIX.

disseminating a specific message to the populace because like songs, they educated people using a simple format that was an integral part of the popular culture:

> La poésie de l'époque est essentiellement destinée au peuple, qu'elle veut instruire et persuader, dont elle cherche à éveiller la conscience et à provoquer l'engagement politique ou social....La chanson, la fable, le proverbe... susceptibles d'émouvoir ou d'éclairer le peuple, connaissent une vogue remarquable....La popularité de cette poésie didactique, en particulier de la fable, montre à quel point les versificateurs sont préoccupés par la réception de leur message.[3]

The strength of the clerical influence and conservative nationalism of the 1850s reinforced the conservative Old World mindset of the European poets who dominated French-Canadian literature after 1854. This combination of French-Canadian conservatism based on national survival with the extensive production of conservative poetry by Marsais and Stevens, indicates a concerted attempt by the elite as a whole, and the poets in particular, to discourage the flood of emigration to the United States. The main manner in which these writers disseminated this message was by highlighting the rural ideal in the hope of persuading the Canadien *habitants* to preserve their traditional way of life.

Only three fables were published in newspapers in 1854 and 1855, two by Félix Vogeli and one by Paul Stevens. Stevens' first mass publication of fables began in 1856 and dominated the poetic scene, mainly in the liberal newspapers, Le Pays and Le National, but also in L'Avenir and La Patrie. Although the political perspective of these newspapers did not necessarily match the ideological beliefs held by Stevens, these journals appear to have been good choices for reaching a diverse audience that included rural readers. Both L'Avenir and Le Pays extended their readership by advertising agents that sold subscriptions in the smaller villages of Canada East, while Le National expressed a desire for both urban and rural readers in its prospectus on November 20, 1855.

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[3] Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, XXIII-IV.

Stevens had favourite themes that he explored in his fables, including the value of honesty, the damage caused by greed and boastfulness, and the inevitability of God's justice.[4] A theme in which he took great interest, moreover, was the advice to be content with one's existence. These fables often criticized envy and jealousy and portrayed the happiness of a simple, rural life. Such messages reinforced values that already occupied a prominent position in rural French-Canadian society. Stevens often linked these values to nationalism, demonstrating his acceptance of his social control role in discouraging emigration:

> **Pauvres gens qui courez vers de lointains climats**
> **Sur les ailes de l'espérance,**
> **Croyez-vous que votre indigence**
> **Va s'y changer soudain en heureuse abondance**
> **Quand vous ne savez même où diriger vos pas?...**
> Voyez la triste destinée
> De Mouflard périssant sous la griffe du loup....
> **Et n'oubliez jamais que toute âme bien née**
> **Chérit son pays avant tout!..**[5] (my emphasis)

Stevens expressed the same sentiment in a poem about a monkey who was restless to move, arguing in the moral "Qu'il aurait fait bien mieux de rester en sa sphère."[6] Two other fables also commented on this issue, one that contrasted the lives of a domestic and a wild donkey and one that noted the differences in the existence of a city and a country rat. In the end, the country rat realized that his situation was more favourable, while the wild donkey recognized that the pleasure of being fed was not worth the loss of his freedom:

> **Pour être heureux, il faut, je pense,**
> **Savoir se contenter de la condition**
> **Où nous a mis la providence.**
> Quand on est travaillé par dame ambition
> On passe une triste existence.

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[4] For example, Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, #42, 66, 80 and 84.
[5] Paul Stevens, "Le Coq et le Chien, " no air (Le Pays, 21 juin 1856), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 74.
[6] Paul Stevens, "Le Singe, " no air (Le Pays, 16 septembre 1856), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 135.

J'admire cet antique adage: «connais-toi».
Après tout si l'on jette un regard sur ce monde
Où la misère abonde
On peut toujours trouver plus malheureux que soi.[7] (my emphasis)

As illustrated in the above morals, these fables often portrayed rural existence as a responsibility to one's country and to the larger scheme put in place by Providence. The power of these 1856 fables derived from their relevance to the popular culture. Social control of the rural population by these poets would have been a complete failure if they had attempted to manipulate the *habitants* for an end that had no communal benefit.

Stevens wrote only nine fables in 1857, all of which he published solely in his own collection. Le Pays published the majority of the rest of the fables and proverbs from 1857, most of which were attributed to different pseudonyms. With the surprising scarcity of poems by Marsais in this year and the similarities in the pseudonyms, it is likely that quite a few, if not all, of these poems were written by Marsais. He may have been publishing under these assumed names to avoid being connected with a liberal newspaper. The reappearance of quite a few fables and proverbs by Marsais in Le Canadien, La Minerve, and Le Pays in 1858, and the large quantity of the same type of poem in Le Canadien in 1859, confirm the plausibility of this hypothesis. Stevens' poetry, however, was absent from the newspapers from 1858 and 1859, probably because the poet was busy with his jobs editing La Patrie and teaching at a classical college. Both of these positions held by Stevens in the late 1850s indicate that the conservative ideology promulgated in his fables was closely connected to his individual beliefs.

The themes of the fables and proverbs by Marsais and Stevens that appeared in the newspapers from 1857 onwards continued the trend of promoting traditional

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[7] Paul Stevens, "L'Âne Sauvage et L'Âne Domestique," no air (La Patrie, 23 mai 1856), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 49. See also "Le Rat de Ville et le Rat des Champs," no air (La Patrie, 6 juin 1856), Vol. VI, 53-5.

values, including the depiction of moral behaviour, the praise of modesty, the importance of hard work, and the happiness that resulted from a simple rural life. As one of many poems focusing on vices and virtues, a very short fable by Stevens from 1857 emphasized the danger of giving into sensual pleasures:

> Un papillon du soir séduit par la clarté
> D'une lampe, y vola; mais la flamme perfide
> Fut cause de sa mort. **Ainsi l'humanité,**
> **Courant après la volupté,**
> **À chaque instant se suicide.**[8] (my emphasis)

A proverb most likely by Marsais entitled "L'appétit vient en Mangeant," also warned of the evils of temptation. In this verse, he cautioned that greed for riches was never satisfied:

> Un spéculateur avide
> Gagne à la Bourse un mont d'or.
> La passion qui le guide
> Lui fait grossir son trésor.
> **Jamais on n'a trop d'argent,**
> **L'appetit vient en mangeant.**[9] (my emphasis)

Another proverb, written under one of Marsais' pseudonyms in 1859, complained about the vice of procrastination. In this verse, he illustrated the proverb using the example of being charitable to the poor:

> Tandis qu'à boire et bien vivre
> Il dépense son argent,
> À ses plaisirs il se livre
> Sans songer à l'indigent.
> **Lorsqu'un pauvre lui demande**
> **Quelques sous, un peu de pain,**
> **Loin de lui tendre son offrande,**
> **Attend, dit-il, jusqu'à demain.**[10] (my emphasis)

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[8] Paul Stevens, "La Lampe et le Papillon, "no air (Fables, 1857), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 271.

[9] Un gourmand (pseud.), "Proverbe. L'appétit vient en Mangeant," sur l'air: J'ai cueilli la rose rose (Le Pays, 24 octobre 1857), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 277-8.

[10] Figaro (pseud.), "Les Péchés de Vieillesse ou À Demain la Sagesse," sur l'air: Bons habitants du village (Le National, 24 mars 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 187.

Modesty was a second popular theme in the fables and proverbs. The value of humbleness was particularly relevant for the problem of emigration because it encouraged French-Canadian peasants to be satisfied with their existence and not to succumb to the temptation of seeking better opportunities in the United States. Three examples from the fables and proverbs are most revealing because they use illustrations related to farming. The first, a fable most likely written by Marsais under another assumed pseudonym in 1857, contrasted two different flowers, the proud rose and the humble violet, and concluded that "La modestie et la simplicité / Sont la véritable beauté."[11] The second and third fables, also written by Marsais under a pseudonym, came to similar conclusions when comparing simple fruits and vegetables, like the apple and the potato, with gourmet foods such as the peach and the pumpkin, or the truffle and the mushroom. The following moral praised the modest goodness of the potato:

Un fruit qui prévient la disette
Est mille fois plus précieux
Que le mets délicieux
Dont le riche seul fait emplette.
Une autre conclusion
Naît de ma narration,
C'est que chacun, de soi-même l'apôtre,
De son mérite est épris
Et regarde avec mépris
Le mérite plus vrai d'un autre. [12] (my emphasis)

A third theme, the value of hard work, was already an important component of the popular culture in terms of both making a living as a farmer and leading the life of a good Catholic. A proverb about perseverance used the example of a politician as one of the illustrations for this virtue, and highlighted the significance of the family in French-Canadian society:

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[11] Un oeillet moraliste (pseud.), "Fable. La Violette et le Laurier Rose," no air (Le Pays, 22 octobre 1857), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 276.

[12] Melon (pseud.), "Fable. L'Huître, la Truffe, le Champignon et la Pomme-de-Terre," no air (Le National, 21 avril 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 219. See also Un Concombre (pseud. of Marsais), "Fable. Le Jardinier, la Pomme, La Pêche et la Citrouille," no air (Le National, 8 mars 1859), Vol. VII, 153-6.

Sur le renom de sa capacité,
De sa prudence en son pays connue,
L'élection le nomma député,
Et par ce rang sa gloire fut accrue.
Un titre, un seul manquait à son bonheur:
Celui de père. Un jour la providence,
Après cinq ans lui fit cette faveur;
On obtient tout par la persévérance.[13] (my emphasis)

Another proverb about hard work alluded to California as a place the lazy went to make a quick, easy fortune:

Crépin, las d'être savetier,
Partit pour la Californie;
Là changea dix fois de métier;
Chez lui c'était une manie;
Mais sa fortune, au résultat,
N'ayant pas avancé d'un pouce,
Il reprit son premier état.
Pierre qui roul' n'amass' pas mousse.[14] (my emphasis)

Finally, a fable by Marsais about a bear and a beaver compared the industry of the labourer to the rich man for whom he worked:

Il est ainsi chez l'homme.
Les grands et ceux qu'on renomme,
Pour leur richesse et leur pouvoir,
Dédaignent de se pourvoir
D'un gîte et de subsistence
Par le travail de leurs mains.
C'est l'ouvrier, humble engeance
Qui doit suer pour des maîtres hautains.[15] (my emphasis)

By placing increased worth on the traditional values already a strong part of the popular culture, Marsais tried to convince the rural population that the austere life of a farmer was morally superior to that of the wealthier classes. Discouraging the emigration of the *habitants* entailed increasing the significance of their profession to diminish the attractiveness of better opportunities in the United States or in the urban work force. The practice of social control, therefore, was a matter of being

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[13] Un ami de la Constance (pseud. of Marsais), "Proverbe. On Obtient tout par la Persévérance," air à faire (Le Pays, 3 octobre 1857), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 248.

[14] Jonathon Laquedem (pseud. of Marsais), "Proverbe. Pierre qui Roule n'amass' pas Mousse, " no air specified (Le National, 19 avril 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 231.

[15] Adolphe Marsais, "Le Castor et L'Ours. Fable," no air (Le Canadien, 4 mai 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 277.

responsive to one's audience and required an astute understanding of the mentality of the popular culture.

The final theme evident in Marsais' fables and proverbs after 1857 is the advocation of the simple life of the farmer as the happiest. An excellent example of this message appeared in two verses from one of his proverbs in 1858. The third verse contained a direct reference to the loneliness and risk involved in moving away from Canada East, while the fourth emphasized the happiness gained from cultivating the land:

> **Bon habitants de ces campagnes**
> **Vous qui, laissant un pays cher,**
> Au-delà des mers, des montagnes,
> Courez aux rives du Fraser,
> **Sachez qu'en ces lointains parages,**
> **Les mines d'or doivent tarir,**
> Non le poisson près vos rivages,
> Il vaut mieux tenir que courir.
>
> Petit Jean n'aime pas la guerre,
> Les flots ni les bords étrangers,
> .....
> **D'un champ, d'un cottage il est maître,**
> **Et compte bien vivre et mourir**
> **Dans le hameau qui l'a vu naître.**
> Il vaut mieux tenir que courir.[16] (my emphasis)

A similar proverb from 1859 complained that society was much more complicated in the present than in the past. It argued that people would be much happier if they did not concern themselves with unnecessary education and followed in the footsteps of their parents:

> **Autrefois les paysans**
> **Ne savaient chiffrer ni lire,**
> **Mais savaient chanter et rire,**
> Ainsi que les artisans.
> .....

16 Adolphe Marsais, "Proverbe. Il vaut mieux tenir que courir," sur l'air: Avant tout, je suis Canadien (Le Canadien, 7 janvier 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 684-5.

Le fils d'un maître-tailleur
Suivait l'état de son père,
Au lieu d'être huissier, notaire,
Mauvais peintre ou rimailleur.[17] (my emphasis)

A fable written by Marsais in the same year also underlined this advice to stay on the land by comparing the happy, simple life of a goldfinch to the lonely existence of the mighty eagle:

Plus d'un front portant couronne
Et que la gloire environne,
Comme notre aigle, aujourd'hui
Est dévoré par l'ennui.
.....
Le simple artisan qui chante
Pour égayer son travail,
N'a point cette peur constante,
Des tyrans l'épouvantail.
Sans flatteur, mais sans alarmes,
Il trouve dans sa gaïté [sic],
Doux fruit de la liberté,
Plus de bonheur et de charmes
Que n'en a la royauté.[18] (my emphasis)

Marsais was a European poet expressing his own ideas about how French-Canadian society should be organized. It is difficult to compare his views to those of French-Canadian poets in the same period because they produced few poems similar in emphasis. However, the parallels between the rural ideal and traditional values that Marsais promoted, and the similar ideology being advanced by poets prior to Marsais' domination and by Gérin-Lajoie and Chauveau in their influential novels, point to a common perspective that influenced the elite in Canada East. Marsais conformed to the atmosphere of conservative nationalism that dominated French-Canadian society by the late 1850s. His poetry disseminated this ideology to the rural population in an attempt to reverse the process of social change that was prompting farmers to turn to emigration.

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[17] Adolphe Marsais, "Proverbe. Fais ton Métier, Savetier," sur l'air: Gai, gai, mariez-vous, etc (Le Canadien, 9 mars 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 157.
[18] Adolphe Marsais, "Fabie: L'Aigle et le Chardonneret," no air (Le Canadien, 1 juin 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 323.

The appearance of the issue of temperance in the poetry of the late 1850s was closely related to the emphasis placed on promoting traditional values. While poets agreed on the importance of rural conservatism, temperance was a hotly debated subject in the poetry after 1854. The Church had been addressing drunkenness as a social problem since the widely popular temperance campaigns of Reverend Chiniquy in the late 1840s. The majority of the members of the ultramontane clergy, however, refrained from advocating total abstinence from alcohol. It was the European poets that spoke out most strongly against temperance in the poetry. In the early years of the period, Adolphe Marsais could not decide on which side of the debate he fell. One of two songs from his 1854 collection encouraged people to celebrate Saint-Jean-Baptiste by drinking lots of wine, while the other song exclaimed just as enthusiastically, "Vive la Tempérance!"[19] Similarly, he published the critical "Protestation d'un Vrai Tempérant contre la Loi du Maine" in 1855, but soon after, produced a song praising the virtues of tea drinkers.[20] In an 1857 proverb, Marsais described the difficulty of complete abstinence from drink, but, in 1858, his song "Chanson d'un Ami de l'eau" favoured the goodness of water to wine.[21] By 1859, all of Marsais' songs and poems about temperance opposed the policy. For example, one fable described a very pious order of monks near Grenoble, France, and used a favourite technique of temperance opponents that demonstrated beneficial Church production of alcohol. The monks followed an austere lifestyle, but made a delicious liqueur that was used for medicinal purposes and entertaining friends:

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[19] Adolphe Marsais, "Chanson. La Fête de St.-Jean," sur l'air: Dieu, mes enfants! vous garde un beau trépas, and "Chanson. Vive la Tempérance!," sur l'air: Suzon sortait de son village (Romances et Chansons, 1854), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 439-40, 441.

[20] Adolphe Marsais, "Protestation d'un Vrai Tempérant contre la Loi du Maine," sur l'air: De la Parisienne (L'Ère Nouvelle, 6 septembre 1855), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 653-5 and "Le Règne du Thé et des Teetotalistes! Chansonnette," sur l'air: C'est l'amour, l'amour, l'amour (La Patrie, 9 octobre 1855), Vol. V, 675-8.

[21] Un Ami des Bons Principes (pseud. of Marsais), "Proverbe. Il n'y a que le Premier-pas qui coûte," sur l'air: J'étais bon chasseur autrefois (Le Pays, 13 octobre 1857), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 259-61; Adolphe Marsais, "Chanson d'un Ami de l'eau," sur l'air: Mes amis nos coupes sont pleines, etc (Le Canadien, 1 octobre 1858), Vol VI, 486-8.

Vous teatotalistes sévères,
Osez-vous blâmer ces bon [sic] pères
De métamorphoser en or
Leur chartreuse, exquis breuvage,
Dont ils font le plus noble usage,
Eux qui consacrent leur trésor
À secourir l'ouvrier sans ouvrage
Et qui se font bénir par tout le voisinage?
Quant à moi je leur rends hommage
Et les admire d'autant plus
Qu'ils se sont librement exclus,
Avec leur voeu d'anachorète,
De la liqueur par leurs mains faite....[22] (my emphasis)

These apparently contradicting messages from the work of one individual appear to stem from the fact that Marsais was not against self-imposed moderation in drinking, but disagreed with the government imposing a temperance law on the people. Paul Stevens portrayed the hidden failure of temperance due to personal weakness in an 1856 fable, arguing that even self-imposed temperance was quickly abandoned:

Bref, voilà nos amis goûtant d'un air capable
Le bon rhum vieux. Un coup amène un autre coup.
Bientôt ils tombent sous la table.
Je connais aujourd'hui de nombreux tempérants
Qui trouveront ici parfaite ressemblance.
Ils ont *juré* la tempérance
Mais un verre de *rhum* brisera leurs serments.[23] (my emphasis)

F.X. Garneau also opposed the policy of temperance, as did Félix Vogeli in a song from 1857 similar to those written by Marsais celebrating the virtues of wine for festivities.[24] It was thus predominantly European writers who commented on this peculiarly North American issue. It appears to have been the public attempt to take away what was considered to be a private privilege that raised the ire of these poets

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[22] Un Voyageur (pseud. of Marsais), "Les Chartreux et la Chartreuse," no air (Le National, 22 mars 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 179-80. See also Vol. VII, #12,41, 58, 79, and 180.
[23] Paul Stevens, "Le Chat, Le Renard et le Singe," no air (L'Avenir, 2 octobre 1856), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 146.
[24] Félix Vogeli, "Chanson à Boire," sur l'air: De la Parisienne (de Casimir Delavigne) (Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe, 20 août 1857), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 217-18. See also F.-X. Garneau, "Vers Infames Contre la Tempérance!," no air (manuscript, private collection, 23 octobre 1854), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 466-9.

when they were confronted with the decision about whether to support the clergy in admonishing the Canadiens about the pleasure of drink.

In contrast, an area of much religious influence with which there was no debate was the continuation of poetic pleas for charity in the period from 1854 to 1859. While religious poetry itself did not stand out in this period, the poets' involvement in the synchronization of the work of religious orders with the assistance given by lay organizations and individuals was quite remarkable. The diversity of poets writing about this issue belies the single voice with which they spoke, asking that the poor be remembered by those more fortunate. For example, two New Year's poems from 1854 and 1855 by two quite distinct poets, Charles Lévesque and Marc-Aurèle Plamondon, appealed for aid for the poor by contrasting the misery of the helpless with the opulence of the rich.[25] Similarly, a whole array of poets from the well-known Marsais and the familiar Vogeli, to the lesser known Gédéon Ouimet and Pierre-Paul Denis, wrote on this subject during 1857 and 1858.[26] Winter was the prime season for writing these poems, when the homelessness and starvation of the poor was the most striking. Only Marsais contributed poems about charity in 1859, but appears to have been highly involved with some of the fund-raising efforts. Four of his songs and poems from this year were most likely read either before or as part of the dramatic nights that were presented to raise money for charitable organizations or religious orders working in Quebec.[27] This brief synopsis of the poems about charity serves to demonstrate the extent to which religion permeated French-Canadian society by the 1850s, not only in assistance for the helpless, but also in terms of the people who were asked to give their support. The diversity of poets advocating these efforts

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[25] Charles Lévesque, "Bazar. Aux Dames de Berthier," no air (La Minerve, 3 janvier 1854) Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 304-5. Marc-Aurèle Plamondon, "Hommage du Petit Gazettier aux Patrons du Canadien, le 1er janvier 1855," no air (Le Canadien, feuille volante, 1 janvier 1855), Vol. V, 509-11.

[26] For example, see Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, #1, 93, 97, 128, 149, 299, and 312.

[27] See Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, #17, 18, 43 and 44.

suggests that charity was an integral component of French-Canadian culture, as well as an issue beyond the reach of individual political convictions.

The final section of this chapter will discuss how the elite's desire to control emigration in the interest of national survival manifested itself in French-Canadian poetry from 1854 to 1859. The poems continued this trend that developed in the transition period to promote conservative nationalism and the rural ideal to discourage farmers from emigrating. While poetry throughout these years delivered strong conservative messages, the year 1858 stands out as the height of direct references to emigration. Such a trend in the literature coincided with the patterns of actual population movement in this period. Emigration increased during the years preceding the 1857 Inquiry and awareness of the issue would have been heightened in 1858, the year following the clerical and political campaigns. However, emigration dropped off in 1859 and continued to be low until 1863 due to a slowdown in the U.S. economy and disruptions caused by the beginning of the American Civil War.[28] Such a decline probably gave the elite a false sense of security that the problem was reaching a resolution in 1859. Despite this temporary reduction in emigration, however, poets continued to produce a large number of conservative fables, proverbs, and songs designed to portray a positive image of French-Canadian agriculture. Such a pattern suggests that the conservative mentality that the intellectual elite wanted to disseminate had become an integral part of French-Canadian culture. While spreading conservatism had become more urgent due to emigration, this trend was not solely dependent on population movement for its high level of prominence and stemmed also from concerns that industrialization and urbanization were threatening traditional French-Canadian society.

From 1854 to 1857, poetry promoting traditional values and the rural ideal was widespread, but there were no poems that expressly commented on the problem

[28] Yolande Lavoie, L'Émigration des Québécois aux États-Unis de 1840 à 1930 (Québec: Editeur Officiel du Québec, 1979), 11, 21.

of emigration. These conservative poems encouraged readers to be content with their rural life. For instance, an opinion that the poets worked hard to cultivate in the popular culture was the happiness that was gained from the simple life of the poor, in comparison to that led by the rich. Charles Lévesque, Charles Berger, and Joseph Lenoir all wrote simple poems on this subject in these years, illustrating the diversity of ideological backgrounds that supported the preservation of traditional French-Canadian rurality. Lenoir's Rouge mindset is hardly noticeable in the following verse from a New Year's poem in 1857 that compared "...la dédaigneuse opulence...." of the rich to the happiness of a poor family:

> **Ici, selon l'antique usage,**
> **J'aperçois, heureux et bénis,**
> **Près de parens blanchis par l'âge [sic]**
> **Des frères, des soeurs réunis.**
> Là, j'entends le banquet bruire,
> Et, dans le logis d'à côté
> Du pauvre j'entends le franc rire!
> **Dieu lui donne longue gaîté! [sic]**[29] (my emphasis)

Adolphe Marsais also wrote a song that portrayed a similar aura of happiness to Lenoir's poem, but which gave more emphasis to the rural surroundings of the humble peasants:

> Aux somptueux palais moi je préfère
> Un blanc cottage ombragé de rameaux,
> La paix des champs aux fracas de la guerre,
> Aux grands concerts le doux chant des oiseaux.
>
> Sous un beau ciel habitez la campagne,
> Ayez des bois, un jardin, un verger,
> Auprès de vous une aimable compagne,
> Un cheval sûr, un bon chien de berger....[30]

Combining this rural ideal with an illustration of strong family ties strengthened the poet's message because it conformed to values that were already an important part of

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[29] Joesph Lenoir, "Nouvel An, Franc Rire et Gaîté," sur l'air: En avant! le ciel me contemple (La Minerve, 31 décembre 1856), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 184. See also Vol. V, #146 and Vol. VI, #41.

[30] Adolphe Marsais, "L'Art d'Être Heureux," sur l'air: Oui ce bas-monde est une comédie, ou de Barbe bleue (La Minerve, 18 octobre 1856), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 142. See also Vol. V, #170.

popular culture. Félix Vogeli emphasized the familial bond that supported an *habitant* household while the father was away from Canada:

> Enfans [sic] pour votre père,
> Prions à deux genoux;
> Sur la terre étrangère,
> Hélas! il songe à nous;
> Que nos coeurs, mes enfans,
> Suivent ses pas errans.[31]

The messages contained within conservative poetry derived from the poet's own values and close experience of French-Canadian popular culture. The poets operated under the assumption that by showing the populace how its traditional culture was a bulwark against social change, it would be more likely to cooperate in the national interest. The following verse from Marsais demonstrates the conscious motivation of writers to spread the ideology of conservative nationalism in poetry published in newspapers:

> **La presse encor [sic], de sa voix imposante,**
> **Sert la Morale, étend l'Égalité;**
> **Elle défend la faiblesse innocente,**
> **Soutient la Foi, prêche la Charité.**
> Contre l'abus, contre la tyrannie,
> Elle proteste, au sein même des fers.[32] (my emphasis)

Deliberate promulgation of traditional values and the rural ideal provided a more comprehensive argument against emigration and allowed the elite to practice social control in a manner that benefitted their interests, as well as those of the rural population. The promotion of this ideology of conservative nationalism was essential to ensure that direct references to the threat of emigration to national survival did not fall on deaf ears.

In 1858, the poetry that addressed the issue of emigration pointed to the beginning of a new gold rush in British Columbia as the main cause of concern for

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[31] Félix Vogeli, "L'Écho du Hameau. Complainte des Mères," music composed especially (La Ruche Littéraire et Politique, avril 1854), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 341.

[32] Adolphe Marsais, "Gloire à l'Imprimerie," sur l'air: Dis mois, soldat, dis moi, t'en souviens-tu (La Ruche Littéraire et Politique, septembre-octobre 1854), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. V, 462.

population loss.[33] A poet named Pierre Cauwet wrote a poem from Victoria that described how the wilderness of the Fraser River lacked the civilizing influences of French-Canadian culture.[34] Explaining the proverb that professed that the hungry were not apt to reason, Marsais made reference to the selfishness of gold-seekers in leaving their families and friends, writing "Le joueur pour gagner de l'or, / Oublie amis, enfants et femme."[35] An entire song about the gold rush by Marsais, "La Soif de l'Or," confirms his opposition to people leaving their homeland to search in vain for gold in California or British Columbia. After describing how an adventurer "D'espérances fasciné; / Mais déillusionné / Revient misérable," Marsais painted a picture of the unwelcoming West Coast:

> Pour l'île de Vancouver
> Un autre s'embarque,
> **Région triste, où l'hiver**
> **Domine en monarque.**
> **Canadiens! soyez prudents;**
> **Craignez, si loin de vos champs,**
> **Au lieu d'or, bons *habitants*,**
> **D'y trouver la Parque.**[36] (my emphasis in bold)

Marsais' misrepresentation of the winter on Vancouver Island as much worse than the winter in Canada East displays his ignorance about the actual experiences of gold seekers and testifies to his fervent desire to discourage French-Canadians from leaving. The emphasis by these poets on the attraction posed by the gold rush is strange, considering that closer opportunities in the United States presented much greater appeal for emigrants. One can perhaps view the gold rush as a symbol of the temptation to emigrate, making the migration west into a metaphor for the emigration

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[33] Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 62.

[34] Pierre Cauwet, "Fraser! À A. Lefort," no air (Le National, 7 septembre 1858), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 454-7.

[35] Adolphe Marsais, "Proverbe. Ventre Affamé n'a pas d'Oreille," no air (Le Canadien, 6 décembre 1858), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 683.

[36] Adolphe Marsais, "La Soif de l'Or," sur l'air: De la Bonne aventure (Le Canadien, 13 août 1858), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 506. Marsais also uses climate to persuade people to stay in Canada in two 1859 poems, Vol. VII, #21 and 152.

problem as a whole. In 1858, there would have been increased publicity about the adventure offered by the gold rush in British Columbia as an opportunity to get rich fast. For Marsais in particular, making one's fortune in gold was an unrealistic dream founded on a desire to be lazy. Couching the issue of emigration in terms of temptation and sin ensured that it was the conscience of the French-Canadian *habitant*, rather than the persuasion of the risk of leaving, that would make him decide to remain as a farmer in his homeland as the elite desired.

Marsais continued to promote rural values in 1858 and 1859 to supplement his battle against emigration. Quite a few fables and proverbs illustrated the rural ideal and the preservation of traditional culture. For example, two fables published in Le Canadien in 1858 used different situations to praise old traditions and the loyalty of the *habitant*. The first fable described two different dresses, one from each of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and concluded that often old ways were given up only because they were old, not because they were unsuccessful:

> **Nous blâmons les lois, les usages**
> **Et les moeurs de nos bons aïeux.**
> Nous les raillons à qui mieux mieux.
> Mais avec nos modes volages,
> Avec nos goûts capricieux,
> **Sommes nous aujourd'hui plus sages?**[37] (my emphasis)

The second fable reminded the reader that under the humble clothing of the farmer often lay "Un coeur chaud et patriotique / Et les plus nobles sentiments."[38] It was the simple habits of the farmer and his dedication to fulfilling God's will that brought him happiness despite his modest surroundings. In a song about a typical Canadien peasant farmer also from 1858, Marsais referred directly to the vain ambition for making one's fortune:

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[37] Un Observateur (pseud. probably of Marsais), "La Robe à Panier et la Robe à Ballon. Fable," no air (Le Canadien, 24 novembre 1858), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 669.

[38] Adolphe Marsais, "Fable. L'Âne et le Chien Lévrier," no air (Le Canadien, 27 octobre 1858), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 638.

Il parle le langage
Que parle ses aïeux;
De l'or, dans son cottage,
Il n'est point envieux.
Sans rêver aux chimères,
Exempt d'ambition,
Il tient comme ses pères,
À sa religion.[39] (my emphasis)

Marsais' poetry also encouraged the practice of farming by placing increased value on the hard work of the farmer: "Honneur à l'agriculture! / Sans elle, que serions-nous?"[40] Another song promoted the cultivation of new crops such as hemp and flax in the hope that increased prosperity would keep Canadien farmers in their homeland:

Habitants des beaux rivages
Que baigne le Saint-Laurent,
Écoutez les conseils sages
Que vous donne un ami franc.
J'ai mis en chanson la plante
Qui vous procure le pain;
Aujourd'hui ma muse chante:
Semez le chanvre et le lin. (ter.)[41]

Poems that reinforced the conservative mentality necessary to prevent Canadien farmers from abandoning their nation, made up a large percentage of French-Canadian poetry from 1854 to 1859. Although these poems were not directly practicing the social control of emigration, they provided the atmosphere necessary to convince the *habitants* of their role in protecting the national interest for which the elite was struggling.

A new element in the poetry introduced predominantly by Adolphe Marsais in 1858 that also supported the anti-emigration argument, was descriptions of various French-Canadian localities. Marsais travelled extensively around Lower Canada

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[39] Adolphe Marsais, "Jean-Baptiste, ou l'Habitant du Bas-Canada," sur l'air: Eh! gai, c'est la devise du gros Roger Bontemps (Le Canadien, 10 décembre 1858), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 697. See also Vol. VII, #152, 169, and 186.

[40] Adolphe Marsais, "Le Pain et l'Agriculture," sur l'air: Les gueux, les gueux (Le Canadien, 12 janvier 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 28.

[41] Adolphe Marsais, "Aux habitants du Canada. Semez le Chanvre et le Lin," sur l'air: Crois-moi, plante du raisin (Le Canadien, 23 mars 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 181.

during his stay and often put his thoughts about different regions into poetry.[42] In a period in which common people travelled very little, poems about outlying areas of Canada were often the only way these people were able to experience a distant part of the province. Some of these localized poems about areas outside of the St. Lawrence valley, consequently, can be seen as encouragement for colonizing territories such as the Saguenay and the Gaspé. For example, one poem in 1858 sang the praises of the countryside along the Saguenay River, a region that, along with the Saint Maurice valley, was where the policy of colonization worked most effectively.[43] Another song in 1859 described the charming villages around Rimouski and asked why farmers would ever leave Lower Canada for an unknown future in the American West or British Columbia:

> Loin de ces belles rives,
> Enfants du Canada!
> Loin de ces eaux si vives,
> **Quel démon vous guida**
> **Vers les plaines maladives**
> **Du Fraser, de l'Iowa?**[44] (my emphasis)

A poem from 1859 by François-Magloire Derome, the only evidence of a poet other than Marsais writing a poem about a locality, also described the journey to Rimouski by boat and the countryside seen along the way.[45] The dominance of Marsais of this type of poetry, therefore, as well as of a large majority of the poems disseminating a conservative message, is striking in the post-1854 period. Despite the difficulty in finding examples in the poetry of similar views expressed by French-Canadian poets,

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[42] A few instances of this type of local poetry appeared before 1858, but not in any quantity. See for example Vol. V, #169 and 173, and Vol. VI, #28.

[43] Adolphe Marsais, "Le Saguenay et le St.-Laurent. Ode," no air (Le Canadien, 16 juillet 1858), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VI, 458-61. For other 1858 examples, see Vol. VI, #206, 209, and 243. Brian Young and John A. Dickinson, A Short History of Quebec: A Socio-Economic Perspective (Mississauga: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988), 133-4.

[44] Adolphe Marsais, "Promenade Artistique, de la Pointe-Aux-Pères à St. Fabien. Rive Sud du Saint-Laurent, (Bas Canada)," sur l'air: À la Claire Fontaine (Le Canadien, 9 septembre 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 455. For other 1859 examples, see Vol. VII, #161, 162, 163, and 174.

[45] François-Magloire Derome, "Voyage à Rimouski par Eau," no air (written 5 octobre 1859, published in Le Foyer Canadien, 1866), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 495-7.

this void was not due to the disinterest of French-Canadian writers in these issues. Before the influx of the Europeans in 1854, the Canadiens had written quite extensively about traditional values and rural emigration, as the poetry analyzed in the second chapter testifies. This focus demonstrates that the Canadien writers had a desire to spread these messages to the populace, but they had difficulty publishing their work in the late 1850s due to the dominant production of the European writers. Marsais' dominance, therefore, should be viewed as a monopoly of the French-Canadian poetic market in the late 1850s with many newspapers wanting to publish his work, rather than a disenchantment of Canadien writers with the importance of creating a conservative mentality in the society to discourage emigration.

In 1859, writers continued to cultivate the ideology of conservative nationalism, but made fewer direct references to emigration. The importance of this issue had clearly declined since the furor of the gold rush on the West Coast in 1858. Additionally, the American economy had slowed down and by 1859, the level of emigration decreased noticeably. The concern of the intellectual elite about the problem, therefore, was not as heightened as it had been previously in the decade. Most of the allusions to the emigration question in 1859 were to the solution to the problem – colonization. Adolphe Marsais' New Year's poem from 1859 predicted how Canada would look in forty years with the expansion of farming into these new colonization regions:

> Dans les vallons des Laurentides,
> **Le cultivateur obstiné**
> **Poussait ses travaux intrépides**
> **Bien au-delà du Saguenay.** (bis.)
> **Du lac Saint-Jean à Gaspé,** la contrée
> Devait à l'Art d'heureux enfantements;
> Nulle forêt n'était inexplorée,
> Au Canada vieilli de quarante ans, (bis.)
> Au Canada vieilli de quarante ans. (bis.)[46] (my emphasis)

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[46] Adolphe Marsais, "Le Canada en l'An de Grâce 1899," sur l'air: Je suis Français, mon pays avant tout ou O Canada, mon pays, mes amours! (Le Canadien, 5 janvier 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 25.

Other poems alluded to the disappointment of those who had failed in their ambitions to find gold in California, or expressed great expectations for the railway that would open up new territory from Quebec to Lac St. Jean.[47] A final song signed with a pseudonym, addressed the failure of the government to build the railways and roads that would multiply villages and markets in new territories and ensure the success of the colonization strategy. The song told the story of a colonist and a fisherman who were leaving their beloved homeland because the opportunities in the Fraser gold rush were much more promising than those they left behind. Unlike Marsais' poems, it did not criticize the Canadiens themselves for giving into the temptation of gold, but placed the blame for emigration squarely on the state:

> **À notre égard l'État lésine,**
> **S'il agit d'ouvrir des chemins,**
> Mais pour ses clients se ruine,
> En leur donnant à pleines mains;
> **Il néglige l'agriculture**
> **Et la colonisation;** (bis)
> **C'est pourquoi le peuple murmure**
> **Et songe à l'émigration.** (bis)[48] (my emphasis)

As the only poem in the entire collection that criticized the colonization infrastructure, it is important to recognize that this song still supported the idea of the Canadiens remaining on the land as the fundamental message for colonization. Conservative nationalism and the rural ideal dominated French-Canadian culture to such an extent by the late 1850s that they were not merely competing ideas in a web of other possibilities, but comprised an integral part of the ideology of the elite. The attempt of the intellectual elite to use poetry as a tool of popular social control is recognizable towards the middle of the Union period because it paralleled the need to reduce emigration. The resulting conservatism of French-Canadian society was thus in part an answer to this prominent threat to national survival, but the need to foster

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[47] See Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, #86, 122, and 167.

[48] Z. (pseud.), "La Colonisation et les Pêcheries au Canada," sur l'air: Sol Canadien, terre chérie, and Le citoyen (Le National, 1 avril 1859), Grisé et al., Textes Poétiques, Vol. VII, 206.

traditional values to stem the process of social change eventually surpassed this menacing, yet temporary, concern.

By the end of the 1850s, French-Canadian poetry was overwhelmingly dominated by messages of the rural ideal, traditional values, and the temptation of emigration. The interests of the intellectual elite had converged with the efforts of the ultramontane clergy to ensure the *survivance* of the French-Canadian nation. But in order for the elite to practice social control and encourage the preservation of traditional French-Canadian society, it had to cultivate a mentality in the populace that would allow it to accept the ideology of conservative nationalism that battled the social changes brought about by modernization. A comparison of the themes emphasized in the 1840s, predominantly hope for the future and the return of the exiled Patriotes, with this powerful social control ideology backed by the ultramontane clergy, the Bleu politicians, and much of the intellectual elite by 1859, gives a clear idea of the cultural change experienced by French-Canadian society in the Union period. As the beginning of the atmosphere of conservatism that made the development of Quebec much different from the rest of Canada in the first century of Confederation, the cultural issues being exposed in the print media in the first two decades of the Union period should be viewed as crucial to an understanding of certain aspects of twentieth century Quebec society.

CONCLUSION

ELITE USE OF POPULAR CULTURE AS A TOOL OF SOCIAL CONTROL IN CANADA EAST, 1838 - 1859

The first two decades of the Union period witnessed the revival of French-Canadian political confidence and the consolidation of the social influence of the revitalized Catholic Church. The increase in production in French-Canadian poetry during the period from 1838 to 1859 was due to the role which both of these trends played in inspiring the birth of a national literature. Decline in the importance of political concerns in the poetry after the threats of the Union were resolved, paralleled shifts to an increased awareness of the impact of international affairs on Canada, a rise in the promotion of a more conservative nationalism than that fostered prior to the Rebellions, and an emphasis on traditional values to stem the changes occurring as a result of the beginning of industrialization in Canada East. The production of a greater percentage of popular poetry was also crucial to the poets' ability to transmit specific messages to the rural population.

It was the recognition of a crisis in French-Canadian emigration to the United States in the late 1840s and 1850s, however, that resulted in a convergence of the interests of the writers with those of the clergy. Both sections of the elite encouraged the Canadien people to remain on the land in their efforts to stop the flow of emigration and promote colonization of frontier territory. An educational background in Lower Canada's classical colleges helped the writers sympathize with the clergy's nationalistic aims. The poets' personal concern about emigration derived not only from an ardent desire to ensure French-Canadian *survivance*, but also from an intimate understanding of the popular culture of the rural population. An increasing proportion of poetry published in newspapers during this era, as well as other literary efforts such as the two important novels by P.-J.-O. Chauveau and Antoine Gérin-

Lajoie, support this convergence of the motives of social control on the part of the clergy and writers. Paradoxically, it was the European influence of Adolphe Marsais and Paul Stevens after 1854 that solidified these intentions in the poetry.

The domination of French-Canadian literature by European writers in the late 1850s is a situation that must be evaluated before the extent of the poets' popular social control can be properly assessed. How did the contributions of Félix Vogeli, Paul Stevens, and, especially, Adolphe Marsais compare to the writing of their French-Canadian counterparts? These Europeans lived in Canada and developed an understanding of how Canadien culture related to the Old World traditions with which they were familiar. They imported a conservative moral mindset, but were at the same time struck by the liberalism evident on the international stage and the technology rapidly changing their environment. Did these writers consciously use their writing to promote what could be viewed as a foreign French-Canadian ideology for *survivance*?

The conservatism of the European poets was reinforced by the atmosphere of Canada East in the middle of the Union period. In order to make a living from their writing, poets such as Marsais and Stevens had to conform to the expectations put in place by the newspaper editors who published their work. The poetry of these writers thus complemented the ideological perspective of conservative newspapers such as La Minerve and Le Canadien. When analyzing the effect of this poetry on the population, however, one must always keep in mind two variables. First, a European writer could be expressing values derived from his experience of both the Old and New Worlds. Secondly, the popular audience might not have accepted the messages in his poetry with the same authority as those written by a Canadien. The inclusion of the poetry written by Europeans in Canada East must be handled with great care in the analysis of French-Canadian conservatism in the 1850s in order not to overshadow the opinions voiced by the Canadien writers.

The danger of disregarding French-Canadian writers was very real, especially in years such as 1856 or 1859, when Stevens and Marsais dominated the conservative poetry to such an extent that there was often no corresponding example of a Canadien poet expressing a similar view. However, before the influx of the Europeans in 1854, the messages of the French-Canadian poets had already begun to converge with the efforts of the clergy to slow the trend of emigration. Writers such as Chauveau, Gérin-Lajoie, and Octave Crémazie – indeed all of the literary circle that met at Crémazie's Quebec bookstore to provide a forum for French-Canadian literature – can be viewed as solid supporters of the rural ideal, conservative nationalism, and colonization. Whether this backing surpassed individual political beliefs is another question, but there were hints in the poetry that the devout Rouge, Joseph Lenoir, may have supported the ideology of conservative nationalism despite his anticlerical outlook. Younger writers such as L.-J.-C. Fiset and Louis-Honoré Fréchette also appeared to have been writing in the same paradigm, although their production was too limited in this period to provide adequate evidence of this similarity.

French-Canadian writers may have also become involved in the effort against emigration in ways which are not apparent in the poetic evidence. There were examples of efforts by the elite to promote the rural ideal and the preservation of traditional culture through novels, newspapers that circulated directly in the countryside, and magazines such as Les Soirées Canadiennes that focused on folklore and rural life as a significant part of the national literature. An emphasis on poetry does not begin to encompass the endeavours of others both within the literary community and in the elite as a whole that affected the question of emigration. The evidence presented from literature points to the existence of an attempt at social control. It is difficult to evaluate the actual effect of this elite effort on the populace, but it is clear that the elite was limited by the necessity of presenting social control in a context that the rural population would understand and accept. The important

question that remains is why poetry was seen as an effective avenue through which the writers could disseminate these messages to the *habitants*.

This literary effort to keep the Canadiens in their homeland can be identified and defined as social control because the elite was attempting to direct the free movement of people looking for better opportunities outside of Canada East. Additionally, the elite was trying to control the occupation of the majority of the population, encouraging them to remain as farmers to conserve the traditional lifestyle of their ancestors for the good of the nation, rather than allowing the trend towards urban and industrial employment to proceed. Beyond promoting colonization and persuading the *habitants* of the value of their occupation, there were few other options open to the writers if they wanted the people to preserve the traditional society as a bulwark against social change. The Catholic espousal of large families was leading to overpopulation of the old parishes. The message of rural persistence in Canada East was fundamentally contradictory to the fact that good agricultural land had become scarce. Colonization promoted agriculture, but the land in the frontier territories of the province was not realistically suited to profitable traditional farming. There was not yet enough industry in Canada East to provide an attractive alternative to working in the United States. Social control, accordingly, was essential to ensure that French-Canadian society preserved its traditional institutions despite fundamental social change. The role of the intellectual elite, therefore, was to articulate an ideology that explained why these values had to remain as the foundation of the society. Poetry supported the efforts of the clergy and politicians to discourage emigration as a disruptive force to the traditional social structure.

This study demonstrates undeniably that, by the end of the 1850s, the ideology of conservative nationalism that would shape Quebec society until the 1960s was firmly in place. The social and cultural dominance of the Church ensured that the promotion of this mentality in literature by writers who shared many similarities in

their background and principles, hardly appeared to be a tool of social control because it emphasized traditional values common to the entire society. This ideology was so strong that an outsider like Marsais was easily able to learn the essential elements of Canadien culture and write poetry emphasizing the nationalism and traditionalism of a foreign society in a manner that made him look like a Canadien himself. With few options left to turn the tide of emigration, this ability to gain the cooperation of the rural population through a prevalent ideology was essential. The collection of poetry compiled in Les Textes Poétiques du Canada Français indicates a significant change in thinking among the literary members of the elite in the first two decades of the Union period in response to the occurrence of fundamental social change. It is this shift towards an effort of popular social control evident in the themes about which the poets were writing in this period, that is most important for French-Canadian cultural and intellectual history. The conservative nationalism on which this social control was based was originally meant to counteract an undesirable population movement, but these values also became the basis for the structure of Quebec society into the twentieth century.

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