Canadian Content
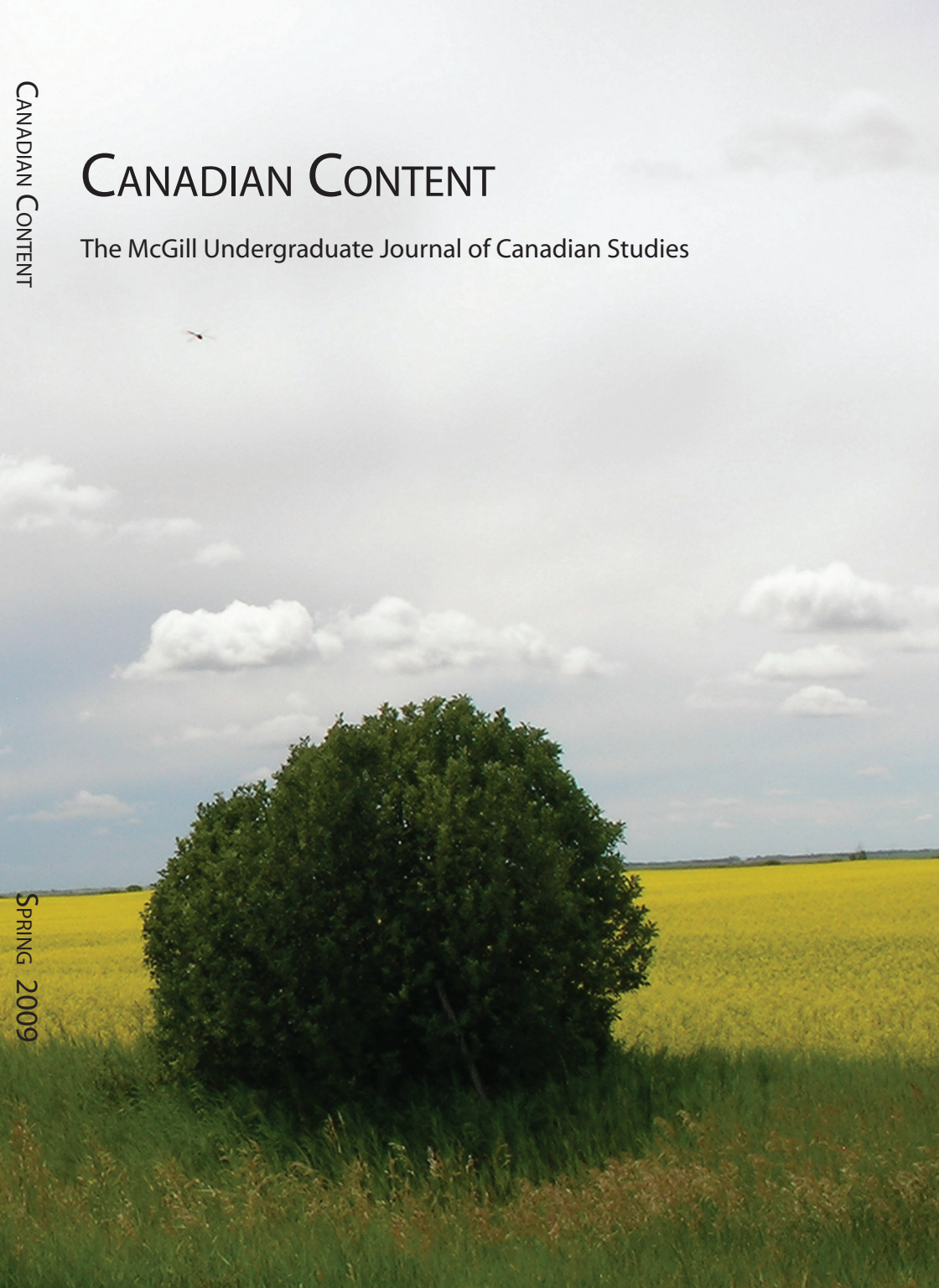
The McGill Undergraduate Journal of Canadian Studies

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Contents

Foreward

Historians have a habit of measuring time in generations. Broadly speaking, a generation is the time it takes a new-born infant to become a reasonably mature adult. While there is no fixed period for such an evolution, a common presumption is that it takes about twenty years. A generation matters because in that time, the combined impact of education and experience can produce a human with distinctly different ideas, expectations and understanding of the world. Perhaps that is why it is meaningful for us to refer to "Gen-Xers" and "Generation Y", though our alphabet is running out of space.

By the standard of generations, Canadian Studies is about two generations old. Others may date it from the Symons Report, a one-man, four-volume report by the president of Trent University, T.H. B. Symons, to the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada in 1975. Entitled To Know Ourselves, the Symons Report reported on the state of teaching and research related to Canada in Canadian universities. Symons both created and benefited from a lively and sometimes ferocious debate about the state of ignorance among Canadian students and their professors about Canada, particularly from a social sciences and humanities perspective. Appearing at a time when universities in most parts of Canada were contracting after a period of unprecedented expansion, one of Symons's issues was the wholesale recruiting of Americans as university faculty. How far was the absence of Canadian studies a consequence of American domination of departments and faculties? How far would their tenured presence, combined with shrinking funding, prevent the Canadian graduate students whom universities were now training in increasing numbers from ever finding academic posts?

The debate on the Symons Report was by no means one-sided. Canadian academics spoke up for their American colleagues and cited countless examinations of their intellectual contribution to the understanding of their adopted country or region. The ablest members of the rising generation found academic employment and spread the values and ideas of their generation. Any notion that it had been less than respectable or responsible to focus research, scholarship or teaching Canadian topics blew away for lack of support. What remained were a number of undergraduate programs in Canadian Studies, an Association for Canadian Studies (ACS) and a more limited number of graduate programs at the Masters' level. Another development, thanks to public funding, was International Council for Canadian Studies (ICCS) which was created to encourage and co-ordinate the study of Canada across the world as one of several themes in Canada's foreign policy. Foreign scholars who chose to focus their research on some aspect of Canada could secure travel and research funds through the ICCS and even filled exchange positions with their

Canadian counterparts. Canadians, in turn, could participate in Canadian Studies conferences around the world, meeting colleagues, exchanging ideas and encouraging a more diversified and critical approach to the study of this country. Canadian literature, for example, might be well represented by Margaret Atwood and Robertson Davies but our literary canon had become very much larger thanks to Canada Council funding and Canada's postwar prosperity.

Critics of Canadian Studies had tended to worry about the narrowness inherent in encouraging students to explore a single country, their own, possibly at the expense of any knowledge of the countries which had shaped our institutions, values and ideas. One practical answer was that Canada could hardly be understood by itself, without the enormous variety of nations and cultures which had shaped our institutions, politics and values. When John Porter published *The Vertical Mosaic*, Canadians could no longer pretend that we were a classless society or that our elite was based solely on merit. Yet Porter could hardly have constructed his book, nor would most Canadians have responded to it without a consciousness of Britain's class system, encountered through ancestral memory, reinforced by the experience of millions of young Canadians in the United Kingdom during two world wars. Crestwood Heights, a similar sociological study of Forest Hill Village, a wealthy inner suburb of Toronto, derived explicitly from kindred American community studies. When Quebec historian Gerard Bouchard urged Canadians to consider their history as a process of Americanicite, deriving from their First Nations, it was a view he had drawn from a Latin American model. At its best and most influential, scholarship in Canadian Studies is at least as multicultural as Canada itself.

When MISC opened at McGill in 1994, it was the direct result of a gift from Charles R. Bronfman, a distinguished graduate of the University whose CRB Foundation was already committed to giving Canadians a clearer understanding of their past through a series of minute-long historical vignettes presented on television and among the short films that open most movie programs. The cost, Bronfman confessed, far exceeded his original estimates but the benefit was obvious. CRB's Historica Minutes had outstanding production values, directly overseen by one of Canada's most committed and demanding producers, Patrick Watson. For MISC to achieve the excellence Bronfman demanded from his own productions was and remains a daunting challenge. Our success is for its graduates to judge, probably in later years when their experience of life will add to their perspective.

An early and understandable goal for MISC was to develop graduate programs to prepare a future generation of Canadianist scholars. It has not been a goal chosen by the McGill Institute. One harshly practical explanation is

that very few appointments explicitly defined as "Canadian Studies" have ever been advertised here or beyond. Was it fair to entice students into a program that had little prospect of satisfying their legitimate expectations. Canadianists and their enthusiasms have spread through most Canadian universities as graduates of more specific academic disciplines, notably in History, Political Science, Sociology and English Literature, where Canadian topics are pursued as research within the training of a broader discipline. At the same time, undergraduates who have completed Canadian Studies programs have been able to gain admission to an impressive array of academic and professional programs in Canada, the United States, France and Great Britain, and even beyond.

A very explicit goal of the Institute is to broaden its students' awareness and understanding of a Canada of two founding Nations and of over six hundred First Nations. Nothing less could be expected from an Institute based in Montreal and opened at a moment when Canada's fate was about to be judged in the Quebec Referendum of 1995. Whatever the outcome of that Referendum, it was obvious to me that MISC's survival and significance would, if anything, have been greater if the Two Solitudes separated. It was equally obvious to me that we would continue to deepen the gulf between French and English-speaking Canada if we did not give priority to showing all Canadians how we have enriched each other. Even at the moment of seeming victory in 1760, the British governors of New France found themselves struggling to preserve a faith they did not share and legal and political institutions they might otherwise have deplored because it was so obviously in their interest to do so. Their heritage was one of conciliation, not conquest, and that transformation is a practical lesson from our history that can make our future more certain.

In earlier years, much of the time and energy of Canadian Studies conferences was devoted to rival definitions of "interdisciplinary" and "interdisciplinarity". Such debates, with their theological undertones and sometimes high-pitched hostility help to explain why McGill's MISC offers the "Study of Canada' in all its possible forms, as defined by student and faculty experience. The promised tests of "interdisciplinarity" offered by our colleagues in other universities have, so far, not diverted our energy and time. That day, too, may come but not, I hope, very soon.

Desmond Morton
23 March 2009

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THE TRUCK SYSTEM
Newfoundland's Struggle for Economic Diversification

Michael Brown

Analysts of maritime history invariably agree that the saltfish trade on which Newfoundland's economy hinged for centuries constituted the driving force in the settlement of the island. Trade in fish and fish products made permanent residency possible in a region that at first glance appeared to offer limited options for sustenance and economic diversification. As a result of the dried fish's abundance and transportability, as well as British maritime dominance in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Newfoundland would become a fixture in a triangular trade cycle that encompassed England, Southern Europe and to some extent the Caribbean and South America.[1] However, as with most primary resource industries, the cod fishery and the market dynamics that propelled it would remain historically unpredictable and subject to fluctuation. During times of war, shipping lines would often be disrupted, making access to markets difficult and posing a significant threat to shipping capital. Prices fetched in overseas markets were variable, and improperly prepared product could spoil during the long trans-Atlantic voyage. So while the fishery was in general a profitable enterprise (England would not have continued to support it otherwise), there were always mitigating elements that were out of the control of the stakeholders.

It would appear to be a rather elementary principle of economics, that the more diverse an economy, the less susceptible its overall stability to fluctuation in any one sector. Thus, most national strategies of economic growth have targeted multiple industries for investment,[2] rather than focusing all energies upon a single one.[3] The principle of 'competitive advantage' discourages the pursuit of industries in which one is at an obvious relative disadvantage, but it would not advocate strictly pursuing a single initiative. Thus, the question must be posed, why were there no serious attempts to diversify Newfoundland's exports in order to provide a greater measure of market stability? This paper will argue that the truck/credit system on which the cod fishery was based inhibited the accumulation of fluid capital necessary for diversification. As such, I will also postulate that Newfoundland's relative underdevelopment at the turn of the twentieth century was, in large part, a result of this system.

In the sixteenth century, before control over the island was consolidated by the British crown, the migratory fishery off the coast of

Newfoundland was shared with fishing fleets from nations such as Spain, Portugal and France. Of these nations, England sent to sea the smallest fleet, partly due to its smaller home markets and also likely as a result of its own extensive coastline and fishing industry. However, civil war in France, as well as the destruction of Spanish and Portuguese sea power through the demise of the Spanish Armada, ensured that by the beginning of the seventeenth century the island was largely under British sea power, with the French maintaining a toe hold on the south shore from their bases at St Pierre and Miquelon.[4] In England, the Newfoundland market was cornered for the most part by the large trading houses based in the western counties. These powerful mercantile entities would become known as the West Country Merchants.[5]

For the greater portion of the next century, the cod fishery of Newfoundland would be characterized by the migratory voyage. The trading houses of the West Country would hire fishermen in the spring, outfit them with the necessary gear and items to fish and live for the season, and ship them to Newfoundland. At the end of the season, the merchants would collect the fish produced by their hired labourers and deduct from the catch the cost of the gear that had been advanced on credit. The balance of the catch (assuming there was a surplus) would be paid out to the workers in cash.[6]

At the end of the seventeenth century, a new phenomenon was beginning to emerge, in which independent fishermen would buy passage to Newfoundland each season with the merchant fishing fleets, often bringing hired workers of their own along with them. At the end of the season, the fishermen, known as 'bye boatmen' would sell their catch to whichever merchant was operating in the region, and pay back their passage and equipment debts. After paying off their workers, they would take home the balance of the profits.[7]

The 'bye boatmen' were able to operate in this manner by leaving boats and some equipment on the island over the winter. In order to ensure that the equipment was in good form when the new season arrived, and due to an informal agreement that the first captain into each harbour in the spring had first rights on that fishing territory, a system developed whereby crews began to leave behind a number of men. These men would

clean, repair, and restore gear and fishing craft, while attempting to hold the territory for their captain when he returned in the spring. During the mid-years of the eighteenth century, when the lucrative nature of the seal hunt became apparent, men were hired to stay year round for this purpose as well.[8] Gradually, more and more men began to stay year round, and during years of war, when the fishermen from England could not make passage, the resident 'planters' at Newfoundland would send more fish to market than the efforts of the merchant hired crews. These planters, living in remote harbours and inlets with no access to supplies most of the year, and only limited access during the fishing season, had little choice but to buy all their supplies on credit from the merchants who ferried crews back and forth in the spring and fall. With minimal options for getting their fish to market and no alternative for paying their debts, it was to the same merchants they sold their seasonal catch. By the late eighteenth century, the industry had undergone such a shift that the main business of the merchants had evolved from fishing to importing essential goods for consumption by the planters. This barter exchange of goods and necessities in return for the product of the planters labour would come to be known as the 'truck system.'[9]

Even before the dawn of the nineteenth century, the truck system was coming under intense scrutiny from learned observers. Officially, the government of Britain had not yet given permission for the settlement of Newfoundland; however, with the population growing steadily (albeit slowly) its eventual position as a permanent colony appeared inevitable. Dwyer reports two primary reasons why the government delayed official settlement until the early nineteenth century, claiming that officials wanted both to give men sea experience so that upon arrival back in England they could be relied upon should the navy be in need, and that the government was attempting to preserve the fishing monopolies of the West Country Merchants.[10] However, writing in the nineteenth century, Rev. Pedley claims that the merchants were in favour of legislating for permanent settlement of Newfoundland, recognizing the huge profits that could be made on the back of an island bound population with only a single viable export, and the need to import almost every item necessary to sustain life in the trying north Atlantic climate.[11] Paradoxically, other Dwyer findings

seem to confirm his opinion. Dwyer notes that by abandoning the fishing trade and concentrating on imports and exports, the merchants were in fact making profits on two levels. First, by overcharging the planters for goods sent to Newfoundland, and second, by selling at market price in southern Europe fish that were bought below their open market value. Given that informal settlement had already been in place for some time, and that the activities of the merchants were already undergoing a shift towards consumer imports, Pedley's claim would appear to be the more accurate.

However, even before action was taken to legalize settlement, the perception was growing that the merchants were overstepping their bounds and acting unethically. The Rev. Charles Pedley, notes a letter from the seasonal Governor of the island to the Duke of Portland, dated June 1798:

> One point seems clear, and this is, that unless these poor wretches emigrate, they must starve; for, how can it be otherwise, when the merchant has the power of setting his own price on the supplies issued to the fishermen, and on the fish which these people catch for him? Thus we see a set of unfortunate beings, working like slaves and hazarding their lives, when, at the expiration of their term however successful their exertions, they find themselves not only without gain, but so deeply indebted as forces them to emigrate, or drives them to despair.[12]

Around the turn of the nineteenth century another shift took place in the settlement pattern of Newfoundland. With the British crown officially giving the go ahead for permanent settlement, families began to relocate to the island in increasing numbers. Naturally, this brought about a change in the traditional pattern of labour, as well as altered the needs of the planters as far as imports were concerned. Families required more varied household items than had previously been in demand by the single male planters and 'bye boatmen,' and with the same single export of sea products dominating Newfoundland's exports, it seemed like a sure road to overwhelming debt. However, many observers have noted that the division of labour and introduction of the family as an economic unit into Newfoundland offered opportunities for diversification and stability that had been previously

elusive.

Allan Dwyer in particular, studying the Slade collection in the Newfoundland archives, observes that over a period of twenty years the planter families that traded with the Slade's at Fogo Island indeed progressed from a cycle of debt in the early years to a healthy surplus by the end of the study. Dwyer notes that as families emerged, they were able to expand their labour into such activities as subsistence farming, berry collecting, hunting, lumbering, sealing, and processing fish products. He argues that this had the effect of making the planters and their families less reliant on imports from the merchants, as well as providing the family with more products to employ in bartering for the goods they did need. Dwyer's argument runs that through diversification, in years of bad fishing, families were able to fall back on other commodities to ensure that they would not become insolvent and lose their lines of credit.[13] He believes that this system was not only beneficial for the families, but for the merchants as well, as by accepting a variety of goods in exchange for the credit extended to the families they were less likely to incur bad debt. Furthermore, in bad years it was still assured that the merchants would have some product to send to market. Overall, while Dwyer accepts that the merchant remained dominant in the planter-merchant relationship, he insists that the practice was not nearly as exploitative as it has been characterized by many analysts, and even submits that it formed a crude type of insurance policy. He notes on this point that while the planters were beholden to the merchant (especially if, as in most outports, he was the only commercial operator), it was also not in the merchants' interest for his planters to starve, and thus would ensure that they received adequate credit to get the through the bad years.[14] It must be noted that Dwyer's study encompassed only a single community and a very specific focus group. Dwyer notes explicitly that the Slade's were not the only merchants operating at Fogo (an anomaly for most outports), and also that he chose to study only families that had maintained steady accounts with Slade over the entire twenty-year period.[15] What happened to the families who dropped off the ledger books, we can only speculate.

Taking an even less orthodox line is Robert Lewis, who, based on his study of Brigus and the Labrador fishery, argues that the planter community that characterized the majority of the nineteenth century did not in fact

give way to a family economy, but actually "remained the dominant form of productive relations in the Labrador fishery up until the Second World War."[16] Lewis argues that his research only produced "scattered, anecdotal evidence" that a wage system had ever been the dominant form of payment before a shift to credit, and that indeed a mixed system existed through much of the twentieth century.[17] The implications of Lewis's theses are of course that because forms of payment were mixed, merchants certainly did not have the strangle hold on the outport families of Newfoundland which has become the dominant view of economic relations on the island throughout the nineteenth century. Perhaps what is best gleaned from the work of Lewis and Dwyer, is that in a region of isolated, poorly linked communities, in a dominion with minimal worker's rights legislation, social and economic relations unique to the majority were bound to arise. Because their work is based on such a small sample of communities that as Dwyer notes "is not a microcosm of Newfoundland,"[18] this paper tends to take the position that their work represents deviations from what would be considered the 'normal' form of economic relations in the outports.

It is indeed difficult to ignore the myriad voices that paint a portrait of a cyclical exploitative relationship which was nearly impossible to break. Eric Sager reports that while the fishing industry in Newfoundland in the nineteenth century was based on a "highly labour intensive economy," almost all of the capital input was owned and registered by the merchants of Water Street in St. John's, frequently subsidiaries of the West Country Merchants in England. Sager notes that less than one percent of the Newfoundland population owned a decked vessel capable of taking goods to larger open markets, and that very few even owned shares in such a vessel.[19] This forced complete reliance on local merchants who were the middlemen in a trade process that was already decidedly fractured. On this point, it is important to note that during the Napoleonic Wars of the early nineteenth century the West Country Merchants shifted permanent management of operations to St John's and Conception Bay, while rolling back their operations in the outports. Thus, small-time entrepreneurs took their place in the individual outports, buying their supplies from the trading firms of Water Street.[20] This would have undoubtedly resulted in a rise in prices, as rather than the goods being streamed directly from St John's to the outports through

the networks of the major mercantile houses, they were instead subjected to another middleman in the individual merchant, who would be forced to raise the price to ensure his own cut of profits. James Hiller reports that one Colonel McCrea, writing in 1860, commented that the price of a pair of boots in the outports stood at 165% over the market price in St John's, while a pound of flour was at 133%. Hiller cautions, however, that these statistics appear rather exaggerated, in the face of accounts that put inflation on goods nearer to 48% overall.[21] Undoubtedly the isolation of a given community, as well as the individual character of the merchant, would have played a considerable role in the outport pricing.

In 1855 a government inquiry was launched into the rising levels of pauperism that afflicted the colony. Prowse, in the mid-nineteenth century noted that a string of successive bad fishing years resulted in massive requests for relief and a rise in pauperism,[22] which Pedley claims at one point occupied 33% of the government's budget.[23] The findings of the commission concluded that the credit system was geared to keep the populace tied exclusively to the fishery. In good years, when the system worked, there was little pauperism, however in bad years, people had no savings to fall back on, and limited skill sets with which to take on other employment (had any existed).[24] Ultimately then, the commission equated the truck system with the lack of market diversity in Newfoundland. It should probably be kept in mind of course, that such commissions are inherently political, and that it is quite possible that the government was simply looking for a scapegoat to deflect criticism from their own inaction on the issue.

In 1894, after wild last minute attempts throughout the 1880s to legislate economic diversification, Newfoundland was subjected to a massive banking failure which wiped out the meagre savings of the populace, forced seven major mercantile houses into despondency, and nearly crippled the fishery.[25] The crash, which produced an even greater development distortion relative to Maritime Canada at the turn of the century, was blamed by many on a lack of fluid capital on the island, implicating the truck system as the true source of the banking failure. T. Lodge, the Commissioner for Public Utilities during the Commission of Government, noted that the credit system exemplified an "an extreme example of capitalist risk", in that the

fishermen set out to begin a series of processes, without knowing either the cost of production, or the selling price.[26] Likewise, Prowse concludes that "the real origin (of the banking collapse) lay in the history of the fishing trade being conducted entirely on credit."[27] Had measures been taken earlier to dismantle the rigidly exploitative truck system, and the dependence on credit it nurtured, perhaps Newfoundland would have been able to escape the underdevelopment at the turn of the century with which it arguably continues to struggle.

Endnotes

1   Allan Dwyer, *Fogo Island Planters and the Slade Merchant Company: 1785-1805*, unpublished MA Theses, McGill University, 1989. p. 30.

2   David Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy", in Hiller and Neary eds. *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: essays in interpretation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980. p. 27.

3   The oil exporting states have pursued a single commodity economic strategy, however a growing understanding of rentierism, and the uneven development associated with it appear to demonstrate the short sightedness of this approach.

4   Shannon Ryan, *Fish out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade 1814-1914*. St. John's: Breakwater Books Ltd, 1986. p31.

5   James K. Hiller, "The Newfoundland Credit System: An Interpretation". In Rosemary E. Ommer ed. *Merchant Credit & Labour Strategies*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990. P 87.

6   Shannon Ryan, "The Newfoundland Salt Cod Trade in the Nineteenth Century" in *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: essays in interpretation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980. p. 41.

7   Shannon Ryan, *Fish out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade 1814-1914*. St. John's: Breakwater Books Ltd, 1986. p 32.

8   Allan Dwyer, *Fogo Island Planters and the Slade Merchant Company: 1785-1805*, unpublished MA Theses, McGill University, 1989. p. 26.

9   See for example James K. Hiller, "The Newfoundland Credit System: An Interpretation". In Rosemary E. Ommer ed. *Merchant Credit & Labour Strategies*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990. P 87. See also, Ibid. p 2.

10   Allan Dwyer, *Fogo Island Planters and the Slade Merchant Company: 1785-1805*, unpublished MA Theses, McGill University, 1989. p 27.

11   Rev. Charles Pedley, *The History of Newfoundland.* London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1863. p 197.

12   Ibid., 188.

13   Allan Dwyer, *Fogo Island Planters and the Slade Merchant Company: 1785-1805*,

	unpublished MA Theses, McGill University, 1989.
14	Ibid., 3.
15	Ibid., 6-15.
16	Robert M. Lewis "The Survival of the Planters' Fishery in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Newfoundland" in Rosemary E. Ommer ed. *Merchant Credit & Labour Strategies*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990. p 103.
17	Ibid., 106.
18	Allan Dwyer, *Fogo Island Planters and the Slade Merchant Company: 1785-1805*, unpublished MA Theses, McGill University, 1989. p 6.
19	Eric W Sager. "The Merchants of Water Street and Capital Investment in Newfoundland's Traditional Economy" in Fischer and Sager eds. *The Enterprising Canadians: Entrepreneurs and Economic Development in Eastern Canada, 1820 – 1914*. St John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979. p 77.
20	Shannon Ryan, *Fish out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade 1814-1914*. St. John's: Breakwater Books Ltd, 1986. p 36-37.
21	James K. Hiller, "The Newfoundland Credit System: An Interpretation". In Rosemary E. Ommer ed. *Merchant Credit & Labour Strategies*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990.
22	Rev. D.W. Prowse *History of Newfoundland*. London: Eyre and Spottisgwoode, 1896. p 540.
23	Rev. Charles Pedley, *The History of Newfoundland*. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1863. p 206.
24	James K. Hiller, "The Newfoundland Credit System: An Interpretation". In Rosemary E. Ommer ed. *Merchant Credit & Labour Strategies*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1990. p 95.
25	Rev. D.W. Prowse *History of Newfoundland*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896. p 558.
26	T. Lodge *Dictatorship in Newfoundland* London: Cassell and Company, 1939. p 54.
27	Rev. D.W. Prowse *History of Newfoundland*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896. p 559.

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THREE PILLARS OF CANADIAN LIBERALISM
The Inclusion of Group Claims in Canadian Liberalism

Patrick Boily

The political ideology of liberalism became the dominant political ideology in the western world during the 20th century. The primacy it places on an individual's freedom and rights to the detriment of more communitarian aspects has attracted much criticism. As liberals, both Will Kymlicka and Charles Taylor have recognized this shortcoming and dedicated many works to overcoming it. Canada as a country has much riding on liberalism's ability to reconcile its individualist roots and communitarian shortcomings. In order for Canada to survive in its current form, that is as a federation based on liberal principles, it must be able to reconcile its liberal roots with the collective demands of the Quebecois and First Nations. Canadian liberalism can be adapted to fully reconcile the collective needs of the Quebecois and the First Nations through a liberal framework based on the integration of three key pillars. These three pillars are Taylor's concept of deep diversity, Kymlicka's theory of national minorities and polyethnic group rights, and Habermas' constitutional patriotism.

The need to integrate all of these three theories that were designed separately from each other stems from the fact that each of them contains a major flaw that impedes their ability to offer a framework that can fully take into account Canada's unique situation. Whereas Taylor's deep diversity offers a plan for the recognition and integration of Quebecois identity into the Canadian fold, it is silent on its practical application. Kymlicka's application of national minorities and polyethnic group rights offers the needed practical application of the recognition of these groups. The problem with the combination of these two theories is the assumption of the existence of a dominant Canadian identity. This is why Habermas' constitutional patriotism is needed; it offers a framework and identity for the majority. The reason that constitutional patriotism, based on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, cannot stand alone as the basis for Canadian liberalism is twofold. The first stems from the Charter's controversial adoption in Quebec and failures of subsequent amendment attempts. The second is due to the Charter's over-emphasis on individualism, which leads to it being inadequate to deal with communitarian questions.

At the core of Taylor's theory of deep diversity is the concept that there exists a plurality of ways of belonging, that one's belonging does not "pass

through" a community or other individuals.[1] Taylor describes the classical unitary model of western liberal states as a "straightjacket," as a model that is too constraining and would lead Canada to a breaking point.[2]

In order to fully understand how deep diversity works, one must examine how identities are shaped and formed according to Taylor. Central to Taylor's deep diversity is the idea that one's identity is shaped through dialogue and recognition. One shapes his or her identity through a dialogue with him or herself and other external factors that give us meaning.[3] The key factor in this dialogue is authenticity to one's own self. According to Taylor, in order for one to be true to oneself, one must be able to define him or herself in his or her own way; this concept is the concept of authenticity.[4] It is the impact of the dialogue with external factors and authenticity that renders the idea of recognition so important to one's identity. The recognition of one's identity is crucial in the development of authenticity and thus a complete identity. Recognition is important because if one's identity is recognized but rejected or minimized by an external element he or she is in dialogue with, it becomes impossible for someone to be authentic.[5]

It is important to note that this form of identity development is a modern one. Taylor argues that it is a result of the breakdown of old social hierarchies and the replacement of honour with dignity. This shift from dignity to honour illustrates the shift to a more egalitarian society that arose with the advent of democratic states. What gave rise to the need for authenticity and recognition is the fact that dignity was offered equally to everyone, whereas honour was only offered to a select few. The fact that everyone had dignity created a need for a new way for people to identify themselves, especially in relation to others.[6] This need was a result of people not being able to define their identities in terms of social hierarchies.

Taylor argues for deep diversity through this framework of identity formation, and this is the framework that will be used when dealing with identity in this paper. Taylor argues that deep diversity is needed in order for Canada to survive. Although Taylor's theory offers a great framework to understand how we can create a compromise for the accommodation of the Quebecois and First Nations, it lacks a prescriptive quality that goes beyond the theoretical applications. Taylor's argument that Canadian liberalism, in

order to survive, must be able to acknowledge that some Canadians wish to live within a different model doesn't prescribe what this model is.[7] What is important to note about this argument is that it does not exclude the possibility of a pan-Canadian liberal framework.

The most important concept to draw from Taylor's deep diversity theory for this liberal framework is his concept of recognition of identities. In order for the Quebecois and First Nations to be able to fully participate in the Canadian project, their identities must be recognized. Not only must their identities and communities be recognized, the past rejection of their recognition must be recognized as well. The question that follows this claim of the need for recognition is what form this recognition must take. It is here that one must turn to Kymlicka's theory of national minorities and polyethnic groups to find a practical application of Taylor's theory.

Kymlicka's theory is based on identifying two types of minority groups and three types of rights these two groups can claim. The two minority groups are national minorities and polyethnic groups, while the three sets of rights are self-government rights, polyethnic rights, and special representation rights.

National minorities distinguish themselves from polyethnic groups based on Kymlicka's sociological definition of the nation. He defines the nation as a "historical community, more or less institutionally complete, occupying a given territory or homeland, sharing a distinct language and culture."[8] Canada's two national minorities consist of the Quebecois and First Nations. He argues that national minorities can come to exist in states through two different processes: voluntary union or involuntary incorporation. He argues that Canada has seen both processes at play in the creation of our national minorities. He argues that the initial settlement and conquest of Quebec represented involuntary integration, but that confederation in 1867 and the subsequent constitutional negotiations represent a voluntary union for mutual benefit, while the First Nations incorporation has been largely an involuntary experience.[9] On the other hand polyethnic groups are formed by immigrant groups, and in contrast to national minorities they do not occupy homelands or constitute nations. They have expectations of greater integration into mainstream society in comparison to national minorities: "Their distinctiveness is manifested

primarily in their family lives and in voluntary associations, and is not inconsistent with their institutional integration. They still participate within the public institutions of the dominant culture(s) and speak the dominant language(s)."[10]

It is based on the difference in the expected level of integration that these various groups can demand various rights. The three types of minority rights do not apply to each group equally. The right to self-government applies only to national minorities; polyethnic groups are not entitled to make this claim according to Kymlicka due to the fact that immigrants left their homelands voluntarily and under a very distinct set of expectations and do not have an established institutional framework once in their new country.[11]

In the case of Canada's national minorities, self-government rights have already been addressed for Quebec. Federalism has ensured that Quebec holds powers to control its destiny on major policy areas regarding the existence and survival of the Quebecois nation. However Canada lacks self-governing rights for its national minorities in its dealings with First Nations. Although Canada has recently seen the creation of an Inuit majority territory, Nunavut, other First Nations people lack the political institutions to exercise their right to self-government. Territorial federalism cannot be the answer to Aboriginal self-governance due to the fact that the First Nations population is too thinly spread out across the country. Nonetheless, there is a need for the recognition of First Nations right to self-government and to let them work to develop these institutions in consultation with the rest of Canada.

Kymlicka's second set of group rights, polyethnic rights, address the concerns that have been raised ever since the immigrants broke the "anglo conformity" model of integration in the 1960's.[12] These rights have the purpose of rooting out discrimination and racism against ethnic groups. They take many forms ranging from affirmative action policies to exemptions from laws and regulations that go against religious beliefs. As noted earlier the goal of these rights is to eliminate discrimination and racism through the integration into wider society by recognizing and respecting differences.

The last type of group rights applies to both national minorities

and polyethnic groups. Special representation rights aim to increase the participation of both national minorities and polyethnic groups within the decision making process [13] In addition, other discriminated groups that do not fit the definition of national minorities or polyethnic groups, such as the physically disabled or women, can achieve greater participation through these types of rights. A major difference between this type of rights and the previous two is that special representation rights do not have the same time frame as the other two.[14] While self-government and polyethnic rights are set up to exist in perpetuity as their goals pertain to the survival of the groups, certain special representation rights could in theory be revoked once the discrimination it set to counter has been reversed.

While Kymlicka's theory of minority group rights adds a concrete application of Taylor's theory of deep diversity, the framework is still incomplete. Kymlicka offers a solution as to how to deal with specific issues that plague minorities; it does not present a framework under which the majority can function. In order to implement these various rights for minority groups there must be a framework in which the majority identifies.

Constitutional patriotism as embodied by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms has failed to live up to its expectations of creating a framework for Canada to thrive under. Its controversial origins in Quebec and its inability to adequately address Canada's national minorities render it incapable of creating the framework needed under its present form. But by expanding on Habermas' model of constitutional patriotism, it is possible to create a framework that creates a sense of belonging for the majority of Canada while allowing for deep diversity and minority group rights.

Like Charles Taylor's deep diversity, Habermas's model of constitutional patriotism takes root in the decline of hierarchies and the rise of egalitarianism.[15] Habermas's model of constitutional patriotism is based on individual autonomy and its link between democracy and popular sovereignty.[16] Central to Habermas's model is that the system of laws must be based on sets of principles that are universalizable.[17] Therefore, Habermas's constitutional patriotism is built around individual rights that create a sense of belonging and loyalty based on the fact that these laws were built through a discourse in which all individuals participated.[18] The key

to its legitimacy is in the formative discourse that individuals participate in. Therefore, group rights are not mutually exclusive to constitutional patriotism, as long as they were arrived at through a discourse involving all the affected parties.[19] Habermas's names the collective identities that are shaped through this constitutional patriotism as "rational collective identities" due to the fact that they are a result of a critical discourse within the critical public sphere.[20]

In his essay "Shared and Divergent Values," Charles Taylor is critical of the Charter's potential ability to act as a unifying framework for Canadian liberalism. He argues that the Charter's procedural framework and nature renders it unable to incorporate communitarian goals within it.[21] Its procedural nature excludes the possibility to pass judgement or espouse notions of the good and since Quebec's collective aims frame the survival of French culture in Quebec as good, the Charter is unable to incorporate Quebec's aims.[22]

Another reason that the Charter is ineffectual in fulfilling its role as a unifying document is linked to its controversial creation. The Charter's adoption without Quebec's consent in 1982 has been characterized as "un viol politique" due to Quebec's exclusion from the final debates. [23] Some have tried to minimize the fact that the Quebec legislature has never signed on to the Charter by pointing out the fact that most of Quebec's members of parliament at the time were Liberals, which gives legitimacy to the Charter in Quebec.[24] To make this argument is to dangerously overlook the important role that provincial governments, especially Quebec's, play in the Canadian federation. It overlooks the important role that the Quebec provincial government plays in the federation as an expression of the Quebecois nation's self-governance rights. A document that does not recognize the self-governance rights of both the First Nations and the Quebecois can never act as a unifying force for Canada, especially if this document is not recognized as legitimate by the government representing one of these national minorities. This recognition must come as a result of a dialogue with the rest of the country; it cannot be one that is imposed. As Habermas would argue, collective goals can fit in a liberal framework as long as they result from a dialogue with those involved.[25] The recognition of the Quebecois and First Nations' rights to self-government are not the only

conditions needed in order for constitutional patriotism to succeed. The Quebecois and First Nations must also be ready to accept constitutional patriotism in the form of universalizable principles that were agreed to as a result of a critical discussion in the public sphere. These universalizable principles should remain broad and revolve around values that are at the basis of liberalism; values such as equality of persons and of sexes.

A framework for Canadian liberalism based on the amalgamation of these three pillars would look different than the framework under which Canada exists today. The first major difference would be the constitutional recognition of the First Nations and Quebecois rights to self-government. This would ensure the proper recognition of the communitarian identity of these two national minorities. It is only through this official recognition that, as Taylor argues, the members of these communities will be able to achieve the authenticity they seek in their identity. It is this recognition that will ensure the equal status of the national minorities within the Canadian federation.

As for the application of the right of self-governance, this right is already being exercised through the Quebec provincial government. The application of self-governance becomes much more complicated in its application to Aboriginals. As noted earlier, the federal model of creating a territory in which the national minority forms a majority is impossible due not only to the widely dispersed First Nation population across the country but also due to the many different nations and tribes that are found across the country. One must look at a third form of control for Aboriginals, one that exists outside both the federal and provincial mould. It must also move away from the rural and isolated reserve system that has been employed in the past. Urban reserves are an option to look at, but what is more important than the shape of the self-government is how this self-government is achieved. The model adopted must come out of a consultation process between the provinces, the federal government, and most importantly, the First Nations themselves. Any structure that does not receive the consent of Canada's First Nations cannot truly reflect the self-governance wishes of Canada's First Nations. If the structure does not have the approval of First Nations communities, it will deny them the authenticity they seek in their identity and render deep diversity impossible.

When it comes to polyethnic rights and special representation rights, rather than move towards a system of quotas, or guaranteed representation, for different minorities, systems of proportional representation should be explored as a way to respond to the under-representation of certain groups. Proportional representation systems have the advantage over quotas due to the fact that they are inherently more liberal in nature and they recognize every individual's preference. Proportional representation can be seen as more liberal than single member plurality as every individual's vote, or almost all votes, translates into representation. A full system of national proportional representation coupled with an elected Senate that represents regional interests, not provincial governments, would ensure a greater representation of minority groups in decision making bodies. This distinction needs to be made due to the clear definition of powers in the Canadian constitutions and to ensure equal regional representation.

Taylor's deep diversity acts as the glue that binds minority rights with the notion of constitutional patriotism. Deep diversity's ability to allow difference is what allows for these three pillars to work together. The concept of recognition does not need one's identity to be shared with others; it simply requires that others recognize this different identity. It is precisely this focus on recognition that allows for minority group rights to coexist within a broader constitutional patriotism.

This framework to some might seem highly utopian given the past failures of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords. But past failures must not deter attempts at reforming a system that is incapable of dealing with collective demands. If, as Taylor argues, "accommodating difference is what Canada is all about," [26] then Canadians of all backgrounds should be willing to build a new framework that ensures that every individual is able to fulfill their authentic identity, whether this authenticity is found within a national minority, an ethnic group, or through constitutional patriotism.

Endnotes

1   Charles Taylor, "Shared and Divergent Values," in *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism*, ed. Guy Laforest (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 183.

2   Ibid., 183.

3   Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalisme différence et démocratie,* ed. Denis Armand Canal (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1992), 50.

4   Ibid., 49.

5   Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalisme différence et démocratie,* ed. Denis Armand Canal (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1992), 52.

6   Ibid., 47.

7   Charles Taylor, "Shared and Divergent Values," in *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism*, ed. Guy Laforest (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 179.

8   Will Kymlicka. *Multicultural Citizenship - A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 11. < http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/019829 0918.001.0001> (accessed December 7, 2008).

9   Ibid., 12.

10   Ibid., 14.

11   Ibid., 95.

12   Ibid., 30.

13   Ibid., 32

14   Ibid., 33.

15   John Erik Fossum, "Deep diversity versus constitutional patriotism: Taylor, Habermas and the Canadian constitutional crisis" *Ethnicities* 1; 179 (2001): 190, http://etn.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/1/2/179. (accessed December 7, 2008). 190.

16   Ibid., 190.

17   Ibid., 193.

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20   Jan-Werner Müller, *Constitutional Patriotism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 31.

21   Charles Taylor, "Shared and Divergent Values," in *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism*, ed. Guy Laforest (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 174.

22   Ibid., 175.

23   Louis Bernard, "Deal or No Deal: The Making of the Charter" (opening remarks of round table debate at the annual conference of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada: *The Charter@25,* Montreal, Canada, February 14-17, 2007) <http://mediasite.campus.mcgill.ca/mediasite2/viewer/?peid=a07659d9-43a0-42d6-a030-5034617d6326> (accessed on December 2, 2008)

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        2008). 194.
25   Ibid., 193
26   Charles Taylor, "Shared and Divergent Values," in *Reconciling the Solitudes:
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Culturenomics
An Inquiry into Culture's Place in an Economic World

Andrew Gallai

Economics is known as the study of scarcity and choice, in which the market, through supply and demand, will naturally achieve equilibrium, the most efficient possible outcome; however, such concepts are practically useless when dealing with cultural products. Cultural products and industries simply do not act like ordinary products; nevertheless, the argument still arises that the free market should be left to regulate cultural industries, as opposed to force-feeding people culture. The problem is that cultural industries, like television and radio broadcast, are prone to market failure. Radio and television signals are both non-rivalrous and non-excludable, properties that make a good subject to market failure (an instance where the market, when left to its own, does not achieve the desired outcome). Government intervention in such markets is necessary, and made even more urgent because Canada's culture is non-substitutable. Government intervention is necessary to ensure the cultural industry's survival. Intervention into any market naturally brings accusations of unfairness and free trade violations; however, such accusations are unfounded based on the nature of cultural products. It is simply impossible to apply traditional market economics to Canadian culture, and then expect it to survive.

The inherent market failure of cultural goods is first evident in the non-excludable nature of a broadcasting signal. Economically speaking, "a good is said to be excludable if people can be prevented from consuming it."[1] For example, if a producer produces a good that he can prevent people from consuming until they purchase it, the good is said to be excludable (i.e. a car). A non-excludable good is the exact opposite. The reason why broadcast signals are non-excludable is that the producer cannot prevent people from using it once it is supplied. Once the towers are built and the signal is broadcasted, anyone with a receiver can pick up the signal, and there is no way for the producer to stop them from doing so. This is why the signal is non-excludable; however, this is only half of the reason why the market for Canadian broadcast signals would fail. The broadcasting signal is also considered non-rivalrous.

The second contributing factor to the market failure of Canadian broadcast signals is that such signals are non-rivalrous. Once again, economically speaking, "a good or service is said to be rivalrous if one

person's consumption of the good means that no one else can also consume it."[2] For example, consider the simple example of a cookie. The cookie is rivalrous because if one person eats it, no one else can. A broadcast signal is non-rivalrous because more than one person can use it without reducing the amount available to others. It is not the case that if someone buys a receiver, there is less of a signal to go around. Two people with receivers can both listen to the same signal, and therefore the broadcast signal is non-rivalrous. The combination of being both a non-rivalrous and non-excludable good categorizes the broadcast signal as a public good. Public goods are defined as "goods and services that can simultaneously provide benefits to a large group of people."[3] The problem with the broadcast signal as a public good is that it creates "the free-rider problem."[4] Once the signal is created, there is no way to stop people from using it. Even if some people were charged to receive the signal, people who did not pay would be able to receive it as well. The same applies roads, public information, and national defense. Without government intervention, the free market would not provide broadcast signals. Consumers do place value on the signal itself: if it were somehow made excludable, people would pay for it (think satellite television: producers can make a profit because only those who pay can receive the signal). No producer in their right mind would spend their own money to build a transmitter and buy programs if anyone could watch without paying. The purpose of the free market is profits, and without the incentives of profit, people will not get into the extremely risky businesses of radio or television.

Even beyond the high initial fixed-costs of broadcasting, the unpredictable nature of the demand for the cultural products further contributes to market failure. In the market for ordinary goods, based on previous data, the producer can estimate the demand, and then decide how much of a product to produce. This does not apply to cultural products. This stems from the fact that every cultural product is unique; this uniqueness means that there is no prior data to decide whether a book, movie, or television series will be successful.   The demand for the cultural product can only be calculated based on whether or not people like it once it is produced. For example, a Canadian producer must risk millions of dollars to produce a new television series, yet he has no idea if it will do well.

Peter S. Grant, in his book, *Blockbusters and Trade Wars*, states, "despite the use of a number of indicia […] in deciding which pilot series to select for the season's schedules, none of those indicia had any statistical ability to predict which series would actually succeed."[5] This uncertainty about whether a certain endeavor will be profitable creates a risk that many are not willing to take. This is even more evident in Canada's relatively small market (in relation to the US), because "cultural products that are attractive to consumers in a large geographical market have a lower risk and a much greater potential reward than do those that are produced for a smaller market."[6] Through government intervention it is possible to reduce this risk and facilitate the production of cultural goods. Thus far, the inherent market failure of cultural products has been purely theoretical; however, an analysis of the revenues of select Canadian radio broadcasters offers concrete proof of market failure.

An analysis of the revenues of radio broadcasters reveals that they would fail without government aid. Canadian radio broadcasts in particular offer a perfect example, because as of December 31, 2007, 919 out of 929 radio and audio services in Canada are over-the-air.[7] The fact that 99% of Canadian radio stations are over-the-air, as opposed to satellite radio, makes the market both non-excludable and non-rivalrous. Table 4.2.10 of the *Communication Monitoring Report* lists the origins of the revenues for Type B native, community, and campus radio stations. On average, 83% percent of their revenues come from government grants and fundraising, and only 17% comes from advertising.[8] This means that 83% of their revenue is derived from non-market transactions. Without fundraising and government intervention, these stations would clearly not exist. Through funding, broadcasting can actually be used as a tool to promote Canadian culture, and not just as a tool for selling widgets.

It would be naïve to think that cultural goods are only subject to internal forces that cause market failure (non-rivalrous, non-excludable, high initial fixed costs, etc.), for they face external forces from, for example, free trade and "the American cultural colossus" (Holman and Thacker 152). If such forces had their way, Canadian media would be overcome by the influence of the US not only in radio and television, but in many aspects of popular culture, a fact echoed by Holman and Thacker: "in this realm of

cultural production, the American presence has been difficult to ignore."[9] This presence has been felt ever since the mid twenties, when "for every Canadian magazine that was produced […] eight were imported from the United States."[10] The problem is that Canadians simply seem to prefer American content. This is still evident today in the programs viewed on Canadian network television. In 2006-2007, out of the total weekly hours that Canadians spent watching television, only 33% was spent watching Canadian programs.[11] This number may be a bit misleading, however, because 96.9% of news watched was Canadian, whereas only 8.1% of the most popular category (Drama/Comedy) was Canadian.[12] As Holman and Thacker put it, "want drama? Surf the American radio and television stations. Want news? Tune into Canadian broadcasters."[13] In order to keep this trend from eliminating Canadian programming, Canada is forced to regulate and subsidize the industry. This is such a major part of Canada that Holman and Thacker admit that "state intervention in the arts, in some measure, *is* Canadian culture."[14] This culture of state intervention is what many people disagree with.

The problem with government intervention is that it opens up the argument that government subsidies to broadcasters constitute trade-distorting subsidies, which violates NAFTA. From an economic point of view, this claim makes perfect sense. In a completely free market that is free of subsidies, the country with a comparative advantage in the production of a good will produce it. When one country introduces a subsidy—either in the form of grants or incentives—it lowers the costs to its domestic producers, which effectively shifts the supply curve for the good or service to the right, and lowers equilibrium price. If Canada introduces subsidies and makes prices lower, it makes the product more appealing to consumers. In turn, producers that are not subsidized will not be able to compete against the subsidized producers. To survive, they themselves must receive subsidies from their governments, which leads to a trade war of who is willing to subsidize more. This essentially defeats the purpose of free trade. Some would argue that this is exactly what is going on between Canada and the US in the film and broadcasting industry.

The US holds the view that the subsidization of cultural products is in violation of free trade agreements – specifically, those of the film industries.

In fact, there is even a group, the Film and Television Action Committee, that is entirely devoted to this issue. They claim that "the U.S. lost 47,000 jobs every year and around \$23 billion in economic benefits due to film-making defecting to Canada."[15] They would like to see cultural products considered just like any other good, and determined by consumer choice, despite the fact that under NAFTA and trade agreements that came before (GATT), cultural products are treated differently from regular goods. Furthermore, in 1998, "cultural ministers signed a declaration in support of allowing countries to treat cultural goods and services differently from other goods and services under WTO regulations."[16] The FTAC needs to realize that cultural products—goods that "contribute to intellectual discourse"[17]—are vastly different from ordinary products and simply do not benefit from free trade like ordinary products (those that serve some sort of utilitarian function). In fact, in *Blockbusters and Trade Wars*, Grant lists a total of 11 differences between cultural and ordinary goods.

One major reason as to why cultural goods do not apply is because there are no substitutes. Unlike random ordinary goods, Grant states, "each movie or book title or sound recording—even by the same artist or creative team—is perceived as unique."[18] In the market for ordinary goods, there are many substitutes for any given product. For example, if Coca-Cola goes bankrupt, people will simply turn to a substitute like Pepsi.   For cultural products, there are no substitutes. What exactly is the substitute for Canadian culture? For example, if Margaret Atwood decides to quit writing novels, it is not as though someone can take her place in the "Margaret Atwood novel market." To open up cultural markets to free trade would be to assume that this was possible; that is, a novel is a novel. This contrast between ordinary goods and cultural goods is even more evident in terms of the point of free trade: comparative advantage.

The idea of comparative advantage further illustrates why cultural goods do not apply to free trade and the free market. Comparative advantage is a complex economic term developed by David Ricardo, but for the sake of simplicity, Grant summarizes it in the following way: "each country should specialize in producing and exporting goods in which its comparative advantage is greater […] and should import goods in which its comparative disadvantage is greatest."[19] For example, Canada

has a natural abundance in primary products (i.e. lumber) as opposed to Japan. This is why, according to Kasoff and Drennen, "Canadian exports to Japan are almost entirely driven by Canada's comparative advantage in primary products."[20] This, however, does not apply to cultural products: "however valid the theory of comparative advantage may be for ordinary commodities, it breaks down entirely in regard to cultural products."[21] Comparative advantage is relative; many producers must be producing the same product for it to apply. Because each cultural product is unique, comparative advantage for them does not exist, hence cultural products could never apply to free trade. Therefore, subsidies to such products are not trade distorting, nor would they violate NAFTA.

All of this points to the conclusion that Canada's cultural products must be protected from both internal and external forces. Cultural products occupy a unique place in the world of economics. If left to the free market, they are prone to market failure because of high initial fixed-costs, and their nature as both non-rivalrous and non-excludable. If subjected to free trade they will not survive because they are unique, non-substitutable, and simply do not follow comparative advantage. All of these factors combine to prevent the market from achieving the optimum result—the proliferation of Canadian culture—so the government must intervene. In arguments against the government's intervention, the root of the problem is seeing cultural products as simple widgets that are subject to economic analysis, which is simply not the case. In Culturenomics, there is no substitute for Canadian culture. Therefore, if and when Canada ceases to support its cultural products and industries, Canadian culture will be no more.

Endnotes

1   Christopher T.S. Ragan and Richard G. Lipsey, *Microeconomics: Twelfth Canadian Edition* (Toronto: Pearson Education Canada, 2008), 383.

2   Ibid.

3   Ibid., 286.

4   Ibid., 386.

5   Peter S. Grant and Chris Wood, *Blockbusters and Trade Wars: Popular Culture in a Globalized World* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre Ltd., 2004), 48.

6   Ibid., 55.
7   Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission,
           "Communications Monitoring Report 2008", Table 4.2.1.
8   Ibid., Table 4.2.10.
9   Andrew Holman and Robert Thacker, "Literary and Popular Culture," in
           Canadian Studies in the New Millennium, ed. Patrick James and Mark Kasoff
           (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 152.
10   Ibid., 137.
11   CMR, Table 4.3.7.
12   Ibid.
13   Holman and Thacker, 153.
14   Ibid., 151.
15   Stuart Wood, "Canada Stealing US Film Jobs?" http://www.cinemablend.com/
           new/Canada-Stealing-US-Film-Jobs-6281.html (accessed 24 November 2008).
16   Cynthia Kite and Douglas Nord, "Canadian Foreign Policy," in *Canadian Studies
           in the New Millennium,* ed. Patrick James and Mark Kasoff (Toronto: University
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17   Grant and Wood, 43.
18   Ibid., 49.
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20   Mark Kasoff and Christine Drennen, "The Economy," in *Canadian Studies in
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21   Grant and Wood, 357.

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SEXUALLY BLAND & AGGRESSIVE?
Chinese Male Immigrants and the Canadian Societal Model

Amelia Johnson

At the turn of the twentieth century, the influx of Chinese male immigrants to the Canadian west coast coincided with the conceptual development and implementation of specific heteronormative sexual standards in Canadian society. Due to the apparent cultural differences between these immigrants and the white-Anglophone hegemonic culture in Canada, Chinese males were considered a threat to the development of these standards and their sexuality was consequently depicted as negative in a number of serious and often contradictory ways. Chinese men were portrayed as effeminate, drug addicts, propagators of homosexual tendencies, deceitful, without normal libidos, and so forth. This paper will not attempt to address all of these categorizations; instead, it will focus on the significant contradiction between two dominant characterizations of Chinese male sexuality as being both virtually non-sexual *and* sexually aggressive and will then attempt to unearth and explain a strategic dialogue between these seemingly opposite theories.

What appear to be two contradictory and unrelated ideas on Chinese male sexuality, in fact, are in complex conversation with each other as a part of a nation-building process to both help clarify the acceptable sexual paradigm and prevent foreign influences from contaminating it. First, there will be a brief discussion on the introduction of a model of Canadian heteronormative sexuality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, followed by examples of the portrayal of Chinese males as non-sexual and bland from both an article by Margot Francis and Richard Fung's film *Dirty Laundry*. In addition, the opposing construction of Chinese male sexuality as aggressive and threatening will be explored with examples from Madge Pon's piece on *Jack Canuck* and excerpts from *The Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration*. Finally, the underlying interplay of these categorizations will be discussed as an effective tactic to prevent Chinese access to the Canadian societal model from two points of entry.

At the turn of the twentieth century in North America, there was growing anxiety and the perceived need to define the proper purpose of sexuality in society. The result took shape in what Michel Foucault famously dubbed the "Malthusian Couple": a convention of heterosexual norms that is centred on monogamy, sexual surveillance and privacy, and perhaps most important, sexuality for the purpose of procreation.[1] As Foucault

described this as a middle-class phenomenon, these sexual conventions can thus be read as a way of shaping important elements of a distinctive identity for members of the dominant white-Anglophone middle class in Canada, around which a larger Canadian identity could perhaps be built. [2]

A component of this new sexual identity is the importance of building a family for the purpose of procreation, not only as a civic duty but to fulfill masculine responsibilities as well. Many Chinese male immigrants, who could neither afford to bring their families nor desired to break familial loyalty and responsibility by acquiring new Canadian wives, remained bachelors while working in western Canada. The reality of this disposition was strategically ignored; the opportunity to portray Chinese men as sexually unwilling or bland was exploited instead. In Margot Francis' article "*Dirty Laundry:* Re-Imagining the Canadian Pacific Railways and the Construction of the Nation," [3] a public meeting in 1860 on road construction in Victoria is presented in which the chairman declared that the "Chinaman came to this country... and he didn't even reproduce himself."[4] This kind of statement, described by Francis as common at the time, insinuates a Chinese male inadequacy concerning the procreative sexual imperative and perhaps implies unwillingness towards this sexual responsibility.

A similar expression of Chinese sexuality as bland and even non-existent in the context of civic responsibilities can be found in a scene from Richard Fung's documentary *Dirty Laundry.*[5] In a scene in *Dirty Laundry* depicting Senator Jones from Nevada's presentation to the royal commission, the senator is quoted as saying that the "Chinaman... has no wife or family. He performs none of these duties."[6] The common bachelorhood of Chinese immigrants is skewed to appear as an adamantly ignorant resistance to the "duties" of the Canadian man, as well as reinforces the idea that Chinese males were somehow sexually defective or unwilling.

A far cry from portraying Chinese men as sexually tasteless was the other dominant characterization of these immigrants as predatory, deviant, and threatening to the middle-class sexual stability and propriety. This approach to Chinese male sexual classification can be found throughout Madge Pon's "Like a Chinese Puzzle: The Construction of Chinese Masculinity in *Jack Canuck.*"[7] Pon's investigation of Chinese slandering

found in the now defunct Torontonian tabloid *Jack Canuck* reveals a general hysteria around the idea of Chinese males as sexually predatory and suspicious. Pon explores how *Jack Canuck* repeatedly reported Chinese male immigrants as deviants with fixed interest in "luring" white women into debauchery and sexual coercion[8] and using sex as a method of introducing these women to opium addiction.[9] As well, she embarks on a discussion of the newspaper's construction of the Chinese "partition," a jovial persona behind which Chinese men disguise an actual abnormal and sexually aggressive identity.[10] This presents Chinese male sexual behaviour as fiendish and threatening, a sexuality that is both dangerous and difficult to detect or control. Here the problem posed against the responsible Canadian sexual standards is not that these men "refuse" to reproduce, but rather that they cross important sexual boundaries and pose a serious threat to social purity and prudence.

Another important document for detecting this specific slant on Chinese male sexuality is *The Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration* from 1885.[11] The report itself discusses a multitude of perceived problems with Chinese immigration to Canada, yet it is possible to single out some important examples of how Chinese male immigrants were thought to be sexually perverse and dangerous. One example of this idea occurs on page 150 of the report, where Chinese immigrants were accused of high counts of venereal disease, implying wild, uncontrolled sexuality. Mention to on-board sodomy[12] and being dubbed "sodomites of the worst kind"[13] also represent images of sexual deviance and perversion and clearly distance Chinese males from the concept of sexuality for the sake of procreation. The term "sodomy" can lead into a separate discussion of other specific classifications of Chinese male perceived homosexual and homosocial behaviour, but the specific purpose and repercussions of those other constructions will not be discussed in this paper.

So far, this essay has explored a variety of historical examples of two dominant and substantially different characterizations of Chinese male sexuality. They appear to contradict each other, but both stereotypes similarly threaten the prevailing notion of acceptable sexual standards in Canada during the turn of the twentieth century. These two notions of Chinese male sexuality, one that it is bland and non-sexual and the other

that it is aggressive, dangerous and perverse, are strategically opposed to each other in order to create an impenetrable, double-sided blockade preventing Chinese access to (and perceived inevitable corruption of) the Canadian socio-sexual structure. In essence, both of these sexual stereotypes portray the Chinese man as sexually irresponsible, and thus the antithesis of Canada's newly developed sexual paradigm of social responsibility and sexual surveillance.

These denigrations deny from two different angles the possibility for Chinese immigrants to understand or adopt white-Anglo hegemonic ideals, and while they may seem to be in opposition, these tactical stereotypes reinforce each other's logic. One stereotype of Chinese men suggests their disinterest in family-building and heteronormative courtship, perhaps begging the question of whether these immigrants just needed access to or contact with women to motivate an adoption of Canadian sexual standards. The opposing characterization of Chinese men as predatory and a sexual threat to (white) women rendered this potential reform out of the question, and thus these apparently contradictory constructions work in tandem to rigidly prevent Chinese incorporation in the Canadian societal model. These classifications are not simply just methods of clarifying the boundaries of the newly developed idea of heteronormative sexuality, but also can be read, as suggested by Margot Francis, as tactics of "nation-building,"[14] distinguishing not only what it meant to be, but also who was allowed to be Canadian.

It is no surprise that Chinese male immigrants were maligned and maltreated during their early years in transition from China to Canada during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Though this type of slander may read as irrational, purposeless and unacceptable by today's standards, it is important to recognize the historical undercurrents that directed such racist classifications. Seemingly unrelated and contradictory stereotypes of Chinese male sexuality as simultaneously bland and wildly dangerous were not only constructed as protectionist efforts to clarify what it meant to be a part of the white-Anglophone, hegemonic sexual paradigm, but also to prevent the threat of foreign cultural influences on the formation of a specifically Canadian, middle-class sexual identity.

Endnotes

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2   Ibid., 105.
3   Margot Francis, "Dirty Laundry: Re-imagining the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Construction of the Nation," in *Working on Screen: Representations of the Working Class in Canadian Cinema*, eds. Malek Khouri and Darrell Varga (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).
4   Ibid., 181.
5   Richard Fung, *Dirty Laundry* (1995).
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7   Madge Pon, "Like a Chinese Puzzle: The Construction of Chinese Masculinity in *Jack Canuck*," in *Gender and History in Canada*, eds. Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1996).
8   Ibid., 93.
9   Ibid., 95.
10   Ibid., 91.
11   J.A. Chapleau and John Hamilton Gray, "The Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, 1885," available on *Early Canada Online*. <http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/mtq?doc=14563>
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13   Ibid., 259.
14   Francis, 185.

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"CHARTER-PROOFING" EXEMPLIFIED
The Development and Challenge of the Anti-Terrorism Act

Hannah Kingdom

The catastrophic events of September 11th 2001 occurred in the United States, yet they resulted in shockwaves of fear that echoed to all corners of the Western world. The response of Canada's government was to enact Bill C-36, the Anti-Terrorism Act, in order to enhance government and law enforcement ability to investigate and prevent such attacks from occurring on Canadian soil, and to fulfill Canada's new obligations in the ensuing global war on terror.[1] As is often true of anti-terrorism laws, there was great potential for the infringement of the civil liberties of Canadians, as protected under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. As such, the most rigorous drafting process in recent Canadian history was used to help ensure that the Bill was "Charter-proof". A "Charter-proof" bill is one that is unlikely to be challenged on the basis of those limits on government power codified in the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The Canadian judiciary has exhibited a greater degree of deference in response to the policy objectives of government in the wake of 9/11, a reaction that is appropriate given the complexity and scope of terrorist threats. The judiciary's deference is also due to the increased legislative and executive branch desire to "Charter-proof" potentially problematic legislation before it reaches the oft-critiqued process of judicial Charter rights review. Bill C-36 was developed with high concern for Charter compliance and safeguards in place for inquiry techniques. The constitutional validity of investigative hearings was challenged in 2004 and the Supreme Court determined that the safeguards defined in the Bill sufficiently protected fundamental rights: an example of judicial deference due to "Charter-proofing".

A robust legislative process with great respect for rights does not eliminate the role of the judiciary, for Charter challenges can and will be made as both the terrorist threat and the context of the Bill's application varies over time. Judicially activist decisions in regards to national security are beyond Court resources, and less necessary when extensive consideration of Charter rights has been taken in the drafting of the legislation. Judicial activism in such areas of law would also represent a departure from their historical stance.

Pre-9/11 Judicial Recognition of Deference for National Security Issues
Hunter v. *Southam Inc.*, [1984] 2 S.C.R. 145

In commenting on *Hunter* v. *Southam Inc.,* Justice Dickson noted that

Section 8 Charter protections were dependent on contextual analysis of the law's objective.[2] When state interest concerns the very security of the state itself, and is not simply law enforcement, the standard for justification for limitations on rights would understandably be lower.[3] This pre 9/11 ruling correctly predicted that national security provisions would be a "…valid justification for the adoption of special measures which may have the effect of abridging procedural rights that might otherwise accrue to individuals."[4]

The Development and "Charter-proofing" of Bill C-36
Process

The development of Bill C-36 has been deemed "…the most balanced example of legislative activism to date"[5] and "…the most rigorously scrutinized piece of legislation" of Justice Minister Anne McLellan's political career.[6] Due to clear potential for rights violations, high priority was placed on shaping the debate on Charter issues and ensuring complete compliance.[7] This unusually proactive exercise of rights protection by the legislature[8] led to safeguards in the Bill that provided a better balance between protection of civil liberties and the need to investigate terrorist offences. The Department of Justice drafted the legislation, which was then introduced into Parliament and sent to the Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights for further examination.[9] Due to the importance of the Bill and the need to expedite its ratification, the Cabinet employed the seldom-used procedure of pre-study by the Senate, in which a Special Senate Committee on the Subject Matter of Bill C-36 scrutinized the Bill alongside the Standing Committee.[10] Parliament heard the views of various non-partisan experts in order to determine if their objectives were justifiable, and if provisions to attain those objectives were reasonable.[11] If the government is able to balance competing rights interests during drafting, there will be a lower likelihood of subsequent invalidation. This form of bicameral and bipartisan examination of legislation would "prevent and remedy abuses long before they would come to the attention of the judiciary"[12] and allow for constitutional supremacy.

Substance of the Bill

The aim of Bill C-36 was to investigate and protect against terrorist

threats by adding offences and amendments to the Criminal Code and other acts to widen the investigative powers of police.[13] It was carefully developed to ensure that fundamental Charter rights would be respected.[14] Two provisions presented obvious Charter complications: investigative hearings and preventive arrests. Of significance are investigative hearings (Section 83.28), in which a person believed to have knowledge about terrorist activity is compelled to stand before a judge to answer questions, solely for information gathering purposes and to charge that individual with a crime.[15] Legal safeguards were implemented, including "protections against the disclosure of information… protections against self-incrimination in relation to other criminal proceedings and the right to retain and instruct counsel."[16] Any answers given in the hearing were immune from derivative use and the judge could impose any conditions necessary to protect the witness, third parties, and the integrity of the investigation.[17] This is indicative of the spread of a strong Charter rights culture across all branches of government.

Application under Section 83.28 of the Criminal Code (Re), [2004] 2 S.C.R. 248

Request and Ruling

A request for an investigative hearing as part of the inquiry into the 1985 Air India bombings was challenged on the basis that this provision violated the Charter right to silence and protection against self-incrimination.[18] The British Columbia Supreme Court ruled that the hearings were constitutional and that the rights of the witness were protected via the conditions of the order; however, leave to appeal the decision was granted.[19] The Supreme Court of Canada determined that investigative hearings were not a violation of fundamental Charter rights. The Court held that the government was not making use of exceptional emergency powers and as the Bill gave the judiciary a wide degree of flexibility to determine the terms of the order, the protection of both common and constitutional rights would be ensured. The Court held that investigative hearings were not a violation of Section 7 of the Charter as the information gained was subject to derivative use immunity, and thus could not be used against the witness in a later trial (except in the case of perjury). Protection against self-incrimination is inextricably linked to the right to silence, and was

safeguarded by the same provision of the Bill. The Court also determined that Section 11(d) of the Charter was not applicable. Witnesses were not being accused of crimes as the hearing was simply to acquire information about terrorist offences.[20]

<u>Deference of the Court</u>

The extensive "Charter-proofing" process of drafting Bill C-36 did not limit the ability of the Supreme Court to invalidate the legislation; rather, the great consideration that was taken to avoid violations meant that invalidation was less likely to be necessary. The Court did not have to apply the Section 1 balancing provision to justify a limitation of rights present in the investigative hearings; rather, it ruled that there was no violation of Charter rights due to the nature of the hearings and their safeguards. To "defer" in this sense is to avoid frustrating government policy agenda during judicial review of Charter challenges. In this case, the safeguards implemented during drafting meant that the need to investigate terrorism could be met without violating Charter rights. This reinforces the idea that the relationship between national security and civil liberties is not zero-sum; it is possible to attain the objectives and needs of national security in the face of a terrorist threat without automatically reducing the fundamental rights of the Canadian citizenry.[21]

Judicial Deference Post-9/11 is Appropriate

The Charter reminds Canadians that their rights are not absolute but subject to reasonable limits as prescribed by law in a free and democratic society. Greater weight is placed on the need for such limits in the context of national security, although it is possible to investigate and prevent terrorism without infringing rights. The judiciary has historically deferred and should continue to defer to the objectives of government in ruling upon anti-terrorism legislation.

<u>The spread of rights culture</u>

Through its creation of "super-courts and super-legislatures," the Charter allows for the maintenance of the British legal tradition whereby the government abstains from exercising its full powers in recognition

of the rights of their constituents.[22] Though the formal transition to constitutional supremacy occurred in 1982, the degree of Charter rights protection as seen in the legislative drafting process of Bill C-36 was unparalleled - indicating a wide spread of rights culture. This is akin to the process that Charter scholar Janet Hiebert proposes: the establishment of a "parliamentary Charter committee to deliberate on the consistency of policy with Charter values."[23] The "Charter-proofing" of Bill C-36 and Hiebert's proposed system both represent the notion of parliamentary commitment to the interpretation of constitutional principles during the legislative process, while also creating a record of legislative objectives and consideration of rights.[24]

In the case of Bill C-36, the government could have invoked section 33 and limited rights in order to more effectively investigate terrorism, but instead it was determined that through meticulous safeguards it was feasible to meet its objectives without encroaching Charter rights. Predicting what a potential Charter challenge may be and avoiding it through safeguards (as with investigative hearings) is an alternative to reasonably limiting rights when faced with an urgent objective. This improved method of legislative Charter discourse reduces the likelihood of infringements before they would otherwise come to the Court, minimizes abuse of judicial power,[25] and allows for constitutional supremacy as outlined in section 52(1).

Deference in matters of security

The scope of judicial resources relative to those of the state justifies their deferential stance in matters of national security to the policy objectives of government. In handing down decisions related to terrorism, the Court defers to the authority of the legislative and executive branches in this area. When deliberating upon an impugned state action in the realm of national security, the judiciary should defer to the authority of the legislature when analyzing the law through the Oakes Test. This involves first determining that the threat is indeed pressing and substantial (only the resources and information available to the government could determine this to be the case), and secondly that the objective is proportional to the effect of the law. The judiciary should consider the authority of the legislature in determining what is necessary in the fight against terrorism, and defer to

their objectives when deliberating. Canada's continued engagement in the war on terror means that the country will likely experience a sustained terrorist threat.

Judicial deference in deliberation of security law is appropriate for three reasons. The first is the most basic: access to information. Canada's federal government, its intelligence agency (the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, or CSIS), and the RCMP use a wide range of programs, individuals, technology, and diplomacy in order to gain information about terrorist activity within Canada and across the globe. Simply put, the judiciary does not have access to the wealth of confidential information about the nature and extent of the threat presently faced, and therefore should not take an activist role in creating policy in this arena. The legislatures are privy to the findings of these institutions when they carefully draft bills such as the Anti-Terrorism Act in response to security threats. Both governmental and legal experts guided the complex process of developing CSIS in the mid-1980s in order to ensure domestic safety and rights protections while meeting international security obligations.[26] The specifics of the terrorist threat are continually changing, and only CSIS in tandem with the government can gauge what is required and feasible to combat and investigate dangers. The judiciary is right to respect the aptitude and authority of these branches and to defer to their national security objectives.

Secondly, the judiciary has not developed experience over time against national security threats. One of the roles of the federal government in Canada is to develop policy that will protect against international threats, be they in the form of terrorism or legal war. For example, it is the government that determines when and where to deploy Canada's troops. Their expertise and experience in historically protecting the nation is invaluable and belongs only to the government – not the judiciary. The judiciary has not historically borne the burden of policy-making in regards to national security, for section 91 of the Constitution allocates such powers to Parliament, and therefore the judiciary does not have the mandate necessary to develop appropriate policy.

Thirdly, the Canadian judiciary is often critiqued for not being democratically accountable – unlike the government. Critics see the appointment and promotion process as in great need of reform, and suggest

a more transparent and democratic process.[27] To allow for the decisions of an unelected and unaccountable institution to create security policy may be seen as undermining the very democracy that Canada is seeking to protect.

Shift in the balance of rights

Upon introducing Bill C-36, Justice Minister McLellan predicted that it would be upheld by the Supreme Court against any Charter challenge. She observed that "the balance between individual rights and collective security shifted after the attacks."[28] This implies that the court would be more deferential to the objective of government, which is to protect the collective security of Canadians, regardless of the potential for violations of individual rights. Surely it is true that if the state is expected to guarantee the 'liberty' of its citizens, it is supposed to protect and guarantee their 'life'.[29] Post 9/11, the government's need to act "swiftly, secretly, and decisively" against threats to security became more pressing than the ordinary principles of limits on governmental powers and individual rights.[30] This does not imply that it is not possible for anti-terrorism legislation to comply with the Charter, but rather that the pressing and substantial objective and the proportionality of the limitation relative to the objective would allow for the justification of rights violations, as laid out in Section 1.

The Continued Importance of the Judiciary
Charter-based judicial review

While the "Charter-proofing" method reveals proactive respect for rights, it does not remove the ability or need for the judiciary to act as final arbiter of rights. The Charter provided Canadians with a guarantee of certain rights and freedoms, and deemed that these would be protected through judicial review, as it claims that rights are subject only to limits which are deemed justifiable in a court of law.[31] The court determines the validity of limitations through the balancing provision outlined in the Charter, and determined practically by applying the Oakes Test. In "Charter-proofing," policy-makers may follow an analysis similar to that of the judiciary, yet it is not necessarily true that the judiciary would come to the same conclusion of constitutionality, as they employ a contextual,

case-by-case scrutiny process – unlike the government. As the threat of terrorism towards Canada changes, so will Court determination of Bill C-36's validity. If the threat becomes more pressing and substantial, it is likely that the court will defer to the objectives of government to a greater extent. If the threat is mitigated, the Court may consider the provisions of Bill C-36 to no longer be justifiable and take an activist stance for Charter-based challenges. The weight given to the proportionality requirement of the Oakes Test will also fluctuate as the danger waxes or wanes. The safeguards implemented while drafting Section 83.28 allowed for the constitutionality of investigative hearings to be upheld, yet this does not necessarily imply that the Court used a less strict standard of review. As has been discussed before, invalidation of Bill C-36 was simply less likely to occur, due to "Charter-proofing".

Historical need for judicial review

The response delivered by Justice Binnie in *Application under Section 83.28 of the Criminal Code (Re),* [2004] 2 S.C.R. 248 noted the regrettable consequences of judicial deference in past circumstances of turmoil. He warned against curtailing civil liberties during war by reminding the court of the egregious past treatment of Canadians of Japanese descent, upheld in *Reference Re: Persons of Japanese Race*, [1946] S.C.R. 248.[32] Canadian history offers too many examples of the danger of emergency powers to assume that assurance of "Charter-proofing" via bicameral and bipartisan examination warrants automatic judicial deference.[33] While effective measures were taken to ensure Charter compliance in the case of investigative hearings, this does not mean that their continued use in the face of a changing terrorist threat will remain constitutional. The unsuccessful Charter challenge against investigative hearings may give that provision "a sense of permanency and legitimacy it might not otherwise have or deserve"[34] despite its sunset clause. That Section 83.28 was deemed constitutional presents a dilemma for both the judiciary and criminal law, for there may arise a pressure to create analogous provisions for other urgent investigations (such as organized crime or sexual abuse).[35] It will be the role of the judiciary in future proceedings to determine the validity of investigative hearings for purposes other than combating terrorism.

Conclusions

The Canadian judiciary has exhibited a greater degree of deference to government policy in regards to matters of national security in the wake of 9/11. This reaction is appropriate given both the resources and nature of the courts, and the spread of a robust "Charter-proofing" rights culture to the drafting process. Section 83.28 was deemed constitutional, yet judicial deference in deliberating the constitutionality of other anti-terrorism measures will involve heeding legislative authority in such matters when undertaking section 1 analysis.   While none can argue that Charter consistency is a defect,[36] "Charter-proofing" may become problematic if future legislative process becomes more concerned with avoiding invalidation than with living up to the Charter's "broader spirit."[37]

Endnotes

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3   Stan Cohen, "Concluding Comments from the Department of Justice," in *The Security of Freedom: Essays on Canada's Anti-Terrorism Bill,* Ronald J. Daniels, Patrick Macklem, Kent Roach, eds., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 443.

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23   Christopher P. Manfredi, *Judicial Power and the Charter: Canada and the Paradox of Liberal Constitutionalism*, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2001), 178.

24   Ibid., 178

25   Ibid.

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THE NEWSROOM
Canadian Public Broadcasting's Lens Turned Inward

Michael Tau

Bill: Whoa, year old tape of a totally different plague. Isn't that going to give us a major credibility gap?
George: Listen, I just don't think we have to paint ourselves into a factual corner over some footage from Africa.[1]

Created in 1996 during a period of public broadcasting turmoil, *The Newsroom* is a clever indictment of the state of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). The series is set in the local news headquarters of a public television network that is never specifically addressed by name. A thinly-veiled stand-in for the CBC, this organization is portrayed as an institution run by idiots. The main character, played by series writer and director Ken Finkleman, is the egomaniacal and self-indulgent George Findlay - the station's local news producer. From the perspective of the viewer he is the man in charge, and the show's most prominent beacon of officialdom. He is constantly accompanied by his assistant producers, Jeremy and Mark, a set of self-serving yes men whose only original ideas are concerned with self-preservation. Meanwhile the newsroom's conduit to the audience, anchor Jim Walcott, is a brainless buffoon whose sole assets are a nice head of hair and a primetime-ready voice. Curiously, *The Newsroom* was produced, funded, and aired by the CBC, the very institution it seeks to deconstruct. In line with common conventions of Canadian public television programming, it is endowed with a sense of realism and intellectualism. However, it is these realism-oriented, highbrow values that are ultimately undermined by Finkleman, as *The Newsroom* implies that the CBC is a corrupt enterprise that fails at what it is expected to accomplish.

From the standpoint of genre, *The Newsroom* adopts the formula of the workplace comedy. It is commonly compared to *The Larry Sanders Show*, a situation comedy originally aired on Home Box Office. Curiously, *Larry Sanders* was broadcast in America on an "edgy" specialty pay channel, whereas *The Newsroom* was financed by and aired on Canada's public network.[2] Like *Murphy Brown* and *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, two syndicated shows popular in Canada, *The Newsroom* is predictably set in a newsroom.[3] This venue allows Finkleman to satirize the news genre accurately. As has been noted by Zoë Druick, Canadian television has a

long history of news parody. Popular programs such as *SCTV*, *CODCO*, and *This Hour has 22 Minutes* have established this genre as a foundation of Canada's broadcasting culture, producing the "shocking difference necessary for humour" by means of juxtaposing the seriousness of the news context with implausible news items.[4] *The Newsroom* deviates from this generic convention by setting itself behind the scenes of a fictional news show. Thus, it directs its mockery of news conventions towards the absurdity of news production – calling into question the credibility of its producers, and exposing the sometimes dubious nature of its content.

Although ultimately a situation comedy, *The Newsroom* is rarely recognized as one – perhaps because it has been inflected with a sense of "Canadian" realism. There is no laugh track, the dialogue is delivered matter-of-factly, and the humour is not punch-line oriented. As well, music is rarely heard aside from during the credits; instead, sparse office sounds comprise the majority of the series' soundtrack. In fact, the mundane nature of the show's setting and acting as well as the use of a shaky handheld camera technique gives *The Newsroom* the appearance of a documentary. However, the show ultimately mocks Canada's traditions of realism and documentary production because it depicts the CBC newsroom as a place where sensationalism supersedes journalistic honesty.

Although ratings are a common point of conflict in television programs set in broadcasting venues, on *The Newsroom* the quest for better numbers transcends notions of realism and journalistic integrity. Despite the fact that public broadcasting has long been expected to promote concepts of national identity and shared culture, for Finkleman priority number one is appealing to an audience perceived as lowbrow and uncultivated. Hence, success for the newsroom is defined in economic terms instead of those values contained in the CBC's mandate, which stresses national consciousness, multiculturalism, and the reflection of "Canada and its regions to its national and regional audiences."[5] This financially-motivated, lowest-common-denominator approach reflects the popular Canadian perception of American programming as "a cheap succour for passive audiences who simply won't watch what's good for them."[6] However, while Canadian satire tends to poke fun of American culture, *The Newsroom* turns the camera inwards. The resulting message is that, despite its lofty

claims of promoting national identity and culture, the economic realities of a money-strapped CBC have resulted in it adopting "American" values of sensationalism and lowbrow appeal. These conventions result in Findlay continuously undermining the typically Canadian "real" and "honest" approach. In an attempt to endow his news items with added audience pull, he frequently manipulates language to produce more marketable stories. As Diane Turbide notes, "That fascination with how so-called reality is packaged – and how language is corrupted to disguise rather than reveal – pervades *The Newsroom*."[7] On the eve of a potential meltdown at a nearby nuclear power plant, Findlay deliberates over whether a news graphic should read "one million dead?" or "one million dead!" When the video editor remarks that a question mark would be more apt given that the number is purely speculative, Findlay concedes that "if we're *speculating*... we'll put in three million."[8]

Another strategy employed by Findlay in his unceasing quest for better ratings is the adoption of a serialized format in "The Kevorkian Joke."[9] After receiving a video from a distressed staff member who explains that he plans to commit suicide, Findlay decides to turn it into a weeklong continuing story on the network. As Bociurkiw explains, news is often serialized so as to dramatize the story being told – in this way it is "a result of negotiation between advertiser, network, and audience."[10] Appropriately, in close temporal proximity to *The Newsroom*'s original run, the CBC used a serialized format to document the 1995 Quebec Referendum. Of course, Findlay's newsroom takes the news serial to an extreme with the "suicide TV" story. In addition to its ethical indiscretions, the story exemplifies how reality can be warped in an attempt to produce a dramatically gripping product. The suicide serial turns one man's plea for help into an artificial storyline that becomes less and less authentic as it plays out. Before the week's end, the suicidal subject of the piece has recited scripted lines, and has hired an agent in order to receive compensation for his acting talents. This is perhaps *The Newsroom*'s most heavy-handed example of how the network's economic imperatives can trivialize its commitment to realism and journalistic integrity.

The final episode of *The Newsroom*'s first season, "Campaign," puts the behaviour of Findlay and his crew into a sobering context.[11] Allegedly taking

place following the "collapse of public broadcasting," it features anchor Jim Walcott as the Liberal candidate in Ontario's provincial election, with Findlay and his co-producers as the spin-doctors behind his campaign. As the race progresses, they continuously modify Walcott's platform to mesh with popular opinion. This includes adopting a pro-life stance on abortion because "95% of the pro-lifers will actually take the time to fill out a ballot", as well as paying a crippled man to portray Jim's childhood friend as a testament to his character. Walcott, more or less reprising his role as the brainless anchor, is discouraged from expressing his own beliefs for the duration of the campaign. Even after Jim is reduced to a vegetative state following an assassination attempt, Findlay and his assistants deliberate over the "negative spin" value of the term "brain-dead," and end up exploiting voters' sympathy to get their candidate elected. Perhaps the most sobering aspect of the "Campaign" episode is how similar Findlay the campaign director and Findlay the local news producer are.

The emphasis on ratings and sensationalism, to the detriment of journalistic integrity, highlights a fundamental flaw in how Canadian culture is defined. According to Beaty and Sullivan, it is frequently conceptualized in terms of a compensatory model, in which Canada's culture provides what other cultures do not.[12] According to Collins, the occasional result of such a definition is an extreme nationalist belief that Canada is under threat of "imposition of alien norms by superior force."[13] However, the real issue at hand is the attractive nature of American culture to the Canadian public. Hence, *The Newsroom* suggests that in order to survive, Canadian television must be made accessible to its audience – something that is often considered incompatible with Canada's public broadcasting values of realism and national identity.

It becomes obvious early on in *The Newsroom* that much of the behaviour that goes on in the office is motivated by a fear of being fired. In fact, in several episodes, attempts to save their own skin appear to take up the majority of the characters' time at work. Never is this more evident than in "Deeper, Deeper," in which the staff members spend their workday alternately bootlicking and wallowing in paranoia after Findlay learns he must cut 20% of the department's budget.[14] This episode was a response to the recent cutbacks to the CBC, which left many people without jobs;

according to Beaty and Sullivan, the network's budget was decreased by almost \$400 million between the 1980s and the year 2000. Local news, meanwhile, was particularly threatened by these cutbacks, with ratings for local newscasts on CBC described as "dismal everywhere but in Atlantic Canada."[15] Indeed, four years after *The Newsroom*'s first season was filmed, in the spring of 2000, the network decided to cease local news operations and instead centralize production.

An important factor in the characters' concern about their jobs is the bureaucratic barrier they constantly face when trying to ascertain exactly where they stand. In "Dinner at Eight," the characters' jobs are quickly lost and regained at the whim of corporate memos from a faceless "upstairs."[16] Meanwhile, in "Parking," Findlay tries to make sense of an anonymous voicemail message, pontificating about the "the epidemic level of ass-kissing and back-stabbing and small-minded politicking that leads to [the network's] third-rate ... programming."[17] These layers of bureaucracy are a metaphor for the network's ineffectuality and inability to get things done. Indeed, on a larger scale, the CBC has long been criticized for failing to satisfy its cultural and economic imperatives.[18]

One cultural issue that has remained a contentious topic in Canadian public broadcasting is multiculturalism, seen as one of Canada's national values. According to Beaty and Sullivan, "[the] dominant form of multiculturalism has tended toward a homogenization of non-dominant cultures to the point where they can be reduced to colourful costumes, spicy food, and an annual street festival."[19] This is expressed in *The Newsroom* in terms of Findlay's indifference towards minority groups. In "Petty Tyranny," Findlay gets in an argument with the building's cafeteria clerk over the muffin selection; frustrated, he muses, "What, in Mexico they don't know the difference between cranberry and bran?" In fact, the clerk is from Turkey.[20] Likewise, in "Parking" he tells an Asian building employee that he has always admired the industriousness of Japanese people, only for her to flatly tell him that she is in fact Chinese.[21] These incidents are especially salient because Findlay's newsroom is based in Toronto, a city considered to be one of Canada's multicultural centers.

The institution's indifference towards the significance of distinct cultures manifests itself in Findlay's reluctance to make changes to the racial

constitution of his department. In "Deeper, Deeper," Findlay and his assistant producers discuss whether a lack of diversity in the department "looks bad." At the conclusion of the conversation, they resolve to undertake a review of the situation, remarking that "the great thing about [a review] is ... [it] doesn't hurt us." However, Findlay continuously pushes his review back, all the while instructing the office's intern, Audrey, to remind him about it later. Therefore, despite the important issue at hand, the department is unable to overcome its inner indifference; as a result, nothing changes.[22] In this way, *The Newsroom* uses the issue of multiculturalism as an example of how the CBC fails to live up to its self-defined cultural obligations – specifically, the 1991 Broadcasting Act indicates that the CBC's programming should "reflect the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada."[23]

Given that the 1995 Quebec referendum occurred only a year before *The Newsroom* aired, it is remarkable how little attention the program devotes to the issue. The resulting message is that the Toronto newsroom is essentially indifferent to the goings-on of its neighbouring province. As Serra Tinic notes, since the 1980s, CBC programming has become increasingly centralized in Toronto. This has left Canada's other regions feeling "denied a voice."[24] Tinic further accuses federal broadcasting policy of "[using] nationalism, as defined by central Canada, as a 'conscious strategy of pasting over the cracks' of regional discontent."[25] To wit, despite the series' temporal proximity to the 1995 Referendum, the characters of *The Newsroom* seem apathetic and ignorant to the entire issue. Alienated from the realities of Canada in their insular Toronto office, they feel no obligation towards the rest of the nation. In "Unity," news anchor Walcott confuses René Lévesque and Henri Bourassa in an interview with journalist Linda McQuaig.[26] Later in the episode, Walcott interviews a Disney executive and they discuss the state of national unity and French-Canadian separatism sentiment in Canada. The executive pontificates, "Personally, I feel that Quebec belongs in Canada just as a unique place, just as Disney World belongs in Florida ... I love the accent, I love the whole fur-trading thing." Walcott agrees enthusiastically. More subtly, in "The Kevorkian Joke," Findlay ignores his assistant's opinions on Quebec, interrupting her several times in mid-speech.[27] These scenes serve to exemplify a centralized-CBC's lack of concern towards Canada's regional populations, and they are made

particularly salient given the social and cultural relevance of Quebec's politics at the time.

An intriguing element of *The Newsroom* is the way in which it presents a facade of intellectualism, but depicts this as ultimately turning up empty. Similar to Denys Arcand's *Le déclin de l'empire américain* (1986), the characters speak like intellectuals but their instinctual urges supersede their attempts at rationalism. For all his highbrow referencing, Findlay has a notorious penchant for making advances on younger women. In "Bad Day," he is accused of sexual harassment by a twenty-two year old employee of the Children's programming department.[28] Wolcott, meanwhile, is caught on tape with a prostitute in "Deeper, Deeper."[29] In addition to his sexual indiscretions, Findlay is also guilty of narcissism and frivolity. He spends substantial portions of his workday trying to secure a corporate parking spot, debating over the availability of his favorite type of muffins, and tending to the repair bills for his luxury car. These activities occur often to the detriment of his journalistic duties. The message here is that despite the CBC's aspirations for creating a Canadian broadcasting system that produces highbrow and intellectual work, on a pragmatic level these may be empty hopes. This message runs contrary to the image that has been propagated by the network; for example, an official 1996 review of the CBC asserted that its programs have "scaled artistic heights ... that set them apart from any Canadian broadcaster, and perhaps from any American broadcaster for that matter."[30]

Furthering the notion of empty intellectualism is the fact that Findlay's dialogue often exposes his true ignorance towards cultured subject matter. In one case, he uses audience indifference to justify not covering a retrospective on Federico Fellini's career: "I know Fellini, but our audience doesn't know who Fellini is. I know that *Wild Strawberries* was a brilliant movie."[31] When his arts and culture director notes that *Wild Strawberries* was in fact directed by Ingmar Bergman, Findlay quickly changes the subject. In the process, he manages to insult his audience as well as call into question the intellectual integrity of the network's decision makers.

Given that *The Newsroom* is a very thinly disguised attack on the CBC, it is remarkable that the network decided to produce and air it. However, the risk paid off for the corporation, as the program proved very

popular for the station. Its October 21, 1996 debut attracted 1.1 million viewers – an impressive figure that was close to the 1.5 million garnered by that evening's edition of *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*; the second episode, meanwhile, retained a substantial audience of 813,000.[32] According to television critic Stephen Cole, "CBC had a hip comedy that reached a youthful demographic."[33] However, as Aaron Barnhart remarked, "Somebody somewhere took a big gamble by giving him a leash and giving him a show. But now they're being hanged by the same leash."[34] Initially, *The Newsroom* was discontinued at the conclusion of its first season. However, the popularity of George Findlay's character resulted in several reprisals of Finkleman's role, including a 1998 miniseries called "More Tears."[35] Finally, *Escape from the Newsroom,* a full-length television movie based on *The Newsroom*, appeared in 2002.[36] This was then followed by two more seasons of *The Newsroom*, after which Finkleman finally put the series to rest.[37]

A remarkable aspect of *The Newsroom*'s success is the fact that the program itself meshes well with the CBC's cultural motives. Although it criticizes the nations' public broadcasting system, the program takes the sitcom genre and endows it with a distinctly Canadian texture – it has a realistic, documentary-like feel. As well, it deals with Canadian issues and features a stream of prominent national personalities, including Daniel Richler, David Cronenberg, and Cynthia Dale. However, as Tinic notes, "comedies are usually the least globally marketable programs because of the need for audiences of 'insiders' who will be receptive to the cultural codes of the text."[38] In other words, a show like *The Newsroom* has what Hoskins and Mirus would refer to as a high "cultural discount," in that it is rooted in Canadian culture and thus less appealing to a foreign audience.[39] Therefore, despite its airing on several local PBS stations in 1997, Finkleman has described its performance on American public television as unsuccessful.[40]

As *The Newsroom*'s symbol of public broadcasting officialdom, George Findlay paints a bleak portrait of the CBC. Motivated by a fear of dismissal due to the corporation's looming financial crisis, as well as the precarious position of local news on the network, his newsroom has abandoned the traditional, realist values of Canadian media in favour of a sensationalistic approach. The result, a biting satire on the Canadian national broadcasting machine, sees the CBC turning the camera's lens inwards. What comes out

is far from pretty.

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CANADA'S COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE
As Embodied by Lloyd Axworthy

Francesca Taddeo

Foreign policy initiatives can significantly alter a country's image and respectability on the international stage, redefining its reputation and creating new allies and foes. Canada's foreign policy since the Cold War has always been representative of the country's values. An emphasis on mediation and cooperation, as well as a strong desire to distinguish its foreign policy and political identity from the American standard, has allowed Canada to promote its comparative advantage, as characterized by its status as an influential soft power with a human security agenda. Although Lloyd Axworthy has been instrumental in forwarding this Canadian identity on an international scene and bolstering the country's international influence in matters pertaining to the human security agenda, Canada's success in promoting this agenda stems from its internationally acknowledged values and long-established reputation, as well as a desire to create a distinct identity for itself on the world stage. This identity is characterized by multilateral diplomacy and an emphasis on human rights and cooperation, rather than unilateral action and coercion. In doing so, Canada has successfully established itself as a 'soft' or 'middle' power, and Lloyd Axworthy can be considered an embodiment and vehicle of the advancement of these values, but not the impetus. The creation of the International Criminal Court and the landmines treaty are two examples of Canada promoting a human security agenda under the leadership of Lloyd Axworthy. This is an influence which could only have been cultivated over time, and therefore does provide Canada a comparative advantage as a middle power.

Soft Power

Joseph S. Nye emphasizes the emergence and importance of new conducts of power after the Cold War era that do not solely focus on military clout. He argues that a new form of power has emerged, a power that provides countries that do not have a strong military power a distinct advantage over countries that exercise 'hard power': "These trends suggest a second, more attractive way of exercising power than traditional means... This second aspect of power – which occurs when one country gets other countries to *want* what it wants – might be called co-optive of soft power in contrast with the hard or command power or *ordering* others to do what

it wants."[1] Nye argues that soft power emerges from countries' values, and that ideological and cultural attraction are two main factors that influence countries in promoting a soft power agenda.[2] This shift towards soft power can be attributed to the broad changes that took place in world politics and foreign policy after the Cold War, in that the use of coercive power was decreasingly used by major countries. Many countries, developed and undeveloped alike, realized that adopting a soft power agenda could enable them to gain legitimacy and respect on the international stage. Furthermore, by promoting a democratic ideology, more countries would be willing to adopt collaboration instead of coercion as tactics to forward their agendas.[3]

As defined by Nye, soft power allows for a country's values and ideals to be exposed and put to use for the benefit of the international community, as well as encourages cooperation and collaboration between countries to further ideals of diplomacy and attain similar policy aims.[4] Canada's lack of resources to develop a strong military and hard power capacity is a factor that also has to be taken into consideration as to why Canada has emerged as such as strong 'soft power'. Canada's lack of financial resources for military development quickly led it to develop its soft power potential, and to capitalize on a possible disadvantage that it has turned into an advantage. Lloyd Axworthy recognizes the importance of soft power for Canada's visibility in terms of foreign policy, stating that soft power "blurs, even counters, the perception of traditional power assets, such as military force, economic might, resources and population. Power in this context is obtained from networking and coalition-building."[5] This is why Axworthy embodies this ideal. All the while recognizing the historicity of Canada's comparative advantage, along with Nye's statement that ideology, culture and value enable this agenda to be recognized by other countries, Axworthy was instrumental in allowing soft powers to create important international legislation.

Human Security

Human security has redefined the way international security and military defence are interpreted, as an increasing number of countries and nongovernmental organizations are ascribing to this concept.[6] The Group

of 8, of which Canada is a member, has put this agenda at the centre of its foreign policy platform,[7] suggesting that it is gaining credibility and favour from the international community. The concept of Human Security emerged after the Cold War, when policymakers differentiated between territorial security and personal security, and began to consider that the concept of security should be extended to guarantee the security of citizens instead of only countries.[8] The United Nations' 1994 Human Development Report defined human security as being comprised of two main attributes: "It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities."[9] The definition is expanded to include seven components of human security, but there are two in particular on which the Canadian agenda focuses on. When analyzing the country's role in the establishment of the landmines treaty and the International Criminal Court, these two components are "personal security (e.g., physical safety from such things as torture, war, criminal attacks...),"[10] and "political security (e.g., enjoyment of civil and political rights, and freedom from political oppression)."[11]

Roland Paris has narrowed down a definition of human security as relevant to Canadian foreign policy, as one that primarily focuses with "freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, safety or lives."[12] Gary King and Christopher Murray emphasize the prominent role that Canada, along with Norway and Japan, has played in promoting the human security agenda[13], and the fact that Canada considers that "state security and human security are mutually supportive."[14] Lloyd Axworthy has been a strong proponent of the human security agenda, and a foreign affairs minister who sees Canada as embodying values of justice and democracy that should be internationally promoted in order to benefit other countries: "Human security is orientated towards an active and substantive form of democracy, one that ensure the opportunity for all to participate in the decisions that affect their lives. Therefore, it is engaged directly with discussions of democracy at all levels, from the local to the global."[15] The fact that Canada is but one country to adopt this agenda is a testament to the fact that although Lloyd Axworthy strongly promotes human security, Canada's well-respected foreign policy history has allowed for other

countries to adopt this agenda, form alliances, and engage in its promotion and implementation on an international level.

Changing Context of Canadian Foreign Policy Since the Cold War

     Canada's foreign policy agenda has evolved into one that defines the county's values all the while affirming its position prominently among other world superpowers. Prosper Bernard Jr writes that "one of the main priorities of Canadian foreign policy in the post-Cold War period has been the promotion of human security."[16] After the Cold War, Canada began dismissing security issues, and investment in military and defence purposes seemed more and more irrelevant, especially in the face of an increasingly stringent federal budget.[17] By the year 2000 "perceptions of vulnerability were too low to justify a significant investment...Canadians places their security eggs in the US basket..."[18] The human security agenda, as developed after the Cold War, and promoted by Axworthy, influenced Canadian foreign policy so much so that even later ministers continued to promote the strong agenda of multilateral collaboration. The 1995 White Paper put forth by the Chrétien government proclaimed that Canada was in a unique position on the international stage to promote its values of thoughtful compromise, rule of law and tolerance.[19] In a speech made in 2004, foreign affairs minister Pierre Pettigrew, proclaimed that Canada's foreign policy agenda promotes Canada's personality, values of multiculturalism, diversity, and the promotion of global solidarity. He pronounced that Canada was "well beyond the traditional domain of power politics as played out between states." [20]

     Canada's comparative advantage as a promoter of soft power can be partially attributed to the important contrast in the way Canada and the United States are perceived internationally, and the difference in which both countries conduct foreign policy. Roy Rempel argues that Canada has, since its inception, done everything possible to distinguish its values from the American ones: "English Canada's identity was based on a rejection of the revolutionary ideas found in the United States."[21] Lloyd Axworthy himself has distinguished Canadian values from those American, publicly proclaiming that Canada is governed by a different set of standards and priorities than our neighbour, since Canadian foreign policy focuses on

protecting the rights of individuals, and not just countries.[22] This starkly recognized differentiation of values has strongly contributed to establishing Canada's comparative advantage as a soft power, and was uncompromisingly dealt with by Axworthy during his campaigns to establish the landmines treaty and the International Criminal Court.

Although Canadian foreign policy has not been considered in terms of military strength for decades, the nature of Canadian foreign policy was able to redefine and affirm itself under Jean Chrétien's leadership. Chrétien put foreign policy as one of the central issues in his prime ministerial agenda, moreso that previous Prime Ministers, and appointed ministers whose foreign policy agenda was strong to shape Canadian foreign policy, and give it a stronger voice on the international stage. One of his appointments, Lloyd Axworthy, reinforced Canada's prominence as a soft power.[23] The choice of foreign affairs minister is an important one, because the policies of this minister are those that form Canada's reputation abroad. Lloyd Axworthy understood Canada's history and values, and melded this into his personal doctrine, allowing for Canadian values to be recognized abroad in a positive manner: "The old vision of foreign policy as the expression of an independent cultural reality is omnipresent in political discourse, where it contributes to the reification of the national character of this cultural reality, and to the legitimization of foreign policy as the expression of a national interest profoundly rooted in some cultural common denominator."[24] This recognition of values was crucial because it gave Lloyd Axworthy the legitimacy on which to forward his humans security agenda.

Lloyd Axworthy

Lloyd Axworthy was Canada's Foreign Affairs Minister under the Liberal Party from January 1996 to October 2000.[25] He was a champion of both human security and soft power, and redefined Canada's foreign policy agenda. The Axworthy Doctrine, which characterized foreign policy under his leadership, "holds that weaker states and non-state actors (global civil society) are capable of advancing the agenda on their own...[and] contents that Canada's ability to achieve progress in the human security agenda depends more on its possession of soft power than hard power assets."[26]

Transformationalism and Liberalism are said to have shaped his policy views. Tranformationalism "focuses on the nature of international change such as the problematization of state sovereignty, and the reconstitution of political power, such as the rise of private power."[27] Liberalism "emphasizes the centrality of individuals in the international system, the potential to harmonize state interests, and the belief that a global civil society and an international liberal democratic order facilitate international cooperation as well as the protection of individuals."[28] When examining the initiatives of the landmines treaty and the International Criminal Court, liberalism seems to exemplify the motives for the creation of the treaty and the court, as well as the process that enabled the fruition of these initiatives.

Lloyd Axworthy was a driving force behind the signing of the landmines treaty and the creation of the International Criminal Court.[29] His take on soft power was very idealist, and sometimes clashed with Chrétien's more realistic take on Canada's role as a middle power. However, this clash produced healthy compromise. The evolution of Canada's relationship with China is an example of how Axworthy influenced Chrétien to consider human rights issues when establishing trade relations with other countries. A bilateral agreement was reached by the two countries, but not one without a dialogue on the promotion and maintaining of human rights.[30] Lloyd Axworthy was, and is still, considered to embody the ideal of Canadian foreign policy independence from the coercive American agenda. Even thought the American government criticized and opposed both the landmines treaty and the International Criminal Court initiatives, and criticized Canada's 'human security' agenda, Axworthy never compromised[31] in forwarding what he and his allies believed to be a fair and necessary agenda for the improvement of human security.

Landmines Treaty

The Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction, was signed in 1997 by 140 countries after the Ottawa Process spearheaded by Lloyd Axworthy in October of 1996.[32] The purpose of this treaty was to ban the production, the use and the trade of anti-personnel landmines.[33] The success of the landmines treaty owes a great deal of its success to Axworthy's

tenacity and encouragement of multilateral cooperation among like-minded countries.[34] Although Axworthy's influence was undoubtedly instrumental to the success of the Ottawa Process, Canada's international reputation is what allowed the project to gain rapid international credibility: "the process itself relied on the many connections that Canada had established in different regions around the world."[35]

The Ottawa Process and the landmines treaty that resulted from this process exemplifies how public diplomacy and the collaboration between soft powers contributed to the "conferment of legitimacy on processes."[36] The success of the Ottawa Process legitimatized the use of soft power and multilateral cooperation for resolving international matters. The landmines treaty had such an impact that only one week after the treaty was signed, an international conference took place in Washington, D.C. entitled Controlling the Global Trade in Light Weapons. The purpose of this conference was attended by advocates for arms control from all over the world, and Lloyd Axworthy himself proclaimed that the control of arms trafficking was next on the agenda.[37] The success of the Ottawa Process and the signing of the landmines treaty opened the doors for unprecedented cooperation between soft powers: "the campaigners against the small-arms trade realize that they face seemingly insurmountable obstacles. But, they say, when they started their crusade against land mines, almost no one thought it had any chance of succeeding."[38] Furthermore, after the landmines treaty was signed, Canada was elected to the Security Council and publicly stated that it would focus on promoting a human security agenda which included child soldiers and the protection of humanitarian workers.[39] This development affirmed Canada's status as a soft power, the international respect and recognition that it has gathered, and the support that it had formally received from the international community.

The International Criminal Court

The creation of the International Criminal Court can be attributed to the so-called Like-Minded Group, which was chaired by Canada. The purpose of this court was to try those accused of committing crimes against persons.[40] The Rome Treaty, which created the International Criminal Court, was approved by 97 countries on July 17th, 1998.[41] Lloyd Axworthy

explained that the purpose of the International Criminal Court was to establish "a world that is free from...all those who wield political power for the benefit of themselves and the destruction of others rather than for the benefit of humankind."[42] After the drafting of the Statute of Rome, the International Criminal Court was founded in 2002. The Court now counts one hundred member countries, however, neither Russia, China or the United States are members, nor do they plan on obtaining membership.[43]

The United States has so far refused to join the International Criminal Court. This refusal further highlights the difference in values and foreign policy initiatives between Canada and the United States, which continues to define both countries' reputations. The main reason for the United States' refusal to join was fear of prosecution; the United States wanted prosecutions to occur only after the case would be presented to the United Nations Security Council. Axworthy adamantly refused to allow for this accommodation. Had Canada shown flexibility towards the United States' demand, it is probable that the United States would have adhered to the International Criminal Court.[44] Tom McFeely reports "Canada has long been a leading supporter of the 'global governance' style of internationalism that informs the ICC initiative. But under Mr. Axworthy's 'soft power' philosophy, that enthusiasm is more pronounced than ever. And while imperilling Canadian sovereignty, Mr. Axworthy's policy tilt also risks a nasty backlash from the U.S. government."[45] By committing to the original agenda, Lloyd Axworthy sent a strong message: the human security agenda is too important to be compromised by the ego of world superpowers.

It is crucial to note that Canada's involvement in the International Criminal Court cannot solely be attributed to Lloyd Axworthy. The Canadian government, eager to speed up the negotiations and see the creation of the Court, paid for the attendance of six countries that supported the International Criminal Court initiative, but that could not afford to attend the talks in Rome that would cement the Rome Treaty.[46] Responding to critics that dismissed Canada's soft power militancy as idealist rhetoric, Lloyd Axworthy defended the nature of Canadian foreign policy: "Far from being whimps, we are in fact very robust in our defence of Canadian interests, and in the re-shaping of international norms and interests."[47] Canada's comparative advantage was providing the country with increased

political clout.

Canada's Comparative Advantage

In the globalized world, foreign policy and diplomacy have become crucial in shaping a country's reputation: "since the mid-1990s...the preoccupation with image in international politics and the possibility of states 'rebranding' themselves in the global marketplace,"[48] is an increasing concern for countries. Canada is in a unique position to continue promoting its 'niche diplomacy': it is too small to exercise strong military power, yet has used its middle power status and the use of soft power to establish a respected foreign policy and multilateral diplomacy agenda. Jan Melissen explains how niche diplomacies can exert their influence in a relevant manner: "niche diplomacy, although often associated with very small countries, has in fact been more fully developed by countries that have sufficient size and capacity to play notable roles on their international stage but that are not strong enough to impose their positions or solutions. They can sometimes exercise persuasive influence, but rarely deciding force..."[49] This is why we see Canada engaging in an agenda that involves human security as well as multilateral collaboration between like-minded countries. This collaboration has been rendered possible by Canada's international reputation as a country that engages in dialogue and peacekeeping, as well as by the fact that it is the considered as the embodiment of everything that the United States foreign policy agenda is not. This, ironically, has provided Canada with great influence because the content of its agenda is so much more noticeable when compared to an opposing set of values. The fact that Canada has appointed foreign ministers which defend and promote this agenda, such as Lloyd Axworthy, proves the importance of promoting Canada's comparative advantage in exercising soft power and in promoting the human security agenda.

Due to what is perceived as being its good international deeds, Canada has developed a niche in that "a country can be known, admired and also rewarded for its 'goodness' – which becomes a kind of niche in itself."[50] Esteemed for its goodwill and its ability to use it to further global good, Canada can be considered as having a comparative advantage, as a country can only cultivate a reputation of goodwill over time.[51] Michael Ignatieff

comments regarding Canada's international reputation and advantages as an influential soft power: "the idea of influence derives from three assets: moral authority as a good citizen, which we have got some of; military capacity which we have got a lot less of; and international assistance capability,"[52] and goes on to assert that due to these characteristics, Canada has something that the United States does not have, and that is legitimacy.[53]

Prosper Bernard writes: "The quest for human security, according to the Axworthy doctrine, inevitably leads to a universalistic conception of world affairs, where states are linked together by a web of international norms and standards that seek to ensure equal protection of individuals and constrain state leaders by holding them accountable for their actions with respect to protecting individuals."[54] Canada's foreign policy role in a globalized world is one in which individual and world welfare are taken into consideration, from which stems a desire to fulfill the principles of human security.[55] Lloyd Axworthy embodies Canada's comparative advantage because his doctrine is not only concerned with advancing the human security agenda, but also with how foreign policy affects a globalized world.

Lloyd Axworthy has played a monumental role in forwarding the human security agenda, the landmines treaty and the International Criminal Court. However, the success of these endeavours cannot solely be attributed to this man. The Canadian government strongly supported the human security agenda, as well as the two initiatives, and Axworthy embodied Canadian values and foreign policy priorities in advancing these issues on an international stage. Canada`s ability to take advantage of its status as a middle power to forge alliances and help forward an international agenda based on human rights and multilateral cooperation could not have had credibility had it not been for Canada`s foreign policy history, nor for the global acknowledgement and approval of Canadian values and foreign policy ideology. In enforcing its soft power status, not only does Canada thrive on forwarding a middle power agenda, it has learned to embrace what the more militarized countries would consider a disadvantage, and used it to shape foreign policy in a new direction for the twenty-first century.

Endnotes

1   Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy* no. 80 (Autumn1990): 166.

2   *Ibid,*, pp 168

3   *Ibid.*, pp 167

4   Jan Melissen. *The New Public Democracy: Soft Power in International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 33,37.

5   Roy Rempel. *Dreamland: How Canada's Pretend Foreign Policy has Undermined Sovereignty* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 34.

6   Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?," *International Security* 26, no. 2 (Autumn 2001): 87.

7   Gary King and Christopher Murray, "Rethinking Human Security," *Political Science Quarterly* 116, no. 4 (Winter 2001-2002): 585.

8   *Ibid.*, 588

9   Paris 2001 pp 89

10   *Ibid* pp 90

11   *Ibid.*, pp 90

12   *Ibid.*, pp 90

13   King and Murray 2001-2002 pp 589

14   *Ibid.*, 590

15   Caroline Thomas, "Global Governance, Development and Human Security: Exploring the Links," *Third World Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (April 2001): 162.

16   Prosper Bernard Jr., "Canada and Human Security: From the Axworthy Doctrine to Middle Power Internationalism," *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 36, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 233.

17   David Carment, Ed. *Canada Among Nations 2004: Setting Priorities Straight* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 110.

18   *Ibid.*, pp 111

19   Rempel 2006 pp 24

20   *Ibid.*, pp 23

21   Rempel 2006pp 25

22   *Ibid.,* pp 32

23   Carment 2005 pp171

24   Louis Belanger, "Redefining Cultural Diplomacy: Cultural Security and Foreign Policy in Canada," *Political Physchology* 20, no.4 (December 1999): 678.

25   Bernard 2006 pp 233

26   *Ibid.*, pp 234

27   *Ibid.*, pp 237

28   *Ibid.*, pp 237

29   Carment 2005 pp 176

30   *Ibid.*, pp 176

31   Mike Trickey, "Pleading a Case for 'Soft Power': Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy Had a Busy Year," *The Ottawa Citizen*, 28 December 1998, final edition.

32   Bernard 2006, pp 236-237, 244

33   Rempel 2006 pp 39

34   Tom Keating. *Canada and World Order: The Multilateralist Tradition in Canadian Foreign Policy*. Second Edition (Canada: Oxford University Press, 2002), 219-220.

35   *Ibid.*, pp 221

36   Melissen 2005 pp 38

37   American Academy of Arts & Sciences, "After Land-Mines Triumph, a New Crusade," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 51, no.4 (March-April 1998): 22.

38   *Ibid.*, pp 24

39   Trickey 1998

40   Bernard 2006, pp 237

41   Mike Blanchfield, "In the Face of Sharp U.S. Opposition, Backers of an International Criminal Court Are Pushing Hard to Get the Treaty Ratified," *The Ottawa Citizen,* 17 July 2000, final edition.

42   Bernard 2006 pp 237

43   Rempel 2006, 40

44   Bernard 2006 pp 244

45   Tom McFeely, "Courting Trouble: Ottawa Backs an International Criminal Court at Any Cost," *British Columbia Report* 9, no. 43

(1998): 8.
46   *Ibid.*, pp 8
47   *Ibid.*, pp 8
48   Melissen 2005 pp 31
49   *Ibid.*, pp 67
50   *Ibid.*, pp 68
51   Melissen 2005 pp 69
52   *Ibid.*, pp 70
53   *Ibid.*, pp 70
54   Bernard 2006 pp 238
55   *Ibid.*, pp 238

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THE MULTIVOCAL PRAIRIE
A Selection of Canadian Fiction since 1925

Catherine Knowles

***"Nothin' ever happens except the weather, and it's rotten most of the year."*[1]** — Sterile Settlers and Lost Femininity in *Wild Geese*

In her novel *Wild Geese*, Martha Ostenso examines a community in rural Manitoba through the eyes of outsider Lind Archer. In the encounter between Lind and Dora Brund, Ostenso highlights, and ultimately mourns, the loss of feminine embellishment, and thus the rejuvenating presence of female beauty and fertility at the hands of a rural upbringing.

The aroma of each woman is a cue for the degree to which she should be considered feminine; while Lind is continually admired for her sweet-smelling hair, Dora has the "odour of cheap talcum powder" (131). Moreover, though Dora attempts to adorn her home with a "lace curtain" and herself with a "pink wrapper," these embellishments become damaged from everyday use; the curtain develops "frayed edges" and the dress is "sticky with food" (131). In both cases, her feminine intentions are subverted by the poverty and labour that define her daily life. Lind's future holds the promise of romance, as predicted by the grandmother of the Bjarnassons and continuing into her relationship with Mark, while Dora sighs over the "romances of her past" (133) and appears to have reached the end of her passionate life in settling down with her "brutal husband" (130). She specifies that she will not have children, unable or unwilling to participate in what is ostensibly the most profound act of womanhood. In looking upon Lind with "admiration and envy" (133), Dora privileges the other woman and necessarily defines her own life as inferior. Others further condemn Dora's existence as one of "misery" (130) and "discontent" (132), suggesting that Lind has some quality that Dora lacks – a quality whose absence markedly diminishes her sense of identity and self-satisfaction.

The sense of lost femininity characterizes not only Dora Brund, but many of the female figures inhabiting the rural community at the center of Martha Ostenso's *Wild Geese*. The presence of outsider Lind Archer among the other women in the novel draws attention to some of the significant physical and emotional costs of early life on the prairies.

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1 *Wild Geese*. By Martha Ostenso. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2008.

"And then, temptress, she bore me off to the mountain top of my vanity." [2]
— Challenging Male Mastery in "The Outlaw"

In Sinclair Ross's short story "The Outlaw," the narrator's attempts to dominate his horse are tied to the expectations of a masculinity defined by verve and daring; yet this masculine ideal is ultimately problematized by the glaring inconsistency between his belief in his own success and his perceived failure in the eyes of his female companions.

   The relationship between the narrator and his horse Isabel is one of intimacy and sensuality; her feminization allows him to safely explore his budding sexuality, which is inexorably tied to his desire to "break" (19) or tame her. She evokes a colonial vision that he covets—a masculine tradition of "conquest and carnage, trumpets and glory" (19) in which she is simultaneously a champion and a victim. For the narrator, the very act of mounting Isabel is representative of his mastery, yet he fails to distinguish between riding and dominating. *She* ultimately controls the speed and direction in which they travel, and has the power to eject him when he becomes overconfident in his eminence as "both her master and [his] own" (25). Millie Dickson offers a domestic intimacy accompanied by the promise of a "future rosy and secure" (22). Though she initially encourages and provokes the audacious display, her later fear of the physical repercussions reflects a disconnect between her own romanticized vision of masculinity and its reality. Horrified by the "dripping…purple" (26) ears, Millie recognizes the sacrifice demanded by her masculine ideal and is repulsed by it, while the narrator and his father continue to adhere to a definition of masculinity wherein a single brazen gesture represents progress toward adulthood and an occasion for growing esteem.

   The narrow definition of masculinity valued by the male characters of Sinclair Ross's "The Outlaw" is subverted by the more pragmatic concerns of the opposite sex, and ultimately results in the narrator's own inability to embody his ideal.

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2 "The Outlaw" in *The Lamp at Noon and Other Stories*. By Sinclair Ross. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1968

"And it's funny we're still here and callin ourselves halfbreed."[3]
— Reappropriating the Marginal in "Letter to Sir John A. Macdonald"

In "Letter to Sir John A. Macdonald," Marilyn Dumont confronts the use, and misuse, of history in delineating group identity, and further, tracks the evolution of her own identity as the result of—though distinct from—her Métis heritage.

Throughout the poem, Dumont expresses a concern for the past, but also a desire to move beyond it. By referring to specific figures and events, she situates herself within a particular socio-historical context and stresses its continued impact even "after all these years" (2). Repeatedly addressing herself to "John," she accentuates the discrepancy between the title's Sir John A. Macdonald, a historical figure and Canadian icon, and John, an individual capable of reading and replying to private correspondence. She thereby develops a personal intimacy within which she positions her condemning political commentary. Though Dumont surprisingly keeps Riel at a distance by using only his surname, she endorses the more modern, diplomatic Bill Wilson in order to accentuate the importance of speech and language in the pursuit of change. The pluralization of "Bill Wilsons" denotes an identity that is simultaneously singular and multiple; the name represents not only an individual, but also a broad category of people, including Dumont herself, who "speak[s] out of turn or favour" (24). Yet, she ultimately destabilizes this system of association by alluding to the "settlers who wouldn't settle" (28), a group against which she defines herself though their categorization is markedly incongruous with, and even diametrically opposed to, the characteristics of its members. Dumont concludes by questioning her continued self-definition as "halfbreed" (29), a practice that potentially confounds her ability to develop a distinct self by irrevocably tying her to a loaded cultural past.

Although Dumont's "Letter to Sir John A. Macdonald" focuses largely on the past, the poem is also a call to action. The potential to redefine group boundaries and facilitate the discovery of a self outside racial and cultural

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3 "Letter to Sir John A. MacDonald" in *A Really Good Brown Girl*. By Marilyn Dumont. London: Brick Books, 1996.

history exists in our ability to leave history behind and look toward the future.

***"For when Grandfather Connor pointed out your shortcomings, you were not expected to reply."*[4]** — Social Performance and Miscommunication in *A Bird in the House*

In Margaret Laurence's short story collection *A Bird in the House*, Vanessa's inability to cultivate intimacy with her cousin during their night alone at Shallow Creek problematizes her ongoing internalization of the restrictive rules of social interaction modeled by her elders in Manawaka.

When Vanessa, age nine, fantasizes about a hypothetical future sojourn at Shallow Creek she envisions a place of pure fantasy; it is a spacio-temporal experience "beyond all ordinary considerations" (16), characterized by freedom from the confines of reality, and more importantly, from the limitations of her youth. Four years later, the reality of Shallow Creek proves to be almost painfully ordinary; it is a place defined by its lack of commerce with society and its proximity to a natural world that is "beyond sight" and beyond language (138). However, as a thirteen-year-old, Vanessa cannot escape her social education. The deference with which she has been taught to approach her elders prevents her from engaging in the kind of bilateral dialogue that her twenty-one-year-old cousin solicits, and her lack of sexual knowledge results in an unfamiliar "self-consciousness" (139) that impedes her willingness to offer support at the expense of her pride. The experience that distances her from her youth also renders her "unable to reply… comprehendingly" (141); as her inability to articulate her own thoughts contradicts her self-perception as a creative authorial figure and contributes to her failure to connect with her cousin, she misguidedly resents him for exposing this weakness.

In retrospect, Vanessa realizes that during the night at the bluff with her cousin she "had not really heard" (142) the underlying message in the words that silently stressed the negative impact of continued socialization

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4 *A Bird in the House*. By Margaret Laurence. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1989.

not only on her own identity, but on his as well.

"I had watched their game from the sidelines long enough to know the rules."[5] — Narrating and Navigating Adolescence in "The Watcher"

As the narrator of Guy Vanderhaeghe's short story "The Watcher" matures, he discovers that by acting on the world he can exacerbate the "miseries and scandals" (2) of the adult realm for his own pleasure. The satisfaction that Charlie finds in manipulating others is inexorably tied to his development as an authorial presence. He assumes that having a more interesting story to tell, even if it must be constructed through his own actions, makes him a better storyteller.

Much of the advice that Charlie receives (whether directly or indirectly) from Thompson and his grandmother resonates like a fundamental idiom of literary creation: "before you write, you research" (28) or "don't talk about things you don't know anything about" (33). Although he has little respect for the older man, Charlie internalizes the vision of creative power that Thompson constructs, mostly to sanctify his own scholarly work, by portraying the author as an influential figure and publication as grounds for admiration. Charlie first intervenes in the adult world by using words to "stir things up a bit" (18). His use of language as a weapon is something he learns from his grandmother who similarly employs "plain speaking" (6) as an offensive tactic. His subsequent torture of Stanley the rooster – that is, both the verbal taunts and the exertion of physical strength over a creature weaker than himself – parallels Thompson's abuse of Evelyn and illustrates Charlie's growing aptitude for the discovery and exploitation of weakness. The "intoxication of power" (23) that he develops during this episode gives him the confidence to betray Thompson, and ultimately contributes to his self-definition as both a "player" (36) in, and the creator of, complex social narratives that characterize adult existence.

In order to obtain more exciting subject matter for the stories in his head, Charlie gradually learns to influence the volatile adult relationships

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5 "The Watcher" in *Man Descending*. By Guy Vanderhaeghe. Toronto: Macmillan, 1982.

that he encounters. Yet if his manipulative storytelling continues to take priority over his relationships, what he presently considers a creative ability will undoubtedly become a destructive force in his own adult future.
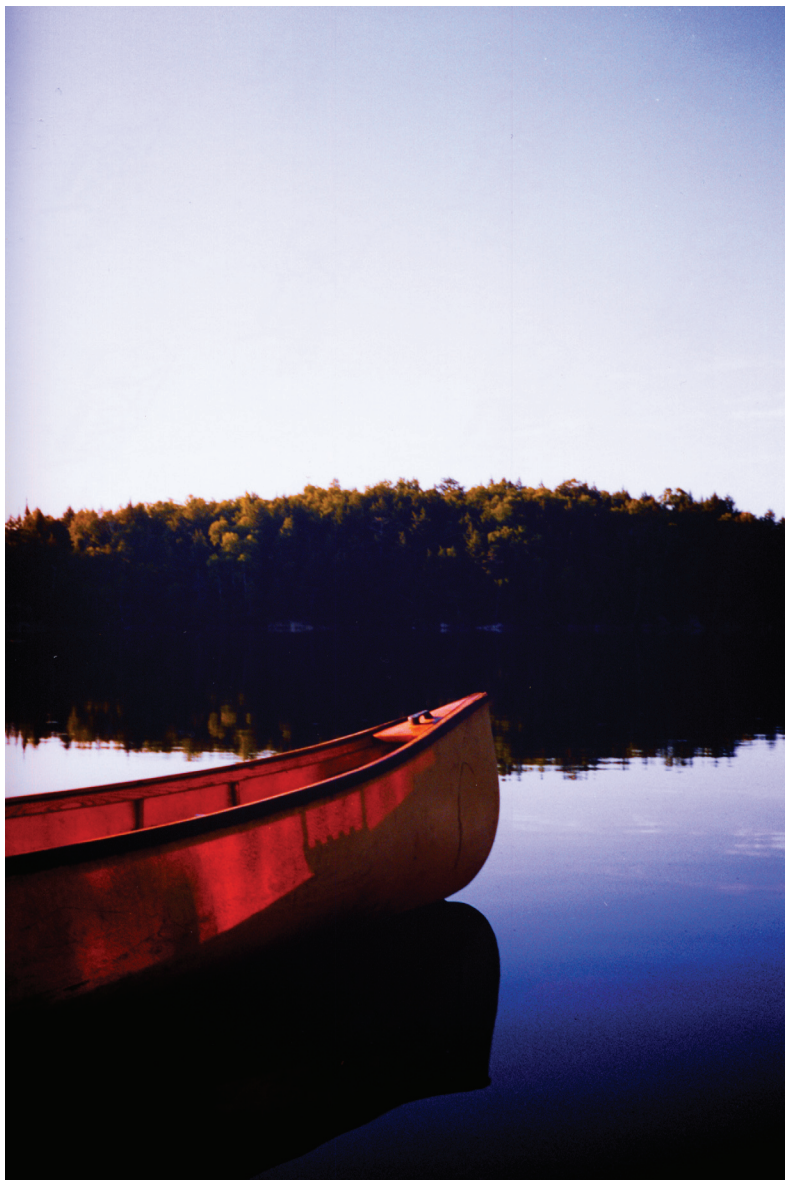
Lac Poisson Blanc, Québec -*Adam Laidlaw*

A Cat Impersonating a Koala- *Danny Morrison*

Silton, Saskatchewan -*Gina Senko*

Emblem at Ease -*John Kelsey*

Seasonal Serenity - *John Kelsey*

East - *Jamie Ross*

Devotion (Laura Secord) -*Gabrielle Poitras*

CREED AND CULTURE
Missionary Transcription of Cree and its Cultural Impact

Margherita Devine

British missionaries are curious colonial actors: in contrast with invading armies and the bureaucrats who subsequently governed the colonized regions, missionaries did not claim independent political sovereignty over the groups with whom they came into contact; rather, they came in the name of Christianity or under the auspices of a pre-existing colonial government. Moreover, missionaries often formed amicable relations with indigenous peoples, living among them and learning about their cultures. Although this cordial contact was intended as a step in the process of conversion, missionary cultural immersion is unique among colonial actors. In British Canada, the Protestant missionary agenda was ultimately to change native religious traditions and was part of the ideology of Christianity as a prerequisite to civilization.[1] Many of the ways in which missionaries altered indigenous lifestyles and traditions are well documented, from simple exposure to Christianity and Western culture to encouragement, most often coercion, to adopt Western clothing, medicine and agricultural practices. Yet one issue goes barely addressed in discussion of the missionary-indigenous point of contact: missionary transcription of indigenous languages. The indigenous languages of Canada were solely oral, and nearly all missions in Canada—French, English, Jesuit, Protestant—transcribed, with varying degrees of success, the languages of the peoples they were working with in order to translate the Bible, or other religious documents such as sermons, into the native language.

One of the most prominent and successful cases of missionary transcription is that of the Methodists and Plains Cree. In the nineteenth century, Methodism, a Protestant denomination founded in England by John Wesley, entered the intense competition for soul-saving taking place in North America. In 1840, Reverend James Evans, a Methodist minister, moved from his first post in Ontario to Norway House in Rupert's Land, (then Hudson's Bay Company land, and now Manitoba). The Cree speak an Algonquin language related to Ojibwe,[2] which Evans had learned during his time in Ontario, and at Norway House Evans created a syllabary[3] for the Cree spoken locally, which was later adapted for various other dialects. His syllabary was widely taught in the Cree community and adapted for other indigenous languages. It was so successful that it is still used today.

The simple act of transcription had wide-reaching implications.

Historians usually recognize the syllabary's effect on literacy rates, which reportedly increased rapidly to near one hundred percent in the Hudson's Bay region,[4] but do not delve beyond the tacit assumption that literacy is good because it facilitates easier communication, but is otherwise neutral. It is true that literacy promotes more standardization of education, but this is not the only standardization which occurs; transcription of a language and the subsequent development of literacy standardize that language, ossifying it in some senses. Language changes more slowly when written because there is a "correct" version to refer to. More importantly, though, historians have not acknowledged that the transition from a solely oral language to an oral language with a written version has cultural and political effects beyond the simple act of transcription. Transcription alters ways of conveying and recording information, and in societies, like that of the Plains Cree, in which oral history has been an important source of tradition and culture, the shift to written record-keeping has deep and wide-ranging effects. In the case of the Cree, the successful transcription of Cree and dissemination of syllabic literacy certainly aided missionaries in their conversions of the Cree, and thus increased the numbers of Cree who became entirely assimilated to Western life. Yet, for those who struggled, and indeed continue to struggle, with both Cree and Canadian identities, the transcription of Cree produced a paradox; it undoubtedly preserved the language, but in doing so perverted the oral tradition behind it. Cree words were maintained, but the fact of writing produced a tension between using Cree to express such traditions as narrative memory, and using Cree merely as an occasional alternative to English communication, resulting in the abandonment of Cree tradition.

In 1813, the Wesleyan Missionary Society was founded,[5] and beginning in the 1820's Methodists established missions among the Ojibwe in Ontario[6] before expanding to the Plains. The main indigenous people the Methodists came in contact with as they went westwards were the Cree, who lived in both Upper and Lower Canada in various settlements. The Plains Cree, whose land extended through Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta[7] were the main focus of their conversion efforts.[8] The Plains Cree had had some contact with the West—from the 1730's onwards they had functioned as intermediaries in the fur trade between Hudson's Bay officials and western tribes[9]— but they had not been the targets of missionary activity.

The central figure in the story of transcription of Cree is the Reverend
James Evans. Evans was born in 1801 in Hull, in southern England. His
father was captain of a merchant trade vessel in Europe, and Evans, who
had inherited an inclination towards the seas, worked as a sailor after
leaving school at fifteen. He began attending Methodist services around
this time and became a lay preacher in Hull before his family emigrated to
Quebec in 1820.[10] In either 1822 or 1823 (the date is not well documented),
Evans and his wife founded a mission at an Ojibwe settlement near Rice
Lake in Ontario. Evans spent the next ten or so years at different missions
in Ontario, and during this time he thought of ways to convey the Ojibwe
language in writing.[11] Literacy was a powerful tool in the missionary
arsenal. If indigenous peoples could become literate in English or in
their own languages, the Bible could be more easily dispersed among
communities. Moreover, the novelty of literacy was such that indigenous
peoples were often eager to read anything, and feeding this hunger with
Christian literature was an effective way to inject Christian ideas into
the community.[12] Missionaries assumed "primitive" peoples would have
primitive language, but ironically the languages they encountered were
far more complex than they ever expected.[13] Evans, seeking to transcribe
the Objibwe language, found the Roman alphabet woefully inadequate
for rendering the sounds in Algonquin languages. Perhaps inspired by
Sequoyah, the Cherokee leader who used a syllabary to successfully
transcribe Cherokee,[14] Evans turned to syllabic transcription. In 1841,
having been transferred to Norway House, he was able to create a syllabary
for Cree. Evans's fluency in Ojibwe was arguably the most important tool
he possessed in transcribing Cree. Because the two languages are related
and contain many of the same sounds Evans was able to learn Cree more
quickly and then apply his general linguistic prowess to the perfection of
the syllabary. Evans's syllabary was composed of "thirty six rotating shapes
grouped in nine sets of four elements, all of which could be augmented,
and their sounds changed, by the use of a number of accents."[15] This
system suited Cree phonetics, and moreover because it so well captured
the sounds of Algonquin languages, and other indigenous languages, it
could be (and certainly was) adapted to other dialects of Cree and to other
languages across Canada.[16] Less well known, but equally ingenious, was

Evans's invention of a Cree typeset and printing press for texts he printed on birch bark.[17] The Hudson's Bay Company was resistant to supporting Evans's printing operation, perhaps fearing that any resulting commerce would interfere with their monopoly. But, with funds from the Methodist Mission Society he was able to begin printing texts in Cree by 1847.[18]

It is important to remember, however, that Evans' syllabary was not solely responsible for English-Cree interchange. Interpreters, in particular, played a pivotal role in missionary projects. Some Native Cree-speakers learned English prior to the establishment of the Methodist missions because of the Hudson's Bay Company commercial activity in the region. Non-Natives in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company also acted as interpreters.[19] Missionaries who had either no prior knowledge of Native languages, or who were not as linguistically gifted as Evans, had to rely heavily on interpreters for their sermons. The Rundle Journals, the diaries of Robert Terrill Rundle (a missionary at Norway House), in particular reflect this dependency; he pithily states, "no interpreter so no Indian service."[20] Rundle's journals give excellent insight into the daily activities of the missionaries. He lists when there are English and Cree services (either separate or bilingual), and describes the sometimes tense task of negotiating relationships with interpreters. In one memorable instance, Rundle offends his interpreter with a remark he makes (although he does not mention what the remark is) and the interpreter refuses to interpret.[21] The role of such intermediaries is important to examine because so many sources from the period gloss over both the simple logistics of translation as well as the utter importance of cooperation of native groups. It is impossible to know, of course, but perhaps the interpreters infused their translations with things the missionaries did not intend, couching Christian ideas within the pre-existing spiritual framework or providing their own interpretations of the doctrine instead of translating word-for-word. This potential for innovation in translation is mitigated by the abilities of missionaries who knew the local languages and could check the meanings of the translated sermons, yet the prevalence of interpreters highlights the ambiguity in translation that so often goes unmentioned in the dialogue between missionaries and Crees. Christian concepts were not readily available in Cree, and so the process of translation of English into Cree

required the input of Native Cree speakers in addition to English speakers.

The interconnected activity of white missionaries and indigenous translators has led to some historical debate on the actual provenance of the Cree syllabary. Winona Stevenson, in her article "Calling Badger and the Symbols of the Spirit Language: the Cree Origins of the Syllabic System," argues that the Cree themselves invented the syllabary, and Evans merely appropriated the invention and passed it off as his own. Stevenson first presents the Cree oral tradition of where language came from. There are two recorded versions, one from 1930 recorded by David Mandelbaum, and one recorded by Verne Dunsenbury in 1959.[22] She writes:

> In all the oral accounts of the origins of the Cree syllabary it was told that the missionaries learned Cree syllabics from the Cree. In the Fineday [Mandelbaum's source] account Badger Call was told by the spirits that the missionaries would change the script and claim that the writing belonged to them. In the Raining Bird account the birch bark book with the teachings and Cree syllabary was stolen and taught to the missionaries who disregarded the spirit teachings, took the syllabary and claimed they invented it.[23]

Stevenson blames prevailing "colonialist discourse" as the reason why the Cree story is not taken seriously.[24] Confronted with the example of Sequoyah's Cherokee syllabary invention, Stevenson argues that it goes unquestioned and unappropriated by Westerners because it is well-documented by white sources; the Cree were different, she claims, because Cree schools prior to Evans were all concentrated in the Red River settlement, and so most Cree had no access to reading or writing of any kind.[25] Stevenson argues that the Cree were capable of developing writing independently. She quotes Verne Dunsenbery, who suggests that, "… the Cree might have developed their own written form—much as Sequoia did for the Cherokee—by what Kroeber calls 'stimulus diffusion.'"[26] As well, Stevenson points to the existence of petroglyph archetypes already in use in Cree communities as a kind of proto-literacy that make the leap to a full written language much more plausible.[27] Roger Burford Mason corroborates the existence of these petroglyph archetypes, stating that Cree used writing pre-contact "by

using pictoral symbols 'as a prompter to the memory of their old men.'"[28] Stevenson also argues that James Evans was not exposed to enough Cree to produce a high-quality syllabary. She writes that, "[Evans] continued to rely on interpreters for the duration of his time in Cree county…[he also used the] assistance of Chief Factor Donald Ross of the Hudson's Bay Company and his native wife."[29] Stevenson is not alone in challenging Evans's knowledge of Cree. Stan McKay, previous director of a centre for Indian studies in Winnipeg, also argues that Evans's Cree was limited.[30]

Although Stevenson provides some welcome skepticism in the historiography, and a much-needed Cree perspective on events, her arguments are unsound. Relying on some assistance from a fluent speaker in a language close to that which one is fluent in does not mean creating an orthography would be impossible, or even improbable. Moreover, there is a great deal of documentation available recording Evans's progression from attempts to use the Roman alphabet to his eventual full syllabary.[31] Evans was not ignorant of Algonquin languages and his knowledge of Ojibwe is difficult to question. In theory, Evans could have traversed Canada by the grace of Native intermediaries. Howevr, for the amount of time Evans spent in Ontario and the amount of ground he covered, engaging an interpreter at each and every location would have been a logistical near-impossibility.[32]

Having demonstrated that Cree literacy was externally introduced, we can now move to examine the cultural ramifications of its introduction. The results of transcription can be divided into two categories: first, the technical, historically objective changes in literacy rates, education initiatives, conversions to Christianity, and uses of English; second, the psychological aftermath.

All of the data we can glean about the years after transcription is from missionary or otherwise white, Western sources. The dearth of native perspectives is certainly problematic, and missionary sources should be read with a grain of skepticism; obviously, there was an incentive for missionaries to lie in reports and inflate the success of their missions, but it is tempered by the fact that their claims would have been easily verifiable. Moreover, some of the information is from personal journals never intended for public consumption, so the observations and statistics can be relied upon. Moreover with respect to their observations on Cree

literacy, these missionaries did not have a huge incentive to lie about Cree writing abilities; this again could be easily verified by superiors, and anyway, Indians were considered uncivilized, even savages, to them, so it would not have mattered if they were inferior in literacy as well.

First and foremost, white sources unanimously proclaim a rapid increase in literacy following the introduction of the syllabary. R.M. Ballantyne, a Scottish writer who was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company from 1841-1847, writes of a visit to Evans at Norway House:

> In due time I arrived at the parsonage, where I spent a pleasant afternoon in sauntering about the village, and in admiring the rapidity and ease with which the Indian children could read and write the Indian language by means of a syllabic alphabet invented by their clergyman. The same gentleman afterwards made a set of leaden types, with no other instrument than a penknife, and printed a great many hymns in the Indian language.[33]

Although Ballantyne's observation is a casual one, there seems no particular reason to doubt its accuracy, especially as Ballantyne himself had no missionary agenda. This point is corroborated by more scientific sources. J.W. Berry and J.A. Bennett, two linguists who have conducted studies on literacy in the modern Cree population, write, "At the turn of the century, Cree people had what was arguably one of the highest literacy rates in the world… the success of this script, its rapid transmission and nearly total penetration of the Cree-speaking population, took place without any… schools."[34]

The Cree syllabary spread all through Canada, both for dialects of Cree and other Algonquin languages, and other Amerindian language families. The British and Foreign Bible Society adopted the syllabary for Inuit, Chippewa, Moose, Monsonee and others,[35] and the syllabary is still used. Mason Burford writes, "Today, versions of Evans's enduring alphabet are still in use in newspapers, magazines, notices and ephemera published by and for Indian communities across Canada."[36] This enduring power of the syllabary speaks to how well suited this kind of alphabet is for First Nations languages, and how ingenious Evans's invention was—each denomination had been using its own makeshift scripts, but Evans's was so

superior that it became the standard, even among disparate denominations.

Although the Cree seem to have welcomed literacy with open arms, it is also worth highlighting how persistent missionaries were to make native groups literate. One such effort related to and helped by literacy, is that of education. Although schools did not play a major role in the spread of Cree literacy, in the sense that in Rupert's Land there were few schools, and the ones that did exist were small and somewhat crude, the Methodist missions were no different from other missions and believed in setting up schools as part of the "civilizing" process. Once able to set up schools, existent literacy proved a powerful tool in Westernizing the Cree. Rundle consistently agitates for a school during his time at Norway House. He writes, "What a pity there are no schools established!"[37] and tracks the potential for an "Indian School."[38] There must have been some sort of rudimentary schoolhouse because Evans taught children reading, writing, math and religion.[39] The more influential education movements came later, largely in the form of residential schools, in which literacy was the focal point of education. Reading and writing were part of "civilization" not just because white people read and wrote, although that certainly was part of the rhetoric surrounding education movements, but because being literate meant that one could read the Bible, and thus become a Christian. Moreover, English literacy was more easily facilitated by the introduction of Cree literacy—it was a small step to teaching Roman characters once the Cree were literate in their own language.

An increase in the use of both spoken and written English resulted from transcription itself, as well as the social changes it wrought. As contact between English speakers and Cree speakers increased, especially with the advent of residential schools whose draconian English-only language policies drilled the language into students' heads, it was inevitable that Cree speakers would learn English. As English Canada consolidated power through the Plains, English increasingly became the language of power, the language of government, the language of opportunity. Enterprising Cree needed to be able to communicate with English speakers; Cree speakers had learned English to work with the Hudson's Bay Company, but this was fur trading writ large. To a certain extent, the spread of English could have happened without Cree literacy, however the introduction of a writing

system enabled white Canadians to teach Crees the English writing system more easily—literacy in Cree enabled Cree schools, in which English was then introduced as part of the civilizing project of missionaries.

In discussion of the astounding rise in literacy and the education that reinforced, it is easy to forget that missionaries' most important goal was to convert the peoples with whom they came into contact: literacy reinforced the "civilizing" components of missionary activities, and aided conversion efforts. C.L. Higham writes,

> [To missionaries], civilization was synonymous with Christianity. As the missionaries entered the frontiers, they planned to convert the natives and to help them adopt Canadian and American societies' dress, habitation, manners and customs. This required the natives to renounce their own religions and civilizations.[40]

Conversion efforts were the primary goal, and these efforts were connected with their potential to undermine practices beyond religion; Christianity was a product of Western civilization, and if the Cree accepted it they would soon accept all of Western lifestyle. Missionary narratives repeatedly emphasize the connection between written texts and Western religion: Rundle writes that a young Cree convert became very upset "unless she imagined she *looked at* the Bible" [emphasis added].[41] This girl was not calmed by thinking of Jesus or the Heavenly Father, but by an image of the Bible. Christianity's ideas were powerful on their own, but the power of the written text was undeniable. Especially after transcription of their language, the Cree were exposed to a great deal of Christian material; services were held daily, and missionaries such as Rundle performed Christian marriages and baptisms frequently to accommodate the increase in conversions; in 1841 alone he reports 76 baptisms and eight marriages—out of a community no more than a few hundred, this is remarkable.[42] Internal support from Cree leaders further strengthened Christianity within the Cree community, and made the religion more easily integrated; John Webster Grant mentions the Cree chief Maskepetoon as someone who "would be [a] pillar of Methodism in later years [after the first mission was established]."[43] Conversion was, therefore, not just a "top-down" enterprise, and internal perpetuation of Christianity

was equally, if not more important than white missionary activity. The conversion of a chief would have increased the prestige of Christianity and strengthened relations between the Cree elite and the local missionaries.

It is not, however, entirely accurate to discuss the replacement of Native *religion* with Christianity. Just as missionaries stubbornly tried to apply Roman characters to Cree sounds, so too did they try to fit native belief systems neatly into their own concepts of organized religion. Rundle writes, "the Slave Indians [unconverted Cree] are gross idolators, having gods many and lords many."[44] Goody's framework of literacy producing standardization can be applied well to this instance. Because the Cree systems of belief acknowledged the power of many aspects of nature, the missionaries classified this as a form of paganism.[45] In the years after transcription, conversions to Christianity increased, and the missionaries were pleased. As John Maclean, a late nineteenth century biographer of Evans most pithily puts it, "Christianize and then civilize the Indians, was [Evans'] motto."[46]

In many, many cases, this "civilizing" project worked; several Cree completely Westernized, whether willingly or under duress (as in the case of residential school students). Not all Cree Westernized, however. The Canadian and American governments carved out reservations for the Cree in the Plains provinces and Montana, and some Cree continued to function within their traditional lifestyle. Yet, another segment of the population experienced something in between these two poles of conservatism and assimilation. Burford Mason gestures at the lives of Cree "living comfortably in both cultures,"[47] but it is unclear exactly what he means by this—clearly some Cree manage to retain aspects of both white Canadian and Cree cultures in their daily lives. But for Cree today, and generations before, how do they negotiate their oral traditions in a written world? In exploring the psychological, sociological aftermath of transcription, a paradox arises: the Cree language itself is preserved by writing, but the oral tradition it carries, ultimately incompatible with writing, becomes perverted by the act of writing itself.

The success of Evans's syllabary meant that schools and parishes often maintained written records of Cree; together with these records the syllabary has preserved the Cree language and has facilitated efforts to maintain and revive its regular use. Such preservation is, of course, somewhat artificial.

Transcription freezes the way it is spoken at the time it is transcribed by creating a "standard" to refer back to. Cree in particular, however, was not entirely ossified. Since missionaries did not consider it a respectable language to be taught for anything other than basic communication, their grammars were pragmatic guides to local groups. As a result, no attempt was made to impose dialectical standardization; rather missionaries modified the Plains Cree syllabary for Moose Cree, Cree-Ojibwe, and other related Algonquin languages.[48] The syllabary is an excellent system of writing *modern* Cree and makes teaching it in Canada much more viable as more Cree materials are available for study. As Alexander Chamberlain writes, "the acquisition of the ability to read and write their own language has been good and often led to the preservation of interesting material that would otherwise have perished altogether."[49] Steckley and Cummins also equate preservation with written records, noting that native languages are being "recorded frantically and taught in some fashion."[50] Preservation efforts involve classroom education, from nursery school to university, which combine conversation with written exercises and grammars.[51] These educational efforts require an orthography, thus it is clear that without the invention of some kind of writing to preserve Cree, it would not be one of the three Native languages linguist Michael Foster deemed most likely to survive in the English-speaking world in the near future;[52] significantly, the other two languages, Inuktitut and Ojibwe, are written as well.

While it is evident that that transcription greatly aided the preservation of the Cree language itself, some historians and activists argue that the way in which Cree was preserved damaged Cree oral tradition. Grant, for example, argues that the propagation of *religious* texts in the syllabary damaged oral tradition and "discouraged the emergence of native languages as instruments of secular culture."[53] Probing the incompatibility of oral culture and literacy is a difficult task; oral sources are obviously much harder to procure and an oral discussion can only be analyzed in transcribed and textual form. In order to look at the effects of literacy on narrative memory, we must turn to reflections from the latter part of the twentieth century. Assimilation efforts in the 19th and early 20th centuries stifled Cree perspectives, and it was not until after preserving minority cultures became fashionable in the mid-20th century that any Cree reflections on Cree identity became readily available.

The use of modern Cree sources raises several other methodological challenges. First, the writers are commenting on an event far removed from their lifetimes. Moreover, these writers, schooled in English, are already immersed in Western culture and so their perspectives cannot be taken as analogous to the perspectives of those who witnessed transcription and were immediately affected by it. As well, the oral history experienced by modern Cree is necessarily different than that experienced by their ancestors, since oral history *does* change over time, a process reflected in the changes in the Cree story for the origin of writing between the Fineday and Raining Bird transcribed accounts twenty years apart. Thus oral histories may have picked up new sentiments and tones well past the event of transcription. Therefore, probing them for immediate community reactions at the time of transcription is problematic. Nevertheless, modern Cree narratives are ultimately useful because the writers have made a conscious effort to preserve their traditions, and can explain these traditions as they have been passed down. Two modern Cree writers in particular offer insight into Cree views on transcription and orality in general. Winona Stevenson, in her article "Calling Badger and the Symbols of the Spirit Language: the Cree Origins of the Syllabic System," discusses the Cree history of the syllabary. Neil McLeod, in his article "Cree Narrative Memory," examines narrative memory itself, the role it plays in Cree culture, and the threats it faces in Canada today.

The most striking example of the paradoxical relationship between language and oral history appears in the story of the Cree origin of the writing system. In this tradition, Calling Badger reports that he has been to "the Fourth World, the spirit world, and there the spirit taught him many things… these symbols… [writing] were to be used to write down the spirit languages, and *for the Cree people to use to communicate among themselves*" [emphasis added].[54] Unlike the Methodist narrative, which emphasizes the importance of literacy for bringing the Cree into the Western way of life, the Cree story places its emphasis on Cree intra-community interaction and resistance to Western assimilation. Writing is not used as a way to become more Western, and it is not meant to be used as a bridge to read English—it is "for the Cree people to use to communicate among themselves." Stevenson writes, "In all the oral accounts of the origins of the Cree syllabary it was told that the missionaries learned Cree syllabics from

the Cree."[55] Abundantly clear in this origin tradition is resistance to the idea that whites gave the syllabary to the Cree, but more interesting is the spiritual conflict: the Fineday account states that whites "disregarded the spirit teachings" set forth by the Cree spirit-gods, "took the syllabary and claimed they invented it." [56] In these histories there is a tension between white writing and how it was used and the original mandate of writing and how the Cree wished it could have been used. The white perversion of writing was an unchangeable characteristic of literacy; no longer was Cree used for intra-community communication, foreshadowing the eventual spread of English, and no solution was offered as to how writing should be used to preserve spirit teachings as well as be a means of communication within the Cree community. Nowhere in the origin tradition is there a suggestion of using writing to preserve Creeness. In fact, in all writings about Cree narrative memory the two are in direct opposition of each other.

Cree narrative history can be divided into three rough categories: âtalohkâna ("legends"), tipâcimôwina ("stories, news, historical narratives")—into which the origin story of the syllabary best fits— and pâstâmowina ("speaking ill of sacred things").[57] Of paramount importance in the discussion of Cree oral tradition is the Nêhiyâwiwin, or "Creeness," a narrative memory passed down orally from Cree friends and family. In "Cree Narrative Memory," Neil McLeod, who is Cree himself, articulates the way in which the Nêhiyâwiwin works and what threatens it in the modern world.[58] He writes:

> Nêhiyâwiwin involves the spiritual world and dimensions of reality beyond the immediate world of physical experience. Nêhiyâwiwin is more than a collage of facts and dates, but rather is a living tradition which evolves through time as an organic process. People live the stories of Nêhiyâwiwin and are the vehicles of collective memory. Nêhiyâwiwin emerges from the individual lives that linger in the expanse of the collective memory … I want to explore Cree narrative memory and express the importance of Cree paradigms.[59]

McLeod's primary concern is that Cree people no longer care enough about

preserving story-telling now that their language is not being assaulted on a daily basis.[60] His implication is that when the Cree felt the desperate need to preserve their language during the 19th and early 20th centuries (the age of missions and residential schools), they made a concerted effort to preserve not only language but also tradition. Now, when language is secured through writing, attention is no longer paid to tradition. He too fails to offer a way to preserve Creeness within writing—implicit in his argument is that Creeness is fundamentally incompatible with recorded stories, and that when Cree writing merely conveys information it no longer preserves the essence of Cree culture. It makes sense that Nêhiyâwiwin cannot be adequately used if written down. McLeod writes:

> Cree narrative memory is more than simply an academic exercise in archiving information and sounds. Cree narrative memory is an ongoing attempt to find solutions to problems that we face today such as breakdowns of families, loss of language and a general loss of respect for ourselves and others.[61]

McLeod's attack on transcription itself is striking. By reducing it to "an academic exercise in archiving information and sounds," McLeod further delineates true Cree expression from Western attempts to capture the language. For McLeod, a modern Cree "true" culture and tradition cannot be found in writings—he turns to oral history in order to reassert his Cree identity. Moreover, the close association of "loss of language" with "loss of respect for ourselves and others" is curious in the context of writing; that which preserved the language is not revered but rejected, suggesting that the simple act of writing down Cree was hostile to the Cree psyche and culture.

McLeod not only subtly associates Cree writing with Westernization, he explicitly connects narrative memory with the struggle to maintain a Cree identity in a Western world. He writes, "Part of our tribal identities means the preservation of language. This is absolutely essential if a culture is to survive on its own terms."[62] Yet again McLeod does not acknowledge a potential permanent solution to preserving Cree using writing. Instead he states that, "perpetuating culture exclusively in books will lead to the downfall of 'Creeness.'"[63] Books are overwhelming; they are the West, they

are the colonizers, and the preservation of Cree by books is an unsustainable arrangement. When he mentions formal education, he equates it not with a hybrid identity, or a viable future for Cree, but with speaking Cree poorly.[64] For McLeod, oral history is identity, and uncompromisable: "Cree narrative memory is a living power that Cree people need in order to know who they are."[65]

The strong preference for orality as an expression of Creeness is found not only in McLeod's bold statements, but in his very word choices. He writes,

> Much of the history written about Cree people has been written by people outside the Cree culture. Sometimes so-called experts really have no appreciation of tribal knowledge. They often write from a secular point of view and in the name of objectivity but often do not reflect how their own viewpoint could distort the emergence of truth. While some songs and other religious matters should perhaps not be talked about directly in the classroom, we should aware of and stress the importance that they have for Nêhiyâwiwin.[66]

Reading this passage as a primary source of modern Cree expression, McLeod's biases against writing emerge. When he criticizes historiography, he makes clear that the transgressors "write," but when he mentions people learning about actual Cree culture, he switches from "written about" to "talked about." He again betrays his contempt for Creeness in writing when he writes of a university symposium, "The rows of tables stood still as faces looked coldly from the printed page to vaguely interested gazes of the crowd, all of which were punctuated by people leaving the room. Yet no one laughed that day. I think that Wîsakêcâhk [the Cree concept of a "trickster," or change and flux in life] would have been laughing that day at the irony."[67] Creeness is not meant to be in the classroom, it does not flourish in the echoes of colonial schooling. And therein lies the paradox: the only viable means of preservation, writing, is anathema to the spirit of Creeness.

What the future holds for Cree language and culture is unclear. Perhaps language revival will have the same success as other contemporary minority language efforts, such as Welsh in Wales, and become a viable means of everyday communication in Canada. Or perhaps, as is so often

the case, future generations will see their language wither and die in favour English, which has so much power and prestige attached to it. Culture's fate is even more ambiguous. Though language teachers and Cree activists have successfully put native history and cultural studies in the classroom, the incompatibility of Western education and true Cree culture seems to stand in the way of a permanent solution. But the Cree are but resilient; after years of brutal treatment at the hands of the Canadian government, in the form of residential schools and poorly cared for reserves, the Nêhiyâwiwin persists. Negotiating a Native Canadian identity in a post-colonial world is not a simple task, but through oral history, and even alongside writing, modern Cree find their identity. As McLeod writes, "Stories held in language give us voice."[68]

Endnotes

1   C.L Higham, *Noble, Wretched and Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in the United States, 1820-1900*, Albuquerque (University of New Mexico Press: 2000), 11.

2   Steckley and Cummins, 23.

3   A syllabary, in contrast with English's (and nearly all Western languages') phonetic representation of speech, divides words not into individual phonemes but into syllables— for example, the word "baby," which is English is represented by "b," "a," "b," "y," in Cree would have two basic symbols for the two syllables, marked with smaller marks (called "diacritics") which indicate the vowels. Evans's syllabary had a set of basic symbols which could be modified depending on the vowels which preceded the.

4   Alexander F. Chamberlain, "Acquisition of Written Language by Primitive Peoples," *The American Journal of Psychology*, vol. 17.1 (69-80: 1906), 71; see also Steckley and Cummins, 38.

5   Higham, 22.

6   John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1985) 76.

7   David G. Mandelbaum, *The Plains Cree: An Ethnographic, Historical and Comparative Study*, (Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, 1979) 13.

8   It is worth noting that missionaries had been a consistent presence in Canada and America since the early 17th century, when Jesuit missionaries established posts in Quebec (Higham, 13); Anglicans and several English Dissenter denominations, notably the Puritans, followed throughout the century (Higham, 13). Strictly non-governmental interaction between indigenous peoples and Britons was not limited to missionary activity; in 1670, the Hudson's Bay Company received a

charter from the British Crown, and Charles II gave this British company not only a trade monopoly in the region but also general rights to the land (John L. Steckley and Bryan D. Cummins, *Full Circle: Canada's First Nations*, Toronto, Prentice Hall, 2001, 119). This allowed many missionaries to follow the paths set by Hudson's Bay employees, and spread further west—Canada was full of missionaries of different denominations who often vied against each other to convert indigenous peoples. As Roger Burford Mason puts it, "In most of Upper Canada, Indians settled in any given place or area had the choice of at least two or three denominations of Christianity" (Roger Burford Mason, *Travels in the Shining Island: The Story of James Evans the Invention of the Cree Syllabary Alphabet*, Toronto, Natural Heritage Books, 1996, 5).

9   Alan D. McMillan and Eldon Yellowhorn, *First Peoples in Canada*, (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 2004) 157.

10   Roger Burford Mason, *Travels in the Shining Island: The Story of James Evans the Invention of the Cree Syllabary Alphabet*, (Toronto, Natural Heritage Books, 1996) 1-3.

11   Roger Burford Mason, "The Sound of Innovation: James Evans' Syllabic Alphabet," *Queen's Quarterly 101.4* (1994): 848-853, 850.

12   Ibid., 851 on the textual voracity of literate Crees.

13   Higham, 63. Note also that complexity of languages often correlates with illiteracy—if there is no standardized language, linguistic innovation becomes more commonplace and regional variance is starker.

14   Steckley and Cummins, 37. There is good reason to believe that Evans was exposed to the idea of a syllabary during his time at the Ojibwe missions.

15   Roger Burford Mason, "The Sound of Innovation: James Evans' Syllabic Alphabet," *Queen's Quarterly 101.4* (1994): 848-853, 850-1.

16   Ibid., 853.

17   Ibid., 851.

18   Ibid., 852.

19   Robert Terrill Rundle, a missionary who worked under Evans at Norway House, hired James Bird, a man who was either white or of mixed ethnicity, as his main interpreter. Rundle, xxiv.

20   Ibid., 35.

21   Ibid., 73.

22   Winona Stevenson, "Calling Badger and the Symbols of the Spirit Language: The Cree Origins of the Syllabic System," *Oral History Forum 19-20* (1999-2000): 19-24, 20-1.

23   Ibid., 21.

24   Ibid.

25   Ibid., 23-4.

26   Ibid., 22.

27   Ibid., 24.

28   Roger Burford Mason, *Travels in the Shining Island: The Story of James Evans the*

Invention of the Cree Syllabary Alphabet, (Toronto, Natural Heritage Books, 1996) 9.

29   Stevenson, 19-20.

30   Roger Burford Mason, *Travels in the Shining Island: The Story of James Evans the Invention of the Cree Syllabary Alphabet*, (Toronto, Natural Heritage Books, 1996) 56.

31   Ibid., 12-13; Fred Landon, "Letters of Rev. James Evans, Methodist Missionary, Written During his Journey to and Residence in The Lake Superior Region, 1838-39," *Ontario Historical Society 28* (1932): 47-70.

32   Perhaps the competing claim is an attempt to situate writing within Cree history—it does not appear to have any objective historical merit, but it is an important part of the sociological aftermath of transcription, which I will take up later in the paper.

33   R.M. Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay, or, Every-day Life in the Wilds of North America: During Six Years' Residence in the Territories of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company*, Early Canadiana. Online, http://canadiana.org/record/63456 (Accessed 10/27/08), 1848,130.

34   John W. Berry and J.A. Bennet, *Cree Syllabic Literacy: Cultural Context and Psychological Consequences*, (Tilburg, Tilburg University Press, 1991), 12.

35   Roger Burford Mason, "The Sound of Innovation: James Evans' Syllabic Alphabet," *Queen's Quarterly 101.4* (1994): 848-853, 853.

36   Roger Burford Mason, *Travels in the Shining Island: The Story of James Evans the Invention of the Cree Syllabary Alphabet*, (Toronto, Natural Heritage Books, 1996) xvii.

37   Rundle, 87.

38   Ibid., 86.

39   Roger Burford Mason, *Travels in the Shining Island: The Story of James Evans the Invention of the Cree Syllabary Alphabet*, (Toronto, Natural Heritage Books, 1996) 49, 51-2.

40   Higham, 11.

41   Rundle, 28.

42   Ibid., xxxiii.

43   Grant, 146.

44   Rundle, 266.

45   They did not appreciate that, without writing to codify their beliefs, the spiritual observances of the Cree may not have been standardized. Many "converts" to Christianity may have felt that Christian beliefs were compatible with their own practices and practiced a hybrid religion; for instance, although Rundle records great numbers of converts, the actual number of people who attended services throughout the year fluctuates wildly.

46   John Maclean, *James Evans, Inventor of the Syllabic System of the Cree Language*, Early Canadiana Online, http://canadiana.org/record/30336 (Accessed 10/26/08), 1890, 35.

47   Roger Burford Mason, *Travels in the Shining Island: The Story of James Evans the Invention of the Cree Syllabary Alphabet*, (Toronto, Natural Heritage Books, 1996) 59.

48   The linguist Max Weinreich famously joked that a language is a dialect with an army and a navy; there is no clear consensus on the delineation between dialect and language. I am loosely using "dialect" and "language" here—the different related Algonquin languages called "Cree" could easily be called both languages and dialects—languages because they are not all mutually intelligible, dialects because they are all related.

49   Alexander F. Chamberlain, "Acquisition of Written Language by Primitive Peoples," *The American Journal of Psychology*, vol. 17.1 (1906): 69-80, 79.

50   Steckley and Cummins, 32.

51   Ibid., 32-3.

52   Ibid.

53   Grant, 111-112.

54   Stevenson, 20-1.

55   Ibid., 21.

56   Ibid.

57   Steckley and Cummins, 2-5.

58   McLeod, 37.

59   Ibid.

60   Ibid., 37-8.

61   Ibid., 38.

62   Ibid., 39.

63   Ibid., 57-8.

64   Ibid., 40.

65   Ibid., 51.

66   Ibid., 43.

67   Ibid., 53.

68   Ibid., 57.

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THE SABREVOIS MISSION
Finding a Place in Canadian History

Tess Lanzarotta

The intention of the British to assimilate the French Canadian population of Lower Canada is one of the most infamous and contentious elements of Canada's history. The propositions of the Durham Report famously and publicly declared this intention and it is surely important for historians to remember the implications of such a statement and the attempts to homogenize the various populations of Canada that were motivated by these statements. Unfortunately, this issue has become so politically relevant to contemporary Canadian society and so emotionally charged that there is a tendency among historians to try and fit all things pertaining to French/English relations into the framework of assimilation attempts and the struggle for the survival of a purely French Québécois culture. The various evangelical and educational societies of the Anglican Church are frequently placed within this stream of historiography.

The Colonial Church and School Society[1] worked to provide education with a religious emphasis, practice evangelism and maintained missions that were directly and openly targeted at the conversion of French Canadians. Alan Hayes writes that one such mission, Sabrevois, was seen so negatively that "this activity appalled many Anglicans, not least the two successive bishops who had to deal with most of it. They thought it politically unwise and logically indecent," and proclaimed that it was born out of the minds of evangelical Anglicans who saw the French Canadians as "a population large enough that it could not be eliminated by force, but perhaps…could be assimilated."[2] These statements, and this particular conventional stream of historiography, portray the Anglican missions as efficient and powerful forces at work in the name of assimilation who shocked people with their tactics. However, the Colonial Church and School Society, and in particular the Sabrevois mission, do not fit into this false paradigm. They were small, struggling organizations that tried desperately to keep the Anglican faith alive in communities that were overwhelmingly dominated by the Catholic Church presence.

The Sabrevois mission in particular can be seen in the context of a larger educational emphasis in the Anglican Church and was regarded as an available opportunity for French Catholics to receive an education, rather than a vessel for a disguised political agenda. The missions were started and maintained in the name of Anglicanism,

but not in the name of anglicizing. The Colonial Church and School Society (hereafter called the CCSS) and the Sabrevois mission focused on the promotion of education and Anglicanism, and in no way sought to linguistically homogenize the population of Lower Canada; in fact they saw the potential for a Francophone Anglican community that could harmoniously coexist with the Anglophone Anglican community.

The Sabrevois mission was established through the charity of the Christie family. William Plenderleath Christie was the recognized, but illegitimate son of Gabriel Christie, a general who came to Montreal in 1759, and his mistress Rachel Plenderleath. William Plenderleath agreed to adopt the name Christie, and thus, in 1835, inherited large tracts of land at Lacolle, Beajeau, Noyan, Repetigny, Bleury, and Sabrevois. This inherited property and the considerable wealth he inherited, placed him among the protestant landowning elite.[3] He helped found the French Canadian Mission Society in 1839.[4] Christie then declined working with the organization because he felt that aggressive evangelizing (the common practice of this society), was excessively confrontational and conflicted with his view that charity should be the primary means of conversion.[5] His involvement in the Anglican Church also included financing the building of Trinity Chapel, an impressive Gothic structure intended to house Montreal's only Anglican parish, and patronage to the mission school run by Henriette Feller.[6]

Henriette Feller, a Swiss woman, started the first French Protestant mission in Lower Canada in 1835 at Grand-Ligne. She took advantage of the lack of schooling in the area by teaching both Catholic and Protestant children; she eventually converted nearly 20 Catholics to Protestantism.[7] Her work was soon diminished by emigration, and attacks by anti-Protestant demonstrators.[8] Despite these setbacks, William Christie viewed her work very positively and she was one of his inspirations in the founding of the French Canadian Mission Society, and later, in Amelia Christie's creation of the Sabrevois Mission.[9][10]

The death of William Christie in 1845 cut off much of Feller's patronage, and cut short Christie's own visions for the future of French Canadian evangelism.[11] He very much supported attempts to expose Catholics to the "true faith", but his respect for their determination to maintain their faith and his own belief in philanthropic methods

had prevented him from making any aggressive moves in his lifetime. His wife, Amelia Bowman Christie, knew of his hopes and her devotion to him and her own faith inspired her to continue his work.[12]

The Christie's would become closely tied to the CCSS. In 1848 Mrs. Christie started the Sabrevois mission near what is now Iberville in the Richelieu Valley as a schoolhouse, run mostly by her own financial contributions and those of the school's administration. The CCSS professed a great amount of gratitude to her for this initiative and proclaimed in published documents in 1854 "a great work cannot fail to be accomplished there among the French Canadians".[13]

On February 23, 1861 she gave up all control over the society when she donated, "the tract or parcel of land of irregular shape being parts of lots numbers thirty-two and thirty-three of the first concession of the Seigniery of Sabrevois in the country aforesaid [Iberville] …together with a stone church, parsonage, and other buildings thereon erected," to the Corresponding Committee of the Colonial Church and School Society of Montréal.[14] Mrs. Christie's willingness to donate her property can be partially credited to her desire to fulfill her husband's wishes, but also to the fact that she had no descendents to support, as well as a longing of her own to find a place within the elite protestant Anglophone tradition of female charity that was flourishing in Lower Canada during the 19th century.[15]

In 1857, the Ladies' Association of the CCSS pledged to make the French Canadian mission it sole priority, to provide books and furniture, and to serve as teachers and missionaries when possible. Mrs. Christie was appointed the vice-president of this organization.[16] She also continued to support the mission financially; the annual report for the Sabrevois mission of 1857 thanks her specifically and credits her assistance with the growing reputation of the mission.[17] Along with support from private donors like Amelia Christie, the CCSS was managed by a committee in Britain who likely saw it as a part of their operations of spreading the gospel to the peripheries of colonial control.[18]

Control from Britain made the society's beginnings difficult, as the prominent local Anglican clergy treated it with suspicion and hostility. For example, George Jehoshaphat Mountain and Francis Fulford, Bishops of Quebec and Montreal respectively, saw the CCSS as undermining local

authority.[19] Many clergymen were immediately opposed to its operations and refused to support it because of its evangelical nature—evangelizing was an activity strongly associated with the Catholic Church.[20] They would ease their opposition somewhat after the society gained the support, or at least the toleration, of the leaders of the Anglican Church.

Mountain, who had come to Québec in 1793 at the age of four, was a moderate Anglican but one with a lifelong passion for education and the creation of Diocesan unity. He was intolerant of other denominations and some of the greatest animosity he expressed was in 1810 when he proclaimed that he wanted bells for Christ Church Cathedral to provide, "equal power of annoyance," because the "Catholic neighbours" were interrupting his service.[21] He was, however, someone who had lived and traveled in Canada and recognized the importance of overcoming the obstacles of unity and communication in the colony. Paired with his desire to see the Anglican faith flourish it is likely these beliefs that warmed him up to the CCSS, which professed that one of its goals was to be able to work harmoniously with other diocesan organizations.[22]

Francis Fulford, who had become the bishop of Montreal in 1850, participated in the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel when he lived in Britain, and thus was familiar with evangelical organizations. He insisted on making himself president of the Montreal branch of the society in order to ensure that it would not conflict with his authority. He supported the society because he felt strongly that the Anglican Church should be ministering to the French and in the French language.[23] On a practical level, his involvement in the society was limited.[24] However, he too was fairly moderate and opposed to aggressive evangelizing; he wanted to include the French in the Anglican Church, but without creating animosity or further dividing society. It would seem that in his own life he did not inspire French animosity because upon his death "the tolling of the great bell of the Anglican Cathedral was answered by the tolling of the roman Catholic Church of Notre-Dame…many gentlemen of French descent were noticed in the procession which followed his remains to the grave."[25]

The Colonial Church and School Society was viewed with some suspicion upon its founding, but was given the support of prominent and moderate Anglican clergy and investors from the protestant

elite. Its first meetings notes were published in the Gazette giving thanks for donations of books and professing its optimism for the future.[26] The organization seems to have been treated, at worst as fairly innocuous, and at best as a positive cause to be supported. As a result, it is worth examining why it has been assumed to be part of a history of assimilation and subjugation along linguistic and religious lines.

The vast majority of people living in Lower Canada in the mid 19th century were Catholics. The Anglican population hovered steadily around 10%, while the Catholic population maintained about 73%.[27] Despite the fact that the much of the poor population of Lower Canada were Anglican within Montreal, "the city was dominated by an Anglophone and Protestant elite."[28] The Church of England had also spent much of the early to mid 18th century struggling with French and Native conversion attempts in Acadia.[29] Although the French dominated in numbers, the British dominated in power and this was a secret to no one. The intention to convert Catholics was obvious and the British were still very much convinced that Catholics would eventually be persuaded by their more pure gospel.[30] The British were also keenly aware of the fact that loyalty to Anglicanism could be helpful in ensuring that their new French subjects stayed loyal to them.[31]

Outside of the larger political discourse on assimilation, there was a stream of assimilatory dialogue running through the rhetoric of the Anglican Church in Canada. The French Canadian Mission Society, although short-lived and largely unsuccessful, had made its beliefs with regard to denominational and linguistic assimilation known.[32] In 1764, the Reverend John Brooke of Quebec in a letter to the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel wrote that he believed someone with "purity of diction" could "attract Catholics" in Lower Canada because among the French Canadians, "Priests and people are less bigoted than those from Old France."[33] Even more blatant is the 1790 memo written by the Bishop of Nova Scotia lamenting that Protestants were converting to Catholicism faster than the inverse and that Protestants were being forced to meet during the intervals of Catholic service on Sundays.[34]

The Bishop's brilliant interpretation of this problem was French Canadian misunderstanding of the superiority of Anglicanism. He thought that, "knowledge of the English language would make the

Canadians better subjects and enlighten their mind."[35] Of course, the fact that in 1783, Rev. John Doty wrote to the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel to report that he could only remember four French Anglican sermons performed in the previous four years implies that not only would English enrich the French Canadian mind, it would also facilitate the Anglican clergy's proselytizing of their faith. [36]

French Canadians and the French language were an obstacle to the propagation of sound doctrine in the eyes of some clergy during the 18th century. Despite legislation to the contrary, it seems that tolerance of Catholicism was viewed as more of a temporary obstacle, one spattered with "infinite tenderness for their prejudices."[37] Despite this underlying contempt, the Anglican Church and the Catholic Church were still fairly closely related; to state the obvious, they were both Christian faiths. The British felt that certain dogmas had ruined Church unity but had not lost all hope that it could be remedied.[38] As after all, the Anglican Church was publishing newspaper reports in Lower Canada stating that the Anglican Church had converted 60,000 Roman Catholics in Europe.[39] Where these numbers come from or who these Catholics were is never mentioned, but suffice to say, the magnitude of the number was the critical message.

The idea of Church unity is present throughout the reports of the Diocese in the 1860's, but it comes in the form of expression of a brotherly sentiment towards Catholics - or at least of a complete lack of animosity. French Catholics are never singled out for assimilation and the 1861 report requests the extension of French Canadian missions, but lists them among the missions to Native people, German immigrants, and the "interesting" communities of fugitive slaves.[40] The Sabrevois mission is not even directly mentioned, and the idea of French Canadian missionary work is just one among many, with no one in particular being represented as overwhelmingly important. The Catholic Church is never overtly condemned, but rather references are made to its doctrinal weaknesses.[41] Catholics are viewed as confused brothers.[42]

This idea is further enforced by the stories in the Church Chronicle of the Diocese of Montreal of the massacres in Syria wherein, "there is no discrimination made by the infuriated Moslems between papist and protestant Christians; all alike suffer."[43] There is an inherent reminder

in these tales that all Christians are followers of similar doctrines, are similarly persecuted, and should feel some affinity and sympathy for each other. The earlier mention of Francis Fulford's funeral procession seems to confirm that this spirit was alive and well in Lower Canada.

In 1860, the Chambly Mission Report stated that, "we shall be induced to labour each year, with increased earnestness for that branch of the Holy Catholic Church, in which our lot has been cast, and in which like a city on a hill, stands alike admirable for the purity of its orders, the mildness of its ecclesiastical discipline, and the venerable simplicity and solemn dignity of its public worship."[44] A report from the previous year in Bledford Parish laments that French and Irish Catholics are buying the farmland of the Protestant population, who are emigrating South.[45] Of much greater concern, however, were the Americans who were immigrating and who "[had] no sense of religious obligation, and who [paid] no attention to the worship of God, and [had] no regard for the Sabbath."[46]

Overall, the Sabrevois Mission and the CCSS factor very little into the Church Chronicle of the Diocese of Montreal, the overwhelming emphasis is on the overseas missions of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel. This Society receives pages of mention each issue, in comparison to sporadic side notes for Sabrevois and the Canadian Church Historical Society. The first direct report from Sabrevois that appears in the Church Chronicle for the Diocese of Montreal in 1861, and it complains about the weather preventing the growth of their numbers, which have stagnated, and reports that to keep people interested in Monday night prayer sessions, they read aloud from the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel reports to ensure that everyone is aware of the global successes of the Anglican church.[47]

After this report, Sabrevois is only mentioned secondhand in reports from the Sorel mission, which donated money to it because of its "vast, arduous, and most important field of labour."[48] In fact the vast majority of the parishes in the 13th reports resemble statements such as, "We have no special work on hand this year," or "There is nothing new or of an exciting character to report from this parish," implying that the work in local parishes was not particularly interesting, or dynamic in any way.[49]

Overall, although the Diocese of Montreal regularly proclaimed the importance of education, and at various times refers to a desire to have

French services and obtain French missionaries from overseas, there is little evidence to suggest that any of these desires gave any weight to the CCSS or the Sabrevois Mission. The CCSS was not part of any great diocesan effort at assimilation, perhaps in part because the Diocese of Montreal dedicated much of its time to writing reports announcing that it had no money or clergymen.[50]

The CCSS never hid its own personal agenda to convert Catholics. Its first published report stated, "if the Roman Catholics can be brought to study [Anglicanism], then your work is done," and also professed its desire to have an "army" of missionary and clergy.[51] But these statements do not show a desire for "assimilation" in the sense of an exclusively English society, on which Canadian history has tended to focus. On the contrary; the evidence from the documents of the CCSS paint a picture of a small-scale, but determined, organization struggling to survive and obtain resources for the provision of education above all else; education in both English and French to a willing and welcoming population.

The 1857 report of the Colonial Church and School Society noted that Sabrevois was in the process of building a new schoolhouse because the numbers of students were increasing and attendance at services had become very large. The report also echoes the great difficulty of finding clergymen, and the need for an increase in support from the Bishops and Parents Society in England.[52] There is also mention of their association with the Normal School at McGill which they hoped would "keep interest alive" for their cause in Montreal.[53] This statement, paired with their need for funding and the previously described lack of attention the mission received in the Diocesan reports, implies that the CCSS was well aware that their interests did not factor highly on the priority list of the Montreal Diocese.

The report also emphasizes that Sabrevois was being sought out by the French population and that although they see "elements of disunion" in the population of the colony, their policy was "God forbid we should fan the flame of discord."[54] There is clearly little that can be interpreted as aggressive in the nature of this society and its intentions.

The 1858 Sabrevois Mission report stated, "the Lord Bishop of Montreal and ourselves are inquiring for a French missionary to work at Sabrevois in the place of Mr. Williamson. The gentlemen who he suggests for this sphere is a Mr. M--Our difficulty is to find out all that

should be known before proceeding to any definite arrangements with him."[55] As a measure of precaution they also considered looking to their own training school in the hope that some students had reached the level necessary and were interested in taking the position.[56]

The mission staff emphasized that their desire to employ a French-speaking missionary and educator came from French demands to read and learn the scripture in French and because they could not "refuse to give the hand of fellowship to those who had already joined their fold."[57] Again the claims emphasized that the French had sought them out and the Mission cited a Mr. Roy who had paid for the fencing-in of their cemetery as evidence of the French community's support for the mission. The report also proudly proclaims that the boys at the French Training School (which was located at Saint-Jean, but intended for Sabrevois, until a lack of available land forced its relocation) were bilingually proficient and that two had become communicants of the church.[58]

The Sixth Report of the Colonial Church and School Society in 1859 sheds some light on the goals of Sabrevois and the CCSS overall. On the topic of education the report states, "the reading of the Bible in the schools is not enough. The teaching the letter of scripture will not satisfy, the whole instruction must be pervaded with sound doctrine." There was certainly a religious goal within the educational goal and that must not be forgotten. But the latter seems to have been the primary one: the educational goals of the CCSS seem to have been more successful and more often reported on. The school at Sabrevois was, in 1859, reported to be under the instruction of a Mr. Roy, who came from the training school. Evidently, the plan of finding an applicant from within the community was followed and the idea of an overseas missionary fell through.[59]

Interestingly, the report also expressed a desire for a girl's school because French women had offered to be trained as teachers. This shows that Sabrevois was truly attempting to broaden its operations as much as possible.[60] The CCSS seemed to feel like they were granting a privilege to the French population.[61] This belief may, in fact, have been less self-aggrandizing than it sounds. Protestant education covered a broad curriculum of math and social sciences, despite being heavily based on the indoctrination of values and religion. They also did not emphasize

the English language as a necessity, because the priority was a value-based, rather than language-based community education program.[62]

During the 19th century there were requests for the establishment of government schools by both the French and English communities, which sometimes were met and sometimes were not. [63] Even in areas where there were only Protestant schools, there are records that French families attended these, although it is unclear if this was done because of the quality of education, or because Protestants had a monopoly on education in the area.[64]

The Church of England schools were important to the dwindling population of Anglicans in the mid 19th century, especially because most of the Protestant communities were contained within larger Catholic communities.[65] In 1850, 35 of 430 school boards were non-Catholic, and 25 of the 35 were Protestant schools in Catholic communities.[66] Examples include the school at Joliette where the Protestant school board kept minutes in French, and l'Acadie where a significant number of French chose the Protestant school despite the fact that it was more expensive.[67] L'Acadie is listed as having 40 students in 1858, almost twice as many as Sabrevois in 1862, when it had 21 students.[68]

Both Catholics and Protestants attended Henriette Feller's school, l'École Grand-Ligne, but it is known to have had a monopoly.[69] Still, l'Acadie and Sabrevois were under the administration of the CCSS, taught their students in French, and seem to have become popular within the local communities. This popularity among French Catholics shows that an Anglican education was likely valued for more than its religious doctrine, and the CCSS was providing a service that was indeed a fortunate privilege for those who lived in the area.

The Colonial Church and School Society, and the Sabrevois mission, seem to have been making a genuine effort to find a place within the French community, rather than blend the French community into the Protestant Anglophone community.[70] A major obstacle, however; was the inability to find teachers. The parochial schools were financed by private donation, support from England, the Montreal Diocese, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and other Organizations like the British North America Society for Educating the Poor, but money could not fill the void of educated people willing to teach and preach.[71] The solution to

this problem can probably be credited, at least in part, to the determination of the CCSS to find teachers within its own system. Mr. Roy, the teacher from Sabrevois, had himself lived at l'Acadie and Sabrevois, and attended their schools after, so the story goes, reading the bible and deciding that Catholic doctrine did not correspond well with it.[72] It seems the system fostered by the Colonial Church and School Society was able to meet its needs from within, which was no small accomplishment in a place where clergy, and people in general, were fairly scarce.

The later years of Sabrevois show it becoming even more oriented towards the French community; by outright forbidding the entry of Anglophone students if they would fill spots that Francophones sought to occupy. The Reports from Sabrevois show that the mission was proud that it was providing a solid basic education and allowing French and English boys and girls to go to university. This is a strikingly egalitarian statement in terms of attitude towards the treatment of the French and English communities.[73]

Of course, the school still had its religious bases, and pronounced that "it is now an indisputable fact that French Protestantism is established in this province."[74] This goal in no way suggests that any other changes have been made, or were ever intended to be made, to the status or nature of the French community. In fact, this statement of success does not seem to be given as much emphasis as the "valuable opportunity to learn French that has been offered to English schools."[75] Because the use of English was discouraged at Sabrevois, it could keep the English students out of the Jesuit schools and convents where, "so many of them annually go to study French." The admittance of Anglophone students was only allowed if there was room for them at Sabrevois, because French students were the priority and, in order to reflect this prioritization, English students were required to pay attendance fees that the French students were not.[76]

These final statements from the records of Sabrevois truly cement its role in the fields of education and preaching, but also show the importance it gave to tolerance in its operations. As Robert Merrill Black says, "this specifically Anglican mission, while evangelical in origin and support, was in tone balanced, discreet, and quiet."[77] There may have been a larger framework for assimilation politically, and there certainly was some desire and dialogue to that accord within the Anglican

Church, but the CCSS does not seem to have been a participated in it.

The Anglican Church was not large or threatening to the Catholic population on its own, and its agenda was moderated by clergymen who were opposed to the evangelical tradition and by charitable organizations which appear to have had honest intentions. Furthermore, institutions like Sabrevois were of little importance to the Diocese of Montreal, they were local operations, and while they profess the importance of their work, nowhere do the reports refer to any delusions that the missions were important in the larger framework of Anglican conversion initiatives in the global or even national sense.

The Colonial Church and School Society viewed Catholics as confused brethren, in need of the opportunity for guidance and education, should they want to take it. They sought to find acceptance by the French, and to create a unique French Anglican community, but in no way desired the assimilation of the French community into the larger Anglican community in a linguistic sense, and recognized that both English and French speaking Anglican communities could exist and work together. In fact, they valued the French language highly enough to encourage English students to learn it and to dedicate incredible amounts of time to ensuring that the gospel was available to be read and taught in French.

It is unfortunate that this piece of history has been portrayed so inaccurately. It could be, and probably should be, viewed as a positive development for French/English relations, however small-scale the operations were. It is disappointing that it has been pushed into a historiography that "has a hard time viewing Anglophones as authentic Quebecers."[78] Missionary and preaching activities tend to be streamlined into a tradition of assimilation, but this particular instance valued education, and seemed to hope for the development of separate French and English communities with similar beliefs and values that could co-exist. The results and intentions of organizations like the Sabrevois Mission and the Colonial Church and School Society deserve and necessitate a closer examination before their place in Canadian history is determined.

Endnotes

1   The Colonial Church and School Society was created from the 1851 merger of the Colonial Church Society and the Newfoundland and British North American School Society. The society was formed by English evangelical Anglicans and was part of the renewed emphasis on evangelicalism, both domestic and international, in Britain during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Voluntary societies, like the two that merged to form the CCSS, were one of the manifestations of this trend. Richard W. Vaudry, "Evangelical Anglicans and the Atlantic World: Politics, Ideology, and the British North American Connection", in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. G.A. Rawlyck (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 167.

2   Alan Hayes, *Anglicans in Canada-Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), page 26.

3   Biographical Information here taken from a Memo re: the family of Wm. Plenderleath Christie, from the Public Archives of Canada, Search reference.22491, October 31, 1940. Found in the "Christie Papers," of the Montreal Diocesan Archive.

4   Hayes, 26.

5   Robert Merrill Black, "Anglicans and French Canadian Evangelism 1839-1848," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 26.1 (1984): 20-21.

6   "William Plenderleath Christie," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, 2000. University of Laval/ University of Toronto, http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html. December 1, 2007.

7   "Henriette Odin," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online,* 2000, University of Laval/ University of Toronto, http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html December 1, 2007.

8   In 1857 a log was thrown through her window she and was physically threatened. Randall Balmer and Catharine Randall, "'Her duty to Canada': Henriette Feller and French Protestantism in Quebec," *Church History* 70.1 (2001): 57

9   "Henriette Odin," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, 2000, University of Laval/ University of Toronto, http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html December 1, 2007.

10   Despite these anti-Protestant attacks, Henriette Feller is remembered very fondly, the Musee Feller stands to her memory in Saint-Blaise. The Randall and Balmer article quotes one of the tour guides as saying he was "proud to be her spiritual child," in 1995. Page 50.

11   Balmer and Randall, 64.

12   Their marriage was clearly one of affection. A letter found in the Christie Papers of the Montreal Diocesan Archives, written by her on May 17, 1845, two weeks after his death, reads, "My Lord, The eye that should have looked on this is closed. The hand that might have answered it is still. The blessed soul is

beyond the reach of this world's suffering. I have no right to break its power for my soul can bear no aggravation." The correspondent is not named, but it can be assumed to be John Abbott, an influential Anglican clergyman involved in education, because it is filed amongst William P. Christie's correspondence with him.

13   Article Titled "Colonial Church and School Society," in the *Montreal Gazette*, January 18, 1854, No.8 In the fond of the Colonial Church and School Society at the Montreal Diocesan Archives.

14   "Deed of Gift," from Dame A.M. Bowman, widow of the late W.P. Christie to the Corresponding Committee of the Colonial Church and School Society of Montreal. The 23 February 1861. No. 5419. Found in the Christie Papers of the Montreal Diocesan Archives.

15   See Chapter 3 of Janice Harvey, "The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society: A Case Study in Protestant Child Charity in Montreal, 1822-1900." Ph.D. diss., McGill University, Department of History, August 2001, for a detailed and insightful explanation of this popular tradition.

16   The Fifth Report of the Colonial Church and School Society for the Diocese of Montreal, adopted at the annual meeting held at the mechanics hall of the 13th of January, 1858. Under the heading, "A Report on the Condition and Progress of Sunday Schools in Canada East, aided by grants from the Committee of the Colonial Church and School Society, for the Year ending 31st December 1857. Page 49-50. In the Colonial Church and School Society fond of the Montreal Diocesan Archives.

17   The Annual Meeting for the Sabrevois Mission at the Mechanics Hall on Thursday Evening, 14th January 1858, at seven o'clock. Page 38. In the Colonial Church and School Society fond of the Montreal Diocesan Archives.

18   "Francis Fulford," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, 2000, University of Laval/ University of Toronto, http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html December 1, 2007.

19   Richard W. Vaudry*, Anglicans and the Atlantic World- Highchurchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2003), page 177.

20   Vaudry, 2003.169.

21   Ibid., 55.

22   Article Titled "Colonial Church and School Society," in the *Montreal Gazette*, January 18, 1854, No.8 In the fond of the Colonial Church and School Society at the Montreal Diocesan Archives.

23   Vaudry, 2003, 55.

24   "Francis Fulford," ," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, 2000, University of Laval/ University of Toronto, http://www.biographi.ca/EN/index.html December 1, 2007.

25   Reverend J.Douglas Borthwick, History of the Diocese of Montreal 1850-1910, (Montreal: John Lovell & Son Limited, 1910). Page 24.

26   Article Titled "Colonial Church and School Society," in the *Montreal Gazette*, January 18, 1854, No.8 In the fond of the Colonial Church and School Society at the Montreal Diocesan Archives.

27   See Appendix One of: Janice Harvey, "The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society: A Case Study in Protestant Child Charity in Montreal, 1822-1900." Ph.D. diss., McGill University, Department of History, August 2001, for a detailed explanation of these statistics.

28   Janice Harvey, "The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society: A Case Study in Protestant Child Charity in Montreal, 1822-1900." Ph.D. diss., McGill University, Department of History, August 2001. Page 2.

29   Peter M. Doll, *Revolution, Religion, and National Identity- Imperial Anglicanism in British North America, 1745-1795* (Mississauga: Associated University Presses, 2000), page 50-65.

30   Doll, 30

31   One would need a thousand essays of this length to explain the innumerable reasons that the British had to suspect that their French citizens would not feel the appropriate loyalty to the British Crown.

32   Black, 18.

33   The Church of England in Quebec, 1759-1791.*A Compendium of Church and State Papers* with introduction and notes by Arthur Reading Kelley, Canon of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity Quebec 1937. Page 9. McGill University Rare Books Collection.

34   Ibid., Page 55.

35   Ibid.

36   Ibid., 25.

37   The Treaty of Paris Article IV, February 10 1763, states that Roman Catholics can practice their religion "within the laws of Britain," this is noted in: The Church of England in Quebec, 1759-1791.*A Compendium of Church and State Papers* with introduction and notes by Arthur Reading Kelley, Canon of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity Quebec 1937. Page 6. McGill University Rare Books Collection. The above quote is credited to Governor Carlton, writing to the Minister of the Gospels in the Parish of Quebec, the Bishop of London on August 31 1768 and it appears on page 17 of the Compendium.

38   Doll, 22.

39   A Newspaper entitled "Monday Morning," within the article "Report for the Committee for the year ending 1st January 1856." Referring to the Colonial Church and School Society, and found within its fond at the Montreal Diocesan Archives.

40   The Church Chronicle for the Diocese of Montreal, Vol.2, No.3. 1862. (Montreal: John Lovell), Page 37. McGill University Rare Books Collection.

41   Page 73 of a copy of a letter addressed by the Bishop of Montreal to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, respecting the progress and present state of

the dioceses states, "The confessional is the stronghold of the Romish priest. Put him out of that, and he loses every moral hold over his people; he is a powerless man. To the protestant mind this is obvious enough," within Vol.1, No2, of *The Church Chronicle for the Diocese of Montreal*, June 1860, (Montreal: John Lovell). McGill University Rare Books Collection.

42   *The Church Chronicle for the Diocese of Montreal*, Vol.2, No.3. 1862. Montreal: John Lovell. Page 37. McGill University Rare Books Collection

43   *The Church Chronicle for the Diocese of Montreal*, Vol.1, No.2, June 1860 (Montreal: John Lovell), Page 76. McGill University Rare Books Collection.

44   *The 9th Report of the Incorporated Church Society of the Diocese of Montreal for the Year ending 6th January 1860*, Page 19. McGill University Rare Books Collection

45   *The 8th Report of the Incorporated Church Society of the Diocese of Montreal for the Year ending 6th January 1859*, Page 28. McGill University Rare Books Collection

46   Ibid., 29.

47   An Extract from, "The Monthly Report of the Church of England Mission to the French-Sabrevois," within the *Church Chronicle for the Diocese of Montreal* Vol.2, No4, August 1861, Page 55-56. McGill University Rare Books Collection.

48   *The 12th Report of the Incorporated Church Society of the Diocese of Montreal for the Year ending 6th January, 1863*, Page 44. McGill University Rare Books Collection.

49   *The 13th Report of the Incorporated Church Society of the Diocese of Montreal for the Year ending 6th January, 1864, Page 46-47*. McGill University Rare Books Collection.

50   The 10th (1861), 11th (1862), 12th (1863), and 13th(1864) Reports of the Incorporated Church Society of the Diocese of Montreal all contain continuous complaints from most parish's that they lack the funds and manpower to carry out their work effectively, an example from page 34 of the 11th report states, "It will be sufficient to say, the mission is poor; that the church…is in an exceedingly unfinished state, and that there is as yet no parsonage.".

51   A Newspaper entitled "Monday Morning," within the article "Report for the Committee for the year ending 1st January 1856." Referring to the Colonial Church and School Society, and found within its fond at the Montreal Diocesan Archives.

52   *The Fifth Report of the Colonial Church and School Society for the Diocese of Montreal, Canada*, adopted at the annual meeting held in the Mechanics Hall on the 13th January 1858, Page 46-47. Located in the Colonial Church and School Society fond of the Montreal Diocesan Archives.

53   Ibid., 50.

54   Ibid., 51.

55   *The Sixth Report of the Colonial Church and School Society for the Diocese of Montreal, Canada*, adopted at the annual meeting held in the Mechanics Hall

on the 19ᵗʰ January 1859, Page 37. Located in the Colonial Church and School Society fond of the Montreal Diocesan Archives.

56   Ibid., 38.
57   Ibid., 40.
58   Ibid., 40-42.
59   Ibid., 5.
60   Ibid., 43.
61   This sentiment is present throughout the report in tone and implication.
62   Roderick Macleod and Mary-Anne Poutanen, *A Meeting of the People: School Boards and Protestant Communities in Quebec 1801-1998* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2004), page 7.
63   Macleod and Poutanen, 37-39.
64   Ibid., 49.
65   Ibid., 81.
66   Ibid., 83.
67   Ibid., 89.
68   *The Fifth Report of the Colonial Church and School Society for the Diocese of Montreal, Canada*, adopted at the annual meeting held in the Mechanics Hall on the 13ᵗʰ January 1858, Page 2. Located in the Colonial Church and School Society fond of the Montreal Diocesan Archives.
69   Balmer and Randall, 68.
70   The Anglican Church did consider itself distinct from the Protestant Community overall, evidenced by the pride with which they profess to outnumber the Presbyterians and Methodists combined by 1900, Reverend J.Douglas Borthwick, *History of the Diocese of Montreal 1850-1910,* (Montreal: John Lovell & Son Limited, 1910), Page 9.
71   J.W. Netter, "The Nineteenth Century Anglican Parochial School in Quebec- A Church Attempt to Provide Public Education*, Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 9.1 (1967), page 2-3.
72   Black, 30.
73   *Annual Report of the Sabrevois Mission and the Colonial Church and School Society in the Diocese of Montreal*, From May 1ˢᵗ 1897 to April 30ᵗʰ 1898, (Montreal: Dominion Printing Co.), page 12. In the Colonial Church and School Society fond of the Montreal Diocesan Archives.
74   Ibid., 13.
75   Ibid., 12.
76   Ibid., 15.
77   Black, 18.
78   Vaudry, 2003, 11.

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JEWISH STUDENTS IN CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES
The Rise and Fall of a Quota System

Sheri Fineberg

Many elders in the Canadian Jewish community recall that restrictions were placed on Jewish applicants who were attempting to obtain a higher education. Anecdotal evidence of a university quota system pertaining to Jewish students during the early to mid-twentieth century is widespread. However, researchers have found that getting the universities to admit to it, and acquiring physical proof of quotas, has been difficult. Jews were not the only group who were subjected to a quota system in university admissions in North America. Women, Ukrainians, Italians, Poles, and others have all been subjected to quotas as well.[1] Debate in the 1980s over whether a quota for Asian students was in place, especially at American universities, shows that the policy of limiting certain types of students may not be a 'thing of the past.'[2]

The goal of this paper is not to point fingers or assign blame, but rather to acknowledge a part of Canadian history which has received little attention to date, but which is important to bring to light in order to ensure that these types of policies and quotas are not enforced in the future, thereby impeding the ability of bright pupils, no matter their race, religion, or background, to pursue higher education. Canadian universities, for the most part, placed restrictions on the number of Jewish students they admitted. This was done for different reasons, and at varying time periods; however, the evidence shows that many Canadian universities did restrict applicants based on their background.

University Quota System in Context: Canadian Jewish History

Jewish individuals have lived in Canada for over two centuries; they are "one of the oldest ethnic groups in Canada."[3] In 1800, 120 individuals made up the Jewish community in Canada.[4] By 1911, the Jewish community was composed of over 75,000[5] and today, there are over 300,000 Jews in Canada.[6] The first Canadian synagogue was founded in Montreal in 1768.[7] To serve its needs, the Jewish community has founded many other Jewish institutions since that date. Examples include the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC), Camp B'nai B'rith, Jewish Immigrant Aid Society, and the Jewish General Hospital, among others.[8] The fact that the Jewish community was able to provide for itself so well may have reinforced the notion of Jews as "other" and as a separate, distinct group.

However, in spite of their distinct institutional life, the Jewish community was also very involved in Canadian life; Jewish settlers in Canada became involved in politics and in the military long before they were able to do so in England.[9] Additionally, despite the discrimination and anti-Semitism to which Canadian Jews were subject from their host society - for example, in the form of exclusion from clubs, summer resorts, or universities,[10] many Jews joined the Canadian Armed Forces. During the Second World War, almost 17,000, or one-fifth, of Jewish males in Canada fought in the Canadian Armed Forces.[11] Over twenty years before Trudeau's Multiculturalism Act, the CJC was promoting multiculturalism; in 1949, "Congress argued [to the Massey Commission] that Canada's national cultural institutions…should 'search for the formula which will vouch-safe the creation of a vibrant and meaningful Canadianism.'"[12] Jews have also been very involved in Canadian politics. The 1930s, for example, saw three Jewish members of the Federal Parliament as well as Jewish provincial legislators, mayors, city councillors and school board members.[13] Jewish involvement in Canadian politics was evident before the 1930s, and has grown dramatically since then.[14] Those Jewish students who were accepted to Canadian universities were able to integrate into Canadian society through school activities such as participation in classes and in sports.[15] All of these examples indicate the efforts Jews in Canada were making to become members of the wider Canadian society, rather than maintaining a separatist mentality.

The University Quota System

Many efforts by Jewish individuals to integrate into the broader Canadian society have been blocked by antisemitic policies. In the early-to mid-twentieth century, many Canadian universities had quota systems or restrictions in place concerning the number of Jewish students allowed into their schools each year. In fact, most Canadian historians agree that "all Canadian universities discriminated against Jews in the 1930s and '40s to varying degrees."[16] The aim of this policy was to assure that Jews in Canada remained "other" and did not integrate into the broader society.

Between the 1920s and 1960s, Jewish applicants to Canadian universities knew that quotas, either official or unofficial,[17] were in place

and would affect their chances of obtaining higher education.[18] In some schools, such as McGill University,[19] quotas were in place in all faculties, while in others, such as the University of Manitoba[20] and the University of Toronto,[21] only some faculties or programs had quotas. However, there were some Canadian schools, such as the Université de Montréal[22] which did not have quotas in place. The situation at Sir George Williams University is still under debate. In each institution, the reasons for implementing a quota and the effective dates of the quota were different. As such, it is necessary to examine the case of each university separately.

University of Manitoba Medical School

Faculty at the University of Manitoba Medical School did not like the fact that many outsiders were entering the school.[23] With a new administration in the medical school in the 1930s, a restrictive admissions policy was implemented;[24] the number of Jews, but also of "Ukrainians, Poles and other East Europeans, Mennonites, Italians, and women" were restricted.[25] Barsky and Gutkin show that the number of Jewish students admitted to the Manitoba medical school was restricted. They indicate that the quota was in place beginning in 1932, when there were twenty-eight Jewish students.[26] In 1936, a quota system limiting the number of 'non-preferred' students allowed to enter, no matter their academic standing, was in full force.[27] Tulchinsky writes that by 1944 there were only nine Jewish students in the first-year class.[28]

Students were required to indicate the religion and racial origin of their fathers on their admissions forms,[29] as well as the nationality of their parents.[30] This information was then used to sort application forms into piles based on the background of the applicant, and whether or not they belonged to a preferred group: "the objective was to fill the balance of places in the school from the preferred list. It did not matter to the admissions committee how far they had to go in order to complete the preferred quota with students who were not otherwise eligible."[31] Gutkin wrote that

> [t]he problem seemed to go back about ten years [ten years prior to 1943], to a confidential proposal made by the new dean of medicine, A.T. Mathers, to some leading members of

the Winnipeg Jewish community, that if the Jews would agree
not to storm the medical college, an annual quota of ten Jews
would be admitted. This figure was higher than the proportion
of the Jewish population in Manitoba, and the suggestion was
apparently accepted. Since that time, however, an ever smaller
number of Jewish students had found a place in medicine…[32]

The Avukah Fact Finding Committee, set up and conducted by students
who belonged to the Avukah Zionist Society, unearthed evidence proving
that a quota system was in place.[33] It was found that '[o]f the sixty-four
available places, fifty-one or fifty-two were reserved for Anglo-Saxon and
other preferred candidates, and three or four for women. Four or five
places were assigned to Jews and four or five to other "ethnics."'[34] This
practice resulted in the rejection of non-preferred students who had very
high marks, while preferred students with poor grades, or those who had
not passed required examinations, were admitted to the school.[35]

Beginning in September 1943, Shlomo Mitchell and the Avukah
committee took it upon themselves to change the situation. They gathered
information on those who attended the medical school as well as those who
had applied.[36] Internal university documents were also compiled.[37] When
news of their project was leaked, the Minister of Education denied that a
quota system was in place.[38] Tthe facts found by the Avukah committee
were presented to the Board of Governors, this demonstrating that a
biased admissions system was in place.[39] In September of 1944, a clause
was added to the Manitoba University Act stating that "the selection [of
an applicant] shall be made without regard to the racial origin or religion
of the applicant."[40] As a result of the efforts of the Avukah Society, "[t]he
University of Manitoba was thus the first to rid itself of the odious 'numerus
clausu' (quota) system, and from 1945 on, Jewish students as well as other
from 'non-preferred races' were admitted in increasing numbers."[41] As
a result, they not only helped themselves, but other ethnic groups also
benefited.

Tulchinsky mentions that the faculty of engineering at the University
of Manitoba also restricted the admission of Jewish students.[42]

University of Toronto

At the University of Toronto, quotas were in place in both the Faculty of Dentistry and the Faculty of Medicine. Admission to the University of Toronto dentistry program was dependent on passing a soap carving test which was used to determine if an applicant had the necessary finger dexterity needed to be a dentist.[43] Shlomo Mitchell was also involved in trying to eliminate this policy: "[m]ore than seventy percent of the students refused admission to dentistry in 1942 were Jewish, because, it was alleged, they lacked the necessary digital dexterity."[44] Despite the fact that Mitchell was able to provide evidence that Jewish applicants had very high marks, the dean of dentistry would not admit more Jewish students: "…the dean of dentistry…maintained blandly that on the basis of the soap test, Jews as a race had no finger skill. He could not account for Jewish surgeons, or Jewish pianists and violinists, but he insisted that the test was valid."[45] The dean of dentistry continued to hold these views in the 1950s.[46]

Until 2001, no official evidence had been found relating to a quota on Jewish students at the University of Toronto Medical School.[47] While historians of Jewish history[48] and members of the Jewish community felt that a quota had been in place,[49] some scholars disagreed. Millar writes that the fluctuating statistics on Jewish students do not indicate that a quota was in place,[50] and suggests that the idea of there being a quota on Jewish students was a tool used by the Jewish community to reiterate to itself that it has been discriminated against.[51]

The evidence indicates, however, that while a quota may not have been in place in the 1920s and 1930s,[52] there eventually were restrictions placed on Jewish medical students. The document found in 2001 proved without a doubt that there was a Jewish quota, at least between 1957-1959.[53] The evidence suggests that a Jewish quota may have been implemented in 1942.[54]

Before the Second World War, the University of Toronto was able to accommodate the majority of applicants to its medical school, but after the war, measures were needed to limit enrolment due to a large increase in the number of applicants.[55] The university also received complaints about the number of Jewish students in attendance.[56] In 1932, twenty-seven percent of the new class of medical students was Jewish.[57] The implemented measures

to limit enrolment targeted Jewish applicants. The school preferred rural candidates, while the Jewish population was concentrated in the urban centers.[58] Reference letters and interviews were also required. In the 1940s, the "[Admissions] committee [found] it a 'serious problem' that only 6% of the Jews the previous year failed, whereas the overall failure rate in first year was 27%. Why would this be considered a serious problem, unless there was some interest in limiting the number of Jews?"[59]

More explicit evidence of a quota was found in 2001. A letter from the registrar, Robin Ross, to the president of the university, Claude Bissell, written in December of 1959 provides evidence from the administration that there definitely was a quota;

> There is a definite limitation imposed by the Selection Committee on the number of Jewish students whom they are prepared to accept in the Pre-medical Years. There are, of course, solid practical reasons for this restriction and I am the first to sympathize with the Council in what is an awkward dilemma. Against that, however, is the very real danger that the University can be charged – and rightly so – with exercising the very kind of discrimination that we disavow publicly. As an example, during the session 1957-58 eleven well-qualified applicants were refused. These figures became nine in 1958-59 and fourteen in the session 1959-60. In each year, a fairly large number of candidates with lower academic standing were admitted. In most cases it was quite unrealistic to argue that the rejected candidates were refused on any other grounds than that they were Jewish…[60]

This letter shows that at least until the 1959-60 school year, explicit limitations were put on Jewish students. More evidence is needed to find out when the policy was officially abandoned.

McGill University

In all of the books that make mention of the quota system for Jewish students at Canadian universities, the system in place at McGill University

is the most widely written about. Although it is generally agreed that the quota was not an official written policy, it is also agreed that it was widely known to exist and that it was rigidly enforced.[61]

To supplement the academic books and autobiographies which discuss the existence of a quota system for Jewish students at McGill University, four individuals who were born and raised in Montreal in the early-to mid-twentieth century were interviewed. [62]

The quota system at McGill University was implemented by the Dean of Arts, Ira MacKay.[63] On April 23rd, 1926, Dean MacKay wrote a letter to Sir Arthur Currie, Principal of McGill University.[64] An excerpt from the letter indicates that MacKay proposed the idea of a quota system:

> It appears clear to me finally… that some steps must be taken to limit the increase in the number of Jews attending the University at present, and I suggest the following modus operandi for your consideration:
> a) That the number of Jews admitted to the first year in the Faculty of Arts be hereafter limited to twenty per cent of the total enrolment in this year until such time as the Jewish community contributes an equal proportion of property and money to the maintenance of the University community…
> I am only offering these rules by way of suggestion but I think that, if applied, they would succeed in eliminating the less desirable class of Jewish students who at present overcrowd the class rooms and Library.[65]

MacKay seems to have found the support that he sought for his proposed quota system. Measures to restrict the number of Jewish students at McGill began in the late 1920s,[66] and "[b]y 1939 Jewish representation had dropped to 12.1 per cent in arts, 12.8 per cent in medicine, and 15 percent in law."[67] These numbers were down from the percentages seen in 1920 where "[Jews] constituted 25 per cent of arts students, 15 percent of medical students, and 40 percent of law students…"[68] In the Faculties of Law and Medicine, a quota system was implemented;[69] in Medicine, the quota of 10 per cent was enforced until the 1960s.[70] To be admitted to the Faculty of

Arts, Jews had to score higher than non-Jews on the matriculation exams.[71] It was widely known in the Jewish community that Jewish students had to score 750/1000 to be admitted while non-Jews only needed to score 600 or 650.[72] For example, Leo Kolber, in his autobiography, indicated that when he applied to McGill in 1945, Jews were required to score over 750 while gentiles had to score over 650.[73] The interviews I conducted also show that the Jewish community knew about the quota system; each interviewee provided information about the policy:

> Mrs. Finestone: At that time, in 1947, you had to write matriculation exams at the end of June. You wrote 10 exams of 100 marks each. In order to get into McGill University, you had to have 750, as a Jew, out of 1000 marks….if you were not Jewish, you had to have 650, so you needed 10 per cent more, as a Jew to get into McGill University, and it was a known fact. It was not in any way hidden….obviously it was official in the university.[74]

> Mrs. Fineberg: The quota system was understood to exist [it was not officially stated].[75]

> Mr. Kert: I don't think they write these kind of things down, it's an unofficial policy.[76]

> Mrs. Gesser: I graduated high in '44 and at that time McGill was asking Jews 750 and Sir George William 700…They were pretty strict with that…So that was in the early '40s. I don't know when it changed…I think there wasn't more than 10 Jews who were allowed into medicine per year…from one year to another, you knew from other people [about the quota].[77]

Additionally, all four of the individuals interviewed said that they had known about the Jewish quota before graduating from high school. The application forms asked for the student's religion, thus allowing the administrators to know whether or not an individual was Jewish.[78]

As has already been noted, MacKay's quota system was put into force starting in the late 1920s. In 1930, Sir Arthur Currie received a letter from S. W. Jacobs regarding a Jewish student who had been denied admission to the Department of Commerce at McGill despite attaining 71.7 percent on his matriculations. [79] In another example, a personal letter dated 1931 between Sir Arthur Currie and Chancellor E. W. Beatty discusses the case of an American Jew who was not accepted to McGill medicine. It states that "we have not taken any Hebrews from the United States in the past three years. There are a certain number from here whom we must always take, and we have drawn the line at any from elsewhere."[80] These two letters show that by the early 1930s, restrictions were already being placed on Jewish students.

Although perhaps not official policy,[81] written proof of quotas on Jewish students can be found in the McGill archives. One paper in the McGill archives principals' files says that "[the] proportion of Jews accepted [is] about 9 to 10% of the student body. And we require a Jew to matriculate with about 100 more marks than a Gentile."[82] A memorandum from the registrar, T. H. Matthews, to Principal A. E. Morgan refers to a Jewish problem at McGill.[83] And, C. W. Hendel, Dean of Arts and Sciences, wrote to Principal and Vice-Chancellor Douglas in 1938 to say that "the total that is required for admission by Junior Matriculation is normally 600, but in the case of Jewish students 750. There is a similar higher scale of attainment required for Senior Matriculation."[84] All of these papers show that it was not only Dean MacKay who felt the need for a Jewish quota; other administrators knew about, and enforced it as well.

The quota system was not only implemented for antisemitic reasons. While Dean MacKay is known to have said that "[t]he simple obvious truth is that the Jewish people are of no use to us in this country"[85] and Principal F. Cyril James said of a Jew in 1940 that "although of Jewish descent, [he] has a very pleasant personality."[86] There was another reason for implementing a Jewish quota at McGill. As will also be seen in the case of Sir George Williams University, it was felt that, in proportion to the number of Jewish students attending the university, the Jewish community was not repaying the university enough.[87] MacKay wrote to Currie in 1926 that in,

> The spirit of our Charter of McGill, the origin of our
> endowments and the constitutionality of the public school
> system of this province, there is a very great doubt indeed as
> to how far the administration of the University is competent to
> apply University property and money of Christian origin to the
> education of Jews…[a]t the present time the Jewish community
> in Montreal are contributing almost nothing to the maintenance
> of this University…[88]

However, despite the feeling that the Jewish community was not contributing
enough to the university, the university did not seek contributions from
the Jewish community. This may be because they did not want to remove
the restrictions on Jewish students:

> The University has not sought Jewish contributions, feeling
> mostly that this might lead it into more trouble on the Jewish
> problem. But in general the University has always felt that
> the Jewish students contributed nothing like as much as they
> should to the University exchequer, or rather, the Jewish
> community…[89]

Thus, the imposition of a Jewish quota at McGill can be understood to be
the result of both antisemitism and concern over the economic well-being
of the institution. Once admitted to McGill, Jewish students continued to
face discrimination. For example, while she had high enough marks to be
accepted into McGill without any problem, Mrs. Fineberg recalls that the
Dean of Education was not accommodating for (minor) Jewish holidays:

> …the Dean of the school for teachers was never very cooperative
> with Jewish students, especially when they wanted to miss
> school on such holidays as Succot. It was alright to stay home
> for Yom Kippur, but, what we would term the more minor ones
> [holidays], he threatened to expel them if they didn't come.[90]

The McGill administration, however, denied that a Jewish quota was used.

In 1937, in response to an invitation from the Jewish Advocate to submit "a statement or article on 'What a College or University May Expect of the Jewish Student and Alumnus,'"[91] Chancellor Sir Edward Beatty wrote to Dr W. H. Brittain, Acting Principal, that "the article which he suggests has a very ready answer, namely, that a college or a university expects from a Jewish undergraduate or alumnus exactly the same as from any other student or alumnus."[92] Brittain then wrote to Mr. Brin, president of the Jewish Advocate that "[a]t McGill University the Jewish undergraduates and alumni are in the same category as other undergraduates and alumni, and therefore no special treatment of them as members of the Jewish race is desirable."[93] In 1945, Dr. F. Cyril James, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill, told reporters that there is "a complete absence of anti-Semitism at McGill University," and that "there are more Jewish students at McGill University than in any other University in Canada."[94] Dr James also denied that a quota was in place: "Dr. James characterized as completely untrue the report which I said we had received that in one or two Faculties, notably the Medical Faculty, an attempt had been made- if it had not already succeeded- to inflict a sort of *numerus clausus* on Jewish students."[95]

Although McGill did not officially publish the number of Jewish students in the annual reports,[96] they did keep track of the numbers unofficially. The Canadian Jewish Congress archives contain records from McGill of student and staff religious affiliation. A document from the 1929-1930 session estimates that 17 percent of the student population was Jewish.[97] For the 1932-1933 year, it was found that four percent of the staff, and 10.7 percent of the students were Jewish.[98] Thus, already in the early 1930s, a dramatic drop in Jewish enrolment can be seen.

Although it is more or less known when the quota system was implemented at McGill, it is not clear when it ended. Several end-dates have been suggested. Sources have proposed that the Second World War was instrumental in ending the quota. Horn writes that "[t]hese practices did not end until after the [Second World] war had begun."[99] Frost writes that "on representations by the Jewish community during the war period, at a time when university registration allowed deferment under the National Selective Service Act, these restrictive policies were ended, and were not reinstated."[100] Mr. Kert believed that the quotas ended when the veterans

returned from the war. Jewish and non-Jewish veterans alike were granted scholarships by the government. Subsequently, McGill could no longer discriminate.[101]

However, others write that it ended quite a while after the war. Tulchinsky writes that the McGill Medical School "limited Jewish admissions to a rigid 10 percent until the 1960s"[102] Also, Kolber wrote that

> It was Sam Bronfman… who was instrumental in persuading McGill to end the Jewish quota some years after the Second World War. Cyril James, the principal of McGill from 1939 to 1962, went to see him and actually had the nerve to ask why the Jewish community didn't contribute more to McGill. Mr. Bronfman conceded the point and said he would spearhead a fundraising effort in the community, but that in return McGill would have to end the Jewish quota, which it did.[103]

Mrs. Finestone agreed that the Bronfman's and other wealthy Jewish families were involved in ending the quota. She said that

> In the mid '50s… people like Sam Steinberg, of the big Steinberg stores, Pollack from Quebec City who was multi, multi millionaire, Bronfman gave millions of dollars to McGill University to build the buildings and scholarships. And I am sure, although it was never said in those words, but I am sure they told them, you get our money and you take away the quota system. Because, suddenly, it kind of happened [the quota system ended].[104]

Finally, one article reported that "At McGill, [the Jewish quota system] ended with the inauguration of the first Jewish studies program in 1968."[105] Thus, although the case of the quota at McGill is the most widely written about, more research is needed to determine when and why the quota ended.

Sir George Williams University

There is mixed evidence on whether or not any restrictions were placed on Jewish students at Sir George Williams. The former rector of Concordia (successor of Sir George Williams University) said that Jews were accepted at their school while there were quotas at other schools.[106] However, Edward Sheffield, former registrar and admissions officer at Sir George Williams believes that this was not always the case.

He recalls a staff retreat, prior to 1943, where it was "regretfully announced that there would have to be some kind of quota for Jewish students for admission to Sir George Williams."[107] Sheffield was informed that the quota was needed because the school was founded to serve the Christian community, and yet, it had become a "Hebrew Haven."[108] For several years, a "first come, first served" quota was put in place.[109]

Even if restrictions were in place, they seem to have been lighter than those imposed at McGill. Sheffield explains that because of the higher standards for Jewish students at McGill, many of them went to Sir George Williams: "Sir George Williams made no distinction, most of the time, and it became known as Hebrew Haven."[110] Three of the individuals who were interviewed for this paper provided information on the case of Sir George Williams University. Audrey Fineberg recalled that "[those who weren't accepted to McGill] tried Sir George Williams, they tried other universities."[111] Dora Gesser said that she "graduated high school in '44 and at that time McGill was asking Jews 750 and Sir George William 700 [out of 1000]."[112] When Rosa Finestone was asked what Jewish students did when they had applied to McGill and were not accepted, she replied that some of them went to Sir George Williams because "it was known to be the lesser…probably, there was not a discrimination."[113] Mrs. Finestone also indicated that "Mordecai Richler didn't get into McGill… [and he] went to Sir George Williams. And quite a few very smart and prominent people of my era did that."[114] Sheffield wrote that "the thing [he] will never forget is that day after the policy became effective for the next student who walked in to be admitted; because it was I who told this brown-eyed gal that she couldn't come in because she was Jewish…"[115] While it may have been easier for Jews to get into Sir George Williams than McGill, they still seem to have faced more hurdles in getting accepted to the university than

non-Jewish students.

Université de Montréal

The Université de Montréal seems to be one of the few Canadian universities which openly accepted Jewish students. There was never a Jewish quota in place at the Université de Montréal (U de M) medical school:[116] In the 1950s it was written that "[o]ne of the few medical schools on this continent which does not have a Jewish quota, de jure or de facto, is the U of M."[117] This fact was the subject of an article which appeared in the "Prairie Messenger," a publication based in Muenster, Saskatchewan, thus indicating the unexpectedness or surprise that this was the case.[118] Sir Arthur Currie, Principal of McGill was also aware of the lack of restrictions for Jewish students at U de M: "…you will be glad to know,[…], that the Jews have deserted our Law School. Of the 39 students enrolled in First Year this session only 1 is a Jew. They seem to have gone to the University of Montreal, from which it is easier to obtain a degree in Law than it is to pass our examinations."[119] This letter was written in 1933, showing that the U de M accepted Jewish students- even in the 1930s.

Despite the fact that U de M was run by the Roman Catholic Church, "Jewish students [were] not discriminated against there when the quotas of other, supposedly non-religious, universities kept them out."[120] While no quota was in place, information on the religion of students was gathered at U de M. In 1950, it was reported that "[t]he university has 4, 260 students, of whom 42, approximately one per cent, are Jews. Pharmacy has 19, science six, medicine five, dentistry four, law and optometry three each, philosophy two and engineering one."[121]

One possible reason why U de M did not have a quota for Jewish students may be the fact that they did not expect to be bombarded by Jewish applicants due to the language barrier: "The French language has acted as a barrier to many prospective entrants but Jews have been studying there for decades."[122] However, it should also be noted that when Adrien Arcand, former leader of Quebec's fascist party, and an open antisemite, spoke against the Jews at a speech held at the university, he did not receive the support which he expected.[123] When a speaker who

was against antisemitism addressed the same group of students, "He was well received."[124] Sigler proposed that "the daily spectacle at the university of men dedicated to their own church yet showing respect and friendship for the Jews may serve to buffer the impact of Arcand's ugly speech on students' minds."[125] Staff were also reported to be helpful to those who may have had trouble with the French language: "Jews in all faculties report unfailing courtesy from staff and students who try to make their Jewish associates, members of the English-speaking group, feel at home."[126] This shows a general acceptance of Jews by French-Canadians in an academic setting.

Denial, Then and Now

Proving that discriminatory practices were in place was, and still is, a hard task to accomplish. This is because few paper trails were left behind and individuals did not like to discuss the situation.

To prove that a quota system was in place in both the Manitoba medical school and the University of Toronto dental program, Mitchell had to examine a large number of student records and gather information from students who were not accepted to the schools:[127] "Although it was rumoured that discrimination existed, there wasn't any factual evidence to prove it"[128] Physical proof of a quota system in the University of Toronto Medical School was not found until 2001; before then, university officials denied the existence of a quota despite the testimony given by many Jewish individuals to the contrary.[129] McGill and Concordia administrators publicly denied quotas as well,[130] despite the declarations made by Jewish applicants and students. None of the universities like to admit to this chapter of their history. For example, although it was possible to look at files in the McGill University Archives which contained evidence of a quota system, much more "incriminating" files, which originally came from the McGill archives, were available at the Canadian Jewish Congress archives. The McGill archives did not make many of the pages found at the CJC available to me, nor was I able to view an application form from the 1920s-1960s, to verify, either way, if an applicant's religion was asked for or when the practice was ended.

Further Research and Conclusion

It is important to find out what happened because before long those who were affected by the quota system will no longer be around to share their stories. As such, in addition to doing more research in the university archives to gather proof of discriminatory policies, it is also important to interview members of the Jewish community who were in any way affected by the quotas.

The Jewish quota system at Canadian universities affected many youths who were trying to pursue higher education. Except for the case of the Université de Montreal, those who were admitted either needed higher marks to get in or had to be lucky enough to apply before the quota was full.

The restrictions on Jewish students did not only harm the Jewish community; Canadian society as a whole has lost out due to the restrictions that were enforced. As Rosenberg wrote in 1939, "[w]hat often goes unrecognized is the fact that anti-Semitism also threatens the happiness and progress of the country as a whole and of its non-Jewish population."[131] Many students went to American universities and did not return to Canada.[132] McGill lost-out on being able to tie its name to Mordecai Richler, who was not accepted to McGill and thus went to Sir George Williams, and later became a very famous author. Queen's University graduate Alfred Bader recently donated a Rembrandt painting to the University as a thank-you for being accepted after he was refused admission at both McGill and the University of Toronto because he was Jewish.[133] And many more examples have been documented.

Endnotes

1   Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours,* 215: "Jews were not the only group discriminated against; women and other ethnic minorities were also subjected to severe restrictions." Tulchinsky, *Branching Out,* 191: At The University of Manitoba Medical School, quotas restricted Jewish students and restricted the number of "Ukrainians, Poles and other East Europeans, Mennonites, Italians, and women" (191) allowed into the medical school as well.

2   Winerip, "Asian-Americans Question Ivy League's Entry Policies."; Hechinger, "The Trouble With Quotas.": "Asian applicants who have been turned down

charge that members of other ethnic groups with lower grades or test scores are given preference" (C1).

3   Tulchinsky, *Taking Root,* 3.

4   Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours*, 13.

5   Tulchinsky, *Taking Root,* XXIV.

6   Ibid., 3.

7   Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours*, 13.

8   King, *From the Ghetto to the Main*, 143.

9   Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours*, 12-13.

10   Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study,* 303, 272.

11   King, *From the Ghetto to the Main*, 217-218.

12   Tulchinsky, *Branching Out*, 276.

13   Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours*, 196-197.

14   Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours*: Several examples of Jewish individuals involved in Canadian politics prior to the 1930s include Samuel Hart who, in 1793, was elected to the Nova Scotia Assembly (8). Henry Nathan Jr. was the first Jew to sit in the Canadian House of Commons. He did so in 1871 (71). Liberal candidate Peter Bercovitch won a seat in the Quebec legislature in 1916 (129).

15   Tulchinsky, *Branching Out*, 193-194.

16   Hustak, "All Our Universities Had Unwritten Quotas."

17   Hustak, "Queen's University Gets Rembrandt": "The quota system limiting the number of Jews who could be admitted was widely known to exist _ widely said _ but it is hard to find any concrete evidence on the subject now," said Janice Rosen, director of the national archives of the Canadian Jewish Congress. "Universities didn't need to write down the policy, it was just understood…."

18   Non-Jewish Canadians knew about the quota system for Jewish students as well. This can be seen from a paragraph which appears in Xiques' book "Margaret Laurence: The Making of a Writer." In the chapter on Laurence's college years, it is written that "The University of Manitoba, under President Sidney Smith, was then in the throes of a big upset, because the medical college had a quota system limiting the number of Jewish students accepted to its program. A "numerus clauses," or "specific quota," had effectively blocked many Jewish students' admission to medical school…" (Xiques, *Margaret Laurence*, 106). This paragraph indicates that the quota system was known to exist by non-Jews, and goes on to say that members of the Student Christian Movement at United College held a writing campaign to "protest[] that quota system to members of the provincial parliament" (106).

19   Tulchinsky, *Branching Out.*

20   Barsky, "How "Numerus Clausus" was Ended."

21   Gutkin, *The Worst of Times,177;* Levi, "Generational Memory Sustained by Documentation."

22   Sigler, "Cross Over the Open Door."

23   Tulchinsky, *Branching Out,* 191.

24   Barsky, "How "Numerus Clausus" was Ended," 76.

25   Tulchinsky, *Branching Out,* 191.

26   Gutkin, *The Worst of Times*, 180; Barsky, "How "Numerus Clausus" was Ended,"
        80, 76; Tulchinsky, *Branching Out,* 191-192.

27   Tulchinsky, *Branching Out,* 191.

28   Ibid.*,* 192.

29   Gutkin, *The Worst of Times*, 181.

30   Barsky, "How "Numerus Clausus" was Ended," 76.

31   Ibid., 77.

32   Gutkin, *The Worst of Times*, 178.

33   Barsky, "How "Numerus Clausus" was Ended," 77.

34   Gutkin, *The Worst of Times*, 181.

35   Barsky, "How "Numerus Clausus" was Ended," 76-77. Barsky writes that "Jewish
        students with averages of 77 to 84 were turned down" (76), and that "students
        of Eastern European origin with averages of 84 and 85 were turned down
        because the quota of four Czechoslovakian or Italian or Mennonite applicants
        had already been filled" (76-77). Despite the rejection of students with excellent
        academic records, "[i]n 1943, there were ar least five students who were
        accepted, in spite of the fact that they did not pass some of their examinations,
        in order to complete the quota from the preferred list" (77).

36   Barsky, "How "Numerus Clausus" was Ended," 77-78.

37   Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours,* 216.

38   Barsky, "How "Numerus Clausus" was Ended," 78.

39   Ibid., 80.

40   Ibid.., 81.

41   Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours*, 217.

42   Tulchinsky, *Branching Out,* 192.

43   Gutkin, *The Worst of Times*, 177.

44   Ibid.

45   Ibid.

46   Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours*, 216.

47   Levi, "Generational Memory Sustained by Documentation."

48   See for example, Tulchinsky, *Branching Out*, 191, 275.

49   Levi, "Generational Memory Sustained by Documentation," 132 "The general
        feeling among certain Canadian Jewish scholars was that the Gidney and Millar
        argument [stating that there had not been a quota] ran contrary to anecdotal
        evidence about exclusions in medicine, and could not be allowed to stand."

50   Millar, "Jewish Medical Students at the University of Toronto."

51   Levi, "Generational Memory Sustained by Documentation," 131-132.

52   Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties,* 26-27. ""There was no problem about admission to
        the U. of T. Medical School, in the 1930's at any rate, provided the student had
        the qualifying matriculation credits."

53   Levi, "Generational Memory Sustained by Documentation," 135.

54   Levi, "Generational Memory Sustained by Documentation," 132; Friedland, *The University of Toronto*, 352.

55   Friedland, *The University of Toronto*, 352.

56   Tulchinsky, *Branching Out,* 191.

57   Friedland, *The University of Toronto*, 352.

58   Ibid.

59   Friedland, *Notes.*

60   Ibid., 9.

61   Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours,* 220. "it was an open secret that standards of admission [at McGill] for Jewish applicants were far higher than for anyone else."

62   I interviewed four members of the Jewish community to find out more about the personal experiences that individuals had with the quota system.
      1: Rosa Finestone–Former principal of Solomon Schecter Academy, Montreal. Undergraduate degree at McGil University 1947-51. Masters degree in Education 1951-52.
      2: Audrey Fineberg – McGill School of Education – 1946-1947
      3: Monroe Kert – McGill School of Engineering – 1942-46.
      4: Dora Gesser – did not attend university.

63   See for example Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews,* 318.

64   CJCNA, McGill University Currie Papers, "Jewish Students at McGill." Letter from Dean MacKay to Sir Arthur Currie. April 23rd, 1926. This letter was attained from the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC)Archives; it was photocopied from the McGill Archives in the 1980s. While researching in the McGill University archives, I never came across this letter or any of the other papers which I refer to in this paper as being from the CJC archives. The papers that the CJC has in its files were originally obtained from the McGill archives.

65   CJCNA, McGill University Currie Papers, "Jewish Students at McGill." Letter from Dean MacKay to Sir Arthur Currie. April 23rd, 1926.

66   Frost, *McGill University,* 128; History of McGill Project Website:Frost is the former director of the "History of McGill Project" which aims to make the history of McGill University more widely known. His book, *McGill University: for the Advancement of Learning,* presents the history of McGill, and makes mention of the Jewish quota. Frost's proof of the quota system comes from the McGill University Archives.

67   Frost, *McGill University,* 128.

68   Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews,* 133.

69   Frost, *McGill University,* 128.

70   Tulchinsky, *Branching Out,* 275; King, *From the Ghetto to the Main*, 205.

71   Frost, *McGill University*, 128.

72   The individuals who I interviewed, as well as Kolber's book "Leo: A Life" indicate that gentiles needed to score 650/1000 while other sources, such as Frost, King and Tulchinsky indicate that gentiles needed to score 600/1000 to be

admitted. No matter which score gentiles needed is true, all of the sources agree that Jews were required to score higher than gentiles.

73 Kolber, *Leo: A Life*, 215.

74 Finestone, personal interview.

75 Fineberg, personal interview.

76 Kert, Personal interview

77 Gesser, personal interview.

78 Finestone, personal interview: "When you wrote your application, they asked for your religion. Jewish. Hebrew. My teaching diploma,… Rosa Sussman of the, and Protestant is crossed out, and Hebrew is marked in. Hebrew faith."

79 CJCNA, McGill University Currie Papers, "Jews- Matriculation." Letter from S. W. Jacobs to Sir Arthur Currie, September 16, 1930.S.W. Jacobs was a lawyer and a member of the House if Commons of Canada. The letter to Sir Arthur Currie indicates that Jacobs knew about the restrictions placed on Jewish students: "I recollect discussing the matter with you last year…I believe there is a restriction placed upon Jewish students, but I thought that the high marks obtained by this young man might justify his request for permission to continue his studies."

80 CJCNA, McGill University Currie Papers, "Jewish Students at McGill." Letter from Sir Arthur Currie, Principal, to E. W. Beatty, Chancellor, McGill University, June 24 1931.

81 Hustak, "Queen's University gets Rembrandt." See footnote 17.

82 MUA, Principal's Files, "Jewish affairs JE-JH 1923-1937." This undated, unsigned paper can be found in the McGill archives principals files in a folder named "Jewish affairs JE-JH 1923-1937". Based on other information on the sheet of paper quoted, it is believed that it was written in 1934-1935. This conclusion was reached based on:
    1: The paper mentions that the Maccabean Circle had been in existence for 25 years. According to Gordon Burr at the McGill Archives, the Maccabean Circle was founded in 1909. Adding 25 years to this would bring us to 1934.
    2: The paper mentions a scholarship which is later mentioned in a memorandum from the registrar's office to principal A.E. Morgan which was dated 20 September 1935. (McGill Archives "Jewish affairs JE-JH 1923-1937."

83 MUA, Principal's Files, "Jewish affairs JE-JH 1923-1937." Memorandum from the registrar's office to principal A.E. Morgan. September 20, 1935. "As you know we have a Jewish problem…"

84 CJCNA, McGill University Currie Papers, "Jewish Students at McGill." Letter from Dean C.W. Hendel to L.W. Douglas, Principal and Vice-Chancellor. October 11, 1938.

85 MUA, Principal's Files, "Jews- Protestant education, Germany and 1928-1934." Letter from Dean MacKay to Sir Arthur Currie, Principal. July 21, 1933.

86 Horn, *Academic freedom in Canada*, 137.

87 CJCNA, McGill University Currie Papers, "Jewish Students at McGill." Letter

from Dean MacKay to Sir Arthur Currie. April 23rd, 1926.

88   CJCNA, McGill University Currie Papers, "Jewish Students at McGill." Letter from Dean MacKay to Sir Arthur Currie. April 23rd, 1926.

89   MUA, Principal's Files, "Jewish affairs JE-JH 1923-1937." See footnote 82.

90   Fineberg, personal interview.

91   MUA, Principal's Files, "Jewish affairs JE-JH 1923-1937." Letter from Alexander Brin to Sir Edward W. Beatty, Chancellor, McGill University. November 10, 1937.

92   MUA, Principal's Files, "Jewish affairs JE-JH 1923-1937." Letter from Sir Edward Beatty, Chancellor, to Dr W. H. Brittain, Acting Principal. November 15, 1937.

93   MUA, Principal's Files, "Jewish affairs JE-JH 1923-1937." Letter from W. H. Brittain, Acting Principal to Mr. Brin. November 16, 1937.

94   "Jews and McGill." *The Jewish Chronicle.*

95   Ibid.

96   See for example McGill University Annual Report 1937-38. pages 68-70 show the number of men and women in each faculty and year, but no mention is made of religion.

97   CJCNA, McGill University Currie Papers, "Jewish Students at McGill." See paper called: Session 1929-30: Comparative registration, Gentile and Jew.

98   CJCNA, McGill University Currie Papers, "Jewish Students at McGill. See 3 page report dated 20 Sept 1933 from the Office of the Principal and Vice-Chancellor: McGill University on "the number of Protestants, Roman Catholics and Hebrews among the staff and student body during the session 1932-1933." 22 of the 549 staff were believed to be Jewish. 414 of the 3886 students were believed to be Jewish.

99   Horn, *Academic freedom in Canada*, 137.

100   Frost, *McGill University*, 128.

101   Kert, personal interview.

102   Tulchinsky, *Branching Out,* 275.

103   Kolber, *Leo: A Life*, 216.

104   Finestone, personal interview.

105   Hustak, "Queen's University Gets Rembrandt."

106   Arnold, "Rector asks Jews not to abandon Concordia." In the wake of heated emotions after a scheduled speech by former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu was cancelled due to violent protests, Concordia rector Frederick Lowy asked the Montreal Jewish community to remember that "[Concordia's] predecessor Sir George Williams University accepted Jewish students when other universities had quotas," and to not withdraw support from the school.

107   Sheffield, "Hebrew Haven," 94.

108   Ibid.

109   Ibid.

110   Ibid.

111   Fineberg, personal interview.

112   Gesser, personal interview.
113   Finestone, personal interview.
114   Ibid.
115   Sheffield, "Hebrew Haven," 94.
       It is doubtful that Sheffield's article would have been allowed to appear in a book
       about the history of Sir George Williams University, which was published by
       Concordia University, if there were no truth to it. This indicates that, at least for
       several years, restrictions were placed on Jewish students.
116   Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews,* 410.
117   Sigler, "Cross Over the Open Door," 11.
118   "Jews are Welcome," *The Prairie Messenger.* The fact that a quota system does
       not, and never did, exist at a particular school would not have been newsworthy
       except when considered against the fact that Jewish quotas seemed to be the
       norm in the early to mid twentieth century.
119   CJCNA, McGill University Currie Papers, "Jewish Students at McGill. Letter
       from Arthur W. Currie to Walter Molson, Esq. October 19, 1933.
120   Sigler, "Cross Over the Open Door," 11.
121   Ibid.
122   Ibid.
123   Ibid.
124   Ibid.
125   Ibid.
126   Ibid.
127   Gutkin, *The Worst of Times*, 77-78.
128   Barsky, "How "Numerus Clausus" was Ended," 77.
129   Levi, "Generational Memory Sustained by Documentation."
130   For example, see "Jews and McGill." *The Jewish Chronicle*; Arnold, "Rector asks
       Jews not to abandon Concordia."
131   Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study,* 305.
132   Tulchinsky, *Branching Out,* 192.
133   Hustak, "Queen's University Gets Rembrandt."

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