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John Canning

Placing Quebec nationalisms: Constructing English identities in Quebec's Eastern Townships

MOST STUDIES OF NATIONALISM in Quebec have tended to focus on national questions such as sovereignty, language laws and anglophone-francophone conflicts. The examination of national identities on an everyday level is neglected and minority and regional specificities are rarely considered. This article examines the construction of anglophone identities in the mainly rural Eastern Townships region of Quebec.

There is a tendency in the study of nationalism to present macro-narratives, either of the evolution of the nation-state in general, or of individual nationalisms themselves. This overarching approach characterises most of the classic works on nationalism such as that of Gellner (1993), Eriksen (1993), Kedourie (1993) and Smith (1991). The tendency to approach nationalism as discourse analysis can only produce a top-down view of the nation, which privileges the discourses of intellectual and political elites; in other words such an approach fails to consider fully the credence that nationalism has amongst the nation's citizens. By neglecting grounded lived experiences in specific communities, it is not possible to understand how exactly the whole doctrine of nationalism is sustained. Thus the reading of national histories and the discourses of political parties and their voters, is only a small part of understanding how nationalisms are articulated.

Cohen (1994: 156) contends that politicians cannot affect consciousness as much as they would like to believe, and that nationalisms are locally mediated and take on local significance. In an earlier work he views national and racial myths, not as absolutes, but as receptacles waiting to be filled. For example, to be Scottish is more to do with lived experience than the Jacobites wars, Burns and Glasgow housing estates (Cohen 1982: 13). In short a single nationalism is mediated on a variety of spatial scales.

Nationalistic symbols and histories become visible precisely because there is a conflict taking place in the material arena. Cohen seeks to avoid neglecting locally specific circumstances in attempting to explain the 'big picture' noting that Western Social Science has a tendency to bias towards top-down approaches of explanation (Cohen 1994: 6).

MacLaughlin (1998: 1017) takes the view that 'post-modernist'

approaches tend to view nationalism a conflicts over historical texts, rather than over power and resources. Historical texts are of course important in providing context and 'space' for nationalistic discourse, but the existence of these does not lead to contemporary separatist movements, like those in Quebec, in and of themselves. As Paul Gilroy (1997: 304) states, 'The raw materials from which identity is produced may be inherited from the past but they are worked on, creatively or positively, reluctantly or bitterly in the present.'

Thus it is through contemporary communities that discourses of nationalism and nationhood have their credence. I share MacLaughlin's (1998: 1017) view that there is too much emphasis on the deconstruction of racial and national images. Whilst these images are important in understanding practices, using these as the objects of study often means that the origins of these images are disguised. More seriously such approaches make no distinction between local scale discourses and macro-historical discourses. Myths of ethnicity and nation are socially and culturally reproduced; these reproductions take place on a variety of spatial scales, not only the national, but also the local (Smith 1990: 263). As Lefebvre (1991: 88) notes, the local does not disappear and is not 'absorbed' by the regional, the national, and the worldwide.

For this reason I seek to explore the ways in which individuals invoke nationalism and national symbols, rather than exploring these symbols in and of themselves, because these 'myths' that Smith is referring to, are produced in actual places; they are not produced on an aspatial plain of ideas. This is not to deny these symbols and images their power in shaping the perspectives of individuals, but more to focus upon the invoking of nationalism and national symbols in the interpretation of material circumstances, by individuals. This is why the concept of the specific place, the particular community, is so important to understanding nationalisms.

In some cases the conflict over contested nationalisms becomes so prominent that the 'national question' becomes the defining dynamic of a society (Bartille 1998). In these cases, whether a territory is unified about wanting to separate from the state, or whether the community is divided about the future, what may be seen as the mundane issues of everyday life come to be seen in this nationalistic context from both inside and outside. For example, in Northern Ireland, the conflict between 'Protestants' and 'Catholics' defines, not only what happens in the political arena, but it also determines policies in education, employment and housing (Archard 1999: 149-50). These contested nationalisms frame people's

understandings of their material circumstances. How nationalisms are received, formed, reformed and lived at the level of the community, have received very little attention, particularly as nationalism is usually treated as a broad process. Day and Murdoch note the disregarding of the idea of 'community' by sociologists in the 1960s and how modern disregard for the local is maintained through a legacy of Marxism and modernisation. However:

The fact that general processes can only be realised in and through particular places immediately suggests a more active role for at least certain 'local' processes, since the nature of the existing local social relations, politics, arrangements and so on much condition and contextualise the manner of their realisation (Day and Murdoch 1993: 82).

Quebec's Eastern Townships

In contrast to the most regions of rural Quebec, the origins of the Eastern Townships were predominantly English-speaking from the opening up of land south of the St Lawrence in the 1790s, after the British conquest. However, this rapidly changed from the mid-nineteenth century when land opened up in the west of Canada and the United States encouraging emigration of English speakers. At the same time many French-speakers arrived with the building of the railway, the development of mining and of other industries (Bellevance 1984, Bissonette 1985). Population pressure along the St Lawrence seigneuries also encouraged population movement to the Townships as well as to Montreal and New England. The influence of the Catholic Church helped to ensure that the birth rate remained high over this period, whilst the English suffered a low birth rate amongst those who remained and an ageing population (Blanchard 1947: 356-57).

The contemporary legacy of these changes has been the maintenance of a significant English-speaking minority. Although a vast majority of Township communities have a francophone majority, there are a number of communities which have maintained an anglophone majority. These communities include Ville de Lac Brome (which includes Knowlton), North Hatley, Ayrs Cliff and Stanstead on the US (Vermont) border (Statistics Canada 1996).

English-speaking Townshippers and the communities in which they live have never been a homogenous group of individuals. Communities in the south of the Townships were settled mainly by American, then

later English immigrants. By the end of the nineteenth century there were clusters of Scottish settlers in the east of the townships and Irish settlers in the north (see Kesteman et al 1998: 504). These English-speakers from different parts of the British Isles brought with them their religious and cultural practices. Relationships between these English-speaking groups and with French-Canadians were complex. For example, notes Irish Catholics shared their faith with the French-Canadians, but their origins with the Irish Protestants (McQuillan 1999: 267). Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists and others competed for converts, especially amongst the English-speakers (Noël 1988). However, through secularisation and shifts in Quebec politics it has become possible to speak of an anglophone and francophone population.

A Powerful Minority?

Historical discourses about Quebec often imply that prior to the Quiet Revolution the anglophone population was in a position of power vis-à-vis the francophone population, especially in regard to the control of commerce and industry. Ross' work in the 1940s demonstrates these anglophone attitudes (Ross 1943, 1954) - francophones were depicted as being poorly educated, looking to the Catholic Church for leadership in contrast to the self-sufficient English with their 'Town Meeting' model of governance (Little 1997: 8). Ross found that francophones were becoming a majority, not simply in numerical terms, but they were beginning to take over the apparatus of power in Townships communities.

The Wealthy Anglophone Minority: Myth or Reality?

The fact that anglophones are in a minority in Quebec and in the Townships is undisputed. However, the means by which residents have engaged with this fact are complex. Firstly, there is the maintenance of the wealthy anglophone discourse which maintains a similar line of reasoning to that promoted through Alliance Quebec in Montreal. Anglophones are a persecuted minority, but their rights can be fought for through high profile court cases, (notably over language laws) and through the English-language Montreal press. Similarly the persecuted, yet politically active anglophone was popularised by anglophone Jewish writer Mordecai Richler (see Richler 1992).

Secondly, there is what could be described as the reverse case. Advocates of this point of view note that anglophones in the Townships have a lower average income than francophones, experience higher rates of unemployment and young successful anglophones are prone to leave the Townships for either Montreal or elsewhere outside of Quebec leaving an anglophone population with poor prospects for career advancement, due in part to poor French language skills and francophone prejudice.

The rejection of industrialisation by the Catholic Church prior to the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, coincided with a predominantly anglophone industrial elite (see Gupta 1983: 22). This contributed to a pre-Quiet Revolution discourse of anglophone wealth which has persisted throughout Quebec. Moreover, the majority anglophone communities of Ville de Lac Brome, North Hatley and Georgeville all have average incomes well above the Quebec average (Statistics Canada 1996), supporting the wealthy anglophone view.

However, a recent Townshippers Association report sought to debunk this stereotype as a myth.

Our population is not wealthy. This problem is no doubt related to the observation that many of the English speakers who have left our region were young, mobile and educated. The 1996 census shows that 32% of Townshippers whose first language is English earn \$10,000 or less, compared to 28% of those whose first language is French. The stereotype of wealthy anglophones simply does not hold true in our region (Townshippers Association 2000).

Moreover, there are some severe social problems.

I think literacy is a major issue we have to deal with. And what accompanies it too is poverty – there's a lot of poverty in the Townships. We certainly have to address the notion of poverty, especially in the English-speaking community. And I think that is because there is a view in social services that largely represent the majority [francophones], that all English-speakers are rich. That's not true. If you look at the statistics, we're not. In fact we're over-represented at the bottom end of the unemployment, income scale. [Townshippers Association representative]

The idea of the wealthy anglophone is as much an anglophone construction as a francophone one. The mayor of Ville de Lac Brome, Stanley Neil, was keen to emphasise the wealth of his community in being able to fight legal cases against the Quebec government, a view which contrasts strongly with that of the Townshippers Association.

Our permanent population is 5075, but we have some of the wealthiest people in the province living here. We have big taxpayers, but the government doesn't support us a bit. The poor little guy who

doesn't have much money has a hard time publicly challenging the government. In Ville de Lac Brome we have some people who can afford to challenge the government. [Stanley Neil]

The 'challenge to the government' cited by the mayor is the case of the antique shop, The Lyon and the Wallrus which was prosecuted under the terms of Quebec's language laws for displaying an outdoor sign on which the French language was not predominant. The people of Ville de Lac Brome had the financial resources to fight the case. The need to fight is exasperated by the government's ideological commitment to promote French without regard for basic rights such as running a small business without harassment from the government. The people of Ville de Lac Brome can represent the 'little guy' who is suffering at the hands of Quebec language legislation.

The interviews cited in this article were carried out by the author in 2000 (Canning 2002; 2004). The interviews are not meant to be 'representative' in a statistical sense; rather they have been used to identify patterns of anglophone Townships discourses. These discourses demonstrate many of the ways in which Townshippers are constructing their own national identities. These local constructions are rarely considered in examinations of nationalism in Quebec.

The names of respondents have been changed in order to protect their identities. David (20s) has lived in the Townships all of his life and is now studying at Bishop's University in Lennoxville. Jeff (30s) lives in a rural community near Sherbrooke. He was brought up in a rural community in Ontario and moved to the Townships after meeting his wife at university. Phil, 50s runs his own business in Lac Brome – he admits that he doesn't speak French as well as he would like. Tony, 60s, grew up in Lac Brome, but his work later took him to Alberta where he now lives and like Phil he doesn't speak French very well; however he does spend a lot of time in the Townships researching his family history. Edna, 80s, is a retired schoolteacher from Brome County. She was the only respondent who claimed not to speak French at all. Anne, 40s was raised in England and emigrated to Canada with her husband, who although raised in England, has a Canadian father. As they are immigrants, Anne's children had to attend French school, but they transferred to the English school system after one child was found to have Special Educational Needs. Anne speaks French well, but says that she is not so competent in writing and she says this has held her back when applying for jobs. Emma, 20s is from the northern Township community of Richmond. At the time of the interview she had just finished her studies in Lennoxville as a mature

student. She is fluent in French and has no intentions of leaving the Townships. Kelly and Mary are teenagers attending an English High School in the north of the Townships. Their friend, is sent to a French school by her parents to ensure that her French language skills reach a high standard, but she was about to transfer back to the English system for the next academic year.

On Being a Minority

Common to both 'rich' and 'poor' anglophone perspectives is a desire to appropriate the idea of being a minority as a positive construct in creating an English Quebec or anglophone Townships identity. By using the common notion of a minority under pressure it becomes possible to invoke community action.

At one time it may have seemed unnecessary to qualify the term 'Township' with 'anglophone' or 'English-speaking'. However 'Township' and 'Township' are used increasingly in the French language, for example by Kesteman et al (1998). The translation used for Township, 'canton' does not have a complementary adjective in common use. However as this article concerns anglophones, the use of the word 'Township' refers to anglophones.

There was an interesting article in the *Montreal Gazette* a couple of years back by an author who said one the appealing things about living here as an anglophone is that you are constantly trying to strive to make your community better (David)

The acceptance of minority status suggests that English speakers are beginning to come to terms with an essentially French Quebec in which English is a minority. David is taking an approach which is more reminiscent of associations for immigrant groups, which are common throughout the western world. By recognising their minority status they can fight to make their communities better. It creates a sense of imagined community amongst English speakers in the community and there may be a case for suggesting that they are getting better access to services than the francophones. Quebec-wide there is now an organisation called Community Table addressing the needs of the English-speaking minority in each region of Quebec (for example see Johnston 1999 on Montreal, Bishop 1999 on the Outaouais, Kears 1999 on the Lower North Shore). In many of these projects the needs identified are not simply issues of access to English language services, but are broader issues of communities

coming to terms with broader structural change, such the decline of agriculture and fishing. English language organisations have enabled communities to respond to these changes in ways in which the French speaking community has not been able. Founded in 1957, the Quebec Farmer's Association is another such organisation. It supports English-speaking farmers throughout the province, not just in regions with high proportions of English-speakers. On its website, it emphasises the need to improve the English-speaking community's access to resources through collaboration with francophone institutions and organisations (Quebec Farmers' Association, online)

A number of respondents invoked an understanding of being survivors. A lot of English speaking Townshippers left when land opened up in the west from the mid-to-late nineteenth century. The First and Second World Wars also impacted strongly as soldiers from the Townships left the region. Many more left after the changes in Quebec society in the 1960s and 1970s (see Kesteman et al 1998 for a general history). The feeling has been invoked that present day Townshippers are survivors – the exodus from Quebec has finished. Those who are left are there because they want to be there or they have been unable to move and now seek to make the best of the situation.

However, many anglophone Townshippers feel disenfranchised by Quebec's language laws. Anglophones with limited or no ability in French have felt excluded from debates about the future of Quebec due to their inability to engage with the language. There is no local English-language television. Laws concerning the public use of the French language in Quebec apply throughout Quebec, even in communities which have an anglophone majority. Older Townshippers learnt little or no French at school and never expected knowledge of French to become so important. In sum, this has brought about a situation in which many anglophones have seen themselves as a victimised minority. This perspective has even extended to a belief in conspiracy theories about Quebec government attempts to write the Eastern Townships out of Quebec's history.

Today, the Eastern Townships is a bit of an embarrassment to pure laine nationalists who like to think of their homeland as taken by force at the Conquest. Consequently, there is continuing pressure to erase the Eastern Townships entirely – first because it is English, secondly because there is no acceptable French equivalent for 'township'. (Epps 1992: 8)

The Next Generation

A new generation of anglophone Townshippers has grown up for whom French Quebec and the national question is fact of life, rather than something which they feel they need to escape from, even if their parents remain fearful:

The younger people that are coming up now aren't afraid as their parents might have been about what is going to happen. In this political climate it's just a fact of life like every other fact of life – you learn to adapt and become quite good at it and you'd probably miss it if you went someplace else. [Jeff]

David was born around the time that the Parti Québécois came to power for the first time. For him the 'exodus' of English Townshippers and businesses was something he has only heard about from other people.

I've only been alive since the Parti Québécois came into power in 1976, so I really didn't really see the mass exodus of people that left due to the fact that some of the institutions just said when this government came to power [that] it's just going to be just too difficult for us to deal with this language. [David]

Younger Townshippers are at much greater ease with the French language than those of their parents and grandparent's generation. Since the late 1970s the teaching of French in English schools has become increasingly important and students graduate with a much higher degree of competence in the French language. Whereas their parents would have studied French primarily as a subject in itself, the PQ generation (or generation 101)¹ of anglophones studied other subjects such as geography through the medium of French at school. The increased use of French has broadened their vocabulary and expanded the social spaces in which their French is used, far beyond that of their parents. Younger Townshippers do not expect to be able to live their lives solely within the confines of the English language.

Bilingualism is increasingly seen as an identity as well as being a technical skill. As 81.5 per cent of Quebec's population speaks French as their first language (Statistics Canada 1996), there is increased understanding that a full appreciation of, and participation in Quebec culture and society requires a good knowledge of the French language. The desire of the Quebec government to make sure everybody in Quebec speaks French, has had a perverse outcome which has benefited anglophone children more than francophones according to some residents.

But the way we are fighting back and really fighting back is in the education of our English-speaking kids to come out of school English and bilingual. This is our winning situation because the francophones are not having their kids come out of their schools speaking English. [Andy]

Andy, and another respondent Phil, were both taught French at school, but admit to not being able to speak French very well. In contrast, many francophones spoke English very well. Government policy since the Quiet Revolution has seemingly reversed the situation. Increasingly pro-French education policies have made the anglophones bilingual, a situation that would have been unthinkable in the past. Edna recalls that her brother learned French to communicate with his employees [...] but made no attention to grammar. She went to comment that she had been talking to two francophone girls recently who were struggling very hard to speak English. She lamented their struggle, seeing it as very sad – 'I felt very sorry for them'. Edna views the French girls as the victims of government policy, not as the beneficiaries. The girls' future opportunities have been sacrificed at the altar of French language preservation. However, the commonly cited claim that anglophones are becoming more bilingual than francophones is a disputed discourse, as research suggests that anglophones generally over-estimate their ability in French whereas francophones under-estimate their abilities in English (see Norris 1999).

Julie's parents are not alone among those who send their children to French school, either to ensure that they attain high levels of competence in the French language or to avoid long journeys to schools (see Handrick 2003). Anne's children attended French school because their parents were not educated in Canada, but they were later able to transfer to the English system as one had Special Educational Needs. However, when her children went to college at the age of 16, they had to go either to Lennoxville or Montreal, both too far away for practical daily commuting, especially as public transport is fairly limited; this had implications for accommodation and Anne was concerned about her son having to deal with private landlords in Montreal at such a young age.

Being Quebecers, Being Canadians

Anglophone Townshippers use the labels 'Quebecer' (though not *Québécois*) and 'Canadian' – sometimes as complementary terms.

sometimes as oppositions, depending upon the specific context.

Respondents identified strongly as being 'Quebecers' which forms an identity that is different from being an English Canadian, or more accurately they feel different from 'other' English Canadians outside of Quebec.

I love being so close to another culture. Some people get confused and think because we are English and live here that we are like English Canadians in general, but it's just not the case. Even in little towns, every town has their idiosyncrasies and, their little accents and their you know that sort of thing and so that's part of the thing that really pisses me off 'Go back to Ontario, go the States'. Why? I have nothing there? This is where I want to be. [Emma]

There are also issues with the way in which Townshippers are viewed in relation to other English Canadians, not just francophones. Emma is projecting an identity which is not like other English Canadians. Other respondents reported a sense of identity crisis in that people from outside Quebec believed that there are no English speakers in Quebec as Andy, who now lives in Alberta, testified.

In Alberta we always have to tell them there's English speakers in Quebec. As soon as you mention that you are from Quebec they automatically think you are French and speak French. 'How come you speak such good English?' Sometimes, I feel quite good about coming from Quebec, I feel good about it in Alberta and a lot better about it when I'm in Quebec. My heritage is here and this home and there's nobody going to change that. As far as the language part of it, I just don't have a problem. I understand enough to go back and forth and especially here in this area, specifically here in this town the [surname] name is so known and it supersedes so many other things along the way. Part ownership of the town I guess. [Andy]

Thus Andy and Emma are 'othering' both francophone Quebecers and English Canadians and making themselves different from both groups. Both are expressing a strong sense of where their home is, yet feel that being English and living in Quebec, is largely rejected by both Quebec francophones (or at least the Quebec government) and English Canadians as a feasible combination of identities.

Emma also felt that anglophone Townshippers were so used to sharing in French traditions they had lost sight of the origin of a lot of traditions. This mixing of English and French (as well as Catholic and Protestant) traditions has played an important role in the construction of contemporary identities.

And I like the whole thing about taking on each other's traditions. We don't know anymore whose was what in a lot of cases. We usually

go to midnight mass, my father's side of the family are Catholic and my mum [...] grew up in the United Church - Protestant. You know midnight mass [...] it was all in French I don't think it really occurred to us what to think about it. [Emma]

Asserting a 'Quebec Englishness' also plays an important role. There was annoyance at the supposition that Americans and other Canadians thought that people from Quebec only spoke French. Kelly, a teenager, had visited a doctor whilst staying in Ontario, who expressed surprise that she could speak English. One of the most powerful successes for Quebec separatism appears to have been the persuasion of other Canadians about the 'French fact' of Quebec.

Caldwell (1992: 206) contends that Townshippers only became explicitly Canadian after French Quebec nationalism began to make an impact on the Townships. It is interesting to note how the same respondents who appropriate a Quebecer identity in opposition to being rejected as Canadians appropriate a strongly Canadian identity through feeling rejected as Quebecers. A degree of this tied up with Canada's relationship with the United States. Mary explained how she and her father were thought to be Americans because they were speaking English in a Montreal restaurant. It was bad to feel excluded from as a Quebec on account of being an anglophone and excluded as a Canadian on account of being from Quebec, but to be accused of being American was the worst insult.

Andy also introduced the US dimension into his identification as being a Canadian.

French Quebec has that relationships not only with the US but also with Canada [...] I think its unfortunate in the past 30 years English-speaking Quebecers have really been made to feel less Quebecers, they've really latched on to Canada. I'm a Canadian first and a Quebecer second. In the Townships they are probably Townshippers first, then they're Canadian, then they're Quebecers. [Andy]

However, in accordance with the 'good neighbours' mentality of the Townships is a high degree of sympathy of the feelings of the French in Quebec.

Because I think that, I think that there has been things that have gone through Canadian history that have been really wrong and, the population of Quebec, the francophone population of Quebec and I think that needs to be fixed, but I don't think that separation is the answer at all. [Emma]

Andy felt that being a Canadian vis-à-vis the United States, actually gave English speakers a sense of how francophones feel about 'English' Canada.

I think a lot of Canadians probably if they look at it correctly can identify with that what francophones go through to some extent in the relationship in the US. [Andy]

Andy and Emma both emphasise their attachment to the Townships as their home and know that whatever happens politically, the place in which they grew up will still be there and still be their home. The attachment to the Townships as a place and as 'home' remains as a constant which is divorced from debates concerning Quebec's identity.

Emma emphasised the importance of Canada, as being a country which accepted diversity. However she juxtaposed this idea of Canada with that of her brother who she described as a 'redneck', although she discussed a preparedness to challenge him about his views.

My youngest brother is a 350-pound truck driver. Hang on. Think about it for two seconds where are we from? Canada? We are all immigrants you know, don't go off with me on this, ignorant, its stupid you know, let it go. The beauty of this country is that people are accepted you know, its not a melting pot, melting pots are evil just the same. [...] [My brother] is very very insecure and doesn't have a lot of friends and is more inclined towards the redneck side of our community. [Emma]

The vision of Canada which is most widely appropriated is one which accepts anglophones, but does not exclude Quebec. Phil invoked Pierre Trudeau's 'bilingual Canada' as a vision of Canada which he could identify with. The acceptance of 'coast-to-coast' bilingualism would imply that anglophones and francophones in Quebec can identify both as Canadians and Quebecers without any sense of conflict. The vision of Canada, which makes anglophone Townshippers assert their identity both as Canadians and Quebecers, is one of an anglophone Canada (Canada outside Quebec) which rejects Quebec. This is highly significant as the whole Townshippers movement is one that has engaged with issues facing Eastern Townships region whilst promoting a distinct Townships identity – it cannot be said to promoting a Canadian national identity *per se*. However, the empirical reality of two languages in the Townships makes Trudeau's vision more palatable than in (perceived to be) unilingual anglophone Ontario or British Columbia. In fact, as the minority, Trudeau's vision can only be seen as advantageous to the language rights of anglophones. Such linguistic 'equality' would be a 'win-win' situation for them. Of course, Trudeau's vision is not one which has happened in reality. After all, only one province, New Brunswick is officially bilingual.

Unlike Alliance Quebec in Montreal, the Townshippers Association has been more concerned with providing anglophones with access to

services and engaging with the majority francophone population than asserting English language rights through lobbying and through the legal system. A number of respondents were angered by the activities of Alliance Quebec and particularly the harmful image of anglophone Quebec presented by former president William Johnstone and lawyer Brent Tyler.

Conclusion

This article demonstrates that inclusion and exclusion issues facing anglophones in the Eastern Townships are not straightforward. Alongside strong local identities as Townshippers, there is a strong attachment to identities both as Quebecers and as Canadian. Whilst the language legislation of the past 30 years and the separatist aspirations of PQ governments have led to a discourse of rejection as Quebecers, the Frenchness of Quebec contributes to the construction of identity in relation to other Canadians.

Whilst anglophone Townshippers have generally presented themselves as a minority, there is a great deal of diversity in how this idea of 'minority' works out in practice. The idea of 'minority' has developed both positive and negative connotations. The idea of a minority that is discriminated against has been appropriated by both the discourses of the wealthy anglophone and the impoverished anglophone. The emergence of a bilingual anglophone minority is also presented as a strangely beneficial by-product of Quebec government policy.

A strong Quebec identity *vis-à-vis* the rest of Canada and a strong Canadian identity has been invented and reinvented in response to francophones in general and the Quebec government in particular in conjunction with a strong local identity in the construction of a unique place in the world. Strongly Townshippers, strongly Quebecers and strongly Canadians, a minority identity is in the process of being invented and reinvented which sets Townshippers apart from francophone Quebecers, other English Canadians and other English Quebecers.

Perhaps, most importantly, the identities of these anglophones ought to be seen as equally important in constructing Quebec nationalisms as those of the Parti Québécois and other French Quebec discourses.

Notes

1. So called after Bill 101, Le chartre de la langue français (1977).

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Françoise Le Jeune

Representations of Canada's Social Prospects to British Middle-class Emigrants in Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852)

Before migrating from England to Canada West or to British Columbia in the late 1850s and 1860s, many middle-class emigrants had read the colonial testimonies or colonial autobiographies which were then available in Britain. I will begin by studying this new popular genre and more particularly the volumes written by female middle-class emigrants who, for the first time, revealed the living conditions awaiting men and women of their own class in British North America, should they make the 'painful' choice of emigration.

Then I will analyse one of the most famous colonial autobiographies, Susanna Moodie's *Roughing it in the Bush*. Her book, published in England in 1852, became very popular among aspiring middle-class emigrants. I will pay attention to the didactic message and representations Mrs Moodie conveys to her readers about Canada and its social prospects for penniless educated genteel families. The personal narrative of her new life as an emigrant in the New World can be read as a religious and spiritual quest for a better world, while leaving behind a money-driven Old World. In her representations of the New World, she endowed Canada with many moral virtues and definitely praised the social qualities of this new 'city upon the hill'. She even sang its meritocratic merits in patriotic overtones and heralded an age of Social Christianity for Canada, against the social and moral demons represented by the Old Mother Country. However, the representations she gives of Canada are not destined to the British reading public as a whole. She selects the emigrants she deems 'worthy' of this New (Christian) World among the 'honest sons of poverty', that is, distressed genteel families like hers, who were forced to emigrate because of social and financial contingencies. She encouraged these people to leave the Old World behind and to join other 'deserving' emigrants in Canada by promising them the Bourgeois Dream they had failed to achieve at home, only after experiencing some spiritual and physical hardship in the backwoods. Such representations must have had an impact on the emigrants' decision to emigrate and on their choice of a final destination in Canada, Canada West or British Columbia.

Notes

1. So called after Bill 101, Le charte de la langue française (1977).

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