

What is Québécois Literature?
Reflections on the Literary History
of Francophone Writing in Canada

Contemporary French and Francophone Cultures

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ROSEMARY CHAPMAN

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Reflections on the Literary History
of Francophone Writing in Canada

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Introduction

The question ‘What is *québécois* literature?’ may seem innocent and answerable. But, as is the case with many simple questions, the answer is not simple. As my subtitle suggests, the question provokes not answers but further queries and reflections. The shift from ‘québécois’ to ‘francophone writing in Canada’ emphasizes the problematic nature of terminology and classification in this field. As will be seen, the term ‘la littérature québécoise’ was only coined in the mid-1960s, in the very specific context of Quebec’s *Révolution tranquille*. If I choose to use the cumbersome phrase ‘francophone writing in Canada’ it is because it is a rather more accurate term to refer to the historical, geographical and generic range of literature written in French in Canada, within and beyond Quebec, by authors mostly but not exclusively of European descent. What constitutes ‘literature’ in francophone Canada varies from one historical period to another. As will be seen in Chapter 3, in the nineteenth century the term might be used to include sermons, speeches and works of history, whereas literature as taught in schools in the twenty-first century falls into four main genres: poetry (and song), prose fiction (the novel and shorter forms), theatre and essay. The predominance of religious and political rhetoric in nineteenth-century Quebec highlights the ways in which literary histories are a cultural product and serve a specific, local purpose. The literary canon of one culture is not a simple transposition from another. The chapters that follow will demonstrate the ways in which religion and politics have played an active role in shaping and mediating a particular canon to francophone Canada. Literary historians also make very different choices in the balance between genres within the canon which they construct. This may result in part from the status of the literature of France in the literary education of francophone Canadians, at least up to the 1960s, for whom the fables of La Fontaine and the works of seventeenth-century French

dramatists represented unsurpassable models of literary achievement. Theatre in particular is neglected in the literary histories of francophone Canada, as Lucie Robert, for example, has pointed out.¹ This gap has to an extent been filled by literary histories and anthologies devoted to specific genres, whose own historiography has yet to be studied.²

However, this book will not track the way in which different genres have emerged and established themselves within the literary field, nor does it aim to offer an alternative literary history; rather it will reflect on the construction, function and operation of literary history in francophone Canada. It will explore the different ways in which the history of literary writing in French has been told, and the role played by education in the mediation of that literature. It will study how the narrative and the function of literary historical works have changed as the francophone Canadian population has moved from a colonial past to a postcolonial present and as the rise of Québécois nationalism has both strengthened and polarized not only the francophone population but also francophone literary culture within and beyond Quebec. In order to examine the phenomenon of literary history I shall be taking a number of pathways. These pathways follow a diachronic route in most cases but they operate on different types of material and view these from a variety of perspectives, ranging from the close examination of individual textbooks or curriculum statements to the comparison of a selection of volumes of literary history, and to the discussion of areas of the wide literary field of francophone literature in Canada which tend to be under-represented in the narrative of *la littérature québécoise* today. These pathways will not together compose a complete picture of the literary history of francophone Canada, but they aim to open up the field and explore its potential for the future as well as some of the directions it has taken in the past.

My argument takes as its starting point the view that literary history is never neutral, never comprehensive, is as much about the present as the past, and has adopted and adapted a variety of methodologies over time and to suit different contexts. Any literary history maps a territory not only by what it includes, but by what it excludes. That begins with the way we choose to delineate a corpus or tradition of literature. What specific territory is implied or evoked when one speaks of the history of *la littérature canadienne de langue française*, of *la littérature québécoise*, of *la littérature acadienne*, *la littérature franco-ontarienne* or *la littérature amérindienne francophone*? Each of these terms suggests a different mapping, a different narrative, and also a

different historical context, structure or periodization. Bhabha argues that literary histories 'are part [...] of the negotiable field of meanings, signs, and symbols, that is associated with national culture, national identity, national life'.³ The very notion of a national narrative takes on a particular complexity in the context of colonial and postcolonial cultures. As Said argues: 'Nations themselves are narratives. The power to narrate or to block other narratives from forming and emerging is very important to culture and to imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them.'⁴ The reliance on national(ist) tropes has influenced the construction of literary histories of francophone writing in Canada in various ways. While recognizing the energizing role of Quebec nationalism in the emergence and affirmation of *québécois* literature in the second half of the twentieth century, it is also important to analyse the effects of such a narrative on the shape of literary history, on its focus, its inclusions and exclusions. If literary history became the site of contesting theoretical and ideological approaches in the 1960s and 1970s, the writing of literary histories has become still more problematic in the twenty-first century. The last three decades have seen further shifts and tensions working their way through the field of literary history in francophone Canada as a result of two opposed developments: the undermining of the national in favour of global movements and the proliferation of alternative, local, minority histories. In many ways the literary field has become ever more open and inclusive in its recognition of minority literatures and genres which target particular readerships; at the same time, many of the traditional components and methodologies of literary history (including categorization by period or genre and the notion of canon) have been undermined and questioned. Huggan asks whether literary histories 'with their conceptual legacies of continuity and coherence, can accommodate such postcolonial/postmodern disruptions, such global flows and internal fissures'.⁵

The first part of this introduction will discuss the nature and function of literary history, its underlying assumptions, its various narratives and its component parts. In particular it will consider the problematic nature of the focus on nation that has typified literary history since the nineteenth century, nationhood and nationalism being central to any discussion of the literature of a colonized population. What might a postcolonial history of literature achieve? It might expose and challenge some of the underlying assumptions and biases of earlier literary histories and the ways in which literary history has performed an ideological function. Equally it might reveal some of the omissions and

the marginalizations which in themselves are telling in terms of colonial and postcolonial analysis.

The second part of the introduction will go on to consider how the writing of the literary history of francophone Canada has responded to a very particular colonial situation; francophones of European descent are both colonizers (of the indigenous population since first permanent French settlement in North America in 1604) and colonized (by the British after their victory on the Plains of Abraham in 1759 and the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which ceded New France to British rule). Given the variety of ways in which the production and dissemination of literature in French may have been conditioned by its colonial context, it will be useful to consider how patterns of colonial domination, between Europe and Canada and within Canada, have inflected the histories of francophone literature in Canada. Work in the area of postcolonial studies provides fruitful insights into many of the issues raised.

What is literary history?

Literary history is an activity that can take a variety of forms; traditionally these have included the chronological narrative account in one or more volumes; the anthology of extracts, representing the corpus of a literature; the encyclopaedia, repertoire or dictionary of writers or works. To this basis of what are essentially treated as reference works (but constructed in very particular ways and to particular ends by their authors, editors and readers) can be added academic works that are literary historical in function and methodology (bibliographies, theses, monographs, articles, etc.) and more recently web-based material including databases, reading lists and websites. Before turning to study the case of francophone Canada more closely it is important to clarify what it is that literary history does and how it has responded to recent challenges.

In *Australian Literature: Postcolonialism, Racism, Transnationalism* Graham Huggan outlines one of the many paradoxes that arise from the study of literary history: ‘There are few pursuits less fashionable yet more contentious than literary history. What is this outdated discipline that continues, in spite of itself, to be so up-to-date?’⁶ The late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have seen a range of discussions about the function and the plausibility of literary history. Literary history

in the Western tradition has its origins in nineteenth-century Europe. Under the influence of Herder, the Schlegel brothers and Mme de Staël literary histories were structured according to a developmental argument, presented as a narrative thread, which David Perkins sees as enduring into modern-day literary histories: ‘the assumption that the various genres, periods, schools, traditions, movements, communicative systems, discourses, and epistemes are not baseless and arbitrary groupings, that such classifications can have objective and valid grounds in the literature of the past, is still the fundamental assumption of the discipline, the premise that empowers it’.⁷ The use of the term ‘discipline’ by both Huggan and Perkins suggests that literary history operates as a distinctive, definable area of knowledge. Yet as Perkins points out, literary history has adopted many different methodologies which are drawn from a range of disciplines. Looking back at some of the ways in which literary history has been practised, he concludes: ‘Its major modes have been Hegelian, naturalist, positivist, *geistesgeschichtlich*, Marxist, formalist, sociological and, paradoxically, postmodern’.⁸ (It is worth noting that in 1992 Perkins does not add the term ‘postcolonial’ to his list of approaches.) Such methodological approaches have been applied to a variety of corpuses from the literature of a nation, a region or a period, to the literature produced by a certain class, or by a specific ethnic or minority group. The resulting ‘histories’ may focus on the means of production and circulation of such bodies of work, their reception, their social or political impact, their readership or their literary forms. The very term ‘literary history’ exposes a central tension within literary histories, that of a relationship assumed to exist between the two terms ‘literature’ and ‘history’. Is literary history a history of literary forms, literary themes, literary language, or is it an analysis of the relationship between a specific history (material, social, political, cultural or intellectual) and its literary production? In either case, to what extent does the construction of a literary history depend upon notions of causality or genealogy? The picture is further complicated by the distinction between the activities proper to literary history, literary criticism, or indeed, the history of literature. As will be seen in Chapter 1, some literary histories tend much more towards literary criticism, others privilege historical context or the social and economic conditions of literary production to the detriment of the individual literary text. In Perkins’ view, ‘historical contextualism can interpret and account for elements of texts by referring them to relevant bits of the social and literary matrix, but it cannot grasp texts as aesthetic designs’.⁹

While both Perkins and Huggan, from their different perspectives, are sceptical about the fundamental premises of literary history, neither of them is willing to dismiss such projects entirely. For Perkins the impossibility of the project of literary history is a product of our age: 'we cannot write literary history with intellectual conviction, but we must read it. The irony and paradox of this argument are themselves typical of our present moment in history.'¹⁰ For Huggan, while the traditional project of literary history is marked by its imperialist origins and the myth of a unified nation, the writing of literary history, informed by postcolonial and postmodernist approaches, is a valuable, if highly problematic, enterprise. Such caveats and paradoxes will apply to the following discussion of literary history and its application to the field of francophone literature in Canada.

While it would be difficult to argue that literary history constitutes a distinct discipline, given the range of forms and methods which it adopts, a number of central features recur by which we can recognize the genre. The writing of literary history involves the delimitation of a field of study in terms of space, time, language and genre. Whether the literature typically relates to a country (Brazil), a region (Brittany), a number of territories linked by language (*la francophonie*) or some other spatially defined category (the francophone diaspora in North America), its scope needs to be defined, and questions of eligibility for inclusion have to be addressed (involving criteria such as place of birth, period of residence, language of expression, etc.). Literary history requires a choice of periodization: the account must begin somewhere in history and must have a cut-off date; this time span is then typically divided into a number of shorter periods, or stages, based on historical events, on cultural and literary movements or developments, or some combination of the two. While the majority of literary histories study a corpus of literature written in one particular language, comparative studies of works in two or more languages exist, as do studies of the literature of a country in which a number of linguistic communities engage in literary production.¹¹ The literary historian must select a corpus of works; in the process of selection, some texts are omitted, whether because they are deemed to be of lower quality, to be less representative, or to fail to correspond to the model which the literary historian is constructing. The selection process in turn relies on a certain understanding of what constitutes 'literature', both over time (as genres develop and move into or out of the sphere of the 'literary') and across the range of popular, minority and high culture. Through repetition

and dissemination, the works and genres most frequently selected or most fully discussed will tend to become part of a literary canon associated with that particular body of literature. Once the material has been selected it has to be classified, organized and presented to the reader. In addition to the main body of text, literary histories are often accompanied by paratextual material such as prefaces, indexes, bibliographies and appendices (typically a chronology of relevant historical, literary and cultural events). Each of these processes of selection, classification, organization and presentation poses problems which the literary historian must resolve in some way. As will be seen in Chapter 1, many of these decisions take on particular significance in the case of the history of francophone literature in Canada.

Forms of literary history

In *Is Literary History Possible?* Perkins divides literary histories into two main shapes which he designates as narrative literary history and encyclopaedic literary history. From the nineteenth century onwards narrative literary history has been the dominant form; it has a point of view, presenting texts, events and literary movements as ‘constituents of a discursive form with a beginning, a middle and an end, if it is Aristotelian narration, or with a statement, development, and conclusion, if it is an argument’.¹² This point of view refers not only to the individual or collective values of the authors concerned; as Jonathan Arac argues, ‘The history of literature involves both historiography (“subject”) and historicity (“object”). [...] As historiography, the history of literature is an activity in the present.’¹³ The narrative draws on notions of causality and coherence in its attempt to give shape to the account. Such notions are often emplotted by means of metaphors (of origin, growth to maturity, victory and defeat). The alternative shape is the encyclopaedic form, which is structured as a series of separate and sometimes short essays or entries on works, authors, movements or aesthetic styles. Multiple authors are usually involved and these authors may well adopt a diverse set of approaches. Before turning to consider the ways in which narrative literary history has been used to construct the nation, the central protagonist of most literary histories of Canada, I wish to explore further the notion of encyclopaedic literary history and discuss the model of reading that it encourages.

One of two examples of encyclopaedic literary histories discussed by Perkins is *A New History of French Literature*, produced by an editorial team led by Denis Hollier and first published in 1989. Contributions

came from 165 scholars, the vast majority of whom were university academics in the USA, each responsible for one, or occasionally more, entries. Entries are arranged chronologically, with dates appearing in various forms (1754?, December 1761, 1914–1918, 6 February 1945). The coverage leaves gaps: the 1890s have three entries while the first decade of the twentieth century has only one. In his introduction to the volume, Hollier comments on the purpose of this choice of structure: it aims to avoid both continuous historical narrative, which ‘artificially homogenizes literature into linear chronologies’, and the alphabetical dictionary, which ‘introduces masses of often irrelevant information’.¹⁴ Individual entries differ vastly in scope, focus and approach but follow a consistent format. After the date there follows a ‘headline’ announcing an event which in turn indicates the point of departure for the more wide-ranging essay that follows under a further heading. The entries for the period 1890–1910 illustrate the layout and typography:

1892

Oscar Wilde Tries to Have His *Salomé* Performed in London with Sarah Bernhardt in the Title Role

Writing and the Dance

1895

Gustave Lanson Publishes His *Histoire de la littérature française*

Literature in the Classroom

1898

Emile Zola Publishes ‘J’accuse’, an Open Letter to the President of the Republic in Which He Denounces the Irregularities Leading to Dreyfus’ Condemnation

The Dreyfus Affair

1905, 9 December

The Legislative Assembly Passes the Law concerning the Separation of Church and State, Ending the Concordat of 1801

On Schools, Churches and Museums

As is evident, entries may be triggered by literary events or other events which may have literary repercussions, sometimes at a much later date, or which may bring to a head a situation that had long predated the event. Hollier juxtaposes events of a varied nature ‘to produce an effect of heterogeneity and to disrupt the traditional orderliness of most histories of literature: essays devoted to a genre coexist with essays devoted to one book, institutions are presented alongside literary movements, large surveys next to detailed analysis of specific landmarks’ (xix). The

volume (over 1,150 pages long) avoids ‘comprehensive’ presentation of authors, periods, genres or movements, each of these appearing through a series of lenses, in different connections and from various perspectives. Such fragmentation is seen by Perkins as preventing the literary historian from offering a sophisticated and coherent understanding of the past: ‘Encyclopedic form is intellectually deficient. [...] Because it aspires to reflect the past in its multiplicity and heterogeneity, it does not organize the past, and in this sense it is not history. There is little excitement in reading it.’¹⁵ This is one point of view, but one which I do not share. Perkins suggests that ‘a reader who acquired his information only from *A New History of French Literature* would not know why Proust is a topic at all’.¹⁶ Yet, as can be seen from the examples above, the events chosen have more than anecdotal interest and the reader who follows a path of their own making through the volume, through cross-referencing or searching by author, date or genre, will draw together or contrast a range of types and sources of information. Such a reading supplies what Perkins himself argues cannot be found in a narrative literary history; that is, ‘diverse durations, levels of reality, sequences of events, and multiple points of view’.¹⁷

Nor is Hollier’s ‘encyclopaedic’ literary history so thoroughly postmodern that narrative does not appear. In fact many of the entries adopt narrative forms and devices found in more traditional literary histories. As the following example illustrates, entries can be read as a series of micro-narratives, rather than a series of fragments. The entry for 1895 written by Antoine Compagnon, ‘Gustave Lanson Publishes His *Histoire de la littérature française*’, leads into an essay entitled ‘*Literature in the Classroom*’. The author sets the event in a historical context (the longstanding opposition between Benedictines and Jesuits, between philology and rhetoric, and between particularists and generalists; the dominance of rhetoric-based literary study in the Napoleonic universities; the effects of the defeat of 1870 on the status of rhetoric and its displacement by literary history under the Third Republic). Looking forward from 1895 Compagnon then discusses the impact of Lanson’s promotion of literary history throughout the educational establishment, its various distortions, and the 1960s dispute between ‘the old Lansonian Sorbonne and the *nouvelle critique* [...] which claimed to take its inspiration from Ferdinand de Saussure’s linguistics, Freudian psychoanalysis, Marxist sociology, and so on – that is, from the social sciences’ (823). The entry closes with a reflection on the waning of New Criticism and the ongoing opposition between

generalists and particularists. The account is broadly linear; it uses personification and adopts a rhetoric of emergence, conflict, growth and decline in phrases such as the following: ‘After the Revolution [...] particularism took refuge in the Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, while rhetoric flourished in the Napoleonic universities established in 1803’ (819); ‘In 1890 literary studies thus seemed condemned to decline’ (820); ‘[Brunetière] fought the rear-guard struggle’ (820); ‘the destiny of French literary history’ (822); ‘Lanson came at just the right moment’ (821). The historical account includes a final reflection from the moment of writing and its author makes a number of evaluative comments as when he praises Lanson’s 1903 *Programme d’études sur l’histoire provinciale de la vie littéraire en France*, commenting ‘Unfortunately, this excellent programme was not realized until the *Annales* historians systematically undertook it during the 1960s’ (822). The reference to *la nouvelle critique* cited above displays a more ironic narrative voice: ‘which *claimed* to take its inspiration from Ferdinand de Saussure’s linguistics, Freudian psychoanalysis, Marxist sociology, *and so on* – that is, from the social sciences’ (823, my emphases).

While encyclopaedic literary histories might draw on various features of narrative literary history within a series of micro-narratives, the apparent fragmentation and incoherence of the volume as a whole can offer the reader a more intellectually stimulating and more open-ended read than does a traditional, linear and didactic literary history. Equally, it should be recognized that many readers of narrative literary histories may well read such histories in a non-linear way; that is they may access the information they require with the index as a guide, using the literary history as a reference work which they read selectively. While segments of the discourse of causality will still emerge from the passages consulted, the overall coherence will be undermined or obscured by such a reading. This can in turn disrupt the narrative thread of the literary history. Narrative and encyclopaedic literary histories should not be understood as opposites (as Perkins himself acknowledges). Rather the two forms should be understood as the extreme points of a spectrum, one which results not only from the format, content and voice of the text but also from the reader’s own construction of the text. In response to his own question about whether literary histories ‘with their conceptual legacies of continuity and coherence, [can] accommodate such postcolonial/postmodern disruptions, such global flows and internal fissures’, Huggan suggests that attempts to write alternative or revisionary literary histories tend to result in a compromise between ‘the various policing

mechanisms'¹⁸ (such as periodization, classification, canon) and new pluralist modes of imagining the nation.

Literary history, the nation and nationalism

While, as E. D. Blodgett argues in *Five-Part Invention: A History of Literary History in Canada*, 'not all literary history is explicitly organized around the nation', he continues: 'Somewhere, however, the nation is present, if only implicitly, and in most cases the nation is the dominant.'¹⁹ The presence of the nation as a recurrent figure in literary history dates back to the appearance of national literary histories as a genre, which coincided in the Western world with the rise of nationalist movements in the nineteenth century. According to the German philologist J. G. Herder, it is the possession of a common language that ensures the unity of a people:

Without its own language, a *Volk* is an absurdity, a contradiction in terms. For neither blood and soil, nor conquest and political fiat can engender that unique consciousness which alone sustains the existence and continuity of a social entity. Even if a *Volk's* state perishes, the nation remains intact, provided it maintains its distinctive linguistic traditions.²⁰

The function of literary history as a tool of nation-building can be seen as a logical development of such a definition of national consciousness. Indeed Herder stresses the important role of education as one means of reinforcing the historical consciousness of a people, a process which will be examined in Chapters 2 and 3.²¹

Herder's notion of a national consciousness was based on the sharing of a common language; modern-day nationhood is more problematic. In the case of Canada, there are of course many 'national' histories (of the anglophone settlers, francophone *colons colonisés*, First Nations, Inuit or ethnic minorities), yet these are not all easily identifiable with a single language. In the case of many communities and individual members of the First Nations population, language has been lost in the process of colonial acculturation. The relationship to language may be further complicated by the bilingualism or plurilingualism, forced or chosen, of individuals and communities. For many communities in Canada, the relationships between nationhood, language and literature are fraught with ambivalence and paradoxes. Blodgett's study is in part an attempt to destabilize the traditional equating of nation with a shared national idea, the better to recognize the presence of the other (language, ethnicity, minority): 'Thus the point of the trans-national

frame that is not designed so much to internationalize Canada as to open it up to its several selves.²² Sylvia Söderlind also reflects on the way in which any attempt to create a national narrative should be studied as much for what it forgets and what it excludes as what it includes: ‘Any critical practice that uses an adjective like “Canadian” to delimit its object of study is inevitably engaged in a nation-defining, if not a nation-building enterprise, and the inclusions and exclusions effected by a critical community will reveal something about the kind of nation it prefers to imagine.’²³ Such an awareness of the exclusions effected by nation-shaped narratives in literary history is relevant to any culture. But when successive layers of colonization, external and internal, come into play, the writing of a nation-shaped literary history becomes both more urgent and more problematic.

The national, the colonial and the postcolonial

In *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin discuss the characteristic preoccupations of literature in invader-settler societies which they outline as follows: the relationship between social and literary practices in the old world and the new; the relationship between the indigenous population and the incoming settler population; the relationship between their imported language and the new place.²⁴ Although the authors are concerned here with invader-settler societies established by British colonization, similar concerns are relevant to the francophone population of Canada, in that the history of their literature can be seen as a process torn between the need to legitimize itself and to differentiate itself in relation to the former colonial power. As Hutcheon points out, the relationship between colony and empire casts a long shadow: ‘the literary histories (like the social histories) of both former colony and former empire are always intrinsically complex, internally and externally relational, and mutually implicated; these qualities make these histories crucial to their nations’ self-understanding’.²⁵ In this context the writing of a national literature becomes a significant act, ‘an important element in the establishment of an independent cultural identity’.²⁶ But because of the double layer of colonization under which the French colony was in turn colonized by the British, the relationships shift and become more complex. This ‘doubling’ effect has been used by a number of critics to explore the psyche and the cultural life of the francophone population of Canada. Jean Bouthillette, writing in 1972, describes the effect of British colonization on the national consciousness of French Canadians in just such terms:

Quand nous tentons de nous saisir comme peuple, ou de nous projeter sur le monde, une présence s'interpose. Où que nous regardions, infailliblement nous rencontrons l'Autre – en l'occurrence l'Anglais –, dont le regard trouble notre propre regard. Le Canadien français est un homme qui a deux ombres. Et c'est en vain que nous feignons d'y échapper: l'ombre anglaise nous accompagne toujours et partout. Et dans cette ombre nous devenons ombre.²⁷

Bouthillette sees the overcoming of this alienating model of French-Canadian identity ('dissipée dans la servitude canadienne') by Quebec nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s as the point at which the nation can at last be constructed: 'Ce que nous trouvons à la place – et qu'il faut construire – , jeune, moderne, enraciné et ouvert au monde, c'est le peuple québécois, soit un groupe culturel, homogène par la langue, et qui cherche – dans son nationalisme décolonisateur – son expression politique totale.'²⁸ But, of course, the francophone population was not only the object of British colonial rule and of anglophone domination but also the continuing agent of the internal colonization of the indigenous population.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century national consciousness remains a problematic issue for literary history in Canada. Blodgett analyses the ongoing effects of external and internal colonizations on Canadian literary histories by drawing on the Lacanian model of the mirror stage, the point at which the child moves from the Imaginary (the period of close identification with the mother) to the Symbolic (the stage at which the child seeks to acquire the discourse and the power exercised by the father): 'Much of Canada's national self-awareness has developed in a complex manner involving (at least) two mother countries. Internal perceptions of colonialization are also apparent in histories of First Nations, Inuit, Acadian, and Quebec writing.'²⁹ The political alienation produced under colonial conditions means that the process of liberation is also more complex, the discourse which is acquired being 'not simply the language that the "Father" has always spoken in Lacan's sense, but rather an ambiguous discourse that in many ways is neither of "here" nor "there". It is a special vernacular that literary historians gradually build into their argument of change as difference.'³⁰ And Blodgett sees the emphasis on vernacular difference, sometimes appearing in the form of linguistic hybridization, as being most apparent in the history of *québécois*, First Nations and Inuit writing, that is, in those communities whose colonial history has involved both external and internal colonization.

If the process of developing a national literature, and of writing a literary history of that literature, is a significant part of the process of decolonization and central to the concerns of postcolonial studies, the focus on the nation can prove to be problematic and risks replacing former essentializing notions of nationhood, of race and culture, with a locally produced substitute. As Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin argue: ‘The impetus towards national self-realization in critical assessments of literature all too often fails to stop short of nationalist myth.’³¹ Could it be that postcolonial literary histories (by which in this instance I mean the history of the literature of a previously colonized population) serve a specific, limited function within the historical shift from the colonial to the postcolonial and that the impact of globalization will render such histories obsolete? If literary history is unable to challenge and displace the model of the nation as homogeneous and uniform, then the answer will be yes. Mads Rosendahl Thomsen, in common with many commentators on world literature, would suggest that literary historians have failed to reflect in their practice that ‘within the last decades [...] the concept of culture has gradually become more and more widely defined as non-essentialist, hybrid and contingent’.³² And yet it is precisely by returning to study the tensions, the shifting shapes and the various discourses of literature produced under specific colonial contexts and in their aftermath that one can best hope to recognize the complexity and variety of literary expression in a formerly colonized territory. In presenting the case for studying Australian literature, Huggan points out that it cannot simply be categorized as a ‘branch’ of English literature, nor is it simply an anti-colonialist literature. Rather, he argues, Australian literature has steered ‘a not always careful path between metropolitan accommodation and postcolonial resistance’.³³ Nor, he suggests, is any literature a purely national phenomenon: ‘Australia’s literature is a distinctively, even defiantly national achievement; but its writers just as unmistakably belong to the wider world.’³⁴ In the twenty-first century, the role of literary history is not to choose between the national and the global, but rather to recognize the ways in which other cultures, languages, places and systems play a role in any literature, however specific and distinctive its local circumstances might be.

What is specific to francophone Canadian literary history?

The distinctiveness of Canadian literature in French (however that is to be defined) arises initially from the specific conditions of its production and the range of power structures that have operated. The francophone population in northern America has established a unique relationship to space as a result of their patterns of settlement, their different colonial experiences, the diasporic movement of the French-speaking population across the North American continent whether by deportation (in the case of the majority of the Acadian population between 1755 and 1763), exile or migration, and the contact of the francophone population with the indigenous population (in a variety of relationships – confrontational, evangelizing, assimilatory, collaborative, or marked by processes of *métissage*, both literal and figurative). These various relationships to North American space and to its first inhabitants can all be seen within the fundamental and ongoing colonial relationship. The problematic positioning of the literature of an invader-settler population, the social practices and power relations of which continue to an extent to be shaped by that original relationship to place, will remain a key consideration in any study of such a literary history. Immigration into francophone areas, from countries with or without a colonial history, has continued to add to the cultural diversity of Canadian literature written in French (as a first or second language). This tradition of writing, of publication and of reading has in addition to be considered in relation to the population of the territory colonized, the indigenous peoples. Colonial practices of evangelization and assimilation have resulted in the use of English or French by the majority of writers of aboriginal descent, whether as a first or second language, and the eradication of many indigenous languages. A growing corpus of aboriginal writing in French is now emerging alongside a well-established body of aboriginal Canadian writing in English. The ways in which literary historians have responded to their work will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The inclusion of francophone Canada in the field of postcolonial studies has always been contested by some who do not consider the case of former settler colonies to be fully comparable to the situation of colonies in which little permanent settlement took place, the indigenous population being governed by local representatives of the colonizer and their wealth returned to the imperial centre.³⁵ However, as commentators such as Albert Memmi pointed out in a contribution in the early years of this debate, ‘each domination is relative, and each is specific’.³⁶

In the course of a discussion with students at the Sorbonne the following point was made by one of the students, whose metropolitan French view effects a shift in the terms of the debate:

What is confusing, however, for French opinion, and for those Frenchmen who visit Canada, is the prosperity, if not real at least apparent, of the province of Quebec. It seems rather that there are two colonizing nations, one of which has got the upper hand. It is the Indians who are really the colonized race.³⁷

The student's perception recognizes that there are layers at work in this case of domination, and that domination is a relative but still real relationship of power. Although the debate is very much a product of its time in the late 1960s,³⁸ the underlying point remains true. Power structures are relative. The perspective shifts, just as the centre shifts if one moves the position from which the system is experienced. The cases of former colonial societies such as Canada and Australia offer complex examples of the relative forms of colonial domination. Slemon suggests that it is precisely this complexity, or ambivalence, which has caused some postcolonial theorists to exclude what he terms the Second World (of settler societies) from their field, 'because its modalities of post-coloniality are too ambivalent, too occasional and uncommon, for inclusion within the field'.³⁹ Yet I (and he) would argue that it is precisely the ambivalence and uncommonness of the postcolonial (and colonial) experience that make it important to apply insights from postcolonial studies to the study of francophone Canadian literature.

Brydon uses the term 'invader-settler colony' rather than Second World, settler or settler-invader colonies in order to stress that 'the narrative of settlement in itself occludes and denies the prior fact of invasion'.⁴⁰ I shall adopt her approach as it acts as a reminder of the presence of the aboriginal population even though much of the literary history of francophone Canada would initially seem to have been conducted as if it were largely the concern of francophone Canadians of European descent. Nevertheless, as will emerge, the representation of the aboriginal population and to an extent the aboriginal reader and writer are part of what makes the literary history of francophone Canada distinctive, and this is an important factor in the argument for including Canada, and Quebec, in the field of postcolonial studies. It is because of this need for nuance and the careful distinction between experiences of colonialism that Brydon defends the inclusion of Canada within postcolonial studies: 'postcolonial frames of interpretation are

most enabling when they facilitate distinctions between different orders of colonial experience, rather than, on the one hand, conflating Third World and invader-settler societies as equally victimized or, on the other, banishing settler colonies from the sphere of “properly” postcolonial subject matter’.⁴¹ In the case of francophone Canada, this nuancing will include, for example, the awareness that one cannot conflate Acadie with ‘Quebec’, nor simply absorb aboriginal literature in French with *québécois* literature. This need for distinction and nuance is also crucial when one thinks of the use of the terms ‘nation’ and ‘nationalist’ with reference to francophone Canada. Brydon argues:

there are many different kinds of nationalisms, all of which need to be understood in context. [...] Such an interpellation may be especially fraught in a country such as Canada, where it has never been possible to forget that our national identity is neither unified nor natural but something that we work at reinventing and protecting every day. The implications for Quebec [...] are equally complex.⁴²

Francophone Canada has been deeply implicated in colonial processes and their implementation, both as an active, complicit participant and as a population colonized by the British and dominated by the anglophone majority, yet with ongoing relationships both with metropolitan France and with the indigenous population of the territories which they settled. The consequences of such an ambivalent positioning are clear when one thinks through the way in which the very notions of centre and margins become problematic as a result of francophone Canada’s double history of colonization. France, the historical colonizer and dominant cultural centre for francophone Canadians, has played various roles in its relationship to francophones in Canada, roles which did not simply change with the fall of New France. Indeed it can be argued that at various times and for various sectors of the population, France has been the colonial, controlling, culturally dominant centre, imposing its own criteria on questions of literary value, genre, language and form, validating individual writers, shaping the market, relegating *québécois* literature to a secondary or regional status; at other times France has represented an inspirational, liberatory model of intellectual and artistic freedom (in the interests of secularism and reason), of formal experimentation, a source of political progressivism, feminism and anticolonialism. Both Britain and the USA have at different moments provided alternative, attractive centres to the rigid traditionalism of Quebec’s Catholic establishment, and at other times have been powerful forces in a cultural field in which

the survival of a culture and a literature in French have seemed under serious threat. The fluidity of this positioning between a number of centres of cultural, political and financial power has resulted in a literary culture at once open and closed, receptive to influence and defensive of its traditions and its specificity, paradoxes which find expression in the meta-narrative of francophone Canadian literary history.

The history of a literature is also, whether explicitly or implicitly, the history of that literature's institutionalization. A number of the processes of the literary institution will be discussed in the course of the following chapters, although the history of such institutions is not the focus of this book.⁴³ It is important to recognize, however, that the development of such institutions has been shaped by the ambivalent positioning of francophone culture within the tensions and contradictions of its colonial context and its legacies. In most cases, institutions have been relatively slow to develop, or have prioritized a particular function in response to the fact of British rule, or to the minority situation of the various francophone populations of Canada in relation to an anglophone majority, be it at the level of city, province, state or continent. Key aspects of the institutionalization of a literature include publishing (and processes of promotion and censorship), dissemination (including libraries), education (and the curriculum) and consecration (including the work of critics, literary historians and a system of literary awards). These features have operated in a distinctive way and with a specific impact in francophone Canada as it gradually put in place the structures that established a more and more autonomous literary field, in its desire to separate itself from a dependence on metropolitan France and resist assimilation by anglophone Canada. As will be seen, this process of differentiation and self-assertion is ongoing, dynamic and strategic, a battle fought on numerous fronts.

One of the paradoxes of Canada's colonial history is that the publication of texts in French in Canada only began after the Conquest, during the early years of British rule. With the fall of New France the previous supply of printed material from France was interrupted and although some editions of French literary works continued to be printed in New York and Philadelphia, the importing of literature directly from France did not resume for over fifty years. While the publication of newspapers, reviews and almanacs in French flourished in the early nineteenth century,⁴⁴ it was not until the second half of the century that literary works began to appear in any number. Authors were badly served in Quebec by the late imposition of copyright legislation,

there being no copyright law in Canada before 1921, meaning that authors had little protection against pirating or plagiarism and little professional status. Additionally, the definition of ‘publisher’ was rather obscure into the early twentieth century (books often show *imprimeur*, *imprimeur-typographe*, *imprimeur-éditeur* or *libraire-éditeur*, which emphasizes the lack of organization of the sector) and authors often had to contribute at least some of costs of publication.

As is so frequently the case at so many levels of cultural, social and intellectual life in francophone Canada, the development of literary publishing in the nineteenth century was closely dependent on the involvement of the Catholic Church. In particular the Church’s control of education in Quebec (a control which in turn mediated a higher control from Rome)⁴⁵ as it developed from the mid-nineteenth century onwards meant that it also had control over textbooks (a crucial source of orthodox thinking) and book prizes (a flourishing part of the industry until the 1960s). With the expansion of schooling, school textbooks represented an important source of income for printers, which meant that, since education was in the hands of the Church, printers and publishers tended to be unwilling to offend orthodoxy. School prizes also became an increasingly important part of the system, a source of income for publishers, a means of consecration for authors and a tool of ideological control (rewarding pupils with works aimed at further embedding orthodox beliefs). Up to 1870 school prizes were mostly works by French authors (classical texts, biographies, histories or tales), but from the 1870s onwards a greater proportion of prizes were by French-Canadian authors, so establishing an early canon of French-Canadian literature that included works by Laure Conan, Aubert de Gaspé père, Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, Abbé Ferland, Patrice Lacombe and François-Xavier Garneau.⁴⁶ The general mood of compliance between the publishing trade, including lay/non-religious publishers, and the Catholic Church lasted into the mid-twentieth century and in Paul Aubin’s view served both parties well:

Ne faudrait-il pas y voir une assurance faisant l’affaire de ces mêmes auteurs et éditeurs: se plier aux normes assurait une participation aux bénéfiques du secteur de l’imprimerie le plus rentable? Si telle est l’explication on devrait conclure que pour la promotion des idéologies, les producteurs de l’imprimé pédagogique et les censeurs avaient accordé leurs violons.⁴⁷

The outcome of this complicity between (the majority of) the publishing

world and the Church establishment was a reinforcement of orthodoxy through legitimation and marginalization, delegitimizing any contestation whether in form or content, something which Louis Francoeur sees entrenched by the late nineteenth century: ‘tout un PROGRAMME unificateur des différents systèmes signifiants de la culture québécoise au XIXe siècle qui est proposé par l’Institution. [...] Bien davantage, cette Institution refuse de reconnaître comme littéraire tout système signifiant qui prétendrait se développer de façon isolée.’⁴⁸ As Jane Everett points out, in the context of a dominant literary discourse which was based on utilitarian values of moral and national duty, writers who experimented with aesthetic forms such as symbolism were condemned to isolation and censure.⁴⁹ In the first half of the twentieth century the dominant discourse of the literary institution was equally hostile to the various forms of popular culture which emerged, such as popular fiction serialized in the periodical press in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and comics in the 1950s, seen as a genre likely to corrupt youth with the materialist values of the USA.⁵⁰

Beyond Quebec the relationship between the Church and education took on a different role as a result of the threat of enforced assimilation through the banning of French-language education in the first half of the twentieth century. Still concerned with the survival of a Catholic and French culture, and adhering to the same traditional values, but from a minority situation in their various provinces, the francophone populations throughout the rest of Canada used the battle for educational rights as the focus of their resistance to anglophone (Protestant) domination in a series of campaigns, acts of resistance and accommodations.⁵¹ To teach francophone pupils to read French and francophone Canadian literature became an act of defiance and a statement of identity. Some of the consequences of this battle will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Censorship is an important factor in the shaping of a national literature. Pierre Hébert’s extensive research on the processes of censorship in Quebec, from the early years of New France to the present, proves one thing – censorship is the norm, however visible or invisible its workings.⁵² For over 300 years it was the Catholic Church that carried out the bulk of censorship in Quebec in its battle to impose intellectual orthodoxy and to combat the influence of ‘les mauvais livres’, through the publication of lists of dangerous reading matter, the blacklisting of publishers, the policing of bookshops, episcopal recommendations and proscriptions both at local level and from Rome. The *Index*, published

by the Vatican since the mid-sixteenth century until its abolition in 1966, proscribed a vast swathe of literature from France including the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, Gide, Sartre and de Beauvoir. Nineteenth-century novels were judged particularly pernicious (possibly because of the assumption of a female readership). As Yvan Lamonde records, in 1868 47 per cent of all novels in print were on the *Index*.⁵³ The Church in Quebec was helped in its task both by the zeal of figures such as Bishop Bourget, head of the diocese of Montreal from 1840,⁵⁴ and by publications such as the monthly book review *Lectures*, published by Fides between 1946 and 1965, which attributed moral ratings to the latest works of French-Canadian literature. Over this twenty-year period the review judged as ‘mauvais’ (and hence proscribed) work by authors including Jean-Charles Harvey, Yves Thériault, Claire Martin, Jean-Jules Richard, Louise Maheu-Forcier, Gérard Bessette and Claude Jasmin, who together represent a fair cross-section of mid-century francophone Canadian literature.

After the *Révolution tranquille* the dominant ideological force was no longer the Catholic Church, whose influence had been diminishing since the 1950s, but the state. And while the all-too-visible structures of censorship had disappeared, this does not mean that a dominant (state) ideology or the ideology of particular interest groups did not continue to shape and control aspects of literary expression. On this last point Pierre Hébert argues: ‘Dans le sillon d’un postmodernisme qui n’entraîne pas que des vertus, le sujet censeur ne s’est pas dissous, il a éclaté: sa rationalité n’est plus codifiée, et ses armes sont d’autant plus redoutables qu’elles sont difficilement visibles.’⁵⁵ Two examples of the operation of censorship in the 1990s confirm Hébert’s point: Michèle Marineau was banned from the circuit of visits by writers to schools funded by the Union des écrivaines et écrivains québécois (UNEQ) and the Ministry of Education in Quebec because of the treatment of female sexuality in her award-winning novel *Cassiopée ou l’été des baleines* (1989); Reynald Cantin, whose novels *J’ai besoin de personne* (1987), *Le Secret d’Ève* (1990) and *Le Choix d’Ève* (1991) discuss incest and adolescent sexuality, saw his work boycotted by the school in which he taught and banned by the local school board.⁵⁶

The interconnectedness of the various elements of the literary establishment is also evident in the case of lending libraries. In the nineteenth century the *bibliothèques paroissiales* were seen as an extension of the school, and were run by the Catholic Church. The Church resisted the setting up of public libraries in Quebec as these

would be state run and would escape its direct control. Legislation in Quebec in 1890 transferred responsibility for setting up public libraries to the municipality, which, in turn developed a discourse of high moral and utilitarian purpose in response to anticipated criticism from the Church.⁵⁷ In comparison with the francophone sector, the anglophone Protestant provision of public libraries developed much more quickly.⁵⁸ Looking back from the present day, the achievement of the BAnQ (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec) is all the more significant, representing as it does a national (*québécois*) resource that is a model of accessibility and provision, catering for all from the archive researcher to the youngest of readers.⁵⁹ Its mission statement includes the following aim: 'BAnQ a également pour mission d'offrir un accès démocratique au patrimoine documentaire constitué par ses collections, à la culture et au savoir.'⁶⁰ In Quebec, the nation continues to be a meaningful term to refer to what its residents have in common. But as will be seen in the course of this book, the elision of nation with a specific geopolitical territory has consequences both for those within and those beyond the border.

A final example of the operation of the literary establishment in processes of selection, circulation and commodification of literature is the phenomenon of the literary prize. The creation of literary prizes maps the progress of the institutionalization of a literature, affirming the literary value of its products. It is a particularly good way of observing the different components of the literary institution (including publishers, the media, critics, political interests and the reading public) at work, defending and promoting their interests. As Graham Huggan argues, the literary prize system also confers power on those in a position of judgement and highlights 'the continuing evaluative process by which the literary text is constructed as an object of negotiation'.⁶¹ In francophone Canada this process has never and will never be judged only within its national or local borders. Recognition from France has always played an important part in establishing authors and works on the international front, but has also played a role in legitimating francophone Canadian literature in its own right. The most famous examples of this effect are Gabrielle Roy, awarded the Prix Femina in 1947 for her first novel, *Bonheur d'occasion*; Marie-Claire Blais who won the Prix Médicis for *Une saison dans la vie d'Emmanuel* in 1966; Anne Hébert, awarded the Prix des Libraires de France in 1971; and Antonine Maillet, whose novel *Pélagie-la-charrette* won the Prix Goncourt in 1979.

The first literary prize to be established in Quebec was the Prix

David, first awarded in 1923.⁶² As it attempted to establish itself in the wider literary field, the francophone literary establishment needed to distinguish itself both from France and from (anglophone) Canada. However, as the terms of some literary awards of the post-war years show, a prize sometimes represented a way back into the literary 'centre', whether via translation in the USA or publication in France, as was the case with le Prix du Cercle du Livre de France (inaugurated by Montreal publisher Pierre Tesseyre in 1949 and awarded till 1987) which offered a cash prize plus a contract to publish in the USA and in France. In so doing, such awards continued to consecrate the centre of culture elsewhere.⁶³

The number of prizes expanded rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s, in line with the emergence of *la littérature québécoise*, mirroring a similar growth in anglophone Canada. Eight new awards were inaugurated in the 1960s and a further 22 created in the 1970s. In 1976 Statistics Canada reported that Canada (as a whole) had as many literary and journalistic awards as Britain, Australia and Switzerland, but fewer than France. By 1980 there were more than 70 prizes (at regional, municipal, provincial and national levels) for authors writing in French.⁶⁴ But, as is in the nature of the processes of validation, tensions between these various levels continued, as the case of the Governor General awards illustrates. Set up in 1936, the prestigious Governor General awards are a symbol of Canadian cultural achievement.⁶⁵ Yet until 1959 these awards were only made to works in English or in English translation. So, of the three awards received by Gabrielle Roy, only the final award was for her original work in French. The awards continued to be controversial in Quebec, because of their association with federal policy; protest in Quebec in the 1960s and 1970s was led by Hubert Aquin and supported by writers including Nicole Brossard, Victor-Lévy Beaulieu, Michel Garneau, Roland Giguère and Roger Langevin.

The prize system also illustrates the ways in which writers place themselves, and are placed within, more than one literary system, seeking multiple markets, but in so doing slipping beyond the fixed borders of a national literature. Thus the work of Antonine Maillet may be identified as Acadian, as *québécois*, as Canadian or as francophone. Similarly, Roy's Franco-Manitoban origins are quite often mentioned by those who know that there are francophones in Manitoba, but from further afield she is usually classified as a key figure of *québécois* literature, or as a Canadian writer. Literary prizes confirm an author's place within their system, sometimes belatedly when success has been achieved on another front. A recent example of this practice in operation is the case

of Yann Martel and his *Life of Pi*, written in English, and submitted to and rejected by a number of British publishers before being published by Knopf in 2001. In its UK edition *Life of Pi* won the Man Booker Prize in 2002, an award which enhances worldwide sales dramatically. In 2003 the book was consecrated in Canada by winning both CBC Radio's Canada Reads and *Le combat des livres* in its French translation. To complete the circuit of recognition and multiple belonging, Martel was awarded the South African Boeke Prize in 2003, and the Asian Pacific American Award for Literature in Best Adult Fiction for the years 2001–2003 in 2004. Its multiple and international recognition has now been followed by the 3D film adaptation by Ang Lee, the summit, perhaps, of recognition for a product of world literature.⁶⁶

While prizes do not only create but also reinforce success, they also play a role in the processes of inclusion and exclusion from the ranks of a national literature. In francophone Canada this includes the incorporation within *québécois* literature of writers from the francophone diaspora in Canada (as in the cases of Maillet and Roy), and the recognition of aboriginal and *métis* writers such as Bernard Assiniwi and Michel Noël. In the last two decades in particular the prize system has also recognized a growing number of migrant writers (or 'new stock' Québécois, as opposed to *Québécois de souche*). A recent example is the award of the Prix Athanase David to Joël Des Rosiers in 2011.⁶⁷ A further sign of the cultural confidence of the literary institution in Quebec is the award of the same prize in 2006 for the first time to a Quebec author working in English, Mavis Gallant. All these cases could be seen as examples of what Huggan refers to as the 'commodification of "otherness"'.⁶⁸ While Huggan is discussing the appropriation of postcolonial literatures by the cultural centre, notably in the prizing of postcoloniality in Booker Prize choices, literary awards in Quebec are choosing to recognize 'otherness' in a more flexible and plural understanding of national literature.

Underlying this book is the question 'What is literary history and how has it functioned in francophone Canada?' This introduction is followed by a chronology of key literary publications and events with a broad cultural significance (in and beyond Canada). Drawing on points raised in the introduction about the nature of literary history, Chapter 1 discusses a corpus of works of the literary history of francophone Canada from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. Chapter 2 considers education as the key mediator of literary history (and the prime target of literary histories). It explores the changing place of

literature in the curriculum in Quebec, primarily, but also looks at recent developments elsewhere in francophone Canada. Chapter 3 takes the literary anthology as a literary historical tool, recognizing what Coldwell terms the ‘power of the anthology not only to canonize but also to determine ways of reading’.⁶⁹ Specifically the chapter will discuss the ways in which the literary anthology constructs the nation and how it represents the aboriginal population within the nation. Chapter 4 asks what a nation-shaped literary history excludes from its narrative, both from within and beyond Quebec. Taking two examples, aboriginal writing and the literatures of the francophone communities beyond Quebec, the chapter examines the place of these two areas within the history of francophone literature in Canada. The conclusion reflects on the shapes, omissions and functions of literary histories and on the possible roles and shapes of literary history in francophone Canada in the future. Is literary history, with its focus on the nation, obsolete, or might other forms and focuses take the genre forward?

Chronology

As discussed in Chapter 1, the chronologies which appear in literary histories are as much the product of selection, prioritization and bias as is the narrative in the main body of the text. The chronology below is presented in recognition of this fact. My own preferences, given the approach adopted in this book, have led me to include some events and publications which may not be found in all literary histories of francophone literature in Canada, but as in all chronologies, my selection owes a great deal to those compiled by other authors. The desire to contextualize the diverse spheres of literary historical activity has led me to include a range of types of text and cultural event. In a few instances I include references to films mentioned in connection with specific developments in cultural or literary history, even though cinema is otherwise not discussed in the book. Some items belong to the sphere of popular culture, not a field which I have had space to address in any detail in this book, but one whose boundary with 'literature' is fluid; indeed, the dissemination of literary texts to a wider, popular readership through the periodical press and through almanacs in francophone Canada is a history waiting to be told in full. Similarly, although I have not had space to discuss in any detail the literary history of literature for children and adolescents beyond that presented in the classroom, I have included here a few key titles and developments, reflecting as they do the emergence of a new area of literary production and consumption. The particular focus of the chapters which follow will explain some of the inclusions and exclusions, but the chronology does not simply summarize the material discussed in those chapters; rather it aims to contextualize the various activities and forms of literary histories within a framework which has been formed by a history of colonization and of settlement by a francophone population that has always been in contact with other communities, whether as colonizers of the

indigenous population of Canada, as the colonized subjects of British colonial rule, as a majority francophone population in Quebec living with other cultural and linguistic minorities, or as members of minority francophone communities throughout Canada, whose relative strength and degree of cultural freedom have fluctuated over the years.

- 11000 BC Earliest records of Bluefish Cave people in Yukon
- 9000 Earliest records of aboriginal habitation in Ontario
- 3000 Presence of aboriginal population in the Maritimes
- AD 300 Village settlements established on Prairies
- 875 Irish monks land on Magdalen Islands
- 1000 Viking settlement at l'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland
- 1390 Iroquois Confederacy formed
- 1497 John Cabot explores coast of Newfoundland and Cape Breton
- 1500s Norman, Breton and Basque fishermen establish cod fisheries in waters off Newfoundland
- 1517 Beginning of the Protestant Reformation in Europe
- 1534 First voyage of Jacques Cartier to Canada; establishment of the Jesuit order in Paris
- 1535 Founding of the Ursuline order in Italy
- 1556 First map of New France published
- 1569 Mercator's map of the world
- 1576-78 Martin Frobisher's expeditions to discover the Northwest Passage
- 1583 Newfoundland becomes England's first overseas colony
- 1599 Publication of *Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu*, the Jesuit curriculum which was later used in the *collèges classiques* in Quebec
- 1600 Pierre Chauvin founds first fur-trading post in North America at Tadoussac
- 1600s Rivalry over fur trade between French, English and Dutch
- 1604 Establishment of the first French permanent settlement in North America at Saint Croix Island
- 1605 Pierre Du Gua de Monts founds Port Royal
- 1606 Marc Lescarbot, 'Théâtre de Neptune', the first dramatic work composed and performed on Canadian soil.

- 1608 Samuel de Champlain founds Quebec
- 1609 Marc Lescarbot, *L'Histoire de la Nouvelle France* includes poems ('Les Muses de la Nouvelle France')
- 1610 Exploration of Hudson Bay by Henry Hudson
- 1613 Champlain publishes his *Voyages* in France
- 1615 Franciscans and Récollets arrive in New France
- 1620 Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts
- 1625 First Jesuit missionaries arrive in Canada
- 1627 Compagnie des Cent Associés set up to colonize Canada
- 1629 British regain control of Quebec (until 1632)
- 1632 Gabriel Sagard, *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons*
- 1632–73 Annual publication of the Jesuit *Relations*
- 1634 Founding of Trois-Rivières
- 1635 Founding of the Collège des Jésuites, Quebec
- 1637 First reservation established at Sillery, south of Quebec
- 1639 Marie de l'Incarnation founds the first Ursuline college in Quebec to educate young girls
- 1642 Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve founds Ville-Marie (later Montreal) on site of former Iroquois village of Hochelaga
- 1654–67 British occupy Acadie
- 1658 Marguerite Bourgeoys opens school for girls in Montreal
- 1659 Pierre-Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart de Groseilliers explore lakes Superior and Michigan
- 1660 Adam Dollard des Ormeaux, with colonial militia and Indian allies, defeated in siege of Long Sault
- 1660s *Coureurs de bois* begin to operate as unlicensed middlemen between the indigenous hunters and colonial traders
- 1663 Foundation of the Séminaire de Québec by Bishop Laval
- 1663–73 Under royal sponsorship, 768 *filles du roi* are shipped from France over an eleven-year period to help populate the colony
- 1670 Hudson's Bay Company set up by London-based traders; French re-occupy Acadie
- 1671 General alliance with Indians in the Pays d'en Haut
- 1673 Marquette and Jolliet explore the Mississippi River, reaching the mouth of the Arkansas River

- 1682 Expedition of Cavelier de La Salle to the mouth of the Mississippi; French claim possession of Mississippi Valley, naming the territory Louisiana
- 1685 Failure of Cavalier de La Salle's expedition by sea to Louisiana
- 1694 Governor Frontenac bans performance of Molière's *Tartuffe* in Quebec after pressure from the Catholic Church
- 1694–97 Expedition of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville to Hudson Bay and Newfoundland
- 1701 Great Peace of Montreal between French and 38 Indian Nations; Antoine Laumet Lamothe Cadillac founds Detroit
- 1703 *Nouveaux voyages [...] dans l'Amérique septentrionale* by Louis-Armand de Lahontan
- 1710 After a century of territorial dispute, Acadie passes definitively to British rule
- 1713 Treaty of Utrecht. French cede Hudson Bay, Newfoundland and Acadie, but retain Îles Royale and Saint-Jean (until 1763)
- 1724 Promulgation of *Code noir* in Louisiana (code concerning slavery)
- 1731–43 La Verendrye brothers' exploration of the Prairies
- 1755–63 Deportation of about three-quarters of the Acadian population
- 1756 Beginning of Seven Years War in Europe
- 1759 Fall of Quebec; deaths of Montcalm and Wolfe
- 1760 Montreal surrenders
- 1763 Treaty of Paris by which France cedes all territory east of the Mississippi, and all Canadian territory, apart from the islands of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon
- 1764 William Brown and Thomas Gilmore set up the first printing press in Quebec; publication of *La Gazette de Québec*
- 1765 Publication of the first textbook in Canada, *Catéchisme du diocèse de Sens*; Acadian immigration in southern Louisiana begins
- 1767 Jean-Baptiste de La Brosse, Jesuit missionary in Tadoussac, publishes a catechism and an alphabet book in Innu, *Alphabet ou abécédaire Montagnais*
- 1770 De la Brosse publishes a catechism in Abenaki

- 1774 The Quebec Act recognizes French civil law and Roman Catholic religious freedom
- 1776 Fleury Mesplet establishes the first printing press in Montreal; American Declaration of Independence
- 1777 Fleury Mesplet publishes the first French-Canadian almanac, *Almanach encyclopédique, ou Chronologie des faits les plus remarquables de l'histoire universelle, depuis Jesus-Christ; avec des anecdotes curieuses, utiles & intéressantes*
- 1783 Arrival in Canada of Loyalists; establishment of North West Company by Montreal fur traders
- 1789 Beginning of French Revolution
- 1791 Constitutional Act; separation of Lower and Upper Canada (modern-day Quebec and Ontario), each with its own Assembly
- 1791–1804 Haitian Revolution following a slave revolt in Saint-Domingue (Haiti)
- 1800 Treaty of San Ildefonso – Spain secretly cedes western Louisiana to France
- 1803 The Louisiana Purchase – Napoleon sells Louisiana to the USA for c. \$15 million. The territory covers part or all of 15 modern-day states: Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, and Wyoming
- 1804 Napoleon Bonaparte becomes Emperor; adoption of legal provisions of Napoleonic Code in France and Quebec; Haiti declares independence
- 1806 Launch in Quebec of French-language newspaper, *Le Canadien*
- 1812 Establishment of the Red River Colony on the banks of the Assiniboine and Red rivers by the Earl of Selkirk
- 1812–14 War of 1812 between USA and Britain results in conflicts on Canadian soil
- 1813 Founding of the *Acadian Recorder* in Halifax
- 1818 Founding of Dalhousie University (Halifax); arrival of Catholic priests in the Red River Colony and establishment of the Collège de Saint-Boniface

- 1821 Founding of McGill University (Montreal); merging of Hudson's Bay Company and North-West Company
- 1826 Launch of *La Minerve* in Montreal, a paper which supported Papineau's Patriot Party
- 1830 Michel Bibaud, *Épîtres, satires, chansons, épigrammes et autres pièces de vers*. First volume of poetry to be published by a francophone Canadian in Quebec
- 1834 Presentation of the 92 Resolutions by the Patriot Party to the House of Assembly of Lower Canada
- 1836 First Acadian elected to Nova Scotia legislature
- 1837 Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, fils, *L'Influence d'un livre*
- 1837-38 Armed rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada against ruling elites resulting in violent suppression, imprisonment and hanging of 12 rebels, deportation of a further 58
- 1839 Lord Durham submits his Report which recommends the assimilation of the French-Canadian population, described as a people with no history and no literature
- 1841 Constitutional Act enforced, uniting Upper and Lower Canada as the Province of Canada, with English as the official language; Indians now considered wards, not allies, and their territories now regarded as 'reserves'
- 1842 Launch of the *Journal de Québec*; Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, 'Un Canadien errant'
- 1844 Foundation of the Institut Canadien; opening of the Crémazie brothers' bookshop in Quebec
- 1845-52 François-Xavier Garneau, *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte*
- 1846 First Acadian elected to New Brunswick legislature; Patrice Lacombe, *La Terre paternelle*; Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau, *Charles Guérin*
- 1847 Henry W. Longfellow, *Evangeline, a Tale of Acadie*
- 1848-50 Publication of four volumes of James Huston's *Répertoire national ou Recueil de littérature canadienne*
- 1852 Foundation of Université Laval in Quebec; Susanna Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*
- 1854 Abolition of the seigneurial system
- 1855 First edition of the *Almanach du peuple*, still in print today

- 1857 Enfranchisement Act requires abandonment of Indian status for right to vote
- 1859 Edmé Rameau de Saint-Père (French historian), *La France aux colonies: études sur le développement de la race française hors de l'Europe*
- 1860 Beginning of the 'mouvement littéraire de 1860'
- 1862 Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, *Jean Rivard, le défricheur canadien*
- 1863 Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, père, *Les Anciens Canadiens*
- 1865 French translation of Longfellow's *Evangeline* by Pamphile Lemay
- 1866 Napoléon Bourassa, *Jacques et Marie*
- 1867 British North America Act (redesignated in 1982 the Constitution Act 1867) unites Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the Dominion of Canada; *Le Moniteur acadien* first published at Shédiac, New Brunswick
- 1868 Arthur Buies founds *La Lanterne*
- 1869 Members of the Institut canadien de Montréal are excommunicated
- 1870 Manitoba and Northwest Territories join the Confederation; first Riel Rebellion
- 1871 Population of Quebec reaches 1 million; British Columbia joins the Confederation
- 1873 Prince Edward Island joins the Confederation
- 1875 Riots in Caraquet, New Brunswick, in response to the 1871 Common Schools Act which threatens the future of denominational schooling
- 1876 Department of Public Education/Département de l'instruction publique gives l'abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain the role of selecting works to be published in a series to be used as book prizes, purchased by the government and distributed by the school inspectors; branch of Université Laval opened in Montreal
- 1878–1936 *Almanach Rolland*
- 1880 Closure of the library of the Institut canadien de Montréal
- 1881 First Acadian national convention at Memramcook; 15 August chosen as Acadian national holiday; Laure Conan, *Angéline de Montbrun*

- 1882 Octave Crémazie, *Œuvres complètes*
- 1884 *La Presse* launched; Eaton's catalogue, first Canadian mail-order catalogue; second Acadian national convention at Miscouche, Prince Edward Island, at which an Acadian flag, national anthem and motto were adopted
- 1885 Métis Rebellion led by Louis Riel; defeat of the Métis at Battle of Batoche; execution of Riel for high treason; completion of Canadian Pacific Railroad; federal Franchise Act extends right to vote to status Indians
- 1887 First issue of Acadian weekly newspaper *L'Évangeline* in Digby, Nova Scotia, publication transferring to New Brunswick 1905–82; Louis Fréchette, *Légende d'un peuple*
- 1889 Launch of *Le Samedi* (weekly magazine)
- 1890 Manitoba bans use of French language in judicial and administrative contexts and ceases funding of Catholic schools
- 1894–1906 Dreyfus Affair
- 1895 Foundation of École littéraire de Montréal; Jean-Paul Tardivel, *Pour la patrie*
- 1896 The Laurier-Greenway compromise (Manitoba) allows some teaching in languages other than English to continue under certain circumstances
- 1898 Yukon enters the Confederation as a separate territory; gold rush along upper Yukon River; Liberal federal government removes Indians' right to vote
- 1901 Commonwealth of Australia (federating Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania, and Western Australia, with the Northern Territory transferred to the country in 1911)
- 1903 Municipal library opens in Montreal
- 1904 Louis Dantin publishes *Émile Nelligan et son œuvre*; Camille Roy lecture 'La nationalisation de la littérature canadienne'
- 1905 Alberta and Saskatchewan join the Confederation
- 1906 Camille Roy teaches first course on Canadian literature; first cinema opens in Montreal; first radio broadcast in USA
- 1907 First issue of *La Revue populaire* (monthly magazine); foundation of Théâtre populaire de Québec; Camille Roy, *Tableau de l'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*; Dominion of New Zealand

- 1908 Congrégation de Notre-Dame (Montreal) opens first école d'enseignement supérieur for girls, preparing women for university; L. M. Montgomery, *Anne of Green Gables*
- 1910 Foundation of daily *Le Devoir*; beginning of colonization of Abitibi; P. T. Legaré distributes the first French-language mail-order catalogue in Canada; foundation of l'Association canadienne-française d'éducation d'Ontario (becomes in 1969 l'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario and in 2006 l'Assemblée de la francophonie de l'Ontario); Union of South Africa
- 1911 Marie Gérin-Lajoie first woman to graduate in Quebec; Paul Morin, *Le Paon d'email*; first congress for francophone teachers in New Brunswick
- 1912 Librairie Beauchemin launches 'Bibliothèque canadienne' intended primarily as book prizes; in Ontario, Regulation 17 reduces teaching in French to first two grades of primary school (repealed in 1927)
- 1913 French-language newspaper, *Le Droit*, launched in Ottawa
- 1914 Louis Hémon, *Maria Chapdelaine* first published as serialized in *le Temps*, Paris
- 1914-18 First World War; under the War Measures Act in Canada controls are imposed on the publishing sector
- 1916 The Thornton Act bans teaching in French in Manitoba; foundation of l'Association d'Éducation des Franco-Canadiens du Manitoba
- 1916-37 *Almanach de la langue française*
- 1917 Conscription crisis; federal government grants women the vote; October Revolution in Russia
- 1917-42 *Almanach de l'Action sociale catholique*
- 1918 Review *Nigog*; Albert Laberge, *La Scouine*; Bibliothèque de l'Action française (nationalist French-language publishing house) founded by the Ligue des droits du français
- 1919 Launch of *La Revue moderne*, which becomes *Châtelaine* in 1960
- 1920 Amendment of Indian Act to call for compulsory enfranchisement of Indians
- 1921 *L'Oiseau bleu*, monthly illustrated children's magazine, published by la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste (until 1940)

- 1922 Inauguration of the Prix David in Quebec; Dupuis Frères launch a mail-order catalogue (in French); first edition of the *Reader's Digest*
- 1923 Founding of the Société des poètes canadiens-français (Montreal)
- 1924 Marie-Claire Daveluy wins the Prix David for *Les Aventures de Perrine et Charlot*; Lionel Groulx, *Notre maître, le passé*
- 1925 Second *collège classique* for girls opened at Jésus-Marie de Sillery convent, Quebec; Le Cercle Molière, theatre company, founded in Saint-Boniface, Manitoba. *L'Abeille*, monthly illustrated children's magazine (until 1947), published by the Frères de l'instruction chrétienne, Laprairie; La Loi Choquette decrees that half of the funding for school prizes be spent on French-Canadian texts
- 1927 Indian Act forbids First Nations people from forming political organizations to represent their interests
- 1928 Oblate priests launch *La Survivance* in Edmonton, which becomes *Le Franco-albertain* in 1967 and *Le Franco* in 1979
- 1929 Alfred DesRochers, *À l'ombre de l'Orford*; Wall Street Crash, prelude to the Great Depression
- 1931 Statute of Westminster (legislative independence of Canada, with certain exemptions for alteration of the British North America Act)
- 1932 Sœurs de Sainte-Anne open the Collège Marie-Anne to offer *cours classique* for girls
- 1933 Claude-Henri Grignon, *Un homme et son péché*
- 1934 Jean-Charles Harvey, *Les demi-civilisés*, banned by the Catholic Church; La Relève founded
- 1936 Maurice Duplessis founds Parti de l'union nationale, and is prime minister of Quebec until 1939, and from 1944 to 1959; creation of the Governor General Awards for literature (in English, including work in translation); Société des écrivains canadiens created in Montreal
- 1937 Foundation of Éditions Fides; Saint-Denys Garneau, *Regards et Jeux dans l'espace*; Félix-Antoine Savard, *Menaud, maître-draveur*
- 1938 Ringuet, *Trente arpents*; Léo Desrosiers, *Les Engagés du Grand Portage*

- 1939 Office national du film du Canada created
- 1939–44 Liberal government of Adélard Godbout
- 1939–45 Second World War; War Measures Act in force
- 1940 After the defeat of France, La Loi du séquestre national allows Canadian publishers to publish works currently out of print in France; women gain provincial vote in Quebec
- 1941 Sinclair Ross, *As for Me and My House*
- 1941–48 Éditions de l'Arbre
- 1942 Publication of first volume of *Chansons d'Acadie*
- 1943 Loi de l'instruction obligatoire (Quebec), age 6–14; Département de l'Instruction publique runs first competition for best Christmas story for children
- 1944 Duplessis returned to power; Alain Grandbois, *Les Îles de la nuit*; *Hérauts*, Catholic comic strip magazine for children, until 1965; Académie canadienne-française established, now called the Académie des lettres du Québec
- 1945 Gabrielle Roy, *Bonheur d'occasion*; Germaine Guèvremont, *Le Survenant*; Hugh MacLennan, *Two Solitudes*
- 1947 Canadian citizenship replaces British citizenship; Robert Charbonneau, *La France et nous*; launch in Canada of *Sélection*, French language edition of *Reader's Digest*
- 1948 Paul-Émile Borduas, *Refus global*; Roger Lemelin, *Les Plouffe*; Gratien Gélinas, *Ti-coq*; adoption of the *fleurdelisé* flag in Quebec
- 1949 Newfoundland joins the Confederation; asbestos miners' strike
- 1949–51 Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Massey Commission)
- 1950 Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Gérard Pelletier found *Cité libre*
- 1952 French-language television in Montreal
- 1953 National Library of Canada/Bibliothèque nationale du Canada established in Ottawa, becoming in 2004 Library and Archives Canada/Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
- 1954 Radio-Canada sets up first French-language radio service (CBAF) for the Maritimes in Moncton
- 1956–94 *Almanach Éclair / Almanach moderne*
- 1957 Jack Kerouac, *On the Road*

- 1958 Yves Thériault, *Agaguk*; French-language television broadcast (CBAFT) launched in Moncton
- 1959 Death of Duplessis; review *Liberté* founded; Governor General Awards opened to works published in French
- 1960 Jean Lesage prime minister in Quebec; establishment of Parent Commission on education; Jean-Paul Desbiens, *Les Insolences du frère Untel*, a scathing critique of French-language education in Quebec, sells 100,000 copies in four months
- 1961 Éditions des Aboiteaux founded in Moncton; foundation of National Indian Council, which splits in 1968, to be replaced by the National Indian Brotherhood and the Native Council of Canada
- 1963 Report of Bouchard Commission on all aspects of publishing in Quebec; review *Parti pris* (until 1968); Université de Moncton opened in New Brunswick
- 1963–69 Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism
- 1964 Jacques Renaud, *Le Cassé*; Paul Chamberland, *L’Afficheur hurle*; Margaret Laurence, *The Stone Angel*; creation of the Ministère de l’Éducation; school book prize system abolished in Quebec
- 1965 Present Canadian flag adopted; Marie-Claire Blais, *Une saison dans la vie d’Emmanuel*; Hubert Aquin, *Prochain épisode*; special issue of *Parti pris*, ‘Pour une littérature québécoise’
- 1966 Abolition of *l’Index clérical*; Réjean Ducharme, *L’Avalée des avalés*; Leonard Cohen, *Beautiful Losers*
- 1967 Expo 67 in Montreal; Charles de Gaulle declares ‘Vive le Québec libre’ from balcony of Hôtel de ville, Montreal; delegates at the États généraux du Canada français vote in favour of the right to self-determination of the Quebec people; Bibliothèque nationale du Québec established, joining with Archives nationales du Québec in 2006 to form Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BAnQ); Jacques Godbout, *Salut Galarneau!*; Bill 59 reinstates the principle of bilingual education in Manitoba
- 1967–69 Pierre de Grandpré, ed., *Histoire de la littérature française du Québec*, 4 vols

- 1968 Pierre Trudeau becomes prime minister; formation of le Parti Québécois (PQ) under leadership of René Lévesque; Roch Carrier, *La Guerre, yes sir!*; Pierre Vallières, *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*; Michel Tremblay, *Les Belles Sœurs*; opening of francophone École normale in Moncton; creation of the Centre d'études acadiennes at Université de Moncton
- 1969 Official Languages Act/La Loi des langues officielles; Federal Government White Paper proposes the elimination of *Indian* as a distinct legal status; New Brunswick officially becomes a bilingual province (enacted in 1977); establishment of *collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel* in Quebec; three films (*L'Acadie, l'Acadie*, by Pierre Perrault, *Éloge du chiac* by Michel Brault, and *Acadie libre* by Léonard Forest) voice protest and demands of Acadians; occupation of Alcatraz Island, in San Francisco Bay, by 'Indians of All Nations'
- 1970 'October Crisis' (Front de libération du Québec bombings, kidnappings, and murder of a Quebec minister; War Measures Act); Anne Hébert, *Kamouraska*; Gabrielle Roy, *La Rivière sans repos*; Michèle Lalonde, *Speak White*; Gaston Miron, *L'Homme rapaillé*; Théâtre du Nouvel-Ontario established in Sudbury, Ontario
- 1971 Foundation of Communication-Jeunesse under leadership of Paule Daveluy to promote the reading of children's and youth literature in Quebec and francophone Canada; Fadette, *Journal d'Henriette Dessaulles*; Antonine Maillet, *La Sagouine*; foundation of le Parti Acadien; founding of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (Inuit Brotherhood) to enable Inuit communities to speak with a united voice on issues concerning the North and the protection of Inuit culture
- 1972 Margaret Atwood, *Survival: a Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*; founding of Éditions d'Acadie; Antonine Maillet, *Rabelais et les traditions populaires en Acadie*
- 1973 Michel Tremblay, *Hosanna*; Rudy Wiebe, *The Temptations of Big Bear*; Maria Campbell, *Halfbreed*; founding in Ontario of publishing house *Prise de parole*; Guy Arsenault, *Acadie Rock*; Melvin Gallant, *Ti-Jean*; Canadian Multiculturalism Directorate established
- 1974 Bill 22 establishes French as the official language for administration and at work in Quebec; Victor-Lévy Beaulieu,

- Manuel de la petite littérature du Québec*; founding in Saint-Boniface, Manitoba of Les Éditions du Blé; creation of Acadian regional production office of National Film Board; Herménigilde Chiasson, *Mourir à Scoudouc*
- 1975 Foundation of the Fédération des francophones hors Québec (from 1991, FCFA, La Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada), to promote the development and global expansion of Canadian *francophonie*.
- 1976 René Lévesque (Parti Québécois) wins power in Quebec; Louky Bersianik, *L'Euguélienne*
- 1977 Loi 101, Charte de la langue française making French the official language of Quebec – the Bill has subsequently seen a number of challenges and modifications; France Théoret, *Bloody Mary*; first international conference to be devoted to Acadia; official opening of the Village historique acadien in Caraquet, New Brunswick
- 1978 *Lurelu* founded under the patronage of Communication-Jeunesse; foundation of La courte échelle (publisher of children's literature); Denise Boucher, *Les Fées ont soif*; Michel Tremblay, *La grosse femme d'à côté est enceinte*; first volume of *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec* appears; creation of Association des écrivains acadiens
- 1979 An Antane Kapesh, *Qu'as-tu fait de mon pays?* (translated from Montagnais); Antonine Maillet, *Pélagie-la-Charrette* wins Prix Goncourt; Prix France-Acadie established; creation of Éditions des Plaines in Saint-Boniface; Quebec curriculum encourages use of children's literature in school
- 1980 Referendum on Quebec sovereignty is defeated; 'O Canada' becomes official Canadian national anthem; establishment of Éditions Perce-Neige in New Brunswick
- 1981 Yves Beauchemin, *Le Matou*; Jacques Godbout, *Les Têtes à Papineau*; Patrice Desbiens, *L'Homme invisible/The Invisible Man*
- 1982 Constitutional Act transfers final legal powers to Canada. Quebec refuses to sign the agreement; founding of the Assembly of First Nations; Métis Nation is recognized in the Constitution as one of the three distinct aboriginal peoples of Canada; Anne Hébert, *Les Fous de Bassan*; Nicole Brossard, *Picture Theory*; Marco Micone, *Gens du silence*

- 1983 Régine Robin, *La Québécoise*; Penny Petrone, ed., *First People, First Voices*; foundation of the transcultural review *Vice Versa*; foundation of the Métis National Council; Marguerite Maillet, *Histoire de la littérature acadienne. De rêve en rêve*; Beatrice Culleton, *In Search of April Raintree*
- 1984 Jacques Poulin, *Volkswagen Blues*; Gabrielle Roy, *La Détresse et l'Enchantement*; Éditions Louis Riel established in Regina, becoming Éditions de la Nouvelle Plume in 1996
- 1985 Robert Bourassa succeeds René Lévesque as prime minister in Quebec; Dany Laferrière, *Comment faire l'amour avec un nègre sans se fatiguer*; Robert Lepage, *La Trilogie des dragons*
- 1986 Tomson Highway, *The Rez Sisters*
- 1987 Meech Lake Accord (recognizes Quebec as a distinct society within Canada); Nicole Brossard, *Le Désert mauve*; Governor General's awards include categories for children's literature (text and illustration)
- 1988 Anne Hébert, *Le premier jardin*; Margaret Atwood, *Cat's Eye*; Multiculturalism Act
- 1989 Marco Micone, 'Speak What?'; Mordecai Richler, *Solomon Gursky Was Here*; fall of the Berlin Wall
- 1990 Rejection of the Meech Lake Accord; Rohinton Mistry, *Such a Long Journey*; Oka Crisis; Gulf War
- 1991 Suzanne Jacob, *L'Obéissance*; first volume of *La Vie littéraire au Québec*; Raymond Plante, *Le dernier des raisins*
- 1992 Robert Lalonde, *Sept lacs plus au nord*; François Paré, *Les Littératures de l'exiguïté*; Michael Ondaatje, *The English Patient*; Daniel David Moses and Terry Goldie, *An Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English*
- 1993 Carol Shields, *The Stone Diaries*; North American Free Trade Agreement ratified (Canada, USA and Mexico)
- 1994 Robert Lepage, *Les sept branches de la rivière Ota*; Italo-Canadian author Fulvio Caccia wins a Governor General award for *Aknos*, a volume of poetry written in French; First World Acadian Congress held in New Brunswick; creation of Éditions du Phare ouest, BC

- 1995 Referendum on sovereignty rejects independence by a margin of 1%; Ying Chen, *L'Ingratitude*
- 1996 Percentage of immigrants in Quebec is 9%, a percentage which has varied little since the mid-nineteenth century; Bernard Assiniwi, *La Saga des Béothuks*; Bouton d'or Acadie (publishing house, Moncton)
- 1997 René Dionne, *Histoire de la littérature franco-ontarienne des origines à nos jours*, Vol. I (1610–1865). Vol. II (2000) covers 1865–1910
- 1998 Introduction of *l'Épreuve uniforme de français* in Quebec; Lise Bissonnette becomes director of the Grande Bibliothèque du Québec; Gaétan Soucy, *La petite fille qui aimait trop les allumettes*; Daniel Poliquin, *L'Homme de paille*; France Daigle, *Pas pire*
- 1999 Claude Beausoleil, *Exilé*; Émile Ollivier, *Mille eaux*; territory of Nunavut established in north-west; aboriginal TV channel established
- 2001 Yann Martel, *Life of Pi*; Nelly Arcan, *Putain*; Éditions de la Francophonie (Moncton); terrorist attacks in New York and Washington; *Atanarjuak (The Fast Runner)*, by Zacharias Kunuk wins Cannes Caméra d'Or; the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada representing over 55,000 Inuit is renamed the Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK),
- 2002 Carol Shields, *Unless*; Rohinton Mistry, *Family Matters*; war in Afghanistan
- 2003 Margaret Atwood, *Oryx and Crake*; Royal Proclamation recognizes the harm done to the Acadian people under the *Grand Dérangement*; Canada does not join the US-led coalition against Iraq
- 2004 Maurizio Gatti, ed., *Littérature amérindienne du Québec. Écrits de langue française*
- 2005 Opening of the Grande Bibliothèque in Montreal; creation of the Ministère de l'Éducation du Loisir et du Sport (MELS), with responsibility for education in Quebec; Nicolas Dickner, *Nikolski*; same-sex marriages are legalized in Canada
- 2006 Stephen Harper (Conservative) defeats Liberals; Parliament agrees that the Québécois should be considered a 'nation' within Canada; Évelyne de la Chenelière, *Désordre public*

- 2007-II ‘What is Stephen Harper Reading?’, a fortnightly series of reading recommendations to the prime minister from Yann Martel
- 2008 Marie-Claire Blais, *Naissance de Rebecca à l’ère des tourments*; Canadian government apologizes for earlier policy of forcing aboriginal children to attend residential schools, with the aim of assimilation
- 2009 Suzanne Lebeau, *Le Bruit des os qui craquent*
- 2010 Kim Thúy, *Ru*; Dany Laferrière, *L’Énigme du retour*; Denis Villeneuve, *Incendies*, film based on 2003 play by Wajdi Mouawad; Michel Noël, *Nischka*; Élise Turcotte, *Derrière le rideau de la folie*; Canadian government endorses the United Nations 2007 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People
- 2011 Jacques Poulin, *L’Homme de Saskatchewan*; Louise Dupré, *Plus haut que les flammes*; Normand Charette, *Ce qui meurt en dernier*; Patrick deWitt, *The Sisters Brothers*
- 2012 *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires de l’Acadie des maritimes XXe siècle (DOLAM)*; (September) under the leadership of Pauline Marois le Parti Québécois forms a minority government in Quebec

CHAPTER ONE

How has the literary history of francophone Canada been told in the twentieth century?

Turning now to examine the particular trajectory of the literary histories of francophone Canada, it is worth recalling Söderlind's point about the use of the term 'Canadian': 'Any critical practice that uses an adjective like "Canadian" to delimit its object of study is inevitably engaged in a nation-defining, if not a nation-building enterprise.'¹ But, as will be demonstrated in what follows, if our focus here is specifically on francophone Canada, then the nation being defined has a rather different status. Indeed, the place of the nation in literary histories of francophone Canada is both fundamental and curiously unstable. The history of Canadian literature *in French* is a story only understandable in relation to Canada's multi-layered colonial history and the various ways in which cultures have operated at different times and in different parts of Canada, as borders and populations shift and are displaced. As a consequence, the definition of 'nation' is an ongoing preoccupation, and one which is further complicated by the relationship between Quebec and the other francophone populations of Canada. So, while, as Blodgett argues, literary history seeks to 'provide meaning, to canonize, and, inevitably, to commemorate the nation', 'francophone Canada' is not a nation like others.²

Literary history in nineteenth-century Quebec

While the majority of the literary histories that will be discussed here have been produced in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, two

earlier publications deserve mention as each in its own way demonstrates the role of literature in the establishment of a distinctive national identity. The first of these is primarily a resource rather than a literary history in that it consists of a compilation of works published originally in the periodical press, collected into a series of four volumes by James Huston, a member of the Institut Canadien in Montreal.³ But it is more than a simple anthology as the introduction makes clear.⁴ As a contribution to literary history, the *Répertoire national ou recueil de littérature canadienne* represents an alternative to the classical model of literature taught in the *collèges classiques*. Huston offers a very different, local collection of texts with an altogether different function: ‘nous n’avons pas eu l’idée de soumettre au lecteur des modèles de littérature, ou de faire revivre des chefs-d’œuvre de pensée, de goût ou d’exécution’.⁵

Huston’s role as literary historian is most evident in his selection of texts, conditioned to some extent, he claims, by a desire (need?) to avoid political bias, hence the exclusion of political pieces; but his presence is also evident in the brief introductory comments which precede the texts and in his introduction to the first volume. Published between 1848 and 1850, the volumes present texts in chronological order as follows: Vol. I (1778–1837), Vol. II (1837–44), Vol. III (1844–46), Vol. IV (1846–48). Huston’s title establishes the link between literature and nation and the terms ‘canadienne’ and ‘nationale’ are used interchangeably.⁶ This nation is constructed as a nation emerging from colonial domination: ‘le lecteur se réjouira [...] de voir combien la littérature canadienne s’émancipe du joug étranger’ (I, vii). Huston’s introduction employs a number of rhetorical features that recur in later literary histories. To define the relationship between *la littérature canadienne* and that of France, he uses personification to draw on the image of the child growing to maturity (‘la littérature canadienne s’affranchit lentement [...] de tous ses langes de l’enfance. [...] elle s’avance, en chancelant encore’, I, vi) and organic links (‘elle commence [...] à croire qu’elle pourra s’implanter sur le sol d’Amérique comme une digne bouture de cette littérature française qui domine et éclaire le monde’, I, vi–vii). The dividing line between ‘la littérature française’ and ‘la littérature canadienne’ coincides with the end of French rule, thus excluding the French-authored literature of New France and establishing ‘la littérature canadienne’ as a post-(French)-colonial literature.

Huston’s primary criterion for selection is the place of publication (in ‘les nombreux journaux franco-canadiens’, I, iii), but this includes the work of both Canadian- and foreign-born authors published since

the arrival of the printing press in Quebec in 1764. The collection includes poetry (Joseph Quesnel, François-Xavier Garneau), songs, essays, satires (Bibaud), drama (Antoine Gérin-Lajoie), letters (notably *Dernières lettres d'un condamné* by Chevalier de Lorimier, executed for his involvement in the 1837–38 rebellion), lectures by Étienne Parent and extracts from novels, including Patrice Lacombe's *La Terre paternelle* (1846). As the range of material shows, the understanding of what constitutes 'littérature' for inclusion in the *Répertoire* is broad in terms of genre. Huston aimed to commemorate the nation, 'retirer de l'oubli [...] des écrits d'un grand mérite sous le rapport littéraire et sois le rapport national' (I, viii) and his work became a unique source for later literary histories and anthologies.⁷ But Huston's concern is not simply with preserving the past; he hopes to ensure the future of francophone literature in Canada: 'tout nous fait voir que la littérature nationale entre dans une ère nouvelle: ère de progrès et de perfectionnement [...] ce Répertoire aura aussi l'effet d'engager [...] tous les jeunes gens à travailler avec énergie à éclipser leurs devanciers' (I, vii–viii).

A similar preoccupation with the future development of a national literature emerges from Edmond Lareau's *Histoire de la littérature canadienne*, which appeared in 1874, the first literary history to be written on francophone Canadian literature.⁸ Lemire recognizes the value of Lareau's work as a bibliographical source: 'son ouvrage repose sur une documentation étonnante pour une époque où les instruments de recherche faisaient entièrement défaut ou presque'.⁹ Lareau's definition of 'la littérature canadienne' ranges still more widely in terms of genre than that of Huston, a contrast which foreshadows the shifting borders of twentieth-century literary histories. So, after an introductory chapter on the nature of literature, the second chapter is devoted to works published under the French regime. The remaining six chapters each cover a specific genre, the range of which indicates the scope of what constitutes 'littérature' in nineteenth-century Quebec: poetry, history, novels and short stories, science (natural sciences, physics, chemistry, agriculture, medicine, education), law, journalism.¹⁰ Another indication of the scope of his work is his inclusion of English-language works in the corpus. Yet, unlike Huston, Lareau does not include dramatic works, a sign of neglect which continues to be a feature of literary histories of francophone Canada at least until the mid-twentieth century.¹¹

While praising the impressive range of the work, Lemire is critical of Lareau's style: 'Malheureusement pour lui, Lareau ne s'est pas contenté d'être bibliographe. Il a voulu jouer au véritable historien de la littérature.

La lecture des grandes histoires de la littérature lui a certainement indiqué le ton à adopter. Aussi prend-il son sujet d'assez haut.¹² Lareau's tone is at times pompous, with sweeping generalizations about a range of classical and contemporary European literatures, imitating the 'grandes histoires de la littérature' used in the *collège classique*. Karine Cellard (following Lucie Robert, whose work she quotes) argues that Lareau's literary history remains faithful to the aesthetics of classical humanism 'avec son découpage générique et ses paramètres critiques inspirés de la trilogie atemporelle du Beau, du Vrai et du Bien'. As a result, she finds that 'bien que la littérature nationale y soit pensée comme témoignage de l'autonomisation de la société canadienne dans le concert des nations, l'idée d'une spécificité propre au corpus littéraire n'intervient aucunement dans le discours porté sur les œuvres'.¹³

While there are indeed many signs of the rhetoric of classical humanism in Lareau's text, particularly in the initial generalizations about the nature of literature, the picture is perhaps rather more complex, and in ways which will be relevant to later, twentieth-century literary histories. It is true that in his first chapter Lareau defines literature in universalist and idealist terms, but in subsequent chapters his rhetoric and argument draw on a different set of premises, which suggests that the *belles-lettres* rhetoric is just that, a rhetorical flourish indicative of his educational background (*collège classique*, followed by legal studies). In fact there are judgements on particular authors and texts which do point to common, Canadian qualities, usually related to thematic aspects such as history, legend, landscape or everyday life. In the chapter on the novel, for example, Lareau compares the anglophone, Irish-born Rosanna Leprohon to Bourassa, Gérin-Lajoie and Chauveau: 'Le talent de Madame Leprohon la rapproche assez de ces trois écrivains. Elle recherche, elle aussi, les scènes de la vie domestique et les épisodes de la vie canadienne' (334). But for Lareau the emergence of a national literature in a former colony is a slow process. Recognizing the dominant role of metropolitan French (and English) literature, he looks to a gradual cultural differentiation, a process involving not only local subject matter, but also specific qualities of tone, style and form: 'Si nous savons donner à nos productions un tour particulier à notre état de société, si nous les imprégnons d'une odeur locale assez musquée, si nous leur donnons une manière d'être à part, nous les détachons, par là, des sources étrangères et leur imprimons un cours indépendant' (59).

Because of the coexistence in Lareau's history of aspects of idealist and materialist discourses on literature, it is possible to read his account

as a narrative which embeds the literary production of Canada in a material world in which economics and politics play a determining role. One example of the latter is his comment on the impact of Canadian independence: 'En rendant au pays sa véritable autonomie et en le plaçant au rang des nations libres, la rupture du lien colonial dégagera les esprits des nombreuses attaches qui les retiennent encore à l'étranger, et le travail commun sera plus fort pour accomplir de grandes choses dans le sens de nos destinées littéraires' (iii-iv). Like Huston, but a quarter of a century later, he sees Canadian literature as poised on the threshold of maturity: 'encore une décade et nous aurons atteint les commencements du véritable âge d'or de notre histoire littéraire' (iii). His awareness of the importance of local economic factors in the development of literary activity emerges in a variety of comments. Art needs material stimulus: 'rien ne désenchante autant le talent et l'imagination comme les nécessités de la vie et le travail qui y obvie' (61). He argues that writing for the periodical press is the only viable forum for writers in an emerging literature such as that of Canada (489); he emphasizes the link between poverty, poor educational provision, literacy and the size of the reading public in francophone Canada (60); he stresses the difficulty of access to books, both in French and English (resulting from ideological and material factors). In this understanding of a range of economic, ideological and institutional features Lareau's text clearly situates the emerging literature in French in Canada within a very specific cultural and historical context. To this extent the text prefigures the trend in literary histories of the twentieth century which understand the production, distribution and reception of literature in francophone Canada to be the product of a particular network of social, economic and ideological factors.

Finally, in terms of the presentation and layout of his text, Lareau introduces a number of features which appear commonly in literary histories, emphasizing their didactic, but also their performative/promotional function. The names of authors stand out in the text: first they appear in list form in the Table of Contents which introduces the volume; secondly, the same list is reproduced as a subheading to the chapter; thirdly, within the chapter the authors' names are written in capitals; all authors discussed at any length are then listed in an index at the end of the book; lastly, to compensate for any potential oversights and omissions, Lareau's narrative moves into bibliographical mode, as he lists authors and publications which space does not allow him to discuss. This insistent naming of authors asserts by accumulation the

existence of a national literature and the repetition of the names begins a process of canonization as the reader becomes familiar with groups of names.

A number of questions arise from this discussion of Huston's and Lareau's contributions to literary history which relate both to the generic problems and choices of all works of literary history and to the specific nature of the literary history of francophone Canada. While Huston's *Répertoire* is not a literary history, as an anthology it is a selected representation of French-Canadian literature, and Huston's preface functions in a similar way to prefaces and introductions to later literary histories.¹⁴ Lareau's work can be considered as an example of what Perkins terms the narrative form of literary history, with the proviso that certain aspects (notably the use of listing to maximize coverage) can be seen as more typical of the encyclopaedic form, and others (the subdivision by genre rather than historical period for the main body of the work) somewhat diffuse the sense of historical development. The two works, different as they are from one another, set up the following issues, namely, the choice of periodization (and the effects of the chosen periodization); questions of eligibility for inclusion (both of genres and of authors); the particular ways in which the link between nation and literature is constructed (including the choice of designation); questions of voice and form (including the presence of recurrent patterns of rhetoric, argument and imagery); and changing patterns of methodology and approach. A further point has emerged from these two nineteenth-century works which will prove relevant to later discussion. Huston and Lareau present French-Canadian literature not only as evidence of an established corpus, which they illustrate and defend, but, more importantly, as an argument in support of a future literature, which their works aim to encourage and promote.¹⁵ Their works are, therefore, as much about a literature which does not exist as a literature which does. The main body of this chapter will explore how the writing of the history of francophone Canadian literature has developed since the turn of the twentieth century, considering aspects both of *what* they include (in terms of historical, geographical and literary range) and of *how* the content is presented (how it is classified, structured and interpreted). As will be seen, many of these issues can be understood as a consequence of the problematic status of a literature emerging from a network of colonial relationships and of the fundamental but shifting link between literature and the nation.

Titles: naming the corpus

Blodgett's *Five-Part Invention: A History of Literary History in Canada* discusses a corpus of histories of the various literatures of Canada, published between 1864 and 1999. The range of designations used in the titles in his corpus illustrates the trickiness of delineating and naming bodies of literature.¹⁶ Consensus emerged relatively easily around the use of the term 'Canadian literature' to refer to Canadian literature in English, but the term has also been used in a number of comparative literary histories.¹⁷ The naming of Canadian literature in French has been less straightforward. Table 1.1 gives the titles of those histories of francophone Canadian literature which will be discussed in varying degrees of detail in the current chapter. Texts selected may include elements of the anthology, the encyclopaedic dictionary and the narrative format. The titles of histories of Canadian literature in French can be broadly divided into three chronological periods.

In the nineteenth century both Huston and Lareau use the term 'littérature canadienne', in keeping with the association of the word 'canadien/Canadien' with the francophone settlers in Canada, an association that lasted well into the nineteenth century and distinguished the francophone population from *les Anglais*.¹⁸ The two works differ, however, in their use of the term. Huston's *Répertoire national* affirms the existence of a national literature in French which he dates back to the arrival of the printing press in Quebec. As Biron, Dumont and Nardout-Lafarge point out, English-language literature in Canada was slower to claim a national specificity: 'Demeuré plus près de l'Europe, l'écrivain canadien-anglais n'écrit pas pour la nation.'¹⁹ For the Anglo-Canadian population (whose numbers had outstripped those of the francophones by the mid-nineteenth century, largely as a result of an influx of over 960,000 immigrants from Great Britain between 1815 and 1850)²⁰ it was the Confederation in 1867 which was to boost interest in an English-language Canadian literature.

Even though, like Huston, Lareau is committed to a future literature *in French* in Canada, his 1874 work employs the term 'la littérature canadienne' to refer to a much wider corpus. Not only does his narrative look back to the French regime, it also incorporates a number of works by Anglo-Canadians into the genre-based chapters. Referring to the two literatures as 'la littérature franco-canadienne' and 'la littérature anglo-canadienne', he states: 'nous les étudierons toutes deux parce qu'elles nous concernent également' (56). The implication is that the

Table 1.1 Corpus of histories of francophone Canadian literature

<i>Date</i>	<i>Author; place of publication</i>	<i>Title</i>
1848–50	James Huston; Montreal	<i>Le Répertoire national ou Recueil de littérature canadienne</i>
1874	Edmond Lareau; Montreal	<i>Histoire de la littérature canadienne</i>
1907	Camille Roy; Quebec	<i>Tableau d'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française</i>
1918	Camille Roy; Quebec	<i>Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française</i>
1928	Sœurs de Sainte-Anne; Lachine	<i>Précis d'histoire littéraire: littérature canadienne-française</i>
1930	Camille Roy; Quebec	<i>Histoire de la littérature canadienne</i>
1939	Camille Roy; Montreal	<i>Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne de langue française</i>
1946	Berthelot Brunet; Montreal	<i>Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française</i>
1960	Gérard Tougas; Paris	<i>Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française</i>
1967–69	Pierre de Grandpré, ed.; Montreal	<i>Histoire de la littérature française du Québec</i>
1974	Laurent Mailhot; Paris	<i>La Littérature québécoise</i>
1976	Réginald Hamel, John Hare and Paul Wyczynski; Montreal	<i>Dictionnaire pratique des auteurs québécois</i>
1978–2011	Maurice Lemire, et al.; Montreal	<i>Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec</i>
1987	Edwin Hamblet; Paris	<i>La Littérature canadienne francophone</i>
1991–2010	Maurice Lemire, et al.; Sainte-Foy	<i>La Vie littéraire au Québec</i>
2003	W. H. New; Montreal & Kingston	<i>A History of Canadian Literature</i>
2007	Michel Biron, François Dumont and Élisabeth Nardout-Lafarge; Montreal	<i>Histoire de la littérature québécoise</i>

adjective 'canadien' as used by Lareau acts as an umbrella-term. A similar reasoning may explain Camille Roy's decision to use *Histoire de la littérature canadienne* as the title to his 1930 volume. By the beginning of the twentieth century the use of the adjective 'canadienne-française' had become widespread and remained the standard designation for French-language literature in Canada until the late 1960s. However, Roy's 1930 literary history marks a resistance to a certain type of French-Canadian nationalism, which he saw as increasingly hostile to the Canadian federation.²¹ This volume, like Lareau's survey, includes coverage of English-language Canadian literature. But unlike Lareau, and unlike his contemporary Anglo-Canadian literary historians such as Lorne Pierce, Roy does not integrate the Anglo-Canadian authors fully into his history; rather he treats them in an appendix, retaining the introduction on the French-Canadian spirit and his conclusion on the nationalization of (French-Canadian) literature, both of which were included in the 1918 *Manuel*. The adjective 'canadienne' in the title signals, therefore, an accommodation with anglophone Canada, but one which relies on a mutual respect of difference, rather than any desire for unification, nor, indeed, for separation.²²

For his final volume of literary history, *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne de langue française*, published in 1939, Roy chose a different title, one which, arguably, throws a slightly different light on his corpus.²³ Not only was Roy cautious about a separatist trend to French-Canadian nationalism, in the course of the 1930s he also became critical of what he saw as a provincial promotion of French-Canadian linguistic specificity, as supported by writers and critics such as Alfred DesRochers, Albert Pelletier and Claude-Henri Grignon. For Roy, the French language remained a universal norm, an essential element of the French-Canadian spirit: 'la langue française ne peut avoir deux génies, ni deux syntaxes ni même deux essentiels vocabulaires. Autrement il y aurait à coup sûr deux langues différentes, dont l'une ne serait pas française.'²⁴ His final choice of title reinforces this link between the literature produced in francophone Canada and the one and indivisible French language, so fundamental to the teaching of French language and literature in Quebec's *collèges classiques*.

With the exception of Roy's third and fourth literary histories, the adjective 'canadienne-française' was the accepted designation for twentieth-century literary histories of Canadian literature in French up to and including the years of the *Révolution tranquille*, despite wide variations in other aspects of their respective contents and organization.²⁵

In our selected corpus, Roy's 1907 *Tableau d'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*, his extended 1918 volume *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*, the 1928 *Précis d'histoire littéraire: littérature canadienne-française* by the Sœurs de Sainte-Anne and Berthelot Brunet's *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* (1946) all use this term in their titles, as does Gérard Tougas for his *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* (1960).²⁶

The first signs of change came in the mid-1960s, when the term 'la littérature québécoise' displaced the less geographically specific designation.²⁷ Its progress in the world of literary history was less rapid than in the field of contemporary literature, for various methodological, ideological and pragmatic reasons. In this respect it is interesting to compare titles chosen in the 1960s. Gérard Tougas's *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* was published in France, hence targeting a different readership from that of the other works cited so far. First published in 1960, before the term 'littérature québécoise' was adopted, subsequent editions retain the original title, as one would expect, but do include occasional uses of the designation *québécois* for contemporary work by authors from Quebec. However, what seems more important for Tougas (who was born in Alberta) is the contextualization of francophone Canadian literature within the worldwide processes of decolonization and the emergence of *la francophonie* as a newly recognized field. This development, he predicts, will ensure a much higher status for Canadian authors, past and present, as 'une seconde littérature de langue française'.²⁸

Towards the end of the 1960s a number of literary history textbooks were published to serve the needs of the expanding secondary and post-secondary education system.²⁹ These included Roger Duhamel, *Manuel de littérature canadienne-française*, Gérard Bessette, Lucien Geslin and Charles Parent, *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française par les textes* and Paul Gay, *Notre littérature. Guide littéraire du Canada français à l'usage des niveaux secondaire et collégial*.³⁰ The first title in our corpus which associates literary history explicitly with Quebec is the four-volume *Histoire de la littérature française du Québec*, produced by a team of contributors under the overall editorship of Pierre de Grandpré between 1967 and 1969.³¹ The publication in 1974 in France of Laurent Mailhot's *La Littérature québécoise* suggests that the transition is complete.³² The use of terms such as 'canadienne-française', 'littérature du Canada français' or 'littérature canadienne de langue française' tied Canadian literature in French to no single

province. Literary historians were not explicitly drawing a territory that mapped on to the province, and therefore not excluding texts written by authors from outside Quebec, from the other francophone communities in Canada, or rendering their inclusion problematic and assimilationist. From now on, the association of the terms *québécois* or 'of Québec' with francophone Canadian literature is the norm. But this poses its own problems.

One exception to the new consensus is the short literary history cum anthology written by Franco-American Edwin Hamblet and published in France in Hatier's 'Profil formation' series. Hamblet adopts the term 'littérature canadienne francophone' as the title of his volume. Unlike Tougas, Hamblet is not situating his corpus in relation to a worldwide francophone population. He writes as a North American for a (metropolitan) French readership and his choice of title allows him to encompass the span of francophone North American history as well as to look towards the future.³³ His conclusion closes with a reflection on the aftermath of the 1980 referendum and what he describes as 'le dilemme de l'indépendance politique du Québec'.³⁴ Without taking sides in the debate, his title therefore alerts the reader to tensions between separatists and federalists at a time when literary historians in Quebec favoured the use of the term *québécois* or Québec in their titles.

With the widespread adoption of the term 'la littérature québécoise' and its apparent elision of a literature and a province, a new set of definitions, qualifications and clarifications become necessary. For many the term merely took over the same broad field, a natural successor as the province asserted its national aspirations. Thus Laurent Mailhot writes in 1974: 'La littérature québécoise existe-t-elle, et comme littérature et comme québécoise? On ne se pose plus la question. [...] D'abord française (d'Ancien Régime), canadienne, canadienne-française, voire canadienne-catholique [...] la littérature québécoise porte explicitement ce nom depuis un siècle, cette épithète depuis une quinzaine d'années.'³⁵

Two years later Réginald Hamel, John Hare and Paul Wyczynski published their *Dictionnaire pratique des auteurs québécois*, which comprised about 600 entries. Their definition of the term 'auteurs québécois' is similarly broad: 'pour nous, un "auteur québécois" est celui qui par ses écrits a contribué à enrichir, au sens large du terme, la civilisation de la Nouvelle-France d'abord, du Canada français en général, du Québec en particulier'.³⁶ The authors (with close Ontario connections) include many Ontario-born and Ontario-based writers and academics within their dictionary, signalling the association with the

province in individual entries but not separating them out in any way from the corpus as a whole. In 1989 the same team produced a more extensive reference work, *Dictionnaire des auteurs de langue française en Amérique du Nord*, with around 1,600 entries which covered the francophone presence throughout North America. This work includes authors classified by region (of Quebec), by province (of Canada) and by other country of origin, so enabling bodies of, for example, Ontario- or Manitoba-produced literature to be identified. Included are authors who have migrated to Canada from 28 countries, but since it has not been updated since the first publication in 1989, it does not include the many migrant writers active since the early 1990s. This greater attention to the varieties of francophone identity in North America is an ongoing feature of literary historical works in the last two decades of the twentieth century, which means that the epithet *québécois* has to be used more cautiously. The self-identification of authors with 'la littérature acadienne' or 'la littérature franco-ontarienne', the establishment of publishing houses in New Brunswick (Les Éditions d'Acadie in 1972; les Éditions Perce-Neige in 1980), in Ontario (Prise de parole, 1973), in Manitoba (Les Éditions du Blé, 1974) and the literary productions in Quebec of numerous anglophone, aboriginal and migrant writers are factors which demonstrate the still problematic association of literature and nation.

Two of the most important contributions to the field of literary history in Quebec are the ongoing series produced by groups of researchers initially under the leadership of Maurice Lemire at Laval University.³⁷ Both the *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec (DOLQ)*³⁸ and *La Vie littéraire au Québec*³⁹ avoid the adjectival use but refer to Quebec (as a geopolitical entity) in their title. In the most recent volume of *La Vie littéraire* the editors clarify what the use of the term 'Québec' implies:

le titre *La Vie littéraire au Québec* dénote les activités et les problématiques incidentes à la littérature d'expression française du Québec (et donc de la Nouvelle-France et du Bas-Canada pour les périodes antérieures), mais également du Canada français allant jusqu'à la diaspora franco-américaine, quand ces activités constituent avec celles du Québec des ensembles cohérents et autonomes pour leurs contemporains. (VI, viii)

The geographical and historical elasticity of this definition allows the team to look at related developments in francophone literary expression elsewhere in North America, where these were seen at the time to be consonant with the literary and cultural life of Quebec. However, an

inclusive, wide-ranging use of the term can be seen as problematic from the point of view of francophone communities outside Quebec. In 1987 the editors of the fifth volume of *DOLQ* add a statement concerning the criteria for inclusion in their work, a clarification which does not appear in earlier volumes. First they cite the criteria adopted by the Bibliothèque nationale du Québec for inclusion in their collections: ‘des documents produits par le Québec ou dont le sujet principal est le Québec’ (‘le Québec’ figuring here both as the collective personification of the members of a nation when used as subject and a geographical location when used as object) (V, lxxi). But the editors recognize that this fails to address a number of complexities (‘l’appartenance d’un auteur à la littérature québécoise demeure parfois discutable, dans la mesure où il s’avère difficile d’établir son appartenance géographique’) and they refine the criteria as follows:

Par exemple, dans le cas d’écrivains franco-ontariens, franco-manitobains, acadiens, ou de tous ceux qui vivent à l’étranger, nous avons établi les quatre critères suivants qui déterminent l’inclusion ou l’exclusion d’un ouvrage dans le corpus québécois: a) avoir été édité par une maison québécoise; b) avoir été écrit par une personne ayant choisi de vivre au Québec; c) viser le Québec comme premier lieu de consécration; d) relever, en tout ou en partie, de l’imaginaire ou du réel québécois. (V, lxxi)

To qualify as *québécois*, a work must satisfy at least two of the four criteria. Thus, the editors say, all of Antonine Maillet’s work published in Quebec would be included whereas ‘nous devons exclure les ouvrages d’auteurs acadiens comme Melvin Gallant ou ceux de franco-ontariens comme André Paiement, qui ne visent pas le Québec comme premier lieu de consécration’. Arguably an element of subjective assessment enters into at least the last two of these criteria, which the editors recognize. But their decision is clearly an attempt to avoid a certain kind of neo-colonialism which the territorial definition might be seen to promote: ‘En respectant la spécificité territoriale des auteurs, nous essayons d’éviter de verser dans une pratique de colonialisme culturel. Cette politique éditoriale ne règle pas toutes les ambiguïtés, mais elle prend en considération les communautés francophones hors Québec qui revendiquent, à juste titre, une autonomie culturelle’ (V, lxxi).

By the time Volume VII was published in 2003, the editorial team was expressing its policy in a rather more relaxed way. After referring to the criteria cited above, they write: ‘vu les liens étroits qui unissent certains

auteurs franco-ontariens et acadiens, nous les avons inclus dans notre dictionnaire, surtout s'ils ont décidé de publier au Québec. La frontière littéraire obéit à d'autres impératifs que l'appartenance géographique. Nous avons tâché de respecter une autonomie que revendiquent à juste titre les francophones hors Québec' (VII, xv). Nevertheless, the very existence of such a set of criteria reflects the difficult translation of national/territorial boundaries into the classification of literary and cultural identity; to an extent this is a difficulty inherent in all literary historical projects. But in this case it is symptomatic of a real realignment of francophone literary life in Canada in the last fifty years, a realignment which has resulted from a complex set of centrifugal and centripetal forces common to postcolonial societies, as relationships between Paris, Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Moncton and the smaller centres of the francophone diaspora in Canada and North America have been decentred and have regrouped. Without the emergence of 'la littérature québécoise' (both as a name and as the product of a set of institutional practices), it is possible that literary and cultural life in Acadie, in northern Ontario or in the Canadian West might have had fewer practitioners, a smaller audience and might have developed fewer local institutions, products as they in turn might be of ongoing processes of accommodation and resistance to external and internal patterns of colonization. In this way, the changing shape of Quebec's own national self-awareness has in turn provoked or enabled the construction of range of new narratives of identity.

One rather surprising omission from the criteria employed by the editorial team of *DOLQ* is that of the language of expression, which would suggest that the editors consider work not published in French as automatically disqualified from the category *québécois*. Interestingly, in the most recent literary history listed above, Michel Biron, François Dumont and Élisabeth Nardout-Lafarge's *Histoire de la littérature québécoise*, the authors do include a brief section on 'la littérature anglo-québécoise' which gives a survey of the various ways in which anglophone residents of Quebec (such as Gail Scott, Yann Martel, David Solway and Trevor Ferguson) have explored the implications and the possibilities of writing in English in Quebec.⁴⁰ But in this volume as a whole, the authors understand 'la littérature québécoise' to refer to French-language literature from Quebec. Their definition concentrates primarily on its historical rather than its geographical or linguistic elasticity: 'l'expression "littérature québécoise" [...] s'emploie rétroactivement pour parler de l'ensemble de la littérature du Québec depuis les premiers écrits de la Nouvelle-France' (12).

The only English-language literary history included in the list above is that of W. H. New, whose *History of Canadian Literature* offers an example of a literary history which attempts to tell the histories of the many cultural and linguistic communities of Canada, and should perhaps have been entitled *A History of Canadian Literatures*.⁴¹ Including francophone and anglophone, Inuit, First Nations and migrant writing, New's use of the word 'Canadian' in his title is therefore comparable in its scope to Blodgett's use of the word 'Canada' in *Five-Part Invention: A History of Literary History in Canada*, which brings this section full circle.

Shaping the history: periodization, its forms and effects

It is difficult to imagine a literary history without some temporal subdivision into periods. Yet periodization is problematic and can always be disputed.⁴² The key dates of a nation's history do not necessarily correspond to changes in the literary production of that nation; not all areas of the literary institution develop at the same rate over any given period; no one 'period' will be homogeneous; the boundaries between designated periods are never clear-cut; patterns of reception, of literary influence, of pastiche will give certain texts, genres, or styles a longer and more varied life than others. The relationship between periods is far more complex than its chronological succession may suggest, as Laurent Mailhot points out:

La périodisation littéraire n'est pas nécessairement de type caténaire, encore moins de type causal. Entre les maillons, entre les cristallisations, viennent s'insérer des creux, des mous. Les héritages sont acceptés sous bénéfice d'inventaire, des révoltes peuvent indiquer une filiation, les ruptures sont rarement aussi radicales ou absolues qu'elles le prétendent. Contre hier ou avant-hier, c'est parfois à une époque plus ancienne que les avant-gardes font appel pour relancer l'histoire.⁴³

As an example of the complex web of relationships between literary phenomena over the course of time he cites the example of the activities of the journal and publishing house *Parti pris* in the 1960s:

Parti pris est à la fois fille émancipée de la Révolution tranquille, arrière-petite-fille des patriotes de 1837–1838, sœur ou cousine des mouvements de décolonisation qui doivent eux-mêmes autant à Sartre qu'à Fanon, Berque ou Memmi. *Parti pris* est surtout la mère, la matrice

des nombreux mouvements socio-culturels et littéraires qui, dès 1968 (année de la disparition de la revue) se partageront et diviseront son héritage.⁴⁴

This state of being embedded within a series of networks, both within and beyond Quebec, is symptomatic of the ways in which cultural objects operate; yet relationships of this degree of complexity are obscured by the practice of periodization, which encourages synchronic and diachronic readings of a less flexible kind. A different structure would be needed to explore such relationships in sufficient detail, arguably a structure like that adopted by Hollier in *A New History of French Literature* (2001) which can pursue a series of micro-narratives. But despite its problematic and somewhat arbitrary nature, periodization remains one of the defining features of works of literary history, a feature which will be deployed in various ways.

The choice of periodization and the ways in which it is labelled play a significant role in the construction of a corpus into a particular shape in time. Traditionally the literary history of France has been told by century, a practice that is still evident in much of the teaching and research in the field of (metropolitan) French literature today. This periodization has been widely challenged as artificial and inattentive to the complex relationship between social reality and the literary text. Nevertheless, as Aron and Viala note:

[La] difficulté à trouver un juste mode d'articulation entre histoire sociale et politique et histoire de la littérature explique en partie pourquoi le découpage par siècles a été si couramment usité. Il n'est pourtant pas neutre, puisqu'il tend à constituer des unités là où les données politiques et littéraires ne les attestent pas.⁴⁵

Histories of francophone literature in Canada are not modelled on the French pattern of periodization, partly because of the shorter historical span to be covered, but also because of the particular conditions of production of the literature of a settler society. It is in the choice of periodization that signs of the nation are often most apparent and in the case of a colonial and postcolonial society those dates are frequently dictated by shifts in power and by the consequent loss or acquisition of self-determination. This section will study the ways in which eleven literary histories of francophone literature in Canada, published between 1907 and 2011, have defined their corpus in temporal terms. It will discuss the various ways in which a particular periodization has been written into the text; it will also consider the effects of this choice on the

relationship between literature and nation which is thereby constructed. The works which will be discussed have been selected to give a spread of texts over the century but also a variety in terms of authorship, format and intended readership. Each will be introduced separately and its individual pattern of periodization examined before comparative conclusions will be drawn.

In what follows, the choice of periodization for each literary history is represented in simple tabular form. The starting date against which each text is measured in the tables is 1534, the date of Jacques Cartier's first voyage to Canada, in the course of which he claimed the territory in the name of the King of France, François I. The only exception to this pattern is the table representing the periodization of W. H. New's *A History of Canadian Literature*, for reasons which will become clear. A blank cell at the beginning of the table indicates that a literary history begins its narrative at a date later than 1534. The tables show the historical subdivisions of the literary history and any designation of the period given in the chapter title. There is no attempt to reflect in the table the relative length of sections, but where this is significant comments follow in the analysis. In the case of multi-volume series (de Grandpré and the two series edited by Lemire) each cell records the periodization adopted for one individual volume. While start-dates vary to some extent between volumes, end-dates of the single volume literary histories are often remarkably close to the date of publication, something which is all the more evident in second or successive editions where the corpus has been updated. In the multi-volume series, each volume is written with greater sense of historical distance, the most recent volume of *La Vie littéraire* (2010) taking the history up to 1933. The latest volume of the *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec* (2011), however, covers works published much closer to the contemporary period (1986–1990).

Literary histories for the cours classique

The first twentieth-century literary history of French-Canadian literature, Roy's *Tableau de l'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*, excludes the literary production of *la Nouvelle-France*: 'L'histoire de notre littérature nationale commence après la cession du Canada à l'Angleterre. Les livres qui ont été faits avant cette date sont l'œuvre de Français de France qui, pour la plupart, sont retournés dans leur pays; et ces livres ont tous été publiés en France.'⁴⁶ The following 140 years are subdivided into periods of 40, 20, 40 and 40 years, which

initially suggests a preference for round numbers rather than a division based on key historical events. However, in the introductory chapter the four periods are justified in terms which clearly link political developments with what Roy presents as changes in the mentality and the literary activity of the French-Canadian population. The first period is characterized by abandonment: ‘après la Cession les Canadiens sont abandonnés à eux-mêmes, et ils doivent donc travailler eux-mêmes à leur fortune économique et littéraire’ (10) but also by the positive impact of the advent of parliamentary representation: ‘L’acte de 1791, qui établit parmi nous le régime parlementaire, va donner à nos députés canadiens français l’occasion de faire entendre les premiers sons de l’éloquence canadienne’ (11).

Table 1.2 Periodization of Camille Roy, *Tableau d’histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* (1907)

1760–1800	1800–20	1820–60	1860–1900
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The second period again links literary expression with political development and a change of collective mentality, designated now as ‘l’esprit canadien’, an emerging national consciousness: ‘Avec la fondation du premier journal politique canadien-français, en 1806 [*Le Canadien*], commence une phase nouvelle de notre histoire. L’esprit canadien se fait plus inquiet, plus ardent, plus batailleur, et il va s’exprimer plus librement par la parole et par la plume’ (11–12). Roy, like Huston before him,⁴⁷ sees 1820 as a turning point in political, intellectual and literary life; he associates this third period with the projected union of Lower and Upper Canada and the 1837–38 Rebellion: ‘Pendant toute cette période, on s’efforce de constituer plus fortement que jamais la vie publique, distincte et personnelle, du peuple canadien-français. Et comme rien n’exprime mieux que la littérature une conscience nationale, c’est à fortifier et développer la littérature canadienne française que plusieurs esprits vont s’appliquer’ (14). It is in this third period that Roy situates the first great leap towards agency of French-Canadian literature: ‘Cette troisième période est donc celle où notre littérature nationale prit un premier et véritable essor’ (15).

For the fourth and final period of his history (1860–1900) Roy chooses as his turning point a date with literary significance, rather than relating this period of emergence with events in Canadian history. The date is associated with the ‘le mouvement littéraire de 1860’, also referred

to by Roy as 'l'École patriotique de Québec'. These terms refer to a heterogeneous group of writers, including Crémazie, Chauveau, Taché, Gérin-Lajoie, Le May, Fréchette, Alfred Garneau and Casgrain, who met together at Crémazie's bookshop in Quebec City.⁴⁸ In characterizing this new period, Roy also looks to France, contact having been renewed in 1855, for positive influences (such as France's recognition of some Canadian authors) and negative effects (the inevitably unequal struggle of Canadian literature against the quantity and quality of texts from France). Literature now takes centre stage, personified in the narrative: 'la poésie canadienne, que Crémazie avait animée d'un souffle nouveau, essaya de se faire encore plus souple, plus variée, plus abondante' (17); '[La poésie] paraît vouloir aujourd'hui s'émanciper de ces formes traditionnelles; elle se fait plus originale, plus vive avec M. LeMay, dernière manière, avec MM. Nelligan, Lozeau, Charles Gill, et quelques autres qui se sont groupés dans l'"École littéraire de Montréal"' (18); 'En même temps que la poésie, la prose a multiplié ses œuvres pendant la quatrième période de notre vie littéraire. L'histoire surtout a considérablement agrandi le champ de ses travaux' (18); 'Il semble que depuis 1900 notre littérature canadienne est en voie de progrès' (20). The use of such phrasing denotes a shift in focus, suggesting that French-Canadian literature now has sufficient energy and activity to be discussed in terms of an organic evolution in which by turn the literary genres, authors or groups of authors become the agents, fulfilling the promise of the 'esprit canadien' which emerged in the second period.

Roy's first literary history displays a rather uneven relationship between history and literature. Specific historical events or developments give way in the later periods to questions of literary influence or institutional factors (such as the increased distribution of literature from France after 1855). The future-oriented conclusion presents the *Tableau* modestly as 'une liste d'écrivains et d'œuvres qui nous permettent d'affirmer que notre littérature existe, et qu'elle est en progrès' (74), progress which he argues will naturally follow if Canadian authors focus their efforts more closely on Canadian subject matter, which in turn will ensure the originality of their work. His conclusion thus puts the onus and the expectation on the next generation of authors (likely to emerge from his intended readership of *collégiens*) rather than on any more widely based social, political or institutional factors.

The *Précis d'histoire littéraire: littérature canadienne-française* was the work of sœur Marie-Élise (Évelyna Thibodeau)⁴⁹ of the Sœurs de Sainte-Anne and is the only single-authored literary history in the corpus

to be the work of a woman.⁵⁰ Critical assessments of its impact vary. Annette Hayward assesses its positive contribution to the development of ‘la rhétorique au féminin’, while Karine Cellard finds its significance, both as literary history and as an example of early feminist discourse, to be more limited. Her judgement is based on the predominantly traditionalist discourse concerning gender roles, the place assigned to women writers within the account and the generally traditional religious and patriotic values promoted particularly through the biographical details in the *portraits biographiques*. Indeed, both the incorporation of moral judgements within the biographical portraits⁵¹ and a number of rather clumsy presentational features (including the repetitive summary of key points) mark the text out as highly didactic, in keeping with its function as a textbook. As an example of ‘une rhétorique au féminin’, the narrative voice is certainly somewhat self-effacing and non-authoritative; assessments of the aesthetic value of texts and the literary status of authors are regularly based on citations from a range of established male critics (including Camille Roy, Émile Chartier and Charles Ab der Halden). This may, however, be a tactic employed to good effect within a field dominated by male authors and critics.⁵²

Indeed, while the ideology and theoretical underpinning of this literary history are not in themselves innovative, certain aspects of the work are highly significant. The *Précis* includes a number of French authors who migrated to Canada (not only in the colonial period); it devotes a separate section to ‘littérature féminine’ (308–32) with entries on women poets, novelists and journalists;⁵³ and the format of the literary history is updated, with the addition of photographs of authors (including eleven photographs of women) and an index. Perhaps most importantly, the *Précis* shows an awareness of the significance of institutional matters well before most contemporary critics (and arguably foreshadows the adoption of sociological theory by literary historians in the late 1970s–80s). Notably, the link between education and literature is highlighted in various ways, including a reference to the 1908 foundation of secondary education for girls by the Congrégation de Notre-Dame and a list of several of its former pupils now active as writers, many of them journalists. In this way women’s education is clearly linked with intellectual activity rather than spiritual vocations, so deviating from a traditionalist discourse. Elsewhere in entries on male authors, details are often included of where they studied (including periods of higher education in France). Thus, whether such innovations are by design or by chance, the *Précis* does present an alternative introduction to

French-Canadian literature for early generations of female students, in its highlighting of women writers and the recognition of the role of a variety of institutional factors in literary life.

Table 1.3 Periodization of Sœurs de Sainte-Anne, *Précis d'histoire littéraire: littérature canadienne-française* (1928)

1534-1760	1760-1820	1820-60	1860-1900	1900-
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In terms of its periodization the *Précis* sets a new norm, breaking with Camille Roy's practice of excluding the literature of la Nouvelle-France from French-Canadian literary history. The way in which this choice is defended shows a fine balance between deference and innovation. The introduction cites at length the definitions of the literary corpus given by Émile Chartier (author of literature textbooks for the *collèges classiques* for boys). Sœur Marie-Élise comments: 'D'après cet exposé, une très longue période de l'Histoire canadienne est fermée à l'Histoire littéraire, – toute la période de la domination française' (5, original emphasis). Rather than arguing the point, the author simply includes this 'longue période' as the first period of French-Canadian literature. The five periods into which her corpus is divided are largely consistent with Roy's periodization, but the extension backwards and forwards in time make this literary history distinctive. The periods are characterized in terms of political significance ('1534 à 1760, c'est-à-dire de la découverte du pays à sa conquête par les Anglais'),⁵⁴ of literary activity (following, and quoting Roy, in the highlighting of 1860 as the inauguration of the *mouvement littéraire*) and above all in the link between literature and patriotism (the terms 'patriotisme' and 'patriotique' being used in the descriptions of the second, third and fourth periods). The presentation of the fifth period once again pays a silent tribute to Roy: 'De 1900 à nos jours. Période contemporaine, remarquable par l'abondance des productions, un art plus parfait, et surtout par ce qu'on appelle la *nationalisation* de notre littérature' (6-7). The weighting of the *Précis* emphasizes the contemporary period, nearly 200 of the 332 pages being devoted to the years since 1900. This is justified with the following statement, which indicates an awareness of the role of the market in the development of a national literature: 'Il s'est publié, dans notre province, à partir de 1900, c'est-à-dire depuis vingt-sept ans, plus de livres et de brochures que dans les cent trente-six années qui ont suivi l'établissement de l'imprimerie à Québec, en 1764' (137). So this female-authored literary history not only

looks back to include in its survey the period in which the crucial bond between the convents and the education of women was established; it also looks forward to a literary landscape in which women play a more prominent part.

Roy's 1939 *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne de langue française* is available in a posthumous edition which incorporates both the author's amendments up to 1942 and the editor's typographical corrections. It adopts a different periodization from the 1907 *Tableau*. This is not only because it can now include forty years of the twentieth century; Roy has also extended the coverage backwards to 1608 to include writings from the period of the French regime in Canada (but unlike the *Précis* he does not include the period of exploration from 1534). Unlike his earlier manual, which subdivided the period from 1760 to 1860 into three periods, the 1962 edition merges these three into a long 'Période des origines', better to reflect the balance of literary production (though in the process de-emphasizing the French abandonment and the change of colonial regime). Consequently his account now presents a slow process of emergence of a literature from the days of explorers and evangelizers writing for a French audience to the mid-nineteenth century, when Quebec-born writers were producing works for a relatively restricted Canadian reading public. As in the first of his literary histories, it is 1860, marking the emergence of the Quebec-based literary movement, which is seen as significant, a turning point effected by a literary moment rather than a politically significant event such as the 1867 British North America Act which established the Canadian Confederation. The next pivotal moment in the periodization is 1900, the beginning of the new century. But in the overview of progress (which is how the narrative presents it), Roy refers to a number of influences, within and beyond Canada, including a paragraph on 1895 and the formation of the *École littéraire de Montréal*; this is the alternative date used in a number of later literary histories to signal the beginning of a new era.

Table 1.4 Periodization of Camille Roy, *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne de langue française* (1962 [based on 1939 edition])

1608–1860 Période des origines	1860–1900	1900–45 (posthumous editions)
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In the 1939 work Roy's periodization is integrated more fully into the structure of the volume than in the 1907 *Tableau*. The first chapter, entitled 'La race française au Canada', gives an overview of the history and spirit of the French-Canadian people and a discussion of the situation of the French language in Canada before outlining the periodization to be adopted. The book is then arranged, still by genre, but in three separate periods, each presented by a brief introduction to the literature of the period in relation to key developments in literary and cultural life, including significant institutional influences. Thus in the introduction to the period 1900 to 1945,⁵⁵ entitled 'Le renouveau littéraire: 1900 à nos jours', Roy refers to literary movements and groupings, to the influence of access to French literature, but also to the development of higher education in Quebec and the work of the Société du parler français au Canada, founded in 1902, all of which he links to 'le développement progressif de notre vie nationale' which in turn has encouraged 'un accroissement de vie pour notre littérature', so fulfilling the hope/prediction expressed in the conclusion to the 1907 *Tableau* of the 'nationalisation' of French-Canadian literature.

As seen in the discussion of titles in the previous section, Roy's successive literary histories reflect his response to various developments in intellectual and political life. This volume, updated to include the latest work of contemporary writers, is focused very much on the state of French-Canadian literature in the present, rather than presenting a case for the future realization of a national literature, which the 1907 volume had offered. This is both because francophone Canada now had a much richer corpus of literature and because the nationalist fervour which had inspired the earlier Roy no longer seemed so vital or so attractive. Cellard notes the consequences of this shift: 'lorsqu'on la formule en d'autres termes que la "nationalisation" de la littérature, cette visée pédagogique ne constitue plus l'aboutissement et le centre symbolique du système discursif élaboré par la mise en récit. Ce sont alors les écrivains [...] qui deviennent les acteurs réels de cette mise en intrigue.'⁵⁶ The conclusion, no longer including his call for a nationalization of literature, now focuses more on the defence of those 'universal' humanist values promoted most ably through the secondary education system of the *collège classique* and on the central importance of the French language. Cellard reflects on the diminished status both of the nation and of history in Roy's final literary history, wondering whether the nationalism that was developing in the late 1930s in Quebec had taken on a life that Roy was not ready to embrace: 'a-t-il [...] été victime

de sa modération, se recroquevillant défensivement sur ses idées au fur et à mesure que le nationalisme canadien-français dont il avait été l'un des promoteurs outrepassait sa conception culturelle, élitiste et bon-ententiste du patriotisme?⁵⁷ Certainly by the late 1930s there was a range of different, mostly secular voices, grouped around reviews such as *La Relève*, which would take a new approach to literature and would write its history very differently. Nevertheless, as the 1962 date of the edition cited here indicates, Roy's literary histories (1907–62) had a longer life and more captive an audience than any other histories of francophone Canadian literature.⁵⁸

An alternative voice in the 1940s

Berthelot Brunet's *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* is included in the corpus as much for its quirkiness as for its value as a literary history. Blodgett suggests that the work 'may [...] be read within the tradition that Camille Roy fostered' and that 'with the exception of his particular engagement with the contemporary, his understanding of the canon differs little from that of his predecessors'.⁵⁹ Yet, as Cellard points out, this literary history 'apparaît sans doute trop subjective pour se plier au dogmatisme attendu d'un professeur de collège classique', its contemporary approach deviating too far from 'l'usage didactique que l'on fait habituellement de l'histoire nationale'.⁶⁰ In fact the differences between Roy and Brunet strike me as far wider than the similarities; this is evident both in the distinctive use of periodization and in the degree of ambivalence and playfulness of the narrative.

Table 1.5 Periodization of Berthelot Brunet,
Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française (1946)

Precursors la Nouvelle-France	By genre. Roughly 1900 as turning point, though varies by genre ('la poésie s'émancipa vers 1890–1900'), p. 52	–1945
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The first thing to say about Brunet's periodization is that it is vague.⁶¹ He gives few dates, either because he assumes a well-informed (educated, adult) reader or because his interest lies more in the literature than its history. Table 1.5 is a mere approximation of his temporal structure which, as can be seen below, the chapter headings themselves do not reveal:

Introduction
L'histoire

Les romanciers de notre époque victorienne
Les chroniqueurs
Le journalisme avant le grand journal
Les orateurs
La poésie avant la vraie poésie
La poésie voyage
La littérature des clercs
Les femmes
Les journaux et les revues
Les professionnels
Les romanciers véritables

Yet while Brunet's historical markers may be few and far between, the narrative of his literary history does have a strong shape in time and one that is distinctive for the time of publication. The Introduction states: 'L'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française offre cette singularité que ses meilleurs écrivains se rencontrent à ses débuts et à la période contemporaine: le prologue et l'épilogue ont plus d'importance que le corps de l'ouvrage.'⁶² His judgement of much of the literary production between the 'débuts' (la Nouvelle-France) and the contemporary period (which, he implies, starts somewhere between 1890 and 1910) is blunt: 'S'ils comptent des noms remarquables, les âges intermédiaires, jugés dans l'ensemble, ne s'élèvent guère au-dessous d'une honorable médiocrité' (4). So, unlike most francophone narratives of French-Canadian literature, Brunet's work constructs a trajectory which starts with la Nouvelle-France as the high point (Cartier, Marc Lescarbot, Champlain, *Les Relations des jésuites*, Marie de l'Incarnation, le père Charlevoix, le baron La Hontan all categorized as the precursors of French-Canadian literature), then declines after the Conquest and British rule, to re-emerge slowly from what he refers to as 'le "dark age" de notre histoire nationale et de notre histoire littéraire' (9). His use of English here is telling; it acts as a self-conscious reference to the process of acculturation to which francophone Canadians had been subjected under British rule. But francophone Canadians also had to liberate themselves from the cultural domination of France, or rather from the models of French literature mediated to French-Canadian readers by the clergy-dominated establishment. Poetry is the first genre to show the potential for autonomous development: 'La poésie canadienne s'émancipa entre 1890 et 1900, non pas qu'elle ait coupé toutes ses amarres, mais, timidement, elle osa prendre deux ou trois bordées. La poésie avait toujours le visage tourné envers la France: il lui arriva

pourtant de croire pour un instant, à ses propres forces' (52). Literature in other genres is slow to follow suit: 'jusqu'en 1900 ou 1910, notre littérature compte surtout des poètes et des critiques, exclusion faite, bien entendu, de nos innombrables orateurs' (111).⁶³ But as certain chapter headings indicate, French Canada does, by 1945, have 'real' literature, produced by writers of serious literary merit, including the poetry of Anne Hébert and Hector de Saint-Denys Garneau, novels by Ringuet, Roger Lemelin, Gabrielle Roy and Robert Charbonneau, and the radio sketches of Claude-Henri Grignon 'une des œuvres marquantes de la littérature canadienne, pour populaire qu'elle soit' (122).

Whereas previous literary historians referred solemnly to a range of causes for the late development of French-Canadian literature, Brunet's analysis is often irreverent. Thus, referring to the 'dark age' which followed the Conquest he writes: 'Ce n'est ni le lieu, ni l'occasion de parler politique: on n'en comprend pas moins que nos pères avaient d'autres chats à fouetter qu'à rimer des vers galants ou qu'à composer des discours historiques' (9). Here it is a change of register which gives the line a slightly comic, ironic slant. In another case he criticizes the religious and literary establishment which dominated the latter part of the nineteenth century in terms that distance him clearly from the literary histories of Catholic pedagogues such as Roy and sœur Marie-Élise:

N'oublions pas que nous avons subi l'influence de la littérature catholique du Second Empire (et point seulement celle de Veuillot), et que les dernières vagues du jansénisme français battaient encore les murs de ces auteurs que la province de Québec connut surtout par les distributions de prix et les achats des dévotes à l'aise. (25)

Yet while in his language and the certainty of his personal preferences in literature Brunet appears unorthodox, another aspect of his narrative technique is somewhat more difficult to decipher, that is, his frequent references to French authors. Often this takes the form of a simple comparison ('[Thomas Chapais] est à M. Groulx ce qu'était le comte de Mun à Charles Maurras', 40), but he also uses *antonomasia* (the use of a proper name as a common noun, as in 'notre Voltaire' or 'le Balzac de nos jours'). Élisabeth Nardout-Lafarge analyses the contradictory effects of such a device, arguing that 'l'usage de cette figure constitue [...] un pacte de lecture, établi sur la connivence'.⁶⁴ As he drops his parallels into his narrative, Brunet is using them both to legitimize his own account of French-Canadian literature (and his own status as a critic) and to test the literary knowledge of his readers. Yet in deploying the figure,

as in his description of François-Xavier Garneau’s *Histoire du Canada* as ‘nos sagas et notre *Chanson de Roland*’ (20), he draws a parallel, momentarily claiming comparability and challenging the uniqueness of masterpieces; at the same time the very comparison underlines the distance between the works, a distance which always disadvantages the minor literature. The ambivalence of the rhetorical figure resembles, as Nardout-Lafarge points out, the contradictory nature of Brunet’s own position, arguing for the recognition of French-Canadian literature while forever circling back to French models and measures, a position which his irony seeks, perhaps, to conceal.

Interdisciplinary overtures

A former literary critic for *Le Devoir*, Pierre de Grandpré was working at the Ministry of Cultural Affairs when he took on the editorship of the four-volume *Histoire de la littérature française du Québec*, a project which was very much of its time. He assembled a team of about 25 contributors, experts in a range of fields, including historians Pierre Savard and Claude Galarneau; sociologists Jean-Charles Falardeau, Marcel Rioux and Fernand Dumont; geographer Michel Brochu; linguist Gaston Dulong; literary scholars Michel Tétu, Jean Éthier-Blais, Gilles Marcotte, Réginald Hamel, Paul Wyczynski and Georges-André Vachon; and literary critics such as Guy Boulizon and Alain Pontaut. The combination of social scientists and arts-trained contributors was in keeping with the aims and ethos of the new post-secondary education to be offered in the *cégeps*, but the diversity of their methodological approaches made the editor’s task difficult. (In this respect it will be worth comparing the structure later adopted for *La Vie littéraire au Québec* by Lemire and his team whose projects similarly combine social science and literary methodologies.)

Table 1.6 Periodization of Pierre de Grandpré, ed., *Histoire de la littérature française du Québec*, 4 vols (1967–69)

Vol. 1 1534–1900	Vol. 2 1900–45	Vol. 3 1945 à nos jours
		Vol. 4 1945 à nos jours

Table 1.6 shows the overall structure of de Grandpré’s four volumes. Periodization within the volumes varies between strictly historical

divisions and more literary and ideological categories. So, 1534–1900 is presented in four parts:

1. Les Écrits de la Nouvelle France (1534–1760)
2. Aux lendemains de la conquête (1760–1830)
3. Le Romantisme libéral (1830–1860) (with an introductory essay entitled ‘Une affirmation de soi au souffle de la liberté et de l’avenir’)
4. Un post-romantisme civique (1860–1900) (the introductory essay entitled ‘Le repli traditionaliste’)

Here the turning towards conservatism in 1860 is presented as having a negative impact on the emergence of an autonomous intellectual and literary culture, whereas the previous section (1830–60) stresses a sense of awakening, of developing self-consciousness, of future liberation. Blodgett cites this construction of the period 1860–1900 as a ‘repli’ as indicative of Grandpré’s own narrative of a rise towards nationhood, and in particular towards the *Révolution tranquille*: ‘Thus the present explains the past, or, to use a more political term, it colonizes it, so to speak, thereby compelling the needs of the past to be those of the present.’⁶⁵ Seen from the perspective of this necessary rise towards autonomy, the conservatism of the 1860s represents a step backwards, the end of the liberalism of the previous period rather than the beginning of something new. Volume II divides into two parts – ‘Obstacles et croissance. L’entrée dans le XXe siècle (1900–1930)’ and ‘La crise de croissance de l’entre-deux-guerres (1930–1945)’ – the turning point being defined by the economic crisis of the Depression years rather than by any literary, intellectual or ideological feature. The division between the final two volumes reflects some of the more general unevenness in the project, Volume III being devoted solely to poetry, while Volume IV follows the format of earlier volumes, having chapters on individual genres (the novel, theatre, history, journalism, essay and literary criticism). But it is Volume III which emerges as the high point of the emergence of an autonomous literature in Quebec, largely because of de Grandpré’s view of the nature of poetic language. Volume III is subdivided into chapters which follow a broadly chronological sequence, starting with chapters on ‘Les grands aînés’ (Grandbois, Hébert, Saint-Denys Garneau), through ‘L’héritage symboliste’ (Hertel, Bessette, Hénault) to ‘Du *Refus global* à une poésie d’appartenance’ (Giguère, Lalonde, Gauvreau) and ‘Poètes du pays réinventé’ (including Leclerc and Vigneault). As the chapters are also concerned with different poetic forms and styles, there are a number of overlaps and

reappearances between sections, but the general sense of the volume is a movement towards the future, a movement towards a new nation. This is evoked both through images of filiation and of membership of a future collective. The predominance of the poetic voice in de Grandpré's literary history can be related to his understanding of the special role of poetic language, a role in which Blodgett sees the influence of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological philosophy. For Merleau-Ponty, poetic language is 'une manifestation, une révélation de l'être intime et du lien psychique qui nous unit au monde et à nos semblables'.⁶⁶ Poetry, Blodgett explains, can cast the past in a new light; it can thus overcome 'the problem of beginnings and endings, as well as the silences of the past, by becoming a signifying intention that exculpates Quebec from the possible opprobrium of having been a colonizer, of having collaborated with its colonizer in turn, and with having, as a result, strayed into the non-being of an unworthy, not to say, false past and false consciousness'. Seen in this light, the narrative of de Grandpré's literary history, and in particular his account of the development of poetry in Quebec, becomes a 'harbinger of freedom', a 'triumphal act that, by "assuming" the present, is capable of transforming the past so as to find a way out of it'.⁶⁷ The meaning of the different periods presented in the successive volumes has to be understood in terms of the project which de Grandpré sees at the heart of Quebec's literature – its eventual autonomy and liberation from the past.

Each volume is introduced by de Grandpré, which gives some overall continuity, and by an essay of a broadly sociological nature. Within the volumes the input of social scientists tends to be most evident either in these introductory context chapters or in subsections which discuss work in their own disciplines (by historians, journalists or essayists). So, in the volume on poetry, Fernand Dumont contributes an introductory chapter on 'Vie intellectuelle et société depuis 1945: la recherche d'une nouvelle conscience'. Here he outlines the relationship between literature and society as follows: 'le milieu social, par le sort qu'il fait aux hommes, par le contexte qu'il offre à leurs angoisses et à leurs rêves, contribue à former cette expérience dont la littérature est le sous-produit et, à sa manière, le sens'. However, Dumont's relatively brief contribution declares itself to be more of a personal *témoignage* than a sociological analysis: 'Le sociologue dispose [...] de techniques et de concepts qui sont autant de procédés d'objectivité; mais je ne peux en user dans ce bref exposé. On trouvera donc ici moins une tranche d'histoire ou une monographie, qu'un témoignage.'⁶⁸ The subjectivity of his analysis is clear both in his

lengthy citation of Gabrielle Roy's return in 1947 to Saint-Henri, the working-class setting of *Bonheur d'occasion*, and in his recollection of his working-class father's plea for him to bear witness to the lives of his class: 'toi qui sais écrire, il faudrait que tu dises tout cela...'⁶⁹ Nor do the author-based entries develop any consistent approach towards the sociological significance of the works discussed or towards the factors which may have influenced their production or reception. Indeed, the presentation of authors is not unlike the format adopted in an anthology. Authors are represented by extracts from their work, with varying amounts of analysis or commentary, followed by biographical details and literary influences, and bibliographical information. Together with photographs of many of the authors (and portraits or drawings of earlier writers), the format reinforces an author/works-focused literary history in which the links, comparisons and contrasts are only developed in the introductory overview of the period or genre. Cellard points out that the place of biographical detail is considerably downgraded, being placed at the end of the entries,⁷⁰ but as she argues, many of the contributors continue to 'mythifier la figure du poète et à monumentaliser ses incarnations singulières'.⁷¹ As will be seen, the collaboration between scholars at the Centre de recherche en littérature québécoise at Laval University, under Lemire's leadership from its inception in 1971, developed a radically different approach, both to the presentation of authors and the relationship between literary works and their mode and context of production, one which is much more thoroughly grounded in sociological methodology.

Two literary histories for the French market

In 1974 the Presses Universitaires de France published two very different histories of francophone Canadian literature. *La Littérature canadienne-française*, the revised fifth edition of the 1960 *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*, was the work of Gérard Tougas, professor at the University of British Columbia, where he founded the Centre de recherche en histoire littéraire du Canada français. In the same year PUF published in the 'Que sais-je?' series a much shorter work, aimed at the student market, with the title *La Littérature québécoise*, by Laurent Mailhot, an academic from the université de Montréal. The shapes which their literary histories take can be seen in Tables 1.7 and 1.8, in which the patterns of periodization differ considerably. Tougas, like Roy in his earlier literary histories, excludes the period of French rule from the proper sphere of French-Canadian literature. The dates chosen for the first three sections are tied to events of literary significance: the introduction of the printing

press in Quebec in 1764, the publication of the first volume of François-Xavier Garneau's *Histoire du Canada* in 1845, and that author's death in 1865. Historical writing being classified as a genre of literature at the time, Garneau is presented as the real starting point of a distinctive French-Canadian literature, a literature which Tougas sees as marked by the literary romanticism of the early nineteenth century, which developed a distinctive style in Canada. The third period is therefore triggered by Garneau's death, but also by his enduring influence. The 'modern' chapter begins with the new century (but a number of pages then return to discuss Nelligan whose work was complete by 1899) and the 'contemporary' chapter opens with the Fall of France and the subsequent transfer of publishing from Paris to Montreal in the early 1940s.

Table 1.7 Periodization of Gérard Tougas, *La Littérature canadienne-française*, 5th edn (1974)

1764–1845 Les difficiles débuts	1845–65 L'âge de Garneau	1865–99 Vers la création d'une tradition littéraire	1900–39 L'époque moderne	1940– L'époque contemporaine (1974 edition takes in early 1970s)
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A number of aspects distinguish this literary history from others. The last page of the conclusion leaves the reader (and the authors of the future), on the threshold (but only on the threshold) of a fully realized national literature: 'Les grands classiques de la littérature canadienne-française ne manqueront pas de surgir de la terre laurentienne pour peu que les écrivains y mettent suffisamment d'ardeur et de persévérance.'⁷² In a way this echoes the works of Lareau and the early Camille Roy. But Tougas's narrative creates a somewhat different version of a future-oriented trajectory; here, the future is not simply the recognition of Quebec's literary autonomy in accordance with a nationalist project, but involves assuming a leading role within a future *francophonie*. The brief preface and the conclusion to the 1974 edition look forward to 'une littérature française agrandie aux dimensions du monde' in a post-Empire world, in which French-Canadian literature can take a leading role in the exciting new context of *la francophonie*.⁷³ Blodgett finds another difference between Tougas's literary history and those of his contemporaries. Tougas's narrative, he argues, is characterized not by the emergence of a national destiny but more by the

successive phases of a central tension, which results from the continuing working through of currents of influence from metropolitan France and anglophone North America. Arguably, Tougas's personal trajectory (born and educated in Alberta, he followed postgraduate studies in France and the USA before pursuing his academic career at the University of British Columbia) may have given him a rather different perspective on francophone Canadian literary history. For Blodgett the tension which he detects in Tougas's work between France and anglophone North America seems to lead to a desire for stasis and equilibrium 'a condition of inertia [which] argues against a notion of history that addresses events in time'.⁷⁴ The tension which underlies Tougas's narrative is related not only to the francophone Canadian experience of being colonizers and colonized, but also to their future postcolonial status. As Tougas comments, the francophone population has created a literature which is highly distinctive, but which shares features with the literature of other colonized populations: 'Par un réflexe dont le Canada français n'offre pas le seul exemple dans l'histoire des peuples conquis, ces écrivains ont filtré les éléments étrangers qui, avec le temps, sont venus se greffer sur la sensibilité nationale.'⁷⁵ Rather than seeing this reflex as indicative of stasis, I would suggest that Tougas's use of terms such as 'filtrer' and 'se greffer' prefigures the debates within postcolonial studies about the notion of cultural hybridity, in which case the ongoing tension in Tougas's literary history might be better seen in terms of hybridity, characterized by Dennis Walder as invoking 'ideas of cross-fertilization, of the potential richness of traffic between and across boundaries'.⁷⁶

Like Tougas, Mailhot's narrative also looks to the future to give meaning to his history, but his is a future firmly focused on Quebec. This may well be an effect of the specific political context of its production. Blodgett points out that whereas the final volume of de Grandpré's *Histoire de la littérature française du Québec* was completed before the October Crisis of 1970, Mailhot's volume would have been a work in progress in the early 1970s and as such is more cautious. Not only were there growing concerns about the polarization between Canada and Quebec; there was also a longer-term fear that the domination of English-language culture would eventually eradicate francophone culture in North America.⁷⁷ But given its restricted format (the book is only 128 pages long) and the target audience being non-Canadian students, there is relatively little space to explore the current situation of francophone Canadians.⁷⁸ The periodization in Table 1.8 marks out significant periods in Quebec's political development.

Table 1.8 Periodization of Laurent Mailhot,
La Littérature québécoise (1974)

Origines		Cheminevements et reflets (1837–1918)	Entre la campagne et la ville (1918–48)	De la province au pays (1948–73)
1. NF (1534–1760)	2. Après la Conquête (1760–1837)			

However, the subtitles to the second, third and fourth sections suggest that something else is going on. The choice of 1837 as the end of ‘Origines’ and the beginning of ‘Cheminevements et reflets’ marks not a new stage of development, but rather the beginning of a long period of stasis, which Mailhot presents as the result of the failure of the Rebellion. Once more, François-Xavier Garneau emerges as a key figure, but Mailhot characterizes his position as ‘au fond pessimiste, tragique. Sa conclusion convient parfaitement au siècle d’inaction et d’exaltation qui suit 1837.’ (25) Subtitles such as ‘1860: le mouvement immobile’ (27) and comments such as ‘passant d’un préromantisme (1830) à un post-romantisme affadi (1860), la littérature, malgré Chateaubriand et Scott, ne trouvera pas tout à fait *son* romantisme’ (31) reinforce this sense of the ‘cheminevements et reflets’ amounting to very little. The third period (‘Entre la campagne et la ville’) draws not so much a line of progress from the rural to the urban, but rather a sense of being caught between the two, between the urban reality of the majority of the population and a traditionalist rural mythology which is still proving to be a strong factor. Blodgett sees the central narrative structure being not one of constant progress, but of a gradual shift towards the future. The final section, ‘De la province au pays’, does finally seem to indicate a movement towards autonomy, the finding of a voice, as the first section of the chapter, ‘L’âge de la parole’, suggests. But as with Tougas, Mailhot looks to the future for the realization of *québécois* literature, a future still only to be anticipated. In this he is far less positive than de Grandpré, although this anticipation still angles the history towards the eventual achievement of a *national* literature: ‘Notre littérature n’est pas une littérature “arrivée”; elle s’annonce, elle arrive’ (121). Significantly, his conclusion draws on two colonial figures which allude to the source of this incompleteness, which could be interpreted as an ongoing process of indigenization. He cites André Brochu’s judgement of *Menaud, maître-draveur*:

notre côté ‘peau-rouge’ et notre côté ‘pied-noir’. Peau et pied, enveloppe

et racine, notre corps est de plus en plus un, alors qu'autrefois, hier, nous avions l'esprit et la chair tournés vers deux directions opposées. [...] La littérature québécoise est une certitude et un doute, le discours et l'écriture d'un pays. (121–22)

However, Mailhot's text also opens up another way of thinking about periodization, which rethinks the linear relationship between past and present. He sets up the familiar question in the introduction about the existence of *la littérature québécoise*: 'La littérature québécoise existe-t-elle, et comme littérature et comme québécoise?' His response is clear: 'On ne se pose plus la question.' A canon exists, enacted through a series of returns and re-readings, which together establish, and continue to reshape, a literary tradition: 'Depuis *Maria Chapdelaine*, depuis *Refus global* et *Tit-Coq*, depuis tel prix Fémina ou Médicis? Depuis que Groulx lit Garneau; Savard, Cartier; Ducharme, Nelligan; Aquin, les Patriotes' (7). This may encourage readers to see themselves engaged in the legitimation of a literary corpus, in which texts are linked across time both by affiliations, influences and preferences and by contrasts and oppositions, both literary and ideological.

Literary history as collaborative, interdisciplinary research

The eight volumes of the *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec* (DOLQ) and the six volumes of *La Vie littéraire au Québec* together constitute an incomparable research tool. They offer access to the literary corpus of Quebec in very different ways. While DOLQ presents alphabetically arranged entries by title, *La Vie littéraire* offers a narrative account of literary activity on a range of levels that together compose the system that is the *champ littéraire*. These two projects would seem to be at opposite ends of the spectrum of encyclopaedic and narrative literary history, but this is not entirely the case, neither in terms of their respective structures, nor when it comes to content and methodology.

Table 1.9 Periodization of Maurice Lemire, et al., *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*, 8 vols (1978–2011)

Des origines à 1900	1900–39	1940–59	1960–69	1970–75	1976–80	1981–85	1986–90
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In 1978 the first volume of DOLQ appeared, to be followed by a further seven, the latest of which, published in 2011, covers works

published between 1986 and 1990. The declared aim of *DOLQ* is primarily archival or archaeological. Lemire presents the first volume as ‘un apport à l’histoire littéraire et culturelle du Québec’, ‘un inventaire aussi complet que possible’ (I, xv) rather than an attempt to offer any literary evaluation of the material. The corpus assembled includes the literature of *la Nouvelle-France*, which forms a major part of the first volume, but in his introduction to this volume Lemire focuses primarily on the nineteenth century, seen in the light of the Conquest. This he explains by the wealth of existing research on the pre-Conquest era compared with the relatively under-researched nineteenth century.

The format adopted is that of a dictionary, the arrangement being alphabetical by title, not author. The index of proper names indicates in bold those pages on which the author’s works are discussed and a bibliography of the primary texts included is listed by author, so allowing the reader to search by author as well as title. However, the alphabetical listing of works by title has the effect of displacing the author as the centre of significance, which in turn produces arbitrary and interesting juxtapositions for the reader. The effects of this departure from the author/biography/bibliography format are heightened by the short chronological span covered by individual volumes of *DOLQ*. Whereas the first volume covers the whole period from 1534 to 1900, the periodization of subsequent volumes reflects the rising curve of literary production, as can be seen in Table 1.9. The latest four volumes each cover a five-year period. This means that researchers working on authors such as Gabrielle Roy, Anne Hébert, Yves Thériault or Marie-Claire Blais need to consult six separate volumes to check references to their works published prior to 1990. Since these entries may also be written by a range of contributors, no single line of interpretation is offered. Entries focus primarily on the named text, but other information is incorporated into the entry. A brief biographical section is supplied in italics in the first entry on an author (that is, in the entry devoted to their first publication). This is followed by a presentation of the work (attributed in each case to one of the contributors). In some cases these are quite extensive critical analyses and may also include brief references to other works by the same author or by other authors, an evaluation of its qualities, its reception, its position within the genre or its significance in terms of literary history. The entry concludes with a section printed in smaller font listing bibliographical information, including details of successive editions, translations, reviews and critical works.

As a research tool the series offers a unique resource in terms of its comprehensive scope and the unexpected results of the juxtaposition of works of completely different genres, literary status and authorship. The overall effect of the methodology and organization of the corpus is that the literary works are listed rather than classified, and one could argue that the real potential of *DOLQ* as a contribution to literary history is only fully appreciated in chance discoveries or in combination with other research tools. The entries do supply a certain amount of cross-referencing and the index by proper name gives access to an author's other works within the period covered. But in the absence of any thematic or formal index (by genre, for instance), *DOLQ* does not allow for searching by other categories. Perhaps in recognition of this lack, the digitized first volume has added a search feature by date of publication, by author, literary movement and genre; such a facility will doubtless enhance the research potential of the other volumes when they are digitized.

The research centre's website outlines the aim of the series as follows: 'Il se veut un ouvrage de référence sur toutes les œuvres considérées comme faisant partie de la littérature québécoise, sans égard pour leur popularité ou pour leur qualité, mais en regard de leur littérarité à l'époque de leur parution.'⁷⁹ Nevertheless, while encyclopaedic in format, there are many features within the work of reference which reveal both the training and tastes of the literary historian and the ideological position of the project. This is particularly noticeable in the presentation of the corpus in the first two volumes. Each volume includes an introductory essay by the editors on the literature of the period, in which the format shifts away from the encyclopaedic to the narrative or indeed to questions of literary taste. Given the principle of inclusivity that drives the project, Lemire's introduction to the first volume strikes a somewhat ambivalent tone. He assures his readers that, as this is primarily an archival project, the editors are not concerned with literary evaluation, yet he cites Baudelaire in what could be seen as a desire for literary legitimation of his own critical voice: 'Du passé lumineux recueillir tout vestige' (I, xv).⁸⁰ Indeed, Lemire offers his introduction to Volume I, covering the period 1534–1900, as some sort of compensation for the aesthetic inadequacies of the works presented in the dictionary proper:

Pour que le lecteur ne soit pas trop dérouté par la monotonie des sujets, les maladroites de composition, les fautes de style et la tendance moralisatrice qui caractérisait la littérature au xix^e siècle, nous avons tenu à lui

exposer la conjoncture dans laquelle cette littérature s'est développée et à lui donner quelques explications sur les principaux genres littéraires qu'elle a cultivés. (I, xv)

The introduction also expresses a judgement on the collective psyche of the French-Canadian population in the nineteenth century for their compliance with the dominant ideology, a compliance which it is suggested has seriously retarded the progress of literature in Quebec:

la pauvreté de notre littérature au siècle dernier ne vient pas d'abord de l'indifférence à l'égard des lettres, ni de l'ignorance des grands courants de pensée, ni encore d'un manque de talents, mais bien d'un univers psychologique à caractère surtout négatif où l'on préfère l'inaction à l'erreur. Il est vraiment curieux que les Canadiens, – si audacieux par ailleurs, – se soient ainsi transformés en défenseurs de l'orthodoxie. (I, xliii)

This tone of blame (or is it auto-critique?) continues in the introduction to Volume II, where Lemire contrasts the situation and responses of the reading public of 1900–39 with his 1980 perspective: 'Cette impression générale de statisme qui se dégageait de la littérature de l'époque pouvait donner un sentiment de quiétude qui convenait bien à des populations habitués aux réponses toutes faites de leur religion, mais il éloignait les esprits curieux qui cherchaient dans la littérature des interrogations nouvelles et n'y trouvaient que des refrains assoupissants' (II, lxix). The narrative which underlies *DOLQ*, that of the rise towards nationhood, is evident in familiar images incorporated into his concluding remarks: 'Pourtant, comme des eaux souterraines, les courants de l'authenticité verbale n'en poursuivaient pas moins leur chemin vers la lumière' (II, lxix). But for the *DOLQ* team, the figure of the nation not only informs their presentation of individual texts, it also refers to the distinctive patterns of institutionalization of literature in Quebec. In the introduction to Volume V, the editorial team clarify their position: they do not consider Quebec's literature to be either a sub-product of French literature, or part of a worldwide wave of francophone literature, or a strand of Canadian literature: 'Avec le *DOLQ*, nous avons tâché de dissiper toute ambiguïté à ce sujet: en tant que littéraire autonome, la littérature québécoise possède ses propres critères de légitimation et ses propres instances de consécration' (V, lxviii). The introductory essays to each volume give a brief overview of publications in different genres during the period, but this section is equally concerned with aspects such as the literary market, distribution, academic publishing, theatre

troupes, literary associations, the changing status of writers, all of which set the texts within the context of literary production rather than offering threads of access into the corpus. The next series to be discussed is dedicated specifically to the study of the processes which are involved in the production, institutionalization and legitimation of this national literature.

In 1991 the first volume of *La Vie littéraire au Québec* appeared, also under Lemire's editorship. Six volumes have appeared to date, the latest of which is devoted to the period 1919–33, which means that the whole of the series is devoted to the period treated in the first two volumes of *DOLQ*. A further two volumes are planned to cover 1934–47 and 1948–c.1965. The coverage of historical periods is therefore quite different in the two series, there being more to the history of literary activity than the number of titles printed. Whereas *DOLQ* included the literary production of la Nouvelle-France in its corpus, the first volume of *La Vie littéraire* opens with the establishment of the first printing press in Quebec in 1764. The period of French colonial rule is constructed as national heritage, thus stressing the post-colonial significance of the emerging literature, but also, of course the newly colonial relationship of the francophone population of Canada to Britain. As Table 1.10 indicates, the volumes cover quite short time spans.

Table 1.10 Periodization of Maurice Lemire, et al.,
La Vie littéraire au Québec, 6 vols (1991–2010)

1764– 1805	1806–39	1840–69	1870–94	1895– 1918	1919–33	1934–47 <i>planned</i>	1948–65 <i>planned</i>
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While *La Vie littéraire* takes a very different approach to literature as an object of research from *DOLQ*'s focus on establishing the corpus of the national literature, its choice of methodology and organization has some similar effects. As with *DOLQ*, *La Vie littéraire* moves the focus away from a model in which the author is the central protagonist, and the subject becomes the literary field in its widest conception, in which authors and texts appear as part of the larger picture. Describing their work as 'un outil de référence à caractère scientifique', the editors explain their aim as follows:

Cette histoire littéraire n'est pas principalement organisée autour des œuvres ou des auteurs. Elle apparaît plutôt comme celle de la constitution de la littérature québécoise et elle concerne en premier lieu l'étude

des conditions d'émergence et du cheminement par lequel la littérature acquiert son autonomie et sa légitimation, c'est-à-dire sa reconnaissance sociale. (I, vii)

Whereas in de Grandpré's edited volumes the structure proved to be problematic and the combination of social scientific, arts and humanities methodologies was not integrated into the project, here the sociological approach has become central not only to the theoretical framework but also to the internal structure and the narrative of the successive volumes. The editors draw on Foucault's notion of literature as 'une formation discursive' and Bourdieu's concept of the literary field when setting out their methodological approach:

[la littérature québécoise] découpe dans la société un ensemble de textes et de pratiques singulières, qui se structurent en un 'champ', selon la théorie de Pierre Bourdieu, et constituent un 'domaine discursif' participant de ce que Marc Angenot a nommé le 'discours social'. Ces approches ont servi à fonder la constitution de la littérature sur les cinq processus suivants: l'enseignement littéraire, le milieu des créateurs, la formation des frontières, le discours sur la littérature, la manifestation du littéraire dans les œuvres. (I, ix)⁸¹

These five processes are followed through from volume to volume, giving a fixed and repeated structure to the analysis of the trajectory of Quebec's literary history. At the heart of the narrative is 'la poursuite problématique d'un statut culturel autonome et légitime, tant en regard des autres activités intellectuelles qu'en rapport avec les autres littératures, en particulier la littérature française' (I, viii). The structure adopted allows the editors to analyse the various factors which are operating in the establishment of the literary field.

Each volume is organized according to the following structure:

Présentation:

- L'enseignement littéraire
- Le milieu des créateurs
- La formation des frontières
- Le discours sur la littérature
- La manifestation du littéraire dans les œuvres
- La périodisation

Introduction

Chapitre 1. Les déterminations étrangères du champ littéraire

Chapitre 2. Les conditions générales

Chapitre 3. Les agents: individus et regroupements

Chapitre 4. Le marché de la littérature

- Chapitre 5. La prose d'idées
- Chapitre 6. Les textes d'imagination
- Chapitre 7. La réception
- Conclusion

The 'Présentation' explains the methodology, adapting the content to suit the specific period of each volume. Each of the chapters covers a particular aspect of the literary field across the whole period under examination in that volume. This has the effect for the reader of a gradual building up of a series of layers within and against which the literary production of the period is written, circulated and received. The specific subdivisions within the seven chapters may vary slightly from volume to volume; so, for example, in Volume I, Chapter 1 covers the literature of la Nouvelle-France as the literary heritage of the French colonial period, whereas Volumes V and VI consider the continuing influence of French literature, of Catholicism and of American literature on the literary field in Quebec. But the recurrence of the same structure and general categories contributes both to a consistency of approach by members of the team and a growing familiarization with the methodology on the part of the readers. Blodgett comments on the didactic effect of the recurrent structure: 'The shape itself is a measure of the didactic intent of this history, an intent present in all literary history, but emphatically a part of this one. [...] Not only is the past built upon in each successive volume, but also the past is expanded upon in ways that fulfill reader expectations derived from the repeated format.'⁸²

Each volume of the series includes the rationale for the periodization of the series as a whole, a rationale that stays largely unaltered for the earlier volumes, but is adjusted for the volumes devoted to the twentieth century. So, Volume V, initially planned to cover 1895–1914, was extended to 1918, and Volume VI, intended to cover 1919–36, goes no further than 1933. The presentation of the periodization, repeated from volume to volume, is one of the tools the editors use to reinforce their methodology. The outline of the first period (1764–1805) opens with a reference to infrastructural developments: 'L'introduction d'infrastructures telles que l'imprimerie, la presse, les librairies et les bibliothèques appelle l'émergence d'une écriture publique' (I, xii). The period opens with the date of the introduction of the printing press in Quebec. The level of literary activity is related to the relative levels of experience of the Canadians and the French immigrants with literature's various forms and functions: 'Mais les Canadiens, peu familiarisés avec les nouvelles institutions, restent plutôt à l'écart d'une vie littéraire

que domine l'imprimé. Quelques Français, récemment immigrés et connaissant mieux la presse, initient les colons à l'exercice de l'opinion publique' (I, xii). The second period opens in 1806, the date of the creation of *Le Canadien*, a paper explicitly linked to the interests of the French-speaking population. In this period (1806–39) political changes bring about a change of function for the periodical press which in turn encourages intellectual activity and writing: 'Avec l'avènement de la démocratie parlementaire, le journal devient l'organe principal de l'opinion publique. De plus, commencent à paraître des périodiques à caractère encyclopédique. Dans ce climat d'agitation politique, les premières œuvres d'envergure sont publiées sous forme de volumes au pays' (I, xiii). This period ends with the publication of Lord Durham's Report calling for the assimilation of the francophone population after the failure of the Rebellion of the Patriotes in 1837 and 1838. The year 1840 sees the Act of Union under which English becomes the official language.

It is in this third period (1840–69) that the field gains a relative autonomy, characterized by a dynamic of conflict between ultramontanists and liberals. The presentation stresses key political factors, but also their impact on intellectual life: 'L'échec des patriotes, que vient sceller l'union des Canadas, favorise la montée du clergé, qui profite de la conjoncture pour augmenter son emprise sur l'enseignement, la presse et l'assistance publique. Ses initiatives alarment les libéraux qui ripostent par la fondation de journaux et d'associations' (I, xiii). It is from this context (of defeat, a rising clerical class and the resistance of liberal politicians and intellectuals) that the idea of a national literature emerges, an idea initially promoted by liberals, 'concrétisée par la publication du *Répertoire national* de James Huston, qui donne une première reconnaissance à la littérature canadienne. [...] Le champ se structure de manière autonome' (I, xiii). The third period ends in 1869, the year in which Mgr Bourget excommunicated the members of the liberal Institut canadien de Montréal (of which Huston had been a member and, briefly, the president). The fourth period is one of retrenchment and fragmentation of the field (1870–95), a period which is introduced by the post-Confederation translation of the Canadian capital from Quebec City and the consolidation of power of the ultramontane faction within the Catholic Church as twin signs of political and ideological domination. Within the fragmented literary field, the narrative sees small pockets of resistance to the dominant ideology, including the emergence of women writers.

The fifth period, as in a number of the literary histories, opens in 1885. This is the first period to be presented initially through the development of the literary field rather than through external political or religious developments: 'L'institutionnalisation du champ prend une configuration moderne avec une avant-garde organisée au sein de l'École littéraire de Montréal et un circuit légitime représenté notamment par la Société du parler français au Canada' (I, xiv). This polarization of the two tendencies, often characterized as the division between exoticists and regionalists, characterizes a period which includes the First World War, the ending of which marks the end of the volume. The periodization of the sixth volume which covers 1919–33 opens with the dramatic changes to the means of production of literature, but this is then related to a significant transformation of the literary field:

Le champ littéraire se scinde en deux circuits de production, élargi et restreint. Si le premier donne naissance à une paralittérature nationale [...] le second suscite la professionnalisation du métier d'éditeur, la création d'associations d'écrivains, l'intervention de l'État [...] et le développement d'une critique littéraire si importante qu'on a pu parler de ces années comme d'un 'âge de la critique'. (IV, xvi–xvii)

The summary of the periodization used in the series reveals a system which is far from deterministic or mechanistic.⁸³ Despite the outwardly fixed structure adopted for each volume, which might give an expectation of certain changes on an infrastructural level producing parallel developments at a superstructural level, the dynamic is much more complex. As the literary field is formed and gains a greater degree of autonomy, so the relationship between the various aspects is subtly altered. This results in a shifting balance between the determining power of institutional elements, such as the political structures or the influence of the Catholic Church, and the literature produced in Quebec, which itself becomes gradually more active a player in society. So in the earlier periods, political and religious factors determine the periodization, whereas this begins to change in the course of the nineteenth century:

A mesure qu'elle s'affranchit de l'opinion publique, la littérature influe davantage sur son propre contexte sans jamais acquérir une entière autonomie. Des interventions du gouvernement ou du clergé peuvent toujours infléchir son évolution dans un sens imprévu. C'est pourquoi les lettres forment d'abord un champ général, jusqu'à ce qu'une certaine autonomie leur accorde un pouvoir relatif sur leur évolution. (I, xii).

This changing dynamic between the different elements of the field feeds

into a narrative of a rise towards greater autonomy, just as the emerging institutionalization of literature provides a structure for the legitimation of the literature of Quebec.

Yet struggle and conflict take place at all levels of the process and between various spheres. The repeated structure of the volumes provides a framework in which these various dynamics can be located. First there is conflict between the various fields of intellectual activity as literary activity asserts its autonomy as a field: Reflecting on the process in a separate publication, Lemire explains: 'Ainsi le littéraire vise à se libérer particulièrement de la tutelle de la classe dominante ou de celle d'autres disciplines qui pourraient lui dicter ses lois.'⁸⁴ This process happens in the course of the nineteenth century, but also continues in the twentieth century as further restrictions on autonomy are contested. But there is also conflict between external and internal instances, whether as part of the process of decolonization or as response to the influence of the popular culture of the USA: 'Pour des raisons d'identité, une société ou une nation peut être amenée à juger les codes émis par une instance étrangère comme ne lui convenant plus. Ceci veut dire que l'on procède à un dédoublement des instances de légitimation et à l'émission de nouveaux codes.'⁸⁵ Within the field of literary activity, certain internal struggles can be understood in part as an internalization of these outer conflicts; so, for example the relationship to the literature of France can be seen as a need to establish autonomy in the process of decolonization from France's enduring cultural domination; but France (or other cultural centres outside of Quebec, such as the USA) might at various times be invoked as the source of more progressive codes to be emulated as a way of modernizing the national literature (as it was by the *parisianistes* such as Morin, Roquebrune, Dugas and others involved in 1918 with the review *Le Nigog*).⁸⁶ As Bourdieu points out, a desire for autonomy may take many, often contradictory forms: 'la même *intention d'autonomie* peut en effet s'exprimer dans des prises de position opposées (laïques dans un cas, religieuses dans un autre) selon la structure et l'histoire des pouvoirs contre lesquels elle doit s'affirmer'.⁸⁷ The complexity and multi-directionality of such interactions and responses mean that any simple narrative of autonomization and legitimation would be a distortion of the processes involved.

As has been argued, the structure of the volumes does not promote a linear reading of literary history. The various practices of production and reception of literature do not operate in a simple, diachronic manner, but rather 'Dans l'ensemble des processus et des pratiques, un système

synchronique d'interrelations se constitue' (I, xi). So production, reception and literary education reinforce and interact with one another, resulting not so much in a single direction of development, but rather a spiralling movement in which the teaching and studying of literature play an active role: 'L'histoire littéraire du Québec devrait se lire non comme un axe continu, allant de la production à la réception, mais plutôt comme une spirale où le mouvement lui-même est facteur de changement' (I, xii). This spiral pattern is presented to the reader in the very format of each volume as the chapters circle around the literary field, viewing it from a series of angles, including that of the agents (those active in the field, both as individuals and as groups), the various infrastructural elements (including the printing press, booksellers, libraries), and the educational structures and practices. It is useful to remember the complex interweaving of such instances when thinking about the place of the nation within literary history, and the various ways in which literature and nation have been associated in the history of francophone literature in Canada.

A plural literary history

The reason for including New's literary history in this chapter is that it is one of the rare histories of literature in Canada that seeks to include the full range, geographically, historically and culturally, of literature produced by all participants in what John Ralston Saul has termed Canada's 'confusion of minorities major and minor'.⁸⁸ This has an impact on periodization and on the extent to which periodization can or cannot be linked with the figure of the nation. New addresses the issue of the 'nation(s)' in his introduction: 'French before it was British, Aboriginal and Inuit before that, when "The Dominion of Canada" became independent on 1 July 1867 – by an Act of the British Parliament (the British North America Act) – the nation was nonetheless established on the British model. [...] But other languages and cultures persisted' (3).⁸⁹ As can be seen in Table 1.11, New does divide his work into six chronological periods, but these subdivisions look very different from those in the other volumes discussed. Each section is headed by a title that categorizes each period by a dominant mode of narrative adopted by its literary creators. So the short first section, 'Mythmakers: Early Literature', is undated and is devoted to pre-contact culture, but also pays careful attention to the ways in which such oral traditions and myths have subsequently been recorded, and establishes from the outset that there was no unified pre-contact culture, but rather great cultural diversity. The periodization of the following chapters is determined on the whole by what New sees

as different phases in Canada’s literary life, although 1867, the date of the British North America Act, does have national significance (for the four provinces in the original Confederation). Within individual chapters, New focuses on literary works rather than plotting the history of separate national identities. Subsections are triggered by social or political events at some points (the First World War, the Depression years) but equally may focus on form, medium or genre, as in sections headed ‘Voice and Point of View’ or ‘Radio and Stage’.

Table 1.11 Periodization of W. H. New, *A History of Canadian Literature*, 2nd edn (2003)

Myth-makers: Early literature	Reporters: Literature to 1867	Tale-tellers: Literature to 1922	Narrators: Literature to 1959	Encoders: Literature to 1985	Re-constructors: Literature into the 21st century
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The book aims to be inclusive, discussing anglophone and francophone literature (including work from the francophone diaspora), aboriginal myths but also modern and contemporary aboriginal writing, migrant writing and children’s literature. Sometimes these are discussed separately, sometimes in free-flowing discussion of a genre. The language of expression is made clear, titles being given in the original, but (as the target reader is anglophone) quotations from French texts are cited in English translation in the text. Of necessity, given the scope of the book, there is little extended analysis of literary texts, which results in a format which is somewhat encyclopaedic with a high level of naming of authors and texts. This is particularly noticeable in the last chapter, a tendency prevalent in many of the works in our corpus, as if the ever-expanding level of literary production defies the control of the narrating literary historian. Literary texts are contextualized at certain points, mostly with reference to issues concerning social or cultural identity. But there are only very brief references to political figures such as Parizeau, Duplessis, Trudeau, Adrienne Clarkson, and Bush Snr and Jnr. New is more interested in stressing the diversity and wealth of Canada’s literatures than in discussing institutional or other social factors. While the periodization is based on New’s own distinction between different types of voice, or narrative modes, the 65-page chronology adds an important historical element to New’s literary history and extends the

encyclopaedic function of the text. Maps and images at the beginning of the book stress the pluralism of New's vision of Canada.

It is worth comparing the conclusions to the two editions. In the preface to the 2003 edition New recalls that the first edition ended with the line: 'it is well to regard this entire book as a history-in-process'. In 2003 he adds the comment: 'It still is' (xiii). Yet the 2003 edition is rather less open-ended in that, despite his rejection of the possibility of any unified conception of nation ('definitions of a single Canadian identity are suspect', 4), he seems ultimately to be reconciling the plurality that his literary history has been pursuing with a set of shared, liberal values: 'It is the cultural plurality inside the country that most fundamentally shapes the way Canadians define their political character, draw the dimensions of their literature, and voice their commitment to causes, institutions and individuality' (4). The kinds of shared social attitudes which he finds include popular culture, common civil rights, expected behaviours and localized adaptation to space and distance, values which overshadow concerns with inequalities, conflict or marginalization. The final chapter ends on a harmonious note reflecting on Canadian identity/ies in a plural, responsible society and on Canada as a place to live with shared values, its writers affirming 'the possibilities of language, in short, in a place still liveable and still to be lived' (358).

In many respects New's literary history presents francophone Canadian literature in an interesting, pan-Canadian context, and in a historical frame which extends backwards in time, so setting the various phases of colonial history into context. The 'birth-of-a-nation' narrative is undermined by the number of parallel narratives in operation, the combination of which exposes the relativity and partiality of such notions of nationhood. Nevertheless, one critic, cited on the back cover, seems to have managed to read New's book in much more traditional terms, using the common trope of organic life to describe literature: 'New has done a marvellous job of detailing the taproots and multiple branches of Canada's English and French literatures, in all their forms.' And perhaps, despite the many non-traditional features of the literary history, what emerges from the comparisons and generalizations is a somewhat cosy multicultural narrative, whose challenges are softened by the liberal humanism of New's vision of Canada.

Re-reading the corpus

The authors of *Histoire de la littérature québécoise* position themselves clearly within the field of literary history. They see their work as being

very differently inspired from the twin projects of *DOLQ* and *La Vie littéraire au Québec*. Above all they approach the corpus as literary scholars and literary critics and explain their aim as follows: ‘faire prédominer les textes sur les institutions; proposer des lectures critiques; marquer les changements entre les conjonctures qui distinguent chacune des périodes’ (11). They compare their project with that of Pierre de Grandpré, whose work in the late 1960s was the most recent example of ‘une histoire littéraire du Québec fondée sur la lecture des textes’ (11). Even de Grandpré, of course, had co-opted social scientists and historians to contribute to his edited volumes, so arguably *Histoire de la littérature québécoise* is unlike any of its predecessors in its primary focus on the text and the detail of some of the readings and re-readings it comprises. But as with any literary history, periodization has to be addressed and choices have to be made about whether to prioritize social, political and economic factors or to treat literature as a phenomenon which can be characterized in terms of changes in literary form, genre or language, or by groupings, movements or schools. The brief introductory sections which open each of the five parts give an overview of the literary developments in the period and contextualize them within their intellectual context, a context which may in turn be related to material and political changes (the size of the population of Montreal; the impact of the tramway as a way of opening up access to the city centre; the exacerbation of the divide between rich and poor in the Depression years). The authors state their general position as follows: ‘La périodisation de l’histoire de la littérature ne peut être totalement indépendante de l’histoire sociale et politique, mais nous avons cherché, ici encore, d’accorder un statut central aux œuvres, en signalant les transitions proprement littéraires’ (15). The way that this is carried out can be seen Table 12.1. The volume is divided into five unequal parts, parts 3–5 representing almost three-quarters of the text.

Table 1.12 Periodization of Michel Biron, François Dumont and Élisabeth Nardout-Lafarge, *Histoire de la littérature québécoise* (2007)

Les écrits de la Nouvelle-France (1534–1763)	Écrire pour la nation (1763–1895)	Le conflit entre l’ici et l’ailleurs (1895–1945)	L’invention de la littérature québécoise (1945–80)	Le décentrement de la littérature (depuis 1980)
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As can be seen, references to Quebec, France and external matters dominate the first three sections, while literary factors are used to label the period from 1945 to the present. The longer Parts 3 and 4 are further divided into sections. In Part 3 these sections are labelled according to extra-literary factors (Part 3 A. 'L'attrait de Paris: 1895–1930'; Part 3 B. 'Un monde en crise'). But in Part 4 the subdivisions are at once more literary and more Quebec-based (Part 4 A. 'L'autonomie de la littérature: 1945–1960'; Part 4 B. 'L'exposition de la littérature québécoise: 1960–1970'; Part 4 C. 'Avant-gardes et ruptures: 1970–1980'). This would seem to indicate that the process of autonomization of Quebec literature had been achieved by the mid-twentieth century. The final part, which covers twenty-five years, has no such subdivisions, perhaps because it is slightly shorter than Parts 3 and 4, but also probably because such periodization is much more difficult to impose on recent history.⁹⁰ Within these parts or sections, individual subsections are characterized by references to literary genre ('Contes et légendes', 'La poésie d'inspiration surréaliste', 'Les fictions de soi') or by author (often an individual author used as the focus for a particular literary development: 'Gaston Miron: le poème et le non-poème'; 'Nicole Brossard et l'écriture féministe') or occasionally by text ('Les voix de *Maria Chapdelaine*'; 'La bataille des *Belles-Sœurs*'). Series of spotlights on texts and authors allow for detailed textual analysis as well as relating specific works to the wider literary context, opened up by discussion of the text. Thanks to their combination of scholarly detail and textual focus, set against a wider literary background, these subsections, typically between five and ten pages in length, can be read as free-standing essays in a way not unlike the entries in Hollier's 'encyclopaedic' *New History of French Literature*, discussed in the introductory chapter. However, their grouping within each part does aim at a selective coverage of the major trends across the full range of genres in a more systematic way than Hollier's series of single events, each of which opens up a new journey into literature.

It is particularly in the final part of the literary history that the authors raise questions about the nature of periodization. Commenting that in the years following the referendum many writers in Quebec felt themselves to have lost a mobilizing cause which had in the past given them both an individual but also a collective sense of purpose or identity, they reflect that history seems no longer to be shaped by a series of fundamental shifts, common to all: 'Les changements s'effectuent de façon relativement douce, sans rupture et sans figure de proue. Il n'y a pas de révolution comme en 1960, il n'y a pas de manifeste comme en

1948, il n'y a pas d'école littéraire comme en 1895' (531). This sentence confirms in retrospect the way in which certain moments and figures (*la Révolution tranquille*; Borduas, *Refus global*; Nelligan) have come to shape the story of Quebec's national literature. But the question is whether this kind of outline is only clear in retrospect and only grasped once it has gone. Post-1980s Quebec is defined and experienced by many writers, they suggest, as an absence, as loss: 'Pour plusieurs, cette absence de symboles ou de "grands auteurs" définit en creux la période qui s'ouvre vers 1980. Celle-ci ne parvient pas à se représenter positivement, comme si elle était privée de repères ou ne se voyait que sur un mode négatif, en accumulant les signes de ce qu'elle a perdu, de ce qu'elle n'est plus' (531). The authors join Pierre Nepveu in his assessment of the project of *la littérature québécoise*, embodied by *Parti pris* in 1965, as a project which 'se serait à la fois réalisé et dissipé, et la "chose" se survivrait pour ainsi dire à elle-même comme une ombre ou un fantôme, semblable en cela à la plupart des autres littératures dites nationales à l'ère du post-modernisme' (531–32). This ghostly presence of nationhood, as something that was desired and pursued but is no more, throws the whole enterprise of writing literary history into a different light, one which will be discussed in the conclusion to this book. For the authors of *Histoire de la littérature québécoise* the demise of the 'nation' in literature seems to have happened just as Quebec literature was achieving recognition as an autonomous literature. In common with all other national literatures, they argue, Quebec literature is now caught up in 'un vaste processus de minorisation et de décentrement' (532), with the result that while literary activity seems to be ever more intense (they cite the fact that in the year 2000, 531 novels and 268 volumes of poetry were published in Quebec, compared with 160 novels and 147 collections of poetry in 1986 [531]), literature in Quebec no longer concerns itself with its national identity, its *québécoité*. This loss of centre affects not only the writers of imaginative literature, of course. Whereas New's literary history offered a humanist vision of multicultural Canada as he closed his second edition in 2003, Biron, Dumont and Nardout-Lafarge move from narrative mode to meta-narrative reflection on the nature of literary history and the difficulty of characterizing a fragmented, diverse and flourishing literature without one of its central structuring devices. In a rather different way, they too adopt pluralism as their keynote, but present it as a plurality of voices and forms which can be related to each other at this stage by no more than 'des résonances entre certaines œuvres' (535) and, one might add, the ghost of a nation.

The appended chronology

The chronology has in recent years become a regular component of literary histories. In the corpus of texts discussed here it is only since the late 1970s (starting with the first volume of *DOLQ* in 1978) that the addition of a chronology became the norm, either as part of the introductory material or as an appendix. Essentially the chronologies place literary and cultural 'events' within a national but often also within an international historical framework. Adding a backbone of evidence which supports the choice of periodization, this feature accentuates the ambivalent positioning of works of literary history between the narrative account and the encyclopaedic or reference work. Literary histories at both ends of the scale from narrative to encyclopaedic include chronologies. Thus, all four of the most recent works discussed in this chapter supply a chronology, the respective authors adapting its form and content to suit the overall function of their work. The two single-volume studies (*A History of Canadian Literature* and *Histoire de la littérature québécoise*) focus on Canadian literature and Quebec literature, respectively, but their chronologies differ strikingly on a number of counts. New includes a chronology of 65 pages, arranged in two columns headed 'Author/Title' and 'Event'. The timeframe of the chronology, like that of the work as a whole, is from 13000 BC until 2002, which, together with the lack of national divisions, distinguishes this chronology from those included in the other three literary historical works. Events include key historical moments of Canadian but also international significance. Under the Author/Title column New includes the publication of significant works and events elsewhere in the world. There is no reference to Canada or Quebec in the headings, nor is there any division between events in Canada and elsewhere in the world. Literary works are categorized into one of four categories (anthology, drama, prose, poetry), which allows the reader to follow the development of a specific genre across cultures. A range of culturally significant products and events are mentioned (the founding of key journals and publishing houses, film, the plastic arts) alongside titles of works from elsewhere in the, mainly Western, world (Shakespeare, Cervantes, the King James Bible, More, Machiavelli, Darwin, Orwell, de Beauvoir, Dr Spock, D. H. Lawrence, Fanon). The historical events listed include a combination of events from Canadian and world history, references to patterns of migration (South Asian immigration into Canada from 1903, the arrival of the Doukhobors from 1898, the gold

rush). The effect of this is not only to remove boundaries between the various literatures within Canada, but also to embed Canadian titles and events in a larger history.

In the chronology included in *Histoire de la littérature québécoise* the columns are similarly labelled 'Œuvres' and 'Vie politique et culturelle'. But here the focus is much more exclusively on Quebec. The chronology mirrors the time span of the literary history, beginning in 1534 with 'Premier voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada. L'explorateur prend possession du territoire au nom du roi de France.' Unlike New's multicultural literary history, this chronology has very few references to world events, anglophone Canada or the indigenous population. The function of this chronology is to serve as a close reflection of the content of the literary history, reinforcing the sense of a nation under construction, and paralleling the inclusions and exclusions of its narrative. Like the literary history itself, the chronology is dominated by events in Quebec's history and texts from Quebec, including references to the anglophone Quebec writers specifically discussed in the subsection 'L'imaginaire anglo-montréalais' (Gallant, Richler, Cohen), migrant writers (Robin, Laferrière, Ollivier) and one or two mentions of writers from 'hors-Québec' (Patrice Desbiens, France Daigle). This chronology does not seek to set up cultural parallels with Europe or the USA; rather it retells in summary form the (literary) history of Quebec as an object of study in its own right. But the effect of this reproduction in miniature of the main narrative is somewhat claustrophobic; despite some of the reflections on the meta-narrative of literary history discussed above, the authors here create closed borders around their corpus and the reader is not encouraged to gaze beyond the frontier for parallels or contrasts.

Each volume of *DOLQ* includes a very detailed chronology divided into various columns, the specific headings of the columns changing from volume to volume to reflect the usages and political realities prevalent within the period treated. So, for example, the chronologies in Volume I (1760–1899) and Volume II (1900–39) have columns for 'Le Monde', 'L'Amérique anglo-saxonne' (which includes anglophone Canada) and 'Le Canada français' (subdivided into 'Vie politique et sociale' and 'Vie culturelle'). Volume III (1940–59) changes the designation of the francophone columns to 'Le Québec et le Canada français' which from Volume IV (1960–69) onwards is simply labelled 'Québec'. In Volume V (1970–75) the layout adds an additional column, which indicates events and publications from the USA and Canada (i.e. anglophone Canada). The fact that this volume ends the elision of anglophone Canada with

the USA in the chronologies prior to 1970 is interesting. One possible interpretation of the appearance of 'Canada' as a separate political and cultural entity is not that a greater awareness of anglophone Canadian culture was developing in Quebec, but rather that the October Crisis in 1970 and its aftermath crystallized the desire of many in Quebec for an independent future. Significantly, in reference to the War Measures Act, the introduction states 'L'armée canadienne occupe le territoire québécois et particulièrement les villes de Montréal et de Québec' (V, xii). Such phrasing suggests that Canada/Ottawa has become irrevocably 'other' to Quebec in what was an overt demonstration of power. The detailed listings (over a page per year in the later volumes) are densely packed with a mixture of literary publications, events of political and social importance and cultural events. The central objectives of the series has always been to establish a corpus and to make this corpus accessible to as wide an audience as possible. But at the same time, the *DOLQ* series as a whole is a thoroughly political project, with the nation at its heart, as the changing column headings reveal.

The structure of *La Vie littéraire* also requires a series of chronologies covering increasingly shorter time spans. Here again the nomenclature involved in the labelling of columns is revealing, but rather different choices have been made, perhaps as a result of the very different focus on institutions, and on the operation of literature within a wider series of social systems, both in Quebec and beyond. And as has been pointed out earlier, each volume of the series includes an opening chapter entitled 'Les déterminations étrangères du champ littéraire'. The layout used for the chronologies is simple, there being only two columns. In Volume I (1760–1805) these are labelled 'Canada' (for a period, one must remember, when 'Canadien' meant francophone Canadian) and 'Monde'. The specific designations shift over time (so Volumes IV and V refer to 'Le Québec et le Canada français' while Volume VI has 'Québec et Canada'). As for the rest of the world, this is defined more clearly in later volumes to refer to North America and Europe (very oddly referred to as 'Europe centrale' in Volume V). In this column references to France far outweigh those to any other country. The chronology is very user-friendly, being relatively full, with two or three years per page on average, increasing to a page per year, presented in landscape rather than portrait layout in Volume VI (1919–33), and in easily legible font (larger than that used in *DOLQ*). In the most recent volume a full page is devoted to each year and entries are annotated with symbols to indicate musical, theatrical, cinematic, art and cultural

events in addition to literary publications and other institutional matters (concerning politics, law, education, association, library and archive, publishing). The breadth of cultural reference corresponds to the team's understanding of the operation of literature within a wider series of social and cultural systems. It refers to texts and events beyond the contents of the volume (which are already very wide-ranging) and selects items which demonstrate the contact between cultures (such as the visit to Canada of Paul Bourget or performances of a melodrama by Fréchette in New York) and the situation of francophone minorities outside Quebec (reference to the abolition of French-language education in Manitoba). As such the chronology, like that of New, is a useful resource in its own right, but also, as in New, its components serve the function of situating their subject (here the literary field as it developed in Quebec) within a wider context and representing it as existing within a network of exchanges and influences in its progress towards autonomization.

This comparison of chronologies underlines the various choices which authors, editors and publishers have to make about such tools, raising questions of selection, presentation, classification, nomenclature, historical and geographical scope, and whether they should be regarded as offering additional material to that contained in the text or a means of recapitulation of key dates, names and titles. In *Australian Literature: Postcolonialism, Racism, Transnationalism*, Huggan includes a short and simple 'Australian Timeline' among the prefatory material, but not without alerting the reader to its status (heavily dependent on existing models, highly selective, and to be read 'in tandem with the critical reservations about canonicity and historical sequence' expressed throughout his book).⁹¹ And yet he does include a timeline and as readers we continue to consult chronologies. As such, the chronology reflects in miniature the paradoxical nature of all literary history: despite its appearance of historicity it too is marked by the historiographical practice of the literary historian. My own chronology is no less derivative and no more authoritative than Huggan's.

Conclusion

One of the central arguments in Blodgett's *Five-Part Invention* is the distinction he makes between francophone Canadian and Anglo-Canadian literary history, with time being central to francophone and space to anglophone literary histories: 'The unwavering stature

Table 1.13 Periodization of E. D. Blodgett, 'Francophone Writing' (2004)

La Nouvelle France 1534-1760	Post-Conquest 1760-1839	The Durham effect 1839-66	The new province 1867-95
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that Garneau attains in all histories of French-Canadian literature indicates that its literature is always constructed as a national-historical phenomenon.⁹² The centrality of history to the narrative of francophone Canadian literary histories allows their authors to construct 'an unequivocal linear trajectory'.⁹³ This analysis becomes the basis of Blodgett's own survey of francophone literature in Canada included in *The Cambridge Companion to Canadian Literature*.⁹⁴ As can be seen in Table 1.13, his periodization is the perfect exemplification of his own thesis. Here the heading for each period contains some reference to the status and development of the nation, literature being presented as a selection of highlights and significant developments within each historical period. Although Blodgett's periodization is clearly centred on the nation, this does not mean that the content of his account does not at the same time problematize that notion to reveal the heterogeneity of francophone literatures in Canada. The trajectory within the narrative, externally shaped by historical periods, is the developing self-awareness of the francophone literatures (the plural encompassing aboriginal and regional literatures) as minority literatures, which as a result are 'always engaged in a process of identity construction as a means of social self-discovery or self-definition'.⁹⁵ As a structuring device, Blodgett's periodization nevertheless confirms his view that francophone literary history is constructed as a 'national-historical phenomenon'.

Yet this chapter has shown that while the nation does indeed appear at the heart of the literary histories discussed, the specific trajectory has been immensely varied. In some cases the choice has to be pragmatic (how large is the corpus? how long can a chapter be?) But in most cases the authors use the periods to shape their particular narrative, the majority of which construct a path towards the emergence of an autonomous, national literature, from a colonial past to a decolonized or postcolonial future. Table 1.14 presents a composite view of the pattern of periodization used in the literary histories. What is fascinating is the variety of shapes that emerge, a variety which does not simply reflect the different perceptions of, for example, early twentieth-century

Table 1.13 *continued*

Constructing a nation 1895–1938	Quebec as self-discovery 1939–58	Le nouveau Québec 1959–69	The post-national nation 1970–
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literary historians and their late twentieth-century counterparts. So, for instance, the literature of New France is included by some and excluded by others such as Roy (1907), Tougas and *La Vie littéraire* for a range of reasons discussed earlier. Authors and editors choose to divide their corpus into widely differing numbers of periods (*DOLQ* and Blodgett, eight, to date; de Grandpré, Brunet, Roy [1939], three). The number of periods does not simply grow as the corpus expands over time, as in retrospect the past may take on greater coherence and periods may be amalgamated (compare Roy 1939 with Roy 1907). Periods are based both on broadly political and significant literary events, many authors using some of each, with no clear rationale for their choice. For instance, New uses only literary categories, *La Vie littéraire* uses references to nationhood, Tougas, Mailhot and *Histoire de la littérature québécoise* combine the political with the literary. In some cases it can be argued that as literary life assumes greater autonomy, so it figures more strongly as the determining factor in periodization, but again there is no overall pattern here.

Indeed very little consensus emerges about which dates signify turning points. In the corpus of literary histories since 1900 (including Blodgett's essay), the only two dates which are used by more than half are 1534 (for Cartier's claiming of territory for the King of France) and 1900 (as the turn of the century); seven texts also choose either 1760, 1763 or 1764 to indicate the Conquest, the Treaty of Paris or the arrival of the printing press, respectively. 1945 is used in a third of the corpus, while two dates with literary significance (1860 and 1895), and three dates with political significance (1867, 1939 and 1959) are each used in three different literary histories. And, as if to underline the extent to which literary histories serve a variety of ideological ends, the literary dates chosen may be used to quite different effect. One example of this which has emerged in the preceding discussion is the choice of 1860, associated with the formation of a patriotic literary movement which gave the French-Canadian population a providential vocation and its literature a messianic role (for Roy and the *Sœurs de Sainte-Anne*); however, for de

Table 1.14 Periodization in histories of francophone writing in Quebec

	<i>Roy 1907</i>	<i>S S-A 1928</i>	<i>Roy 1939 (1962)</i>	<i>Brunet 1946</i>	<i>De Grandpré 1967-69</i>	<i>Tougas 1974</i>
1534		1534- 1760		Precursors N-Fr	(Vol. 1) 1534-1900	
1608			1608-1860			
1760	1760-1800	1760-1820		-c. 1900		1764-1845
	1800-20					
	1820-60	1820-60				
1839						1845-65
1867	1860-1900	1860-1900	1860-1900			1865-99
1895		1900-	1900-45	-1945	(Vol. 2) 1900-45	1900-39
1939						
1959					(Vols 3 and 4) 1945 à nos jours	
1970						
1980						
1986						

Mailhot 1974 *DOLQ* *Lemire* *New 2003* *HLQ 2007*
 1978–2011 1991–2010

1. (1534–1760) 2. (1760–1837)	Des origines à 1900	1764–1805 Vol. 1	Early literature to 1867	NF 1763– 1895
		1806–39 Vol. 2		
		1840–69 Vol. 3		
(1837–1918)	1900–39	1870–94 Vol. 4	to 1922	1895–1945
		1895–1918 Vol. 5		
(1918–48)	1940–59	1919–33 Vol. 6	to 1959	1945–80
		1934–47 (planned)		
(1948–73)	1960–69	1948–65 (planned)	to 1985	1980–
		1970–75		
		1976–1980		
		1981–85		
		1986–90		
		Literature into 21st century		

Grandpré and others it is identified as 'le repli', what Lucie Robert has referred to as 'une sorte de recul', 'la victoire conservatrice'.⁹⁶ Politically significant dates show yet another kind of variation in that some refer to the francophone presence as colonizers (1534, 1608), some are indicative of the francophone Canadian population as colonized by the British (1760, 1763, 1837), some refer to their relationship with Anglo-Canada (1867, 1970, 1980), while other dates refer to Canada's role in the world wars. To summarize, what might be concluded from a discussion of the corpus is that the different patterns of periodization suggest a literary history that is unstable, one that is constantly being revised and reframed according to the perspective of the respective literary historians, and that the basis for the division into periods is uncertain. Any national history is also shaped in part by its position within other, hierarchical structures of power.

If what Blodgett referred to as 'an unequivocal linear trajectory' can take such different routes, then what does this suggest about the 'nation' and the national literature that is being constructed in francophone Canadian literary histories? Since Huston's *Répertoire national* in 1848–50 the nation has been central to the literary history of francophone Canada. As Lemire has argued, after the failure of the Rebellion of 1837–38 to increase the level of democracy in Lower Canada, French-Canadian citizens lost the option of fighting for political nationhood for a long period, which meant that national identity was developed on other levels through a form of 'action nationale', in which the French language and the Catholic faith could offer some kind of resistance to anglophone domination.⁹⁷ Seen from this perspective, literature and the discourse on literature of Huston, Lareau, Roy and sœur Marie-Élise can be seen to be asserting cultural difference, albeit from ideologically opposed positions (Huston and Lareau promoting liberal values, unlike Roy and sœur Marie-Élise who are writing from within the Catholic establishment). In fact literature in francophone Canada is produced within a field in which a variety of cultural and ideological pressures are in play, acting variously as poles of attraction or repulsion (France, anglophone North America, Protestantism, the Catholic Church, *la Francophonie*, indigenous cultures, migrant cultures or globalization). As John Speller writes:

In their struggle to define themselves against both the bordering Anglophone space and the French tradition, Quebecois writers have come positively to identify themselves with everything that can distinguish them from their more powerful literary and political neighbours, adopting

for instance motifs from Catholicism in an Anglo-Saxon Protestant milieu, and regionalist themes against the ‘universalist’ French literary tradition.⁹⁸

The position of constantly variable relativity in which a minor literature finds itself (that is, defining itself in terms of a range of dominant others) helps to explain why, while the nation is repeatedly evoked, or invoked, in the literary histories of francophone Canada, its status is never firmed up, always under construction – until it has gone. So, in our corpus, from 1848 to 2011, historians of a national francophone literature have changed its name, its frontiers, its inclusions and its exclusions. They have called for a national literature, announced its imminent arrival, explained the absence or retardation of its development, questioned its existence, asserted its existence, cited texts and authors in its defence, trusted in its power to reinterpret the past or envisage the future, studied its infrastructure and its meta-narrative, and in the most recent literary histories, declared its demise with the advent of post-nationalism (which Blodgett dates to 1970 and *Histoire de la littérature québécoise* to 1980).

While Blodgett refers to the linear trajectory as typical of francophone literary histories of Canada, two other models have emerged in the course of this chapter which help to remind us of the process of reading which literary histories allow or encourage. In the case of *La Vie littéraire* the sociological methodology adopted led to a structure within each volume of a series of layers of production that interact and modify each other in the manner of a spiral, the production, circulation and reception of literature taking place within a field which itself is exposed to pulls and tensions from within and outside. Whereas the dynamism of this sociological view of literary practice draws together processes which are both material and intellectual, Mailhot’s literary history, and Biron, Dumont and Nardout-Lafarge’s *Histoire de la littérature québécoise* propose models based more on the process of reading itself and the importance of a different kind of dynamic, in which the canon is revisited and renewed by readers (and writers) (re-)reading the texts of the literature of Quebec, in ways which make literary history an ongoing process, which arguably can outlive the nationalist ideologies that were once at its heart.

A final point which this chapter raises is the way in which literary histories define their territory and impose criteria for inclusion and exclusion. As Lemire writes in the introduction to *La Vie littéraire*:

Au cours de son histoire, la littérature québécoise a dû progressivement se déterminer un espace propre (passage de l’oral à l’écrit, du politique

à l'esthétique, du non-littéraire au littéraire, de la culture commune à la culture restreinte), spécifier ses pratiques (genres, mouvements), mais aussi défendre ou déborder les frontières esthétiques, culturelles et politiques qu'elle s'était constituées. (I, x)

In geographical and historical terms these boundaries have varied, as the study of titles indicated. The range of genres and the relative prioritization of those genres have also varied, not only as definitions of what is 'literary' have shifted but also according to individual taste and argument (as in the case of de Grandpré's volume devoted exclusively to post-1945 poetry). But other inclusions and exclusions have been at work, whether they concern literature in English, popular literature, children's literature or the literature of various minorities (each of which gets fuller discussion in some histories than in others). New's literary history stands in clear contrast to all of the francophone-authored works in its coverage of literature by indigenous writers. In *Five-Part Invention*, Blodgett quotes J. L. Granatstein's reflection on the nature of history as a process not simply of remembering but also of forgetting. With reference to Canada's history he argues that the challenge is to think of Canada 'as a nation, as a whole, as a society, and not simply as a collection of races, genders, regions, and classes'.⁹⁹ If one applies the same principle to histories of francophone Canadian literature, then the focus on the (largely white, francophone and progressively Quebec-identified) nation has resulted in certain exclusions. As one example of this, indigenous people are included as subject matter, but mostly excluded as the producers and consumers of literature. I will address some of the implications of such questions of exclusion and inclusion in the following chapters.

CHAPTER TWO

Literary history in the curriculum

As has been seen in the previous chapter, the function of published volumes of literary history is primarily pedagogical, in that they present literature as an object of study that can be classified (whether by genre, or by school, movement or tendency) and framed in terms of its historical development. Expanding on Barthes's statement concerning the relationship between French literature and literary history, 'La littérature, c'est ce qui s'enseigne',¹ Véronique Bonnet argues that 'l'école constitue un appareil transmettant une image normative de la littérature, posant un modèle de culture "légitime" qui joue un rôle signifiant dans le fonctionnement du champ littéraire'.² In any former settler colony, 'ce qui s'enseigne' will reflect two sets of cultural norms, of varying degrees of legitimacy. In Quebec's case this expresses itself in a complex and at times conflicted relationship to the literary history of the former colonial centre and a commitment to the development of a distinctive, national literature. The changing patterns of which literary history/ies should be taught in schools and how that material is taught reflect changes in the control of education, in attitudes towards cultural legitimacy, in pedagogical thinking, and in the very concept of nation that has prevailed at different periods of the twentieth century.

Literary history, in common with all other bodies of knowledge, plays its part in transmitting a set of official values, beliefs and structures, and like the curriculum within which it is studied, it is a product of its time and its place. In his reflections on the relationship between the curriculum, the nation and postcolonialism George Richardson stresses 'the importance of understanding that school curricula reflect cultural biases and speak from particular cultural locations'.³ Literary history is mediated in a number of ways within the education system, from the structures and methodologies imposed by the curriculum, to the introductions and annotations in textbooks and anthologies, to

the choice of set texts as well as the judgements of teachers and critics, and cultural biases will emerge at each of these levels at which the curriculum is delivered.

This chapter will focus primarily on the incorporation of francophone Canadian literature as an object of study in the curriculum of French-language schools in Quebec and will draw on curriculum documents, material submitted to the Parent Commission, the Parent Report, as well as material relating to examinations. After an introductory section on the situation of French-language education in Quebec, successive sections will discuss the teaching of literature in Quebec from 1900 to 1960, the findings and recommendations of the Parent Report in the 1960s, developments in the curriculum from the 1960s onwards, and a consideration of the place of francophone Canadian literature in the curriculum today, both within and beyond Quebec.⁴

French-language education in Quebec

The way in which literature has been taught over the last hundred years or so in Quebec, at different levels of the education system, first under the denominational system, from 1964 within the Ministry of Education, and since 2005 as part of the expanded Ministry of Education, Leisure and Sport (MELS), reflects many of the pressures and influences at work in the construction of the curriculum. A curriculum is always developing, and as such negotiating a path which continues and adapts various traditions and dominant ways of thinking as new challenges, emphases and contexts emerge. It works within an educational system which itself is the product of layers of influence and power, whether these are ideological, religious, political or economic.

Quebec's particular history of invasion and settlement under French colonial and then British colonial rule has produced an education system the structure of which has always been different from that of any of the other provinces in Canada. Compulsory schooling arrived later in Quebec than in the other provinces, finally being introduced for ages 6–14, together with free elementary schooling (Grades 1–7), under Adélard Godbout's Liberal government in 1943.⁵ Philip Oreopoulos points out that while legislation had been passed much earlier in most other provinces, school attendance elsewhere in Canada remained generally low: 'The average daily attendance rate (among those enrolled) for the whole of Canada was 61 per cent in 1900. The number of years

typically spent in school were also few. Both boys and girls often left at the age of nine or ten to begin work in factories or at home.⁶ By 1929 in Quebec only 24 per cent of francophone pupils progressed beyond the primary phase (Years 1–6), and many completed no more than four years of schooling. At the end of the Second World War some progress had been made, with 46 per cent completing the primary stage (by then comprising Years 1–7), 25 per cent completing Year 8 and 17 per cent completing Year 9. However, a mere 2 per cent finished the full 12-year course introduced in 1929.⁷ If in twentieth-century Quebec resistance to compulsory school attendance had come from the Catholic Church, which refused to contemplate any threat to its control of education and other social institutions, in the nineteenth century there had been other obstacles. Indeed, Serge Gagnon's work on the elementary school in Quebec in the nineteenth century points out that compulsory education was held back not so much by the conservatism of the Catholic Church as by the economic exploitation of the working-class francophone population as a source of cheap labour for the anglophone bourgeoisie. This prompts him to ask 'si la sous-scolarisation des Québécois de langue française ne serait pas, en définitif, l'un des nombreux effets de son statut "colonial"'.⁸ Quebec's resistance to compulsory education had other important effects: centralized examinations were only introduced in Quebec in 1932, initially on a trial basis, and were not fully centralized until 1938, despite the inspectorate having lobbied for this since the mid-nineteenth century with the aim of ensuring consistency of provision and standards across the province.⁹ The secondary sector was very slow to develop and was highly hierarchical, the academic route for pupils intending to continue study at university or to enter the professions being dominated by the *collège classique*, based on the Jesuit model of classical humanities education, and a distinctive feature of education in Quebec prior to the *Révolution tranquille*.

As Claude Galarneau argues, the establishment of the *collège classique* in New France was an intrinsic part of the colonizing mission: 'L'administration civile et militaire, le régime seigneurial, les pratiques économiques, les techniques artisanales, tout devait être installé à la manière de France [...] et l'enseignement ne fait pas exception.'¹⁰ But while the *collèges* were indeed directly modelled on Jesuit colleges in France, they were part of a wider tradition of education which far outlived the actual period of colonial contact. Under the denominational system of education the Church was able to maintain a strict segregation between the highly academic secondary education of the *collèges*,

which trained a small elite for the priesthood and certain professions, and a public provision, which was designed not to compete with the *collèges*. The system was not only highly elitist, it also discriminated against girls. Not until 1908 was the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in Montreal permitted to offer the first *cours classique* for girls. This elitism and inequality persisted with the result that by 1953 only 8 per cent of boys and a mere 1 per cent of girls in Quebec followed the *cours classique*.¹¹

The curriculum that was followed in the *collèges* was the *Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu*, usually referred to as the *Ratio Studiorum*, which had been drawn up through widespread consultation and testing for use in Jesuit colleges in the late sixteenth century and was published in its final form in 1599. This in turn had been based on pedagogical practice in Ancient Greece, which was subsequently developed by the Romans. The curriculum spread throughout much of Europe, and in the processes of imperial expansion it was introduced in Spanish-, French- and English-speaking colonies, in North and South America, as well as in India and other parts of Asia; as such it exemplifies the way in which colonial expansion leaves traces of its passage which then take on a different significance as they become part of new cultural and political practices. As Ashcroft notes, 'education is perhaps the most insidious and in some ways the most cryptic of colonialist survivals, older systems now passing, sometimes imperceptibly, into neo-colonialist configurations'.¹² It is a particularly interesting example of such practice as it was embedded in various ways in the 'civilizing mission' of three separate, and rival, colonial empires.

Normand Renaud gives the following summary of the core elements of the Jesuit curriculum first established in Quebec at the Collège des Jésuites in 1635: 'Tout l'enseignement classique est [...] concentré en définitif sur l'éducation de la pensée. Cultiver l'art de bien écrire et de bien dire, la perfection de l'expression, en un mot, l'éloquence, c'est développer les forces de l'esprit.'¹³ As perfect expression leads to perfect thought, so does perfect thought harmonize with moral order and with the tenets of religious belief. The study of language involved the imitation of models of literary expression (poetry, history and eloquence), which, combined with rigorous training in religious and moral principles, provided an education particularly well suited for those whose future positions would require skills in persuasion whether for delivering sermons or in the courts of law, or indeed in other positions of leadership and authority.¹⁴ Within such a curriculum, literature was not viewed as

a cultural or historical product, specific to its time and place of origin. Rather it served to demonstrate the principles of a classical theory of *Belles-Lettres*, which equated beauty of form with reason and with moral beauty: ‘ils définissent la beauté en art comme la manifestation de l’équilibre de l’esprit puissant, celui où la raison soutenue par la foi domine les facultés inférieures. La réussite esthétique traduit alors la rectitude morale de l’artiste.’¹⁵ The importance of classical aesthetics in the teaching of literature in the *cours classique* is evident in the titles of textbooks set for study, such as Grandperret’s *Traité classique de littérature*, Lefranc’s *Abrégé du traité théorique et pratique de littérature* and Suberville’s *Théorie de l’Art et des genres littéraires*.¹⁶

The curriculum followed in the *collège classique* has been the subject of a number of studies.¹⁷ However, what is less often discussed is the extent to which the very distinctive pedagogical principles of classical humanist education infiltrated the elementary school curriculum. After all, those who designed the curriculum for the elementary schools in Quebec in the early twentieth century, and many of the members of teaching communities who taught within that sector, would themselves have been educated in the *collège classique*. An early piece of evidence shows that one cannot entirely separate these two levels of education. The ‘Règlement pour l’examen des candidats aux Brevets ou Diplôme d’instituteur dans le Bas-Canada’ from 1861 sets out the series of questions to be answered by candidates for the *Brevet* or the *Diplôme d’instituteur* on all aspects of the elementary curriculum, which at intermediate level included literature. The questions cover precepts, genres and definitions, clearly based on a standard work on *Belles-Lettres*:

- A quoi sert l’étude des Belles-Lettres?
- Qu’est-ce que l’harmonie?
- En quoi consiste le néologisme?
- Qu’appelle-t-on qualités particulières de style?
- En quoi consistent les figures de pensée?
- Qu’est-ce que le genre épistolaire?¹⁸

As the range of questions indicates, literature is taught as if it operates in accordance with a universal set of precepts. The specificity of the cultural origins of this system in Ancient Greece and Rome, reinforced by the values and judgements of French classicism, is not questioned, and nor is its relevance to nineteenth-century Quebec. This teaching of the presumed universal contradicts the very particularist and local nature of Canadian-authored literature.

The place of literature and of Canadian literature in the curriculum,
1900–1960

The specific situation of education in Quebec, the legacy of the French colonial period and the power of the Church authorities in the delivery of public education are important factors in any discussion of the development of the curriculum. As Thérèse Hamel points out,

L'année 1905 marque sans contredit une étape décisive dans la programmation des savoirs enseignés dans les écoles publiques catholiques de la province de Québec. Pour la première fois, on assiste à une systématisation des matières à enseigner et des notes pédagogiques devant guider les instituteurs et institutrices dans leur enseignement.¹⁹

In 1905 the public school curriculum covered eight years: a four-year *cours élémentaire*, a two-year *cours modèle (intermédiaire)*, and a two-year *cours académique (primaire supérieur)*. This structure dates back to the 1873 'Classification des écoles' under which the minimum provision of education offered in Catholic schools in Quebec at the time was four years (age 7–11). The 1905 curriculum indicates what those children who completed the full eight years would study; for the reasons discussed above, however, many children would not have progressed beyond the four-year *cours élémentaire*. Figures for the school year 1902/03, for example, indicate that while there were 5,379 elementary schools in Quebec, there were only 555 *écoles modèles* and 178 *académies*.²⁰

This highly detailed curriculum (over 100 pages long) covers all three stages of primary school education and gives an insight into the way in which literature and literary history were taught in Quebec at the turn of the century. This is the first curriculum for Quebec which specifies the work of francophone Canadian writers as an object of study. In fact this acknowledges officially what had long been the state of affairs in Quebec: textbooks, readers and anthologies published in Quebec already included texts both from France and from Canada;²¹ articles published for school teachers in *Le Journal de l'Instruction publique* included a considerable proportion of material relating to French-Canadian authors;²² and the book prize system (another legacy from the Jesuit model) distributed annually many thousands of copies of works by French-Canadian authors.²³

By recommending the use of texts from France and from Canada, the curriculum suggests that they were equally suitable for all the standard exercises of recitation, analysis and eventual imitation in composition.

However, there are subtle indications that the curriculum is creating or reflecting a distinction between the two. Literature from France is referred to as examples of '[les] classiques français' while French-Canadian literature is referred to collectively as examples of 'les écrivains canadiens'. What is more, the reference to French-Canadian literature only appears in the section on language that aims at developing the pupils' skills of written and oral expression. In fact at this stage in the development of the curriculum in Quebec one can see a clear distinction between literary extracts as a source of edifying and well-written reading matter, used to instil models of grammar and literary style, for which purpose it is felt appropriate to include literature from Canada and from France, and 'Literature' as a separate object of study.

The arrangement and labelling of the literature strand corresponds to the highly formalized teaching of literature in the *cours classique*, based on the principles of classical rhetoric rather than on the relatively new discipline of literary history.²⁴ It is perhaps more common when discussing education in Quebec prior to the *Révolution tranquille* to stress the divide between the public schooling for the majority and the elite *collège classique*. But looking closely at the structures, the language and the detail of the primary curriculum, one can see the traces of three quite distinct approaches to the teaching of literature, two of which have their counterparts in the curriculum of the *collège* and, before that, of education in pre-revolutionary France. In fact the curriculum of 1905 captures very eloquently a moment in time in Quebec when competing demands and influences can be seen at work: first, there are clear signs of the legacy of the classical humanist tradition established by the Jesuits; secondly, there is the influence of the teaching of literature in France, as it developed both within the Jesuit tradition, but also with the establishment of the *lycée* system from 1786 onwards; to these two layers of western European influence is added the third element of an emerging interest in the literature of francophone Canada as an object of study.²⁵ In this way the curriculum offers the image of a series of layers from different traditions and different cultures which coexist as pedagogical practices and ideological priorities shift.²⁶ These various layers in turn refer us back to the different ideological currents operating in Quebec, whether conservative and looking back to the twin cultural centres of Rome and pre-revolutionary France, or reflecting ongoing developments in pedagogy in France, Belgium and Switzerland, or indeed engaging in a strategic way in the development of a distinctively North American francophone culture with the discourse of nationalism.

Table 2.1 The 1905 curriculum

<p>Langue française. Lecture – Diction – Récitation de mémoire (This strand runs throughout the curriculum in parallel to ‘littérature’, but includes the study of literary extracts)</p>	<p>Littérature (from Year 5) This appears as an additional and separate strand of ‘Langue française’ from Year 5 onwards (the <i>cours modèle</i>)</p>
<p>Cours élémentaire: Year 3 Récitation de fables, de petites poésies, de quelques morceaux en prose, avec explication préalable Year 4 Lecture + récitation de mémoire (as above) (p. 216)</p>	
<p>Cours modèle (Intermédiaire): Year 5 Préparation à l’analyse littéraire; récitation de morceaux choisis en prose et en vers, de dialogues et de scènes empruntés aux classiques français et aux écrivains canadiens, – avec explication préalable.</p>	<p>Cours modèle Year 5 Premières notions sur: a) les préceptes littéraires b) les genres littéraires – 1. le genre épistolaire 2. la narration 3. la description c) surtout au moyen d’analyses littéraires très simples, portant sur des modèles classiques lus ou récités</p>
<p>Year 6 Récitations expressives variées empruntées aux classiques français et aux écrivains canadiens, – avec explication préalable.</p>	<p>Year 6 Notions plus développées sur: a) les préceptes littéraires b) les genres littéraires – 1. la poésie et ses grandes divisions 2. la prose et ses grandes divisions c) surtout au moyen d’analyses littéraires très simples, portant sur des modèles classiques lus ou récités</p>

The outline curriculum in Table 2.1 uses the language of precepts and genres, in keeping with the didactic approach of textbooks such as Jules Verest’s *Manuel de littérature. Principes – faits généraux – lois*.²⁷ The additional guidelines on the teaching of literature from Years 5–8 give us an idea of the way in which extracts served as models of particular styles, demonstrating the rules of rhetoric, but also preparing the pupils

Table 2.1 *continued*

<p>Cours académique (Primaire supérieur): Year 7 Analyse littéraire + récitation de mémoire; récitation expressive et déclamation de morceaux variés empruntés aux classiques français et aux écrivains canadiens, – avec explication préalable (p. 217).</p>	<p>Cours académique Year 7 Étude sommaire des: a) préceptes littéraires relatifs 1. aux genres de style, 2. aux figures de style b) genres littéraires – Poésie 1. Variétés de la poésie lyrique 2. grandes divisions de l'éloquence 3. variétés de l'éloquence religieuse c) toujours au moyen d'analyses littéraires appropriées au cours; d) avec, en outre, des notions très simples d'histoire littéraire</p>
<p>Year 8 (as above) General guidance here: 'Il appartient au maître de choisir dans le manuel les leçons les plus propres à développer chez les uns les connaissances industrielles et commerciales, chez les autres, les connaissances agricoles et le goût de la culture.' (p. 218)</p>	<p>Year 8 Étude sommaire des: a) préceptes littéraires relatifs à la structure 1. d'une pièce dramatique, 2. du discours, 3. du vers français b) genres littéraires – Poésie 1. genres dérivés du théâtre: poésie pastorale, fables. Prose 1. variétés du roman, 2. variété de la prose didactique c) toujours au moyen d'analyses littéraires; d) avec des notions très sommaires d'histoire littéraire (summarized from pp. 237–38)</p>

Note: this table is based on my own summary of the presence of literature in the 1905 curriculum. The full text can be found in Michel Allard and Bernard Lefebvre, eds, *Les Programmes d'études catholiques francophones du Québec* (Montreal: Les Editions Logiques, 1998), pp. 183–289. Emphases are my own.

for the 'analyse littéraire', an exercise which offers the pupils a guided reading, in the manner of the *explication de texte*.²⁸ The guidelines give examples of how the teacher should use literary extracts: 'Des fragments bien choisis mettront en lumière telle ou telle qualité du style qui est l'objet de la leçon: par exemple, pour la vivacité, une lettre de Mme de Sévigny; pour le naturel, une fable de La Fontaine.'²⁹ The guidelines then expand upon the reference in the outline curriculum for Years 7 and 8 to 'des notions très simples d'histoire littéraire' as follows:

Un peu d'histoire littéraire ne sera ni déplacé, ni impossible. On pourrait procéder de la manière suivante. Chemin faisant, à l'occasion des modèles lus ou appris, à l'occasion des morceaux analysés et appréciés, citer des noms, les accompagner d'une courte notice biographique et de quelques mots de critique – que les élèves consigneront dans leur cahier. (239)³⁰

Aron and Viala attribute to La Harpe the shaping of French literary history not only into genres (as in the classical curriculum) but also into sub-genres, including 'modern' genres such as the novel, and into historical periods.³¹ The 1905 curriculum outlines the literary history of France in a shape which emphasizes the pre-eminence of the seventeenth century, earlier periods being seen teleologically as part of the progression towards French classicism: 'Arrivé au grand siècle de Louis XIV, la halte sera plus longue. [...] C'est l'apogée de la littérature française, il convient d'y appuyer' (239). In this way the literature of the seventeenth century acquires a status comparable to the classics of the *Ratio Studiorum* such as Cicero and Virgil. These texts are exemplary of French thought, language and style, models for analysis and imitation for students in Quebec. In comparison, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries deserve less attention: 'On passera plus rapidement sur le XVIIIe et le XIXe siècle' (239). But in addition to naming a selection of authors, the guidelines suggest 'plus d'un historien, plus d'un orateur, plus d'un romancier des temps modernes, occuperont une certaine place dans les cahiers et dans la mémoire' (239). Table 2.2 summarizes the indicative recommendations of what might constitute an appropriate range of reading for Years 7 and 8.

The reason for dwelling on the 1905 curriculum is not only because it gives such a detailed insight into the place of literature in the curriculum and the recognition of French-Canadian authors as an integral part of that curriculum. This was a significant year in other ways, coinciding with the adoption in France of the *Loi de séparation des Églises et de l'État*, which formally separated Church and state and withdrew financial support from religious orders. The passing of this law gave an important boost to the flow of teaching religious from France to join existing communities in Quebec and to establish new religious orders.³² It is interesting to speculate whether the various initiatives that call for the study of *Canadian* authors within the curriculum are not a response to this influx, an assertion of cultural difference. Camille Roy gave a public lecture at Laval University in December 1904 at the annual meeting of La Société du Parler français au Canada which included a call for greater Canadian content across the primary and secondary

Table 2.2 Literature studied in Years 7 and 8

Medieval and Renaissance	‘quelques vers de Charles d’Orléans, de Villon, une fable de Clément Marot, un sonnet de Ronsard, un extrait de Montaigne, une ode de Malherbe’ Joinville, Villehardouin, Froissart (historians and chroniclers)
17th century (le grand siècle de Louis XIV)	‘quelque chose de Descartes, de Pascal, de Bossuet, de Bourdaloue, de la Bruyère, etc.’ ‘un peu plus de Corneille, de Racine, de Fénelon, de Boileau, de Molière, de Mme de Sévigny, de la Fontaine’
18th century	Voltaire, Montesquieu, Buffon, Bernardin de St-Pierre
19th century	Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Victor Hugo to which can be added; ‘plus d’un historien, plus d’un orateur, plus d’un romancier des temps modernes’ (this in 1905)

Note: the full version of these guidelines can be found in Michel Allard and Bernard Lefebvre, eds, *Les Programmes d’études catholiques francophones du Québec* (Montreal: Les Editions Logiques, 1998), pp. 237–40.

curriculum.³³ Roy’s *Tableau de l’histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*, published three years later, was his own contribution to the campaign for the nationalization of the curriculum in Quebec.

The curriculum of the *collège classique* was also affected to some extent by the process of ‘Canadianization’. At the 1906 Congrès des professeurs de l’enseignement secondaire it was decided to include French-Canadian literature on the syllabus for the baccalaureate examinations which concluded the *cours classique*.³⁴ Camille Roy greeted this decision as ‘un grand pas fait vers ce que l’on appelle [...] la *nationalisation* de notre enseignement’.³⁵ However, while candidates for the *baccalauréat* were all examined on literature, including literary history, the examination was based mostly on a general knowledge of the names of authors and titles of canonical texts within the various genres, primarily from Greek, Latin and French literature, but with some examples of other western European writing (Shakespeare, Goethe, Dante, Le Camoëns) and a small number of American authors (Washington Irving, Fenimore Cooper). Candidates were also expected to answer more detailed questions on one French text, such as *Athalie* or *Les Femmes savantes*.³⁶ And as Claude Galarneau reports, nearly two decades later the campaign for the study of French-Canadian authors

within the *cours classique* was still being pursued: ‘L’histoire de la littérature dite canadienne apparaît au programme de rhétorique [...] en 1923–1924, grâce aux efforts de l’abbé Camille Roy.’³⁷

The most significant changes to the public education system in Quebec in the inter-war years concerned the gradual extension of the structure of elementary schooling. In 1923 the four-year *cours élémentaire* was merged with the two-year *cours modèle* to give a standard (but still not compulsory) six-year *cours primaire élémentaire* for all pupils. The *cours académique* was replaced by the *cours primaire complémentaire*, designed to prepare pupils for working and professional life, with separate pathways for agriculture, commerce, industrial and domestic skills. In 1929, after a long battle, led by the example of a number of schools run by the Clercs de Saint-Viateur in Montreal and the Frères de l’instruction chrétienne, the Catholic Committee, responsible for Catholic education in the province, adopted a three-year extension to the elementary curriculum, so creating the *école primaire supérieure*. The provision of schooling for Grades 9–11 brought Quebec belatedly into line with other provinces with a form of secondary education separate from the elite, and expensive, *collège classique*.³⁸ In 1939 primary schooling was extended to twelve years by incorporating the ‘classe enfantine’ as Year 1 of the curriculum.

The lengthening of the course brought with it the opportunity to cover more ground, but it also gave teachers the chance to spread certain areas of the curriculum over the longer period. Both of these trends affected the way in which French-Canadian literature fared in the restructuring.³⁹ While the 1923 curriculum covered the reshaped programme for Years 1–8, the 1929 and 1939 curricula both applied only to the additional three years of the new *cours primaire supérieur*. What is interesting to note is that the material that was to be covered in Years 7 and 8 under the (ambitious) 1905 system of the *cours académique* (summarized in Tables 2.1 and 2.2) now appeared for Years 9–11 in 1929 and 1939. The requirement to study literature from both France and Canada was now firmly embedded in the curriculum, from Year 5 of the 1923 curriculum. The phrasing in 1923 suggests equal treatment of both literatures throughout: for recitation in Years 5 and 6, ‘On choisira des morceaux chez les meilleurs prosateurs de la France et du Canada’ (430); in Year 7 for the study of models of style and composition, ‘On choisira des morceaux chez les meilleurs prosateurs de la France et du Canada’ (432); and in Year 8 literary history will be based on ‘l’étude de la vie et des œuvres de quelques-uns des plus grands écrivains français ou

canadiens dont les noms sont connus par le recueil des morceaux choisis ou le manuel d'histoire' (431).

The three methodological strands of the teaching of literature noted in the 1905 curriculum (the classical tradition of precepts and rules; literary history based on the historical development of genres, together with biographical material on individual authors; and the inclusion of French-Canadian authored texts) are all still visible, but the historical survey from the medieval period to the nineteenth century has been removed in 1923. The recommendation is to rely on the manual for a range of extracts, and then to focus on fables (La Fontaine) and verse and prose in Year 7, with particular emphasis on poetry and versification in Year 8. Arguably the 1923 curriculum is less closely modelled on the classical programme than its predecessor, despite some echoes such as, in Year 7, 'Préceptes. – Définition et règles générales de l'invention, de la disposition et de l'élocution; qualités générales du style' (430). Nevertheless, the strong emphasis on recitation and on the use of passages as 'modèles' for written expression shows the underlying influence of the *cours classique*.

As the three years of the *cours primaire supplémentaire* opened up from 1929 onwards, so the teaching of literature shifted into the space and in the process returned to the fuller coverage of French literary history which had been recommended in 1905 but which, if one is to judge by the more limited coverage in 1923, had proved to be over-ambitious and more appropriate for what, elsewhere in Canada, would be the secondary school curriculum. Thus, the 1929 and 1939 curricula both stipulated that a number of authors from the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and (from 1939) twentieth centuries be studied, and that selected French-Canadian authors of prose and poetry be included in the first two years. From 1929 a new element appeared in the final year of study – a brief survey course of the literature of both French and English-speaking Canada – suggesting that by the late 1920s each literature was considered to have come of age as being the subject of its own literary history. The widespread use of Camille Roy's *Manuel* had probably facilitated this development.

In other respects the extended curricula of 1929 and 1939 show signs of continuing development. As one might anticipate, by 1939 the curriculum includes twentieth-century French literature in the final year of study. In addition to the work on genres and stylistic analysis, common to both curricula, in 1929 the course ends with a focus on the varieties of 'discours', more suited to the classical college training of the country's

intellectual elite: 'Principales caractéristiques de l'éloquence du barreau et de la chaire, du discours parlementaire, de la harangue militaire, de la conférence et de l'allocution de circonstance' (483–84). To teach the rhetoric of public speaking within the public education system might be interpreted as provocative, a failure to respect the near monopoly of the *collège classique* on university entrance. For whatever reasons (whether it was seen as outdated or a threat to the status of the *collège* system), this particular course on 'professional' rhetoric disappears in 1939 to be replaced with a rather more general introduction to rhetoric and versification.

As this discussion of curricula in Quebec in the first forty years of the twentieth century has indicated, there is no single or simple direction of development. Rather, a number of influences work their way into the curriculum and stay there as part of a pattern which shifts in shape and emphasis over the years. Nor does any curriculum develop in a vacuum. As Lefebvre remarks:

Nord-Américains et francophones, les Surintendants de l'Instruction publique et les membres du Comité catholique du Conseil de l'Instruction publique, maîtres d'œuvre des programmes d'études, même s'ils vivaient dans un isolement relatif, avaient des informations sur l'éducation dispensée au Canada anglais, aux États-Unis, en Angleterre et en France. A cet égard, ils développaient un curieux mélange de mimétisme et de résistance.⁴⁰

Once the school leaving age had been fixed at 14 and education had been made compulsory,⁴¹ changes to the curriculum concentrated on the opening up of different vocational specialisms and to some extent on a new pedagogical focus on the pupil's active engagement in the learning process and the acquisition of skills. The first curriculum revision in the post-war years was published in 1948 (for elementary schools) and this was followed in 1956 by a curriculum for the newly designated secondary schools (a five-year course from Years 8–12). As Vinette observes in relation to the primary curriculum,

Le nouveau programme ne veut pas tant viser à faire acquérir un bagage important de connaissances qu'à former des intelligences et développer des personnalités, faire acquérir de saines habitudes de penser, de sentir et d'agir [...] l'accent est moins sur les matières à enseigner que sur la manière de les enseigner.⁴²

The secondary curriculum introduced a range of options from Year 9. For boys the options were as follows: *cours général*, *cours classique*, *cours*

commercial, *cours industriel* or a two-year *cours agricole*. Girls could choose between the *cours général*, *cours classique*, *cours commercial* or a two-year *cours familial*. Both sexes were offered a further specialization in Year 12 in either science or commerce.⁴³ As will be seen, as far as the teaching of literature is concerned, the textbooks show very little change from the 1930s to the 1960s.

While curriculum reform, the belated provision of free secondary education and a significant increase in funding indicate a certain level of commitment to reform, the evidence gathered by the Parent Commission in the 1960s revealed that francophone education in Quebec was in need not only of reform, but of greater funding and reorganization. Nadine Bednarz summarizes the situation as follows: ‘ce système d’éducation demeure fragmenté, sous-financé, sous-développé, dépourvu de coordination, peu démocratique, élitiste et sexiste. Le problème le plus grave demeure la sous-scolarisation des francophones.’⁴⁴ The differing levels of attainment in the Catholic and Protestant sectors (13% of Catholic pupils successfully completing Year 11 in 1958 compared with 36% in the Protestant sector) meant that education had to be a key priority for the Lesage government.

The Parent Report and the repudiation of the past

The Parent Commission formed a watershed in the history of education in Quebec and as such had a crucial effect on the authorship, content and format of textbooks. The Commission received around 240 written submissions from those involved in all aspects of education, and a comparison of the report with the texts of submissions indicates that it was strongly influenced by the tenor and the detail of those submissions.⁴⁵ The members of the Commission also travelled widely – to England, Scotland, France, Belgium, Denmark, West Germany, Switzerland and the USSR – to gather information. Their report, published in five volumes between 1963 and 1966, recommended a total restructuring of the education system in Quebec to offer an integrated public-sector education from nursery to university, under the control of the newly established Ministry of Education. If the recommendations of the Parent Report constitute a turning point in the history of education in Quebec, this is because there was finally the political will to act upon the criticisms that had long been expressed in some quarters, both within and outside of the religious teaching orders, in the inter-war years and in the late 1940s and 1950s.⁴⁶

Public opinion was demanding change, as the stunning sales of *Les Insolences du Frère Untel* demonstrate. The work of Marist brother Jean-Paul Desbiens, this scathing account of the education system in Quebec rapidly became a best-seller, selling well over 100,000 copies.⁴⁷ Other voices joined the debate, whether in print, in the press, or on radio and television. André Laurendeau, editor of *Le Devoir*, argued that the drive over the previous half-century to give textbooks in Quebec a national content had been a failure: ‘On se servait jadis de manuels français. Mais, alors les exemples réfèrent à une réalité située ailleurs de sorte que l’enseignement a un caractère plus livresque: mieux vaudraient, a-t-on pensé, des manuels d’ici, avec références et exemples québécois. L’idée était juste. On l’a mal réalisée.’⁴⁸ In *Comment on abrutit nos enfants – la bêtise en 23 manuels scolaires* Solange and Michel Chalvin studied textbooks in use in Quebec in 1961–62 across a range of subjects, finding problems with the quality of presentation, of expression and of content and with the bias which infiltrated every aspect of the works, from illustrations to structure.⁴⁹

A number of the written submissions to the Parent Commission reported on the textbooks used for French language and literature. While a few made positive comments on the quality of textbooks available, the vast majority were highly critical. One of the most detailed submissions is the *Rapport sur les livres de Français au cours primaire présenté à la commission royale d’enquête sur l’enseignement* by Mme Jean Coulombe et Mme Gaston Dulong.⁵⁰ The authors survey a range of textbooks commonly used with primary pupils from Year 1 to Year 7 and the following themes emerge from their observations:

1. The quality of language is poor. They list examples of poor syntax, inappropriate register, anglicisms, clichés and unclear phrasing, concluding that ‘Ce n’est pas avec une langue si pauvre et si maladroite que les enfants peuvent s’initier à la langue de culture’ (R. 14).
2. Many extracts have been shortened, simplified, or otherwise rewritten, so losing the literary quality of the original text. Not all are clearly attributed.
3. As far as the Canadianization of the textbooks is concerned, they judge that it has resulted in a dated, partial, and banal representation of Canadian life, to the near exclusion of any other material. Religious orthodoxy pervades the content of the textbook, in tones ranging from the hagiographic, to the sentimental or infantile, to the morbid: ‘Cet abus de thèmes religieux est à notre avis, le meilleur moyen de dégoûter à jamais nos enfants de la vraie religion. D’ailleurs, un livre de français a-t-il pour but d’enseigner la religion?’ (S. 3).

In an Appendix to their report the authors supply lists of contents of two readers for Year 6 pupils, the *Cours de français* published by Les Frères de l'instruction chrétienne, and a comparable textbook from France, G. and M. Duru, *Lectures Actives*.⁵¹ The content of *Lectures Actives* differs from that of the *Cours de français* in a number of ways, but particularly in the greater variety of styles and genres (including fantasy, adventure and travel tales), the geographical range of its authors and subjects, and the generally secular tone. Settings include Lapland, Tibet, Venezuela, Mexico, Louisiana, Canada, Laos, the Sahara, the Maghreb, and the Russian steppes.⁵² The wide range of geographical settings is partly a result of the relatively high number of texts by foreign authors in translation from the USA, UK, Russia, Finland and Austria.⁵³ Clearly the aim has been to combine interesting and varied subject matter which looks at the world beyond Europe and not only (though predominantly) through a European perspective.

Closer examination of the content of the Quebec textbook indicates one feature that differentiates Quebec textbooks from their European counterparts – the presence of representations of the indigenous population. Seven extracts depict contact with the First Nations, either through colonial exploration or evangelization. Maurice Constantin-Weyer, drawing on his years spent in Manitoba, presents his reader with a colonial adventure story of the white man's encounter with the indigenous people.⁵⁴ There are two extracts from Juliette Lavergne's hagiographic account of the life of Catherine Tékakwitha, a seventeenth-century Algonquin-Mohawk Roman Catholic convert whose conversion allowed her to cross the divide between 'sauvage' and 'sainte'.⁵⁵ Three other passages are accounts of evangelizing missions in Canada and the Pacific.⁵⁶ The passages on the Inuit, on the other hand, the work of a missionary member of the Oblats de Marie-Immaculée, have a more ethnographic presentation, as tales observed and recounted by the white outsider of a culture less caught up in the early conflicts of colonization.⁵⁷ While one might expect a total absence of references to First Nations and Inuit peoples in the textbook from France, this is not entirely the case. It includes a text on beavers by 'Grey Owl', an ethnic European (born in Hastings, Kent) who adopted First Nations identity and achieved considerable fame as a writer about conservation and environmentalism in the inter-war years.⁵⁸

In common with several other submissions, that of Mme Coulombe and Mme Dulong concludes that education in Quebec has become inward-looking, dominated by Catholic (and ultramontane) values,

overly attached to the past, and has failed to mature intellectually. Their response is to turn to France as the model to be envied and emulated,⁵⁹ even though the education system in France in the early 1960s was itself heading for upheaval later in the decade. The submissions make few references to anglophone Canada, a relatively small number to the anglophone population of Quebec, and hardly recognize any diversity within the francophone population in Quebec or across Canada. This is in part a consequence of the provincial organization of education, a principle that was embedded in the Act of Confederation and which meant that in many ways Quebec could continue not to fall into line with other provinces (as in the case of compulsory school attendance). But there are other gaps and relative silences in the submissions. The rejection of ‘Canadianization’ and the renewed focus on France reveals an underdeveloped sense of the wider francophone world or of the increasingly diverse origins of the French-speaking population of Quebec. It also has the effect of blanking out any consideration of the indigenous population in Quebec.

The specific responsibilities and the respective roles of the federal and provincial governments and the aboriginal peoples for the education of aboriginal children became an important issue in the late 1960s.⁶⁰ Although references to the First Nations, Inuit and Métis are rare in the submissions to the Parent Commission, one report was submitted by the Comité de survivance indienne concerning the representation of indigenous people in Quebec history textbooks. This raised a number of points which will be relevant to the later discussion of literature anthologies.⁶¹ The key point concerns the absence of any histories written by indigenous authors: ‘Tôt ou tard, et peut-être plus vite qu’on ne le croit, le pédagogue indien de cette province écrira un manuel d’Histoire pour ses frères les aborigènes du Québec.’⁶² The report imagines some of the revisions and additions that such a textbook would include to give an account of the extent to which contact between the invader-settlers and the indigenous population changed the development of Quebec, of Canada and of North America, whether in terms of medicine, agriculture, political structures or shared values. In this way, while recognizing the realities of colonial history (‘Pourquoi oublier [...] qu’au XVIIe siècle, nos ancêtres étaient bel et bien chez eux, et que les vôtres étaient les envahisseurs?’)⁶³ and the oppression which has resulted from the process, the authors of the report also stress the extent to which the relationship between indigenous and settler populations is one of exchange, influence and *métissage*.⁶⁴

The Parent Report contains quite detailed responses to many of the issues raised in the submissions mentioned above. The members of the Commission recognize the bias of existing histories ('Toute l'histoire canadienne, notamment celle du régime français, est enseignée dans la seule perspective de l'Européen colonisateur') and the consequences of that bias: 'une des choses dont l'Indien souffre le plus à l'école et dans la société, c'est d'être considéré comme le descendant de ces "sauvages" primitifs et cruels que se plaisent à décrire les manuels d'histoire du Canada'.⁶⁵ They support the position of the Comité de survivance indienne: 'Nous recommandons que les manuels d'histoire du Canada soient émondés et rectifiés de façon à faire mieux connaître les civilisations amérindiennes et à présenter une image plus vraie des Indiens d'Amérique'.⁶⁶ Although this recommendation is made in the context of history textbooks, teaching materials in other disciplines clearly suffered from the same distortions and omissions concerning the representation of the indigenous population, as will be seen later in the following chapter.

As far as the teaching of literature is concerned, the main findings relate to the poor quality of textbooks, the choice of literature studied and the outmoded traditionalism of the Canadian literary content. Their recommendation, and the language used, suggests a necessary period of purging, of disassociation from past errors: 'La seule manière de ventiler efficacement ce climat anti-culturel est peut-être, pour l'instant, d'utiliser les manuels français de bonne qualité qui existent en grand nombre'.⁶⁷ In recommending the use of foreign textbooks they cite European textbooks used in the *collège classique* and also American textbooks used or adapted for use in anglophone schools in Quebec as models to adopt or emulate (this despite the view that foreign textbooks had in the past often been found inappropriate for Quebec).⁶⁸ The report gives very clear guidelines both on the content and the organization of the literature syllabus. Table 2.3 outlines the shape of a potential syllabus, which, the authors say, should be organized in terms of the textual difficulty of specific genres, not chronology. This breaks with the traditional delivery of the French syllabus by century. While the underlying assumption would seem to be that the study of literature means the study of the French canon, the inclusion of 'classics' of English literature as well as the reference to Greek tragedy and to legends suggests a wider, though still entirely Eurocentric, view of literature. Given the presence for the previous sixty years in the curriculum in Quebec of Canadian texts, the omission of any reference here to francophone Canadian texts is significant.

Table 2.3 Recommendations of the Parent Report on the study of literature

Year 7	‘Les mythes, contes, légendes, chansons correspondant aux âges primitifs de la littérature correspondent aussi assez facilement à la fantaisie, à la liberté d’imagination des jeunes élèves [...] pourvu qu’on les présente en langue contemporaine’
Year 8	‘des œuvres, qui parlent d’enfants de son âge: <i>David Copperfield</i> , <i>Le petit Prince</i> , les récits écrits pour la jeunesse’
Year 9	‘les poètes romantiques et parnassiens, le roman réaliste assez facile, les récits historiques (Walter Scott, Dumas, Michelet, Maurois, etc.)’
Year 10	‘le théâtre assez facile – théâtre romantique, comédies –, des écrits scientifiques ayant une qualité littéraire, des romans d’aventure et romans policiers bien écrits’
Year 11	‘le théâtre classique, et la lecture de Shakespeare, des tragiques grecs’
Year 12	‘le roman contemporain et l’essai’
Year 13	‘les moralistes, essayistes, et philosophes en général, les ouvrages sur les sciences, la philosophie de l’histoire, la philosophie des sciences, la géographie humaine, les problèmes sociaux, les littératures étrangères et la littérature contemporaine de langue française, l’histoire des arts’

Note: this table summarizes Paragraph 605, *Rapport Parent, 2e partie ou tome II, (suite): Les structures pédagogiques du système scolaire* (Quebec: Publications du Gouvernement du Québec, 1964), p. 57.

A separate paragraph discusses the teaching of Canadian literature: ‘L’enseignement de la littérature canadienne, l’utilisation de textes canadiens dans les volumes consacrés à l’enseignement de la langue maternelle doivent également faire l’objet de recherches et d’expérimentations; l’esprit critique doit ici équilibrer un sentiment national légitime.⁶⁹ While they recognize ‘l’intérêt extraordinaire manifesté par les étudiants à l’endroit de la littérature canadienne’,⁷⁰ the authors clearly feel that Canadian texts do not belong in the canon of world-class (mostly French) literature. Their awkwardness in dealing with the solution leads them to suggest somewhat tentatively that a different methodology might be adopted for studying such texts:

l'enseignement de cette littérature pourrait s'orienter en partie vers une étude des aspects sociologiques que comportent les œuvres littéraires et se rattacher, de cette façon, à une sorte d'anthropologie culturelle ou de psychologie nationale; [...] l'étude proprement esthétique ne devrait s'attacher qu'aux œuvres, en général, plus récentes, qui se situent véritablement au niveau esthétique.⁷¹

This recommendation is something of a puzzle and hence particularly interesting. It could be taken to reveal a deep-seated inability to question the rightful place of the Eurocentric literary canon at the heart of the study of literature and a parallel inability to accept that Canadian literature in French might (ever) achieve similar status; this in turn might imply a nostalgic attachment to the academic traditions of the *collège classique* and convent schools in the face of the Canadianization of the syllabus in the public sector. Guy Rocher (one of the commissioners) points out the irony of setting up a commission on the future of education in Quebec on which the only representative of the public sector was an anglophone.⁷² On the other hand the recommendation might be radical: moving from the aesthetic, formal study of literature to an approach which is more materialist or psychological, borrowing from such disciplines as sociology, psychology and anthropology, all of which were at the forefront of academic and intellectual life in the 1960s, in Quebec and elsewhere, and had contributed as theoretical tools to our understanding of the wave of decolonization which had spread throughout the territories of the former European empires in the 1950s and 1960s. The presence of a sociologist such as Guy Rocher on the Parent Commission gives some credence to the latter line of argument.⁷³ However, the failure to suggest that all literary study might be invigorated by employing a variety of new methodologies rather suggests that it is Canadian literature which is somehow exceptional and less than literary. Once again we see a clash of two cultures, an elite, France-centred culture, passed on within the *collège classique*, and a Canadian-authored literary culture which has remained lower in status, despite the fact that these very same years (in the pages of *Parti pris*, 1963–66) were witnessing the birth of 'la littérature québécoise'.⁷⁴ The recommendation therefore seems pedagogically inconsistent: it both reinforces the teaching of literature according to an aesthetically validated and Eurocentric canon, employing tried and tested methods (with French textbooks), while making Canadian literature in French the object of a different kind of study, better suited to its (mostly) lower aesthetic status. Whatever the contradictions in the recommendation,

many would share Monique Lebrun's view that the 1960s saw a transformation of the ways in which francophone Canadian literature was studied in Quebec, a change which cannot be dissociated from the use of new methodologies nor from its new designation as *québécois* literature: 'la littérature québécoise s'est imposée en tant qu'objet d'enseignement dans les années 1960, grâce à l'émergence, puis à l'affirmation d'un discours critique la posant comme une construction à la fois discursive et sociale'.⁷⁵

As with so much of the evidence submitted to the Commission and the recommendations that appeared in the report, the dramatic denunciation of the content of textbooks in Quebec prior to 1961 seemed to produce the response that there had to be a rupture with the past. Rather than *teaching* the material differently, making explicit the discourse on which French-Canadian nationalism had been based, encouraging pupils to analyse the effects of the ideological domination of the Church which had shaped education in almost every respect, questioning the silences and misrepresentations of textbooks, or indeed reviewing and renewing the Canadian content, the response was rather to expunge all traces of the past, to allow a clean break, a new start. An alternative might have been to encourage a critical and contextualized self-appraisal, in order to learn from rather than reject the past.

Curriculum developments since the 1960s

The first recommendation of the Parent Commission was the setting up of the Ministry of Education and the abolition of the *comités confessionnels* in 1964. The Ministry took over responsibility for the curriculum, producing a series of *programmes-cadres* from the late 1960s onwards. These *programmes-cadres* served a very different purpose from earlier curriculum documents, as a brief comparison with the much fuller 1967 secondary curriculum demonstrates. The 1967 curriculum makes a number of implicit corrections to long-established ways of teaching literature, as in the following general guideline:

il importe d'observer une *prudence de tous les instants dans le dosage d'histoire littéraire* à laquelle il faut avoir recours pour bien faire comprendre, goûter et apprécier les grands écrivains. Pour tout dire, l'histoire de la littérature n'entre en jeu que pour *localiser* les textes car, ce qui importe, c'est d'enseigner les œuvres avant les auteurs. [original emphases]⁷⁶

This warning applies specifically to Years 8 and 9, during which the only references to literary history will concern the specific texts they study in class. In Year 10 pupils follow what looks like a very familiar course of French literature from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, studying Villon, Ronsard, Du Bellay, Corneille (*Le Cid*), Racine (*Britannicus*) and Molière. The guidelines stress, however, that teachers should adapt the curriculum to engage their pupils in the most effective way: ‘l’essentiel étant qu’on satisfasse l’intérêt psychologique des élèves plutôt que de s’en tenir rigoureusement à l’ordre historique. Nous sommes d’avis [...] que l’incidence de l’histoire littéraire et l’étude de la biographie des écrivains doivent être réduites au strict minimum’ (16). The lightening of the curriculum allows teachers to ‘faire aimer d’autres belles pages des grands écrivains’ (16). In Year 11 literature from the late seventeenth century to the early twentieth century is taught by period and literary movement, such as ‘Voltaire (courant rationaliste au XVIIIe siècle)’; ‘Baudelaire (carrefour de tendances, tendance nouvelle)’ (18). Out of the 14 authors and movements suggested, the last three are from Quebec, integrated into the history of French literature: ‘Nelligan (dans le sillage des poètes “maudits”); Saint-Denys-Garneau (la conscience d’un drame collectif vers 1930). Quelques pages du *journal* seulement; F.-A. Savard (pays, traditions, culture)’ (18).

In Year 12 the general instructions specify that in the final year literary history needs to be taught as a separate strand in order to explore its relationship with other disciplines, notably history, history of art, sociology and political geography. If the instructions for previous years seem to be intent on limiting the role of an outmoded form of literary history, here the thinking of the *Révolution tranquille* seems to introduce a new emphasis on literature as embedded within its specific historical and socio-political context: ‘S’ils savent déjà quels sont les traits principaux du classicisme et du romantisme, ils devraient désormais comprendre l’origine politico-sociale, les grandes étapes de ces deux mouvements, de même que leur prolongement littéraire: il ne saurait y avoir de continuité historique sans l’étude de l’interdépendance et de l’imbrication des événements’ (18). The example given is from French literature: ‘il faut que les étudiants sachent [...] qu’il existe une relation étroite entre la biographie de ces deux écrivains [Hugo and Chateaubriand] et l’évolution de l’histoire de France entre 1789 et 1875’ (18). Pupils need to be able to answer not only ‘en quoi ce texte (ou poème) est-il classique, romantique, parnassien, symboliste? en quoi l’auteur a-t-il su demeurer original?’ but also: ‘en quoi l’auteur est-il de son

temps?’ (19). The curriculum gives very explicit instruction on what the content of French literary history should be. Courses combine historical and literary overviews through the study of extracts, with close reading of certain texts to be chosen from the list by the teacher. This focus on the reading of complete texts marks a break with the anthology-based teaching that had dominated the curriculum until the 1960s. Pupils are required to study in detail poems by ten authors, plays by two dramatists from a list of ten for more general study, novels by one author from a list of ten and six works by contemporary authors ranging from Proust and Claudel to Mauriac and Dostoevsky (the one author in translation). The presence of francophone Canadian texts is minor. Only two poets (Saint-Denis-Garneau and *either* Alain Grandbois *or* Anne Hébert) are read; no theatre from Quebec is studied; F.-A. Savard and Gabrielle Roy are included in the choice of authors in the novel section, but no writer from Quebec appears in the contemporary literature section.

The 1967 curriculum does attempt to modernize the teaching of literature in Quebec by stressing the focus on the text before applying literary historical knowledge to the works studied, and by incorporating elements of a socio-political approach to literature in the later years. But much more fundamental changes in the teaching of literature emerge in the late 1960s in the principles set out in the *programme-cadre* and in the curriculum introduced in the newly created *collèges d’enseignement général et professionnel (cégep)*, a new, post-secondary level of education which replaced the *collège classique* with a route into higher education open to all.⁷⁷

The guiding principles of the reforms in the wake of the Parent Report were democratization – opening up access to education at all levels to all pupils throughout Quebec – and modernization, in parallel with the reforms in other social and economic sectors in post-Duplessis Quebec. Nadine Bednarz points out that educationalists in Quebec in the 1960s looked to the USA for their models and their methodology:

D’inspiration américaine, la nouvelle pédagogie propose un enseignement moins directif et moins livresque qu’on veut mieux adapté à la personnalité de l’enfant et aux divers rythmes d’apprentissage d’une population hétérogène. On souhaite que la discipline rigide cède le pas à la liberté, à la création et à la spontanéité.⁷⁸

This focus on creativity is evident in the 1969 *programme-cadre* for French language and literature which sets out new guidelines for secondary schools, but in the context of Quebec creativity is associated

with the nation. The document sets out the rationale for the teaching of language and literature, emphasizing their role in transforming the values of the society to which they belong:

La littérature et la langue sont le reflet de la civilisation d'une nation; elles correspondent à une vision particulière de la réalité et du monde. Le contact avec l'œuvre littéraire nourrit l'esprit et le cœur; tout en contribuant à la formation individuelle, la création personnelle enrichit le patrimoine de la communauté nationale.⁷⁹

It also stresses the influence of the mass media (television, radio, the music industry, cinema, the press) on modern cultural life and communication. Finally, it highlights the importance of inspiring pupils to be creative themselves and to engage actively and critically with the opportunities offered by the new mass media. The newly created *commissions scolaires* then had the role of adapting these very general frameworks to the needs of their milieu, teachers being charged with planning in detail the delivery of the curriculum.⁸⁰

The courses offered in the *cégeps* from 1967 established a new model for the teaching of literary history.⁸¹ In each session of study there was a course devoted to a genre (poetry in the first session, theatre in the second and the novel in the third) which covered both historical development and an introduction to the formal aspects of the genre, including authors from France and from Canada. In the first session, this core course could be pursued in parallel to courses on 'La poésie française contemporaine' and 'La poésie canadienne'. This pattern of general, combined course with parallel courses on authors from France and Canada was repeated in each session, so creating a model of literary history which is both generic and culturally specific, the two literatures being equally weighted. A number of optional modules studied topics such as American literature ('Influence sur la littérature française et particulièrement sur la littérature canadienne') and 'Analyse du phénomène canadien-français dans la littérature', which studied the development of notions of race, nation, faith and language from Papineau to Aquin.⁸²

In the late 1970s a further wave of reform of the curriculum was set in motion in response to criticisms that secondary education was impersonal, that the curriculum was imprecise and assessment inadequate, and that there should be a greater level of parental involvement.⁸³ In 1979 the education minister Jacques-Yvan Morin published *L'École québécoise: énoncé de politique et plan d'action*, in which he restated the commitment to individualized teaching and the democratization of education, but

announced a new set of curriculum documents to be organized in terms of objectives both of a general nature and specific to each year or cycle.⁸⁴ These revised curricula appeared and were implemented from the late 1980s onwards. But while the reforms instigated by the Parent Commission had improved access to education, attainment continued to be disappointing (only 69% successfully completing secondary study before the age of 20).⁸⁵ Therefore a further wave of reform began in 1995, both as a response to social change and crucially to the low level of attainment of pupils in Quebec. In 1998 minister Pauline Marois published the policy framework of the reforms, *L'École, tout un programme*.⁸⁶ A core curriculum was defined that would run from primary to the end of secondary education:

Language (language of instruction and second language)
 Maths, science and technology
 Humanities (history, citizenship, geography)
 Personal development (physical and health education, ethics and religion)
 Arts

Within this new framework the place of literature was enhanced and a greater emphasis was placed on cultural content throughout the curriculum.

L'Épreuve uniforme de français

An additional development which reinforced the importance of literature as an integral part of French-language study was the introduction in 1996 of the *Épreuve uniforme de français*. Since 1998 all students, whether in the pre-university or the technical sector, have been required to pass this examination in order to obtain the *Diplôme d'études collégiales* and to be accepted for university study. The EUF sets extracts from works that are not announced in advance, not studied as set texts, and that might be drawn from any of the four genres studied, that is, poetry or song, theatre, prose fiction or essay. The exercise falls between the *explication de texte* and the critical essay, requiring a combination of close reading and textual analysis with essay-writing skills. Usually at least two of the five passages are from Quebec texts; at least one text must be pre-1900. In this way the paper corresponds to the spread of texts, periods and genres studied. Each question repeats the following instruction: 'Vous soutiendrez votre point de vue à l'aide d'arguments

cohérents et convaincants et à l'aide de preuves relatives au contenu et à la forme des textes proposés, preuves puisées dans ces textes et dans vos connaissances littéraires qui conviennent au sujet de rédaction.' Just what is meant by 'vos connaissances littéraires' is further clarified in the note at the foot of the page:

On entend par 'connaissances littéraires' les procédés langagiers (figures de style, versification, types de phrases, etc.) et les notions littéraires (point de vue narratif, genres, etc.) utilisés à l'appui de votre argumentation. On entend également par 'puiser dans vos connaissances littéraires' le fait de vous référer à d'autres œuvres que les textes proposés, de relier ces derniers à des courants ou tendances littéraires, ou le fait d'avoir recours à des connaissances culturelles et sociohistoriques qui conviennent au sujet de rédaction.

The French test differs from its English equivalent in a number of ways, notably the assessment of candidates' wider literary knowledge (not stipulated in the English criteria). Equivalent assessments in other provinces and countries vary in their content and criteria.⁸⁷ The centrality of literature in the final assessment in Quebec can be seen first as evidence of an enduring belief in the close relationship between clarity of language and clarity of thought (as evident from the *cours classique* but also from the curriculum documents throughout the twentieth century). Secondly, the equal presence of texts by authors from France and Canada (very occasionally in conjunction with texts in translation) affirms the way in which literary history has become, within the education system in Quebec, a parallel history, but one which now invites comparisons, dialogues and patterns of influence. Thirdly, the universality of the test reflects a commitment to a shared literary culture as part of the education of the citizen.⁸⁸ Whereas under the *collège classique* system, literature was integral to the training of an educated elite, in the early twenty-first century the study of literature is part of a different cultural agenda, in which it serves different ideological ends.

In this respect it is worth drawing one final comparison. In France students following the *baccalauréat Série L (Littéraire)* concentrate in their final year of study on broadening their cultural knowledge. Texts are set for study in each of four categories:

- Grands modèles littéraires
- Langage verbal et images (typically a text and its film adaptation)
- Littérature et débat d'idées
- Littérature contemporaine (including work in translation)⁸⁹

However, while recent set texts have included works by Homer, Shakespeare, Beckett, Jaccottet and di Lampedusa, the cultural framework remains strikingly Eurocentric. This is not to say that a non-metropolitan text might not figure in the contemporary literature category at some stage, but the guidelines make no explicit mention of either *la francophonie* or *la littérature-monde en français*. Rather, French literature is reaffirmed as belonging to the rich tradition of western European culture, in which France is at the centre of the web of literary influences. But the French language is also integral to the idea of the French Republic and the curriculum aims stress the connection between literature, language and citizenship:

Dans un monde où les discours sont de plus en plus techniques, complexes et médiatisés, il est essentiel de donner aux élèves les moyens d'une analyse critique, d'une maîtrise raisonnée et d'une mise en œuvre lucide des discours, de la langue et des langages. L'enseignement de la littérature contribue ainsi à la formation personnelle et citoyenne.⁹⁰

Whereas in France, it might seem, a relatively simple line is being drawn between literature, language and nation, the patterns of identity formation that emerge in the various curricula in Quebec and in other francophone areas of Canada are more varied. This will be the focus of the final section of this chapter.

The curriculum in Quebec and francophone Canada today

The various shifts in emphasis in curriculum development since the Parent Commission's report are reflected in the way in which literature is taught at school and college level today in Quebec. The 2008 secondary curriculum establishes a strong link between the teaching of literature and the construction both of individual identity and of broader cultural awareness:

Provenant de diverses époques et appartenant à des genres et à des styles différents, ces œuvres doivent les amener à se constituer des repères culturels et des connaissances d'ordre littéraire (édition, auteur, genre, procédés d'écriture, etc.) ainsi qu'à enrichir leur culture générale (repères culturels d'ordre géographique, historique, religieux, etc.).⁹¹

The emphasis is on the development of pupils as autonomous learners/readers with the ability to respond critically to texts and relate to their own experience of the world. The guidelines for the pupils' *Répertoire*

personnalisé (in which pupils record details of their reading and cultural activities for the year) recommend the following range of texts:

- œuvres majoritairement contemporaines
- quelques œuvres issues du passé
- cinq œuvres du Québec
- cinq œuvres provenant de la francophonie (France, Belgique, Antilles, Afrique, etc.) et du patrimoine mondial (œuvres traduites)

This equal weighting of texts from Quebec with texts from anywhere else in the world (any francophone country as well as texts in French translation) encourages pupils to become readers of literature from Quebec and in so doing to build a shared cultural identity.⁹² The secondary curriculum states: 'Le travail et la réflexion des élèves sur la langue et la culture doivent les amener à voir que la maîtrise du français constitue un facteur de cohésion, de réussite et de valorisation pour la société québécoise d'aujourd'hui et de demain'; 'les savoirs qu'ils ont acquis en français au fil des ans leur sont nécessaires pour devenir citoyens à part entière dans la société québécoise'.⁹³ Similarly, the French language and literature *cégep* course aims to enable the student 'de mieux s'exprimer oralement et par écrit, et de mieux se situer par rapport à son milieu culturel, afin de favoriser sa participation en tant que citoyen responsable dans la société'.⁹⁴ While the course is designed to give students 'une plus grande ouverture à la culture et au monde', the literature of Quebec is prioritized:

Les œuvres et les textes littéraires étudiés ont marqué l'histoire de la littérature d'expression française. Les choix assurent une place équilibrée à la littérature québécoise. Au moins deux genres doivent être étudiés dans chacun des trois ensembles de la formation générale commune. Les œuvres additionnelles et certains textes littéraires peuvent être des traductions.⁹⁵

Although there is no specific requirement about the representation either of France or of other areas of the French-speaking world, the composition of the *Épreuve uniforme de français* suggests that at college the majority of other texts chosen will be from France.⁹⁶

The priority given to 'la littérature québécoise' in the Quebec curriculum statement on the *Cours de formation générale* and the sense of a parallel literary history (French literature and Quebec literature) which was observed in the discussion of the courses followed at the *cégeps* in the late 1960s reflect a level of positive cultural identity and self-confidence which the francophone populations in other Canadian

provinces do not share. A brief comparison with curriculum documents from three other provinces shows that while certain tendencies and principles reappear, each has its own cultural and literary agenda which in turn reveals the different ways in which provinces and communities position themselves in relation to France, to Quebec and to the francophone population worldwide.

The 2009 New Brunswick *Programme d'études français 12e année* specifies six broad aims across all disciplines, to be integrated into all subject areas: communication; the competent use of ICT; critical thinking; personal and social development; culture and heritage; study skills. The aim relating to culture and heritage is developed as follows: 'Savoir apprécier la richesse de son patrimoine culturel, affirmer avec fierté son appartenance à la communauté francophone et contribuer à son essor.'⁹⁷ This balance between an appreciation of the past (the Acadian past long having been the source of Acadian cultural identity) and a commitment to the future is central to the curriculum. Teachers are reminded that

L'enseignant de français doit [...] s'assurer que les élèves ont une bonne compréhension des combats menés par les francophones et les Acadiens afin de maintenir la langue française et d'établir des écoles francophones. Il se doit également de faire connaître aux élèves les pionniers qui ont marqué notre parcours culturel. Cependant, il ne faudrait pas oublier que les adolescents sont premièrement et avant tout interpellés par le présent et la modernité. Il est donc primordial de leur faire connaître une francophonie moderne, dynamique et tournée vers l'avenir. (24)

Significantly, here the future is associated not with 'L'Acadie', nor indeed with New Brunswick, but with 'la francophonie'. This does not seem to be incidental, as the following guidance on the choice of texts for study demonstrates: 'au moment de choisir des œuvres à étudier [...] il veillera à choisir des auteurs de sa région ainsi que des auteurs des autres pays francophones' (24). The stress on reading literature from the wider francophone world is repeated at a number of points: the course on the novel, for example, should enable pupils to compare 'sur plusieurs plans (thème, structure, langue) des textes d'époques différentes ou provenant de différents coins de la francophonie' (41). The desired learning outcome of the course on poetry seems to expect a similarly broad geographical range: 'L'élève manifeste une excellente compréhension d'une grande variété de poèmes et de chansons de la francophonie. [...] Il a une bonne connaissance des mouvements littéraires et des poètes les plus marquants de la littérature française'

(44). A sense of belonging to the wider French-speaking world is consistent with the advice to the teacher on the need to teach a standard form of French: 'Sans adopter une attitude trop puriste face à la langue orale et sans jamais dénigrer la langue de la région, l'enseignant pourra faire valoir à l'élève l'importance de connaître le français standard qui lui permettra de communiquer avec le reste de la francophonie' (19). The curriculum promotes a sense of being francophone in New Brunswick which opens up links with a wider francophone world in which neither Quebec, nor France, is the uncontested centre. At the same time, pupils should be encouraged to play an active part in their local francophone community, as the following reference to project work illustrates: 'Il ne faut pas oublier non plus que les projets, surtout ceux qui permettent à l'élève de s'impliquer dans la communauté, l'incitent à dépasser le stade de la prise de conscience en tant que francophone pour l'amener à s'engager véritablement dans la communauté et même d'en faire la promotion afin d'en assurer la vitalité' (19).

A brief comparison with the *Atlantic Canada English Language Arts High School Curriculum* for New Brunswick shows some similarity in terms of the understanding of culture and literature as dynamic, developing areas of modern-day life:

In this curriculum, literature is offered as a live tradition that students can enter into and renew, rather than as a fixed body of information about specific texts, authors, and terminology. Literature is experience, not information, and students must be invited to participate in it, not simply observe it from the outside.⁹⁸

But in comparison with the French-language curriculum, there is little sense of community involvement or collective identity. Literature is connected with individual identity and with values: 'Identifying and assessing the ideas and values inherent in contemporary, adolescent, regional, national, and world literature helps students explore, clarify, and defend their own ideas and values.'⁹⁹ The reference to 'regional' literature is the only mention of any distinctive local anglophone culture, but it is not specifically identified with the Atlantic Provinces or New Brunswick.

The 2007 French-language education curriculum in Ontario for Years 11 and 12 includes literature as part of the compulsory course. The curriculum specifies the inclusion of Franco-Ontarian texts in the range of literature to be studied:

L'interprétation et la production de divers textes oraux ainsi que l'étude

d'œuvres contemporaines du Canada français et de quelques extraits significatifs d'œuvres de la littérature française des XXe et XXIe siècles et de quelques extraits significatifs d'œuvres de la francophonie ontarienne, canadienne ou mondiale écrites après 1960 enrichissent le bagage culturel de l'élève et l'amènent à réfléchir aux questions fondamentales de la francophonie et à son engagement envers la langue et la culture d'expression française.¹⁰⁰

The use of the term 'engagement' emphasizes the link between the study of francophone literature and the aim of developing the pupil's personal commitment to a shared culture. The proportion of Ontarian content is clarified in a note: 'l'élève doit interpréter, en 11e et 12e année, un minimum de trois œuvres d'auteurs d'Ontario français, dont un roman et, au choix, une pièce de théâtre, une bande dessinée ou un recueil (contes, légendes, poèmes, chansons)'.¹⁰¹ An optional course is offered in Year 12 entitled 'Littérature du Canada français, 12e année' (FLC4M), which covers the distinctive strands of francophone Canadian literature in Quebec, Acadie, Ontario and the West. While there is less stress than in the New Brunswick documents on cultural involvement with the local francophone community, both these literature courses express the aim of enabling pupils to acquire their own 'repères culturels', positioning themselves as Franco-Ontarians whether in relation to the rest of francophone Canada or the French-speaking world.¹⁰²

In the curriculum statements for English-language education in Ontario, there is no specific reference to the geographical origins of authors to be studied although the compulsory English course at Grade 11 (ENG3U) specifies that students should read

a variety of student- and teacher-selected texts from diverse cultures and historical periods, identifying specific purposes for reading (*e.g., compare their own perspective on a topic with the perspective of the main character in a narrative from an earlier historical period; compare treatments of similar themes in stories from different cultures, including First Nation, Inuit, or Métis cultures*).¹⁰³

This suggests that, whereas for the francophone pupil in Ontario as a member of a cultural and linguistic minority, the study of literature is explicitly associated with the construction of individual but also of a geographically specific collective cultural identity, this is not so much the case for anglophone pupils in Ontario (or in New Brunswick), or rather it is not written into the curriculum in the same way. Difference, to be observed in texts, is formulated rather in terms of a (white, anglophone?)

cultural norm constructed against a series of 'other' Canadians (First Nation, Inuit, Métis).

As further evidence of this relationship between minority status and literary study and identity, or community, the curriculum for French-language education in Alberta is instructive given that in 2010–11 those attending French-language schools represented less than 1 per cent of registered pupils.¹⁰⁴ Nor does the francophone minority share a centuries-long cultural heritage, as in New Brunswick or Quebec. Indeed, the Alberta *Programme d'études du secondaire deuxième cycle (10–12) Français langue première* opens with the statement: 'En Alberta, l'école francophone accueille une clientèle issue d'une diversité linguistique et culturelle. Cette diversité linguistique et culturelle représente un grand défi pour l'école francophone puisque celle-ci cherche à amener chaque élève à maîtriser la langue française, d'une part, et à construire son identité francophone, d'autre part.'¹⁰⁵ Consequently the focus is on the active construction of individual identity, the consolidation of language skills and on familiarizing pupils with a broader sense of francophone literary culture in Canada (Grade 11) and the wider francophone world (Grade 12).¹⁰⁶ The curriculum encourages pupils to compare what they see and learn about other francophone cultures and communities with their own very specific experience of living as a francophone in a minority situation. Again a comparison with statements in the English-language curriculum is revealing. Here, the study of literature is associated with the affirmation of shared Canadian values (assumed anglophone and not regionally specific): 'By studying Canadian literature, students are able to reflect on ideas and experiences of citizenship from Canadian perspectives. The study of Canadian literature helps students to develop respect for cultural diversity and common values.'¹⁰⁷ In the small sample of statements from English-language curricula discussed, 'Canadian literature' is used as a relatively unproblematic term, and as in this case is straightforwardly linked to what the Alberta curriculum terms 'common values' or 'experiences of citizenship from Canadian perspectives'.¹⁰⁸

Conclusion

The influence of the *collège classique* on the teaching of literature permeated the whole school system within Quebec until the 1960s. Pupils were taught to see literature as examples of a set of norms, in which form and order were highly valued and deviations were seen as

imperfections. By encouraging pupils to study models of perfection (Cicero, Boileau), the curriculum imposed an uncritical acceptance of hierarchy, order and form, in accordance with the culture and tastes of western Europe. Rhetoric was studied by recitation, imitation and emulation. Any analysis served the function of teaching the appreciation of the model and spotting deviation from the norm. Thus the principle of the curriculum was to initiate pupils into a higher, unquestioned and enduring system in preparation for a similar initiation into secular or religious roles within the hierarchies of the Church and professions in Quebec. Literature was not only the tool whereby pupils learned to admire perfect form and order; order of form was equated with moral and religious order and biographical material on individual authors was bent to the same ends. Such an approach to literature reinforced an ideology which prized conformity and the acceptance of authority. In this way a male, white elite reproduced itself, conformist both in intellectual and social respects.¹⁰⁹

The Parent Commission in the 1960s marks a watershed in the history of education in Quebec, above all because of the recommendations concerning changes to the structure and secularization of schools. But it also initiates a period of revision to the delivery of teaching in the classroom and to the form and content of textbooks used and the set texts chosen for study. If the period up to the 1960s was dominated by a particular understanding of nationalism, then that form of nationalism itself came under attack in the years of the *Révolution tranquille*, and the pedagogy of the past was held up as an object of shame. The paradoxical result of this rejection of the past is that it was to France that educators looked for models of modernity, before engaging on a series of reforms dictated by a new form of nationalism. It will be argued in the following chapter that textbooks in the first six decades of the century represented a contradictory development, a flawed myth of nation, at once pursuing cultural and literary independence yet at the same time failing to engage with the contradictions of Quebec's very particular colonial history, a history in which they played variously the role of colonizers and colonized, whether in respect of France and French culture or in terms of their position as colonizers of the indigenous population. The challenge of the last fifty years has been to deliver a literature curriculum that keeps pace with the rapid expansion of francophone Canadian literature while at the same time responding to changing priorities in the political, demographic and pedagogical fields.

On the basis of the sample of French-language curricula in use in

Canada today, it seems that the teaching of literature in French is always related in some way to the construction of identity, but that the focus and the horizon of that cultural identity differs according to the size, history and location of the francophone population. The curricula discussed define their literary culture both in distinction from and in relation to other literatures in French in ways that reflect their relative positions with networks of political, literary and cultural power relations. The secondary curriculum in Quebec encourages pupils to discover a wide range of francophone literature while ensuring that Quebec texts are well represented. At *cégep* level the *Épreuve uniforme de français* constructs the literatures of Quebec and France as two distinct but equal traditions centred on France and Quebec respectively, so affirming a national function for each literature rather than a relationship of dependence on the former colonial power.¹¹⁰ In the case of sizeable francophone minorities outside of Quebec the curriculum is more likely to encourage a cultural identification with the wider French-speaking world rather than with France or with Quebec and/or *la littérature québécoise*. In New Brunswick, the history of Acadie is distinctive, and establishes the basis of a separate form of identification with other long-established francophone communities worldwide, in the process, perhaps intentionally, evading the shadow of Quebec. Ontario's curriculum also reflects a sense of cultural difference from Quebec, in this case perhaps indicating a growing level of resistance to Quebec's dominant position, as Franco-Ontarian literature and culture have developed over the last few decades to assert a regional voice worthy of study.¹¹¹ In Alberta, the curriculum reflects the demographic reality of a very small minority which is thinly spread and at great risk of acculturation. Pupils (from a diverse range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds) are encouraged to develop an awareness of their individual francophone identity through a process of comparison and contrast of their experience with those represented in texts from France and from francophone Canada, both of which feel distant from Alberta and to which the Franco-Albertan can only relate from a position of isolation and difference. What has emerged from this comparison is a reminder of the very different situations in which francophone literature is studied in Canada, and indeed that there is no single history of that literature. The strong emphasis placed on the relationship between identity, culture and the community, present and future, also means that literary history needs to be thought of not simply as an inheritance, part of a shared *patrimoine*, but rather as part of an ongoing trajectory or project. While

this might sound like a return of the notion of ‘survival’, it is perhaps more accurate to think in terms of shaping the literary future. In the different provinces discussed here the future is being shaped in different ways.

Although curriculum documents give a clear indication of official recommendations concerning the place of literature in the syllabus, the delivery of that syllabus depends primarily on what happens in the classroom, and on the interaction between teacher, pupils and textbooks. Bernard Lefebvre points out the pivotal role of the textbook and supporting material for the teacher: ‘Il n’est pas surprenant que les enseignants développent de l’anxiété face aux changements fréquents des programmes. Pourtant, lors d’enquêtes, on a constaté que ces mêmes enseignants connaissaient peu ou prou les programmes et se fiaient d’avantage aux manuels, aux revues pédagogiques et aux cahiers d’exercices.’¹¹² The following chapter will move in to take a closer look at a particular type of textbook which introduced pupils to ‘their’ literature, the literary anthology. Not only will it explore the kind of nation which emerges from the corpus of texts selected in a sample of anthologies spanning the last hundred years; the corpus will then be read from a different perspective, to see how the internally colonized population, the aboriginal population, is represented to young readers in Quebec.

CHAPTER THREE

The literary anthology as a tool of literary history

Textbooks in Quebec

Research on the history of textbooks in Canada has been transformed in recent years by the availability of digital resources. In the case of Quebec this includes the ongoing programme of digitization at the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec in Montreal, which comprises 211 titles, and, for the pre-1900 period, a selection of textbooks available in the series of around 3,000 texts digitized by the Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques, including 74 Quebec textbooks.¹ Perhaps the most useful resource, however, particularly for the researcher based outside Quebec, is the bibliography prepared by Paul Aubin and colleagues at the Centre interuniversitaire d'études québécoises of Laval University and the Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières.² This bibliography includes references to 27,000 texts either produced in Quebec or written by Quebec authors.³ As reprints and re-editions are listed, this gives an insight into which texts were most commonly recommended by school boards and which enjoyed the greatest longevity.

A full analysis of all subject areas in this bibliography would substantiate Gérard Filteau's point that the nationalization, or Canadianization, of the textbook in Quebec was a slow process. Writing in 1954, he comments on the reliance on textbooks from France until the mid-nineteenth century, labelling it 'l'ère du colonialisme pédagogique'. There followed what Filteau terms the gradual 'nationalisation' of primary education in Quebec. However, he states, 'la nationalisation complète des manuels fut cependant lente à se réaliser et ce n'est que depuis 1947 qu'elle s'est pleinement accomplie'.⁴ Table 3.1 shows what Aubin's catalogue reveals about the process of Canadianization of

literature textbooks. The process can be divided into a series of periods. Between 1833 and 1919 only 30 textbooks were published relating to literature, for use in the *collège classique* and in the convent schools run by female teaching orders for girls.⁵ Examples of these are *Manuel d'histoire littéraire: pour servir à la préparation de l'examen du baccalauréat et de l'inscription dans la faculté des arts de l'université Laval: publié par les Clercs de St-Viateur pour l'usage des élèves du collège de Joliette* (1882) and the *Précis de l'histoire de la littérature française: suivi d'un appendice sur la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine*, published by the Sœurs de Sainte-Anne in 1900, evidently based on the classical humanist approach followed in the boys' colleges. The curriculum directives of 1905, the publication of Camille Roy's *Tableau de l'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* in 1907 and the gradual extension of the public provision of teaching beyond the first four years of the elementary curriculum took a while to be reflected in the publication in Quebec of textbooks on literature. As the table indicates, the rate of publication of such textbooks between 1920 and 1959 fluctuated between 19 and 33 volumes per decade. Analysis of the entries shows that what seems like a rapid increase in the number of textbooks published is largely explained by the regular reprinting of trusted textbooks, in which the material was selected and presented in a way that suited the principles of the confessional education system, rather than the introduction of new works by new authors.⁶ Indeed, of the 94 textbooks listed between 1920 and 1959, 79 can be attributed to four familiar sources: 33 are the work of Camille Roy, 19 were produced by the Sœurs de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 17 by the Frères de l'instruction chrétienne and 10 by the Sœurs de Sainte-Anne. Camille Roy's *Morceaux choisis d'auteurs canadiens* was reprinted eleven times after its initial publication in 1934.

Table 3.1 Number of literature textbooks published per decade, 1830–2009

1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
1	1	0	1	4	5	4	2	12
1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
19	30	22	33	86	26	10	20	24

The division between literature textbooks and readers is fluid, there being many readers, such as *Lectures littéraires*, first published by the Frères de l'instruction chrétienne in 1921, which also served as literary anthologies.⁷ The catalogue entries categorized as readers offer a useful point of comparison with the textbooks on literature, being used more widely in the later years of the elementary school for those pupils who followed the *cours modèle* or the *cours académique* or indeed (after 1923) the *cours supplémentaire*. A search of the textbook catalogue produces 3,299 entries for readers, compared with 301 for literature textbooks. The entries can be broken down as shown in Table 3.2. While production in the 1960s and early 1970s shows a similarly dramatic rise to that of literature textbooks in comparison with previous decades, production since 1980 has increased even more sharply as reading programmes in the primary sector move away from the all-purpose anthology to a far greater range of graded series of short reading books from which teachers and pupils may choose.

Table 3.2 Number of French-language readers published between 1800 and 2009

1800–99	1900–19	1920–59	1960–79	1980–2009
176	127	332	586	2,078

It is through the readers and the various *Cours de français*, through examples cited in textbooks on grammar, and through passages selected for dictation, for *explication de texte*, for memorization and recitation that children in Quebec first encountered literature. Indeed Micheline Cambron has argued that it is the public, elementary school curriculum of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that created the first generations of readers of Canadian literature in French. Unlike in the *collège classique* where the study of French-Canadian authors was introduced largely as a result of the campaign led by Camille Roy and others in the early 1900s, the elementary school textbooks had included numerous extracts from the work of Canadian-born authors since the nineteenth century.⁸ Cambron argues that while writers and intellectuals in Quebec debated endlessly the conditions necessary for the emergence of such a literature, school children were leaving their public primary school with some familiarity with the work of dozens of francophone Canadian authors. To illustrate her case she analyses the content of

four textbooks used for intermediate and advanced level in the primary sector and published between 1897 and 1929.⁹ Cambron comments: ‘Leur exemplarité stylistique paraît donner aux textes québécois un statut littéraire équivalent aux textes français, lisible dans le fait que la cohabitation des deux littératures n’est *jamais* discutée, comme si elle allait de soi.’ This results in a curious paradox in the status of French-Canadian literature: while its presence in elementary school textbooks lays the foundation of ‘une mémoire culturelle individuelle et collective’,¹⁰ it remains marginal, overshadowed by French literature at the *collège classique*. This leads Cambron to raise broader questions of literature, class and identity:

Peut-être trouve-t-on, dans ce divorce des pratiques, les racines d’un certain mépris à l’égard de la littérature québécoise: la littérature québécoise étant ‘faite’ pour les petites classes et pour les enfants exclus des cursus scolaires valorisés, elle ne mériterait pas d’être lue par les gens ‘cultivés’ qui pourraient se contenter de savoir qu’elle existe.¹¹

The evidence of the curriculum documents suggested that there was some literary history taught in the later years of elementary school, but if taken more as a difference of degree, Cambron’s distinction is right: while the pupils of the *collège classique* (and the *couvent*) were taught literary history as a subject in its own right (predominantly French but with a quick summary of French-Canadian literature), pupils in the public elementary schools read texts, or rather selected passages from a range of authors, many of whom happened to be French-Canadian and whose subject matter or settings were often Canadian.

The sudden rise in the production of literature textbooks in the 1960s (see Table 3.1) reflects developments on a number of fronts which, taken together, indicate the conflicting pressures and influences on education and on cultural life more broadly. In the early 1960s the religious orders were still producing new editions of their standard textbooks. But in the wake of the Parent Report, textbook publishing underwent significant changes. One such development in the post-war textbook market which now accelerated was a new focus on reading complete texts rather than studying literary extracts, a development which in turn reflected a fundamental shift in attitudes to the teaching of reading and to the reader. In the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s a number of world classics were published in school editions. These included translations of literature for younger readers by authors such as Hans Christian Andersen, Mark Twain, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Johanna Spyri and Anna Sewall; editions

of European classics by Homer, Cervantes, Dickens, Hugo, Corneille and Shakespeare; and school editions of francophone Canadian literature from the nineteenth century to the 1960s, including works by Aquin, Blais, Leclerc, Charbonneau, Thériault, Carrier, Ringuet, De Gaspé, Hémon, Langevin, Guèvremont, Grandbois and Roy. This new mode of publishing introduced pupils to a range of authors whose work had rarely been included in anthologies. Novels and short stories dominated this last category, together with some books of poetry or songs. Another new feature in the 1960s was the publication in a school edition of works written by Quebec authors specifically for the teenage reader, such as Paule Daveluy's *Drôle d'automne*.¹² Finally, as a result of the severe criticisms of Quebec-authored textbooks expressed in many of the written submissions considered by the Parent Commission, one sees some evidence of a return to France or other francophone countries for textbooks, editions of which were then published in Quebec. A relevant example of this practice is the appearance between 1962 and 1967 of a Quebec edition of the six-volume series of textbooks on French literature edited by André Lagarde and Laurent Michard, the standard textbooks in France at the time.¹³

In the decades that followed the *Révolution tranquille* a range of new textbooks were written, tailored to specific secondary school courses or to the new *cégep* courses, which helped establish new material and ensure its consistent delivery under the new curriculum.¹⁴ The publication of selections of texts continued, though often in volumes devoted to specific genres, such as the short story or poetry.¹⁵ After a decade which saw the lowest number of new textbooks on literature in Quebec, the 1990s and the first decade of the new century have seen a marked increase in literary anthologies and textbooks on literary history, covering both French and Quebec literature. This upsurge coincides with the introduction of the *Épreuve uniforme de français* and also fits in with the new cultural approach introduced in the curriculum reforms launched by the Ministry of Education in 1997.¹⁶ A key text here is the anthology of Quebec literature by Laurin and Forest.¹⁷ A parallel, two-volume anthology of literature 'd'expression française' appeared in 1997–98, followed by a second edition in 2005–06.¹⁸ The year 2000 saw the publication of a comprehensive series of textbooks on literature, seven volumes of which were authored by Carole Pilote and the remainder jointly authored by Michel Trépanier and Claude Vaillancourt. This series, aimed at *cégep* students and therefore all those preparing for the *Épreuve uniforme de français*, offers a series of

eight volumes devoted to French literature by period (from the Middle Ages to the present), a further four on Quebec literature by genre (the four genres of poetry, theatre, novel and essay, as used for the *Épreuve uniforme*) and four on methodological approaches to literature and study skills.¹⁹ This parallel, but distinct, treatment of the literature of Quebec apart from ‘French’ literature reflects the pattern established in curriculum documents and in syllabuses throughout school, college and university by the end of the twentieth century in Quebec.

Monique Lebrun has conducted a survey of the corpus of literary texts included in secondary level textbooks (covering the five years of secondary education from Year 7 to Year 11) from 1960 to 2004.²⁰ Table 3.3 indicates the way in which the inclusion of Quebec-authored literature has fluctuated as a proportion of the total. Overall the proportion of Quebec-authored texts rises steadily towards the end of the century, with literary texts from Quebec accounting for at least half of the passages included in 70 per cent of readers. Lebrun notes that this rise reflects ‘la multiplication des œuvres [...] mais également le développement de la fibre nationaliste perceptible du haut en bas de la structure scolaire à partir des années 1970’.²¹ And interestingly, as she points out, the strengthening figures at the turn of the century suggest that ‘les rédacteurs des manuels [...] ne se laissent pas arrêter par la nouvelle donne mondiale et l’internationalisation des cultures’.²²

Table 3.3 *Québécois* texts as a proportion of the total number of texts included in secondary school French readers, 1960–2004

<i>Quebec-authored texts as a proportion of the total</i>	<i>Percentage of readers, period 1 (1960–69)</i>	<i>Percentage of readers, period 2 (1970–79)</i>	<i>Percentage of readers, period 3 (1980–93)</i>	<i>Percentage of readers, period 4 (1994–2004)</i>
none	0%	33.33%	0%	0%
one-quarter	72.73%	16.67%	0%	0%
one-third	27.27%	16.67%	23.08%	30%
one-half	0%	33.33%	61.54%	60%
three-quarters	0%	0%	7.69%	10%

Note: adapted from Monique Lebrun, ‘Les mutations du manuel de lecture du secondaire de 1960 à 2004’, in Monique Lebrun, ed., *Le Manuel scolaire: un outil à multiples facettes* (Quebec: Presses de l’université du Québec, 2006), p. 120, fig. 2.

Over the period studied the selection of literary extracts in textbooks has changed significantly, although the shift is far more dramatic in the case of Quebec than of metropolitan France. Thus, in the first period the most frequently anthologized French authors were Molière and La Fontaine, followed by Chateaubriand, Daudet and Hugo. By the 1980s, symbolist poets Verlaine and Rimbaud appeared frequently, as well as more modern authors such as Éluard. Only in the 1990s did the canon expand to include authors such as Baudelaire, Pennac, Tournier, Kessel and Le Clézio. As for Canadian-born authors, Émile Nelligan, Lionel Groulx, Gabrielle Roy and Claude-Henri Grignon were commonly selected for 1960s textbooks; new additions in the 1970s included Félix Leclerc, Roger Lemelin and Claire Martin; from the 1980s, the corpus widened with texts by songwriters such as Gilles Vigneault, Claude Dubois and Michel Rivard, and authors of children's and adolescent fiction, including Chrystine Brouillet, Denis Côté and Robert Soulières, two developments which continued into the 1990s and 2000s.²³ From the 1980s onwards textbooks have also opened up to literature in translation, 'avec des auteurs comme Agatha Christie, Dino Buzzati, Mary Higgins Clark, John Steinbeck et autres auteurs internationaux bien connus, souvent par le biais des best-sellers'.²⁴

While the trend is consistently towards a focus on twentieth-century literature, and an opening of the corpus towards elements of popular culture, the position of literary history within textbooks (described by Lebrun as 'une parente pauvre de l'enseignement de la littérature au secondaire') has had a much more varied trajectory.²⁵ At the beginning of the period studied, literary history featured in 50 per cent of textbooks, but it disappeared in the 1970s. This was followed by a gradual reintroduction, so that by the turn of the century literary history had reappeared in 50 per cent of literature textbooks, but now serving a rather different purpose, that of cultural values, rather than what Bourque refers to as 'l'encyclopédisme', 'une forme de "protectionnisme littéraire"', characterized by the learning and repetition of names, dates and titles.²⁶ Lebrun contrasts the ways in which the curriculum and the textbooks have constructed their desired reader at the beginning and end of the period studied. Among a number of changes in emphasis from 1960 to 2004 she notes that in 1960 'On insiste pour qu'il connaisse la vie de l'auteur. L'histoire littéraire est enseignée sommairement.' But in 2004, '[a]près une période d'oubli, l'histoire littéraire a été revitalisée grâce à l'importance accordée aux objectifs socioculturels'.²⁷

If literary history is to become a tool for readers to use rather than

a body of knowledge to be learned, then pupils need to learn from the primary school onwards to be critical and independent, with a broad base of cultural knowledge.²⁸ In her analysis of the primary textbooks published in the wake of the reform Noëlle Sorin finds that the range of literary works studied has become broader and more varied and that pupils are encouraged to express their personal response to literary texts. However, she argues that pupils will only be able to develop the full range of skills 'si l'on fournit aux élèves des critères d'appréciation et d'analyse rigoureux, sur le genre, la narration, le texte et son intertexte'.²⁹ This takes us back to the need for teaching the history of literature as a history of form. Moreover the development of independent critical skills, she argues, includes the need for pupils to be aware of cultures beyond their own: 'Dans tous les manuels consultés, les auteurs du corpus littéraire sont majoritairement québécois et contemporains, ce qui est tout à fait conforme aux prescriptions ministérielles, mais l'ouverture aux autres cultures, même francophones reste à questionner.'³⁰

The literary anthology in the classrooms of Quebec

Literary anthologies have been a crucial tool in the teaching of literature in Quebec throughout the twentieth century. They offer a condensed introduction to the national literature. But as Diana Brydon notes, 'Anthologies involve choices and they always reveal a bias.'³¹ The biases of anthologies and ways to counter this bias have been the subject of a number of interventions in postcolonial pedagogy.³² John Willinsky reports on a project in which he worked with a class of Grade 12 students in British Columbia to produce a transcultural supplement to the existing Canadian poetry anthology (published thirty-five years earlier), a supplement which allowed students to engage critically and creatively with the process of anthologizing and in particular to reflect the ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity of the class: 'Our new anthology would offer an alternative, a supplement, rather than a cultural revolution [...]. The road to change [...] begins with a single step in a still-familiar landscape.'³³ Graham Huggan includes in his volume *Australian Literature* a study of the spate of multicultural 'revisionist' anthologies published in the 1970s–1990s 'aimed at undermining mainstream literary hegemonies and the universalist criticism they looked to for support'.³⁴ These various attempts to subvert or supplement the anthology indicate the extent to which anthologies, particularly within the educational

sphere, have tended towards orthodoxy and canonization. As a genre, the anthology has other effects of which editors may be more, or less, aware. These include a decontextualization both of form and of content, the levelling out of differences between texts, and the implicit or explicit agenda of the editors.³⁵

As Pierre Savard points out with reference to the 1930s, there was no single recommended textbook in any discipline in Quebec, which, he suggests, was at least in part to prevent the state interfering with the delivery of the curriculum and imposing a particular ideology (in practice allowing the religious communities to retain ideological control of the textbooks they produced). He notes that prior to the 1960s the religious orders effectively shared out the curriculum areas and the different school sectors: 'Si le manuel de Mgr Camille Roy domine en littérature canadienne-française dans les classes du classique pendant des décennies, celui des Sœurs de Sainte-Anne qui connaît des rééditions, occupe le marché des classes des couvents.'³⁶ Monique Lebrun's survey of 70 textbooks used for the teaching of French in the first half of the twentieth century recognizes the impact of the religious orders on the content of textbooks. She finds that 'Les manuels de français issus des communautés religieuses sont légion, pour la première moitié du XXe siècle, et offrent une image de l'enseignement de la littérature remarquablement homogène.'³⁷ Her study of particular themes, authors and even passages reveals many similarities which she attributes to the dominant moralizing and nationalistic ideology.³⁸ Yet if one looks specifically at literary anthologies, their particular selection and organization of authors and passages and their pedagogical material (questions, notes on biography, genre and content), and one also takes into account the target readership of each anthology, then differences become more apparent and more significant.

The seven anthologies selected for detailed analysis have been chosen to cover the whole historical span of the twentieth century (1901–2007) and to include examples of textbooks produced for the syllabus of the *collèges classiques* for boys and girls, as well as for the public sector (the later years of the elementary school, the post-war secondary school and the *cégeps*). The anthologies follow a relatively consistent format, typically offering a selection of about a hundred extracts of between one and three pages, used for a variety of exercises: recitation (a key exercise in the earlier years of the century but still recommended in the post-Parent years), *explication de texte* (which remained a fundamental pedagogical tool throughout the century) and critical essay (the exercise

adopted for the *Épreuve uniforme de français*). Not only do these anthologies give an idea of the selection of passages used to represent the literary history of France and francophone Canada, but they also illustrate a number of other functions of the literature textbook: instilling certain images, values and discourses in the minds of the pupils, accustoming them to certain patterns of representation, and indeed to various absences. Considering the role played by geography textbooks in the construction of ideas of nationhood in Quebec, Marc Brosseau remarks: 'Leur rôle dans la construction d'un espace d'appartenance et d'un imaginaire territorial a sûrement contribué à préparer le terrain pour l'émergence d'un nationalisme québécois à la suite de la Révolution tranquille.'³⁹ As will be argued, literary anthologies are equally involved in the construction of a national territory, both in an active way in the framing and selection of a corpus of literature representative of the nation, but also at a deeper level by reflecting shifts in the national mythology, its inclusions and exclusions, its relationship to the past and to the future. If the anthology is viewed as a microcosm of some sort, then its concentrations and its omissions are significant. In the case of this sample of anthologies, the provision of notes and questions on the passages varies; some are accompanied by teachers' guides or separate volumes with model answers.⁴⁰ So while we still cannot know exactly what exchanges developed between any particular class of pupils, their teacher and their textbook, these materials take us closer to an understanding of the ways in which pupils were introduced to literature and literary history. The analysis of the corpus will focus on two aspects: 1) the way in which the choice of Canadian-authored literary extracts might be seen as constructing not only a national literary canon, but also a particular kind of narrative of collective identity, specific in some ways to its institutional origins and its target readership, and opening up subtle shifts or tensions in the ideological climate; and 2) the extent to which the indigenous population figures within the anthologies and the patterns of inclusion, exclusion and appropriation that this throws up.

The earliest anthology in my corpus is *Lecture à voix haute. Cours supérieur*, published by the Congrégation de Notre-Dame for use in their convent schools.⁴¹ The Congrégation de Notre-Dame, founded in Montreal by Marguerite Bourgeoys in 1658, was at the forefront of the provision of education for girls (opening a teacher-training college in 1899 and a bilingual *École d'Enseignement Supérieur* in 1908) and has been the most prolific of the female teaching communities in terms of

the production of textbooks. Comparing the textbooks and teachers' guides that the Congrégation produced in the first half of the twentieth century reveals an essential continuity of authors and of approach.⁴² Although Monique Lebrun argues that for the period 1900–50 'on note peu de différences entre corpus et méthodes destinés aux filles et aux garçons',⁴³ closer study of the content and organization of literary anthologies produced by male and female orders suggests that this deserves further examination. In the corpus discussed below, there are indeed striking differences in the way that the anthologies produced specifically for a female or a male readership construct a narrative of identity in their selection of literary passages. In the case of *Lecture à voix haute*, the volume includes 98 literary passages, plus a separate section of 15 passages devoted to home economics and hygiene, on topics such as 'Devoirs de la bonne ménagère', 'Les petits nettoyages de chaque jour', 'Le repassage du linge' and 'Travail intellectuel et manuel', evidence of the clearest possible kind of the scope for gender bias. This section closes paradoxically with Victor Hugo's 'Conseils d'un poète à une jeune fille', a poem which plays on a rather different gender stereotype, encouraging young girls to remain pure, childlike and innocent for as long as possible before entering the pain and disillusionment of (domestic?) adult life. The tone of the literary passages is predominantly religious and moral, marked by the (male) authority of the Church. Passages include a French translation of Pope Leo XIII's 'Ode à la France' (260), and the literary section of the volume opens with Mgr Dupanloup, 'La jeune fille chrétienne' (37), and closes with Mgr Bruchési, 'A la patrie' (317).⁴⁴ The targeting of the anthology towards a young, female, Catholic readership is evident in the particular choice of passages from canonical French authors, such as Racine ('La prière d'Esther'), Corneille ('La voix de Dieu') and Hugo ('Mes deux filles'). Of the literary extracts, 23 are attributable to Canadian authors, of whom a striking number are clerics, such as Abbé Camille Roy and Mgr Bruchési, or contributors to *La Semaine religieuse de Québec* and the *Bulletin Eucharistique*. Each passage is followed by a number of questions covering a range of aspects of the passage, with occasional observations in footnotes, and with brief biographical information, sometimes with a portrait of the author or other illustrations.

In its Canadian texts this collection interweaves the Catholic faith with the nation. The idea of the nation is partly focused on the past, on the history of French colonization, the divine mission of French Canada,⁴⁵ and the trauma of defeat, expressed in texts such as

Octave Crémazie's 'Le vieux soldat canadien' (181–82).⁴⁶ The nation is associated not only with an idealized image of New France,⁴⁷ but also with the dream of expansion as exemplified in the work of Champlain and La Verendrye: 'Un siècle après Champlain, on ouvrit les yeux sur ce qu'il avait fait. Un siècle après La Verendrye, notre Canada élargissait politiquement ses frontières, selon les plans hardis du découvreur et fondateur du Nord-Ouest' (123). This sense of identification with Canadian space is associated, however, not only with the past. Four passages by A.-B. Routhier describe his travels by rail through the Rockies.⁴⁸ Most of the photographs that illustrate them feature not just the mountain scenery but the railway itself, a symbol of modernity (though one that is a product of the colonial enterprise) which reinforces a sense of connection between East and West, and therefore of a united Canada.⁴⁹

What is still more striking about the image of the nation that emerges in this volume is the positive representation of the British Empire, the profile of which had reached new heights with the Empire-wide celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897. 'L'Angleterre (1837–1897)' (99–104) is an article from *La Semaine religieuse de Québec* which gives a factual account of Victoria's reign, with dates and figures, but one which is highly laudatory, suggesting rather flippantly 'On n'est pas loin de croire que les peuples n'en seraient que mieux gouvernés, s'ils échangeaient leurs rois pour des reines' (99). Victoria's reign is compared favourably with that of Louis XIV, suggesting that British rule has ensured the freedoms of French-Canadians and protected them from revolution. The article supports the British Empire, quoting Lord Salisbury: 'nous créerons un empire tel qu'il n'a pas encore été donné au monde d'en voir' (100), and expresses a surprisingly ecumenical view of Britain's own Protestant mission: 'l'empire britannique [...] prépare les voies au règne du Christ sur les nations païennes et infidèles en particulier' (103). The questions that follow this piece either test the pupil's general knowledge (of Europe in this case) ('Où est située l'Angleterre?', 'Nommez les Bourbons qui occupaient les trônes d'Europe au XVIIe siècle') or ask for definitions of terms ('Définissez *apogée*, – *contrôle*, – *visa*. Définissez *protestant*, – *athée*, – *hérétique*. Que veut dire *l'expansion coloniale*? *Éclipsé* est-il employé au propre ou au figuré?', 104). The anthology also includes a humble declaration of loyalty signed by the bishops of the province of Quebec, 'Adresse jubilaire à la reine Victoria', and a text by Camille Roy, 'Notre foi religieuse et notre loyauté civile' (130), in which Victoria again appears in a very positive light.

Alongside Queen Victoria, a number of other female role models feature in the anthology, notably Joan of Arc (who is the subject of four texts and described in one of them as ‘l’héroïne chrétienne par excellence’),⁵⁰ Marguerite Bourgeoys and Marie de l’Incarnation.⁵¹ Although a number of other biographical pieces appear in the book (including passages concerning Saint Vincent de Paul, Lacordaire, Veuillot, Octave Crémazie, Mme Swetchine,⁵² Cardinal Manning and Madame de Maintenon), the particular prominence given to Victoria, Joan of Arc and two of the founders of education for girls in New France is highly significant. The fact that they represent France, New France and the British Empire in turn reflects the complex questions of allegiance, identification and nationhood which French-Canadians confronted in the early twentieth century. Seen together, these women offer the female readers a set of role models of women who are revered not simply for their piety, their personality or their progeny, but for their achievements in public life. As such they offer an intriguing counterpoint to the closing section of passages on home economics which impose a more traditional set of gender-roles.

The second anthology, *Lectures littéraires et scientifiques*, was compiled by the Frères des écoles chrétiennes, who, together with the Frères de l’instruction chrétienne, dominated educational publishing prior to the *Révolution tranquille*.⁵³ The anthology comprises 161 passages, about half of which are on scientific subjects while half are literary extracts. The preface explains: ‘Les lectures scientifiques alternent avec les littéraires et comblent une lacune, puisque, dans notre province il n’y a pas encore, semble-t-il, de lectures de cette sorte rédigées pour être mises entre les mains des élèves. Elles ont trait aux connaissances usuelles que tout adolescent tant soit peu cultivé doit posséder’ (ii). The cover illustrations reflect the modernity of the project, the front cover presenting a composite scene of a horse and plough, a car and a hydro-electric installation above a waterfall, while the back cover bears the image of an aeroplane in flight. The scientific passages are illustrated with anatomical and botanical drawings and annotated diagrams of machines or manufacturing processes. Grouped thematically, they offer short pieces on botany, biology, physics, electricity and other energy sources, the fur trade, the timber industries, extracts on the effects of alcohol (illustrated with a drawing of a diseased kidney), on aviation, mineral wealth and on business and currency. As a literary anthology the textbook offers extracts from a representative range of French authors, from the classical period (Bossuet, La Fontaine, Molière, Corneille and

Racine) to the late nineteenth century (Maupassant, Bourget). Of 65 named authors (most of the scientific texts are unattributed), 21 are Canadian, roughly half of whom are clerics of various types, and as will be seen, the passages from these help to give the collection a thread which draws together the history and the mission of the francophone population of Canada. This anthology takes its pedagogic function very seriously, outlining in the preface the range of exercises to be found in the volume and including two models of *explication de texte* on passages by Chateaubriand and La Fontaine. Many of the literary passages are accompanied by a brief biography and portrait of the author, the biography often associating the author's literary work with their religious faith, as in the following, typical example concerning François Coppée: 'Une maladie le ramena à la foi, et il écrivit alors, en des pages exquises, la *Bonne Souffrance*' (397).

The Catholic faith, the Church and its institutions, and the history of New France all play a significant part in the selection. As was the case with *Lecture à haute voix*, this anthology opens and closes with texts that provide a framework which combines religion and the nation (of which the Saint Lawrence is an enduring symbol). The first four passages are:

1. La prière (Lamennais)
2. Le Saint-Laurent
3. *L'église* (Blanche Lamontagne)
4. Quand nous marchions au catéchisme (Abbé L. Groulx)

After three extracts on finance and business, the anthology closes with two passages which focus on the nation, 'À la jeunesse canadienne' (adapted from A. Lemont) and 'Salut au Canada' (A. Ferland). The underlying chronological pattern of the content is evident not only in the arrangement of the literary, historical and moral or religious passages, but also in the way in which scientific topics move from natural resources and wildlife in the earlier passages, to the exploitation of these resources and, later, to the industries and trade that develop from Canada's various sources of wealth. The following section of the list of contents illustrates the internal structuring of the material:

6. Jacques Cartier à Hochelaga
7. Les poissons. Pêcheries canadiennes
8. Les temps héroïques de la Nouvelle-France (Abbé J.-B. Ferland)
9. *La carpe et les carpillons* (Florian)
10. Les reptiles

11. Les colons (A. Buies)
12. Reptiles (suite): les serpents
13. Choix providentiel des premiers colons du Canada (Mgr Lafèche)

The contents combine a focus on the real, contemporary world, including passages on the construction of the Panama Canal, on the earthquake in Messina in 1908, the 1916 victory at Courcellette (in which French-Canadian troops played a key role) and the Allied campaign in 1918, with an orthodox diet of history and Catholicism.

Whereas *Lecture à haute voix* displayed a strong sense of allegiance to the British Empire and Canada's place within it, *Lectures littéraires et scientifiques* consigns Britain and England to the past. Three passages deal directly with English and British history. The first of these, by the Catholic writer Montalembert, 'Conversion de l'Angleterre', concerns the conversion of King Ethelbert by Saint Augustine in 597 (187-90); the second is an account of the Battle of Hastings, which presents the Normans in the better light, as illustrated in the introductory note: 'La nuit précédente, les Normands prièrent, se confessèrent et presque tous communièrent le matin; pendant ce temps l'armée saxonne se livrait à des orgies' (337). The third passage describes the execution of Charles I, seen from the perspective of Charles and his entourage and recounted in a broadly sympathetic light. The introductory note describes Charles as 'trahi' (373) and the analysis that follows the extract comments on the public response to 'l'iniquité de la sentence' (376).

Lectures littéraires et scientifiques is an anthology designed for young male readers in a modernizing and industrializing world.⁵⁴ But at the same time as presenting a roughly chronological narrative of the francophone presence in North America and the continuing development of Canada's resources, the narrative arc suggesting the benefits of progress, the anthology serves as a textbook for teaching literature in the traditional way. The selection of literary passages is rather less innovative than the volume as a whole. Some effort has clearly been made to select passages from French authors which fit with the focus on aspects of the modern world, such as 'Visite à une usine' (*d'après* Guy de Maupassant) or 'Une visite aux abattoirs de Chicago' (P. Bourget). However, Canadian authors are more often used to illustrate aspects of the history of French Canada, its traditional values (Blanche Lamontagne, 'L'église', p. 5; Abbé L. Groulx, 'Quand nous marchions au catéchisme', p. 7; W. Chapman, 'Le défricheur', p. 54), its popular culture ('La Tête à Pitre', *d'après* L. Fréchette, p. 262) or a general sense of patriotism (A. Rivard, 'La patrie', p. 74; Albert

Ferland, 'Salut au Canada', p. 453). The result is that, in terms of the literary passages, Canadian content is nostalgic, patriotic or historical in focus, while the non-literary passages promote a modernizing country, inspired by the principles of profit and progress, albeit underpinned by the Catholic faith. The future to which the readers are directed by the non-literary passages in the anthology is one in which industry and commerce must play an increasing part, as the penultimate extract 'A la jeunesse canadienne' argues: 'Ce n'est pas en se cantonnant dans quelques professions d'élite que notre jeunesse obtiendra le maximum d'influence dont notre race a besoin, mais c'est en se répandant dans toutes les carrières' (450).⁵⁵ Yet the closing passage, Ferland's 'Salut au Canada', draws on an outmoded rhetoric of a (French?) Canada as 'Nouvelle Gaule assise au nord du Nouveau Monde' (453). A further aspect of this contradiction between the literary and the non-literary perspectives arises from the model supplied for the *explication de texte*. The text chosen is 'Une nuit dans les déserts du Nouveau Monde', from Chateaubriand's *Génie du christianisme*, describing a night spent near Niagara Falls, an extract which adopts the exoticizing tone of the European traveller discovering the vast wilderness of North America. The effect of this is to reinforce a Eurocentric analysis of a Eurocentric view of North America, with no indication for the North American reader of the culturally alienating effect of this process.

Monseigneur Camille Roy's *Morceaux choisis d'auteurs canadiens* (1934) was used in the *collèges classiques* and reprinted eleven times between 1938 and 1959.⁵⁶ Roy's anthology is structured in the same way as his literary histories, that is, by historical period and genre, although with a periodization which differs both from the 1918 *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* and from the 1930 *Histoire de la littérature canadienne*, extending the scope to include texts from the French colonial period.⁵⁷ The anthology is divided into the following sections: Sous le Régime Français; Sous le Régime Anglais – Période des origines canadiennes 1760–1860; Deuxième Période 1860–1900; Troisième Période 1900–1930. By taking the selection up to 1930 Roy is being much bolder than many anthologists, risking a judgement on contemporary writing across a wide range of genres from poetry, history and the novel to speeches, essays and articles on philosophy, sociology and literary criticism.⁵⁸ He includes authors from the French regime even though these were published in France and were mostly of French origin. His selection is also notable for the number of women authors included, from Marie de l'Incarnation in the seventeenth century to Laure Conan

and Blanche Lamontagne in the nineteenth century and poets Alice Lemieux, Jovette-Alice Bernier, Simone Routhier and Eva Sénécal and journalists Fadette and Madeleine in the twentieth century. Each author is introduced with a brief assessment and a list of key works, the reader being referred back to the 1930 edition of Roy's own *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* for further information. Many of the extracts are followed by observations 'qui peuvent guider l'attention du lecteur ou servir d'indications pour devoirs scolaires', highlighting the pedagogical function of the anthology.⁵⁹ In many ways this volume sets the tone and frames the canon for anthologies up to the mid-1960s.

While the introductory comments and subsequent observations and questions serve a clearly didactic function, they do encourage readers to develop their own appreciation of texts and of authors and to back this up with textual evidence. So, after Roy's own passage 'Notre littérature en service national', readers are asked: '1. Une littérature est-elle un facteur essentiel de la vie nationale? — 2. Le "terroir" est-il un élément indispensable à une littérature nationale? Dans quel sens, et dans quelle mesure? — 3. Notre littérature est-elle en service national?' (385). In the case of Alfred Garneau readers are asked 'Après avoir lu ces poèmes choisis d'Alfred Garneau, dites si vous pouvez, avec eux, justifier l'observation préliminaire que nous avons faite de l'auteur' (127). The preliminary comments were 'Timide et artiste. Il s'inspire de lui-même plus que de la nature. Poète de transition entre l'éloquence du vers qui chez nous, alors, s'épuise, et la sobriété calme, plus concise, plus artiste, qui commence' (125). Readers are expected to evaluate critically, as in the question on William Chapman's poem 'Notre langue': 'Comment appréciez-vous l'ensemble de ce morceau? Y reconnaissez-vous quelque chose des qualités et des défauts du poète rhéteur?' (119). Such questions indicate that this anthology offered teachers a textbook that could be used not only to familiarize pupils with a wide range of literature but also to develop skills in the analysis of literary texts based on interpretation and personal judgement.

Given the exclusively Canadian focus of the anthology, Roy was able to include a wide range of authors (80 in number) which results in a more nuanced and complex picture of French-Canadian literature than in either of the earlier anthologies. It also means that a number of topics are treated by two different authors, often in different genres or at different periods, which allows for comparisons between, for example, an extract from Alain Grandbois's 1933 part-historical, part-fictional account of Jolliet and Marquette's exploration of the Mississippi, *Né*

à Québec, with Fréchette's epic poem *La Légende d'un peuple*. Acadie appears both in an account from J.-B.-A. Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire du Canada* of *Le grand dérangement*, 'Dispersion des Acadiens', and also in a poem by Adolphe Poisson, 'Stances imprécatoires à Lawrence' (123), which celebrates the return of the Acadian people, descendants of the survivors. The anthology includes many passages that evoke the French colonial mission, its martyrs and its demise, or discuss the importance of the French language and the Catholic faith as guarantors of the special role of French-Canadians in Canada. Passages by Wilfrid Laurier ('Notre Patrie, c'est le Canada', p. 203), and Camille Roy ('Le sens de notre fidélité française', p. 385) both argue the case for francophones playing a full part in the future of Canada, as one of two founding peoples, rather than seeking either a separatist solution or retrenchment behind the provincial boundaries. Although the majority of passages deal with themes or settings that are recognizably associated with Quebec, there are passages on Brittany, Rome, Bethlehem and Jerusalem. Despite the fact that the anthology includes extracts from texts published as recently as 1933 (Grandbois, *Né à Québec*) and devotes its longest section to twentieth-century works, there are relatively few texts that refer either to urban life or to modernity. However, Roy does include two pieces by Louis Dantin ('Le port de Montréal' p. 403; 'Sur le Mont-Royal', p. 405), and two extracts from Edmond de Nevers' study *L'Âme américaine* (1900), 'Le millionnaire américain' (329), an interesting psychological study of the millionaire as a mostly beneficial embodiment of the American dream, and 'Le Yankee' (321), which discusses the religious and cultural homogeneity of the New Englanders of

British extraction.⁶⁰

So what kind of literary image of the nation emerges here? This rather mixed picture means that there would be several ways of exploiting such an anthology. The traditionalist, looking for moralistic and patriotic texts, could certainly find many passages to reinforce such an ideological preference. Although over half the volume is devoted to the period 1900–30, the prominence of historical subject matter results in certain figures and moments (Champlain, exploration, evangelization, colonization) reappearing throughout. Indeed the effect of closing the anthology with Grandbois's account of the death of Marquette rather confirms the sense that it is still the past that defines French Canada and its literature. Yet it would be equally possible to select a range of passages that illustrate a far more diverse spread of literary form and content, particularly in the contemporary period which includes

symbolist poets Guy Delahaye and Émile Nelligan, modernist poets such as Paul Morin, *terroir* poetry by Blanche Lamontagne and Nérée Beauchemin alongside the lyrical work of Simone Routhier and Alice Lemieux and the philosophical and reflective poetry of Albert Lozeau and Jean Charbonneau. As such, the appearance of Roy's *Morceaux choisis* in 1934 marked a significant step not only in the history of the literary anthology in Quebec but also in the establishment and dissemination of francophone Canadian literary history.

The next two anthologies in our corpus, the two-volume *Lectures littéraires* published by the Frères de l'instruction chrétienne (1957)⁶¹ and Abbé Lucien Talbot's *Recueil de textes français à expliquer* (1960),⁶² revert to the pattern of combining passages from French and Canadian literature, with the result that they are much more selective than Roy needed to be. Reprinted nine times between 1949 and 1960, *Lectures littéraires* was widely used in the public-sector schools for higher levels.⁶³ Each volume includes a different set of genres, progressing from narrative forms and simpler poetry in the first volume to history, letters, speeches and more complex poetry in the second. Within each volume the material is arranged by century, the established periodization used in French literary history. Taking reappearances in the second volume into account, there are 30 Canadian authors, 26 of whom had also been included in Roy's 1934 anthology, which reinforces the sense of a canon in the process of establishment, one with which both private and public-sector secondary pupils would be familiar. It is notable that in comparison with Roy's *Morceaux choisis*, which offered a wide range of contemporary passages, this 1957 volume concentrates heavily on the nineteenth century, particularly in its selection of French authors. The shift towards Canadian authors for the twentieth century has the (somewhat misleading) effect of representing French literature as having passed its apogee, to be replaced by the growing body of francophone literature in Canada. And yet, as will be seen, the passages chosen to represent literary production in twentieth-century Quebec are far from innovative in form or content. Each extract is followed by guided analysis and exercises. *Notices biographiques* are provided at the end of the volume, with French and Canadian authors presented in one integrated list. Claudius Grillet's *Livre du maître* gives answers to the questions posed in the pupil's book and adds some additional material to train pupils in a guided *explication de texte*, the focus of which tends to be the formal qualities of the piece (structure, style, language) rather than thematic or critical analysis.⁶⁴

Table 3.4 Analysis of content of *Lectures littéraires*

<i>Volume 1</i>	<i>Narrations, fables, descriptions, portraits, Poésies légères</i>	<i>Volume 2</i>	<i>Lettres, histoire, poésie, éloquence</i>
17th century	2 French authors	17th century	15 French authors (French)
18th century	5 French authors	18th century	9 French authors
19th century	40 French and 7 Canadian authors	19th century	35 French and 6 Canadian authors
20th century	7 French and 9 Canadian authors	20th century	1 French (Barrès) and 12 Canadian authors

What is immediately striking in the list of contents of *Lectures littéraires* is the way in which Canadian extracts are often recognizably Canadian from the title given to the extract (the title often, but not always, coinciding with that of the text from which it derives). This is either the result of a reference to a person, place or event, or because of the presence of a key theme. In the first volume, which comprises many descriptive passages, titles include ‘Les bords du Témiscamingue’, ‘Dans les Laurentides’ (Arthur Buies); ‘Un incendie de forêt’ (Gérin-Lajoie); ‘Le laboureur’, ‘L’aurore boréale’ (William Chapman); ‘Georges-Etienne Cartier’ (Alfred Decelles); ‘La patrie au poète’ (Albert Ferland). The second volume (with many non-fictional passages) is marked by a high number of references to the period of New France, examples of which are ‘Le vieux soldat de Carillon’ (*sic*) (Crémazie);⁶⁵ ‘Notre histoire’ (Ferland); ‘Notre histoire’ (Fréchette); ‘La langue française à la Chambre de 1792–93’ (F.-X. Garneau); ‘Bataille de Carillon’, ‘Montcalm et Lévis’, ‘Mort de Montcalm’ (Chapais); ‘L’esprit apostolique des fondateurs de la Nouvelle-France’ (Groulx); ‘Peuple sans histoire’ (Fr. Marie-Victorin). Rather more than in Roy’s anthology, in *Lectures littéraires* the selection and titling of texts reinforces a close identification between the terms ‘literature’ and ‘nation’. With the exception of the small sample of twentieth-century poetry (by Rainier, Morin, Nelligan and Choquette) French-Canadian literature seems to be characterized above all by its French-Canadian content, a pattern which is not so evident in the selection of passages from French literature. As in Roy, Acadie is represented in the anthology, with one poem recalling past loss and

abiding memory (Beauchemin, 'La cloche de Louisbourg') and a text by Mgr Paquet on the revival of Acadian identity, 'La renaissance du peuple acadien', published in 1918. But as a whole this anthology constructs an image of francophone Canada and its literature as looking to the past as the source of any common identity.

Published in an expanded second edition in 1960 by the Presses de l'université Laval for use in the *collège classique*, Abbé Lucien Talbot's *Recueil de textes français à expliquer* is evidence of the way in which the literary anthology, and the study of the literary mapping of francophone Canada which it facilitated, had in the post-war years become part of a self-perpetuating institutionalized pedagogy, increasingly out of step with the literary and cultural life of francophone Canada. A parallel can be drawn here with the development of geography textbooks: Marc Brosseau finds that 'La collection des maristes est demeurée à peu près inchangée de 1923 à 1955, exception faite des ajustements statistiques et frontaliers.'⁶⁶ Talbot's selection of authors similarly shows a close reliance on other established anthologies, the only Canadian author to be included who does not feature in Roy's 1934 anthology being Félix-Antoine Savard (whose best-known work *Menaud-mâitre draveur* was published in 1937). The selection of French authors is at least in part based on Jean Calvet's anthology of French literature, acknowledged by Talbot as the source of the passages from Chateaubriand.⁶⁷ Talbot's anthology presents its literary extracts without any accompanying exercises, notes or questions other than a brief biographical/critical introduction to the author before the extract(s). The terminology used to refer to the two sections of the volume, 'Textes pour la classe de Versification ou Troisième' and 'Textes pour les classes de Belles-Lettres ou Seconde et de Rhétorique ou Première', identifies the target readership as pupils of the *collège classique* and establishes a parallel with the year numbering of the French educational system (possibly with an eye on potential exports). The first part of the anthology covers the span of French literature from *La Chanson de Roland* to several extracts from Daudet (*Lettres de mon moulin* and *Contes du lundi*); Canadian authors range from François-Xavier Garneau to Félix-Antoine Savard. In the second part Valéry (b. 1871) and la Comtesse de Noailles (b. 1876) are the most recent French authors, while Alfred DesRochers is the most recent of the Canadian authors (b. 1901). This expanded 1960 edition provides an additional 42 pages compared with the earlier edition, a number of authors such as Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Pascal, Mallarmé and Nerval being included for the first time. Despite these

additions, there are notable absences (of authors such as Zola, Voltaire, Stendhal, Proust, Rousseau and Beaumarchais) which are perhaps indicative of the enduring influence of the *Index*. And significantly, no new Canadian authors are included in 1960, although some additional passages have been added for authors already anthologized, such as Frère Marie-Victorin, Adjutor Rivard, François-Xavier Garnier and Lionel Groulx. The overall effect of Talbot's revisions is to adjust the balance between French and Canadian authors slightly in favour of France, there being 19 Canadian authors out of the 70 selected.

This pattern here is of the consolidation of an established canon, a particular view of French-Canadian literature emerging strongly. With a smaller choice of authors, and with Félix-Antoine Savard being the only addition to a corpus of writers already presented in Roy's anthology, there is no real sense of renewal. The passages selected, as in *Lectures littéraires*, present an image of the nation as a people defined by its past, for whom resistance and survival are shared values. This is exemplified by a long extract from Frère Marie-Victorin, 'Peuple sans histoire', a riposte to Lord Durham in which a young woman, having seen Durham's apparently dismissive phrase in the papers left on his desk, challenges him by recounting the brave resistance of Madeleine de Verchères to the Iroquois attack on her parents' seigneurie. The selection also includes a number of passages reflecting on the role of the French language as a key element of French-Canadian identity in the early twentieth century (passages by Mgr Paul-Eugène Roy, 'La leçon du Congrès de la langue française' and Henri Bourassa, 'La langue française véhicule du catholicisme'). As in *Lectures littéraires*, the choice of poets (including several poems each by Nelligan, Lozeau and DesRochers) does move beyond patriotic or moralistic preoccupations, but neither of these anthologies includes any work by poets such as Hector de Saint-Denys-Garneau, Anne Hébert and Alain Grandbois whose work had revitalized poetry in Quebec since the publication of Roy's *Morceaux choisis*.

Published eight years later, André Renaud's *Recueil de textes littéraires canadiens-français* focuses (as had Roy in the 1930s) exclusively on Canada; like Roy, and unlike Talbot, Renaud is not afraid to include the writing of his contemporaries.⁶⁸ While Félix-Antoine Savard is the only 'new' Canadian writer to be included in Talbot's anthology, Renaud includes 39 authors for the period 1940–65. The 320 pages present passages from the work of 89 different authors, many of whom are represented by two or more short extracts (between 150 and 350 words, so

fitting on to a single page). A series of questions on each passage follows at the end of each section. Renaud's selection is based on, and follows the structure of, Roger Duhamel's *Manuel de littérature canadienne-française*, produced by the same publishing house.⁶⁹ The periodization and the spread of authors included by Renaud are as follows: 1536–1760 'Vue générale sous le régime français' (five authors); 1760–1840 'Premiers balbutiements littéraires' (four authors); 1840–1900 'Une naissance laborieuse' (15 authors); 1900–1940 'Affirmations décisives' (26 authors); 1940–1965 'Une littérature autonome' (39 authors). Apart from the first period, the French colonial regime, under which no local printing press was permitted, Renaud's choice of periodization prioritizes literary history, not national history, and designates each period as a stage in the emergence of the future *littérature québécoise* (the 'littérature autonome' which this 1968 volume is celebrating). The anthology gives a brief presentation of each author at the beginning of the section, typically focusing on themes and form, the author's association with literary movements, and referring to a selection of key works. Each individual passage is then accompanied by a panel to the side giving the title of the source text, a title for the specific extract (supplied by the editor), and a brief contextualization within the work as a whole, or justification for a particular selection. Indexes by genre and by author appear at the beginning, with author and text listed in the table of contents at the end of the volume. But oddly, no date is given for the work from which passages have been selected, with the result that within subsections it is unclear whether the order is chronological by author, by date of publication, or neither. The book has a number of pages of illustrations, mostly black-and-white photographs, of sculpture, paintings and architecture, with maps at the beginning of the book and as a frontispiece an aerial photo of 'Montréal moderne' (this in the year following the city's hosting of Expo '67 and of de Gaulle's famous appearance on the balcony of the Hôtel de ville on 24 July 1967, when he declared: 'Vive le Québec libre!').⁷⁰ In its presentation, layout and additional material this anthology looks very different from the previous anthologies, which had changed little since the beginning of the century.

In many ways this anthology opens up francophone Canadian literature to modernity, but still with a full coverage of the past. In some respects, however, the selection is slightly uneven. It does include extracts from two historians from the contemporary period as examples of the new approach to historiography (that is, illustrating a break

with history as driven by French-Canadian patriotism or any other ideological thesis). All of these extracts focus on New France (Guy Frégault, *Iberville le conquérant*, *Le grand Marquis*, referring to Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, the last governor of New France, and Marcel Trudel, *L'Esclavage au Canada français* and *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*). But whereas a number of passages illustrate the intellectual history of the period 1900–40 (Groulx, Montpetit, Chapais, Lanctôt, Fournier), there is no similar coverage of the intellectual debate of the post-war years, nor of the *Révolution tranquille*. The effect is an absence of examples of political and intellectual debate in the contemporary period. Arguably this lack is counterbalanced by the wide range of passages from contemporary novelists, many of whom treat issues such as urban life, class, race and sexuality.

For an example of an anthology currently in use in the *cégeps*, we will turn to Michel Laurin's *Anthologie de la littérature québécoise*.⁷¹ This 2007 anthology is organized into five chapters with titles that characterize first the historical period and secondly the literary and cultural production, as follows:⁷²

1. Une civilisation prend racine. La mise en place de l'imaginaire québécois. (1534–1840)
2. Un siècle de résistance passive. Une littérature qui donne forme à la nation. (1840–1935)
3. Le rejet de la matrice de la survivance. L'avènement de la modernité littéraire. (1935–1960)
4. La recherche d'une identité nationale. Une littérature qui acquiert sa souveraineté. (1960–1980)
5. L'ouverture au monde du Québec. Une littérature postnationale. (Depuis 1980)

Within the first three chapters the material is subdivided into broad categories, such as colonial literature, oral literature, patriotism and romanticism, literature and social realism, literature and surrealism. From 1960 onwards these subdivisions are by genre. Each chapter is supplied with a chronology and an introductory section covering the historical, social, political and intellectual background and illustrated with archival material, such as woodcuts, maps, posters, paintings, book illustrations and photographs. The written and visual material together suggest the importance of socio-political and cultural contextualization for the study of literature, something which entered the curriculum debates in the late 1960s, but which was not evident in Renaud's anthology.⁷³ The anthology adopts a large format (8.5" x 11" or US letter

size) allowing most extracts to fit on to a single page, a page which typically also includes a panel with a photograph of the author, their dates and a brief summary of the author's literary style and output, with minimal biographical detail. The entry is completed with suggestions for further reading (three or four texts with no secondary literature). The passage is followed usually by five or six questions, including questions that ask the student to compare two or more passages, but in some cases there is an *étude détaillée* which comprises formal and thematic analysis and questions that require the student to develop an argument, based on textual evidence, in preparation for the *dissertation critique* as used in the *Épreuve uniforme de français*.⁷⁴

In order to gain a sense of how the process of anthologizing literature has developed in Quebec over the course of the twentieth century, it is particularly useful to compare Laurin's texts with those of Renaud from the late 1960s and of Camille Roy, the standard anthology of French-Canadian literature for the 1930s–1960s. All three present their selections within a literary-historical framework, although the frameworks alter according to the different historical perspective of the compiler. Only Laurin provides any consistent social and political contextualization to the historical periods into which his selection is divided. The range of genres included also varies to an extent, as the teaching of literature has developed from the model employed in the *collège classique* to the present-day categorization of literature under four main genres – poetry (and song), theatre, prose fiction (novel and short story) and essay. The anthologies also differ in the balance between the genres – Laurin devoting less space than either Roy or Renaud to poetry, while Roy does not include any extracts from theatre. Nevertheless it is highly instructive to see the extent to which a core canon of authors has survived the twentieth century, and indeed how that canon has continued to be modified over the period between Laurin's first edition of the anthology in 1996 and the third edition in 2007. For the anthology captures shifts of preferences, of points of reference, by eliminating authors who no longer seem so significant, while making space for new authors and literary modes of expression.

The following pattern emerges from a comparison of 80 authors included in Roy's *Morceaux choisis* with 50 authors in Renaud's first three sections (up to 1940) and the 44 included in the first two chapters of Laurin's *Anthologie de la littérature québécoise* (2007), which cover more or less the same period. Of the 50 authors included in Renaud, 38 also appear in Roy, a close degree of coincidence, even though in

most cases the choice of passage or text is different (suggesting a certain reassessment of the work of particular authors, not just the acceptance of a canon). Twenty-three authors ‘survive’ the century to appear in Laurin’s 2007 edition as the enduring figures of Canadian literature in French, the lowest percentage of overlap between Roy and Laurin being in the early twentieth century.⁷⁵

In 1934 Roy was keen to introduce his readers to contemporary writers rather than waiting for the canon to consolidate, 48 of the 80 authors in his anthology having been published between 1900 and 1930. In comparison, Renaud’s selection gives slightly more space to earlier periods with the result that his anthology has a rather lower proportion of contemporary authors, 39 of the 89 authors representing the period 1940–65, and this section is dominated by novelists (26/39). A comparison of the authors chosen to represent 1935–65 in Renaud and Laurin respectively indicates a far greater level of agreement on poetry and theatre for that period than on the novel: 7 of the 8 poets included in Renaud reappear in Laurin; the three dramatists selected by Renaud are all included in Laurin; but of the 26 novelists that appear in Renaud, only 12 reappear in Laurin. This is partly a reflection of the number of pages that each devotes to the novel; however, given the increased prominence and variety of the novel in the years since the late 1960s it is perhaps surprising that so many have remained part of the ever-shifting canon.⁷⁶

The overlaps between Laurin and Roy show some interesting patterns. They have a small number of passages in common: Marie de l’Incarnation, ‘Comment Dieu m’a appelée au Canada’, a passage which evokes the motivations of the founding of New France, but in which the author’s religious fervour is conveyed with sensual language:

Il n’y eut point là de raisonnement ni de réflexion: la réponse suivit le commandement, ma volonté ayant été à ce moment unie à celle de Dieu; d’où s’ensuivit une extase amoureuse dans laquelle cette infinie Bonté me fit des caresses que langue humaine ne pourrait jamais exprimer, et à laquelle succédèrent de grands effets intérieurs de vertu.⁷⁷

Both include an extract from François-Xavier Charlevoix, *Journal historique d’un voyage dans l’Amérique septentrionale*, Lettre III, which contrasts French and British settlers, noting the contrast that endures into twentieth-century rhetoric of the British settlers being materialistic and there for financial profit, indifferent to the indigenous population for whom they have no need, whereas the French settlers (referred to as

'nos créoles')⁷⁸ are said to be far less materialistic, to have good relations with the indigenous population and, like them, to enjoy warfare. From the nineteenth century both include William Chapman 'Le laboureur', a poem which gives an idealized, romantic image of the ploughman at work, and from the early twentieth century both choose Nelligan's 'Le vaisseau d'or' and 'La romance du vin' and Alfred DesRochers' 'Je suis un fils déchu'. Laurin includes a passage from Camille Roy's 1928 essay 'Notre littérature en service national' which stresses the relationship between literature and the collectivity. Roy includes a longer version of the same passage in his own anthology.

Among the extracts from novels there are three close parallels: both include an extract on witchcraft from Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé (père), *Les Anciens Canadiens*, another from Laure Conan's *Angéline de Montbrun* on passion, and a passage on avarice from Claude-Henri Grignon, *Un homme et sa péché*. In all three cases the specific passages differ but their theme is the same. In a number of other cases different texts illustrate similar aspects of an author. Both include romantic patriotic poems by Octave Crémazie, Laurin choosing 'Envoi aux marins de *La Capricieuse*' recalling the 1855 departure for France of the first French frigate to visit Quebec since the Conquest, and Roy has two equally patriotic and nostalgic poems, 'Le drapeau de Carillon' and 'Le chant du vieux soldat canadien'. Both authors include extracts from the more personal writings of journalist Fadette, Roy choosing a meditative piece on the soul from her correspondence and Laurin choosing an extract reflecting her inner thoughts on death and religion from the diary she kept between the ages of 15 and 20, which was only published in 1971.

Other choices show significant shifts in literary taste and preference. Thus, both have a passage from Jacques Cartier, but while Roy chooses the erection of the cross at Gaspé and early trading with the indigenous people (exemplifying the combination of material interest and ideological justification of the colonial enterprise), Laurin selects a less familiar (and differently Eurocentric) passage which describes from a puzzled European viewpoint the inhabitants' religious beliefs, their marriage practices, their agriculture and the smoking of tobacco. For Roy, François-Xavier Garneau is above all the first historian of the French-Canadian people and he includes six extracts from his *Histoire du Canada*, three on the period of New France, exploration and colonization and three on the situation of the French-Canadian population post-Conquest. Laurin mentions Garneau's *Histoire* but he chooses an early patriotic poem, 'Pourquoi désespérer', to illustrate his liberal

Table 3.5 Comparing Roy, Renaud and Laurin

Roy, <i>Morceaux choisis</i> periodization	Proportion of authors from Roy who reappear in Renaud, <i>Recueil de textes littéraires canadiens-français</i> (1968)	Proportion of authors from Roy who reappear in Laurin, <i>Anthologie de la littérature québécoise</i> (2007)
Sous le régime français	2/4 authors Samuel Champlain François-Xavier de Charlevoix	3/4 authors Jacques Cartier Marie de l'Incarnation François-Xavier Charlevoix
1760–1860	4/4 authors François-Xavier Garneau Louis-Joseph Papineau Michel Bibaud Étienne Parent	1/4 authors François-Xavier Garneau
1860–1900	history 1/5 authors Raymond Casgrain poetry 4/7 authors Octave Crémazie Louis Fréchette William Chapman Pamphile Lemay novel 3/4 authors P.-Aubert de Gaspé (père) Antoine Gérin-Lajoie Laure Conan essay, speeches, etc 3/8 Arthur Buies Faucher de Saint-Maurice Hector Fabre	history 1/5 authors Raymond Casgrain poetry 3/7 authors Octave Crémazie Louis Fréchette William Chapman novel 3/4 authors P.-Aubert de Gaspé (père) Antoine Gérin-Lajoie Laure Conan essay, speeches, etc 2/8 Arthur Buies Jules-Paul Tardivel
	Total 11/24	Total 9/24

Table 3.5 *continued*

Roy, <i>Morceaux choisis</i> periodization	Proportion of authors from Roy who reappear in <i>Recueil de textes littéraires canadiens-français</i> (1968)	Proportion of authors from Roy who reappear in <i>Anthologie de la littérature québécoise</i> (2007)
1900–30	<p>poetry 13/23 Émile Nelligan Nérée Beauchemin Albert Lozeau Gonzalves Desaulniers Charles Gill Jean Charbonneau Blanche Lamontagne-Beauregard Lucien Rainier Albert Ferland René Chopin Robert Choquette Alfred DesRochers Paul Morin</p> <p>history 2/4 Lionel Groulx Thomas Chapais</p> <p>philosophy, sociology, speeches 1/6 Édouard Montpetit</p> <p>novel 4/5 Claude-Henri Grignon Leo-Paul Desrosiers Robert de Roquebrune Harry Bernard</p> <p>articles and essays 1/10 Alain Grandbois (but poems not prose)</p>	<p>poetry 5/23 Émile Nelligan Nérée Beauchemin Alfred DesRochers Paul Morin Guy Delahaye</p> <p>history 1/4 Lionel Groulx</p> <p>philosophy, sociology, speeches 0/6</p> <p>novel 1/5 Claude-Henri Grignon</p> <p>articles and essays 3/10 Mgr Camille Roy Fadette Alain Grandbois</p>
	Total 21/48	Total 10/48

romanticism. A similar pattern emerges with Casgrain and Fréchette. Roy chooses two historical extracts from *Montcalm et Lévis* concerning the Battle of the Plains of Abraham and an idealized description of the domestic life of the *habitant*, while Laurin chooses an extract discussing the role of French-Canadian literature. The selections from Tardivel also show Laurin's preference for passages which foreground literary topics (including an extract from *Pour la patrie* attacking the novel genre) while Roy includes extracts on Catholic journalism. Laurin's choice of passage from Arthur Buies is a polemical anticlerical piece from *La Lanterne*. Roy includes a variety of extracts from his travel writing and journalism, including some satire, but none with the anticlerical tone of Buies's early radicalism. As for Fréchette, whereas Roy includes three extracts from the romantic epic poem *La Légende d'un peuple* and another more lyrical poem on nature, Laurin places him within a section devoted to oral culture, with a tale featuring the folkloric figure Jos Violon.

Again the focus shifts in the selection from Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, Roy including two lengthy narrative extracts from *Jean Rivard*, one passage describing the maple sugaring process, while Laurin chooses the poem 'Un Canadien errant', which, set to music, has become a part of Quebec popular culture.⁷⁹ Other poets who appear in both anthologies are Morin and Delahaye, anti-*terroir* poets associated with the review *Le Nigog*, and Nérée Beauchemin. Roy chooses Beauchemin's 'La Cloche de Louisbourg' about the expulsion of the Acadian population, whereas Laurin picks 'La perdrix', a poem which combines a *terroir* theme with Parnassian attention to form. Both Roy and Laurin include passages from nationalist historian Groulx. Roy's four extracts focus mostly on the history of New France, but also include a passage about the founding of the *collèges classiques*, with his readership in mind, while Laurin's passage is 'Notre destin français' (*Directives*) which discusses the relative contribution of French and Canadian culture to French-Canadian identity. Finally, the work of Alain Grandbois is represented in Roy's anthology by narrative passages from his early work on seventeenth-century exploration, *Né à Québec... Louis Jolliet*, but Laurin includes two poems from *Les Îles de la nuit* which reflect Grandbois's later interest in more abstract, cosmic themes.

The point of this rather detailed comparison is to demonstrate the extent to which two anthologies published over seventy years apart show a degree of consistency and agreement over what constitutes francophone Canadian literature, despite the utterly different ideological

and pedagogical contexts in which the two volumes were produced. But the pattern of choices also reveals an important shift of emphasis which reflects a wider question of the changing nature of literary study. In the majority of cases where Roy and Laurin make significantly different choices from a writer's work, Roy chooses a passage with historical content (whether novel, poem, history or essay).

While the narrative of literary history in francophone Canada remains very closely entwined with socio-political history, and while Laurin supplies a much greater level of historical and literary contextualization in his anthology, the disciplinary boundary between history and literature has shifted, as has the range of genres studied within the literary curriculum.⁸⁰ As a result his anthology is both more literary in tone and also encourages a much greater awareness of literary form and style. The shift away from historical themes also suggests that in the early twenty-first century the past plays a very different role in Quebec culture and Quebec identity and students are encouraged to engage with it in a more critical and more analytical way. This comparison has helped to pinpoint the ways in which anthologies, even when they are working with a recognized canon, can select passages to serve rather different purposes.

As Laurin revised his own anthology between 1996 and 2007 he clearly wished to widen the range of passages by contemporary authors (from the 1980s onwards) and to open up his selection to reflect the multicultural reality of contemporary Quebec culture. To do this he eliminates 24 authors from his 1996 edition (including excerpts from the Jesuit *Relations*, Édouard Montpetit, Frère Marie-Victorin, Paul-Émile Borduas and Gérard Étienne) as well as cutting all texts written by authors of French expression not connected to Canada.⁸¹ The 2007 anthology includes 53 new authors, almost all of whom figure in the long fifth chapter 'L'ouverture au monde. Une littérature postnationale.'⁸² Two new trends are, first, the inclusion of a small number of translated texts by anglophones or by Québécois who publish in English (Yann Martel, Leonard Cohen) and, secondly, the appearance of texts by indigenous writers (An Antane Kapeshe and Florent Vollant). Both of these small changes in scope reflect the ways in which anthologies can be seen as a living form of literary history, a work in progress responsive to new developments.⁸³

Laurin's decision to include two passages from works by indigenous writers in his latest edition is, of course, highly significant. If the recognition of migrant voices as part of the history of *québécois*

Table 3.6 Dominant themes in texts included in French textbooks, 1900–50

<i>Analysis of passages by theme</i>	<i>Percentage of the corpus of 1,305 texts in which these themes appear</i>
Religious/philosophical/moral	44.75
Anecdotes	18.00
Patriotism/national history	13.63
Nature/natural sciences	9.57
History (excluding national)	6.03
Language/literature	3.37
Agriculture	1.45
Death	0.76
Exoticism	0.61
Objects	0.53
Love	0.45
Science	0.29
National geography (Quebec and Canada)	0.29
Other	0.15

Note: this table is adapted from Monique Lebrun, 'Un florilège moralisateur et nationaliste: le canon des études littéraires selon les manuels des communautés religieuses québécoises (1900–1950)', *SCHEC, Études d'histoire religieuse*, 71, 2005, p. 44.

literature was both controversial and overdue, then the absence of indigenous voices is equally regrettable. Representations of the First Nations, the Inuit and the Métis do appear in our corpus though it is interesting that Lebrun makes no reference to their presence in the thematic analysis of the 1,305 literary passages included in her survey of Quebec textbooks. Table 3.6 makes no specific reference to indigenous peoples, whether pre-contact, as part of post-contact history of Canada, or within contemporary Canada, although clearly there are passages in Canadian textbooks in which the indigenous population appears. Their presence will have been occluded by the choice of apparently universal categories. Indeed, these categories, broad and generic as they are, do not

tell us anything about the representation of difference, whether of race, sexuality and gender or class, that readers will find in the passages. Even when one looks at the sub-themes of patriotism and national history that Lebrun explores (national heroes, 'la patrie' and historical facts) there is still no mention of the Amerindian and Inuit people (nor is there a single mention of a female historical figure). So while Cartier, Champlain, Dollard des Ormeaux⁸⁴ and 'les martyrs canadiens' (notably Brébeuf and Lalemant) are named, there is no mention of the Mi'kmaq, Huron or Iroquois people with whom they had contact. The final part of this chapter will examine the representation of the indigenous population in the seven literary anthologies.

The presence of the indigenous population in the anthologies

Studies to date have tended to focus on the (much more numerous) representations of the Amerindian and Métis population rather than the Inuit, but examples of all three appear in the literary anthologies in my corpus.⁸⁵ In *L'Image de l'Amérindien dans les manuels scolaires du Québec* Sylvie Vincent and Bernard Arcand demonstrate that, despite the wide range of contacts between the colonizers and the indigenous population, the Amerindians are always represented as secondary figures, 'la toile de fond' against which historians have constructed 'l'histoire nationale, celle des autres'.⁸⁶ As this quotation implies, the indigenous people do not serve as a neutral backdrop, for contextual interest or exotic effect; rather they are often constructed as the 'other' in opposition to which white protagonists or white values are defined and asserted. But in some cases there is also a process of identification at work whereby indigenous values and characteristics are seen as natural and desirable, to the extent that the binary of white/indigenous is destabilized. Mary Lu MacDonald's analysis of the literary treatment of contact between European and native Canadians in the first half of the nineteenth century reveals a shifting and often contradictory set of attitudes in the period prior to Confederation. As she argues, 'attitudes to Indians were bound up with attitudes to the colony's past and future as a white society',⁸⁷ but this expressed itself in a variety of ways in the works of francophone and anglophone writers respectively. Since the texts in literary anthologies are selected to represent a range, both historically and in terms of authorship, and perhaps precisely because the indigenous peoples are not the primary focus of many of

the passages, the images that emerge are far from consistent and defy any simple summary.

A number of persistent stereotypes emerge in the corpus, among which the figure of the disappearing or dying Indian and the Indian as violent or evil occur most frequently in texts by nineteenth-century French-Canadian authors.⁸⁸ MacDonald's work confirms that images of the dying Indian, common in the 1840s in both English and French-language literature,⁸⁹ frequently adopted the voice of an indigenous persona. This is the case in Joseph Lenoir's poem 'Chant de mort d'un Huron' (1840), included in *Lecture à haute voix* (104), a poem which focuses on an unnamed, symbolic figure. MacDonald points out that such poems appeared in a period when land cessions of the 1820s and 1830s were resulting in the gradual disappearance from (white) view of members of the indigenous population.⁹⁰ A more persistent stereotype associates the Indian with violence and evil. Abdul R. JanMohamed observes: 'In describing the attributes or actions of the native, issues such as intention, causality, extenuating circumstances, and so forth, are completely ignored; in the "imaginary" colonialist realm, to say "native" is automatically to say "evil" [...] the writer of such texts tends to fetishize a nondialectical, fixed opposition between the self and the native.'⁹¹ To characterize the Indian as brutal carries with it an implicit justification of the violence committed by the colonizers on the indigenous population.⁹² The activity most commonly associated with the First Nations in the corpus is the practice of scalping, a sign of their radical otherness and barbarity. Indeed, scalping appears in all of the anthologies except for the earliest (Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1901) and the most recent (Laurin, 2007), the former possibly a consequence of the sensibility of the female authorship and readership and the latter perhaps as an attempt to move away from lurid colonial stereotypes.⁹³

Whether overtly or indirectly most representations of First Nations and Métis construct indigenous people in relation to white interests and values (to be feared, conquered, converted or assimilated). Most indigenous subjects are male or generic (i.e. 'le sauvage'),⁹⁴ but three anthologies include passages that feature female subjects (Roy, Renaud, Laurin). One of the most fully developed of the representations of women occurs in two extracts from Georges Bugnet's *Nipsya*, included in Roy's *Morceaux choisis d'auteurs canadiens*. Published in 1924, the novel is set against the backdrop of the 1885 Métis rebellion and its eponymous heroine is a young Métisse.⁹⁵ The two passages focus on two stages of *Nipsya*'s sexual and emotional development which in turn

reflect her own shifting identification with the Cree Indians, the Métis and Anglo-Canadians. Her first contact with white culture fills her with desire: 'Qu'était-ce que cette nouvelle vie qui se révélait si haute, si riche' (372). Bugnet's text is therefore used within the anthology as an illustration of the desire for acculturation felt by the indigenous population, a process represented as a natural part of maturation and of contact with superior (because more sophisticated) white cultural values.

Representations of the Inuit are few (the history of contact having been very different) but these also vary from extreme, primitive 'Other' to 'other' subjectivity. These include, in *Lectures littéraires et scientifiques*, 'Les Esquimaux', an ethnographic text which closes with the hope that Christianity will bring enlightenment to such a benighted people:

Qu'elle est donc infortunée l'existence de ces Esquimaux et des autres peuples hyperboréens plus arriérés encore! Jusqu'à maintenant notre civilisation n'a pu agir sur ces natures primitives pour les arracher à leur lamentable situation. Seule probablement pourra le faire la lumière de l'Évangile en les pénétrant de sa bienfaisante influence. (215)

In contrast to this representation of the Inuit as primitive Other, the extract from Yves Thériault's *Agaguk* in Renaud's *Recueil de textes littéraires canadiens-français* (236) presents the Inuit protagonists in terms of their individual psychological traits, even though they are in flight from the corruption of the modern world and seeking to regain the harsh environment of a traditional lifestyle.

As the most recent anthology in my corpus, the 2007 edition of Laurin's *Anthologie de la littérature québécoise* deserves closer attention, as an indication of the way in which the literary anthology represents the aboriginal population to a contemporary, young readership. Rather than presenting the indigenous peoples through the lens of nineteenth-century historians or poets, Laurin includes three passages from the period of New France, presented as 'les textes fondateurs de la vie littéraire autant que de l'imaginaire collectif des Québécois' (8). The extracts selected represent colonial contact from the viewpoint of the colonizer (an extract from *Les Voyages de Jacques Cartier*), the evangelizer (from *Le grand voyage au pays des Hurons* [1632] by Récollet brother Gabriel Sagard), and the ethnographer ('Le type canadien en 1720' by François-Xavier de Charlevoix). Texts written during the French regime tend not to demonize the indigenous people, and this is true of the extracts chosen by Laurin. Those representations of the indigenous population in Laurin's anthology which are not contemporary accounts from the

period of New France come in texts by twentieth-century writers, two white (Gilles Hénault and Yves Thériault) and two First Nations (an extract from An Antane Kapeshe, *Je suis une maudite sauvagesse* [1976], and a lyric by Florent Vollant, neither of whom were included in the 1997 edition). The use of the abusive term ‘sauvagesse’ in the title of this work is significant, used provocatively as a means of challenging the stereotype through an appropriation of white racist language. Arun Mukherjee observes that such discursive strategies are commonly used by non-white Canadian writers:

As long as the right of non-white people to get ‘human behaviour from the other’ [this being a reference to Frantz Fanon] is not granted, as long as non-white skin is a caste maker, as long as Canadian society’s image of the norm remains ‘white’, the ironies of non-white-Canadians will continue to parody the assumptions of ‘Canadian’ culture, literature, and social order.⁹⁶

The extract from *Je suis une maudite sauvagesse*, entitled ‘Le marchand d’alcool’, is the first text authored by a First Nations (Montagnais) writer to appear in the corpus. The passage focuses on the cynicism of the white hotel owners and police operating in tandem on the reserves to exploit and manipulate the indigenous population. The tone is one of barely controlled anger against the perpetrators, as repetition builds up the point:

Si l’Indien dérange un tant soit peu le propriétaire de l’hôtel, il le saisit et le jette dehors, qu’il s’agisse d’un homme ou d’une femme et qu’il soit n’importe quelle heure; s’il veut le jeter dehors, il le jette dehors, que ce soit le jour ou la nuit et par n’importe quel temps; s’il veut le jeter dehors, que ce soit l’été ou que ce soit l’hiver, il le jette dehors. (109)

The introductory notes describe the text as ‘une virulente dénonciation de l’influence du Blanc sur sa communauté’, but go on to draw a parallel with the Québécois, as a similarly oppressed community: ‘Comme les autres Québécois, à la suite de l’amère constatation du présent, les Amérindiens appellent une régénération de leur culture et son enracinement dans leur terre’ (109). To an extent this has the effect of slipping the Québécois under the wire, and constructing a common front between First Nations and the francophone ‘colons colonisés’ against white (anglophone) authority, such an elision of difference being a frequent tactic in humanist ideology.

The second First Nations voice to be included in Laurin’s anthology is that of Florent Vollant, born in Labrador to nomadic Montagnais

parents.⁹⁷ The passage chosen is a song entitled ‘Loup blanc’, which combines lyrics in Innu and French. The song is about freedom and solitude, embodied in the white wolf, at once an object of fear and admiration. ‘Loup blanc’ moves between French and Innu, with no subtitles or commentary:

Il était une fois
Un grand loup blanc
Apparu un soir d’été
Libre comme l’air

Miam Maikan, he
Miam Maikan, he (343)

Vollant’s lyric creates a present-day, plurilingual voice for the Innu for a multilingual public and, here, for a francophone readership. Vollant is presented in the introductory note as follows: ‘À l’heure où plusieurs autochtones adoptent une attitude plus militante [...] cet artiste [...] honore ses origines nomades en portant le flambeau de la fierté amérindienne et de la résistance pacifique’ (343). Whereas *Je suis une maudite sauvagesse* is a provocative text for the white reader which rejects white colonial treatment of the indigenous population, Vollant’s text, while displaying difference through its heterolingual form, is seemingly chosen for the less than militant attitude of its author, integrating more comfortably into this ‘celebration of national cultural diversity’.⁹⁸

Generally, I share Vincent and Arcand’s view that the Amerindians (or indigenous people more generally) are represented in Quebec textbooks as secondary figures, ‘la toile de fond’ against which is constructed ‘l’histoire nationale, celle des autres’. Indeed history is an important factor, both as a genre (the definition of ‘literary’ writing including the work of historians at least until the 1960s) and as subject matter. Hence there is a strong association between representations of the First Nations population and the period of New France, whether in texts written in the French colonial period (exploration, ethnography, evangelization) or in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century literature when the nation looked back to its colonial regime for patriotic symbols, treating violence, (white) martyrdom and the disappearing Indian, in addition to the earlier themes. Alain Choppin argues that the primary function of the school textbook is to represent a nation to its young citizens: ‘Il est d’abord emblématique de la nation, au même titre que le drapeau ou l’hymne national.’⁹⁹ As has been seen throughout this chapter, the particular genre of the literary anthology plays its part

in this process of building a shared sense of nationhood. This tends to confirm Vincent and Arcand's point about the importance of the First Nations as the 'Other' against which white Quebec history and white Quebec identity have been constructed. As Francis comments, 'In the process of creating national heroes for their young readers, the textbooks have to demonize the Indian.'¹⁰⁰ Yet while many stereotypical images of the indigenous population emerge in the anthologized passages, my corpus of literary anthologies from 1901 to 2007 presents a slightly more complex picture. A number of literary passages offer less insistent stereotypes, whether this is effected by humour¹⁰¹ or subjectivity. All but one of the anthologies (the exception being Talbot) include extracts which show a certain fascination with indigenous subjectivity and with the indigenous voice, material for which is drawn from the 1840s onwards. This is presented either in the form of first-person narrative (in Renaud, Laurin), poetry (*Lecture à haute voix*), through focalization (Roy's *Morceaux choisis*, Renaud and Laurin), the inclusion of transliterated words from indigenous languages (*Lectures littéraires et scientifiques* and Laurin), or in scenes of indigenization, or references to the process of indigenization (*Lectures littéraires* and Laurin).¹⁰² These various openings towards the indigenous subject, the indigenous voice or indigenous values occur in poetry, travel journals, autobiographical work and fiction, genres which in their different ways allow the construction of race to be explored through identification or recognition rather than fetishized difference.

In a settler society it is to be expected that most representations of the indigenous population will be produced by settlers and their descendants, not by the indigenous population themselves. Thus it is only in the final volume (and Laurin's third edition) that readers have two indigenous-authored texts. Yet Laurin's inclusion of passages by First Nations voices is significant as it avoids the marginalization whereby indigenous writers are only ever published by specialist publishers or in specific collections. And as Clare Bradford notes in relation to children's literature, while indigenous-authored representations are not necessarily free of stereotypes, nor unmarked by dominant values, nevertheless 'For non-Indigenous children, the experience of engaging with such narratives can afford an appreciation of cultural difference and a realization that many ideologies that they thought to be natural and universal are culturally constructed.'¹⁰³ The rare appearance of aboriginal-authored texts in francophone Canadian literary history is one of the issues to be addressed in the fourth and final chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

What does a nation-shaped literary history exclude from within and beyond Quebec?

Starting out from an apparently simple question, ‘What is *québécois* literature?’, this study has proceeded by posing further questions about the nature, function, dissemination and impact of literary history, questions which suggested themselves as necessary steps on the way to understanding what it is/was that the term ‘la littérature québécoise’ (and its antecedents) encompassed. Earlier chapters have studied the ways in which literary history in francophone Canada carried out its nation-shaping function, through the various formats and methodologies adopted by literary historians, and through the inclusion of a particular corpus within education in and beyond Quebec, both at the level of curriculum directives and in the content of textbooks and anthologies. The study of a selection of literary anthologies used over the last one hundred years in Quebec has shown the emergence of a core of literary texts, the exact composition of which has varied across the decades as definitions of the literary corpus of francophone Canada have shifted, following changes in policy, population and dominant ideology (from Catholic to secular).

A literary history based on the rise of the nation constructs its narrative by selection, inclusion and exclusion according to what best exemplifies the narrative and the particular model of nationhood under construction. Over the course of the last fifty years, literary history in francophone Canada has diversified and proliferated, employing a wider range of methodological approaches applied to a differently segmented literary field, all of which has contributed to a more complex and multifaceted landscape. This has been the result of a wide range of

factors, some specific to Canada, some the result of sweeping changes in the ways that the publishing trade, authors, critics and readers create, consume and judge literature, some the product of worldwide processes of decolonization, technological innovation and globalization.

This fourth and final chapter will therefore shift the perspective by asking what it is that nation-based literary histories have excluded from their narratives. By discussing some of the gaps and silences in literary histories this chapter aims to explore what does not fit 'the nation'. What might other narratives of the history of literature in francophone Canada reveal about the shape of the field and the tensions that are played out within it? Do the various omissions indicate that the very idea of literary history, with its traditional focus on the nation, is repressive, outmoded or obsolete? Or might it be more productive to think not about the end of literary history, but rather of its opening up to include alternative narratives? Perhaps, as Hutcheon and Valdés have argued, 'the history of literature is, in fact, more accurately defined as the multiple histories of its production and its reception'.¹

The range of material that could have been discussed in this chapter is vast, a fact which in itself underlines the highly selective and narrow focus of much literary history. Beyond the literary canon with which the previous three chapters have been largely concerned there is a swathe of material which forms part of the literary life of francophone Canada. One area for further study is that of popular literature, excluded from the literary canon and therefore from many literary histories because of the attribution of greater cultural value to the products of high culture than to those associated with popular or low culture. By popular literature I refer both to the various ways of disseminating literature through the mass media (in almanacs,² by publication in the periodical press,³ in radio, film and TV adaptations)⁴ and to genres that target a mass readership or a defined sector of the market (this would include romantic fiction,⁵ science fiction,⁶ detective fiction,⁷ children's, adolescent and more recently crossover fiction,⁸ *BDQ*,⁹ or indeed best-sellers, which include a range of the genres listed as well as non-fiction titles).¹⁰ As these various areas come into view, they cast a different light on the shape or the position of *québécois* literature and on the role it plays. Given the range of readerships which are catered for by these categories of popular literature, it is fair to say that only school textbooks and the catechism will have reached a wider readership of francophone Canadians.

In what follows I have chosen to focus on examples from two different categories of literary production to explore both what has often been

excluded from literary histories of francophone Canada and what could, and in some cases already has, become the subject matter of alternative literary historical accounts: ethnic, migrant and aboriginal writing, and 'regional' literatures. Each category covers a variety of cases, each, arguably, with its distinctive history, which in some cases has yet to be told. The two specific examples that have been selected can be related to literary historical practice in a number of ways, and each offers a potential corpus for analysis whether within the field of francophone Canadian literature or in a wider cultural or literary framework. In various ways they pose questions about notions of the literary, of the nation and about the function of literary history. They also throw light on the far-reaching effects of Canada's colonial past and its traces within francophone Canadian literary life. In a discussion of the applicability of postcolonial theory to invader-settler societies such as Canada, Diana Brydon argues that 'postcolonial frames of interpretation are most enabling when they facilitate distinctions between different orders of colonial experience'.¹¹ Given their different historical, geographical and demographic scope, these cases present two perspectives on the usefulness of postcolonial frameworks for the understanding of literary history and the need to distinguish between the many differing kinds of colonial experience and the variety of positions and relations within colonialism.

Aboriginal writing in Quebec

The case of aboriginal writing in Quebec and its place within or outside of francophone Canadian literary history raises issues not only of literary status, but also of appropriateness and appropriation. Mainstream, high status culture has often marginalized the works of those who are identified, or who self-identify, as members of 'minority' groups (a loose term which has been applied at various times to women writers, gay and lesbian writers, migrant writers, etc.),¹² the work of linguistic and cultural 'minorities',¹³ or works produced by members of ethnic groups and of the aboriginal population. As has been seen in the discussion of literary histories and textbooks in the preceding chapters, works by migrant writers, members of minority ethnic groups and aboriginal writers have been more commonly included in both in the last two decades, but often in brief, separate sections. This suggests that their inclusion is still a matter of some hesitation, whether for

reasons of sensitivity to accusations of cultural appropriation or because of the opinion that multiculturalism is best respected by the continuing essentializing of ethnic, migrant and aboriginal communities.¹⁴

Winfried Siemerling suggests that the late institutionalization of anglophone and francophone Canadian literature has contributed to this delayed concern with ethnicity in literary studies: 'a national literary discourse could be seen as a prerequisite for a discourse of ethnicity in literary studies'.¹⁵ But Smaro Kamboureli, in her edited volume *Making a Difference: Canadian Multicultural Literatures in English*, is more critical of Canadian literature's belated recognition of writers from Canada's aboriginal and cultural minority communities, indicative, she argues, of its anxiety about the continuing existence of colonialism, not as a ghostly presence of things past, but as 'a condition that is still present in institutional and critical practices today'.¹⁶ Such an anxiety, which she discusses in relation to anglophone Canada and the institutions associated with 'CanLit', is perhaps still less acknowledged in Quebec. The fact that literary historical interest in aboriginal writing appeared in anglophone Canada before it did in francophone Canada is also significant. This could be explained by the differing size and proportion of the respective indigenous populations in Quebec and in the rest of Canada (see Table 4.1), but it may equally reflect an unresolved anxiety about what it is to be Québécois. As has been argued throughout this book, the situation of francophone Québécois of European descent is complicated by the fact of their position both as historical colonizers (of the indigenous population) and subsequently colonized (after the imposition of British rule). This makes the relationship between francophones of European descent and the aboriginal population in Quebec more ambiguous, in that both populations have been colonized by the British; this has not, however, changed the structure of power relations between francophone Québécois of European descent and members of the indigenous population.¹⁷

The underlying premise of Blodgett's analysis of Canadian literary history is that Canada is home to numerous cultures, expressed in a number of languages, and that literary history in Canada should reflect this diversity and plurality. Yet as he points out, 'Histories of its literatures are dominated, however, by the notion that there are two histories, and in practice these histories are written as if there were only one literature and perhaps another.' If in the 1960s the principles of bilingualism and biculturalism had gained official status, in the light of the 1987 Multiculturalism Act the rights of other cultures to protection

Table 4.1 Indigenous population of Canada and Quebec compared

2006 census	Canada	Quebec
Total population	31,241,030	7,435,905
Aboriginal identity population (includes North American Indian, Métis, Inuit and multiple aboriginal identity responses)	1,172,785 (3.75%)	108,425 (1.45%)

Source: Statistics Canada. 2007. *Quebec (Code24)* (table). *Aboriginal Population Profile*. 2006 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 92-594-XWE. Ottawa. Released 15 January 2008. <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-594/index.cfm?Lang=E> (accessed 28 June 2012).

and expression could not simply be ignored. Blodgett continues: ‘Taken together, both policies, flawed as they may be, strive to decentre a sense of Canada as embodying a single culture.’¹⁸ While Blodgett is referring to Canada here, the same logic applies equally to Quebec. This case study will therefore focus on the ways in which the literature of aboriginal authors in Quebec has become the focus of literary historical work which might indeed attempt to decentre a sense of *Quebec* as embodying a single culture.¹⁹

The two authors who have published most widely on Amerindian literature in French to date are both non-aboriginal academics. Diane Boudreau, who conducted her research at Université de Sherbrooke (doctorate awarded in 1992), published *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec: oralité et écriture* in 1993,²⁰ and Maurizio Gatti, who came to Quebec from Italy to study for his doctorate at Laval University (awarded in 2004), and postdoctoral research at UQAM, has used his doctoral research as the basis of an anthology and an introduction to Amerindian literature in Quebec, published in 2004 and 2006 respectively.²¹ While Boudreau’s volume declares itself explicitly a literary history, with a third of the text covering oral literature, Gatti’s monograph and anthology focus on written texts produced from the 1970s to 2004, so representing a significant addition to the literary history of Amerindian literature in French and complementing Boudreau’s coverage of the field, which stops in 1990.²² Gatti’s doctoral thesis remains the best single source of bibliographical material. A comparison of the work of these two authors highlights similarities and differences in corpus, methodology and the ways in which non-aboriginal critics

have chosen to approach their corpus in the 1990s and the early twenty-first century. The first question which their work poses, however, is that of their non-aboriginal status.

Discussion of submissions to the Parent Commission on education in Chapter 2 raised the question of the total lack of aboriginal-authored histories of the aboriginal population of Quebec.²³ Histories have subsequently been published by Bernard Assiniwi and Georges E. Sioui.²⁴ To date, no literary history of aboriginal writing in French has been written by an author of aboriginal descent.²⁵ This raises questions of authorship and authorization and also of alterity and the recognition by Quebec of its problematic relationship with the indigenous population and with ethnic minorities. Discussing the difficulties of ‘other-understanding’, Charles Taylor argues ‘we only liberate the others [from our ethnocentrism] and “let them be” when we can identify and articulate a contrast between their own understanding and ours, thereby ceasing in that respect just to read them through our home understanding, and allowing them to stand apart from it on their own’.²⁶ Neither Boudreau nor Gatti would deny their position as outsiders, formed by their respective ‘home understandings’, although in their acknowledgements both make a point of indicating the extent to which they have worked with the First Nations authors and their communities, so suggesting a certain level of authorization.

In *Five-Part Invention: A History of Literary History in Canada*, Blodgett compares Boudreau’s work with that of Petrone and McGrath on Native writing in English and Inuit writing respectively, and on the question of authorship he points out: ‘The three authors are of European descent, despite the various kinds of support they have received from the communities they have spoken for, and thus raise the issue of cultural appropriation.’²⁷ To what extent should non-aboriginal-authored literary histories themselves be viewed as acts of cultural colonization? What different narratives might aboriginal-authored literary history offer of the oral and written literature of the aboriginal writers from Quebec? While all three authors draw on European frames of reference and history, Blodgett’s view of their work is that, by focusing on the impact of European invasion and what he sees as the recovery from the negative impact of European contact and the consequent acquisition of written language as it affected the existing oral culture, they should not be dismissed as works of cultural appropriation. Rather, he presents them ‘as pioneering (another European metaphor) efforts to mediate between cultures’ adding that Native-authored texts would also have undergone

a process of cultural mediation, depending on their means of publication and intended readership.²⁸ He goes on to suggest that the fact that all three are authored by women raises an interesting question about how this informs their critical practice, not only in their choice of specialism but also in their methodology. Literary histories by women, he is implying, often show a keen awareness of questions of dispossession and the seeking of agency. He notes that both Petrone and Boudreau foreground women writers where possible and that learning to read aboriginal texts, just as learning to read women's writing, involves 'writing against the assumptions of "national" histories of Canada',²⁹ characterized as these are by certain unquestioned structures of time and emplotment. (Significantly, Helen Hoy's study of fiction and non-fictional prose by Native women writers in Canada asks the question 'How should I read these?' and the same question poses itself to any literary historian who is an outsider to the culture which they are studying.)³⁰

Blodgett's work was published too early to consider Gatti's publications. But, interestingly, Paré, in his preface to *Être écrivain amérindien au Québec. Indianité et création littéraire*, similarly constructs Gatti as an outsider: 'un Italien de naissance, venu étudier le Québec par le biais de ses marges. [...] une tierce partie – ni québécoise ni amérindienne'.³¹ As doctoral students, Boudreau and Gatti cannot have totally avoided the imprint of the dominant discourse of the literary institutions of Quebec; nevertheless, their research has opened up a field of oral and written literature which had remained largely unknown to non-aboriginal readers in Quebec. The differences between their respective projects say much about the ways in which the field of Amerindian writing in French has developed between the 1990s and the early 2000s. Their respective dates of composition in part explain the different scope of their projects, but other factors of a methodological and ideological nature are involved.

The reference by both authors to Quebec in their titles and in defining their corpus may seem to misrepresent aboriginal attitudes to territory; political and geographical boundaries do not correspond to aboriginal relationships to space.³² (Indeed, one reason why histories of Quebec and Anglo-Canadian literature may have decided to exclude aboriginal writing is precisely the risk of apparent cultural assimilation.) But neither Boudreau nor Gatti actually claim that aboriginal writers *in Quebec* identify themselves as Québécois; rather the reverse. Boudreau refers to Quebec as the place where the writers of Amerindian literature live, but stresses that the relationship to Quebec is one of resistance to

domination: 'La littérature amérindienne [...] ne peut ni ne doit être assimilée à la société québécoise ou canadienne-française qui la domine culturellement et politiquement. [...] L'"indianité" et la "québécoisité" n'ont rien en commun si ce n'est la force de l'affirmation identitaire.'³³ In his thesis Gatti states the facts: 'Au Québec il existe 10 nations amérindiennes distinctes et 1 nation inuit, pour qui frontières territoriales et ethniques ne correspondent pas à celles établies par les gouvernements des provinces et du Canada.'³⁴ The different notions of nation which are used by aboriginal peoples living in Quebec offer an important counterpoint to the discourses of Quebec and Canadian nationalisms.

Boudreau's work is structured chronologically into two parts, the first part studying oral literature and the second written literature, introduced as a result of European invasion and subsequent colonization and evangelization, which gives her literary history a postcolonial narrative.³⁵ In the context of 'the lived and recollected trauma of empire',³⁶ the appropriation of the written language is presented as the consequence of, and a response to, the trauma of contact, but one which does not destroy or replace traditional oral culture. Boudreau argues that oral traditions remain a central part of Amerindian culture today and have influenced the ways in which a written literature has developed. Her account discusses the writing of petitions and letters (from the eighteenth century onwards) and the part played by literate Amerindians in the production of religious material, dictionaries and grammars. Her discussion of the contemporary period (1971–90) covers 28 texts in a corpus of stories, autobiography, song, poetry, theatre, and non-fiction prose by 25 authors, including *métis* writers,³⁷ representing the following nations: Cree, Huron-Wendat, Montagnais, Algonquian, Atikamekw, Odawa and Abenaki.³⁸ She includes authors who write in an aboriginal language, such as An Antane Kapeshe,³⁹ as well as those who compose their work in French, many of whom include some words from their aboriginal language in their text. But she makes no distinction on the basis of language of expression: 'Qu'ils écrivent ou non dans leur langue importe peu: les visées sont les mêmes.'⁴⁰ Boudreau characterizes the aims of contemporary aboriginal writers in the period she covers primarily in political terms and in relation to the colonized position of the Amerindian nations: 'La littérature écrite amérindienne est actuellement une littérature de survie (pour les nations) et de "résistance" (aux Blancs). [...] l'écriture relève de la volonté de survivre et les formes qu'elle revêt correspondent à la réalité amérindienne.'⁴¹ The use of the word 'actuellement' seems to leave the way open for future developments,

and Gatti, who takes the coverage forward from 1990 to 2004, situates Amerindian writing rather differently.

Gatti's research is based on a corpus of more than 150 texts, from 1971–2004, by over 50 authors.⁴² He does not include songs (which tend to be written in or use elements of aboriginal languages) nor essays in his literary corpus, which he defines as follows: 'la production écrite en français par les auteurs amérindiens qui demeurent au Québec, tout en gardant à l'esprit celles produites en anglais et en différentes langues amérindiennes'.⁴³ He comments on his use of the designation 'auteur amérindien *francophone*' as follows: 'un auteur parlant et écrivant le français, mais dont l'expérience ne se limite pas uniquement à cela. *Francophone* ne désigne donc pas nécessairement un auteur de langue maternelle française ou qui s'identifie à cette langue, mais un auteur qui s'exprime *aussi* dans cette langue.'⁴⁴ Gatti's 2006 work, *Être écrivain amérindien au Québec: indianité et création littéraire*, is an extended version of the first part of the thesis. His anthology, *Littérature amérindienne du Québec: écrits de langue française* (2004), publishes the selection of 73 texts by 29 authors included in the second part of the thesis.⁴⁵ Both in the thesis and the published anthology, the texts are arranged by genre (into tales and legends, poems, novels, drama and autobiographical work), then by author. The autobiographical writing includes extracts which testify to various types of trauma, often but not only associated with residential schooling, alienation and abuse; other accounts treat alcohol and imprisonment and in the theatre section one text deals with domestic violence. Material included in the sections on legend and poetry tends to be more concerned with nature and spirituality. Whereas for Boudreau, Amerindian literature between 1970 and 1990 was primarily a literature of resistance, and her narrative adopts a similarly committed approach, Gatti's position is rather less easy to define, both because of the wider corpus of work that has since emerged and also as a result of his methodological approach.

Both Boudreau and Gatti recognize the difficulties of defining who does or does not qualify as an aboriginal author, but they respond differently to the issue. Boudreau rejects legal or governmental definitions of Amerindian identity based on 'la "pureté du sang rouge"', or on place of residence: 'Aucun des auteurs rencontrés n'a approuvé les catégories établies par le gouvernement ni dénigré les Métis ou les Amérindiens nés ou vivant en dehors des réserves.'⁴⁶ Rather she relies on the opinions of her contacts within the various nations: 'Les auteurs amérindiens du Québec sont ceux qui sont reconnus comme tels d'abord par les Amérindiens

eux-mêmes et, ensuite, par les Blancs.⁴⁷ For Boudreau, Amerindian status is a question of authenticity: ‘L’attestation de l’authenticité ne passé pas par un décret du “grand chef” des Amérindiens; les valeurs, la complicité et la solidarité confirment souvent la justesse de la prétention.’⁴⁸ Her literary history therefore includes writers who recognize each other as part of their various communities, and who have the power to exclude those whose cultural identity is felt to be less authentic. So, in the case of Jovette Marchessault (who is of Montagnais and Cree heritage), she writes: ‘Aucun des auteurs amérindiens que nous avons rencontrés ne l’a “reconnue” et elle n’a jamais été mentionnée par d’autres Amérindiens.’⁴⁹ And Michel Noël, who features prominently in Gatti’s work, is excluded from Boudreau’s corpus because of his own denial of aboriginal status on the cover of *Carnet de voyage. Le vieux comptoir de la Baie James*, published in 1982 (this despite Bernard Assiniwi’s recognition of him as an aboriginal writer and statements elsewhere that Noël considers himself to be of dual heritage, ‘Québécois d’origine amérindienne’).⁵⁰ The subjectivity of such judgements of authenticity is clear from the examples of inclusion and exclusion cited above. Salman Rushdie warns against the concept of ‘authenticity’ as a criterion on more fundamental grounds: ‘It demands that sources, forms, style, language and symbol all derive from a supposedly homogeneous and unbroken tradition.’⁵¹ Such an understanding of tradition is, he claims, a fallacy, given the transnational processes of our world.

Gatti’s approach is to problematize the notion of Amerindian identity, which therefore dislodges any sense of authentic ‘indianité’. He sets out to ‘comprendre à partir de quels critères un auteur est défini, ou se définit lui-même comme auteur *amérindien*, et non pas comme auteur *québécois* ou *canadien*. Pourquoi certains écrivains sont-ils considérés plus, moins ou pas du tout comme amérindiens?’⁵² Two things are striking here: first, that, as for Boudreau, ‘Amerindian’ is defined in opposition to Canadian or *québécois*; but secondly (and at least in some cases) aboriginality becomes a *relative* term: writers are judged, and judge themselves, to be more or less aboriginal, which breaks with any essentialist notion of identity, such as that on which authenticity is predicated. Gatti discusses the constructedness of identity, the role of reciprocity in the recognition of the other, the belief that identity is something which is fluid, and ultimately is the expression of a choice, of self-identification, something which may change over time or in a given context. The inclusiveness of his criteria can be related to his particular approach to the field which reads aboriginal writing in terms of hybridity: ‘Aussi faut-il se demander

ce qu'est un auteur amérindien francophone au Québec. [...] Il n'y a pas de réponse définitive à ce sujet, si ce n'est celle de l'autodéfinition dans un contexte où le métissage physique, culturel, linguistique, socio-économique et technologique est inévitable.⁵³ His criteria allow the widest possible range of types of identification:

Il ne s'agit pas de prendre parti pour tel ou tel auteur, d'établir un palmarès et de juger le degré d'indianité de chacun. Il convient plutôt de comprendre comment chacun exprime ses origines, sa vision du monde dans ses œuvres, d'une façon qui lui est propre, selon son expérience, son cheminement personnel, son appartenance à telle ou telle nation.⁵⁴

He includes within his corpus authors who identify with more than one culture, as is the case of Michel Noël ('métissé culturel'), Bernard Assiniwi ('moitié Autochtone et moitié Québécois francophone')⁵⁵ or Julian Mahikan, who defines himself not as an aboriginal writer but as a writer 'tout court'.⁵⁶ It is two of these authors, Assiniwi and Noël, whose work will be most familiar to a non-aboriginal public. Both have been recognized by the Quebec literary establishment (Assiniwi's *La Saga des Béothuks* [1996] gaining the Prix France-Québec Jean-Hamelin and Michel Noël's *Pien* winning the Governor General's Award for children's literature in French in 1997).

This reflection on the complexity of individual and collective identity is an important aspect of Gatti's work and it allows him to argue for an inclusive definition of aboriginal writing. The contrast between Boudreau's careful recognition of the right of aboriginal authors to define the terms and the extent of their own emerging literary field and Gatti's enthusiastic opening up of Amerindian literature to the widest interpretation is a reminder of the ways in which literary historians make not just literary, but also ethical and political choices as they construct their narrative. The choice between a model of identity which values authenticity and an alternative model which promotes porous and fluid notions of identity may be one that needs to be made strategically, rather than absolutely. For Gareth Griffiths, the experience of hybridity is an unavoidable part of the modern-day situation of the aboriginal writer, and not just something experienced by authors of dual heritage. He cites the words of aboriginal Australian author Mudrooroo Narogin Nyoongah, who explains the ambivalence of his position as follows: 'a Janus-type figure with one face turned to the past and the other to the future while existing in a postmodern, multicultural Australia in which he or she must fight for cultural space'.⁵⁷ Griffiths comments on the

apparent, yet necessary, contradiction which is the lived experience of the aboriginal author, ‘in the complex task of simultaneously recuperating the traditional and contesting the profile of identity for Aboriginal peoples in contemporary Australian political and cultural space’.⁵⁸ And Linda Hutcheon argues that while hybridity may seem an attractive, inclusive concept which opens up cultures to other influences, this may not be the case for populations emerging from oppression: ‘for some cultures – such as aboriginal and newly emergent ones – hybridity will continue to be seen not as a positive but as a threat, through assimilation, to the very continuing of a once suppressed culture’.⁵⁹ For such emerging cultures, a definition of identity that preserves rather than dissolves difference can be a crucial part of survival and resistance.

A fundamental difference between Boudreau’s and Gatti’s literary historical approach is the way in which each defines the relationship between Amerindian literature in French and *québécois* literature. In Boudreau’s view, aboriginal writing in French has developed separately from the literary institutions of Quebec and aboriginal writers do not aspire to be incorporated within the field of *québécois* literature, even if that literature becomes a house of many nations. In terms of literary form, she suggests that Amerindian literature is written against the literary conventions of *québécois* and Canadian literature: ‘La littérature écrite amérindienne va plutôt à l’encontre des critères établis par la tradition littéraire québécoise ou canadienne. Dans ce sens, elle est marginale: elle ne reproduit pas les modèles reconnus par l’institution littéraire et ne cherche pas la reconnaissance institutionnelle à tout prix; elle cherche à exprimer l’indianité.’⁶⁰ She recognizes that the shift from oral to written forms of production necessarily involved a process of hybridization: ‘Comme d’autres littératures issues de sociétés orales, elle est polymorphe et “métissée”.’⁶¹ But in a move which distinguishes her position from that of Gatti, she presents the process of ‘métissage’ as something internal to Amerindian culture. Amerindian texts are, she claims, ‘le résultat d’un métissage entre les formes orales traditionnelles et l’écriture. En effet, ils contiennent des éléments de la tradition et tentent de tenir compte des contraintes et des règles de l’écriture, mais sans correspondre aux genres reconnus par la tradition de l’histoire littéraire québécoise ou française.’⁶²

The stress that Boudreau places on the (active) appropriation of writing by Amerindian authors allows her to argue that their writing reverses the flow of communication between aboriginal and non-aboriginal voices, so countering ‘le discours tenu sur le peuple amérindien, c’est-à-dire

la littérature ethnographique, les commentaires des missionnaires, la littérature coloniale ou les études gouvernementales'. In aboriginal literature 'les Amérindiens s'expriment directement, sans intermédiaire, et ils exigent la parole et la liberté d'être et de devenir'.⁶³ Boudreau's understanding of the possibility of expressing 'l'indianité' in a direct way, independent of non-aboriginal forms and judgements, is premised on a belief in authenticity.

But despite this cultural separatism, the target audience of aboriginal literature would seem to be primarily non-aboriginal. In common with other minor literatures in the context of decolonization (and here she cites Barbara Godard's analysis of Native writing in English as a 'minor literature')⁶⁴ Boudreau sees the purpose of Amerindian writing in French not simply as an expression of identity, but rather as a political tool, a means of active resistance: 'Ils s'adressent avant tout aux détenteurs du pouvoir; ils veulent bien rallier les Blancs à leur cause, mais la priorité reste politique. [...] la pratique de l'écriture est essentielle et directement proportionnelle à son efficacité.'⁶⁵ So while aboriginal literature is based on difference and authenticity, it has a clear, pragmatic function, in a highly politicized context (a response to the White Paper of 1969) and prior to significant negotiations such as the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (1975) and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement (1978).

Gatti's literary historical work is less political in focus than that of Boudreau. Rather than focusing on the function of aboriginal writing, he concentrates more on questions of status and of production, circulation and reception. He presents the emergence of Amerindian literature in French primarily as an event within the literary field, as the following comment reveals: 'Étant donné sa naissance récente, la littérature amérindienne a beaucoup à apprendre d'autres littératures qui sont passées par les mêmes étapes, comme la littérature québécoise.'⁶⁶ His narrative includes frequent comparisons of this kind which tend to blur rather than highlight differences. The traditional literary historical discourse of birth and growth, of influence and gradual independence runs through his narrative, somewhat at odds with the more postmodernist approach he adopts to questions of identity. Unlike Boudreau, he presents aboriginal literature as being necessarily influenced by existing literatures in French, an influence which he suggests will diminish in time (with growing maturity?): 'La littérature amérindienne se veut aussi distincte des littératures québécoise et française. Cela ne veut pas dire qu'elle l'est déjà pleinement. Elle subit et reproduit encore en grande partie la langue, la

culture, la littérature d'expression française. Les écrivains amérindiens commencent à peine à produire leur propre originalité littéraire.⁶⁷ Given the centrality of cultural hybridity to his argument, it is not clear why aboriginal writing in French should in fact develop a greater distinctiveness rather than a more complex set of interrelations with other kindred literatures with which he compares it, such as migrant writing, (metropolitan) French literature and Quebec literature.

To some extent the shift in emphasis from Boudreau to Gatti is as much a result of changing times as of different methodological approaches. For Boudreau in the 1990s separate development seemed necessary to establish and preserve the specificity of Amerindian literature, and maintain its links with the oral traditions. Gatti, on the other hand, is arguing for the inclusion of Amerindian literature as a specific corpus within a pluralizing literary institution in Quebec. Towards the end of his 2006 study he rather playfully proposes a rewriting of a brochure promoting *québécois* literature, *Qu'est-ce que la littérature québécoise? Promenade au pays d'Anne Hébert, Félix Leclerc et Réjean Ducharme*, in which he substitutes the names of Amerindian authors and the titles of their best-known works. A brief excerpt gives the tone:

Après la Conquête [québécoise]. Tout occupés à assurer leur survie politique et économique à l'intérieur du nouveau régime [québécois], les [Innus] ne se seraient que fort peu soucieux de développer une littérature nationale. [...]

Une littérature [de Notcimik]. Enfin, lyrique et emporté, [*La saga des Béothuks* (1996), de Bernard Assiniwi], est une œuvre phare de la littérature [amérindienne]. Avec des accents d'Homère et de Virgile, le roman [d'Assiniwi] évoque [...] la résistance [béothuk] à la présence anglaise.⁶⁸

This rewriting is both parodic and yet strangely consistent with Gatti's introduction to Amerindian writing in French. Once one begins to think of *québécois* literature in the plural, a multicultural cohabitation seems unobjectionable. Whereas Boudreau constructs Amerindian writing as a resisting force against institutions which are still associated with colonial exclusion and oppression, Gatti's work is far more ambivalent. The anthology and the monograph both present a distinctive and varied corpus of writing. Gatti's discussions both of aboriginal identity and of the nature and operations of the literary market in Quebec show an acute awareness of the processes of acculturation and appropriation. Yet one can only conclude, with Gatti, that 'le jour où les écrivains amérindiens du Québec auront un succès international important, la

littérature québécoise les prendra en considération et les incorporera dans son corpus'. As he points out, this has already happened with Bernard Assiniwi, Michel Noël and Georges Sioui: 'Ceci démontre que la littérature amérindienne et ses auteurs font déjà partie du jeu littéraire international.'⁶⁹ The house of many nations still has a habit of claiming the best talents as its own.

The literary history of francophone Canadian literatures beyond Quebec

The second case to be studied in this chapter considers the effects of what Benoit Doyon-Gosselin has referred to as '[le] morcellement du Canada français'⁷⁰ on the literary landscape of francophone literature in Canada, that is, its fragmentation into one dominant, Quebec-centred literature and a number of minority literatures in Acadie, Franco-Ontario and the West. The proliferation of 'minority literatures' further complicates matters of classification and terminology, as Lise Gauvin points out:

Écrire en français en Amérique, c'est d'abord ne pas trop savoir dans quel chapitre de l'histoire littéraire se situer. Littératures périphériques, régionales, mineures, petites littératures: il semble qu'on ait du mal à désigner ces littératures qui font partie de l'exception culturelle américaine. Toujours se pose, dans ces dénominations, la question du comparant et du comparé.⁷¹

There has been much discussion over the terminology to be used and distinctions to be made. In *Les littératures de l'exiguïté* François Paré uses the following set of terms to discuss a wide range of smaller literatures: *les littératures minoritaires* (produced by a minority within a unitary state, such as the Maori or Franco-Ontarians); *les littératures coloniales* (as in Algeria or Nigeria under colonial rule); *les littératures insulaires* (a term he uses both literally for Mauritius and figuratively for Acadie); *les petites littératures nationales* (such as Quebec since the late 1960s).⁷² As Robert Major comments, Paré's terms are elastic and relative: 'selon que l'éclairage se portera sur la littérature franco-ontarienne ou la française, la littérature québécoise sera perçue comme hégémonique ou exiguë'.⁷³ Gauvin also recognizes that the appropriateness of a term may shift depending on the objects under scrutiny, which is one reason why she and others do not simply adopt Deleuze and Guattari's definition of 'minor literature'.⁷⁴ For her part she proposes the

following hierarchy based on the relative independence of the institutions which support the literature concerned: 'petite littérature' (where there is an established readership and institutions, as in Quebec, certainly since the 1960s), 'littérature mineure' (a literature which is semi-dependent on a larger, institutionalized literature, as at various stages both the literature of Quebec and more recently Acadie have been) and 'littérature des minoritaires' (here she cites Amerindian writers in Québec and francophones of western Canada as examples of a literature with little or no independent institutional framework).⁷⁵ But as Gauvin argues, such notions are at best transitory, given the constant formation and reformation of literatures within existing and emerging literary fields. As this section will demonstrate, the last fifty years have seen just such a process at work in the decentering and restructuring of literary histories in francophone Canada. I use the term 'francophone minority literature' to refer to literature produced by Canada's francophone populations beyond Quebec, where they constitute a numerical minority within their respective provinces. Of course, no two minority francophone populations in Canada are quite the same in terms of their history, their demography, their relationship to space, or their cultural infrastructure; consequently any discussion of their literary histories reveals many differences as well as certain broad trends.

Since the 1960s literary history in francophone Canada has diversified and proliferated, employing a wider range of methodological approaches, which have been applied to a much broader and differently segmented corpus. The result has been the development of a more complex and multifaceted field of literary historical activity both within and beyond Quebec. In part this is a result of the division that has come about between Quebec and the rest of francophone Canada. Histories of francophone Canadian literature in the years prior to the 1960s generally continued to apply a pan-Canadian approach when constructing their corpus, neither excluding nor indeed paying specific attention to other centres of literary life beyond Montreal, Quebec and Trois-Rivières. This corresponded to a view of 'la littérature canadienne-française' as something that transcended political and geographical frontiers. The mobility of some sectors of the francophone population (whether because of the Acadian expulsion and resettlement, renewed francophone immigration from Europe, or migration to the West, or south to New England) reinforced a sense of a community linked by language, by faith and by various interconnected histories as colonizers and colonized, rather than being defined by a fixed geopolitical territory. Danielle Juteau emphasizes the

role played by the Catholic Church in holding together this dispersed 'nation': 'As long as the church represented the apparatus of control in the communities, it was possible to speak of a French-Canadian nation scattered from Quebec to the Pacific.'⁷⁶ But in the 1950s and 1960s the 'archipelago' of French-speaking communities across North America was seriously weakened by the decline of Catholicism, reflected in the drop in the number of priests ordained in Quebec from 2,000 in 1947 to 80 in 1970; the pace of assimilation could no longer be stemmed by the Church's social and educational activities.⁷⁷

As pan-Canadian Catholic traditionalism, which had united the francophone population of Canada around a shared faith and language-based notions of identity, gave way to the rise of a territorially centred, secular nationalism in Quebec from the 1960s onwards, a new dynamic established itself which transformed Quebec's relationships with Anglo-Canada, with France and with the rest of French-speaking Canada. In pursuing a nationalist cause, Quebec was not only asserting its distinctive status in relation to Canada; it was also challenging the continuing cultural domination of France. Both of these processes of repositioning (within Canada and in relation to France) can be seen as part of the shift from colonial to postcolonial relations. Whereas on the political front Quebec's position has to be understood as a response to the legacy of British colonialism and the realities of existing as a diminishing minority in an anglophone-dominated Canada, in terms of its francophone culture, Quebec was claiming the right to be treated on equal terms with France, not as a satellite, dependent on French legitimation. But as Paré argues, this assertion of autonomy vis-à-vis France also required a separation of Quebec from the francophone minorities beyond Quebec:

En voulant s'instituer comme une *grande* littérature (ce qu'elle n'est sans doute pas), capable de tous les discours autoréférentielles, la littérature québécoise ne devait pas seulement se démarquer par rapport aux lettres françaises métropolitaines [...] mais aussi se couper du discours troué, jugé désormais inopportun et trop étroit, d'un Canada français minoritaire.⁷⁸

The effect of Quebec's desire for autonomy has been to divide the francophone population of Canada into Québécois and non-Québécois, those living 'hors Québec' in 'the rest of Canada' (TROC). Paré situates the turning point around 1968, 'au moment où [le Québec] se détache de son cadre pancanadien et redéfinit ses rapports d'égalité avec la France'.⁷⁹ But what Jean Morency has described as 'une rupture radicale

entre le Québec moderne et le Canada français traditionnel⁸⁰ has in fact been followed by a radical rethinking of the cultures of francophone minorities *hors Québec*. Behiels describes the response to the rupture as a 'renaissance', fundamental to which were educational rights:

Over four decades, francophone leaders used the instruments of micro- and mega-constitutional politics to modernize their provincial organizations, reformulate their provincial identities, and achieve school governance. All these developments enabled the francophone minority and Acadian communities to redefine their identity and create a Franco-Canadian citizenship based on equality with and respect from the majority.⁸¹

In terms of the literary map of francophone Canada this has produced three new 'centres' of francophone literature: Acadie (with its history of settlement in and expulsion from eastern Canada, but today largely identified with Moncton, the francophone centre of New Brunswick, the only officially bilingual province), Franco-Ontario (which has no single centre, there being a complex dynamic of cultural identity with three distinct poles – Ottawa, northern Ontario, centred on Sudbury, and Toronto); and western Canada, comprising the francophone minority in Manitoba (which has a long history of francophone and Métis culture) and what Pamela Sing refers to as the 'Far Ouest franco-canadien', which includes the provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, where the proportion with French as their first language is 1.8 per cent, 2 per cent and 1.4 per cent, respectively.⁸² In fact each case needs to be defined by its geographical/historical specificity, each having its own distinctive relationship to Quebec as 'centre', its own patterns of literary production and modest institutional structures and its own literary historical narrative. Since the 1960s there has been a certain degree of realignment of francophone Canadian literature, a pattern of identification in contradistinction to Quebec and in favour of a regional identity, be it with Acadie, Franco-Ontario or the West. But in tension with this centrifugal process of relative autonomization of francophone literatures *hors Québec*, the strong development of Quebec's cultural infrastructure and the increased status of its literary institutions nevertheless continue to attract writers from beyond Quebec who may choose to move to Quebec, publish with Quebec publishing houses and generally seek cultural legitimation in Quebec.⁸³

In parallel to the evolving interest in francophone Canadian literature beyond Quebec, there is a renewed awareness of the cultural identity of 'la Franco-Américanité' (a term which can refer both to a continuing

francophone cultural presence and to traces of a past francophone identity in the USA).⁸⁴ In 2011 a new online bibliographical resource was launched by the Franco-American Centre at the University of Maine. The Franco-American Library/Bibliothèque franco-américaine offers a virtual library of Franco-American studies, including literary works and journal articles (history of education, labour history, family history, food, media, socio-linguistics, sociology, anthropology, geography, literature, folklore, song).⁸⁵ The list of 209 literary works ranges from Honoré Beaugrand, *Jeanne la fileuse* (1878), to Normand Beupré, *Madame Athanase T. Brindamour, raconteuse* (2012).⁸⁶ The majority of texts are published in English or in English with some French text, with a few bilingual works. This raises the issue of what constitutes Franco-American literature and the extent to which culture rather than language becomes the defining feature. This rearrangement of the literary map of francophone North America has been matched by a refocusing of literary historical attention on these emerging new fields. Like some ripple effect of the ongoing processes of cultural decolonization, the literatures of Acadie, of francophone Ontario and of the West have acquired their own narratives of identity, based on quite different notions of nationhood, time and place; the ripples have also had an impact on the shape of literary history in francophone Canada.

Literary critics and historians confirm the view that the period of the *Révolution tranquille* and the rise of Quebec nationalism coincided with a growing visibility of the various francophone literatures of Canada. 'Avant que la désormais célèbre Antonine Maillet ne prête sa voix à la Sagouine, on a peu parlé de littérature acadienne', declares Marguerite Maillet.⁸⁷ And yet literary production by writers from the francophone minorities dates back much further than the mid-twentieth century – in the case of Acadie, to 1606, predating the first texts produced in Quebec. A rather different turning point in the history of literature in Ontario is 1970, as Hotte and Melançon explain: 'Jusque dans les années 1970, la littérature francophone de l'Ontario se distingue peu de la littérature produite au Québec. La plupart des auteurs, tout comme une bonne partie de la population, sont d'origine québécoise. [...] Par ailleurs, les institutions littéraires n'existent pas ou peu en Ontario.'⁸⁸ As the sense of literary autonomy developed, so francophone Ontarian literature found a new readership: 'Depuis le début des années 1970, l'intérêt pour la littérature franco-ontarienne ne fait que croître.'⁸⁹ As for western Canada, J. R. Léveillé comments on the reason for deciding to include so many texts in his anthology of Manitoban poetry: 'la vaste

majorité des textes – jusqu'en 1970 environ – sont peu disponibles'.⁹⁰ These comments indicate the range of aspects affected by the end of 'la littérature canadienne-française'. Not only has the differentiation of the minorities brought with it an increased visibility of their literary production, past and present; it has also encouraged the growth of a distinctive cultural and literary consciousness, a consciousness which is crystallized and furthered through the various activities of the literary field – publishing, the production of literary anthologies and literary criticism, and the writing of literary history.

A closer and more targeted look at the chronology that opened this book highlights the way in which the rise of 'la littérature québécoise' in the mid-1960s either triggered, or for other reasons coincided with, a restructuring of francophone literature in Acadie, Ontario and the provinces of western Canada. Table 4.2 presents a condensed and selective overview of this cultural renewal and the forms it took, including:

- 1) the development of institutions capable of enabling and disseminating cultural activity;
- 2) the founding of regional publishing houses;
- 3) the publication of literary historical material in the form of bibliographies, directories, literary histories, anthologies and critical studies (which in turn facilitate teaching and research); and
- 4) the public celebration and consecration of literature (through festivals, tourist venues, etc.)

What the chronology demonstrates is that these activities happened in each of the three regions, but at a different pace and to a differing extent depending on factors such as the specific context of each francophone minority (its numerical strength, geographical concentration, political representation), the existing institutional framework (the availability of French-language education, access to higher education in French), and the presence of French-language media (printed press, radio and TV).⁹¹ The table includes details of publication as these show the role played by locally based publishing in the field of literary historical work. However, the choice of a local publisher also has disadvantages: the distribution of material about minority literatures is more likely to be restricted within the province, and less likely to reach a Canada-wide readership, which reinforces its 'regional' status and its invisibility beyond the region.

Table 4.2 indicates just some of the variety of literary historical activity that has taken place within the various francophone minorities in Canada. Following similar but independent routes in each area, publishers,

Table 4.2 Literary historical activity *hors Québec* since 1960

1961	Éditions des Aboiteaux founded in Moncton
1963	Université de Moncton opened in New Brunswick
1965	Special issue of <i>Parti pris</i> entitled 'Pour une littérature québécoise' establishes the term as the accepted, modern designation
1967	The majority of delegates at the États généraux du Canada français vote in support of the right to self-determination of the Quebec people
1968	Opening of francophone École normale in Moncton; creation of the Centre d'études acadiennes at Moncton University.
1969	Official Languages Act/La Loi des langues officielles; New Brunswick officially becomes a bilingual province (enacted in 1977); three films (<i>L'Acadie, l'Acadie</i> , by Pierre Perrault, <i>Éloge du chiac</i> by Michel Brault, and <i>Acadie libre</i> by Léonard Forest) voice protest and demands of Acadians.
1970	Théâtre du Nouvel-Ontario established in Sudbury, Ontario
1971	Foundation of le Parti Acadien
1972	Founding of Éditions d'Acadie
1973	Founding in Ontario of publishing house <i>Prise de parole</i>
1974	Creation of Acadian regional production office of National Film Board Founding in Saint-Boniface, Manitoba of Les Éditions du Blé
1975	Foundation of the Fédération des francophones hors Québec (from 1991, FCFA, La Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada)
1977	First international conference to be devoted to Acadia; official opening of the Village historique acadien in Caraquet, New Brunswick
1978	Creation of Association des écrivains acadiens Creation of <i>Le Centre d'études franco-canadiennes de l'Ouest</i>
1979	Marguerite Maillet, Gérard Leblanc and Bernard Émont, <i>Anthologie de textes littéraires acadiennes 1606–1975</i> (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie) Creation of Éditions des Plaines in Saint-Boniface
1980	Establishment of Éditions Perce-Neige in New Brunswick
1981	Founding of Éditions L'Interligne, Ottawa
1982	Founding of Éditions du Vermillon, Ottawa; Robert Dickson and Gaston Tremblay, eds, <i>Poèmes et chansons du Nouvel-Ontario</i> (Sudbury, ON: <i>Prise de parole</i>); Yolande Grisé, ed., <i>Anthologie de textes littéraires franco-ontariens</i> , 4 Vols (Montreal: Fides)
1983	Marguerite Maillet, <i>Histoire de la littérature acadienne. De rêve en rêve</i> (Moncton: Les Éditions d'Acadie)

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- 1984 *Répertoire littéraire de l'Ouest canadien* (Saint-Boniface: Centre d'études franco-canadiennes de l'Ouest)
Éditions Louis Riel established in Regina, becoming Éditions de la Nouvelle Plume in 1996
- 1986 Paul Gay, *La Vitalité littéraire de l'Ontario français* (Ottawa: Éditions du Vermillon)
- 1987 Founding of Éditions du Gref, Toronto (Groupe de recherche en études francophones)
Jules Tessier and Pierre-Louis Vaillancourt, *Les autres littératures d'expression française en Amérique du Nord* (Ottawa: Éditions université d'Ottawa)
- 1988 Founding of Éditions du Nordir, Ottawa/Hearst
- 1989 Réginald Hamel and Paul Wyczynski, *Dictionnaire des auteurs de langue française en Amérique du Nord* (Montreal: Fides)
Launch of *Cahiers franco-canadiens de l'Ouest*
Hédi Bouraoui and Jacques Flamand, eds, *Écriture franco-ontarienne d'aujourd'hui* (Ottawa: Vermillon)
- 1990 J.R. Léveillé, *Anthologie de la poésie franco-manitobaine* (Saint-Boniface: Les Éditions du Blé)
- 1991 René Dionne, *Anthologie de la poésie franco-ontarienne: des origines à nos jours* (Sudbury, ON: Prise de parole)
- 1992 Marguerite Maillet, *Bibliographie des publications d'Acadie 1609–1990* (Moncton: Chaire d'études acadiennes)
François Paré, *Les Littératures de l'exiguité* (Ottawa: Le Nordir, repr. 2002); Mariel O'Neill-Karch, *Théâtre franco-ontarien: espaces ludiques* (Ottawa: Éditions L'Interligne)
Robert Viau, *L'Ouest littéraire – visions d'ici et d'ailleurs* (Montreal: Méridien)
- 1993 René Dionne, 'La littérature franco-ontarienne: esquisse historique (1610–1987)', in Cornelius Jaenen, ed., *Les Franco-Ontariens* (Ottawa: Presses de l'université d'Ottawa), pp. 341–417
- 1994 First World Acadian Congress held in New Brunswick
Creation of Éditions du Phare ouest, BC
- 1995 Jacques Cotnam, Yves Frenette and Agnès Whitfield, eds, *La franco-phonie ontarienne. Bilan et perspectives de recherche* (Ottawa: Le Nordir)
- 1996 Bouton d'or Acadie (publishing house, Moncton); Raoul Boudreau, et al., eds, *Mélanges Marguerite Maillet* (Montreal: Chaire d'études acadiennes)
Berthe Boudreau, *Bibliographie analytique de la littérature acadienne*

pour la jeunesse 1919–95 (Moncton: Centre de ressources pédagogiques, Université de Moncton)

- 1997 Hans R. Runte, *Writing Acadia: The Emergence of Acadian Literature 1970–1990* (Amsterdam: Rodopi); Robert Viau, *Les grands dérangements: La déportation des Acadiens en littératures acadienne, québécoise et française* (Beauport: MNH); Marguerite Maillet, *Bibliographie des publications de l'Acadie des Provinces maritimes: livres et brochures 1609–1995* (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie)
- René Dionne, *Histoire de la littérature franco-ontarienne des origines à nos jours*, Vol. I, 'Les origines françaises (1610–1760). Les origines franco-ontariennes (1760–1865)' (Sudbury, ON: Prise de parole)
- 1999 Joseph Yvon Thériault, ed., *Francophonies minoritaires au Canada: L'état des lieux* (Moncton: Éditions de l'Acadie)
- 1999 Gérald Leblanc and Claude Beausoleil, eds, *La Poésie acadienne* (Moncton: Éditions Perce-Neige/Trois-Rivières: Écrits des Forges)
- 2000 Hédi Bouraoui, ed., *La Littérature franco-ontarienne. État des lieux* (Sudbury, ON: Série monographique en sciences humaines/Human Sciences Monographs, Institut franco-ontarien); René Dionne, *Histoire de la littérature franco-ontarienne des origines à nos jours*, Vol. II, 'La littérature des fonctionnaires (1865–1910)' (Ottawa: Vermillon)
- 2001 Éditions de la Francophonie (Moncton)
- 2003 François Paré, *La Distance habitée* (Ottawa: Le Nordir)
- 2004 Hédi Bouraoui and Jacques Flamand, eds, *Écriture franco-ontarienne 2003* (Ottawa: Vermillon); Guy Poirier, Grazia Merler and Jacqueline Viswanathan, eds, *Culture et littérature francophones de la Colombie-Britannique, Espaces culturels francophones I* (Ottawa: Les Editions David)
- 2005 Paul-François Sylvestre, *Lectures Franco-Ontariennes* (Ottawa: Éditions du GREF)
- 2007 Guy Poirier, ed, *Culture et littérature francophones de la Colombie-Britannique: du rêve à la réalité*, Espaces culturels francophones II (Ottawa: Les Editions David)
- 2009 Serge Patrice Thibodeau, *Anthologie de la poésie acadienne* (Moncton: Perce-Neige)
- 2010 Lucie Hotte and Johanne Melançon, eds, *Introduction à la littérature franco-ontarienne* (Sudbury, ON: Prise de parole)
- 2012 Janine Gallant and Maurice Raymond, *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires de l'Acadie des maritimes XXe siècle* (DOLAM); Parti québécois forms a minority government in Quebec (September)
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academics, writers, literary historians and critics have created new networks for the production and promotion of francophone literatures. Literary historical work in these emerging fields serves a variety of functions which look not only to the past (to establish a corpus or a genealogy) but also to the future, which, as for all minority literatures, and particularly in the context of globalization, is marked by uncertainty.

Literary histories traditionally construct a narrative of the past which maps the emergence of a national literature, what Cambron refers to as ‘une perspective récapitulative’.⁹² Typically this will trace the lineage back to a foundational moment. This has been imitated by the minority francophone literatures, as the following examples illustrate. So, for example, in Marguerite Maillet’s *Histoire de la littérature acadienne* the Introduction begins with a reference to Antonine Maillet (*de rigueur*, in 1983), but Chapter 1 looks much further back: ‘Remonter à la fondation de l’Acadie, en 1604, pour y découvrir les racines d’une littérature qui, en 1980, réclame le droit à la différence et à l’existence, c’est retracer l’évolution d’une succession de rêves et d’idéaux tenaces.’⁹³ The arrival of le sieur de Monts, Lieutenant General of New France, in 1604 and Marc Lescarbot’s account of his expedition and first settlement at Port Royal (*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, published in Paris in 1609) form this first building block of colonization and of literary history. In Lucie Hotte and Johanne Melançon’s edited volume *Introduction à la littérature franco-ontarienne* the editors provide a substantial historical overview in the Introduction, before devoting the bulk of the volume to literature since 1970. Discussing the various options for periodization used by their predecessors, they opt for a simple subdivision into colonial literature, French-Canadian literature and Franco-Ontarian literature. Like René Dionne before them, they open the first period with Étienne Brûlé’s dispatch by Champlain in 1610 to explore what is now Ontario.⁹⁴ Champlain’s account of his own explorations, first of the Outaouais valley in 1613 and then reaching Lake Simcoe and the south shore of Lake Ontario in 1615–16, becomes the first published work devoted to Ontario. A final example of the importance of the foundational moment appears in the Introduction to Léveillé’s *Anthologie de la poésie franco-manitobaine* which recalls the travels of La Verendrye, a key figure of the French exploration of western Canada, before beginning his history of poetry in francophone Manitoba with the songs of Métis Pierre Falcon in the early nineteenth century.⁹⁵ By separating out the colonial past into its different geographical strands, these literary histories offer alternatives to a Quebec-centred, nationalist account. Moments of trauma (*le grand*

dérangement of the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, or the defeat of the Métis at the battle of Batoche and the subsequent hanging of Louis Riel in 1885), of oppression (the passing of Regulation 17 in Ontario in 1912 or of the Thornton Act in Manitoba in 1916, both of which banned French as a language of instruction) or of celebration (the First Acadian national convention at Memramcook in 1881) are specific to the colonial relations of the particular communities and shape identity and culture accordingly. Equally, different francophone minorities have their own histories of contact and exchange with the First Nations population among whom they live. A striking example of this is that the anthology of Franco-Manitoban poetry includes the work of several francophone Métis, the vast majority of the population at Manitoba's entry into the Canadian Confederation being Métis, half of whom were French-speaking.⁹⁶

The prospect of Quebec separatism encouraged the francophone minorities to reassess their own cultural histories as stories worth telling in their own right, the results of which are evident in Table 4.2. Yet as well as establishing genealogies, bibliographies or anthologies of earlier writing, the literary histories told by minority francophone populations should also be seen in terms of their significance to the present and future literary production of those populations. In relation to the present day, they have a performative function; just as the literary histories of Lareau and Roy in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries asserted the existence of French-Canadian literature, so the work of Paul Gay, Marguerite Maillet, J. R. Léveillé, René Dionne, and others have called into being the various minority literatures discussed here. Publishers, literary historians and critics participate in different ways in the work of affirming the existence of the literatures of the francophone minorities. Acadie, for example, has a long history and its status is distinctive in francophone Canada, its population having been displaced and relocated across the Maritime provinces and the Gaspé. On the back cover of Marguerite Maillet's *Histoire de la littérature acadienne* the author quotes Calixte Duguay's poem, 'Lachigan':

C'est un pays imaginaire,
Qu'un jour je me suis inventé.
[...]
Je serais fou de n'y pas croire
Même si souvent ça ne dure qu'un instant.⁹⁷

To write a literary history of Acadian literature is, in this respect, to imagine Acadie into existence. As Maillet writes in the Introduction, to

tell the history of Acadian literature, ‘c’est montrer comment et pourquoi l’on est passé de l’enthousiasme à l’exil, à l’isolement, puis à la lutte pour la survie dans un paradis perdu, et finalement à des revendications en faveur d’une vie à part entière dans un pays à nommer’.⁹⁸ Blodgett points out the difference between this dream of nationhood and that of Quebec, for whom nationhood appears to coincide much more closely with territorial and political realities.⁹⁹ Haunted by the trauma of *le grand dérangement*, the Acadian mission is not that of an ascent towards actual nationhood, but rather the articulation and promotion of a cultural identity.¹⁰⁰

Naming and bringing a literature into existence has also been an important act of self-affirmation for Franco-Ontarians, dispersed in quite different communities, with different histories and class allegiances. A shared literary identity resulted at least in part from the adoption of the name ‘Ontarois’ to distinguish the cultural identity which was emerging in the 1980s, a name proposed by Yolande Grisé in response to Paul Lapointe’s 1980 film *J’ai besoin d’un nom*.¹⁰¹ Paré sees francophone Ontarian literature very much in relation to the future of the francophone population, a future which is both open and apocalyptic: ‘Ainsi l’identité franco-ontarienne n’est pas tant le produit d’une interprétation du passé – comme en Acadie – qu’une sollicitation parfois sacrale (comme au théâtre), toujours catastrophique, de l’avenir collectif.’¹⁰² To date there is no comprehensive literary history of the isolated francophone minorities in the western provinces, but literary historical work, including anthologies, re-editions and critical works, attest to the many different ways of living and writing as francophones in the West. Recent work on writing in French from British Columbia, for example, opens up reflections on the transcultural flows and exchanges in which Franco-Columbian authors of the Pacific Rim participate.¹⁰³ Migrant writer Ying Chen, in conversation with Pamela Sing, reflects on the very distinctive situation of living and writing in French in British Columbia:

À mes yeux, la francophonie en Colombie-Britannique se présente non pas comme une nécessité mais comme un luxe, non pas comme une cause mais comme un désir, non pas comme quelque chose qui soit tragiquement en voie d’extinction, mais comme une fleur qui ne meurt pas, un bijou précieux au milieu d’un immense tableau très complexe. Sans cette fleur, sans ce bijou, le tableau serait moins riche...¹⁰⁴

This image shifts the emphasis away from the negative connotations of minority status, where survival is at stake, to a way of being that is

freed from the burdens of nationhood, which still hover over the literary histories of many minorities.¹⁰⁵

In some ways the new literary histories that are emerging in francophone Canada are retracing familiar paths. They look to establish their lineage back through centuries of colonial contact; they build up a corpus of texts on the basis of which they affirm a right to a semi-autonomous existence; they put in place a cultural infrastructure and enter the stage of critical discourse. A recent example of this mimicry of the development of Quebec's own literary history is the publication of an Acadian equivalent of the *DOLQ* series, *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires de l'Acadie des maritimes XXe siècle (DOLAM)* by Janine Gallant and Maurice Raymond.¹⁰⁶ To this extent the emerging francophone literatures of Canada might be seen as an attempt to rebuild 'le Canada français'. But this is not a mere exercise in nostalgia. The coexistence of a series of distinct literary histories from the francophone minorities in Canada is significant in two respects: first, in that they represent themselves as an alternative to the Quebec-centred narrative and, secondly, in the light that they throw on the ways in which minority cultures might operate and be conceptualized. In an interview from 2001 Franco-Manitoban writer J. R. Léveillé reflected on how the relationship between Quebec and the other francophone minorities has developed: 'ils veulent mettre de côté ce qu'on a appelé la "québécoïté" et s'ouvrir à autre chose. [...] Il faut que ça se fasse d'égal à égal, pas au niveau des nombres [...] Il faut que chaque francophonie reconnaisse sa valeur et son mérite et prenne sa place.' For Léveillé, this 'place' is within a changing and plural history of francophone literatures in Canada: 'Si la relation entre les différentes institutions littéraires demeure toujours asymétrique, il n'en reste pas moins qu'elle évolue et ne ressemble surtout plus à celle qui prévalait il y a une trentaine d'années.'¹⁰⁷ These alternative narratives offer parallels and correctives, reminders of a complicated past in which different communities were differently implicated in the exercise of power and of oppression and in routes of contact and exchange with other minorities.¹⁰⁸ Micheline Cambron sees another benefit of this freeing up of the literary historian from the overarching narrative of a 'grand récit national'.¹⁰⁹ It opens up a new spatial paradigm in which the literary historian can follow texts which have travelled and been re-circulated between francophone communities (as indeed they have done in the pages of almanacs): 'La circulation entre les textes conduit à une circulation dans un espace plus vaste que les espaces nationaux. On peut en conclure que les nouvelles pratiques de l'histoire

littéraire sont créatrices de parcours, de réseaux et d'échanges.¹¹⁰ The second consequence of the opening up of francophone Canadian literary history relates to the ways in which minority literatures, aware of their fragility, might be conceptualized and how this allows literary historical practice to develop. By thinking of francophone Canadian literatures (in the plural) it is easier to see patterns of connection between cultures and across boundaries. Doyon-Gosselin sees the changing relationship between Quebec and the francophone minorities as opening up a new, continental presence, with Quebec functioning 'comme point de rencontre entre ces littératures moins importantes au plan quantitatif, mais valables et uniques en Amérique'.¹¹¹ Literary historical work can read across cultures to draw new parallels, whether between Acadie and the Antilles¹¹² or British Columbia and francophones of the Pacific Rim. The role of literary history among the francophone minorities is not simply commemorative and archival, nor is it concerned with recreating the old narrative of a unified French-Canadian nation. Released from the burdens of nationhood and destiny (and some of the minorities are rather more detached than others), the narrative can be differently shaped and a future which is not simply apocalyptic can be imagined.

As has been seen in this second case study, the literary history of francophone Canada entered a phase of growth and of change with the emergence of Quebec as a would-be sovereign state. But while the emergence of Quebec as a distinctive political entity has resulted in a highly supportive institutional framework for *québécois* literature, which would seem to favour a nation-based identity, at the same time the very idea of nationhood has been undermined by a rapidly globalizing world economy, an increasingly mobile population and an ongoing dynamic of cultural contact and exchange, all of which are transforming the nature of culture and its modes of circulation and consumption. The effects of these developments on the future of francophone Canadian literary history will be discussed in the Conclusion.

Conclusion:

Is there a future for francophone Canadian literary history/ies?

The Introduction drew attention to the problematic and controversial status of literary history today. With the shift from the national to the global, the discourse of world literature and *littérature-monde en français* is apparently superseding that of national literatures, defined by their belonging to a specific geopolitical territory. This in turn raises the question of whether nation-based literary histories are now a thing of the past. The revival of the notion of world literature seems to suggest this might be the case. In 2007 debates on world literature (a literature hitherto largely characterized by the use of the English language, whether in the original text or in translation) provoked a French-language response in a manifesto declaring the arrival of *une littérature-monde en français*, long promoted by Michel Le Bris and Jacques Rouaud.¹ Among the original signatories were Jacques Godbout, Dany Laferrière, Nancy Huston and Wajdi Mouawad, all of whom qualify in different ways as francophone Canadians. The closing sentence of their manifesto, published in *Le Monde* in March 2007, reads as follows: ‘Le centre relégué au milieu d’autres centres, c’est à la formation d’une constellation que nous assistons, où la langue libérée de son pacte exclusif avec la nation, libre désormais de tout pouvoir autre que ceux de la poésie et de l’imaginaire, n’aura pour frontières que celles de l’esprit.’² These final words illustrate the utopian and universalist rhetoric of the declaration as a whole. They point towards a body of literature which, while vast and potentially exciting, remains vague, unmappable, a leap beyond the material world with its complex web of power relations operating at, and between, the local level and the global

into the world of the *esprit* (a move which has often characterized French literary manifestos). The desire to embrace a different form of freely circulating universalism is perhaps understandable for those who aspire to reach a wider readership or those who feel their work transcends or does not fit the particularity of national identities. Yet there are few signs that Paris is losing its dominance in the production, distribution and legitimization of literature in French. Quebec is in fact unusual among non-metropolitan French nations in the considerable degree of autonomization of its literary institutions. But, as Lise Gauvin writes, even *québécois* literature remains to some extent ‘always dependent on the French network of legitimization and sanctioning for its presence in the larger francophone world’.³ The case of francophone Canadian literature *hors Québec* is, other than in exceptional cases, in a situation of double dependency – on Quebec for its wider dissemination within francophone Canada and on Paris (or on translation into English) for rare international recognition.

While some of the desired impact of the promoters of world literature must depend on shifting the focus of publishing, distribution and marketing to reach a global readership, the concept has also stimulated new ways of thinking about literary criticism, the reception of texts and literary history. A flurry of publications has appeared on the topic, their various approaches summarized by Emily Apter as follows:

‘Global literature’ (inflected by Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi), ‘cosmopolitanism’ (given its imprimatur by Bruce Robinson and Timothy Brennan), ‘world literature’ (revived by David Damrosch and Franco Moretti), ‘literary transnationalism’ (indebted to the work of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak) and comparative postcolonial and diaspora studies (indelibly marked by Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Françoise Lionnet and Rey Chow, among others).⁴

Terms such as ‘global literature’ and ‘world literature’ would initially seem to refer to the changing conditions of literary production in the contemporary period, yet they also raise the possibility of new methodological approaches to literary criticism and literary history. In their introduction to *French Global. A New Approach to Literary History*, Christie McDonald and Susan Rubin Suleiman argue that whereas questions about the relation between centre and periphery have emerged as crucial in discussions of *la francophonie*, ‘such questions – about the tensions between multiplicity and unity, between diversity and uniformity, between “same” and “other”, as well as the related questions

of migration and diaspora identities [...] have informed every period of French literature, starting with some of its most canonical texts'.⁵ Similarly, postcolonial and diaspora studies offer new ways of rethinking the literary history of the whole range of colonial and imperial projects, based as they are on the migration and displacement of populations and contact between different cultural practices. For David Damrosch the concept of world literature gives comparative literature an important new focus which allows it to open up 'new lines of comparison across the persisting division between the hyper-canon and the counter-canon of world literature'. This in turn, he claims, will create a new canon that crosses the 'conflicted boundaries of nations and of cultures'.⁶ It involves 'a mode of reading: a form of detached engagement with worlds beyond our own place and time'.⁷ But as a number of critics including Apter and Prendergast have pointed out, world literature does not offer any new solutions to the methodological difficulty of comparing texts from quite different languages and cultures. Prendergast contends that no literary history can adopt a worldwide view, unlocated in geographical, historical or ideological terms: 'A literary geography underpinned by that kind of complacent transcendentalism merely forgets (or "ends") history, typically issuing in the tacky Third Way clichés of a dominant strand of globalization theory.'⁸ Instead, he declares, 'What is needed is a proliferation of competing but also mutually nuancing predicates, description that is thick rather than thin, though this of course is all too easily said.'⁹

Global literature, postcolonial and diaspora studies do open up new ways of reading a corpus. They do not, however, operate in the ether and they must be informed by specific local histories and cultures if they are to be meaningful. Hemispheric American studies, as represented in the volume edited by Siemerling and Casteel, or French Atlantic studies, exemplified in Bill Marshall's *The French Atlantic*, both offer provocative and productive ways of resituating Canadian and francophone Canadian literature within a larger framework of contact between cultures beyond the nation.¹⁰ Indeed one of the insights of thinking of literature in hemispheric terms is the recognition that cultural heterogeneity operates not only across but also within cultures. Amaryll Chanady argues that comparatist literary study can be reinvigorated by the hemispheric approach, which in her words is both 'a greater openness toward non-canonical writing, but also a logical development of something that has always been at the center of comparative literature – namely, a fascination with cultures and cultural forms different from

the ones with which we grew up'. But as borders have become more porous and migration more various, she continues, 'these other cultures can now, however, increasingly be sought inside our own nation, since the traditional homogenizing conception of national culture has been replaced by an awareness of intra-national heterogeneity'.¹¹ In fact, throughout the history of the francophone presence in North America, it is precisely the multiplicity of languages and of ways in which texts have addressed linguistic and cultural difference that has been a distinctive characteristic of literary life. Whether one thinks of the bilingual newspapers published during the early years of British rule in Quebec, of grammar and religious works published in indigenous languages, or of the trilingual content of *Vice versa*, the review directed by Fulvio Caccia and Lamberto Tassinari from 1983 to 1996, language difference and plurilingualism are part of the literary and cultural context of francophone Canada. A heightened awareness of linguistic diversity and contact between languages makes francophone Canadian literature a very particular example of what Lise Gauvin terms 'la surconscience linguistique'¹² and an appropriate subject of hemispheric study.

The concerns of the promoters of *une littérature-monde en français* are rather different in kind, seeking not so much an alternative critical approach, but rather a way of reshaping the literary field. Yet its many critics suggest that it fails to offer anything new. Charles J. Sugnet sees it as little more than a retrogressive step, an attempt to renew the notion of *la francophonie* while failing to confront the enduring effects of colonialism in France.¹³ For her part Françoise Lionnet proposes the retention of 'francophonies' (in the plural) as best able to decentre literature in French and encompass the bilingual and multilingual awareness common to so many of the non-metropolitan *francophonies*, and she deplors the abandonment of the term by Le Bris et al., which levels out the very distinctive creative practices of the different francophone communities.¹⁴

While notions of world literature, in French or in English, may appeal as an aspiration, and may seem to reflect the realities of globalization, I suggest that the future of small literatures such as those of francophone Canada is best served by maintaining an awareness of their specificity, their distinctive cultural context(s) and the particular conditions under which literature is produced. It is only in such a way that the very different situations of the French language in Quebec, in Acadie, or in Ontario can be valued and the different creative responses, including the production of bilingual or indeed trilingual texts, be properly understood. Between the local and the global, I argue for continued

attention to the local, not in an attempt to preserve some essentialized, nation-shaped image of francophone Canadian literature, but rather to be able to carry out literary historical work from a range of specific and mutually nuancing perspectives.

What this study has shown is that the nation-based meta-narrative which dominated French-Canadian literary history until the 1960s and then, in a different mode, *la littérature québécoise* from the 1960s onwards can no longer hold as a single narrative. Indeed, it never did offer more than a selective and incomplete account of the literary production of francophone writers in Canada. Developments in literary history since the 1970s have to some extent been able to propose alternative narratives and to address the lacks and biases of earlier literary histories. But as I hope to have indicated in Chapter 4, the ways in which the literary history of *la littérature québécoise* has been told has to an extent occluded the stories of the other francophone populations of Canada, both within and beyond Quebec. But how will the distinctive, local features of those other stories to be told? Could it be that just as we remove the nation from the heart of literary history, we might have to reinvent it?

As Donna Palmateer Pennee has suggested in a different context, it may be a case of 'doing the national differently'.¹⁵ The two cases discussed in Chapter 4 are examples of where this might be done. Discussion of the various francophone literatures of Canada beyond Quebec and of aboriginal writing in Quebec indicated that there remains a need to write literary history. Clearly the situations of First Nations authors in Quebec, of Acadian literature, of Franco-Ontarian writing or of francophone literature in British Columbia are all quite different and nor would these populations identify their distinctive literary and cultural production with political nationhood. Yet a local literary history is one way of asserting an independent cultural identity and resisting assimilation. In the case of aboriginal writing in Quebec, the literary history relates to a minority population within a larger territory. But other cases of indigenous literary nationalism¹⁶ might extend across political and state borders. Keavy Martin has recently argued in favour of a common Inuit literary history, alongside local literary histories, contending that a combination of detailed literary histories of specific regions and an overarching literary history plays an important role in building political consciousness, self-knowledge and cultural identity. This is something that would have been inconceivable prior to the inaugural meeting of the Inuit Circumpolar Council in 1977 at which delegates from

Greenland, Alaska and Arctic Canada adopted the ethnonym 'Inuit' to stress what united them rather than what distinguished them from each other, so recognizing officially for the first time a common identity.¹⁷ Such a strategic deployment of the concept of nationhood has been defended by Daniel Heath Justice as 'a necessary ethical response to the assimilationist directive of imperialist nation-states'.¹⁸

Literary history, as a means of constructing a shared cultural identity, will continue to be written and rewritten at different moments in history and in the midst of shifting networks of power relations. Its importance is strategic and its precise shape and purpose will vary accordingly as collectives unite, fragment or regroup according to changing circumstances. For Stuart Hall, cultural identity is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being': 'Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialized past, they are subject to the continuous "play" of history, culture and power.'¹⁹ Similarly, literary history is best understood as a process and a cultural practice, with a history and a future. As stated in the Introduction, my understanding of literary history is that it comprises a range of activities and forms, from the narrative account to the encyclopaedia, from the anthologized selection to the database. Its methodological tools have varied from age to age and from one literary historian to another, something which Luc Fraisse sees as key to its durability: 'elle ne propose pas, pour développer son activité, en préambule un protocole théorique; elle se pratique. [...] le propre d'une pratique est de tendre à se poursuivre.'²⁰

Although the concept of a summative, nation-shaped literary history has been dismissed by many as outmoded and/or ideologically suspect, this does not, in fact, mean that literary history as an activity has disappeared. Indeed the case of francophone Canada suggests that literary histories are not only a topic of debate, but also that they are flourishing. Their plurality is both a symptom of the malaise and the key to the resurgence. Perkins has suggested that the impossibility of the project of literary history is a product of our age: 'we cannot write literary history with intellectual conviction, but we must read it. The irony and paradox of this argument are themselves typical of our present moment in history.'²¹ And it is only if literary historical work in the diverse field of francophone Canadian literature continues that readers can go on reading, and testing the ideological and aesthetic assumptions involved.

Notes

Introduction

1 On the relative neglect of the history of the theatre in Quebec in literary histories see Lucie Robert, 'Fragments d'une histoire méconnue. Le théâtre vu par les auteurs dramatiques', in Denis Saint-Jacques, ed., *Tendances actuelles en histoire littéraire canadienne* (Quebec: Nota bene, 2003), pp. 201–15.

2 While theatre history, for example, tends not to feature strongly in the corpus of literary histories and anthologies discussed in this book, it has been the subject of many more specialized studies such as that of Jean-Cléo Godin and Laurent Mailhot, *Théâtre québécois*, 2 vols (Montreal: Bibliothèque québécoise, 1988). For examples of current research see Rachel Killick, ed., 'Francophone theatres of the Americas: Text, performance, reception', *International Journal of Francophone Studies*, 13.2, 2010, special issue.

3 Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 3.

4 Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), p. xiii.

5 Graham Huggan, *Australian Literature: Postcolonialism, Racism, Transnationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 39.

6 Huggan, *Australian Literature*, p. 35.

7 David Perkins, *Is Literary History Possible?* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 4.

8 Perkins, *Is Literary History Possible?*, p. 1.

9 Perkins, *Is Literary History Possible?*, p. 8.

10 Perkins, *Is Literary History Possible?*, p. 17.

11 World literature, and indeed some forms of comparative literature, may adopt a different approach both to spatial and temporal selection, in which case thematic, formal or theoretical approaches will assume a greater importance.

12 Perkins, *Is Literary History Possible?*, p. 19.

13 Jonathan Arac, 'What Is the History of Literature?', in Marshall Brown,

ed., *The Uses of Literary History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), p. 23.

14 Denis Hollier, ed., *A New History of French Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. xix. Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

15 Perkins, *Is Literary History Possible?*, p. 60.

16 Perkins, *Is Literary History Possible?*, p. 58.

17 Perkins, *Is Literary History Possible?*, p. 20.

18 Huggan, *Australian Literature*, p. 39.

19 E. D. Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention: A History of Literary History in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 4.

20 J. G. Herder, *Ideas Toward a Philosophy of the History of Humanity, 1784–1791*, in F. M. Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought: From Enlightenment to Nationalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 57–58. The distinction which Herder makes here between 'state' and 'nation' and the determining role of linguistic expression is a key to an understanding of Quebec's own sense of nationhood.

21 See Herder, *Ideas Toward a Philosophy of the History of Humanity*, pp. 31–32.

22 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 20.

23 Sylvia Söderlind, 'What's in a Nation?', *Review. Literature and Arts of the Americas*, 41.1, 2008, p. 4.

24 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 133.

25 Linda Hutcheon, 'Rethinking the National Model', in Linda Hutcheon and Mario J. Valdés, eds, *Rethinking Literary History: A Dialogue on Theory* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 15.

26 Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, p. 132.

27 Jean Bouthillette, *Le Canadien français et son double* (Montreal: L'Hexagone, 1989), pp. 14–15.

28 Bouthillette, *Le Canadien français et son double*, p. 96.

29 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 8.

30 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 8.

31 Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, p. 16.

32 Mads Rosendahl Thomsen, *Mapping World Literature: International Canonization and Transnational Literatures* (London: Continuum, 2008), p. 3.

33 Huggan, *Australian Literature*, p. 6.

34 Huggan, *Australian Literature*, p. 3.

35 See, for example, the Introduction to Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds, *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 4, which sees the inclusion of former

settler colonies such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand in the category of the postcolonial as ‘something of a problem’, concluding after cursory discussion that ‘the argument for inclusion has not been won’.

36 Albert Memmi, ‘Are the French-Canadians Colonized?’, *Dominated Man. Notes towards a Portrait* (New York: Orion Press, 1968), p. 74.

37 Memmi, ‘Are the French-Canadians Colonized?’, p. 73.

38 It is also, however, very much a statement of its own time, in that France, emerging from the post-war years and the conflicts of decolonization, and facing significant internal strife, sees Quebec as enjoying the benefits of a North American lifestyle, and in no way dependent on its former colonial ruler.

39 Stephen Slemon, ‘Unsettling the Empire: Resistance Theory for the Second World’, *World Literature Written in English*, 30.2, 1990, p. 35.

40 Diana Brydon, ‘Introduction: Reading Postcoloniality, Reading Canada’, *Essays on Canadian Literature*, 56, autumn 1995, pp. 16–17.

41 Brydon, ‘Introduction: Reading Postcoloniality, Reading Canada’, p. 2.

42 Brydon, ‘Introduction: Reading Postcoloniality, Reading Canada’, p. 9.

43 Among a range of outstanding work in this field is the ongoing series *La Vie littéraire au Québec* produced by researchers at Laval University between 1991 and 2010, which will be discussed in Chapter 1.

44 On the history of the French-language almanac in Canada see Anne Dordtman and Judy Donnelly, ‘Almanacs’, in Patricia Lockhart Fleming, Gilles Gallichan and Yvan Lamonde, eds, *History of the Book in Canada/Histoire du livre et de l’imprimé au Canada, Vol. I: Beginnings to 1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 271–75; Judy Donnelly and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, ‘Almanacs’, in Yvan Lamonde, Patricia Lockhart Fleming and Fiona Black, eds, *History of the Book in Canada/Histoire du livre et de l’imprimé au Canada, Vol. II: 1840–1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 375–84; Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, ‘L’almanac: structures et évolutions d’un type d’imprimé populaire en Europe et dans les Amériques’, in Jacques Michon and Jean-Yves Mollier, eds, *Les Mutations du livre et de l’édition dans le monde du XVIIIe siècle à l’an 2000* (Quebec: Presses de l’université Laval/L’Harmattan, 2001), pp. 432–41; and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, ‘La littérature des almanachs: réflexions sur l’anthropologie du fait littéraire’, *Études françaises*, 36.3, 2000, pp. 47–64.

45 The Catholic Church was not, however, immune to internal conflict as can be seen in the way that theological conflicts between ultramontane traditionalists and modernizers translated in the field of education into disputes over matters of curriculum, over the democratization of access to education, and over the access of women to higher education, as will be discussed in Chapter 2.

46 See Jean Gagnon, ‘Les livres de récompense et la diffusion de nos auteurs de 1856 à 1931’, *Cahiers de bibliologie*, 1, 1980, pp. 3–24.

47 Paul Aubin, ‘Manuel scolaire’, in Pierre Hébert, Yves Lever and Kenneth

Landry, eds, *Dictionnaire de la censure au Québec: littérature et cinéma* (Montreal: Fides, 2006), p. 433.

48 Louis Francœur, 'Quand écrire c'était agir: la série culturelle québécoise au XIXe siècle', *Voix et images*, VI.3, 1981, p. 454.

49 Jane Everett, 'Orthodoxie et hétérodoxie littéraires: le cas du Québec vers 1900', *Littératures*, 1, 1988, p. 94.

50 See Claude-Marie Gagnon, 'La censure au Québec', *Voix et images*, IX.1, 1984, p. 115.

51 I have discussed the case of Manitoba in *Between Languages and Cultures: Colonial and Postcolonial Readings of Gabrielle Roy* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), Chapter 1. The history of French-language education beyond Quebec is the subject of a number of studies and will not be discussed in detail here. For the period 1960–2000 see M. D. Behiels, *Canada's Francophone Minority Communities: Constitutional Renewal and the Winning of School Governance* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004). On the earlier periods see J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet, *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall, 1970).

52 See Pierre Hébert, *Censure et littérature au Québec: le livre crucifié 1625–1919* (Montreal: Fides, 1997); Pierre Hébert, *Censure et littérature au Québec: Des vieux couvents au plaisir de vivre (1920–1959)* (with the collaboration of Elise Salaün) (Montreal: Fides, 2004); Pierre Hébert, Yves Lever and Kenneth Landry, eds, *Dictionnaire de la censure au Québec: littérature et cinéma* (Montreal: Fides, 2006).

53 Yvan Lamonde, 'Institution et associations littéraires au Québec au 19e siècle: le cas de l'Institut canadien de Montréal (1845–1876)', *Littératures*, 1, 1988, p. 68.

54 Bishop Bourget was responsible in 1858 for the censorship of the library of the Institut canadien, which not only contained a number of banned books in its holdings, but was also seen as promoting the activities and influence of a liberally minded bourgeoisie, a challenge to the Catholic establishment.

55 Pierre Hébert, 'Présentation', *Voix et images*, 23.2, 1998, special issue, 'La censure 1920–1960', p. 221.

56 See Noëlle Sorin, 'Littérature pour la jeunesse', in Hébert, Lever and Landry, eds, *Dictionnaire de la censure au Québec*, p. 413.

57 On the development of public libraries in Quebec see Marcel Lajeunesse, 'The Public Library in Quebec', in Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, eds, *History of the Book in Canada/Histoire du livre et de l'imprimé au Canada. Vol III: 1918–1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp. 435–37.

58 Everett, 'Orthodoxie et hétérodoxie littéraires', p. 106.

59 The excellence of this resource, available free to all residents of Quebec, contrasts with the greater difficulty of access to their francophone cultural heritage for francophones resident elsewhere in Canada.

60 The mission statement is published on the BANQ website: http://www.banq.qc.ca/a_propos_banq/mission_lois_reglements/mission/ (accessed 26 August 2012).

61 Graham Huggan, ‘Prizing “Otherness”: A Short History of the Booker’, *Studies in the Novel*, 29.3, 1997, p. 413.

62 See the database of literary awards in Canada, searchable by author and by award: Karen Lippold, Angela Lonardo and Suzanne Sexty, ‘Canadian Literary Awards, 1900–2000/ Prix de littérature au Canada, 1900–2000’, <http://litawards.library.mun.ca/> (accessed 18 July 2013).

63 Elisabeth Nardout-Lafarge, ‘Autonomie littéraire et rupture symbolique: le Québec et la France, 1940–1950’, *Littératures*, 1, 1988, p. 144.

64 See Carole Gerson and Jacques Michon, eds, *History of the Book in Canada/Histoire du livre et de l’imprimé au Canada. Vol III: 1918–1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 129.

65 For the full list of award-holders see the Canada Council website <http://www.canadacouncil.ca/en/council/grants-and-prizes> (accessed 18 July 2013).

66 Gillian Roberts devotes a chapter to the case of Yann Martel in *Prizing Literature, The Celebration and Circulation of National Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), Chapter 5.

67 See the *Globe and Mail* article cited below. As the article points out, Des Rosiers is the third migrant writer to gain this award (following Monique Bosco and Naïm Kattan) and the first Haitian writer; <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/books-and-media/a-haitian-writer-wins-top-quebec-literary-prize/article619151/> (accessed 26 August 2012).

68 Huggan, ‘Prizing “Otherness”’, pp. 412–34.

69 J. Coldwell, quoted in Gerson and Michon, eds, *History of the Book in Canada*, vol. III, p. 137.

Chapter One

1 Sylvia Söderlind, ‘What’s in a Nation?’, *Review. Literature and Arts of the Americas*, 41.1, 2008, p. 4.

2 E. D. Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention: A History of Literature in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 10.

3 A typographer, Huston was a liberal and served briefly as president of the Institut canadien, an institution which offered a radical intellectual forum for those opposed to the traditionalism of the clergy.

4 Lucie Robert observes that Huston’s *Répertoire* is ‘un recueil et non un récit de littérature canadienne’. See Lucie Robert, ‘Germaine de Staël, aux origines de l’histoire littéraire au Québec’, in Martin Doré and Doris Jakubec, eds, *Deux littératures francophones en dialogue. Du Québec et de la Suisse romande* (Quebec: Presses de l’université Laval, 2005), p. 226.

5 James Huston, *Le Répertoire national ou Recueil de littérature canadienne*, 4 vols (Montreal: L'imprimerie de Lovell et Gibson, 1848–50), I, p. iii. Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

6 At this time the adjective 'canadien' was still synonymous with 'French-Canadian'; see David M. Hayne, 'The Concept of "littérature" in Nineteenth-Century Quebec', in E. D. Blodgett and A. G. Purdy, eds, *Problems of Literary Reception / Problèmes de réception littéraire* (Edmonton: Research Institute for Comparative Literature, University of Alberta, 1988), p. 127.

7 Maurice Lemire states: 'Aujourd'hui encore, on lui fait une confiance aveugle, prenant pour acquis que ces textes sont les meilleurs de l'époque, et c'est toujours à partir de cette compilation que l'on reconstitue la vie littéraire d'avant 1850'; '*Le Répertoire national*', in Maurice Lemire, ed., *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol. I (Montreal: Fides, 1980), <http://services.banq.qc.ca/sdx/DOLQ/> (accessed 15 May 2013).

8 Edmond Lareau, *Histoire de la littérature canadienne* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1874). Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

9 '*Histoire de la littérature canadienne*', in Lemire, *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol. I. Like Huston, Lareau was a liberal. He had a legal, not a literary background. After the *cours classique*, he studied law in Germany and at McGill University, where he took up a post teaching the history of Canadian law.

10 Hayne charts the development of the term 'littérature' in a corpus of nineteenth-century prefaces, articles and essays. See 'The Concept of "littérature" in Nineteenth-Century Quebec', pp. 126–35.

11 In his 1907 *Tableau d'histoire de la littérature canadienne* Camille Roy gives a mere two pages to theatre, the first of which is devoted to explaining the poor quality of the few works he goes on to list: 'Il faut pour exceller dans le genre dramatique une culture générale de l'esprit, une finesse d'observation, une pénétration psychologique, un sens de la vie réelle, un goût artistique, et une connaissance de la langue que jusqu'ici l'on n'a guère pu suffisamment réaliser dans notre Province'. Camille Roy, *Tableau d'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* (Quebec: Imprimerie de l'Action sociale, 1907), p. 70.

12 '*Histoire de la littérature canadienne*', in Lemire, ed., *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*, vol. I.

13 Karine Cellard, *Leçons de littérature. Un siècle de manuels scolaires au Québec* (Montreal: Presses de l'université de Montréal, 2011), p. 31.

14 Chapter 3 will look more closely at the role of the literary anthology in processes of canonization and dissemination of francophone Canadian literature among young readers.

15 The echo of Du Bellay's *La Deffence, et illustration de la langue françoise*, first published in 1549, is intentional. His work, which served as a

manifesto for the Pléiade poets, helped to establish French as the language of literary culture, a vernacular literature to equal the classics of antiquity.

16 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, pp. 20–22. Blodgett describes his choice of texts as ‘highly various, ranging from prefaces to anthologies and essays, to handbooks and histories proper’ (19), selected on the basis of their perceived influence and their scope. He excludes purely provincial histories but includes those of (hyphenated) ethnic minorities (Ukrainian-Canadian, Jewish-Canadian, Hungarian-Canadian), as well as histories of anglophone, francophone and aboriginal writing.

17 Both Blodgett and New use the term in their respective titles without any reference to language or ethnicity, but both discuss their use of the term within their works.

18 Early French explorers and settlers initially used the adjective ‘canadien’ to refer to the aboriginal population, before claiming it as a form of self-identification. For the history of this shift see Gervais Carpin, *Histoire d’un mot: l’ethnonyme Canadien de 1535 à 1691*, ‘Les Cahiers du Septentrion’, 5 (Sillery, QC: Septentrion, 1995).

19 Michel Biron, François Dumont and Élisabeth Nardout-Lafarge, *Histoire de la littérature québécoise* (Montreal: Boréal, 2007), p. 60. Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

20 *Atlas historique du Canada. II. La transformation du territoire* (Montreal: Presses de l’université de Montréal, 1993), p. 21.

21 Camille Roy, *Histoire de la littérature canadienne* (Quebec: L’Action sociale, 1930). In this he is aligning himself with the pan-Canadian vision of figures such as Henri Bourassa and against what Roy saw as the more hard-line nationalism of Lionel Groulx. For a thorough discussion of Roy’s ideological trajectory see Cellard, *Leçons de littérature*, pp. 29–113, and Lucie Robert, *Le Manuel d’histoire de la littérature canadienne de Mgr Camille Roy* (Quebec: L’institut de recherche sur la culture, 1982).

22 In contrast Lorne Pierce’s *An Outline of Canadian Literature (French and English)* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1927), an important source for Roy, presents an integrated analysis of the two literatures, identified by language not territory, which he holds up as the products of a shared Canadian spirit, together resisting the economic (and cultural) power of the USA. Two further anglophone-authored studies of Canadian literature which appeared in the inter-war years and included material on French-Canadian literature were Archibald MacMechan, *Head-Waters of Canadian Literature* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1924) and Vernon Blair Rhodenizer, *Handbook of Canadian Literature* (Ottawa: Graphic Publishers, 1930).

23 Camille Roy, *Manuel d’histoire de la littérature canadienne de langue française*, 21st edn (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1962) [based on 1939 edition].

24 Camille Roy, ‘Critique et littérature nationale’, in Camille Roy, *Regard sur les lettres* (Quebec: Imprimerie de l’Action sociale, 1931), p. 230.

25 See Lucie Robert, ‘L’Émergence de la notion de “littérature canadienne-française” dans la presse québécoise (1870–1948)’, in Blodgett and Purdy, eds, *Problems of Literary Reception / Problèmes de réception littéraire*, pp. 136–43.

26 Camille Roy, *Manuel d’histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* (Quebec: L’Action Sociale, 1918); Sœurs de Sainte-Anne, *Précis d’histoire littéraire: littérature canadienne-française* (Lachine, QC: Procure des missions des Sœurs de Sainte-Anne, 1928); Berthelot Brunet, *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* (Montreal: Editions de l’Arbre, 1946); Gérard Tougas, *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* (Paris: PUF, 1974 [1960]).

27 In 1965 *Parti pris* published an issue entitled ‘Pour une littérature québécoise’ which established the term as the accepted, modern designation.

28 Tougas, *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*, p. 254.

29 The findings and recommendations of the Parent Report which instigated the wave of education reforms are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

30 Roger Duhamel, *Manuel de littérature canadienne-française* (Montreal: Renouveau pédagogique, 1967); Gérard Bessette, Lucien Geslin and Charles Parent, *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française par les textes* (Montreal: Centre éducatif et culturel, 1968); Paul Gay, *Notre littérature. Guide littéraire du Canada français à l’usage des niveaux secondaire et collégial* (Montreal: Hurtubise HMH, 1969).

31 Pierre de Grandpré, ed., *Histoire de la littérature française du Québec*, 4 vols (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1967–69).

32 Laurent Mailhot, *La Littérature française*, ‘Que sais-je’ (Paris: PUF, 1974). In this respect, it is interesting to note the successive titles of the poetry anthologies edited by Alain Bosquet: *La Poésie canadienne* (1962), *La Poésie canadienne contemporaine de langue française* (1966), *Poésie du Québec* (1968; 1971).

33 Edwin Hamblet, *La Littérature canadienne francophone* (Paris: Hatier, 1987).

34 Hamblet, *La Littérature canadienne francophone*, p. 150.

35 Mailhot, *La Littérature française*, p. 7.

36 Réginald Hamel, John Hare and Paul Wyczynski, *Dictionnaire pratique des auteurs québécois* (Montreal: Fides, 1976), p. x.

37 The Centre de recherche en littérature québécoise was established at Laval University, Quebec in 1971, with Maurice Lemire as director. In 2002 CRELIQ merged with the Centre d’études québécoises of the Université de Montréal (CÉTUQ) to form the Centre de recherche interuniversitaire sur la littérature et la culture québécoises (CRILCQ).

38 The editors of the individual volumes were as follows: Maurice Lemire, ed., *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec, Tome 1: Des origines à 1900*, 2nd edn (Montreal: Fides, 1980); *Tome II: 1900–1939*, 2nd edn (Montreal: Fides, 1987); *Tome III: 1940–1959* (Montreal: Fides, 1982); *Tome IV: 1960–1969* (Montreal: Fides, 1984); *Tome V: 1970–1975* (Montreal: Fides, 1987); Gilles

Dorion, ed., *Tome VI: 1976–1980* (Montreal: Fides, 1994); Aurélien Boivin, ed., *Tome VII: 1981–1985* (Montreal: Fides, 2003); Aurélien Boivin, ed., *Tome VIII: 1986–1990* (Montreal: Fides, 2011). Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text. For further information on the project see the website: <http://www.crilcq.org/recherche/histoire/dolq.asp> (accessed 15 May 2013).

39 The editors of the individual volumes were as follows: Maurice Lemire, ed., *La Vie littéraire au Québec, Tome I: 1764–1805. La voix française des nouveaux sujets britanniques* (Sainte-Foy, QC: Presses de l'université Laval, 1991); *Tome II: 1806–1839. Le projet national des Canadiens* (Sainte-Foy, QC: Presses de l'université Laval, 1992); Maurice Lemire and Denis Saint-Jacques, eds, *La Vie littéraire au Québec, Tome III: 1840–1869. Un peuple sans histoire ni littérature* (Sainte-Foy, QC: Presses de l'université Laval, 1996); *Tome IV: 1870–1894. Je me souviens* (Sainte-Foy, QC: Presses de l'université Laval, 1999); Denis Saint-Jacques and Maurice Lemire, eds, *La Vie littéraire au Québec, Tome V: 1895–1918. Sois fidèle à la Laurentie* (Sainte-Foy, QC: Presses de l'université Laval, 2005); Denis Saint-Jacques and Lucie Robert, eds, *La Vie littéraire au Québec, Tome VI: 1919–1933. Le nationaliste, l'individualiste et le marchand* (Sainte-Foy, QC: Presses de l'université Laval, 2010). Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

40 Among a number of twenty-first-century studies of 'la littérature anglo-québécoise' are a number of special journal issues including *Voix et Images*, 2005, edited by Catherine Leclerc and Sherry Simon; *Spirale*, 2006, edited by Martine-Emmanuelle Lapointe and Patrick Poirier; and *Québec Studies*, 2007–08, edited by Lianne Moyes and Gillian Lane-Mercier.

41 W. H. New, *A History of Canadian Literature*, 2nd edn (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003). Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

42 This is equally true for historians, as revisions to the periodization of Quebec's history show. For a discussion of recent debates on periodization see John Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 3rd edn (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), pp. xxii–xxv.

43 Laurent Mailhot, 'Problèmes de périodisation en histoire littéraire du Québec', in Clément Moisan, ed., *L'Histoire littéraire. Théorie, Méthodes, Pratiques* (Quebec: Presses de l'université Laval, 1989), p. 120.

44 Mailhot, 'Problèmes de périodisation en histoire littéraire du Québec', p. 120.

45 Paul Aron and Alain Viala, *L'Enseignement littéraire* (Paris: PUF, 2005), p. 119.

46 Roy, *Tableau d'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*, p. 9. He does, however, add a footnote suggesting that work of the 'période préliminaire' by Marie de l'Incarnation, Champlain, Charlevoix and the Jesuit

Relations would deserve study in their own right (10). Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

47 James Huston refers to 1820 as '[l']époque où notre littérature a commencé à prendre un caractère solide, plus défini, plus national', *Le Répertoire national ou Recueil de littérature canadienne*, I, p. vi.

48 Members of this group were involved in the founding of the journals *Les soirées canadiennes* in 1861 and *Le Foyer canadien* in 1863. It was Henri-Raymond Casgrain who in a retrospective account in 1866 designated the literary activity of this group as 'le mouvement littéraire de 1860'.

49 *La Vie littéraire* gives the spelling Thibaudeau (IV, p. 305). This was to be the only literary history that the community devoted solely to French-Canadian literature. In subsequent publications the Sœurs de Sainte-Anne reverted to a joint literary history of French and French-Canadian literatures: *Histoire des littératures française et canadienne* (Lachine, QC: Procure des missions, Mont-Sainte-Anne, 1943), of which extended editions appeared in 1951, 1954, 1956 and 1957.

50 Sœur Marie-Élise led the campaign for the right for her community to deliver the *cours classique* to girls. The community inaugurated the collège Marie-Anne in September 1932, the year before sœur Marie-Élise died. See Cellard, *Leçons de littérature*, p. 122.

51 One example of this moralizing tone, frequent in the literature textbooks of the time, is the comment about Arthur Buies which praises his latter-day association with more patriotic, traditionalist values: 'Arthur Buies fut l'ami du curé Labelle, son premier lieutenant dans son œuvre patriotique de colonisation. Il eut le bonheur de mourir en vrai chrétien', Sœurs de Sainte-Anne, *Précis d'histoire littéraire*, p. 93. Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

52 See Annette Hayward, *La Rhétorique au féminin* (Quebec: Nota bene, 2006), p. 60, and Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, 'Feminist Rhetoric', in Thomas D. Sloane, ed., *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 304.

53 Several of these women writers later appear in Roy's 1934 anthology, *Morceaux choisis d'auteurs canadiens* (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1934), discussed in Chapter 3.

54 The designation of the British victory in 1760 as 'la conquête' rather than 'la cession' became widespread among Montreal historians in the 1940s, which emphasizes, as Blodgett remarks, 'the shift from diplomacy to military supremacy and marks the British presence in Canada as imperialistic' (*Five-Part Invention*, p. 11).

55 Since Roy died in 1943 and his last amendments take us up to 1942 it was the editors who subsequently fixed this limit, presumably because of the association with the end of the Second World War and the beginning of a new era.

56 Cellard, *Leçons de littérature*, pp. 110–11.

57 Cellard, *Leçons de littérature*, p. 113.

58 Roy's biography shows how deeply implicated he was in the institutionalization of French-Canadian literature, influencing pupils, trainee teachers, university students and colleagues through his involvement with the Séminaire de Québec and l'Université Laval, a founder of the École normale supérieure in 1920, attached to the Faculté des Arts at Laval University, and the first Dean of the Faculté des Lettres (Laval) when it was created in 1937.

59 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 91.

60 Cellard, *Leçons de littérature*, p. 159.

61 Blodgett finds this irritating as the following comments illustrate: 'Brunet is not particularly clear about beginnings'; 'Brunet makes no effort to indicate where the prologue begins' (*Five-Part Invention*, p. 91).

62 Brunet, *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*, p. 4. Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text. Brunet's text is available electronically: La Bibliothèque électronique du Québec, vol. 189; version 1.0, August 2002.

63 Discussing the late development of the novel in Quebec Brunet alludes to the power of censorship: 'Vers 1860, il n'est guère de nos romanciers contemporains qui n'eussent trouvé un éditeur chez nous' (*Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*, p. 25).

64 Élisabeth Nardout-Lafarge, 'Référence littéraire et cliché critique: l'antonomase du nom d'auteur chez Berthelot Brunet', *Tangence*, 44, June 1994, p. 64.

65 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 141.

66 Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la perception* (Paris: Gallimard, 1945), p. 229.

67 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 150.

68 Fernand Dumont, 'Vie intellectuelle et société, depuis 1945: la recherche d'une nouvelle conscience', in Pierre de Grandpré, ed., *Histoire de la littérature française du Québec – Tome III (1945 à nos jours) – La poésie* (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1969), p. 15.

69 Dumont, 'Vie intellectuelle et société, depuis 1945', p. 22.

70 In fact in the first volume the biographies are often integrated into the presentation of the author and so precede the texts.

71 Cellard, *Leçons de littérature*, p. 246.

72 Tougas, *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*, p. 254.

73 Tougas, *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*, p. 6. Seen from the present day, Tougas's wording here seems almost to prefigure the rhetoric of 'une littérature monde en français', rather than the cultural production of 'la francophonie'.

74 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 260.

75 Tougas, *Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française*, p. 235.

76 Dennis Walder, *Post-Colonial Literatures in English: History, Language, Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), p. 81.

77 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 264.

78 Mailhot subsequently published a much expanded volume, *La Littérature québécoise: depuis ses origines. Essai* (Montreal: Typo, 1997). Freed from the constraints of the PUF format and the European market, and benefiting from over two further decades of literary production, Mailhot devotes over half the book to ‘la littérature contemporaine (depuis 1974)’.

79 See the website <http://www.crilcq.org/recherche/histoire/dolq.asp> (accessed 9 February 2012).

80 The quote is from Charles Baudelaire, ‘Harmonie du soir’, *Les Fleurs du mal*, 1857.

81 See Pierre Bourdieu, ‘Le champ littéraire’, *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 89, September 1991, pp. 3–46 for an outline of the operation of the literary field.

82 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 202.

83 ‘Ce système [...] prend ainsi la configuration d’un poly-système conflictuel à évolution discontinue où la complexité des inter-relations ne permet pas de prévoir avec précision ses réactions dans des situations données’; Clément Moisan and Denis Saint-Jacques, ‘Présentation’, *Études littéraires*, 20.1, 1987, p. 14.

84 Maurice Lemire, ‘L’Autonomisation de la “Littérature Nationale” au XIX^e siècle’, *Études Littéraires*, 20, 1987, p. 75.

85 Lemire, ‘L’Autonomisation de la “Littérature Nationale” au XIX^e siècle’, p. 75.

86 See Biron, Dumont and Nardout-Lafarge, *Histoire de la littérature québécoise*, pp. 182–83. This is just one example of the complexity of the ways in which ‘France’ (by which I mean representations of France and of French literature) figures in the history of Quebec literature.

87 Pierre Bourdieu, *Les Règles de l’art. Genèse et structure du champ littéraire* (Paris: Seuil, 1992), p. 551.

88 John Ralston Saul, *Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the end of the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: Viking, 1995), p. 129.

89 The 2003 edition of New’s *History* has an additional chapter but few other revisions to the 1989 text.

90 It is, however, telling that in the introduction to this final part, the first sentence refers to pluralism and the second to the result of the referendum on sovereignty-association, a combination of references which have become a standard way of shaping post-1980s Quebec (*Histoire de la littérature québécoise*, p. 531).

91 Graham Huggan, *Australian Literature: Postcolonialism, Racism, Transnationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. xviii–xxi. The chronology presents two columns, one with a date (from 40,000 BC to 2005),

the other with events (including author and title of about 50 literary texts, a smaller number of references to the history of the aboriginal, settler and migrant populations and to the institutionalization of Australian literature).

92 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 93. In his discussion of literary histories of aboriginal writing Blodgett argues that ‘First Nations and Inuit cultures have simply been, in contrast, possessed by other cultures, and so their preoccupations are less with space and time as problems, but rather with their specific cultures and their continuity’ (15). As for ethnic minority writing, ‘culture alone is the issue, time and space being fundamentally issues of the imaginary, and Canadian time and space have hardly any other than practical significance’ (15). Ethnic and aboriginal cultures also share another feature: ‘The other alteration, shared by both Native and ethnic minority cultures is the forced awareness that self-knowledge would always carry with it knowledge of the Other. Their cultures were no longer complete and sufficient in themselves but always riddled with the hybridization common to post-colonial societies’ (13). Quebec’s cultural self-reflection does not, he argues, suffer as do anglophone literary historians from ‘the embarrassments of possession’ (15).

93 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 13.

94 Blodgett, ‘Francophone Writing’, in Eva-Marie Kröller, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Canadian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 49–69.

95 Blodgett, ‘Francophone Writing’, p. 49.

96 Robert, ‘L’émergence de la notion de “littérature canadienne-française” dans la presse québécoise’, p. 138. Lemire interprets the apparent obsession with the past of the 1860s generation not simply as nostalgia for a rapidly disappearing past, but rather ‘l’occasion de redéfinir le nationalisme en fonction d’un passé idéalisé en particulier par l’histoire. Non seulement les mœurs des ancêtres doivent-elles être fidèlement remémorées, mais elles doivent servir de modèle aux actions futures’; Lemire, ‘L’autonomisation de la “Littérature Nationale” au XIX^e siècle’, p. 82.

97 Lemire, ‘L’autonomisation de la “Littérature Nationale” au XIX^e siècle’, p. 82.

98 John Speller, *Bourdieu and Literature* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2011), pp. 51–52.

99 J. L. Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1998), p. xvii, quoted in Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 302.

Chapter Two

1 Roland Barthes, ‘Réflexions sur un manuel’, in S. Doubrovsky and T. Todorov, *L’Enseignement de la littérature* (Paris: De Boeck/Duculot, 1981), p. 64; also cited as ‘La littérature, c’est ce qui s’enseigne, un point c’est tout’,

‘Réflexions sur un manuel’, *Le Bruissement de la langue* (Paris: Seuil, 1984), p. 49.

2 Véronique Bonnet, ‘Nommer les autres? Quelques catégories et mots utilisés par les critiques québécois pour désigner les écrivains venus d’ailleurs’, *Itinéraires et contacts de cultures*, 27, 1999, <http://www.limag.refer.org/Textes/Iti27/Bonnet.htm> (accessed 2 September 2012).

3 George Richardson, ‘Singular Nation, Plural Possibilities: Reimagining Curriculum as Third Space’, in Yatta Kanu, *Curriculum as Cultural Practice: Postcolonial Imaginations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), p. 287.

4 I draw on some of the research used in this chapter for a rather differently focused article on the teaching of *québécois* literature in Quebec, ‘Teaching “notre littérature”: The Place of *la littérature québécoise* in the Curriculum in Quebec’, *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 42.4, 2012, pp. 497–514.

5 The history of the introduction of compulsory schooling elsewhere in Canada is as follows: 1871 Ontario (7–12); 1873 British Columbia (7–14); 1877 Prince Edward Island (8–13); 1883 Nova Scotia (7–12); 1905 New Brunswick (6–14); 1909 Saskatchewan (7–13); 1910 Alberta (7–14); and 1916 Manitoba (7–14). Newfoundland and Labrador legislated on compulsory schooling in 1942 (7–14) and became the tenth province of Canada in 1949, initially under the name of Newfoundland, returning in 2001 to the earlier designation of Newfoundland and Labrador.

6 See Philip Oreopoulos, ‘Canadian Compulsory School Laws and their Impact on Educational Attainment and Future Earnings’, Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series, 11F0019 No. 251, Statistics Canada, 2005, p. 8. <http://ideas.repec.org/p/stc/stcp3e/2005251e.html> (accessed 18 July 2013).

7 The figures are cited in Nadine Bednarz, ‘Pourquoi et pour qui enseigner les mathématiques? Une mise en perspective historique de l’évolution des programmes au Québec au XX^e siècle’, *Zentralblatt für Didaktik der Mathematik*, 34.4, 2002, pp. 146–48.

8 Serge Gagnon, ‘L’école élémentaire québécoise au XIX^e siècle’, in Pierre Lanthier and Guildo Rousseau, eds, *La Culture inventée. Les stratégies culturelles aux 19^e et 20^e siècles* (Quebec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1992), p. 149.

9 See Gérard Filteau, *Organisation scolaire du province de Québec: historique, législation et règlements* (Montreal: Centre de psychologie et de pédagogie, 1954), pp. 61–62.

10 Claude Galarneau, *Les collèges classiques au Canada français (1620–1970)* (Montreal: Fides, 1978), p. 13.

11 See Normand Renaud, ‘Le collège classique: la maison d’enseignement, le milieu d’études, les fins et les moyens’, *Études littéraires*, 14.3, 1981, p. 421.

12 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, eds, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 425.

13 Renaud, ‘Le collège classique’, p. 424.

14 See l'Abbé Albert Dion, *Théorie et pratique de l'art d'écrire* (Quebec: Imprimerie de la Cie de l'Événement, 1911), pp. 3–4, for a defence of the importance of studying literature.

15 Renaud, 'Le collège classique', p. 435.

16 Textbooks used within the *collège classique* include the following: Claude-Louis Grandperret, *Traité classique de littérature* (Paris: Brunot-Labbé, 1816); Émile Lefranc, *Abrégé du traité théorique et pratique de littérature* (Paris: Périsse frères, 1841); Abbé Justin Verniolles, *Cours élémentaire de littérature. Style et poétique* (Paris: Delagrave, 1886); Père Mestre, SJ, *Principes de littérature. Style, composition, poétique* (Lyon: Briday, 1882); Père Jules Verest, SJ, *Manuel de littérature* (Brussels: L'Édition Universelle, 1939); and Jean Suberville, *Théorie de l'Art et des genres littéraires* (Paris: les Éditions de l'École, 1948).

17 On the history of the *collège classique* see Galarneau, *Les collèges classiques au Canada français*; Renaud, 'Le collège classique'; and Filteau, *Organisation scolaire de la province de Québec*. For a highly critical analysis of their legacy in Quebec see André Lemelin and Claude Marcil, *Le Purgatoire de l'ignorance: l'éducation au Québec jusqu'à la Grande réforme* (Montreal: MNH, 1999). It should be noted that while the dominance of the *collège classique* was unique to Quebec, a number of colleges and seminaries based on this model had been established by the Catholic Church in other centres of the francophone diaspora in Ontario, Manitoba, New Brunswick, the United States, Nova Scotia, Alberta and Saskatchewan between 1848 and 1963.

18 'Règlement pour l'examen des candidats aux Brevets ou Diplôme d'instituteur dans le Bas-Canada', in Michel Allard and Bernard Lefebvre, eds, *Les Programmes d'études catholiques francophones du Québec* (Montreal: Les Editions Logiques, 1998), pp. 98–99.

19 Thérèse Hamel, 'Les programmes d'études de 1861 à 1923', in Allard and Lefebvre, *Les Programmes d'études catholiques francophones du Québec*, p. 60.

20 *Rapport du surintendant de l'instruction publique pour l'année 1902–1903*, p. xvi, cited in Gagnon, 'L'école élémentaire québécoise au XIXe siècle', p. 150.

21 For the period pre-1900 see Serge Gagnon, *De l'oralité à l'écriture. Le manuel de français à l'école primaire, 1830–1900* (Quebec: Presses de l'université Laval, 1999).

22 See Micheline Cambron, 'Présence de la littérature nationale dans l'enseignement primaire', in Martin Doré and Doris Jakubec, eds, *Deux littératures francophones en dialogue: du Québec et de la Suisse romande* (Quebec: Presses de l'université Laval, 2004), p. 246, who reports that 95 out of 416 articles on literature published in the *Journal* between 1857 and 1879 related to French-Canadian authors.

23 For further details on the relationship between the publishing industry

and the book prize system in Quebec see Jean Gagnon, 'Les livres de récompense et la diffusion de nos auteurs de 1856 à 1931', *Cahiers de bibliologie*, 1, 1980, pp. 3–24.

24 On the gradual shift in focus from the principles of rhetoric to an approach based on literary history in the *collège classique* see Max Roy, 'Les pratiques littéraires des étudiants du cours classique', *Études littéraires*, 14.3, 1981, pp. 439–62. As Roy argues, this shift happened several decades later in Quebec than in France.

25 On the place of francophone Canadian authors in primary school textbooks see Cambron, 'Présence de la littérature nationale dans l'enseignement primaire', pp. 245–58.

26 This conflict between different layers of influence and power exemplifies what Alan Lawson defines as the position of the settler, in the 'Second World' and yet still in part identifying with 'the originating world of Europe, the imperium, as source of the Second World's principal cultural authority'; 'Postcolonial Theory and the "Settler" Subject', *Essays in Canadian Writing*, 56, autumn 1995, p. 29.

27 Père Jules Verest, SJ, *Manuel de littérature* (Brussels: L'Édition Universelle, 1939), first published in 1898, regularly reprinted and used as a textbook within the *collège classique*.

28 The *explication de texte* was developed as an exercise by l'Abbé Batteux, author of the first textbook on French literature, *Principes abrégés de la littérature* (Paris: Nyon aîné, 1777), which combined stylistic analysis with moral teaching.

29 Allard and Lefebvre, eds, *Les Programmes d'études catholiques francophones du Québec*, p. 239. The 1905 *Programme d'études* can be found reproduced on pages 183–289 of this volume. Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the main body of the text.

30 The inclusion of biographical details is something which was established in late eighteenth-century France by Jean-François de La Harpe who delivered the course of *Lettres* for the newly created *Lycée* from 1786, a course which he subsequently published as *Lycée ou Cours de littérature ancienne et moderne* (Paris: H. Agasse, [1798–1804]). In contrast to the classical humanist tradition of the Jesuits, the *Lycée* was based on a curriculum that was modern and scientific, and as such marked a decisive step towards the secularization of education in France, a development which did not occur in the other French-speaking countries at the time. See Aron and Viala, *L'Enseignement littéraire*, p. 45.

31 Aron and Viala, *L'Enseignement littéraire*, p. 47.

32 One source gives the following figures: 'Entre 1902 et 1904, 14 nouvelles congrégations françaises s'implantèrent au Québec, sur tout le territoire. Huit autres s'ajoutèrent entre 1905 et 1914, souvent à la suite des mêmes événements. Le nombre de religieux venus au Québec à cette occasion fut considérable.'

Les congrégations déjà implantées ici (Frères de l'instruction chrétienne, Maristes, Filles de la Sagesse, par exemple) en accueillirent beaucoup. Même, les Franciscains déménagèrent le siège de leur province de France au Canada. En tout, le Québec accueillit 686 religieux français en 1903 et 411 en 1904, la majorité (566) des frères enseignants. Au total, ce sont 2007 religieuses et religieux français qui s'établirent au Québec entre 1900 et 1914.' <http://www.collège-stalexandre.qc.ca/spip/php?article40> (accessed 18 July 2013).

33 The published version of Roy's speech is available electronically: Camille Roy, 'La nationalisation de la littérature canadienne', *Propos sur nos écrivains* (n.d.), La bibliothèque électronique du Québec, Collection littérature québécoise, vol. 83, version 1.0, pp. 7–42. <http://beq.ebooksgratuits.com/> (accessed 18 July 2013).

34 See Camille Roy, 'Notre enseignement secondaire', *Propos canadiens* (Québec: L'Imprimerie de l'Action sociale, 1912), pp. 210–21, reproduced in La bibliothèque électronique du Québec, Collection littérature québécoise, vol. 200, version 1.01, pp. 237–49. <http://beq.ebooksgratuits.com/> (accessed 18 July 2013).

35 Roy, 'Notre enseignement secondaire', p. 239. However, he points out (247) the dearth of textbooks produced in Quebec, linking this to what he sees as an inadequate level of subject expertise in teachers. In what becomes a recurrent motif in the history of francophone literature in Canada, he recommends sending school teachers to complete their studies in France (in Catholic establishments such as the École des Carmes in Paris).

36 See A. Leblond de Brumath, *Manuel du Baccalauréat ou Programmes et résumés des principales matières exigées pour les différents examens dans la province de Québec, Partie Littéraire. Examens du baccalauréat. Examens d'admission à l'Étude du Droit, de la Médecine, de l'Art dentaire, du Notariat, de la Pharmacie* (Montreal: Cadieux & Derôme, 1899).

37 Galarneau, *Les collèges classiques au Canada français*, p. 197, n. 32.

38 For the background to this lengthy dispute see Paul-André Turcotte, *L'Enseignement secondaire public des frères éducateurs (1920–1970): Utopie et modernité* (Montreal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1988).

39 The full version of the curricula for 1923, 1929 and 1939 are reproduced in Allard and Lefebvre, eds, *Les Programmes d'études catholiques francophones du Québec*, pp. 325–459, 477–507, 615–91.

40 Bernard Lefebvre, 'Les programmes d'études, un fil d'Ariane', in Allard and Lefebvre, eds, *Les Programmes d'études catholiques francophones du Québec*, pp. 19–20.

41 From 1943 primary education was free and from 1944 the *cours primaire complémentaire* (for Years 8 and 9) became free, as did school textbooks.

42 R. Vinette, 'Pour réaliser l'esprit du nouveau programme', *Les Conférences pédagogiques*, 4.1, 1947–48, quoted in Bednarz, 'Pourquoi et pour qui enseigner les mathématiques?', p. 153.

43 Pierre Graveline, *Une Histoire de l'éducation au Québec* (Montreal: Bibliothèque québécoise, 2007), pp. 96–97.

44 Bednarz, 'Pourquoi et pour qui enseigner les mathématiques?', p. 151.

45 The Commission, under the chairmanship of Alphonse-Marie Parent, published its findings in five volumes. See Alphonse-Marie Parent, ed., *Rapport de la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement* (Quebec, 1963, 1964, 1966). Part II, vol. 2 of the report deals with the curriculum. The full text of the Parent Report is available electronically from the Université du Québec à Chicoutimi at: http://classiques.uqac.ca/contemporains/quebec_commission_parent/commission_parent.html (accessed 16 May 2013). Substantial extracts from submissions to the Parent Commission, related extracts from the Parent Report and other responses from publishers, reviewers, etc. can be found through the Laval University Library website: <http://www.bibl.ulaval.ca/ress/manscol/imprime.html> (accessed 16 May 2013).

46 In the 1950s there was growing concern about education and the *Royal Commission of Enquiry on Constitutional Problems* (Quebec: Province of Quebec, 1956), known as the Tremblay Commission, received numerous submissions on education. Audet writes: 'the Tremblay Commission made sweeping recommendations which hinted at the revolution to come less than a decade later under the more favourable political auspices in the post-Duplessis era'; J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet, eds, *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 405.

47 The electronic version of this text reproduces a front cover of the 1960 edition marked '128e mille'.

48 André Laurendeau, 'En quoi ces livres déforment la jeunesse', *Le Devoir*, 10 February 1962, p. 4. Laurendeau illustrates his argument with an analysis of one widely used textbook, *Mon livre de français: série A – sixième année* (Montreal: Procure des frères du Sacré-Cœur, 1950).

49 Solange and Michel Chalvin, *Comment on abrutit nos enfants – la bêtise en 23 manuels scolaires* (Montreal: Les éditions du jour, 1962).

50 Mme Jean Coulombe and Mme Gaston Dulong, *Rapport sur les livres de Français au cours primaire présenté à la commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement* (n.p.: n.p., [1961]). Subsequent page references to the separately paginated main text (R), Appendix (A) and summary (S) are given in the body of the text.

51 *Cours de français – 6e année. Série A* (Montreal: Frères de l'instruction chrétienne, 1955); G. and M. Duru, *Lectures Actives. Cours Moyen, 2e année* (Paris: Hachette, 1957).

52 These are often first-person travel accounts such as R. Courteville, 'Une nuit blanche dans une auberge vénézuélienne', from *Cinq Mille Kilomètres en Amazonie*; P. Goemaere, 'Hospitalité Lapone', from *Soleils de Minuit*; and R. P. Huc, 'Au Thibet, il y a un siècle', from *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans*

le Thibet (*Lectures Actives*, pp. 301, 286, 289). Évariste Huc, a nineteenth-century missionary, is one of only two members of religious orders whose works are included in the French textbook.

53 No francophone Canadians are included in the selection although there are three Belgians (Maeterlinck, Verhaeren, Goemaere) and two Swiss authors (Ramuz and Rousseau).

54 'La Salle gagne la confiance des Indiens' (d'après -); 'Une fête indienne' (*Cours de français*, pp. 360, 364).

55 'Fin de combat' (d'après -); 'Baptême de Kateri Tékakwitha' (*Cours de français*, pp. 355, 119).

56 Mouly, RP, 'Première visite d'un évêque dans une île du Pacifique' (d'après -), from *Cannibales à genoux*; Francis Tessier, SJ, 'Portraits d'Indiens', from *Un saint parmi les Sauvages*; Duchaussois, RP, 'Sœurs missionnaires', from *Femmes héroïques* (*Cours de français*, pp. 334, 365, 339).

57 Roger Buliard, OMI, 'Une histoire d'ours blanc'; 'Une déception d'esquimau' (d'après -); 'Une bonne farce (phoque gelé)' (d'après -) (*Cours de français*, pp. 75, 91, 92).

58 The text (translated from English) is 'Où les castors exagèrent', from *Ambassadeur des bêtes* (*Lectures Actives*, p. 298). Grey Owl's claims to First Nations heritage were exposed as false only after his death in 1938. See *Maclean's*, 4 October 1999.

59 The authors of another submission, *La qualité de l'enseignement primaire public canadien-français – Mémoire de l'association des femmes diplômées des universités* (Montréal) à la commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement (Montreal: n.p., 1962) recommend 'que les manuels canadiens soient retirés des écoles et qu'on leur substitue les meilleurs manuels français, lesquels pourraient être complétés par un petit livre de lectures canadiennes, *scrupuleusement* choisies' (55). In a similar vein, a parents' association states: 'L'Association déplore la médiocrité de bon nombre de nos manuels, particulièrement au niveau primaire et suggère que des mesures radicales soient prises, si nécessaire, pour mettre fin à cet état de choses. Au besoin, quoique cette formule ne saurait être que temporaire, ne pourrait-on pas se servir des meilleurs manuels, de France ou de Belgique'; *Recommandations présentées à la commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement par l'association des parents des paroisses de St-Viateur et St-Germain d'Outremont*, pp. 5–6. http://www.bibl.ulaval.ca/ress/manscol/varia/commission_royale.html (accessed 18 July 2013).

60 Harry Hawthorn summarizes the provision of education for Indian children as defined by the Indian Act of 1951 as follows: 'Under the terms of the Indian Act, the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development assumes responsibility for the education of Indian children. Through federal-provincial joint agreements, however, such services are increasingly being offered to Indians through the provincial facilities which accommodate the non-Indian population.' Harry Hawthorn, ed., *A Survey*

of the *Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies*, 2 vols (Ottawa: Queen's Printer Press, 1966–67), II, p. 105, <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/arp/l/phi-eng.asp> (accessed 16 May 2013). The 1969 White Paper recommended the full integration of education provision for First Nations communities in response to the Hawthorn Report of 1966–67. However, this was seen as an example of unilateral assimilationist policy and acted as a catalyst for aboriginal groups to campaign for self-determination. For the White Paper see *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1969), http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/inac-ainc/indian_policy-e/cp1969_e.pdf (accessed 16 May 2013). For a response to the White Paper see National Indian Brotherhood, *Indian Control of Indian Education: Statement of the Indian Philosophy of Education* (Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1972).

61 Comité de survivance indienne, *Mémoire à la commission d'enquête royale sur l'éducation et l'enseignement* (Québec: n.p., 1962).

62 Comité de survivance indienne, *Mémoire à la commission d'enquête royale*, p. 23.

63 Comité de survivance indienne, *Mémoire à la commission d'enquête royale*, p. 26.

64 Among the recommendations is the following: 'Que le mot "Sauvage", terme trop péjoratif pour notre indien, disparaisse des manuels d'histoire, des journaux, à la radio, des cours de pédagogie, etc et qu'on ne le tolère que dans les citations' (Comité de survivance indienne, *Mémoire à la commission d'enquête royale*, p. 31).

65 *Rapport de la commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province de Québec – Troisième partie – L'administration de l'enseignement – A – Diversité religieuse, culturelle, et unité de l'administration* (n.p.: n.p., [1966]), p. 127.

66 *Rapport de la commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province de Québec – Troisième partie*, p. 136. Bernard Assiniwi published a three-volume *Histoire des Indiens du Haut et du Bas Canada* (Montreal: Leméac, Collection Ni-t'chawama. Mon ami, mon frère, 1973–74). Michel Noël wrote a series of nine short texts for younger readers from the perspective of the indigenous population under the title *Les Stadaconé*, published in 1985–86 by Les Presses de l'université du Québec. Georges E. Sioui published *Pour une histoire amérindienne de l'Amérique* (Quebec: Presses de l'université Laval, 1999), first published in English by McGill-Queen's University Press in 1992.

67 *Rapport Parent, 2e partie ou tome II, (suite): Les structures pédagogiques du système scolaire* (Quebec: Publications du Gouvernement du Québec, 1964), p. 63.

68 Paragraph III14 concludes: 'Au moins devrait-on encourager les écoles

qui aimeraient utiliser les meilleurs manuels de France ou d'autres pays de langue française', *Rapport Parent, 2e partie ou tome II, (suite)*, p. 330.

69 *Rapport Parent, 2e partie ou tome II, (suite)*, p. 61.

70 *Rapport Parent, 2e partie ou tome II, (suite)*, p. 61.

71 *Rapport Parent, 2e partie ou tome II, (suite)*, pp. 61–62.

72 All the francophone members were products of convent or *collège classique* education. See “À la défense du réseau collégial”, Intervention de monsieur Guy Rocher lors des journées de réflexion et de mobilisation *À la défense du réseau collégial* fneeq CSN des 12 et 13 février 2004, Montréal, unrevised transcription of M Guy Rocher's contribution, FNEEQ-CSN, March 2004. The transcript is available electronically in the series 'Les classiques des sciences sociales': <http://www.aqpc.qc.ca/la-defense-du-reseau-collégial> (accessed 18 July 2013).

73 Rocher suggests that the members of the Commission underwent something resembling a collective conversion to the need to democratize education: 'Mais, qu'est-ce qui a permis à cette Commission Parent de se convertir, d'évoluer, de penser un peu autrement? Je dirais que ce sont les grands mouvements de pensée. Les grands courants de pensée qui existaient à cette époque-là dans le Monde occidental, en dehors du Québec, et qui ont été très importants pour la réflexion des commissaires'. See Rocher, 'À la défense du réseau collégial', p. 15.

74 'Notre littérature s'appellera québécoise ou ne s'appellera pas'; see Laurent Girouard, 'Notre littérature de colonie', *Parti pris*, December 1963, p. 19.

75 Monique Lebrun, 'Les mutations du manuel de lecture du secondaire de 1960 à 2004', in Monique Lebrun, ed., *Le Manuel scolaire: un outil à multiples facettes* (Quebec: Presses de l'université du Québec, 2006), pp. 119–20.

76 *Programme d'études des écoles secondaires. Français* (Quebec: Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation, 1967), p. 9. Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the main body of the text.

77 The *cégeps* were formed by the merging of disparate elements, including some of the diocesan *collèges classiques*, public technology institutes, and teacher training colleges. With their two- or three-year pre-university or pre-professional courses following five years of secondary education, they offered a distinctive model of education. The first *cégep* was established in 1967 and by 1969 there were already thirty such colleges. See Wilson, Stamp and Audet, eds, *Canadian Education: A History*, pp. 425–26. *Collèges* which did not merge became private secondary schools.

78 Bednarz, 'Pourquoi et pour qui enseigner les mathématiques?', p. 154.

79 *Programmes d'études des écoles secondaires. Langues et littératures. Programme-cadre de français* (Quebec: Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation, 1969), p. 6.

80 See Bernard Lefebvre, 'Les programmes d'études, un fil d'Ariane', in

Allard and Lefebvre, eds, *Les Programmes d'études catholiques francophones du Québec*, p. 706.

81 *Annuaire de l'enseignement collégial*, Cahier VI Arts et Lettres (Quebec: Ministère de l'Éducation, 1967). The courses in French literature are on pages 44–48.

82 *Annuaire de l'enseignement collégial*, p. 48.

83 See 'Le Renouveau pédagogique d'hier à aujourd'hui... parce que l'école d'aujourd'hui, c'est notre avenir!', document prepared by Flavie Langlois Caron for the regional committee of MELS-CS responsible for communications, Montérégie, 2007.

84 See Lefebvre, 'Les programmes d'études, un fil d'Ariane', p. 706.

85 See 'Le Renouveau pédagogique d'hier à aujourd'hui...'

86 *L'École: tout un programme. Énoncé de politique éducative* (Quebec: Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation, 1997).

87 For a comparison of equivalent examinations see Richard Berger, 'Pour une révision des épreuves uniformes de langue d'enseignement et de littérature', Direction de l'enseignement collégial, Direction générale des affaires universitaires et collégiales, May 2007. http://www.mels.gouv.ca/sections/publications/Ens_Sup/Affaires_universitaires_collegiales/Pour_une_revision_des_EU-complet.pdf (accessed 18 July 2013). This report indicated a number of areas for debate and proposed a series of modifications for further consideration, one of which was the inclusion of one non-literary topic in the passages set.

88 This contrasts strongly with the situation in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, where pupils are not required to be assessed in language or literature beyond GCSE, and where separate courses in English Language and English Literature can be studied at A Level.

89 Lists of set texts are published on the government website: <http://www.education.gouv.fr/> (accessed 16 May 2013).

90 *Programme de terminale. Littérature. Textes de référence – Lycée [LEGT] Programmes et Accompagnements*, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, Direction générale de l'enseignement scolaire (Centre national de documentation pédagogique, 2008), p. 35.

91 Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, *Programme de formation de l'école québécoise français langue d'enseignement, 2e cycle du secondaire* (Quebec, 2008), p. 2.

92 The equivalent Secondary English Language Arts curriculum (2007) states: 'It should be noted that in the first year of Cycle Two, priority in terms of literature is given to young adult literature, with a gradual transition to a balance of texts written for adolescents and adults in the last two years of the cycle. It is understood that all texts read by students in Cycle Two, and particularly those that fall within the category of literary genres, include an equal representation of male and female authors and characters, of diverse cultural

groups and of writers from Québec and Canada' (p. 41), http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/sections/programmeFormation/secondaire2/medias/en/5b_QEP_SELA.pdf (accessed 16 May 2013).

93 MELS, *Programme de formation de l'école québécoise français langue d'enseignement, 2e cycle du secondaire*, p. 13.

94 *Arts et Lettres. Programme d'études préuniversitaire 500.A1* (Quebec: Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, 2010), p. 13.

95 *Arts et Lettres. Programme d'études préuniversitaire 500.A1*, p. 13.

96 In an interesting survey of the teaching of francophone literature in Canadian universities, Lambert and Semujunga found that anglophone universities were more likely to teach francophone literature from Africa, the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean than were francophone Canadian universities, so great was the latter's emphasis on the twin poles of France and Quebec. See Fernando Lambert and Josias Semujunga, 'Parcours de l'enseignement des littératures francophones au Canada', *Présence Francophone*, 60, 2003, pp. 39–53.

97 *Programme d'études français 12e année* (New Brunswick: Ministère de l'Éducation, 2009), p. 9. Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

98 *Atlantic Canada English Language Arts High School Curriculum* (New Brunswick: Department of Education, Curriculum Development Branch, 1998), p. 167.

99 *Atlantic Canada English Language Arts High School Curriculum*, p. 167.

100 *Le Curriculum de l'Ontario – Français, 11e et 12e année, édition révisée, 2007* (Ontario: Ministère de l'éducation, 2007), p. 75.

101 *Le Curriculum de l'Ontario – Français, 11e et 12e année*, p. 75, note 3.

102 *Le Curriculum de l'Ontario – Français, 11e et 12e année*, pp. 81, 146.

103 *The Ontario Curriculum Grades 11 and 12. English, 2007 (revised)*, p. 46, www.edu.gov.on.ca (accessed 13 May 2011).

104 <http://education.alberta.ca/departement/stats/students.aspx> (accessed 13 May 2011).

105 *Programme d'études du secondaire deuxième cycle (10–12) Français langue première* (Alberta: Alberta Learning, 2000), p. 11.

106 Alberta Education has published an anthology for use at this level, *Textes choisis – Auteurs marquants de la littérature canadienne et mondiale*, together with a teacher's guide: *Guide d'enseignement. Textes choisis – Auteurs marquants de la littérature canadienne et mondiale* (Alberta: Alberta Education, 2006).

107 *English Language Arts (Senior High)* (Alberta: Alberta Learning, 2003), p. 1. Canadian Literature Requirements in Alberta stipulate: 'In each senior high school English language arts course, it is expected that a significant proportion of texts that students study will be Canadian texts. The required

minimum proportion of Canadian texts studied is one third of all texts studied in each course. Teachers are encouraged to select Canadian texts for study whenever possible and appropriate' (10).

108 *English Language Arts (Senior High)*, p. 1.

109 For further reflections on the social effects of the curriculum see Clément Moisan, 'La rhétorique comme instrument de pouvoir', *Études littéraires*, 14.3, 1981, pp. 387–413.

110 In France, however, postcolonial literatures in French do not figure prominently on the syllabus of the *baccalauréat*. The 'other' literatures to which French literature relates are closer to home.

111 Indeed in some ways the setting of a quota of Franco-Ontarian texts is reminiscent of early twentieth-century campaigns for the inclusion of French-Canadian literature in the curriculum in Quebec.

112 Lefebvre, 'Les programmes d'études, un fil d'Ariane', p. 20. Although teachers, particularly prior to the late 1960s, may not have been fully familiar with the curriculum, the authors of textbooks, the publishers and the bodies responsible for authorizing textbooks would have had this knowledge and, as such, acted as mediators between official policy and its delivery.

Chapter Three

1 These figures were correct in January 2011, but the programmes are ongoing, so the numbers should continue to rise.

2 For recent research on textbooks in Quebec see Paul Aubin, ed., *300 ans de manuels scolaires au Québec* (Montreal: Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec/Quebec: Presses de l'université Laval, 2006); Monique Lebrun, ed., *Le manuel scolaire: un outil à multiples facettes* (Quebec: Presses de l'université du Québec, 2006); Monique Lebrun, ed., *Le manuel scolaire d'ici et d'ailleurs, d'hier à demain* (Quebec: Presses de l'université du Québec, 2007).

3 The figures were correct on 15 August 2012. The catalogue can be consulted, searched and used as a point of access to the digitized collections mentioned above through the following link: <http://www.bibl.ulaval.ca/ress/manscol/> (accessed 17 May 2013).

4 Gérard Filteau, *Organisation scolaire de la province de Québec: historique, législation et règlements* (Montreal: Centre de Psychologie et de Pédagogie, 1954), p. 88.

5 The first of these, interestingly, was a school edition of a literary text, Arnaud Berquin, *L'honnête fermier: drame en cinq actes – à l'usage des écoles* (Quebec: Fréchette et Cie, 1833). Until the 1950s it was still relatively rare to find school editions of literary texts, as readers and anthologies were much better suited to the ways in which literature was taught in the classrooms both of the public and college sectors.

6 This domination of the textbook market by the various teaching orders

can be seen in all disciplines. Les Frères des écoles chrétiennes have over 2,261 published textbooks listed in the catalogue, dating from 1838 to 1961, including many re-editions, in French and in English, covering religion, language, history, geography, commercial arithmetic (from 1870), arithmetic (from 1838), geometry, algebra, stenography, typing, songs, grammar from 1845, French language, French literature and readers. The Frères de l'instruction chrétienne have 1,594 entries in the catalogue, followed by the Frères Maristes (487), the Sœurs de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame (464), Les Clercs de Saint-Viateur (456), the Frères du Sacré-Cœur (356), the Frères de Saint-Gabriel (126), the Sœurs de Sainte-Anne (118), the Ursulines (73) and the Sœurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et de Marie (62). The catalogue is regularly updated. All figures used in this section refer to data as accessed on 2 June 2011.

7 A new edition of this text appeared in 1948 and an expanded edition appeared in the early 1960s.

8 See Serge Gagnon, *De l'oralité à l'écriture: le manuel de français à l'école primaire 1830–1900* (Quebec: Presses de l'université Laval, 1999), p. 169.

9 The corpus she uses for detailed discussion comprises two textbooks used for the *Cours moyen*: Frères du Sacré-Cœur, *Livre de lecture courante: cours moyen* (Lévis: Mercier, 1897); Frères des écoles chrétiennes, *Leçons de langue française: cours moyen* (Montreal: Frères des écoles chrétiennes, 1916); and two textbooks used for the *Cours supérieur*: Frères des écoles chrétiennes, *Leçons de langue française: cours supérieur* (Montreal: Frères des écoles chrétiennes, 1916); Frères des écoles chrétiennes, *Code grammatical et préceptes littéraires* (Montreal: Les auteurs, 1929).

10 Micheline Cambron, 'Présence de la littérature nationale dans l'enseignement primaire', in Martin Doré and Doris Jakubec, eds, *Deux littératures francophones en dialogue: du Québec et de la Suisse romande* (Quebec: Presses de l'université Laval, 2004), p. 256.

11 Cambron, 'Présence de la littérature nationale dans l'enseignement primaire', p. 257. Considering the relative importance of Europe, Quebec and North America in popular cultural identity in Quebec, Gérard Bouchard argues that the influence of French thought on the educated elite in Quebec has blinded them to the importance of *américanité* to the majority of Quebec people. See Gérard Bouchard, *Genèse des nations et cultures du nouveau monde. Essai d'histoire comparée* (Montreal: Boréal, 2000), pp. 99–157.

12 Paule Daveluy, *Drôle d'automne – Roman pour adolescentes* (Quebec: Éditions du Pélican, 1961). Cambron confirms that the use of children's literature had become widespread in elementary school readers from the late 1940s onwards. See Cambron, 'Présence de la littérature nationale dans l'enseignement primaire', p. 249.

13 Published in France by Bordas, the Lagarde et Michard series was published for the Quebec market in collaboration with the Centre éducatif et culturel (Montreal) as one of their earliest publications.

14 Course-specific textbooks for secondary schools include Emile Giroux, *Textes d'auteurs québécois* – FR 132 – Cahier 6 – Secondaire III (n.p.: Editions FM, 1971); Emile Giroux, *Des thèmes humains à travers les siècles* – FR 142 – Cahier 8 – Secondaire IV (n.p.: Editions FM, 1971); Emile Giroux, *Théorie des genres littéraires* – FR 151 – Cahier 9 – Secondaire V (n.p.: Editions FM, 1972).

15 Examples are Marcel Colin and Jean-Yves Théberge, *Collection Poésie québécoise 1* (Montreal: Editions du renouveau pédagogique, 1972); Vital Gadbois, Michel Paquin and Roger Reny, *20 grands auteurs pour découvrir la nouvelle*, collection Lecture guidée (Beloeil: La lignée, 1990).

16 For the policy statement see *L'École: tout un programme. Énoncé de politique éducative* (Quebec: Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation, 1997). See Héloïse Côté and Denis Simard, 'En quête d'une approche culturelle appliquée à l'enseignement du français, langue première, au secondaire', *Nouveaux cahiers de le recherche en éducation*, 9.1, 2006, pp. 75–89, for an analysis of the various dimensions of 'une approche culturelle'.

17 Michel Laurin and Michel Forest, *Anthologie de la littérature québécoise* (Anjou, QC: CEC, 1996). A second edition was published in 2000 and a third edition in 2007.

18 Céline Thérien, *Anthologie de la littérature d'expression française. Tome 1. Des origines au romantisme* (Anjou, QC: CEC, 2nd edn, 2006 [1997]); *Anthologie de la littérature d'expression française. Tome 2. Du réalisme à la période contemporaine* (Anjou, QC: CEC, 2nd edn, 2005 [1998]). The shift in terminology used in the title of Thérien's anthology of literature 'd'expression française' is the first sign in the literature textbooks in Quebec of a decentring of 'French' literature away from metropolitan France.

19 Titles in this series include Carole Pilote, *Guide des procédés d'écriture et des genres littéraires* (Laval, QC: Etudes vivantes, 2000); Carole Pilote, *Le romantisme et les révolutions* (Laval, QC: Etudes vivantes, 2000); Michel Trépanier and Claude Vaillancourt, *La guerre et l'après-guerre – l'existentialisme et le théâtre de l'absurde* (Laval, QC: Etudes vivantes, 2000).

20 Monique Lebrun, 'Les mutations du manuel de lecture du secondaire de 1960 à 2004', in Lebrun, ed., *Le Manuel scolaire: un outil à multiples facettes*, pp. 113–35.

21 Lebrun, 'Les mutations du manuel de lecture du secondaire de 1960 à 2004', p. 119.

22 Lebrun, 'Les mutations du manuel de lecture du secondaire de 1960 à 2004', p. 120.

23 As for the study of full-length literary works, Dezutter et al. find 'un très grand éclatement du corpus'. They conclude that 'la sélection aboutit à des choix extrêmement différents d'un lieu à un autre, ce qui ne rend pas possible à l'heure actuelle la construction de repères culturels communs à travers la lecture d'œuvres littéraires'. Selection of full-length texts depends on the teacher, generally in consultation with those teaching the same year of pupils.

See Olivier Dezutter, Carl Morissette, Marie Douce Bergeron and Isabelle Larivière, ‘Quel programme de lectures pour les élèves québécois de 10 à 17 ans?’, *Québec français*, 139, 2005, pp. 84–85.

24 Lebrun, ‘Les mutations du manuel de lecture du secondaire de 1960 à 2004’, p. 121.

25 Lebrun, ‘Les mutations du manuel de lecture du secondaire de 1960 à 2004’, p. 124.

26 See Ghislain Bourque, ‘La déportation du littéraire’, *Québec français*, 74, 1989, pp. 66–68.

27 Lebrun, ‘Les mutations du manuel de lecture du secondaire de 1960 à 2004’, p. 130.

28 The curriculum requires the following skills to be developed in the pupil: ‘Il se construit [...] un réseau de repères culturels qu’il enrichit au cours d’expériences diversifiées [...]. Il apprend aussi à se doter de critères pour poser des jugements critiques et esthétiques sur les œuvres ainsi que pour justifier ses appréciations’; Ministère de l’Éducation du Québec, *Programme de formation de l’école québécoise, éducation préscolaire, enseignement primaire* (Quebec: Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l’Éducation, 2001), p. 84.

29 Noëlle Sorin, ‘La lecture comme apprentissage culturel et les manuels scolaires au primaire’, in Lebrun, ed., *Le Manuel scolaire: un outil à multiples facettes*, p. 248.

30 Sorin, ‘La lecture comme apprentissage culturel’, p. 246.

31 Diana Brydon, ‘Postcolonial Pedagogy and Curricular Reform’, Keynote Address at Red Deer College, Alberta, 1997, p. 4. http://home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~brydond/red_deer.html (accessed 18 July 2013).

32 In her keynote address Brydon refers to developing a university module for which the set texts were a selection of anthologies, to be compared in terms of their literary, ideological and pedagogical biases.

33 John Willinsky, ‘High School Postcolonial: As the Students Ran Ahead with the Theory’, in Yatta Kanu, ed., *Curriculum as Cultural Practice: Postcolonial Imaginations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 101–02. On the notion of the postcolonial supplement see John Willinsky, *Learning to Divide the World: Education at World’s End* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), and Beverley Haun, ‘From Praxis to Practice: Prospects for Postcolonial Pedagogy in Canadian Public Education’, in Cynthia Sugars, ed., *Home-Work: Postcolonialism, Pedagogy and Canadian Literature* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004), pp. 167–88.

34 Graham Huggan, *Australian Literature: Postcolonialism, Racism, Transnationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 117. On the anthologizing of migrant and indigenous women writers in Australia see also Patricia Eliades, ‘Anthologizing the Minority’, *Hecate*, 21.1, 1995, pp. 74–97.

35 For the discussion of these and other aspects of the anthology in relation to multicultural literature see Huggan, *Australian Literature*, pp. 116–22.

36 See Pierre Savard, ‘Les “caractères” nationaux dans un manuel de géographie des années 1930’, *Recherches sociographiques*, 23.1–2, 1982, p. 214. The reference is to Sœurs de Sainte-Anne, *Précis d’histoire littéraire. Littérature canadienne-française* (Lachine, QC: Procure des Sœurs de Sainte-Anne, 1928).

37 Monique Lebrun, ‘Un florilège moralisateur et nationaliste: le canon des études littéraires selon les manuels des communautés religieuses québécoises (1900–1950)’, *SCHEC, Études d’histoire religieuse*, 71, 2005, pp. 33–50.

38 Lebrun concludes: ‘Le guidage moralisateur et nationaliste dans les ouvrages que nous venons d’analyser pour la période 1900–1950 permet de dresser le portrait d’une société qui se cherche une définition d’elle-même et qui fait migrer ses préoccupations de la classe d’histoire et de religion à la classe de français’ (‘Un florilège moralisateur et nationaliste’, p. 50).

39 Marc Brosseau, ‘La géographie et le nationalisme canadien-français’, *Recherches sociographiques*, 33.3, 1992, p. 423.

40 Lebrun comments: ‘Aucun manuel n’est innocent quant aux valeurs qu’il propose aux jeunes. Celles-ci s’expriment autant par le choix des textes que par les questions qui téléguident les réponses des élèves vers l’acceptation de certaines valeurs’ (‘Les mutations du manuel de lecture du secondaire de 1960 à 2004’, p. 129).

41 The full title is as follows: *Lecture à haute voix. Cours supérieur. Lectures et récitations précédées d’une étude théorique et pratique de la prononciation français d’après la méthode de M. V. Delahaye, professeur de diction* (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1901). Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

42 See, for example, their *Cours de Littérature. 7e et 8e Année. Brevets de Capacité. Préceptes – exercices – éléments d’histoire littéraire* (Montreal: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1915) and *La Littérature aux brevets de capacité. Brevet supérieur. Programme de 1928–1929–1930* (Montreal: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1930). The latter provides practice questions on 30 passages set for examination for those applying for a teacher’s licence and gives guidelines for the *explication de texte*.

43 Lebrun, ‘Un florilège moralisateur et nationaliste’, p. 35.

44 Monseigneur Dupanloup was bishop of Orléans from 1849–78 and Monseigneur Bruchési was archbishop of Montreal from 1897–1939.

45 Bruchési’s ‘A la patrie’ associates French Canada’s divine mission with the psalms of King David and the Jews as the chosen people of God: ‘O Canada, ces chants enthousiastes du roi-prophète ne te conviennent-ils pas à merveille?’ (*Lecture à voix haute*, p. 319). The mission continues to be at the heart of French-Canadian identity: ‘Que ton avenir, ô mon pays, soit digne d’un si noble passé! Oui, qu’elle te soit chère à jamais cette religion divine qui protégea ton berceau! Ne la laisse ni s’affaiblir, ni diminuer en toi. Ne l’oublie point: c’est à l’ombre de la croix que tu as pris naissance’ (319).

46 A footnote to Crémazie's poem reads as follows: 'Cette pièce de vers a été composée à l'occasion de l'arrivée à Québec de *la Capricieuse*, corvette française envoyée en 1805 par l'empereur Napoléon III, pour nouer des relations commerciales entre la France et le Canada. – Le poète a personnifié dans cette fiction le peuple canadien tout entier. Les regrets, les vœux et l'espoir du vieux soldat furent longtemps ceux de tous les Canadiens, après la conquête' (*Lecture à voix haute*, p. 181, n. 1). Lebrun lists this passage as one of the most frequently cited in language textbooks ('Un florilège moralisateur et nationaliste', p. 46).

47 'Champlain reçut le Canada sauvage, l'explora, y fit venir des colons, et dicta comment il fallait s'y prendre pour former une nouvelle France laquelle fut si bien constituée, qu'elle vécut et se développa en dépit des obstacles apportés par la mère patrie elle-même' (B. Sulte, 'Notes sur la Verendrye', in *Lecture à voix haute*, p. 120).

48 Sulte, 'Notes sur la Verendrye', p. 123.

49 The extracts are taken from *De Québec à Victoria*, and all focus on the Rockies: 'L'aspect des montagnes', 'Le grand glacier', 'Le fleuve Fraser', 'La chaîne des Selkirk' (*Lecture à voix haute*, pp. 77–97).

50 Passenger travel from Montreal to British Columbia was still relatively new, the first train arriving in Port Moody on 4 July 1886, after a journey of five-and-a-half days. On the importance of transport to Canadian development see Craig Brown and Paul-André Linteau, eds, *Histoire générale du Canada* (Montreal: Boréal, 1990), p. 429.

51 These are Jules Barbier, '*Jeanne d'Arc*'; Cardinal Pie, '*Jeanne d'Arc*'; Mgr Dupanloup '*Fragment d'un panégyrique de Jeanne d'Arc*'; and '*Moisson d'épées*', a poem by François Coppée (*Lecture à voix haute*, pp. 278–80, 271–75, 216–17, 275–76). The quote is from Cardinal Pie (271).

52 Both women were closely involved with the provision of education for girls in New France. Marguerite Bourgeoys founded the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in Montreal in 1671 and Marie de l'Incarnation was one of the founding members of the Ursuline order in Quebec City in 1639. The passages are *À la Mère Bourgeoys* and *À la vénérable Mère Bourgeoys*, both by F. Martineau, and '*V. M. de l'Incarnation*' by Léon Chapot (*Lecture à voix haute*, pp. 172–74, 125–28, 300–02).

53 Mme Swetchine was a Russian convert to Catholicism who moved with her husband to Paris in 1816 and played an influential role in Catholic intellectual circles, members of which attended her salon to discuss literature, politics and religion.

54 *Frères des écoles chrétiennes, Lectures littéraires et scientifiques* (Montreal: FEC, 1921). Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

55 This text is unusual for its time, reflecting perhaps the desire for change within some of the religious teaching orders who were frustrated by the exclusive rights of the *collège classique* over secondary education and

committed to increasing the study of science in the public sector. Indeed members of the Frères des écoles chrétiennes played a crucial role in the campaign for developing a public secondary school system in order to open up a route to higher education for all pupils. Generally such a combination of literary and non-literary texts does not reappear until after the *Révolution tranquille*, when it becomes part of a thematic approach within which material from journalism and other media might be used in a secondary textbook.

56 The passage is an adaptation from A. Lemont, *Choix d'une carrière*.

57 Camille Roy, *Morceaux choisis d'auteurs canadiens* (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1934). Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

58 Camille Roy, *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature canadienne-française* (Quebec: Imprimerie de l'Action sociale, 1918); Camille Roy, *Histoire de la littérature canadienne* (Quebec: Imprimerie de l'Action sociale, 1930).

59 The breadth of genres included is a reminder of the ways in which the category 'literature' has shifted over the course of the early twentieth century, as has also been evident in the discussion of curriculum developments.

60 Camille Roy, 'Note de l'auteur', *Morceaux choisis d'auteurs canadiens*, p. 8.

61 Both Dantin (an influential literary critic who published the first edition of Nelligan's poetry and promoted poets including Alfred DesRochers and Paul Morin) and de Nevers spent many years living abroad, Dantin in Massachusetts and de Nevers in Germany, France and the USA.

62 Émile Chartier, ed., *Lectures littéraires*, 2 vols (Laprairie, QC: Frères de l'instruction chrétienne, 1957 [1948]). Between 1921 and 1945 the FIC had published a shorter precursor to this anthology, *Lectures littéraires. Le français par les textes*, which was reprinted 15 times. Between 1950 and 1962 an Acadian edition of this anthology was produced, edited by Jean-B. Laprairie and J.-T. Lejeune.

63 Abbé Lucien Talbot, *Recueil de textes français à expliquer*, 4th edn (Quebec: Presses de l'université Laval, 1960).

64 Pierre Savard confirms that 'Les Frères de l'Instruction chrétienne [...] monopolisent le secteur de l'anthologie au cours public avec les *Lectures littéraires* qui présentent des auteurs français et canadiens' ('Les "caractères" nationaux dans un manuel de géographie', p. 214).

65 Claudius Grillet, *Lectures Littéraires. Analyses des textes. Livre du maître* (Laprairie, QC: Procure des Frères de l'instruction chrétienne, 1948 [1925]).

66 The poem is in fact entitled 'Le vieux soldat canadien' but has been confused with Crémazie's equally well-known poem, 'Le drapeau de Carillon'. This anthology may well be the source of Monique Lebrun's use of the same incorrect title. See Lebrun, 'Un florilège moralisateur et nationaliste', p. 48.

67 Brosseau, 'La géographie et le nationalisme canadien-français', p. 422,

n. 25. It was not until 1957 (but still within the Duplessis era) that a new series of textbooks by Pierre Dagenais, published by the Centre de psychologie et de pédagogie, offered an account of Canada and Quebec that was more factual, more modern, and turning out towards the world (in terms of trade, culture, politics). Brosseau argues that this marked a fundamental shift in the construction of identity and of nationhood; rather than presenting Quebec and its place in Canada and in the world by a process of differentiation of self from other, grounded in the past, now the focus was more an affirmation of identity in terms of the present and the future. That this should happen as empires were being dismantled was no coincidence, as newly independent nations literally changed the colour of the map.

68 Jean Calvet, *Morceaux choisis des auteurs français du Xe au XXe siècle: pour servir à la lecture expliquée dans les classes de 3e, 2e et 1ere* (Paris: Gigord, 1920). Talbot's acknowledgement of Calvet can be seen for example in the presentation of the extract from Atala: 'Texte tiré des *Morceaux choisis* de J. Calvet' (*Recueil de textes français à expliquer*, p. 180).

69 André Renaud, *Recueil de textes littéraires canadiens-français* (Montreal: Éditions du renouveau pédagogique, 1968). Subsequent references to this work are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

70 Roger Duhamel, *Manuel de littérature canadienne-française* (Montreal: Éditions du renouveau pédagogique, 1967).

71 The speech in which de Gaulle pronounced the separatist slogan can be heard on the archives of CBC at http://archives.cbc.ca/politics/provincial_territorial_politics/clips/1132/ (accessed 17 May 2013). A fuller account of de Gaulle's visit, including a number of speeches, can be found at <http://www.charles-de-gaulle.org/pages/l-homme/accueil/discours/le-president-de-la-cinquieme-republique-1958-1969/discours-de-montreal-vive-le-quebec-libre-23-juillet-1967.php> (accessed 17 May 2013).

72 Michel Laurin, *Anthologie de la littérature québécoise* (Montreal: CEC, 2007). Subsequent references will be to the 2007 edition and are given in parentheses in the body of the text.

73 The 1996 edition was divided into ten chapters, but with a similar pattern of a historical period accompanied by an aesthetic, ideological or cultural designation.

74 See *Programme d'études des écoles secondaires. Français* (Quebec: Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation, 1967), p. 19.

75 See, for example, the detailed study of Louis Hémon, *Maria Chapdelaine*; Hector Saint-Denys Garneau, 'Cage d'oiseau'; Gabrielle Roy, *Bonheur d'occasion*; Réjean Ducharme, *L'Avalée des avalés*; Michel Tremblay, *Les Belles Sœurs*; Jacques Poulin, *Volkswagen Blues*; and Richard Desjardins, 'Tu m'aimes-tu?' (*Anthologie de la littérature québécoise*, pp. 50, 97, 105, 169, 187, 248–49, 329).

76 A further four authors who had been included in Roy's *Morceaux*

choisis (Frère Marie-Victorin, Édouard Montpetit, Jean Narrache – the pen name of poet Émile Coderre – and Adjutor Rivard) appeared in the 1996 edition of Laurin’s anthology but are omitted in 2007, which shows the revision of the canon at work.

77 The following authors appear in both Renaud and Laurin: poets Grandbois, Saint-Denys Garneau, Anne Hébert, Rina Lasnier, Gilles Hénault, Roland Giguère, Gatién Lapointe; dramatists Gélinas, Dubé, Languirand; novelists Ringuet, Savard, Guèvremont, Roy, Lemelin, Thériault, Langevin, Blais, Ferron, Bessette, Godbout, Aquin.

78 Roy, *Morceaux choisis d’auteurs canadiens*, pp. 14–15.

79 Roy, *Morceaux choisis d’auteurs canadiens*, p. 22.

80 The song has been recorded in French and English by a number of singers including Ian and Sylvia and Leonard Cohen.

81 See Michel Biron, François Dumont and Élisabeth Nardout-Lafarge, *Histoire de la littérature québécoise* (Montreal: Boréal, 2007), pp. 81–82, who refer to Garneau’s contemporaries ‘pour qui l’histoire se situait au sommet de l’hierarchie des genres littéraires’.

82 Those in this category are Tahar Ben Jelloun, André Breton, Serge Doubrovsky, Baron Paul Henri d’Holbach, Renaud, Arthur Rimbaud, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Léopold Senghor, Émile Zola and Paul Zumthor, as a result of which the anthology no longer includes authors from the wider *francophonie*.

83 Of these, 19 do not appear in Biron, Dumont and Nardout-Lafarge, *Histoire de la littérature québécoise*, published in the same year as Laurin’s anthology. This is partly because of the high number of songwriters included in Laurin’s anthology but it also shows the fluidity and subjectivity of all literary selection.

84 Published two years earlier than Laurin’s first edition, *Littérature, textes et methods* (Ville LaSalle, QC: HMH, 1994), an anthology of (metropolitan) French literature edited by Hélène Sabbah, states its intention to respond to the new educational framework as expounded in the 1993 report ‘Des collèges pour le Québec du XXI^e siècle’. Yet the anthology has more in common with textbooks of the 1960s than with an anthology of the turn of the century. Its failure to engage with contemporary literature leaves the literary texts in something of a vacuum, a familiar but somewhat dated canon to which no fresh analysis has been applied. By contrast Laurin’s anthology, while perhaps too full of texts and information, nevertheless is open to new writing, to diversity and can be seen in its subsequent editions to respond to a changing world.

85 The death of Dollard des Ormeaux figures as one of the most frequently recounted tales of white heroism (see Lebrun, ‘Un florilège moralisateur et nationaliste’, p. 46). Historians have since questioned most aspects of the Dollard myth, suggesting that he met his death in a far less noble skirmish when on an expedition to steal furs from the Iroquois for whom the ongoing

war with the Huron was a greater priority than the survival of the fort at Ville-Marie; see Daniel Francis, *Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2010), pp. 161–62.

86 In addition to Francis, *Imaginary Indian*, see Marie Vautier, *New World Myth: Postmodernism and Postcolonialism in Canadian Fiction* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998); Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literatures* (Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); Gordon M. Sayre, *Les Sauvages américains: Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Sylvie Vincent and Bernard Arcand, *L'Image de l'Amérindien dans les manuels scolaires du Québec* (Montreal: Éditions Hurtubise HMH, 1979); Mary Lu MacDonald, 'Red and White Men; Black, White and Grey Hats. Literary Attitudes to Interaction between European and Native Canadians in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', *Canadian Literature*, 124–125, spring/summer 1990, pp. 92–111.

87 Vincent and Arcand, *L'Image de l'Amérindien dans les manuels scolaires*, p. 85.

88 MacDonald, 'Red and White Men', p. 105.

89 I shall follow Francis, *Imaginary Indian*, in using the term 'Indian' to refer to the image of the Amerindian, the imagined or represented Indian, not to the indigenous population.

90 Michel Ducharme emphasizes the obsession with death that characterized literature of the 1840s in response to the failed Patriot uprising: 'L'échec de 1837 et le déclin de l'identité patriote se vivent dans une atmosphère de deuil collectif.' See 'Se souvenir de demain: réflexions sur l'édification des mémoires collectives au Canada-Uni', *mens*, 7.1, 2006, p. 16.

91 MacDonald, 'Red and White Men', p. 103.

92 Abdul R. JanMohamed, 'The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature', *Critical Inquiry*, 12, 1985, p. 65.

93 Jennings interprets the frequent representation of the so-called 'Indian Menace' as 'a boomerang effect of the European Menace to the Indians'. See Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), p. 37.

94 Bhabha describes stereotypes as 'arrested, fixed form[s] of representation' but points out that colonial stereotypes are fraught with ambivalence and anxiety. See Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 45.

95 As Albert Memmi points out, another sign of objectification typical of colonial discourse is the use of collective or generic designations. See Albert Memmi, *Portrait du colonisé, précédé du portrait du colonisateur* (Corrèa: Éditions Buchet/Chastel, 1957), p. 106.

96 Ingrid Joubert comments on the identification of Nipsya with the destiny of her race: ‘grâce à une curieuse exploitation des événements historiques dans le sens de la propagande colonisatrice, la révolte métisse est présentée comme une épreuve nécessaire à la maturation de la femme métisse Nipsya, emblème de sa nation’; ‘Nipsya’, *Canadian Literature / Littérature canadienne*, 129, summer 1991, p. 226.

97 Arun Mukherjee, ‘Ironies of Colour in The Great White North: The Discursive Strategies of Some Hyphenated Canadians’, in Arun Mukherjee, *Oppositional Aesthetics: Readings from a Hyphenated Space* (Toronto: TSAR Publications 1994), p. 79.

98 Vollant’s family relocated to a reserve near Sept-Îles when their territory was polluted by mineral extraction. Singer and composer, formerly with the group Kashtin, Vollant performs in English, French and Innu. ‘Le loup blanc’ is included on the album *Katak* (2003).

99 Huggan uses this phrase to describe those anthologies which adopt an integrative rather than an interventionist strategy (*Australian Literature*, p. 118).

100 Alain Choppin, ‘Les paradoxes du manuel scolaire’, in Aubin, ed., *300 ans de manuels scolaires au Québec*, p. 135.

101 Francis, *Imaginary Indian*, p. 162.

102 *Lectures littéraires et scientifiques* includes an anecdote about a Cree and a Blackfoot Indian who play a version of strip poker which concludes with the winner taking the loser’s scalp, only to lose his own in the return bout. By switching the practice of scalping from the context of war or martyrdom to that of anecdote, the Indian is constructed more as a figure of fun than a demonized figure. This extract is unusual in the corpus as it tells of an encounter between two Amerindians, with no reference to white characters. However, the narrator’s ‘whiteness’ is clear in the moralizing voice, as is the ‘whiteness’ of the reader for whom the sense of moral superiority is intended.

103 Goldie comments on his own use of this term, ‘a peculiar word [which] suggests the impossible necessity of becoming indigenous’, and which he understands to refer to ‘the acquisition of indigeneity, the performance of indigeneity, not becoming indigenous’ (*Fear and Temptation*, p. 13).

104 Clare Bradford, *Unsettling Narratives: Postcolonial Readings of Children’s Literature* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), p. 12.

Chapter Four

1 Linda Hutcheon and Mario J. Valdés, ‘Preface’, in Linda Hutcheon and Mario H. Valdés, eds, *Rethinking Literary History: A Dialogue on Theory* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. x.

2 The almanac has played a particularly significant yet rarely acknowledged

role in embedding the habit of reading, as Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink explains: ‘l’apparition de l’imprimé au sein des couches populaires se fit essentiellement à travers deux genres: l’imprimé religieux, d’une part, sous la forme du catéchisme, de la bible ou de l’hagiographie; et l’almanach, d’autre part, qui était, en règle générale, le seul imprimé non religieux de très large diffusion présent au sein des sociétés traditionnelles’. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, ‘La littérature des almanachs: réflexions sur l’anthropologie du fait littéraire’, *Études françaises*, 36.3, 2000, p. 47.

3 See Marie-José des Rivières, *Châtelaine et la littérature (1960–1975)* (Montreal: L’Hexagone, 1992).

4 A prime example of the adaptation of a literary work for the media is that of Claude-Henri Grignon’s *Un homme et son péché* (1933) which was adapted first for radio serialization. The series of episodes based on the central protagonist lasted for twenty-three years, from 1939–62, for cinema (1949, 1950, 2002), stage (1943–52) and then for television by Radio-Canada (1956–70).

5 See Julia Bettinotti, ed., *La Corrida de l’amour. Le roman Harlequin* (Montreal: XYZ, 1990).

6 For the first full-length study of this corpus see Amy J. Ransom, *Science Fiction from Quebec: A Postcolonial Study* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009).

7 Norbert Spehner, *Le Roman policier en Amérique française* (Quebec: Les Éditions Alire, 2000).

8 See Françoise Lepage, *Histoire de la littérature pour la jeunesse: Québec et francophonies du Canada; suivie d’un Dictionnaire des auteurs et des illustrateurs* (Orléans, ON: Éditions David, 2000); Edith Madore, *Les 100 livres québécois pour la jeunesse qu’il faut lire* (Quebec: Nota bene, 1998); Daniela Di Cecco, *Entre femmes et jeunes filles: le roman pour adolescentes en France et au Québec* (Montreal: Éditions du Remue-ménage, 2000); Sandra L. Beckett, ‘Livres pour tous: le flou des frontières entre fiction pour enfants et fiction pour adultes’, *Tangence*, 67, 2001, pp. 9–22.

9 See Mira Falardeau, *Histoire de la bande dessinée au Québec* (Montreal: VLB éditeur, 2008).

10 See D. Saint-Jacques, J. Lemieux, C. Martin and V. Nadeau, *Ces livres que vous avez aimés: les bestsellers au Québec de 1970 à aujourd’hui* (Quebec: Nuit blanche éditeur, 1997).

11 Diana Brydon, ‘Introduction: Reading Postcoloniality, Reading Canada’, *Essays on Canadian Literature*, 56, autumn 1995, p. 2.

12 On the history of migrant writing in Quebec see Daniel Chartier, *Dictionnaire des écrivains émigrés au Québec, 1800–1999* (Quebec: Nota bene, 2003) and Clément Moisan and Renate Hildebrand, *Ces étrangers du dedans: une histoire de l’écriture migrante au Québec (1937–1997)* (Quebec: Nota bene, 2001).

13 One example of such a ‘minority’ (which reveals the problematic nature

of the term) is that of Anglo-Quebec literature, produced by members of a numerical minority in Quebec, yet part of the dominant culture within Canada. See 'Textes, territoires, traduction: (dé)localisations/dislocations de la littérature anglo-québécoise', compiled and edited by Lianne Moyes and Gillian Lane-Mercier, *Québec Studies*, 44, winter 2007/spring 2008, special issue.

14 The inclusion of extracts from the work of ethnic and aboriginal authors in Canadian literary histories tended to coincide with the appearance of anthologies, collections of essays and literary histories devoted to the literature of those specific ethnic communities and of aboriginal authors in Canada.

15 Winfried Siemerling, *Writing Ethnicity: Cross-Cultural Consciousness in Canadian and Québécois Literature* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1996), p. 10. In the USA, for instance, the award of the Pulitzer Prize to N. Scott Momaday for *House Made of Dawn* (1969) was followed by a period referred to by critics as the 'Native American Renaissance', during which contemporary Native authors reclaimed their heritage in their own literary expression. See Suzanne Lundquist, *Native American Literatures: An Introduction* (New York: Continuum, 2004), p. 38.

16 Smaro Kamboureli, *Making a Difference: Canadian Multicultural Literatures in English*, 2nd edn (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2006 [1996]), p. xiii.

17 Traditional French-Canadian nationalism and the discourse of Quebec nationalism have both concerned themselves essentially with the interests of the francophone population of European descent and their relationship to the rest of Canada, rather than with the claims of the aboriginal populations.

18 E. D. Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention: A History of Literary History in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 207.

19 To date this has meant Amerindian writing, Inuit literature in Canada having been written in Inuktitut and English. See Robin McGrath, *Canadian Inuit Literature: The Development of a Tradition* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada/Musées nationaux du Canada, 1984). However, Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk's novel *Sanaaq*, transliterated into Inuktitut syllabic script by anthropologist Bernard Saladin d'Anglure and published in 1983, has been republished by Stanké in Saladin d'Anglure's French translation (in 2002).

20 Diane Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec: oralité et littérature* (Montreal: L'Hexagone, 1993). The title and periodization (before and after contact) echo the subtitle used in Penny Petrone's study, *Native Literature in Canada: From the Oral Tradition to the Present* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990).

21 Maurizio Gatti, 'Qu'est-ce que la littérature autochtone francophone du Québec?', PhD thesis, Laval University, 2004; ed., *Littérature amérindienne du Québec: écrits de langue française* (Montreal: Hurtubise HMH, 2004) (preface by Robert Lalonde); *Être écrivain amérindien au Québec: indianité et création littéraire* (Montreal: Hurtubise, 2006) (preface by François Paré).

22 Gatti has also edited an anthology of work including Amerindian writing from Quebec and francophone writing from North Africa, Polynesia and New Caledonia, *Mots de neige, de sable et d'océan: littératures autochtones* (Wendake: Éditions du CDFM, 2008).

23 Comité de survivance indienne, *Mémoire à la commission d'enquête royale sur l'éducation et l'enseignement* (Quebec: n.p., 1962), p. 23.

24 Bernard Assiniwi, *Histoire des Indiens du Haut et du Bas-Canada* (Montreal: Leméac, 1973–74), 3 vols; Georges E. Sioui, *Pour une histoire amérindienne de l'Amérique* (Quebec: Presses de l'université Laval, 1999), first published in English by McGill-Queen's University Press in 1992.

25 Two important publications by Native critics writing in English are Jeannette Armstrong, ed., *Looking at the Words of our People: First Nations Analysis of Literature* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 1993), and Thomas King, ed., *All my Relations. An Anthology of Canadian Native Fiction* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991), which includes a text in translation by the Montagnais-Cree heritage author Jovette Marchessault, 'Song One. The Riverside', pp. 175–200. Armstrong is of Okanagan heritage and established the En'owkin Centre, a creative arts school in Penticton, British Columbia.

26 Charles Taylor, *Philosophical Arguments* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 150. Taylor's argument presupposes that 'we' are occupying the dominant position and liberate the 'other' in an act of generosity; the language used suggests a state of non-reciprocity which may be alleviated (by 'allowing' the other to stand apart) but not necessarily removed; that is, 'we' and 'they' retain traces of a power relationship.

27 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 236.

28 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 237.

29 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 238.

30 Helen Hoy, *How Should I Read These? Native Women Writers in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001). In a recent article Michèle Lacombe argues that the use of indigenous literary nationalism in the interpretation of Native-Canadian texts can help to offer alternatives to dominant Western approaches. See Michèle Lacombe, 'On Critical Frameworks for Analyzing Indigenous Literature: The Case of *Monkey Beach*', *International Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue internationale d'études canadiennes*, 41, 2010, pp. 253–76.

31 François Paré, 'Préface', in Gatti, *Être écrivain amérindien au Québec*, pp. 12–13. Gatti had previously studied the work of Assiniwi as the subject of a Masters dissertation at the University of Rome III in 1997.

32 As Peter Klaus points out, 'il est assez problématique d'"enfermer" le fait amérindien et sa littérature à l'intérieur des frontières du Québec, vu les migrations saisonnières, le nomadisme ou semi-nomadisme de nombreuses populations amérindiennes dont la sédentarisation est assez récente et qui n'avaient cure dans le passé des frontières tracées par l'homme blanc'. Peter

G. Klaus, review of Diane Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec: oralité et littérature*, *Études littéraires*, 28.2, 1995, p. 122.

33 Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec*, p. 15.

34 Gatti, 'Qu'est-ce que la littérature amérindienne francophone du Québec?', p. 9.

35 Hutcheon argues: 'To read literary historically in specifically postcolonial terms would mean to look at a nation's literature from the particular point of view of this traumatic imperial legacy.' Linda Hutcheon, 'Rethinking the National Model', in Hutcheon and Valdés, eds, *Rethinking Literary History*, p. 19.

36 Hutcheon, 'Rethinking the National Model', p. 20.

37 I use the word *métis* (uncapitalized) in this context to refer not to the Métis nation of western Canada, but to people of mixed heritage, such as Bernard Assiniwi, of Cree, Algonquian and French-Canadian descent.

38 For a list of works see Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec*, pp. 185–86.

39 Both *Eukuan nin matshimanitu Innu-iskueu / Je suis une maudite sauvagesse* (1976) and *Tanite nene etutamîn nitassi? Qu'as-tu fait de mon pays?* (1979) were first written in Innu and then translated into French.

40 Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec*, p. 16.

41 Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec*, p. 15.

42 The most recent text included in the Bibliography is Michel Noël, *Nipishish* (Montreal: Hurtubise HMH, 2004).

43 Gatti, 'Qu'est-ce que la littérature autochtone francophone du Québec?', p. 9.

44 Gatti, 'Qu'est-ce que la littérature autochtone francophone du Québec?', pp. 9–10. This definition also fits the case of many migrant writers, with whom Gatti makes frequent parallels both in his thesis and particularly in the 2006 study.

45 The collection of texts constituted just over half of the thesis, appearing on pp. 112–241, followed by author profiles on pp. 242–66.

46 Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec*, p. 20, n. 9. The concept of Indian status was developed under colonial rule to determine entitlement to live in Indian reserves. Amendments in 1985 to the 1951 Indian Act separated matters of Indian status from issues concerning band membership and residency.

47 Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec*, p. 16.

48 Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec*, p. 16.

49 Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec*, p. 170, n. 1. Marchessault's work is, however, included in King, ed., *All my Relations*.

50 See Gatti, *Être écrivain amérindien au Québec*, p. 133.

51 Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981–1991* (London: Granta Books 1992), p. 67.

- 52 Gatti, *Être écrivain amérindien au Québec*, p. 13.
- 53 Gatti, 'Qu'est-ce que la littérature amérindienne francophone du Québec?', p. 2.
- 54 Gatti, *Être écrivain amérindien au Québec*, p. 132.
- 55 Gatti, *Être écrivain amérindien au Québec*, p. 133.
- 56 Gatti, *Être écrivain amérindien au Québec*, p. 132.
- 57 Mudrooroo Narogin Nyoongah, *Writing from the Fringe: A Study of Modern Aboriginal Literature* (South Yarra, Victoria: Hyland House, 1990), p. 24.
- 58 Gareth Griffiths, 'The Myth of Authenticity', in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, eds, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 240.
- 59 Hutcheon, 'Rethinking the National Model', p. 33.
- 60 Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec*, p. 15.
- 61 Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec*, p. 15.
- 62 Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec*, p. 179.
- 63 Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec*, p. 179.
- 64 Godard writes that 'resistance writing draws attention to itself and to literature in general as a political and politicized activity. [...] A third characteristic of resistance literature is that it be produced within a struggle for decolonization.' Barbara Godard, 'The Politics of Representation: Some Native Canadian Women Writers', in W. H. New, ed., 'Native Writers and Canadian Writing', special issue of *Canadian Writing* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990), pp. 198–99.
- 65 Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec*, p. 180.
- 66 Gatti, *Être écrivain amérindien au Québec*, p. 178.
- 67 Gatti, *Être écrivain amérindien au Québec*, pp. 195–96.
- 68 Gatti, *Être écrivain amérindien au Québec*, pp. 187–88. The French-Canadian novel being described must be Félix-Antoine Savard's *Menaud maître-draveur* (1937).
- 69 Gatti, *Être écrivain amérindien au Québec*, p. 191.
- 70 Benoit Doyon-Gosselin, '(In)(ter)dépendance des littératures francophones du Canada', *Québec Studies*, 49, spring/summer 2010, p. 52.
- 71 Lise Gauvin, 'Écrire en français en Amérique: de quelques enjeux', *Francophonies d'Amérique*, 26, autumn 2008, p. 122.
- 72 François Paré, *Les Littératures de l'exiguïté* (Ottawa: Le Nordir, 2001), pp. 26–32.
- 73 Robert Major, 'Préface', in Paré, *Les Littératures de l'exiguïté*, p. 12.
- 74 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Kafka. Pour une littérature mineure* (Paris: Minuit, 1975), p. 75.
- 75 Gauvin, 'Écrire en français en Amérique', pp. 125–30.
- 76 Danielle Juteau, 'Ontariois and Québécois as Distinct Collectivities', trans. Franklin Philip, in Dean R. Louder and Eric Waddell, eds, *French*

America: Mobility, Identity, and Minority Experience across the Continent (Baton Rouge, LO: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), p. 60.

77 See Louder and Waddell, eds, *French America*, p. 8. Louder and Waddell use the term ‘archipelago’ to describe the relationships between the scattered francophone communities in North America. Bill Marshall’s *The French Atlantic: Travels in Culture and History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009) takes Glissant’s use of the term (Édouard Glissant, *Introduction à une poétique du divers* [Paris: Gallimard, 1996], p. 22) and develops it to cover a wider geographical and historical span of diasporic movement and contact. For a reflection on the wider utility of ‘archipel’ as a term to refer to relationships between francophone populations worldwide, see Gabrielle Parker, ‘Vers une francophonie-archipel’, in Nathalie Bélanger, Nicolas Garant, Phyllis Dalley and Tina Desabrais, eds, *Produire et reproduire la francophonie en la nommant* (Sudbury, ON: Prise de parole, 2010), pp. 35–62.

78 Paré, *Les Littératures de l’exigüité*, p. 48.

79 Paré, *Les Littératures de l’exigüité*, p. 32. The initial sense of abandonment was further reinforced by the debates surrounding the two referenda in Quebec in 1980 and 1995.

80 Jean Morency, ‘Dérives spatiales et mouvances langagières: les romanciers contemporains et l’Amérique canadienne-française’, *Francophonies d’Amérique*, 26, autumn 2008, p. 27.

81 M. D. Behiels, *Canada’s Francophone Minority Communities: Constitutional Renewal and the Winning of School Governance* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), p. 330.

82 The 2006 census gives the percentage for Manitoba as 4 per cent. See Pamela V. Sing, ‘Mouvance, miettes mnémoniques, et métissages: les traces de la culture canadienne-française dans *Accordion Crimes* d’Annie Proulx’, *Québec Studies*, 53, spring/summer 2012, p. 42.

83 Notable examples of those who have decided to base themselves in Quebec are poet Patrice Desbiens and dramatist Jean Marc Dalpé from Ontario, Acadian authors Antonine Maillet and Jacques Savoie, and Franco-Manitoban Gabrielle Roy. Many of those who stay in their home province, such as France Daigle and J. R. Léveillé, have published much of their work in Quebec or Ontario.

84 See, for example, recent special issues of *Québec Studies* (53, spring/summer 2012) and *Francophonies d’Amérique* (26, autumn 2008).

85 The bibliography is available at <http://francolib.francoamerican.org> (accessed 17 May 2013). While the resource currently focuses mainly on materials relative to Franco-American interests in Maine and New England, the intention of its managers is that its scope will grow as users submit additional material.

86 Honoré Beaugrand, *Jeanne la fileuse: épisode de l’émigration, franco-canadienne aux États-Unis* (Fall River: n.p., 1878); Normand Beaupré,

Madame Athanase T. Brindamour, raconteuse (Tamarac, FL: Llumina Press, 2012).

87 Marguerite Maillet, *Histoire de la littérature acadienne. De rêve en rêve* (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1983), p. 7. The reference is to the publication of Antonine Maillet's dramatic monologue, *La Sagouine* (Montreal: Leméac, 1971).

88 Lucie Hotte and Johanne Melançon, eds, *Introduction à la littérature franco-ontarienne* (Sudbury, ON: Prise de parole, 2010), p. 30. It should be noted, however, that Ottawa was the exception to this general rule: 'Francophone publishers made Ottawa one of the centres of French-language publishing in Canada in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth.' Yvan Lamonde, Patricia Lockhart Fleming and Fiona Black, eds, *History of the Book in Canada/Histoire du livre et de l'imprimé au Canada. Vol. II: 1840–1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 57.

89 Hotte and Melançon, eds, *Introduction à la littérature franco-ontarienne*, p. 5.

90 J. R. Léveillé, *Anthologie de la poésie franco-manitobaine* (Saint-Boniface, MB: Les Éditions du Blé, 1990), p. 15. Part anthology (over 200 poems by 35 poets) and part literary history (covering 200 years of poetry), it includes a long introductory essay by Léveillé, critical essays on several of the poets with bibliographical references and details of literary publishing in the periodical press.

91 As in so many other fields, web-based and other electronic resources have transformed the accessibility of French-language material, but an isolated minority still remains an isolated minority.

92 Micheline Cambron, 'L'enchevêtrement des histoires littéraires dans la francophonie d'Amérique vu à travers le renouvellement épistémologique de l'histoire littéraire', *Francophonies d'Amérique*, 26, autumn 2008, p. 350.

93 Maillet, *Histoire de la littérature acadienne*, p. 16.

94 See René Dionne, 'La littérature franco-ontarienne: esquisse historique (1610–1987)', in Cornelius Jaenen, ed., *Les Franco-Ontariens* (Ottawa: Presses de l'université d'Ottawa, 1993), p. 343. Interestingly, Dionne opens his chapter with a preamble in which he comments on the fact that when the Sudbury-based publishing house *Prise de parole* was set up in 1972–73 the general ignorance of francophone-Ontarian literary history meant that 'tout se passait comme s'ils [its 'pioneering' founders] allaient être les premiers francophones de l'Ontario à s'exprimer en littérature' ('La littérature franco-ontarienne', p. 341).

95 Léveillé, *Anthologie de la poésie franco-manitobaine*, pp. 19–20.

96 Lionel Groulx, *L'Enseignement français au Canada. Vol. II. Les écoles des minorités* (Montreal: Editions Leméac/ Paris: Éditions d'aujourd'hui, 1979), p. 75.

97 Calixte Duguay, *Les Stigmates du silence* (Moncton: Les Éditions d'Acadie, 1973), p. 73.

98 Maillet, *Histoire de la littérature acadienne*, p. 10.

99 Blodgett, *Five-Part Invention*, p. 15.

100 Vernex detects a similar level of ambivalence in Acadians' sense of nationhood: 'Acadian territoriality is clearly experienced with intensity at the local or regional level. But it is very quickly diluted when conceived on a higher scale, and it takes on maximum ambiguity at the level of the Acadian "nation".' Jean-Claude Vernex, 'Space and Sense of Place: The Example of the Acadians in New Brunswick', in Louder and Waddell, eds, *French America*, p. 207.

101 Juteau, 'Ontarois and Québécois as Distinct Collectivities', p. 67. In this connection it is highly appropriate that a volume of essays on the complex and evolving nature of francophone identities in Canada has the title *Produire et reproduire la francophonie en la nommant*. See Nathalie Bélanger, Nicolas Garant, Phyllis Dalley and Tina Desabrais, eds, *Produire et reproduire la francophonie en la nommant* (Sudbury, ON: Prise de parole, 2010).

102 François Paré, *La Distance habitée* (Ottawa: Le Nordir, 2003), p. 168.

103 See Guy Poirier, Grazia Merler and Jacqueline Viswanathan, eds, *Culture et littérature francophones de la Colombie-Britannique, Espaces culturels francophones I* (Ottawa: Les Editions David, 2004); Guy Poirier, ed., *Culture et littérature francophones de la Colombie-Britannique: du rêve à la réalité, Espaces culturels francophones II* (Ottawa: Les Editions David, 2007).

104 Poirier, *Culture et littérature francophones de la Colombie-Britannique: II*, p. 236.

105 Born in China, Ying Chen has chosen to adopt French as her language of literary expression, and has lived in Montreal, the Eastern Townships and in Vancouver.

106 Janine Gallant and Maurice Raymond, *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires de l'Acadie des maritimes XXe siècle (DOLAM)* (Sudbury, ON: Prise de parole, 2012).

107 Quoted in Doyon-Gosselin, '(In)(ter)dépendance des littératures francophones du Canada', p. 56.

108 Hutcheon stresses the importance of unpicking these complex sets of relationships by the processes of colonialism: 'the literary histories (like the social histories) of both former colony and former empire are always intrinsically complex, internally and externally relational, and mutually implicated; these qualities make these histories crucial to their nations' self-understanding' ('Rethinking the National Model', p. 15).

109 Cambron, 'L'enchevêtrement des histoires littéraires', p. 349.

110 Cambron, 'L'enchevêtrement des histoires littéraires', p. 351.

111 Doyon-Gosselin, '(In)(ter)dépendance des littératures francophones du Canada', p. 55.

112 Paré does this in 'L'Antillanité de l'Acadie', *La Distance habitée*, pp. 185–98.

Conclusion

1 Michel Le Bris and Jacques Rouaud, eds, *Pour une littérature monde* (Paris: Gallimard, 2007). The volume includes texts by the signatories of the original *Manifeste* and an interview with Édouard Glissant.

2 Collectif, ‘Pour une “littérature-monde en français”’, *Le Monde des livres*, 16 March 2007.

3 Lise Gauvin, ‘Traversal of Languages’, in Christie McDonald and Susan Rubin Suleiman, eds, *French Global. A New Approach to Literary History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), p. 434.

4 Emily Apter, ‘Global *Translatio*: The Invention of Comparative Literature, Istanbul, 1933’, in Christopher Prendergast, ed., *Debating World Literature* (London: Verso, 2004), p. 78.

5 Christie McDonald and Susan Rubin Suleiman, ‘Introduction: The National and the Global’, in McDonald and Suleiman, eds, *French Global*, p. xi.

6 David Damrosch, ‘World Literature in a Post-Canonical, Hyper-Canonical Age’, *Comparative Literature in an Era of Globalization. The 2003 ACLA Report on the state of the Discipline* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), pp. 52–53.

7 David Damrosch, *What is World Literature?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 281.

8 Christopher Prendergast, ‘The World Republic of Letters’, in Prendergast, ed., *Debating World Literature*, p. 1.

9 Prendergast, ‘The World Republic of Letters’, p. 25.

10 Winfried Siemerling and Sarah Phillips Castele, eds, *Canada and Its Americas: Transnational Navigations* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010); Bill Marshall, *The French Atlantic: Travels in Culture and History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009).

11 Amaryll Chanady, ‘The Trans-American Outcast and Figurations of Displacement’, *Comparative Literature*, 61.3, 2009, p. 338.

12 For a sample of her work see Lise Gauvin, ‘Écrire en français en Amérique: de quelques enjeux’, *Francophonies d’Amérique*, 26, autumn 2008, pp. 121–34, and *Langagement. L’écrivain et la langue au Québec* (Montreal: Boréal, 2000).

13 Charles J. Sugnet, ‘Pour une littérature-monde en français: manifesto retro?’, *International Journal of Francophone Studies*, 12.2/3, 2009, pp. 237–52.

14 Françoise Lionnet, ‘Universalisms and francophonies’, *International Journal of Francophone Studies*, 12.2/3, 2009, pp. 203–22.

15 Donna Palmateer Pennee, ‘Literary Citizenship: Culture (Un)Bounded, Culture (Re)Distributed’, in Cynthia Sugars, ed., *Home-Work: Postcolonialism, Pedagogy and Canadian Literature* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004), p. 83.

16 On the role of indigenous literary nationalisms see Daniel Heath Justice, *Our Fire Survives the Storm: A Cherokee Literary History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), p. 24.

17 Keavy Martin, 'Is an Inuit Literary History Possible?', *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 34.2, 2010, pp. 67–80.

18 Justice, *Our Fire Survives the Storm*, p. 8. Postcolonial critics such as Laura Chrisman have made similar calls for a reassessment of the use of the discourse of nationhood: 'instead of abandoning the nation and its discourse to those who dominate and exploit them, postcolonial critics might provide alternative national visions of collective identity, culture and power'. Laura Chrisman, 'Nationalism and Postcolonial Studies', in Neil Lazarus, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Literary Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 196.

19 Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, eds, *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 394.

20 Luc Fraise, ed., *L'Histoire littéraire à l'aube du XXIe siècle: controverses et consensus*, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 12–17 May 2003 (Paris: PUF, 2005), p. 5.

21 David Perkins, *Is Literary History Possible?* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 17.

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