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A NEWSPAPER CONTENT ANALYSIS STUDY
OF CANADIAN POLITICAL INTEGRATION

1845 - 1895

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies, Carleton University,
in partial fulfillment of the require-
ments for the degree of doctor of
philosophy by

Ronald Brunskill

Department of Political Science
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario,
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May, 1976

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The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies acceptance of the thesis

"A Newspaper Content Analysis Study
of Canadian Political Integration, 1845 - 1895"

submitted by Ronald Brunskill, B.Sc., M.A.,
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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May 1976

Abstract

The study centres on the measurement of the attitudes of pan-Canadian nationalism amongst the population of the British North American colonies before and after Confederation. Principal questions addressed are: Was the path to Confederation facilitated by the awakening of pan-Canadian perceptions and orientations over the 20 years prior to 1867, or did an appropriate mental milieu emerge only in the years immediately around Confederation, 1864-1870, or did the milieu evolve gradually, indeed if at all, during the generation following the creation of the Dominion.

The study employs Deutsch's techniques for measuring the integration of communities by the use of content analysis of communications within a community to determine the distribution of attention, and of favourable and unfavourable judgements.

A comparison is made to the work of Richard L. Merritt who investigated the growth of feelings of American nationalism during the 40 years prior to 1776 by conducting a content analysis of American colonial newspapers.

A sample of 279 issues of newspapers in the leading urban centres of mid-Victorian BNA was selected for a line-by-line count of all place names and modes of self-identification used by BNA/Canadians over the period 1845-1895. This was done in an attempt to measure their foci of attention and self-perception over the period. As part of a people's self perception is also reflected in the way they view "adjacent" societies, the reporting by the British North American newspapers of the United States, Britain and France over the 50 years is also analyzed.

Among the principal findings are:

a) Before Confederation pan-Canadian references were meagre, averaging

for the sample only 1.7 per cent of all BNA/Canadian references to place names. A strong upsurge in these pan-Canadian references came between 1865 and 1870; in the latter year they rose to 15.3 percent of all BNA/Canadian references. The post-1867 average for the sample was 12.6 per cent.

b) A steady decline in British references took place: as a percentage of total place names they fell from 20.2 per cent of total place names in 1845 to 10.4 per cent in 1895.

c) Home province symbols were strong at the beginning of the survey, forming 57.9 per cent of the total BNA/Canadian place names in 1845, and remaining strong straight up to 1895, when they formed 54.7 per cent of total Canadian place names for the sample average.

d) The identification count supported the place name count regarding the period in which a pan-Canadian orientation first became significant, verifying the strength of home province identification and the weakness of British identifications.

e) The images of all three "adjacent" societies became more negative after Confederation, and the disparity between the newspapers in the kind of image they presented of these three societies was reduced.

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I wish to express my deep appreciation to the numerous people who have helped me with this thesis. Above all to my adviser, Professor Kenneth D. McRae, whose interest, patience, thoroughness, indulgence and endurance have been quite prodigious, and to Professor John H. Sigler whose interest in the subject matter, whose expertise in the techniques involved, and whose friendly encouragement have been invaluable.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE NEW NATIONALITY — THE STATE OF THE DEBATE

It was amidst a virtual fanfare about the "new nation and the new nationality" that the Dominion of Canada was launched in 1867. Yet, as a nation Canada did not become fully sovereign until some 50 to 60 years later when she assumed full control over her own external affairs. But what of the "new nationality", the patriotism, the loyalty, the feeling of identification with the new entity on the part of her citizens, which was needed to support the new state structure and give it real substance? When did a Canadian national sentiment emerge, did it exist even in some rudimentary form, prior to Confederation? Did it spring forth, hey presto, at the behest of the British North America Act? Or has it developed subsequently, and to what degree?

There has been a good deal of writing on this question of the Canadian identity of the literary-historical-impressionistic variety. The best of it has come from a group of talented historians who after long immersion in "the critical years" surrounding Confederation have come forth with their appraisal of the socio-economic interplay of forces which led to the creation of the Dominion

of Canada, and its subsequent growth or lack of growth. The majority of historians report having found little evidence of any grass-roots support for Confederation, indeed Maritimers were often openly hostile to the whole idea, while French Canadians were either fearful, suspicious, or at best luke-warm. However, Frank Underhill says, "The first decade after Confederation teemed with discussion of the implications, economic, political and cultural of the new Canadian nationality"¹. There appears to have been a relapse, however, for Carl Berger reports that, "Twenty years after Confederation there was a great deal of concrete evidence in support of those who predicted Canada's collapse"². Yet by 1920 C. Stewart Wallace could write in his essay, "The Growth of Canadian National Feeling", "Today he would be a bold man who would deny the existence in Canada of a distinctive national feeling -- a national feeling, not French-Canadian, or British-Canadian, but all-Canadian"³.

This chronic unity-identity crisis has so perplexed Canadians that surely it is high time we turned to new forms of diagnosis, and utilized some of the concepts and empirical techniques developed by contemporary social scientists in studying the related processes of nation-building, political integration and political development.

Developed primarily in attempts to grapple with the problem of nation-building in the emergent, post-colonial states of Africa and Asia, these techniques have pried political scientists loose from legal-institutional pre-occupations and given the discipline broader and deeper perspectives.

Canada, herself, occupies something of an intermediary position between the "developed" and "undeveloped" countries of the globe. Although an offshoot of Europe, economically rich and boasting a mature democratic structure, she is an ex-colony, principally a supplier of primary products to more highly industrialized societies, and a state which finds herself obliged to forge a cohesive nation out of disparate elements.

In suggesting new approaches to the investigation of the pattern of Canadian group identification I am in no way disparaging what has been said and written previously on the topic of Canadian national feeling and its development. I merely wish to contribute to an ongoing debate, suggesting untried approaches and possibly adducing novel evidence. The new techniques of which I speak at least promise more objective perspectives and the use of quantitative measures by which to support or refute our impressions, and hypotheses, and thus lead to more rigorous and fruitful hypotheses formation.

The two basic hypotheses, which have led me to suggest the use of these concepts and techniques, both deal with the relationship between political structure and political culture. They are:

(a) Institutional engineering of and by itself cannot create a nation. If such engineering is to be successful it must rest upon a sub-stratum of appropriate attitudes and values at least amongst the politically relevant population. Is there any evidence of the existence of such attitudes and values in British North America prior to Confederation?

(b) On the assumption that there was little grass-roots support for Confederation in the 1860's then the creation of the new federal governmental structures, by the Fathers of Confederation aided and abetted by the British Colonial Office, has subsequently engendered or forced the growth of the necessary supportive attitudes and values.

Before proceeding to examine some of the techniques offered by contemporary social science in such an investigation, I shall briefly look at the state of the debate on Canadian national feelings to date. From the Confederation debates in the Legislature of Canada we know that the Fathers of Confederation spoke eagerly of "a new nation and a new nationality" on the northern half of this continent -- a nation that would take its place on the world

stage, forming a strong ally for Britain, and indeed eventually outranking the mother country as an international power. But, it is significant that the Fathers invariably spoke in terms of potentiality; theirs was a vision of future greatness. For Sir E. P. Taché we were "a great people in embryo."⁴ For Sir John A. Macdonald, we could be "a great people, a great nationality commanding the respect of the world" - if we would but unite.⁵ However, it would have to be a federal type of union for the people in Lower Canada, and no less those in the Maritimes, were reluctant "to lose their individuality as separate political organizations". But that apart, declared Sir John, Maritimers were already, "as much Canadians as we are imbued with the same feelings of loyalty to the Queen, the same desire for the continuation of the connection with the Mother Country as we are, and at the same time have a like feeling of ardent attachment for this our common country, for which they and we would alike fight and shed our blood, if necessary".⁶

George Cartier acknowledged we had five different communities inhabiting five separate colonies in British North America, but we had the same sympathies and we all desired to live under the British Crown. Nor would diversity of "race" impede us; had it impeded the glory, the progress, the wealth of England? In our own Federation we

should have Catholic and Protestant, English, French, Irish and Scotch, and each by his efforts and his successes would increase the prosperity and glory of the new Confederacy.⁷

Sir George then embarked upon a short disquisition concerning "nation-building":

In ancient times, the manner in which a nation grew up was different from that of the present day. Then the first weak settlement increased into a village, which by turns, became a town and a city, and the nucleus of a nation. It was not so in modern times. Nations are now formed by the agglomerations of communities having kindred interests and sympathies. Such was our case at the present moment. ⁸

Evidently the Fathers of Confederation despite the acknowledged barriers of language, "race", religion, distance and well-formed local loyalties believed that already in the mid 1860's there existed a sub-soil of shared interests and sentiment sufficient to nurture the growth of a new patriotism which would be the sustainer of the new political entity they had the temerity to construct.

They have been criticised for their optimism by a legion of social thinkers and historians. Michael Oliver, for instance, writes:

The authors of the BNA Act over-estimated quite seriously the range of shared assumptions between the two cultures, or they seriously under-estimated the degree of unity on fundamentals which was necessary to run the centralized state they wished to create. ⁹

It can scarcely be said that there are two or more schools of thought among historians regarding the support for the "new nation" at the grass-roots level. The ones who aver that the colonies prior to Confederation were isolated from and indifferent to each other may be said almost to have won the day by default, but Canadian historians here, as elsewhere, may be divided into two groups, the Laurentian school comprised of Harold Innis, Donald Creighton, W.L. Morton, etc., and the Continentalist school comprised of Arthur Lower, Frank Underhill and J.B. Brebner, etc. The Laurentian school have convincingly demonstrated that the land of Canada, far from flying in the face of geographic logic, forms a natural entity, a natural communications network extending via the Gulf and River of the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa River and the Great Lakes out onto the prairies — the theme of the fur trade and the trans-continental enterprise.¹⁰ This suggests that the people living along the lines of this network will form a natural community, both economically and socially. The Continentalist school maintain that Canada being something of a geographic monstrosity had to forge artificial links, had to await the advent of the railway age to get beyond the Valley of the St. Lawrence. Inevitably sentiment has lagged behind the iron links. As Underhill has

aptly put it, "What Canada needs is the moral equivalent of the C.P.R.".¹¹

Strangely enough even eminent historians can take different stances at different times on this "ripeness of Canada for Confederation" question. For instance Arthur Lower, who wrote: "Some peoples are born nations, some achieve nationhood, and others have nationhood thrust upon them. Canadians seem to be among these latter";¹² can also write:

What might be termed the psychological roots of Confederation are in plain evidence long before the event occurred. They consist mainly of the effects of growth and development, which almost necessarily bring a larger sense of community with them.¹³

And a Laurentian, W. L. Morton, can write, "Canada is the pragmatic achievement of the little regarded labours of clerks in the Colonial Office, and obscure colonial politicians."¹⁴

Even Creighton can say within the space of a few pages, "(At Confederation) A. divided British America had become a united Canada; but the change was a change of constitutional form rather than of economic and social substance. The rudimentary political framework of a nation existed, but the nation itself had yet to become a vital reality."¹⁵

Yet, only a few pages earlier he had written:

The British American economy was breaking through the narrow limits of colonialism; British American

society was emerging from the disturbances and antagonisms of the frontier. The middle decades of the nineteenth century had been a period of compromises and reconciliations: the major controversies over the relations of church and state, religion and education had been settled. The jangling Protestant sects and the quarrelsome British nationalities had learned to get along with each other; and French and English had discovered that, if they ought not to live too closely together, they equally could not exist completely apart. The loyalties of the Old World were yielding to the vigorous interests of the New; the immigrants of the past were becoming the British American citizens of the present; and the provincials of the various colonies had begun to look beyond the boundaries of their respective provinces towards a united British America. 16

Which indicates that if the nation had yet to become a vital reality, the stage was certainly set for just such an event.

But a very strong case indeed can be made that Confederation was primarily the work of elites, domestic political and economic elites pushed along by the British colonial Office which was anxious to divest itself of an embarrassment : embarrassing because it carried the seeds of a potential conflict between Britain and the United States.

Sociologist S.D.Clark states, "The Canadian political community was not the creation of a people seeking a distinctive national identity. It was the creation rather of certain business, political, religious and cultural interests seeking the establishment of a monopolistic system of control ".¹⁷

Frank Underhill gives his view in the following

words :

The British North America Act was in form the work of the British Imperial Parliament, and in fact the work of a small elite group of colonial politicians who were in advance of their people . . . They had done little to educate their people up to wider conceptions of their future. After 1864 the Quebec Resolutions were not submitted to the voters for ratification by general election or referendum. And this lack of an effective popular basis for the new system of politics has remained a flaw in the foundations of our national structure ever since. 18

Sydney Wise, a professor of History at Carleton University, Ottawa, and former chief historian at the Canadian Department of Defence, would narrow this elite even further. He says: "Confederation was a triumph of Upper Canadian 'imperialism' ; its slogan, 'peace, order and good government' came directly out of the Conservative lexicon ; and the manner of its attainment . . . was entirely characteristic of the undemocratic and elitist Canadian political style." 19

That co-operation and alliances between elites were crucial in engineering Confederation, and continued to play an indispensable role in keeping the various sections of Canada, particularly the two major ethnic-linguistic groups, working together subsequently is incontestable. Most of the techniques of consociational democracy have flourished and have contributed immensely to the persistence of the Canadian polity.²⁰ Yet, it is my contention that nations do not persist and develop on techniques

of elite co-operation alone. Even if the institutions of a new state are created by an elite or a coalition of elites, then the successful consummation of integration in the new state may indeed depend upon the closing of the elite-mass gap;²¹ namely superimposing upon the "parochial" loyalties of the masses something of the elite enthusiasm and regard for the new structures.

Modern Canada originates basically with two distinct groups,²² each of which must by the closing decade of the eighteenth century have already possessed a highly developed sense of group consciousness. On the one hand we have the French Canadians, armed with one language, one religion, one culture, feeling themselves abandoned by and isolated from their Mother Country.²³ On the other hand we have the United Empire Loyalists, many of whom were second, third, and fourth generation North Americans, who found themselves refugees from a revolution.²⁴ Having suffered discrimination and persecution at the hands of their erstwhile compatriots the Loyalists were forced to flee bereft of property to carve out a new home for themselves in virgin territory. Both French and English-speaking groups may be termed "communities of fate" bound together by bonds of common suffering, which as Ernest Renan emphasized in the 1880's are the strongest of all possible community links.²⁵

Some writers have seen the War of 1812 as the beginning of a common Canadian identification, transcending the two ethnic-linguistic groups. C. Stewart Wallace says: "It (the 1812 War) gave birth in Canada to that feeling of self-reliance and self-respect without which no strong national spirit can well exist . . . the War of 1812—which might fittingly be termed the Canadian War of Independence—stands at the fountain-head of Canadian Nationalism."²⁶

Immediately after the Napoleonic Wars a great wave of immigration, overwhelmingly from the British Isles, practically half of it Irish, began. It steadily built up to a peak in 1847 when 109,680 people from the British Isles entered the United Colony. The population of Upper Canada increased from approximately 95,000 in 1814 to around 950,000 in 1851.²⁷

Did this massive immigration swamp the old group feelings and attitudes of the original settlers — particularly the Loyalists?²⁸ They were the group most likely to be inundated for they bore the brunt of the flood, the French-speaking population of Lower Canada being more insulated against the newcomers by virtue of language and their distinctive culture. Or was it that the old settled groups were tough enough to assimilate the incoming hordes? Opinion seems to be that the first inhabitants were out-

numbered but not submerged, they kept control of the situation, and remained dominant in their communities. Certain it is that a great many of the newcomers came virtually as refugees, ready and apt to absorb new ways, new attitudes, new outlooks. They came atomized and disoriented, as single individuals or in family groups, ready to fit themselves into new communities.

Neither did the incoming flood submerge the old dichotomy and antagonism between French and English. Lord Durham in 1839 clearly saw "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state", and in advocating colonial self-government said that if it were to succeed "it would require some nationality of its own".³⁰ The French-English cleft made the United Colony in effect a quasi-federal structure with its equal allocation of legislative seats between Canada East and West, its de facto bilingualism, dual ministries, and dual majorities. The whole process ended in political impasse once the common aim of responsible government had been achieved, thus eliminating the need for an alliance between the Reformers of Canada East and West.

Out of this impasse, English-speaking Canada with its bounding population, its eyes firmly fixed on a western empire, and its own ice-free Atlantic ports,

resurrected the idea of some kind of union of British North America, as a possible means of escape.³¹ This idea of a union either unitary, federal or confederal of the B.N.A. colonies had cropped up at fairly regular intervals ever since 1789, when the governor of Quebec Lord Dorchester (Guy Carleton) proposed a federation of Britain's remaining North American colonies in a dispatch to the Imperial Government.³² Its principal object was to keep the colonies strong enough to resist absorption into the United States, and loyal to Britain.

When the Cartier-Macdonald ministry was formed in August, 1858, Alexander Galt agreed to join the ministry on condition that they would adopt his views on the need and character of a British American federation. And in October of the same year a delegation of Cartier, Galt and John Ross sailed for England to discuss the matter with the British Government. The British expressed interest in the idea and said they would give it all the support they could, "should it appear to be the general wish of the Queen's subjects in these provinces to attain a more intimate alliance between themselves."³³

In May, 1860, D'Arcy McGee, Irishman by birth and Canadian by choice, as he liked to refer to himself, was addressing the legislative assembly of Canada in the following terms: "I see in the not remote distance one great nationality, bound like the shield of Achilles, by the blue rim of the ocean".³⁴ McGee in 1863 contributed an

article entitled, "Another Plea for the British North-American Nationality", to the British American Magazine, in which he stated, "The cause of British American Nationality... is capable of exciting in our breasts that force which only patriotic enthusiasm can give."³⁵

McGee was the only father of Confederation to be enthusiastically taken up by the Canada First Movement, that group of BNA born young men who declared in 1868 a resolve to promote "the new nationality". In his celebrated address in 1871, "Canada First ; or our New Nationality", William Foster, their principal spokesman said that the British connection would in time be transformed into an "alliance of nations", and for such an alliance it was necessary that Canada achieve a distinct and recognizable identity. "The foundation of our identity", he said, "must be purposefully and conscientiously cultivated for nations do not spring Minerva-like into existence. To form this nationality we must end obsequies towards Britain." He also added that it was more important to find some internal common basis of agreement strong enough to counteract such disintegrating tendencies as race, creed, and diverse interest.³⁶

Sir John A. Macdonald's nation-building policies — the protective tariff, the transcontinental railway, the settlement of the West — intended to make Confederation a

going concern came in for heavy going in the face of the long economic depression which lasted from the early 1870s to the mid 1890s, and the cultural conflict triggered by the execution of Louis Riel in 1885. It was left to the Liberals to partially heal the cultural rift, and to successfully consummate the 'National Policy' after the economic upswing began in 1895.³⁷

The whole process of the genesis and progress of Canadian national sentiment is quite complicated, more complicated and devious than the development of American national sentiment. In the United States there was a sharp, violent, relatively sudden break with the Mother Country, and the immediate assumption of overall national independence with a distinctive political and social ideology and style, and it came complete too with a distinctive batch of national symbols. For Canada the cutting of the umbilical cord has been long and protracted. Afflicted by multiple and competing loyalties --the British political community, the French Canadian nation, the provinces, the region, the ethnic-linguistic group-- Canadians have often taken pride in referring to themselves as a nation like few others, an ethnic, linguistic mosaic.

Four "isms" may be detected along the way to a mature Canadian national feeling -- imperialism, annexationism, provincialism and ethno-centricism. These come in no

chronological order, being indeed simultaneous phenomena, exhibiting shifting interconnections. Only one, annexationism, has been regarded as precluding the growth of a strong Canadian national feeling. Of the others, British imperialism is slain, annexationism prostrate, and ethnocentricism, at least of the Anglo-Saxon variety, discredited. Only provincialism is virile, in fact it appears to be stronger than in many other periods.

Of these four "isms", annexationism can perhaps be most quickly dealt with. It reached its peak in 1849, was assuaged by the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, and received a mortal blow as far as being a credible alternative with the advent of the American Civil War, the subsequent "manifest destiny" sabre rattlings, and the Fenian threat. It never again reached the heights that it did in 1849-50 amongst the merchants of Montreal and the farmers of the Eastern Townships, following Britain's espousal of free-trade. It has however surfaced periodically, notably as part of a wider continentalism at the elections of 1891 and 1911, and at other times. According to Donald F. Warner, "Annexationism has stimulated the growth of Canadian nationalism and helped to check the natural tendency of this feeling to erode the sentimental

ties with Great Britain."³⁸ But, annexationism apart, the American Republic has always been a serious force in Canadian politics. Canada began as a separating out from the United States at the time of the War of Independence, and so has remained. She often defines herself in terms of an alternative to the United States on the North American continent. According to Frank Underhill, "Confederation was fundamentally anti-American."³⁹ The contemporary resurgence of Canadian nationalism is based largely on resentment and fear of the extent of American ownership and control of much of the Canadian economy. Here is the old American threat once again urging Canadians to bury their differences and present a united front to the common enemy.

Ethno-centricism has been and is a very strong force. Indeed, most French-speaking Quebecois make no bones about it, "Quebec first, Canada second"-- Quebec because it is regarded as the home and citadel of the French-Canadian "race". Quebec separatism remains the single biggest threat to the continued existence of the Canadian federal state, and never as a threat and hence a bargaining weapon was it utilized more than in the 1960's. The vision of a separate French-Canadian state in North America has enthused certain sections of Quebec opinion, especially that of the younger generation, ever since the Rebellion of 1837.

Anglo-Saxon ethno-centricism has been no less

virulent, and being the dominant force in the federation has usually been able to get its way, and assume the pose of conventional orthodoxy. The theme of self-conscious Anglo-Saxon racial superiority was quite vocal in the last century, but such outpourings have been neither respectable, credible nor relevant in the more complex and uncertain post World War 1 world. Yet there is a certain amount of lip service paid to such notions even today, some of these ideas being so ingrained in the older generation as to be a sheer matter of a habitual mode of thought. English-speaking Canadians were always a more motley crew than the French, a heavy proportion of them being Irish Roman Catholic Celts, and the rest divided between descendants of the Loyalists, Highland and Lowland Scots, Protestant Irish, besides English, and largely assimilated Germans, Dutch and increasingly diverse Europeans.⁴⁰ They have never exhibited the same "ethnic" solidarity as the French. The Slavic immigration which has had a substantial impact on the prairies did not really get under way until the early years of the twentieth century, and they came to a society of which the mould was solidly English-speaking, and while retaining pride and interest in their origins the Slavs have apparently become well-integrated into the surrounding society. They have helped to de-emphasize the importance of ethnicity in the English-speaking mind,

CHAPTER TWO

CONTEMPORARY NATION BUILDING THEORY

After selecting my strategic questions I next began to seek out whatever appropriate indicators of group cohesion contemporary nation-building theory has to offer. The first thing that strikes one on looking at this body of theory is the multiplicity of terms used for what appears to be essentially the same process or cluster of processes, the same broad movement. Although political integration is the most ubiquitous and popular term, other terms met frequently in the nation-building literature are political unification, political mobilization, political development, while in some cases the prefix "political" is replaced by "national". Many scholars see nation-building or political integration as but one aspect of political development, i.e., as part of a greater thrust. Others see the two processes as intermeshed in the move towards modernization and westernization; still others see the whole aim of political development to be the creation of a viable, stable nation-state.

Briefly let us look at the way some contemporary theorists define their areas of concern. Amitai Etzioni, in Political Unification, says political community possesses three kinds of integration : those of (a) effective control over the use of violence ; (b) centralized decision-making that is able to affect significantly the allocation of

How, then, is the Canadian experience to be discerned and defined? ... much of it surely lies in the "limited identities" of region, culture and class... indeed it is largely through them that Canadians interpret their nation-state as a whole. . . .a land of two languages, pluralized politics and ethnic multiplicity ... the Union of 1867 was in large degree a coming together of regions and so has remained. 41

Indeed, as far as ethno-centricism, provincialism or regionalism are concerned, it can be very plausibly contended that, at its very inception, Confederation signalized a failure of an attempted integration between Upper and Lower Canada. One might say that a bigger and looser unity was substituted for a smaller but tighter union which had proved unworkable.

Although imperialism may now be as dead as the dodo, its heritage still exerts an influence on Canadian life if only as imparting a certain internationalist aspect to the Canadian self-image, and world view. It also affords Canada certain bonds of intimacy, and mutuality of experience, with the varied nations of the Commonwealth. If this may seem somewhat peripheral to Canadian life today, during the last century, indeed up to say 1922, membership of the British Empire was a central fact of Canadian life and politics.

Prior to Confederation and for many years afterwards the two chief politically unifying forces in the BNA colonies were probably attachment to the British Empire and to British political institutions. Indeed,

according to one authority, "The war-hawk mentality pervaded the English Colonial mind . . . The intense imperial sentiment voiced in Canada during the war (the Crimean War, 1854-56) in fact predated the development of a similar imperial sentiment in Britain".⁴²

Imperialism carried over well into the present century. John W. Dafoe in his short study of Laurier, states, "English-speaking Canadians were more British than the British; they were more loyal than the Queen . . . Imperialism, on its sentimental side, was the glorification of the British race".⁴³

Ramsay Cook in his essay, "Nationalism in Canada or Portnoy's Complaint Revisited", writes:

It seems that the sentiment called 'imperialism' in Canada was, like its contemporary counterpart in the United States, Great Britain and Germany, an expression of nationalism . . . It was only after the Great War that 'isolationism' in English Canada combined with the French Canadians' long-standing suspicion of British-Canadian nationalism to produce the forces which propelled the ambiguous autonomism of Sir Wilfrid Laurier into the full-blown version of Mackenzie King. ⁴⁴

Yet, feelings that there would be occasions when Canadian and British-Imperial interests might diverge had periodically occurred at least since 1871, when the Treaty of Washington gave the Americans access to Canadian fisheries without making any mention whatsoever of compensation for the Fenian incursions into Canada. Sir John A. Macdonald, the only Canadian on the team which negotiated

the Treaty, signed it with the greatest reluctance and under strong pressure from the British Colonial Office.

In 1874, Edward Blake in his famous Aurora speech declared that Canada must take responsibility for her own foreign policy, otherwise, "We are four millions of Britons who are not free."⁴⁵ In 1885 Sir John A. Macdonald turned down suggestions from Britain that a military contingent from Canada for the Sudan expedition would be a fine demonstration of imperial unity. At the 1897 Imperial Conference, Laurier politely rejected Joseph Chamberlain's proposal for the creation of "a great council of Empire", and also the proposal made at the same time that Canada make a monetary contribution to the Imperial Navy.⁴⁶ When the Boer War broke out in 1899 Laurier believed that Canada should not participate. But public opinion, including the opinion of many of his own cabinet ministers, compelled him to acquiesce in the dispatch of a token military force. But the cabinet emphasized that the dispatch was not to be taken as a precedent, and Laurier publicly stated that Canada reserved the right to decide when she should participate in Britain's wars.⁴⁷

The Boer War was the traumatic event which spurred the anti-imperialist movement into action, writes Carl Berger.⁴⁸ The movement found its most enduring basis of support in French Canada, and came to be symbolized in one man, Henri

Bourassa. Then in 1903, there was indignation in all parts of the Dominion at the way in which the British chairman decided to cast his vote with the Americans on the Alaska Boundary Joint Commission. In 1904, John S. Ewart produced his first essay maintaining that Canada should assume full control over her own external policy.

These four "isms" — annexationism, imperialism, provincialism and ethno-centricism, suggest a whole spate of questions regarding the development of a Canadian national sentiment. When did the inhabitants of these colonies stop thinking of themselves as "colonials", or as Britons living overseas, or even as British North Americans? How much interest did the people in any one province show in other provinces prior to Confederation? Did they feel that they faced similar and common problems, that they were bound up in some community of fate, or were they largely unaware of each other, largely indifferent. Did a pan-Canadian sentiment suddenly appear only in 1867, or develop slowly afterwards? Did it, as is often alleged, stagnate, level off, or take a plunge in the 1870's and '80s? Perhaps the various provinces, or some of them, felt nearer in psychic distance to Britain than to each other? Were they more interested in what was happening in the United States than in their fellow provinces?

If a common B.N.A. sentiment can be discerned,

was its birth and growth connected with any formative events, such as Britain's renunciation of the mercantile system, the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, the American Civil War, the Fenian raids, the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences, etc.? When, if ever, did provincial, or possibly regional identification, yield pride of place to a national identification? Did this differ from province to province?

How did mid-nineteenth century Maritimers and Canadians refer to themselves — as "colonists" as "Nova Scotians" as "British North Americans", "New Brunswickers", "Canadians" etc.? When did Maritimers and British Columbians stop going to "Canada" on a visit? When did the terms; "this country", "this land", "this people" begin, if ever, to refer to the whole territory of Canada and the people inhabiting it?

How strong was ethnic affiliation? Did people continue to look upon themselves as Irish, as Highland Scots, Lowland Scots, Orangemen, or Englishmen long after they came to Canada, even into the second, perhaps third generations? Or possibly their religious affiliation was the dominant mode of identification.

Did the pattern of identification differ markedly from province to province? Was any one province the leader in pan-Canadian sentiment, or did it appear across the country at roughly the same time? Do strongly developed provincial and regional identifications hinder or help the development of national sentiment?

What were their attitudes to Britain ? Did they look upon the United Kingdom affectionally as "home", or "the old country", or with veneration as "the hub of Empire", "the Imperial Power", or perhaps coldly as "the Colonial Office, or "Downing Street"? When did they begin referring to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom as "they", or "them", as a distinct or separate group? How closely did the colonists identify with the British Army, and its exploits in the Crimean War, in India, and the various colonial campaigns of the Victorian era ? And when they had the time and the inclination to think about foreign affairs did they invariably go along with the British view ?

How aware were British North Americans of other parts of the British Empire, and how interested were they anyway ? Did British Columbians feel closer to the Australasian colonies than did Easterners ? And last but not least what were their attitudes towards the United States ? Were Massachusetts and Iowa regarded as foreign parts? Did Upper Canadian farmers feel any kind of affinity with the farmers of the American mid-west, amongst whom they had so many sons and other relatives ? How close did British Columbians feel to California and the American North-West ? Did Canadians feel, as a whole, closer in social attitudes and styles of living to the Americans than to the British ?

What images did they entertain of the United

States? Did they see it as the land of violence and lawlessness, or as the land of unrivalled promise?

These and similar questions all add up to the way Canadians looked at (a) themselves, at each other and the land they inhabited, (b) Britain, and (c) the United States. And to test our two hypotheses we wish to know these attitudes and images as they existed for some time before and after Confederation.

So as broad, strategic questions, embracing all the above, which will direct and guide our research into the cultural aspects of political integration in Canada, I propose the following:

- 1) What was the state of group identification in British North America during the generation prior to Confederation?

- 2) What has been the pattern of group identification subsequent to Confederation?

- 3) How has group identification differed from province to province and region to region?

- 4) What have been the images and attitudes of BNA/Canadians towards Britain?

- 5) What have been the images and attitudes of BNA/Canadians towards the United States?

- 6) What have been the images and attitudes of BNA/Canadians towards France?

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CHAPTER TWO

CONTEMPORARY NATION BUILDING THEORY

After selecting my strategic questions I next began to seek out whatever appropriate indicators of group cohesion contemporary nation-building theory has to offer. The first thing that strikes one on looking at this body of theory is the multiplicity of terms used for what appears to be essentially the same process or cluster of processes, the same broad movement. Although political integration is the most ubiquitous and popular term, other terms met frequently in the nation-building literature are political unification, political mobilization, political development, while in some cases the prefix "political" is replaced by "national". Many scholars see nation-building or political integration as but one aspect of political development, i.e., as part of a greater thrust. Others see the two processes as intermeshed in the move towards modernization and westernization; still others see the whole aim of political development to be the creation of a viable, stable nation-state.

Briefly let us look at the way some contemporary theorists define their areas of concern. Amitai Etzioni, in Political Unification, says political community possesses three kinds of integration : those of (a) effective control over the use of violence ; (b) centralized decision-making that is able to affect significantly the allocation of

resources and rewards throughout the community, and (c) creation of a dominant focus of political identification¹ for a large majority of the politically aware citizens.

Myron Weiner says political integration may refer to five allied but separable problems: (a) the problem of bringing together culturally and socially discrete groups into a single territorial unit, and the establishment of a national identity; (b) the problem of establishing a national central authority over subordinate regions; (c) the problem of linking government with governed, i.e., bridging the elite-mass gap; (d) the problem of creating the minimum value consensus necessary to maintain social order, and finally (e) the capacity of the people in a society to organize for some common purpose. The term "national integration" Weiner would reserve exclusively for the problem of creating a sense of territorial nationality which overshadows or eliminates subordinate parochial² loyalties.

Lucian W. Pye finds the term "political development" is used in at least ten different senses, included among which are many aspects of integration, for instance: (a) the process by which new polities which are nation-states only in form, and by international courtesy, become nation-states in fact, (b) mass mobilization and participation, (c) political modernization, the standards of modernity being the possession of the political institutions

and norms of Western nation-states.³ Pye, himself, states elsewhere that contemporary theorists on nation-building and political integration can broadly be divided into two schools: (a) Those who attach primacy to the erection of political structures, the creation of new political entities, the reform of specific institutions (on the assumption that the new structures will engender or force the growth of the necessary supportive attitudes and loyalties in the society at large) and (b) those who are pessimistic about the effectiveness of institutional engineering unless it is firmly based on prior changes in basic societal perceptions, attitudes, and values amongst the mass of the people, or at least amongst the politically relevant classes.⁴

The "political culture" school, those who give primacy to perceptions, attitudes and values, appear to be in the majority. Joseph S. Nye writes: "One of the concerns generally associated with the concept political integration is the extent to which a group of people not only interact or share institutions but the extent to which they develop a sense of common identity and mutual obligation. This is the sense in which the word tends to be used by theorists in comparative politics, particularly for developing areas."⁵

Claude Ake writing generally, but with the recent post-independence experience of the African states uppermost in mind, says the essence of political integration is that "of developing a political culture and inducing commit-

ment to it, one of the elements of a political culture being the individual's belief about the ultimate focus of his political identity".⁶ Ernst Haas, writing of international integration, says political integration means "a process whereby political actors in distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing nation-state".⁷

In their introductory essay to the volume, The Integration of Political Communities, which deals with integration at the local, the national, and the international levels, Philip E. Jacob and Henry Teune write, "Political integration implies a relationship of community among people within the same political entity. That is they are held together by mutual ties of one kind or another which give the group a feeling of identity and self-awareness".⁸

In his pioneering work Nationalism and Social Communication, Karl Deutsch switches to the field of communications. In fact he sees the very essence of any community, society, nation or people to be the ease and intensity of the communication flows within it. He defines a community as, a group of persons who are able to communicate information to each other effectively over a wide range of topics.⁹ Moreover, he uses the term "people" to denote a larger group of persons (than a community) who are linked together by complementary habits and facilities of communication. He writes, "Peoples are held together 'from within' by this communicative efficiency";¹⁰

and, "Membership in a people . . . consists in the ability to communicate more effectively and over a wider range of subjects with members of one large group than with outsiders"¹¹. Moreover, "Peoples are marked off from each other by communicative barriers, 'marked gaps' in the efficiency of communication"¹².

Nationalism, Deutsch believes, is but a temporary phenomenon of human society en route from a predominantly parochial, local or provincial identification to a supra-national or perhaps international identification.¹³ We are now in this "age of nationalism". It is a condition which has been precipitated upon the human race by certain well known trends in society: industrialization, increasing technical sophistication, and urbanization. It is the result of people coming into closer physical proximity with each other, and greater frequency of contact. They live en masse together in large urban areas, working together in capital intensive enterprises, and directed by the burgeoning ramifications of bureaucratic control which is needed to enable this process to continue and develop.

Nation-building, or national development, Deutsch sees as the outcome of two joint, but not necessarily parallel processes: (a) the degree of social mobilization, as measured by the percentage of the total population who live in towns, work for wages in units employing five or more, are literate,

are exposed to the mass media, pay direct taxes, etc.,¹⁴ and

(b) the degree of assimilation of minority linguistic-
cultural groups to the predominant groups.¹⁵

Deutsch defines social mobilization as "the process in which major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken down and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behavior".¹⁶ The industrial revolution broke down the social, economic and cultural fabric of feudal and quasi-feudal Europe, forcing the population into new moulds, new thought patterns, new forms of social organization. Forcing people off the land and into cities and factories, it tore apart old parochial, local and provincial groupings and loyalties, and boosted the functions, importance and relevance of the nation-state and in so doing engendered the spirit of nationalism.

Deutsch gives a number of yardsticks for measuring the rate of mobilization:¹⁷ for instance, the percentage of total population who live in towns, who are in occupations other than agriculture, forestry and fishing, the percentage who read newspapers at least once a week, who have attended school for at least four years, who are literate, who have access and go to movies, listen to the radio, are insured persons, pay direct taxes, etc., etc.

As for the rate of assimilation, Deutsch says:

Assimilation to a new language is progressing if the number of persons who are learning it during a given period . . . is larger than the number of persons who are as yet ignorant of it, but are entering into intensive economic, social or political contact with its speakers. 18

Deutsch, although partially defining nation-building as a process of linguistic assimilation to the predominant group, also makes the point that linguistic similarity does not always correspond to attitudinal and value similarity. He cites the case of a German-speaking Swiss student who found it easier to communicate with a compatriot, although French-speaking from Geneva, than with a German-speaking one from Vienna. Deutsch reports him as saying, "The French-Swiss and I were using different words for the same concept, but we understood each other. The man from Vienna and I were using the same words for different concepts, and thus we did not understand each other in the least".¹⁹ Thus communicative ease is not only, or entirely, a matter of language — granted there must be mutual comprehension of symbols used, even though they be in different languages — but equally vital things are similarity of concepts, frames of reference, connotations, associations. It is the images triggered in the minds by the symbols which must be similar.

This social mobilization/assimilation model of Deutsch posits key cities, key areas, nuclear areas, such as

harbours and river mouths. Moreover, the existing "pattern of technology, and certain institutions... make it probable that some particular class or classes will function as the elite, or leading or ruling class".²⁰ It is around these centres and groups as they extend through networks of communications and commerce that nations grow. Growth is a matter of closing the elite-mass gap by way of social mobilization, and of assimilation of minority linguistic-cultural groups to the dominant one. The two processes of social mobilization and assimilation are interrelated, but rarely advance pari passu. At any point in time, says Deutsch, the degree of integration in a community, or people, is the net function of, (a) the mobilized and assimilated, (b) the mobilized but still differentiated, (c) the underlying but²¹ assimilated, and (d) the underlying and differentiated.

From the concepts and definitions just reviewed we should be in a better position to evaluate the empirical indicators which the theoreticians offer. For those who define political integration purely in structural terms it is simply a matter of looking at the existing common or integrated structures, and estimating whether in their totality they are sufficient to constitute an efficient sovereign state. For instance, the United States as it existed under the articles of Confederacy prior to 1789, or the North German Bund of the 1860s might be pronounced

institutionally deficient depending upon one's criteria, and so also might the Dominion of Canada, as it existed prior to the 1914-18 War, lacking as it did full and direct control over its own foreign policy. Even today there are some who would argue that, as long as the provinces continue to possess jurisdiction over education, Canada still does not have the totality of powers of a fully integrated state. But this whole structural approach is deficient in that it virtually ignores the cultural dimension. It is addressing itself only to one part of the process and is therefore deficient.

Enthusiasts of Arend Lijphart's consociational
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democracy model would gauge integration in a fragmented political culture by itemizing the consociational techniques utilized by that society; for example, the participation and representation of the various groups in the executive, the legislature, the bureaucracy, the army, the political parties, the powerful interest groups, etc. Such theories may very plausibly and convincingly explain things over the short run, and perhaps even over the medium run, but their long term prospects appear to be doubtful unless the elites are able to communicate and diffuse their values and attitudes among the populace at large. In other words the elite-mass gap will have to be closed.

• In the same vein, and subject to the same

criticisms, is the centre-forming coalition theory of²³ Barrington Moore. His theory is that political development to the modern nation-state level comes about through a coalition of two or more of the following sections of society : the central dynasty and its bureaucracy, the trading and manufacturing bourgeoisie in the cities, the lords of the land, and the peasantry. None of these is strong enough to propel society forward on its own, and so it is forced to enter into a bi or tri-partite alliance with one or two of the other groups. At least one group will be left out of the alliance to form an opposition against the "nation-building" coalition.

This theory is reminiscent of Frank Underhill's concept of the nation-building coalition in Canada, in which the French-Canadian habitants led by their "traditional elites" allied themselves with the powerful business interests of English-speaking Canada.²⁴ This alliance which was first forged in the 1850s within the Conservative Party, later, after 1895, found a home within the Liberal Party. Stein Rokkan comments on this "centre-forming coalition" theory: "Schemes of this kind have to be spelled out in greater detail before they can be subjected to tests against empirical indicators".²⁵

This brings us to those theorists who declare that political integration is essentially a matter of closing the value and attitudinal gap between elite and mass. To test

this empirically would require a time series of attitudinal surveys of a given society's designated elite, and designated mass. The basic problem here, with regard to the questions I have posed, is of course that one cannot go back in time to administer attitudinal surveys. Indeed, attitudes might be investigated by more traditional, but alas less empirical methods, such as perusal of official documents, speeches, newspapers, magazines of the period, etc.; but how much literary evidence do the masses usually leave behind?

This same chronological difficulty vitiates, for our historical investigation, the use of Claude Ake's seven empirical indicators of the degree of political-integration.²⁶ These indicators are: (1) a society's legitimacy score, "to be measured by attitude survey research methods such as those used in the Civic Culture, and The Authoritarian Personality"; (2) its extra-constitutional behaviour score; (3) its political violence score; (4) its secessionist demand score; (5) its alignment pattern score — the extent to which major groups draw their support from a diversity of geographic areas, and from the ethnic, religious, social and economic groups within the country; (6) its bureaucratic ethos score, i.e., the extent to which loyalty of members of the political system is focussed on the office rather than on the charismatic appeal of the office holder; (7) its authority score — a function of the polity's legitimacy score, and

the effectiveness of the state in carrying out its constitutionally prescribed duties.

My basic criticism of this scheme is that practically all the scores can be reduced to the legitimacy score. The indicators, extra-constitutional behaviour, political violence, secessionist demands and bureaucratic ethos scores, are all fundamentally indicators of legitimacy, while the alignment pattern score, in other words consociational techniques, is one of the means by which regimes achieve legitimacy. The novel item in the "authority score" is the availability to the state of coercive resources. Essentially, therefore, the whole scheme rests on: (a) the legitimacy of the state, and (b) the coercive capacities of the state.

As Ake himself stresses, there are other indicators of the level of political integration which he labels "not uniquely political in nature"²⁷: such as a high degree of economic interdependence, as measured by the flow of goods and services between the different regions of the country, and the degree of social integration (the extent to which values, goal preferences, symbols of identity are shown).

Gabriel Almond, Lucian Pye and their associates on the "Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council" have suggested that it might be useful to look upon political development as involving six crises,

challenges to be faced in any process of nation-building.

These crises need not present themselves in any particular sequence, this will vary from case to case, but each presumably has to be negotiated, or reasonably successfully negotiated before we arrive at a fully developed nation-state. He gives the crises in the following sequence:

- (1) the identity crisis, the first and most fundamental crisis — that of achieving a common sense of identity;
- (2) the legitimacy crisis (involving the conversion of power into authority); (3) the penetration crisis (the problem of reaching down into society and effecting governmental decisions); (4) the participation crisis (coping with rapidly increasing popular demand for greater influence in determining governmental outputs); (5) the integration crisis (the problem of containing centrifugal forces and inculcating a sense of identity), and (6) the distribution crisis (the problem of sharing goods and services, etc.).

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Stein Rokkan appears to be the only one who has sketched out a scheme to operationalize these crises, i.e., he has drawn up a list of indicators to determine the successful, or otherwise, encounter with each challenge. For the identity crisis he proposes, as indicators, time series data on the development of mass education and mass literacy by region, locality, and religious affiliation. For the legit-

imacy crisis he proposes data on strikes, demonstrations, riots, votes for "anti-system" parties. For the integration crisis he would gather data on the recruitment of elite personnel from each major division of the country, also regional shares of investment in roads, railways, schools, besides income differentials by region and locality. For the penetration crisis he proposes data on the growth of the central government's share of the G.N.P., the growth of the central civil service, its field personnel in the various regions, its recruitment pattern by region. For the participation crisis his data would include the percentage of electoral turnout by region and locality, participation by region in parties, popular movements, unions, interest groups, and cultural activities (readership of newspapers, books, exposure to films, video, radio, T.V.). For the distribution crisis he would seek data on the share of governmental revenue allocated per region and locality, and the share going to education, social services, pensions and so forth.

This scheme of Rokkan's is of the greatest interest. Its main difficulty possibly lies in the availability or even existence of a fair portion of these data, especially for the past century. Even if the material could be ferretted out, the whole research program obviously requires a team, and an indeterminate amount of time depending upon

the accessibility of the data. In addition the tests are of an "external" nature and do not directly attack the question of the subjective perceptions, attitudes, and values, i.e. the political culture of a people. Of course it would be possible to include such attitudinal surveys in Rokkan's battery of indicators, but then again we encounter the problem of administering such tests to the contemporaries of Sir John A. Macdonald.

I have previously alluded to Karl Deutsch's social mobilization/ assimilation model of nation building, and the various yardsticks suggested by Deutsch for measuring these dual processes.³⁰ However, there are obvious difficulties in collecting data by the above yardsticks. How literate does a person need to be to be mobilized? At what point does a person become bi-lingually functional? What if a person can function in the dominant language-culture but rejects identification with it? Moreover, some of the yardsticks, especially in the modern day and age, are doubtful or inadequate criteria. In the face of modern communications technology the old urban/rural dichotomy is very vague, and the primary industries today are amongst the most capitalized and mechanized.

Mobilization also suggest that the more urbanized and industrialized a country the more nationalistic it will tend to be. A host of instances can be cited to contradict this, from the Netherlands and Belgium, which despite high industrialization-urbanization, have shown

themselves amongst the most eager for Western European integration, to Ireland and Paraguay which despite high "ruralization" are none the less highly nationalistic. By these criteria the contemporary Federal Republic of West Germany should be more nationalist than either the Second or Third Reichs. Of course there are many other key variables, of fluctuating significance from time to time and place to place, which must be reckoned with when discussing the development of national feeling.

Assimilation, too, is a very broad and vague term. A group may be well assimilated linguistically and culturally to the dominant culture, and yet feel distinct and apart: for instance the American negroes. And is it wholly the negative factor of rejection by the societies within which they have lived that has led to the continued existence of Jewry? Deutsch would appear to discount too much the question of perceived ethnic affiliation, this whole issue of origins, and its importance in self-identification.

However, at the very kernel of Deutsch's ideas about community, society, people, nation lies the notion of communications. For Deutsch the hallmarks of any cohesive group are to be found in the volume, range, variety and velocity of the messages which circulate within it. It follows from this that if the information being circulated within a community can be counted, the integration of individuals, or units, within an encompassing group can also be measured. In The Nerves of Government, Deutsch says:

Information can be measured and counted, and the performance of communication channels in transmitting or distorting information can be evaluated in quantitative terms If we can measure information, no matter how crudely, then we can also measure the cohesion of organizations or societies in terms of their ability to transmit information with smaller or larger losses or distortions in transmission If we think of an ethnic or cultural community as a network of communication channels, and of a state or political system as a network of such channels and of chains of command, we can measure the "integration" of individuals in a people by their ability to receive and transmit information on wide ranges of different topics with relatively little delay or loss of relevant detail. 31

Thus the emphasis of Deutsch is quite decisively on the counting process, the quantitative approach, irrespective of the semantic and emotive content of the messages being counted. He writes, "We cannot measure directly the piety, beauty, courage or steadfastness of human beings, but we can measure to a significant extent the ranges and kinds of messages which they can transmit to each other, the speed and accuracy with which they can do so, and the price in effort and lost information which they have to pay". 32

As one way of measuring the volume and kind of messages circulating within a community Deutsch suggested, in Nationalism and Social Communication, what he called "cohesion tests". The purpose of which will be to measure the frequency of national messages or signals relative to personal or local ones".³³ Elaborating on this in his essay, "Transaction Flows as Indicators of Political Cohesion", Deutsch said "cohesion tests" could include the measurement of mail flows over a given time period, the ratio of foreign to domestic mail flows, telephone traffic, content analysis of local

communications to judge the distribution of attention, as well as the distribution of favourable and unfavourable judgements and value patterns, the flow of commodities, people, travellers, tourists etc. In the same essay Deutsch adds, "If a single index for transactions is desired it could possibly be done in terms of an attention percentage".³⁴

If you accept Deutsch's concept of social cohesion, his approach seems to offer a real breakthrough into the study of integration both contemporary and historic, provided the statistics are available and accessible. Such data prove to be more readily available if the traffic in question crossed an international boundary, going through customs, passport or immigration control, but post office departments and railway companies rarely keep such statistics of domestic traffic, at least in readily available form.

Deutsch himself points out that there do appear to be deviant cases to the hypothesis that integration and cohesion closely follow economic and social interchanges. He cites the case of the relations between the United States and Great Britain over the period 1890-1954, during which there was a sharp decline in the relative weight of Anglo-American economic transactions, but an increase in military and political consultation and co-operation.³⁵

Inspired by Deutsch's transaction flow concept, Philip Jacob and Henry Teune have outlined an extensive

scheme for measuring integration. They identify ten critical factors bearing on integration and propose indicators to measure each of these factors. These are, (a) geographical proximity: indicators — contiguity, possibilities of physical contact, technology, density of population, etc ; (b) homogeneity: indicators — wealth, income, education, status, religion, race, language, attitudes, values, social-distance, etc ; (c) transactions or interactions: indicators — communications, trade, population mobility ; (d) knowledge of each other: indicators — surveys on attitudes, images, and stereotypes ; (e) shared functional interests: indicators — the number of interest groups that are for and against integrated institutions ; (f) the character or motive pattern of the group : indicators — surveys to elicit the modal distributions of attitudes, values, and motive patterns ; (g) the political structure frame : indicators — the degree to which the power structure is elitist, pluralist or populist, and the extent of mobility within that structure of power ; (h) the sovereignty-dependency status of the community : indicators — the extent to which decisions are subject to review by another political authority, and on the economic side, the ratio of external to domestic trade ; (i) governmental effectiveness : indicators — physical survival of the polity, increases in G.N.P., while among the subjective indices are feelings of well-being, belief in a better future, etc ;

(j) previous integrative experience : indicators — historical survey of such experience. Was it rewarded or penalized ?

Here we have an extremely well thought-out and comprehensive scheme. However, it would require a concerted team effort and extensive attitudinal and opinion surveys with their obvious historical limitations. Moreover, there is no attempt made to weigh these various factors ; are they all of equal weight? Does the importance of each factor vary from society to society ? For instance, Canada must rank very low on the geographical proximity scale, despite its extensive use of transportation technology. Nor can it stand high on the homogeneity or mutual knowledge scale. On what factors if any does it score heavily to compensate for these deficiencies ?

CONTENT ANALYSIS

One line of investigation into group cohesion suggested by Deutsch is that of 'content analysis of communications. He writes: "Content analysis can be employed to gauge the distribution of attention as well as the distribution of favourable and unfavourable judgments and value patterns".³⁷

A content analysis type study of a specific case of political integration has been undertaken by Richard L. Merritt, who was one of Deutsch's research assistants began an investigation into the symbols of American community in the colonial era. He was specifically interested

in the question, 'Did the Declaration of Independence create Americans, or was it signed by Americans?' In other words did Americans see themselves as a separate people distinct from the British before the War of Independence? If so, when did they begin to think and speak of themselves as "Americans", rather than as transplanted Englishmen? When did they begin to look at the land they inhabited as "American", rather than as a collection of British colonies or even as British America?³⁸

To find answers to these questions he turned to the colonial press of the period 1735-1775, and chose a prominent newspaper in each of the following five colonial centres — Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Williamsburg and Charleston. Selecting at random four copies of each newspaper per year, he proceeded to count all the place names appearing in the news columns. From an analysis of the total symbol count, he plotted the attention paid by these journals to their own colony, to their fellow North American colonies, to the Mother Country and to other parts of the globe. Assuming that these attention patterns reflected those of the politically relevant strata of the colonies, he used them as indicators of the degree to which the colonists identified themselves as a group separate and distinct from the British political community.

He found that the use of intercolonial symbols increased sixfold between the late 1730's and the early 1770's, the major shift in symbol usage occurring during the latter half of 1763.³⁹ He concludes that the political structures created in 1775 did not generate Americanism, "more probably it was the changed climate of opinion that⁴⁰ permitted the institutions to be created in the first place." His conclusions on the growth of feelings of American community are, "by the early 1770s, the colonists were sufficiently different from their English contemporaries that they comprised a political community — embryonic in some respects, perhaps, but none-the-less a distinct American community."⁴¹

Here certainly appears to be a novel, direct and economical way of investigating the interests, perceptions, attitudes and values at least of the people who write and compile newspapers, and presumably of the newspaper-reading public, which roughly may be equated with the mobilized, politically relevant part of the population. Newspapers, too, seem to be particularly appropriate for studying trends appearing as they do at daily, triweekly, biweekly or weekly intervals, year in and year out, and all too often we are told that a people gets the kind of press it deserves. In an economy founded on private property and geared to profit, newspapers must sell or go out of business, and

therefore besides being didactic, they must cater to popular interest and attitudes. A newspaper that is a platform for and appeals solely to minority interests is condemning itself to small circulation, small advertizing revenue, and probable extinction.

A newspaper content analysis study requires no expensive public opinion surveys - and it breaks down the chronological barriers which afflict public opinion surveys. It requires no search for fragmentary statistics, and yet it is also a direct probe into the psyche, including the unconscious part of the psyche, of not only present day but bygone days as well. All that is needed is access to a fairly complete set of newspaper files, which is usually afforded by provincial and national archives, if not in the original then on microfilm. The impediments of excessively small print, prevalent in many papers in the mid-years of the last Century, can usually be overcome with the aid of a simple magnifying glass. It would seem such a study could be carried out with benefit and convenience for Canada. It is a way of probing the existence, growth and dimensions of a distinct Canadian identity.

It should be emphasized that content analysis is only one of the many approaches to the study of social cohesion and political integration. It does not of and by itself purport to answer any question conclusively, but

it can support other indicators on the course of political integration and national feeling. These other indicators might include data yielded by Deutschian and Rokkan-type "yardsticks", as well as information gleaned through more traditional scrutiny of political documents, speeches, newspaper editorials and so forth. The content analysis study that appears in subsequent pages should be seen in this light.

Footnotes : Chapter Two

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CHAPTER THREE

CONTENT ANALYSIS - METHOD AND DESIGN

Granted that content analysis can make a contribution in probing the question of the Canadian identity, my next step was to examine the technique more closely, and then upon an understanding of the method, design an appropriate research project.

In content analysis we are not primarily concerned with the overall meaning of a piece of writing (or other document, e.g., painting, film, radio program or whatever artifact is being examined), but with the appearance in it of certain specified characteristics, e.g. designated words, themes, attitudes, etc., which appear to the researcher to be relevant to his project in affording some insight or clue to the attitudes and orientations of the communicator and/or his social environment.¹ For instance, if one wished to measure the incidence of anti-semitism in the press of a given country, or any other territorial unit, one could count the number of times items containing references to Jews appeared, and categorize such items - positive (laudatory), neutral; negative, (pejorative). The totals would both give some evidence about variations in the saliency of Jews as a distinct group in the minds of the people who produce the newspapers, and presumably of newspaper readers, over a given

time period, and also of the increase or decrease in anti-semitism during the same period. The same procedure could be carried out for other groups, classes, nations, or specified ideologies, policies and programs. Content analysis is not a way of reading between the lines, in fact it is a way of reading very much on the lines; looking at the actual flow of words and making inferences about the writer and his environment from the recurrent words, phrases, themes, perhaps the appearance of certain types of character if you are examining a work of fiction. As Merritt comments, "the unconscious or latent structure of a message may even outweigh its manifest content."²

In Philip J. Stone's The General Inquirer,³ content analysis is defined as follows "any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within texts." Most of the definitions are very similar, one of the most comprehensive is given by Bernard Berelson, who emphasizes the quantitative aspects of the procedure. He describes content analysis as, "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."⁴ He goes on to explain that the procedure must be objective in the sense that other investigators following the same procedure would produce the same results; it must be systematic in the sense

that all the relevant content must be analysed in terms of all the relevant categories, and it must be quantitative in that it substitutes systematic counting for impressionistic ways of observing frequencies of occurrence. It believes that generality and precision come with measurement. It follows the precept of Arthur Bentley, "Measurement conquers chaos."⁵ Once the systematic counting of all the material under examination is completed valid inferences can be made about the communicator and his environment. It is a method of getting at underlying values, attitudes, interest and orientations. Much as the archaeologist infers the life of a culture from the pattern of the remnants of that culture, so the content analyst infers the orientation and concerns of a speaker, sub-culture, or culture from the record of its messages.

Content analysis is not a new technique. The General Inquirer mentions one study which was carried out in 1640 in Sweden. At that time and place the publication of a collection of 90 hymns entitled, The Songs of Zion, created a considerable controversy concerning whether they were congruent with the values of the established Lutheran religion. Both sides of the controversy engaged in measurement including counts of how often various religious themes and values were mentioned, and the way they were treated in the hymns (positive-neutral-negative).⁶

But the tradition of research eventually labelled 'content analysis' had its beginnings among students of American journalism around the turn of the present century. Perhaps the first was a study done in 1893. It was a comparative study of change in New York Sunday newspapers between 1881 and 1893, a period of intense newspaper competition in the city. By measuring column inches devoted to different topics it found that the number of inches and the proportion of the newspaper devoted to gossip and scandal had greatly increased at the expense of literature, religion and politics.

During the 1930s, content analysis went into the analysis of other communications media, movies and radio, and it received a big boost from the analysis of political propaganda. During World War II, the United States Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Service used content analysis of German propaganda, radio news, commentaries, Nazi leaders' speeches, etc., to anticipate German actions.

In the 1950s, the R.A.D.I.R. project (Revolution and the Development of International Relations), led by Harold Lasswell, examined editorials in the "prestige Papers" of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia over the period 1890-1950 in order to analyse the rise and fall of major concepts, particularly those pertaining to democracy and authoritarianism.

This was for a survey of doctrinal trends among the contemporary elites in leading world powers, by looking at the editorials in these newspapers on the 1st. and 15th. of every month. In each editorial in the sample the coders noted the presence of any of 416 symbols, of these 206 were the names of countries, national minorities, continents etc., and 210 were key symbols of the major ideologies which have been contending in the world arena during the aforesaid period. Each time one of the symbols appeared it was recorded as being present and as being approved, disapproved or neutrally judged.

Content analysis has been extensively used in the social sciences for measuring bias against specified groups, classes, leaders, and nations. So long as a flow of symbols occurs it can be used to detect characteristic attitudes of their users, and to study the diffusion of attitudes and ideas through space and time. The intensity of attitudes can be measured by counting frequency (repetition), amount (space) and prominence (position and style). Nor has content analysis been used only in the social sciences. It has been employed in a wide range of studies: in literary research and biblical studies to solve questions of disputed authorship, anthropological studies into folk tales and myths, and in historical research to

supplement the more traditional methods. The count can be of column inches, of key words, of themes, of literary forms, types of character appearing, etc.

The procedure of content analysis may be outlined as follows : (a) hypothesis, formulation ; (b) from the hypothesis, or hypotheses, the articulation of research questions and the decision as to what kind of material it will be fruitful to direct such questions ; (c) the definition of the words, or configuration of words, or themes, to be counted ; (d) category construction : set up on the basis of the researcher's definition of the key words, themes, etc., to be counted ; (e) the passing of the material through the categories ; (f) statistical work on the data, arranging it into percentages, tables, etc. ; finally (g) evaluating the findings.

Stage (a), hypothesis formulation, and stage (b) the derivation of specific research questions from the hypotheses were carried out in Chapter one. The next step, therefore, was to determine exactly what was going to be counted, stage (c). This was decided by the nature of the problem : to measure the growth and extent of national feeling. I wanted to know exactly how people actually identified themselves and their fellow inhabitants of BNA / Canada.

Most people identify themselves by several groups-- territorial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, nation of origin -- and among the things I was interested in was the order of significance, or priority, in which BNA / Canadians placed these groups. What were their primary, secondary and tertiary identifications. ?

One of the chief characteristics of a governmental unit is that its writ extends over a given territory. Very often such a territorial area is regarded, particularly by members of the actual group in question, as the "home" or "natural locale" of a specified cultural group, be it defined by any or all of the following criteria : ethnic , linguistic, religious. Hence the way one refers to the land one inhabits, and how far one understands that land to extend, is of great significance in group identification. Therefore, any mode of reference to any piece of territory, down to the local and municipal level, included in BNA/ Canada was counted. Each and every reference to a city, to a province (either by specific name, or by the term "province", or "colony", or as part of the British Empire), to a region, to the area of BNA / Canada as a whole, as a unit, was counted. References to the land as part of some supra-national unit were also included,

e.g., references such as "the finest wheat growing land in North America".

Richard Merritt's principal line of attack in his study of the development of American national feeling was a place name count, and he did this in order to determine the overall attention patterns of the various colonies.⁹ Following his precedent I conducted a line-by-line, page-by-page place name count of the news columns of the various newspapers selected for the study. The questions I had in mind were much the same as Merritt's: how much attention did these newspapers pay to local, provincial, regional, national, British, American, and "foreign" news? One of my interests was to discover the amount of attention paid to France, as the "mother-country" or country-of-origin of roughly one-third of the inhabitants of BNA/Canada, and to see if French Canadians were really as cut off from events, opinion, and culture in France as is sometimes claimed. But my principal interest here was to see how much attention the provinces paid to each other. Which provinces seemed particularly attentive to each other? Did any specific province generally attract more attention than the others?

It might be asked at this juncture whether an increase in the amount of attention, as measured by an increase in the number of mentions of a certain place, country,

etc., connotes that there is an increasing identification with, or positive feeling towards, the place or the country receiving the attention.

A search of Deutsch's works reveals that he has very little to say on this matter. In The Nerves of Government, he writes, "It is suggested ...that the information approach offers an independent way of measuring basic cohesion, however crudely, and that it can do so independently from the current political sympathies of the participants".¹⁰ Thus, according to Deutsch, the counting of messages can indicate the cohesion or integration of a political community or system without any reference to the ideology, or political alignments of the units involved.

In his essay, "Communications Theory and Political Integration", Deutsch writes, "Transactions are therefore the first step to salience. The study of quantitative densities of transactions is the first step towards estimating the degree to which people are connected with each other".¹¹ It is in this essay that Deutsch makes one of his rare statements on the possible connections between transactions, positive affect, and integration. Even then it is no stronger than this, "Transaction flows establish mutual relevance of actors. An actor with whom you have very much to do is relevant to you. The one thing which is unlikely to accompany a high level of transaction is continued high tension and conflict".¹² Deutsch goes no further than this -- "continued high tension and conflict is unlikely to accompany a high level of transaction". It is a hypothesis upon which he

does not elaborate and leaves completely unexplored.

It therefore seems to me that there are two distinct hypotheses in Deutsch's work regarding integration. The first, and infinitely the more important, is that integration increases as mutual transactions, mutual attention and mutual involvement increase. The second one, "which might be expected to go along with the first", i.e. is coincidental with but in no way essential to it, is that an increase in attention is accompanied by an increase in positive affect towards the object or group to which the attention is being paid. Deutsch treats this latter hypothesis quite cursorily, and it in no way affects the validity of the first and primary hypothesis.

Images of Other Nations

Part of the growth of any national feeling is also to be found in the way people look at other nations. It is a process of seeing themselves as separate and distinct from others, and of becoming aware of their own uniqueness. A major part of the process of developing a distinct Canadian national feeling has been a separating out from Great Britain, the mother country, and from the United States, the big neighbour.

In attempting to ascertain the amount of attention paid to both Britain and the United States over the period of the survey, one of my assumptions was that a decrease in attention to them relative to self-attention was of significance in measuring a growing self-completeness, absorption,

and therefore an increasing national feeling, by Canadians. I was also interested in discovering whether the attitudes towards and images of Britain and the United States changed substantially over the survey period. Did the emergence of the Dominion alter the way British North Americans looked at Britain? Did the Civil War radically alter the way Canadians saw the United States? Approaching the problem in a broad way I listed each newspaper item or story found in the sample which was devoted to either Great Britain or the United States as positive, neutral or negative. The same was done for France, to see if there was any difference in the amount and kind of news printed in the English and French press regarding that country.

Briefly, therefore, the count was intended to ascertain: (1) the attention patterns of BNA/Canadians, both on the international and on the internal scene, (2) the explicit self-identification by Canadians by nationally relevant groups, and (3) the images of adjacent politico-social groups current among Canadians.

CATEGORY CONSTRUCTION

The next problem I tackled was that of category construction, i.e., of the net or grid with which to catch every items counted, every place name, every self-group reference, etc., and organize them into units ready for

analysis. The principles of categorization might briefly be spelled out as follows : (a) the categories must fit the needs of the study, adequately reflecting the research questions; (b) they must be exhaustive relative to the study, and (c) they must be mutually exclusive.¹³

A broad and preliminary categorization was implicit in my choice of what to count. The overall categories were: (a) place names ; (b) self-group reference symbols, and (c) news items dealing with Great Britain, the United States, and France, and their sub-categorization into positive - neutral - negative items. However, if these broad categories were to tell us very much a further breakdown was necessary.

The place name count was the most straightforward. The object of this count was to determine by the number and distribution of place names, (a) the foci of attention of Canadians; i.e., which had the greater salience in their minds -- the local, the provincial, the regional, the national level, or the supra-national (and changes in these foci over time) ; (b) the mutual attention patterns over time between province and province, and region and region.

The place name count in each newspaper was organized into the following categories : (1) Local -- all place names appearing which were in the local circulation area of the said newspaper, i.e., the city of publication

and its immediate environs; (2) References to (a) other inhabited places in the home province of the said newspapers, and (b) to the province as an entity, either by its specific name, or terms such as "this colony", "this province", or "this country", "our homeland", etc.; (3) References to places in other provinces, and to the entirety of another province by its specific name, or as "province", "colony", etc.; this gave us a separate category for each province, including Newfoundland; (4) A separate category for each region - the Maritimes, the North West Territories, the Prairies, the West, the East, and after 1867 any reference to the old United Colony of Canada, either by that name, or as "the Canadas", "Central Canada", etc. Prior to 1867 there were separate categories for "the United Colony of Canada", and for "Upper Canada" and "Lower Canada"; (5) Separate categories for any reference to Great Britain (including Ireland), the United States, and France -- and any part of these countries, i.e. any reference from that to the meanest hamlet, to the whole country was recorded; (6) Any reference to any non-North American part of the British Empire, from the village level upwards to the whole colony or territory; (7) A category labelled "British Involvement Overseas", to include place names mentioned because of direct British military intervention, or diplomatic activity in any territory not claimed as part of the British

Empire, or under the protection of Britain; (8) An "Other Places" category, to catch any other inhabited place on any continent, including the overseas possessions of France and the United States.¹⁴

Names of rivers, bays, harbours, or promontories were not counted; only places which were inhabited. Both direct and indirect references to places were included in the enumeration. By "indirect", I mean references to a place by means of "it", "that place", "that city", "that country", "that street", etc., where it was clear which place was intended.¹⁵

Secondly, I turned to the self-group reference symbols, the various ways the inhabitant of BNA/Canada referred to themselves, to others in their province, and to the inhabitants of other provinces. This may be a convenient place to note that any scheme of categorization is based on a theory, implicit if not explicit, however crude, of what are the various factors or variables in a situation, and how they are interrelated, how they interact. In the place name categorization there is the implicit theory that local, provincial, and regional identification are all significant in the development of a Canadian identity, and that the imperial "pull" of the British Empire, and the home country "pull" of Britain, as well as a continentalist North American "pull" were all

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significant factors affecting the development, or non-development, of a Canadian national feeling.

In the case of the self-group reference symbols my categorization was based upon the theory that immigrants arrived in British North America with their Old-World identifications more-or-less intact. They identified themselves as British, English, Highland, or Lowland Scots, Protestant or Roman Catholic Irish, Germans, Jews, etc. These Old World identifications might very easily have been intensified by face-to-face contact with already established groups living in North America. Gradually, however, as they accommodated themselves to their new environment they started calling themselves by the names of the new communities into which they either settled, or formed; they became Halifaxians, Montrealers, Torontonians, Red Riverites, or Victorians. Gradually they began to identify with a wider political unit, the province, and then possibly formed some sort of identification with the region, and eventually with the national level. Their Old World identification receded into the background, particularly among the new generation to which they gave birth. Finally perhaps, there was an identification with North America as a whole, although this was scarcely consonant with any development of a Canadian

national feeling. My principal reason for accepting this theory as a base for category construction of self-identification by nationally relevant groups was that apart from any belief in its intrinsic **validity** it provided a convenient, plausible continuum upon which to organize the self-identification data.

The self-identification categories I decided upon were: (1) British Political Community; such references to self and other BNA/Canadians as British, colonists, colonials, subjects of the Queen, the Empire, etc.; (2) Religion: Roman Catholic, Methodist, Baptist, Anglican, Protestant, Mormon, Hutterite, etc.; (3) Ethnic-Linguistic: English, Scots, Irish, French, German, etc.; (4) Locality: Haligonian, Torontonion, Ottawan, etc.; (5) Province: New Brunswicker, Lower Canadian, Quebecer, Upper Canadian, Ontarian, etc.; (6) Region: Maritimer, Central Canadian, Westerner; (7) BNA/Canada: British North American, Canadian (after 1867), citizen of the Dominion, etc., Originally I had intended to make the last category "North American", but there proved to be so few references of this type that I finally decided to drop the category. ¹⁶

The grid I constructed along these lines was divided into an upper and a lower division, the lower half designed to catch all such references to the inhabitants of other provinces - so here was a division which made it

possible to see how people looked at and classified, (a) their own province's inhabitants, and (b) the people living in other provinces.

Finally in this categorization scheme I came to the way BNA/Canadians viewed Great Britain, the United States, and France. The amount of attention devoted to these three countries, whether it went upwards or downwards over the years, was recorded in the place name count. In addition I have suggested that one way of measuring changes in attitudes towards, and images of, all three countries was to record each item printed on each of these respective countries — be it news story, feature articles, editorial — and place it in one of the three broad categories, positive-neutral-negative, and this was accordingly done.¹⁷ This procedure allowed both for the bias behind the selection of the item in the first place for inclusion in the paper, and also the tone in which the item was written, besides the actual subject matter of the item. In other words it was a way of getting at hidden as well as overt bias.

So much for the categories; there remain three decisions to be taken in this chapter. First, the exact period to be covered in our survey, second, which particular newspapers to select for our survey, and third, the question of how big the sample of the newspapers selected was

to be. I have already indicated that the period I wish to survey should extend at least a generation prior to Confederation, and a generation after.

All things considered, 1845 would seem to be an appropriate starting date. Not only because it fulfills the above requirements, but also because it represents the beginning of a whole new era for the colonies. It was the last year of the old colonial system -- in 1846 Britain repealed the Corn Laws and opted for a policy of universal free trade. British North Americans, deprived of their privileged access to the British market, were faced with an immediate trade depression, and the necessity of economic re-thinking and re-orientation. Then in 1846 a Liberal Government took office in Britain convinced that the time was ripe for responsible government in the North American colonies; this was conceded in response to local pressures in Nova Scotia in 1848, and in Canada later the same year. Britain's free trade policy, plus the Rebellion Losses Bill, so infuriated English-speaking opinion in Lower Canada that it led to the Annexation Crisis of 1849, marked by the burning of the Parliament building in Montreal, and the famous Annexation Manifesto, signed by over 1,000 citizens many of them prominent figures in the life of Lower Canada.¹⁸

Moreover, 1845 is significant in that it stood

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at the very beginning of the railway building age which was to have tremendous implications for the colonies, not only in saddling colonial governments with a heavy burden of uncollectable loans to railway companies, but also in linking the two Canadas together by the Grand Trunk Railway, and making feasible hitherto vague projects of acquiring Rupert's Land and winter access to the sea through the Maritimes.

In 1845, also, British North America was nearing the crest of an immigration wave which increased the population of Upper Canada, alone, from 95,000 in 1814 to 950,000 in 1851. The peak came in 1847 when 109,680 immigrants from the British Isles alone, many of them Irish fleeing the potato famine, entered the United Col-
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ony of Canada. After mid-century the rate of immigration fell off sharply giving English-speaking Canada a chance to consolidate its traditions. Finally the mid-1840s were to see an upsurge in the number of newspapers published in the colonies. Some of the most prominent of Canadian newspapers date from these years, the Toronto Globe (1844),
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the Bytown Packet (1844), the London Free Press (1849).
Another factor, also, is that after 1845 newspaper files tend to become more complete, less tattered, less faded.

Selection of a closing date for this study must be somewhat arbitrary. Ideally the survey should go on to the present day but 1895 is a good date to stop and assess

the growth of Canadian national sentiment during the first phase of life of the Dominion. The year 1896 is one of the great watersheds in post-Confederation Canadian history : it concluded the era of Conservative Party dominance, marked the end of the long economic depression which had persisted since 1873, and ushered in a bright new period of economic prosperity which was to bring a second great wave of immigrants to Canada. This new influx further diversified the country's ethnic map, and also led to the settlement of the prairies, and to the creation of the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905.

Further, 1895 marked the end of an attempt to impose a highly centralized kind of federalism on Canada. This event was signalized the following year by the advent to power of the Liberal Party, which had set itself up as the defender of provincial rights, and by the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Local Prohibition case, which significantly shifted the interpretation of the British North America Act in favour of the provinces. Finally by 1895 a kind of realistic maturity had emerged in Canada — the country had weathered its first serious, post-Confederation cultural/ethnic conflict.

Bursting forth in the Riel crisis and Métis rebellion of 1885, this conflict had been allowed to fester on through

the Manitoba School Issue of the early 1890s, and posed problems of the deepest kind for Canadian nation building. A more grievous division in the body politic had been revealed than one could ever have anticipated from the glowing eulogies to Canada's future uttered by Messrs. Taché, Macdonald and Cartier in the Confederation debates, 30 years previously. The boiling forth of this conflict underlined two things: Quebec was by no means a province like the others, and the prairies, Canada's empire, were to be made in the image of Ontario, unilingual, and despite their ethnic mosaic, essentially unicultural.

Now for the choice of newspapers; first of all we want cross-Canada representation and as near as possible a provincial and regional balance. The political colour of the journals is of less significance, for what we are essentially after are the underlying, sub-conscious, orientations, interest and attitudes shared by people living in the BNA/Canadian environment.

After the provincial/regional balance factor the newspapers have been selected on the basis of circulation, prestige, longevity and availability. This has inevitably meant newspapers published in the urban centres, and whilst it would be of interest to investigate urban-rural differences in this matter of the growth of pan-

Canadian feeling the position has been taken in this study that the urban centres, even in nineteenth century Canada were the pace setters, the influence radiation centres, determining at least the eventual, overall trends and attitudes. Moreover, although we often speak to-day of the urbanization of rural life, meaning by this the spread of rapid transportation, mass media penetration, and commercial, market-oriented attitudes, in the last century we are perhaps inclined to over-emphasize the urban-rural dichotomy. After all, the cities were then primarily rural penetrated, being meeting places, market places, distribution and administration centres for what was essentially an agricultural society. The city in the last century might be termed an adjunct to the rural areas; today the reverse is the case.

On the basis of the above criteria the following selection of nine newspapers has been made. For Nova Scotia, The Novascotian, a weekly which began publication in Halifax in 1824, and carried on straight up to 1926. In its heyday, besides being the most comprehensive in its coverage of overseas and foreign news, it was probably the best produced and best written journal in British North America. In the 1840s and 1850s it actually carried one column headlines on its stories, a rarity among newspapers of that time. It reached this eminence under the editorship of Joseph Howe, and its reward was a wide

circulation not only in its native province - subscrip-
tions 1 pound per annum in advance- but also in the Canadas
and even to a limited extent in the United States and
Britain. Howe resigned as editor in 1841 in order to
devote more time to his political career, and his friend
William Annand took over.²² In 1844 Annand founded The
Morning Chronicle (1844-1900) in Halifax, and from that
time on The Novascotian, became in effect, the weekly
edition of The Chronicle. In this study The Novascotian
is used up to and including 1870, thereafter the National
Library files of the weekly cease, while from 1865 on-
wards the files of The Morning Chronicle are complete. So
from 1875 onwards I have been compelled to switch to The
Chronicle.

The high mortality rate of newspapers during the
last century is illustrated by the case of Saint John,
New Brunswick, where there is no one newspaper covering the
entire period which I have selected for review. Therefore,
it was necessary to change newspapers in mid-stream, and
first all I have chosen The New Brunswick Courier, a weekly
which described itself as an 'independent' organ of public
opinion, which gave conditional support to Confederation.
J. Russell Harper in his Historical Directory of New Brun-
swick Newspapers and Periodicals says: "It exerted a con-
siderable influence editorially, championing the rights of
the assembly during the quarrels for responsible govern-
ment." Unfortunately, the paper, which began in 1811;

folded in 1865, but in its day "it was the most influential in the province and the first to gain financial success".²⁴ However, in October, 1862, The Saint John Morning Telegraph, began publication, and continued through various permutations of name to July 1923. "Politically a Liberal newspaper it had a large circulation among Conservative supporters."²⁵

In Quebec we are fortunate as regards the longevity of our chosen newspapers. Here I was able to take Le Canadien, which from 1806 to 1891, was published in Quebec City, and then rather unusually, switched its location to Montreal for the last 18 years of its life. Wilfred Kesterton, in his History of Journalism in Canada, describes the paper as "the doyen of the French language field".²⁶ Founded by a group of Liberals, its motto, coined by its publisher Etienne Parent one of the leaders of "Les Patriotes" of 1837, "Nos institutions, notre langue et nos droits", was later borrowed by the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society.

A Montreal paper for the whole of its 1826-1899 existence was La Minerve, said to have been "comparable in prestige and power to Le Canadien".²⁷ After having supported Papineau it turned Conservative in the early 1840s. During the pre- and early Confederation era it

gave strong support to Cartier.²⁸

The English language representative of Quebec that I have chosen is The Montreal Gazette, Canada's oldest continuously published newspaper, founded in 1785 and still going strong. It was first issued daily during the summer months of 1844, and became daily all the year round only eleven years later. During the whole of its career it has been regarded as the spokesman of the Montreal English-speaking commercial interest.²⁹ Peter Waite, in The Life and Times of Confederation, calls both La Minerve and The Montreal Gazette Conservative newspapers, whilst Le Canadien he describes as "Liberal, Reform and independent".³⁰

For Ontario, I have chosen The Toronto Globe, founded in 1844, and still being published as The Globe and Mail. "It was founded as an official Reform Party newspaper . . . its sympathies gradually moved left until it supported the agrarian radicalism of the Clear Grits... The Globe was the most popular and powerful newspaper of its day in Canada".³¹

As another representative of Ontario, I have chosen, The Ottawa Citizen, founded in 1844 as The Bytown Packet. From the beginning it was a supporter of the Reform Party, then in 1849 it came under the editorship of Robert Bell, who two years later changed its name to The

Citizen. Bell has been described as, "a somewhat impatient supporter of Robert Baldwin against the Grit extremists", and he later "approved John A. Macdonald's marriage of liberalism and conservatism, and warmly championed the National Policy he devised."³²

Unfortunately the collection of The Ottawa Citizen is not intact for the early years of our survey period, and for 1845 it was necessary to have recourse to more ephemeral publications, namely The Bytown Gazette, and The Bytown Ottawa Advocate, and The Ottawa Tribune for parts of 1855. Again it was found that copies of The Ottawa Citizen were missing from April 1870 to January, 1871, and during this period copies of The Ottawa Times, "a consistent supporter of Confederation and British constitutional principles",³³ were substituted.

The first paper to be published on the prairies, and the North West Territories, was The Nor'Wester, which was founded in 1858 at Fort Garry in the Red River Settlement. It was set up by two Englishmen, who had worked on Toronto newspapers, and who purchased a hand press, type and bales of paper in St. Paul Minnesota, loaded them on a cart and set out on the 500 mile journey to Fort Garry on September 28, 1858. It took them 33 days to reach their destination and they printed the first issue

of The Nor'Wester on December 28, 1858.³⁴ At that time Fort Garry consisted of little more than 50 huts, and the whole Red River Settlement of between 8,000 and 10,000 Whites Kesterton says, "The Nor'Wester championed the 'Canadian' cause opposing annexation of the colony to the United States, and advocating that it should be taken over by Canada. It probably played an important part in maintaining the British connection of the settlement."³⁵

Although The Nor'Wester lasted until 1872, the National Archives in Ottawa hold no copies of the journal for 1870, the only newspaper for the Red River Settlement available for the first nine months of 1870 being The New Nation. Its first issue is dated Jan. 7, 1870, and it was founded by a young American named H. M. Robinson who was sympathetic to Riel. In fact his paper was financed by money looted by Riel from the Hudson Bay Company,³⁶ and it collapsed when Riel fled in October, 1870. Out of what could be salvaged of The New Nation emerged The Manitoban, and this has been used for the remainder of the year. Then in November, 1872, the Manitoba Free Press began, and it rapidly became the West's most influential paper.³⁷ During the 1870s it was a consistent advocate of western interests. "Many of the causes which later became associated with a mature western regionalism were first

championed by the Free Press - the Western myth (i.e. the presumption that the West was destined to become the granary of the world, the last and richest frontier of European expansion), an homogeneous community, and economic independence" ³⁸ The paper still carries on to this day as "the champion of the West", changing its name in 1931 to the Winnipeg Free Press. From the date of its appearance onwards it has become an automatic choice for this survey.

However, the first newspaper to appear west of the old United Colony of Canada, did so on the Pacific Coast, in Victoria in 1858, when, The Victoria Gazette and Anglo-American was established by two journalists from San Francisco. In its wake a number of other newspapers appeared, all of which were of short duration, apart from The British Colonist. Its founder Amor de Cosmos (née plain William A. Smith of Windsor, Nova Scotia) declared it to be "an independent paper, the organ of no clique or party, and the sure friend of reform". ³⁹ It proved to be an ardent supporter of Confederation, and when party lines were drawn in British Columbia it "espoused the cause of the Conservatives." ⁴⁰ As our West Coast representative, The British Colonist, principally on account of its early appearance and longevity, has been chosen.

The next question : how big our sample of these newspapers, and here we must bear in mind that we are basic-

ally after the broad, overall trends in group affiliation in BNA/Canada over the 50 years, 1845 - 95.

Moreover, content analysis, especially of the line-by-line, word-by-word count is an onerous and time-consuming business, and it is necessary to reduce the task to manageable proportions, albeit without vitiating the results. I chose to survey every fifth year beginning in 1845 through to and including 1895. Within each year surveyed I examined three copies of each of the newspapers, one in March, one in August, and one in November, to allow for the usual seasonal distribution of news.⁴¹

Within each year surveyed my procedure was to begin by analyzing the contents of the Montreal Gazette, one copy of which was chosen at random in March, one in August, and one in November. Thereafter the same date was adhered to in each month for each of the other papers analyzed. If any such copies were missing the next date available, afterwards, was taken.

Under this scheme of surveying every fifth year the total number of newspaper issues to be examined was as follows: for the seven newspapers which appeared in every year of our survey, 7×3 (number of copies examined for each newspaper per year) = 21 ; 21×11 (number of individual years surveyed, 1845, 1850, 1860.....1895) = 231.

For the two newspapers (the Nor'Wester / Manitoba

Free Press, and The British Colonist) which appear in our survey only from 1860 onwards; $2 \times 3 \times 8 = 48$.

Grand total of newspapers to be analyzed $231 + 48 = 279$.

During the 50 years under review newspapers like the society in which they existed changed considerably. After 1850 the dailies gradually acquired predominance over the weeklies, bi- and tri-weeklies, and the papers themselves increased in size from four-page sheets, often only one of which carried news, to six, eight and sometimes even ten-page papers. Moreover, their contents became more varied, lively and less formal, and the dreariness of their long columns of small print was alleviated by bigger-sized print that did not strain the eyes, and eventually by headlines, albeit only single-column and one-tier heads, but nevertheless welcome.

Before actually scrutinizing and analyzing the results of the investigation let us look, necessarily briefly, at some of the factors in the period 1845-1895 which had a direct impact upon newspapers, and in turn the growth of the influence and importance of newspapers in that society.

Footnotes : Chapter Three

1. The methods and uses of content analysis are generally discussed in the introductory chapters of Bernard R. Berelson, Content Analysis in Communications Research (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952) ; Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp and Lewis Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications (New York : Macmillan, 1967); Philip J. Stone, Dexter C. Dunphy, Marshal S. Smith and Daniel M. Ogilvie, The General Inquirer : A Computer Approach to Content Analysis (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1966) ; Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969); Thomas F. Carney, Content Analysis : A Technique of Systematic Inference from Communications (Winnipeg : University of Manitoba Press, 1972).
2. Richard L. Merritt, Symbols of American Community, 1735 - 1775 (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1966), p. xiii.
3. Philip J. Stone, et al., The General Inquirer, p. 5.
4. Bernard R. Berelson, Content Analysis in Communications Research, p. 39.
5. Arthur F. Bentley, The Process of Government, ed. Peter H. Odegard (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 200.

6. P.J.Stone, et al., Op. cit., p.22.
7. Alexander L.George, Propaganda Analysis : A Study of Inferences made from Nazi Propaganda in World War II (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1959).
8. Ithiel de Sola Pool, The Prestige Press : A Comparative Study of Political Symbols (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T Press, 1970).
9. R.L.Merritt, Op. cit., pp. 44 - 45.
10. Karl W.Deutsch, The Nerves of Government : Models of Political Communication and Control (New York : Free Press, 1966), p.151.
11. K.W.Deutsch, "Communication Theory and Political Integration", The Integration of Political Communities, eds. Philip E. Jacob and James-V.Toscano (Philadelphia : J.B.Lippincott, 1964), p.51.
12. Ibid., p.67.
13. R.W.Budd, et al., Op. cit., p.32.

14. Below is an example of the format for the place name count.

This example was specifically designed for the Montreal Gazette :

Local.....

Other localities in Lower Canada/Quebec Province.....

Province of Lower Canada/ Quebec (as an entity).....

Upper Canada/ Ontario.....

Nova Scotia.....

New Brunswick.....

P.E.I.....

Newfoundland.....

Maritimes as an entity.....

Manitoba.....

North West Territories.....

British Columbia.....

The United States.....

Great Britain (including Ireland).....

British Empire.....

British Involvement Overseas.....

France.....

Other.....

British North America / Canada²(as an entity).....

North America (as entity)

15. NOTE : Not included in the place name count were the following :

- (1) Place names appearing in newspaper titles, e.g.
The London Times, The Washington Post.
- (2) Place names appearing in the titles of commercial companies, e.g. the Bytown and Prescott Railway Company, the Bristol City Shipping Company, etc., etc.
- (3) Place names appearing in personal titles, e.g., the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Armagh, the Marquess of Braganza, etc.
- (4) Place names appearing in the names of ships, e.g.,
The Empress of India, The City of Sydney.
- (5) Place names appearing in "Shipping Movements" columns or items. Newspapers in port cities usually, but not always, devote about one-quarter to half a column recording ships in and out of port, and their last port of call and destination. This item involves a host of place names ranging from Parrsborough to Yokahama.
- (6) Place names appearing in the columns headed, "Commercial News". Newspapers were in the habit of publishing long lists of commodity prices at various centres, e.g., Liverpool cotton, Cincinnati corn prices, Richmond tobacco prices, etc. Usually these items were tucked away on the back page in small print.
- (7) The term "Ottawa", when it was used purely as a

synonym for the federal government, e.g., Ottawa says this, orders that, appoints so-and-so, etc.

Although references to the federal government as "Ottawa" seem to be mainly a 20th century phenomenon, not practised extensively in the 19th century, I chose to omit such references because : (a) It would have weighted the count somewhat in favour of Ontario, as a province, when the newspapers were referring, if anything, to a national symbol, and (b) it would have distorted the count somewhat in the case of the Ottawa Citizen, which rarely if ever, referred to the federal government as "Ottawa".

16.

SELF - IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS OF B.N.A.

<u>British Political Community</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Ethnic- Linguistic</u>	<u>By Locality</u>	<u>By Province (either directly by specific name of province, or indir- ectly, e.g. "provin- cial farmers", etc.)</u>	<u>By Region</u>	<u>BNA/ Canada</u>
	(O W N P R O V I N C E)					
	(O T H E R P R O V I N C E S)					

17.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS GREAT BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES
AND FRANCE

<u>BRITAIN</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>The United States</u>				
<u>France</u>				

18. Donald F. Warner, The Idea of Continental Union: Agitation for the Annexation of Canada to the United States, 1849-1893 (Lexington : University of Kentucky Press, 1960), p.17.
19. Donald V. Smiley, ed., The Rowell-Sirois Report: Book 1, an abridgement with an introduction by D.V. Smiley (Toronto : McClelland and Stewart, 1963), p.22.
20. Helen I. Cowan, British Immigration to British North America: The First 100 Years (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p.288.
21. Wilfred H. Kesterton, A History of Journalism in Canada (Toronto : McClelland and Stewart, 1967), p.11.
22. Canadian Newspapers on Microfilm Catalogue, Part 1 - NS 2.
23. J. Russell Harper, Historical Directory of New Brunswick Newspapers and Periodicals (Fredericton : University of New Brunswick, 1961), p.73.
24. Ibid., p.73.
25. Ibid., p.92.
26. W.H. Kesterton, "A History of Journalism in Canada" (extended version, manuscript form), p.450.

27. Canadian Newspapers on Microfilm Catalogue, Part 1 -
Que 9.
28. Ibid., Part 1 - Que 9.
29. Ibid., Part 1 - Que 17.
30. Peter B. Waite, The Life and Times of Confederation,
1864 - 1867 : Politics, Newspapers and the Union of
British North America (Toronto: University of Toronto
Press, 1962), p.67.
31. Canadian Newspapers on Microfilm Catalogue, Part 1 - Ont 21.
32. Ibid., Part 1 - Ont 36.
33. Ibid., Part 1 - Ont 47.
34. W.H.Kesterton, Op.cit., pp.367 - 370.
35. Ibid., p.372.
36. Ibid., pp.376 - 377.
37. Ibid., p.378.
38. Peter F.W.Rutherford, "The Western Press and Regional-
ism", CHR, Vol.52 (September 1971) : p.291.
39. Canadian Newspapers on Microfilm Catalogue, Part 1 -
BC 1.
40. Ibid.

41. As any reporter knows, news follows a seasonal pattern. The provincial legislature, the sittings of the provincial courts of appeal, the annual meetings of various associations all take place at set times of the year. Christmas brings the annual stories of volume of retail trade and a large outcrop of accidents, presumably because of the large number of travellers, full of good cheer, battling atrocious weather.

For practically every major eastern Canadian city the shipping season starts and ends as regularly as clock-work. Mid-summer is usually the leanest season for news, hence it is often called "the silly season". Reporters have been known to go to extraordinary lengths during "the silly season" to gather and even fabricate stories to fill the empty news columns.

Chapter Four

THE COMMUNICATIONS REVOLUTION

Three factors combined in the second half of the nineteenth century to give a tremendous boost to the circulation and the impact of newspapers :

(a) The communications revolution which saw the introduction of the steamship, the telegraph, railways and the telephone. All these advances in technology speeded up news gathering and news distribution capabilities, bringing us to the verge of that modern phenomenon -- instant communications.

(b) A notable acceleration in the tempo of social mobilization, brought about by the rapid growth of urban areas, secondary manufacturing and service industries, and the spread of literacy which provided an audience avid for and receptive to the "instant message".

(c) Big improvements in newspaper production techniques provided cheaper and more abundant paper supplies, automatic type-setting machines, and introduced rotary presses powered by electricity. These newspaper production techniques are indeed part and parcel of the communications revolution. We isolate them here because our focus in this study is on the newspaper as a means of communication and as a direct reflection of the group mind.

Transport Communications

What we have to say of the communications revolution is of particular relevance because of its bearing on the Deutschian thesis that communities are essentially networks of communication whose cohesiveness is a function of the ease and comprehensiveness of communications.

A graphic picture of the state of communications in the Colony of Canada in 1839 is provided by J.L. Morison in British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government, 1839-1854:

First of all the colony was for practical purposes more than a month's distance from the centre of government, for although steam was gradually making its way on the trans-Atlantic route, sails were still the ordinary means of propulsion, and the average length of voyage of 237 vessels arriving in Quebec in 1840 was well over 40 days... 1

But for the immigrant or traveller once landed at Quebec or Montreal the worst was yet to come, for the internal communications of Canada left much to be desired. Railway transportation could be entirely ignored, for as late as 1847 only 22 miles of railway line had been laid and worked. And the roads were atrocious, even the main line along the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, was in a shamefully bad condition, more especially when autumn passed into winter, or when spring again loosened the roads. 2

Morison, writing in 1919, was perhaps unduly pessimistic, for he himself pointed out that a wonderful

way into the heart of the continent existed for eight months of the year via the waterways, whilst in winter-time, ice and snow transformed the muddy and ill-kept roads into arteries which once enabled Lord Sydenham to travel by sleigh the 360 miles from Toronto to Montreal in 36 hours.³

The first steamship service in British North America was started in the summer of 1817, with a service from Prescott, via Kingston, York and Burlington Beach to Niagara-on-the-Lake, and in 1819 the first steamboat service on the Ottawa River was inaugurated.⁴ But the real impact of the steamship on news gathering facilities came with the arrival of the first trans-Atlantic steamships, the 'Sirius' and 'Great Western' in New York in 1838, and the establishment in 1840 of a Cunard trans-Atlantic Steamship service. News from Britain and Europe now reached North America in from 10 to 12 days instead of the 30 or so days required by the fastest sailing vessel.⁵ By 1847 the Cunard service was proving so popular that the trans-Atlantic service was doubled, ships arriving at Halifax every fortnight in the four winter months, and every week for the rest of the year.⁶

In those days London was the world's great news-gathering centre, being the hub of a world-straddling

empire and commercial system, besides being in itself the world's greatest population and commercial conglomeration. All European, Middle-Eastern, African and much Asian news was channelled to North America via London, thus the advent of trans-Atlantic steamships brought North America much more intimately into contact with the rest of the world. Kesterton comments, "During the 1840s editors were beginning to be increasingly conscious of the time element in news, and transitions had begun in the technique and tone of newspapers. Newspapers began to speak of news as being, for example, 'Foreign Intelligence - fifteen days later from England'".⁷

In the meantime steamship services on British North America's magnificent waterways multiplied. In the 1840s and '50s a good proportion of the advertizing space of the newspapers in Canada, and this usually included most of the front page, was devoted to announcements of steamers plying the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes and the Ottawa River. In this heyday of Lakes steam navigation communications between the Canadian and American sides of the St. Lawrence, and Lakes Ontario and Erie, judging from newspaper advertisements, appear to have been much more commonplace and regular than anything that takes place today.⁸

At the same time steamers were busy strengthening links between the Maritime Provinces. Throughout the 'forties steamers maintained a tri-weekly service between Annapolis and Digby on the Nova Scotia side of the Bay of Fundy, and Saint John, N.B.. But, J. S. Martell tells us in his essay, "Intercolonial Communications, 1840-1867", "They were yet too small to brave the Fundy crossing in the stormy months, when they were replaced by sailing ships on a reduced schedule", and it was 1848 before the first year-round steamer service was maintained between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.⁹

Although sea borne transportation between the Maritimes and Canada developed slowly, it gradually did increase, and the number of ships clearing the port of Quebec for the Maritimes and Newfoundland rose from 73 in 1845 to 154 in 1850. In 1858 a service was begun which put Pictou within three days of Quebec City, and a second ship was added in 1859, both vessels calling at northern New Brunswick ports and Gaspé.¹⁰ But the volume of trade and travellers flowing by sea between the Maritimes and Canada was as nothing compared with that pouring through Maritime-New England trade channels. As Glazebrook phrases it, "The long and difficult voyage up the river to Quebec was much less tempting than the sail along the

coast to the ports of New England." ¹¹ And we might add there was no interruption along this route by ice during the winter months.

The most popular route between the Maritimes and Canada, and certainly the cheapest until the completion of the Intercolonial Railway in 1876, was via the United States. In 1853 the Grand Trunk Railway completed its extension from Montreal to Portland, Maine, and thus became the shortest route between Halifax and Montreal. Travelling overland from Halifax to Windsor, N.S., then by ship via Saint John to Portland, and thence by the Grand Trunk to Montreal took 36 hours. Even before 1853 steamers from both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick connected ¹² with trains at Boston and New York.

As for the road system in the provinces, Glazebrook tends to confirm Morison saying, "Most of the roads in the British provinces were crude until nearly the 20th century. Here and there could be found a gravel, plank or macadam road that for a limited distance and for a limited time was smooth, but such a discovery was the exception not the rule." ¹³ Perhaps both Glazebrook and Morison tend to view these roads through twentieth century eyes. Sir Richard Bonnycastle writing of his own experiences in The Canadas in 1841, speaks of Toronto as the focus of

an extensive road system linking Niagara and the western districts with a straight road for 36 miles to Lake Simcoe, and the eastern road leading to Kingston and Lower Canada, "all being for several miles well laid out, with a broken stone cover formed at vast expense."¹⁴

Glazebrook says that in 1831 the Upper Canada mail which left Kingston early in the morning reached Montreal on the afternoon of the following day, while in 1843 the daily coach from Toronto to Kingston covered the distance in 36 hours.¹⁵ All in all by mid-century a fairly complete road system existed, along which rolled a highly organized service of stage-coaches.¹⁶

In Lower Canada adequate roads for the traffic of the day stretched along the St. Lawrence Valley, up to and beyond Quebec. Even in 1830, Glazebrook says, a carriage could go at five or six miles an hour along a good road.¹⁷ But the good roads stopped short of the New Brunswick border. W. H. Whitelaw, in The Maritimes and Canada before Confederation, writes, "With the exception of the two sections of Canada, interprovincial lines of communication had not substantially improved since the end of the French regime."¹⁸ The state of the two roads, if such they could be called, which led through northern New Brunswick into Lower Canada was quite atrocious.

Martell describes them as "enough to frighten both man and beast and scarcely fit for carriages at any time before Confederation", and further comments, "Communications between the Maritime Provinces and Canada are not to be compared with those that linked the component parts of each country -- for throughout this period the Maritimes and Canada were two distinct countries with different outlooks and different policies, even different customs." ¹⁹

One result of the poor communications between the Canadas and the Maritimes is illustrated in this quotation from an article on the Maritimes reprinted in the Montreal Gazette of November 15, 1865, from the British periodical, Saturday Review, which reads: "A Canadian newspaper is said to be a rarity where the foreign and certainly not superior sheets of New York have established a regular circulation."

Inside the Maritimes road communications appear to have been fairly good, Glazebrook writing of the Nova Scotia of the 1830s says: "There were highways radiating out from Halifax along and across the peninsula in all directions... The sum of 30,000 pounds annually spent on construction and repairs indicates a reasonable zeal." ²⁰

With regard to New Brunswick, Glazebrook quotes a Professor Johnston who in 1849 travelled over the greater part of the province assessing its agricultural possibilities. He reported that he had travelled over 2,000 miles

of New Brunswick roads and found them very creditable to the province. He wrote, "The roads of New Brunswick which 15 years ago were everywhere a bye-word and a reproach are now in better travelling condition than those of the adjoining provinces, or the neighbouring states."²¹

The Telegraph

Although the steamer and better roads undoubtedly speeded up and extended the distribution of city newspapers, the innovation that did more than anything else to facilitate news gathering, not only locally but internationally as well, was Morse's magnetic telegraph. In July, 1846, the establishment of a service to Buffalo completed a telegraph chain linking the principal cities of the United States. Kesterton writes, "This served to bring to the Canadas, New York dispatches together with a budget of European news that had presumably come by steamship to the Atlantic seaport." In December, 1846, a line was completed between Toronto and Hamilton, and by January 13, 1847, Hamilton was linked with Buffalo, whilst in August of the same year a line between Toronto and Montreal²² was in operation.

In 1849, Saint John was connected to Boston by telegraph, and nine months later Saint John and Halifax were linked. An undersea cable was laid between Cape Breton and Cape Ray, Newfoundland, in 1856, and by 1861

all important points in all provinces were linked by telegraph. The crowning glory came in July, 1866, when the Great Eastern successfully completed laying the first trans-Atlantic cable from Ireland to Heart's Content, Newfoundland. A short time later a cable which had been lost the year before was found, picked up and continued to the shore, thereby giving the world two trans-Atlantic cables before 1867. A large and remunerative business followed which handsomely repaid the sponsors of the Atlantic cable.²³

North America was thus by the end of 1866 placed in practically immediate contact with Europe. A fitting comment on the effect of the telegraph on newsgathering had in fact been given ten years previously by P.S. Hamilton, editor of the Acadian Recorder, when he wrote in his journal's issue of October 11, 1856 :

Ten years ago it required at least 10 days for a letter to pass between Halifax and the westernmost towns of Canada. The invention of the electric telegraph has effected a great revolution in this matter. There are not two towns, or villages, of a thousand inhabitants, in these provinces which do not communicate with each other by telegraph in half a day, and which may not do so in one hour. ²⁴

Railways

Canada got off to a somewhat slow start in railway building. By 1850 there were only sixty-six miles of line operating in the whole of BNA., at a time when there was over 6,000 miles in the United Kingdom, and 9,000 miles in the United States. However, during the railway boom of the 1850s, the railway mileage in BNA passed the 2,000²⁵ mark. The Grand Trunk Railway was incorporated in 1852-53, and the main line between Montreal and Toronto was opened in October, 1856, the journey taking 15 hours with stops at 64 locations. A line to Levis, opposite Quebec, had been opened from Montreal in 1854. The main line was extended to Sarnia via Guelph and Stratford by November, 1859, giving through transportation from Sarnia to the seacoast, a distance of 800 miles, while a year later a line was extended eastwards from Levis to Rivière du Loup. The Great Western Railway had opened a line for traffic between the suspension bridge over the Niagara River and Windsor, via Hamilton and London in 1853-54.²⁶

New Brunswick led the way in the Maritimes, and the sod breaking ceremony of the projected "European and North American Railway" took place at Saint John, on Sept. 14, 1853, and the entire line from Saint John to Shediac, on the Northumberland Strait, via Moncton, was opened for

27
traffic in 1860.

Stagecoaches were in their heyday in the Maritimes in 1854, the year serious railway building began in Nova Scotia. A line advanced cautiously from Halifax, and had only reached Sackville, a few miles inland from Bedford Basin, by June of the following year. However, on December 15, 1858, a regular service was inaugurated between Halifax and Truro, a distance of 62 miles.²⁸ Even by 1867 there were no through connections by rail between any of the mainland provinces of BNA, the first link of the planned Intercolonial Railway between Truro and Amherst, N.S., was opened for traffic on November 9, 1872. Three years later the line had reached Campbellton, N.B., and the last stretch into Quebec and the Valley of the St. Lawrence, by the summer of 1876. On July 1, 1876 the Intercolonial was²⁹ declared ready for traffic, only nine years and four months before the completion of the C.P.R. trans-continental line at Eagle Pass, B.C., November 1885.

Accelerating Social Mobilization

The total population of British North America more than doubled itself between 1845 and 1895, increasing from approximately 2,200,000 to somewhere very near 5,000,000. The first comprehensive census was carried out in the British North American colonies in 1851, and it shows that out of

a total population of 2,313,000, half a million had been born in the British Isles, of these 428,000 were in the United Colony, 83,100 of them in Lower Canada, and some 75,000 in the Maritimes.³⁰

In the cities the concentration of immigrants was much higher than in the rural areas, thus of the 30,000 inhabitants of Toronto in 1851, a mere 10,000 had been born in Canada. In Lower Canada in 1851 there were 670,000 French and 220,000 English, but the percentage of people of non-French origin in Montreal was 54, and 43 in Quebec. After mid-century the proportion of English in both cities steadily declined.³¹

The booming 1850s saw both an unprecedented rise in prosperity and population. By 1861 the population of ~~EN~~ was 3,174,000, or an increase of 37 per cent in one decade. And the increase was not evenly distributed, Upper Canada's population advanced by 46.64 per cent, or nearly half a million people, whilst Lower Canada's advance was 24.85 per cent, just over a quarter of a million people. For New Brunswick, an advance of 59,000 people was recorded, or 30.05 per cent of its 1851 population, and Nova Scotia chalked up a 20 per cent increase, or 56,000 people. Subsequent decennial increases whilst never again attaining these heights carried on at very respectable levels throughout the remainder of the century.

For Upper Canada population increased 16.09 per cent in the 1860s, 18.65 per cent in the 1870s, and 9.93 per cent in the 1880s. In Lower Canada the rates of increase were 7.19 for the 1860s, 14.05 for the 1870s, and 9.52 for the 1880s. Population expansion continued at about 13 per cent for the 1860s and the 1870s in the Maritimes,³² but came to a virtual standstill in the 1880s.

Urbanization

Urban life as a distinct phenomenon in itself was just getting underway in BNA/Canada in 1861. The population growth of the major cities of the colonies, and then of the Dominion, can be seen from the following tables :

Populations of BNA/Canada's biggest cities decade by decade
(Census of Canada figures) ³³ Table 4-1

<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>
Montreal.....57,715	Montreal.....90,323
Quebec City.....42,052	Quebec City.....59,990
Toronto.....30,775	Toronto.....44,821
Saint John, N.B...22,745	Saint John, N.B...28,805
Halifax.....20,749	Halifax.....25,026
Ottawa..... 7,760	Ottawa.....14,669

<u>1871</u>	<u>1881</u>
Montreal.....107,225	Montreal.....140,747
Quebec City..... 59,699	Toronto..... 86,415
Toronto..... 56,092	Quebec..... 62,446
Halifax 29,582	Halifax36,100
Saint John, N.B... 28,805	Ottawa.....27,412
Ottawa,..... 21,545	Saint John, N.B.. 26,127

<u>1891</u>
Montreal.....216,650
Toronto.....181,220
Quebec City..... 63,000
Ottawa..... 44,154
Saint John N.B..... 39,179
Halifax 38,556
Winnipeg 25,642 up from 241 in 1871
Victoria16,841 up from 3,270 in 1871

The expansion of cities was greater than the expansion of the population as a whole. Whilst the total population of BNA/Canada was approximately doubling itself the population of Montreal increased almost fourfold, the population of Toronto and Ottawa sixfold. The Maritime cities of Halifax and Saint John, however, and Quebec City also only increased their populations by one-third over this 40 year period.

Overall in the British North America of 1851, 8.5 per cent of the population lived in the seven urban centres which could boast a population of 10,000 or more. By 1891 the Dominion had 20 such centres containing 17.1 per cent of the total population. The census of Canada gives the total urban population in towns of from 1,500 upwards in 1871 as 18.8 per cent of the total population, whilst in 1891 it had reached 28.7 per cent.³⁴

Education And Literacy

As the century progressed beyond the half-way mark there came a drastic reduction in illiteracy. During the period 1841-1875 school systems were organized in the various provinces, and universal elementary education achieved. By the early 1870s virtually all children were enrolled for five or six school years of 10 months each, and by inspection control the provincial authorities made sure that the schools had blackboards and other minimum

equipment.³⁵ The foundations of a common school system had been laid in the colony of Canada in 1841 when \$200,000 was granted by the legislature for the building of schools and the provision of teachers.

Henry Youle Hind writing in the 1860s of Upper Canada says :

In 1842, after the passage of the act of 1841, we find that 1,271 common schools had been established. The number has now increased to upwards of 4,000. The school population between the ages of five and sixteen years has increased from 141,000 in 1842 to 385,000 in 1861, or 400 per cent; and the grammar schools from about 1,000 in 1847 to 4,766 in 1861, or nearly 380 per cent. 36

Hind further tells us that although the first grammar schools were established in Upper Canada in 1807 a plan to increase their numbers and incorporate them into the overall school system was inaugurated in 1853. They were now explicitly designed to form a link between the elementary schools and the university. The course of study and the general regulations for their management were to be prescribed by the Council for Public Instruction for Upper Canada. Pupils had to pass an examination to enter, and by 1861 there were 86 of these grammar schools in
37
Upper Canada.

A library system for Upper Canada was launched in 1853-54, and Hind says that up to and including 1861

about 260,000 volumes, including books for school prizes, had been dispatched from the depository in Toronto. "These have gone into almost every part of Upper Canada, conveying light and intelligence into many a settler's dwelling." ³⁸

But already, before these developments in Upper Canada, we are told that an "intellectual awakening had taken place in Nova Scotia". D.C. Harvey writes that between 1812 and 1835 Nova Scotians as such were emerging — conscious that they were Nova Scotians. Part and parcel of this "awakening" was educational advancement in the province. Between 1811 and 1826, three acts had been passed to establish a grammar school in every county, and a common school in every community. Although the aim of these acts was not attained still considerable progress was made.

He goes on :

In 1822 public subscription libraries had been opened in Yarmouth and Pictou, preceding by only twelve years those literary and scientific societies which were established in both places in 1834. In 1824, the Halifax Public Library appeared; and in 1831 the Mechanic's Library and Institute. The first lecture in the Institute was given in January 1832; and during the next quarter of a century, every phase of literature and science was discussed in this Institute, which might well have been called the University of Halifax. From the parent organization branches spread to Dartmouth, Upper Stewiacke, and Truro. ³⁹

Literacy

Figures on literacy in the Dominion were first given in the census of 1891. Of the population ten years of age and over in that year 13.65 per cent were recorded as illiterate. This percentage was unevenly distributed among the various age groups, and amongst the various provinces. The higher the age group the greater the illiteracy. Amongst those aged 10 to 19, the rate was merely 9.73 per cent, amongst those aged 20 to 29 inclusive it was 10.16, the 30 to 39 group had a rate of 13.64, the 40 to 59 year-olds 17.35 per cent, whilst those aged 60 and over were recorded as illiterate to the extent of 27.43 per cent. ⁴⁰

Differences in literacy rates between the provinces were also quite marked. For all age groups over 10 the rate of illiteracy in Quebec was double that for Nova Scotia, and over four times that for Ontario, except in the one instance of the 10 to 19 year-olds for whom it was just under four times as great. Since the English-speaking population of Quebec was on the whole more urbanized and more affluent than the French, their literacy rate

Table 4 - 2

ILLITERACY IN CANADA (CENSUS OF CANADA, 1890-91, Vol. 2, pp. 194-225)Percentage of total population in the following age groups:

<u>AGES</u>	<u>Nova Scotia</u>	<u>New Brunswick</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Ontario</u>	<u>Manitoba</u>	<u>British Columbia</u>
60 +	22.6	19.9	51.6	13.7	14.0	49.1
40 - 59	15.6	15.5	32.8	8.0	7.0	29.8
30 - 39	11.0	14.6	26.3	5.7	4.8	18.5
20 - 29	8.8	12.2	19.9	4.3	3.3	17.2
10 - 19	7.7	13.7	16.9	4.6	5.1	24.5

probably approximated that of Ontario, indicating a lamentable state of affairs amongst the French-speaking Quebecois. (See Table 4 - 2).

NEWSPAPER PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES

The growth of an urban and literate population, and the growth of the pervasiveness of the cities, through the vastly improved transport facilities of the latter half of the 19th century, produced a greater demand for newspapers, and the response was a revolution in newspaper production techniques.

Although the first iron printing press was imported from the United States into Upper Canada in 1832, and the actual manufacture of metal presses was begun at York one year later, the wooden, hand-operated flat bed press, was the general rule in B.N.A. until well into the 1840s. The first power press — a steam driven one — was installed in the Maritimes in 1840, but the invention spread only slowly throughout the rest of B.N.A.. The great advantage of the power press was that it enabled editors to put much later news into journals than had previously been the case. ⁴¹

A further aid to faster and larger press runs came with the introduction of the rotary press. The first manufacturer to produce a successful rotary machine was Richard M. Hoe of New York whose "type revolving machine"

was patented in 1845, but it did not catch on immediately, and even the prestigious Times of London, at that time the newspaper with the world's largest circulation, did not go over to rotary presses until 1858. In the early 1860s the dailies of B.N.A. were acquiring rotary presses, and even that comparative newcomer The British Colonist, of Victoria, B.C., installed a rotary in 1862. Meanwhile the flat bed press continued to be used for weeklies and for job printing.⁴²

Fuller use of the rotary press came with the introduction of electricity as a motive power. The first conversion in the Dominion was by the Vancouver-News-Advertiser, on February 22, 1888, but despite such an innovation, steam and gasoline driven presses were still quite widespread at the end of the century.⁴³

Bigger and more efficient presses were successively introduced into Canada during the last quarter of the 19th century. Thus in 1885 the Manitoba Free Press installed a press manufactured by the Hoe Company of New York which was capable of turning out per hour 1,800 eight-page papers printed on one side. Mechanical devices to fold the papers also came along attached to the new presses.⁴⁴

Cheaper and more abundant supplies of paper to feed the new presses had been assured since 1866, when the

first pulp paper mill in B.N.A. was established at Valleyfield, in Lower Canada. Prior to 1866 Canadian-made paper had been expensively manufactured from rags.⁴⁵

The most persistent bottleneck in newspaper production, however, came in typesetting. Until the 1880s it was still by the old, slow, cumbersome manual method. Each letter had to be picked up by hand and placed in a holder called a stick, the length of a line of type; after the copy had been set by hand, the type would be inked over. These laborious methods of typesetting were speeded up at least five or six times with the introduction of the slug-casting of type, which enabled a continuous line of copy to be cast as a single unit. The process was further accelerated by a keyboard device similar to the keyboard of a typewriter. Several such machines were on the market before Ottmar Mergenthaler patented his linotype machine in 1884. It quickly proved itself the most successful and popular of the automatic typesetters, and after it had been given important improvements in 1889, it began to be introduced into Canada. Thus by the end of our review period the speed of the press room could be matched by the speed of the typesetting department.⁴⁶

Presentation Of The News

Apart from the mechanical innovations which made possible bigger and cheaper newspapers filled with more

recent news, the presentation of the news began to have more reader appeal. This movement can be detected among the advance guard of the industry as early as 1855. War, the most immediately arresting and dramatic of human events, appears to have sparked this trend. War correspondents assigned to the area of operations began to supplement official communiqués with personal accounts of battle-field heroics and the attendant misery and squalor. Interesting vignettes of news helped to vivify accounts of this or that village captured, and gave an added human dimension to the weary, long-drawn-out siege of Sebastopol. The scandals of the war, the sorry state of the dysentery-ridden troops, the far different conditions under which officers and other-ranks lived (which explained why the ravages of sickness mainly afflicted the latter), the indifferent calibre of British generalship which too often squandered the valour and sacrifices of the troops -- all were reported. The Novascotian was particularly prominent in its coverage of the war, and the achievements of its own, native-born son, General Fenwick Williams, defender of Kars, were warmly applauded. Our two French-language papers gave a different slant to things, revealing that two-thirds of the allied troops involved were French, that they invariably met with greater success than the British troops, and that the top allied command in the field were also French -- the reader would never

have suspected such things from a mere perusal of the English-language papers.

By 1865, the American Civil War was in its final convulsions, and the events called forth some moving and impressive writing ; all the stories were from American sources or the occasional London Times correspondent.

The Franco-Prussian War was another intensely dramatic event which chased many other items out of the paper, and occupied pride of place during the second half of 1870. Again the lone virtuoso, the war correspondent, vivified the terse and often contradictory announcements, from both sides, of positions captured, and damage inflicted. Descriptions of horrendous slaughter on the battlefield, the background of leaders, military and political, on both sides and the volatile mob of Paris were occasionally accompanied by maps illustrating the military situation. These items rounded out and gave added meaning to the long columns of short, laconic, disconnected paragraphs, much in the manner of a modern radio newscast, which gave the official despatches. Canadian newspapers even took sides in the war, the Saint John Telegraph coming out strongly for Protestant Prussia with its racial affinity to the Anglo-Saxon, its northern virtues of vigour and application, and its ability to put the French in their place. The Globe initially was not far behind in this attitude

although, as the magnitude of the Prussian victory became apparent, it expressed misgivings at the humiliation of France, and was somewhat fearful that Prussia had become too powerful for everyone's good. On the other hand The Montreal Gazette stood solidly beside its French-language colleagues La Minerve and Le Canadien in applauding the valour of the French troops, with their splendid martial qualities, and being confident almost until the fall of Paris that the French were following a masterly strategy of bleeding Prussia white.

The United States early became a limitless source of personal interest stories, of murder, riots, lynchings, bizarre incidents and outrageous characters. The States could always be relied upon to fill the paper with shocking and gory events. It was a sort of ever present theatre of the absurd. This flood of copy undoubtedly conspired to sabotage the development of their own reporting staffs and editorial resources by Canadian newspapers. It was so much easier and vastly cheaper to fill the paper with already collected, digested and edited items, rather than go to the trouble and expense of hiring your own reporters to go out and get Canadian news.

Canadian reporting rarely got beyond the level of set events, the formal round of legislature, city council, police court, banquets, meetings, visits of

V.I.P.s. The meeting of the provincial legislature was the big event of the year of which the proceedings were given in their word-by-word tedium. The Toronto Globe even went to the extent of printing the entire list of bills, both public and private to be presented for each session, and after they had been before the Assembly recording the names and the ridings of the representatives who had voted "for" and "against".

But the rare occasions did exist when reporters did stray outside the usual round, sometimes by accident, sometimes by design, as when the Montreal Gazette sent a correspondent to the Atlantic Provinces to follow the Prince of Wales on the first leg of his North American tour of 1860. The reporter not only described the official proceedings and the reactions of the crowds, but went into some detail about the places and communities which the Prince visited. The Toronto Globe also had a correspondent visit south-eastern Nova Scotia to glean eyewitness accounts of the sinking of the trans-Atlantic lines, S.S. Hungarian, in which 109 people perished.

The papers, however, wasted neither time nor money on investigating social problems. There was no social criticism, no attacks on the prevalent social evils: poverty, drunkenness, squalor, prostitution. Misfortune and poverty were looked upon as the wages of sloth, insobriety and wickedness.

Despite the veil of silence drawn over its gaping social sores this was not a squeamish society. It demanded its share of blood and gore and the papers hastened to supply it. As newsprint became cheaper and papers bigger, news progressed beyond terse official-style pronouncements and branched out into longer accounts of accidents, murder trials and hangings and the press seemed to revel in supplying the grisly details. The ritual of hangings was minutely described down to the final twitchings and contortions of the body and its subsequent dismemberment in the prison morgue.

There was a great deal of lifting of items, stories, editorials, feature articles from other papers in other provinces, in Great Britain and in the United States. This was excellent so long as it gave the readers other views and wider horizons, and did not induce the paper to become lazy and save money at the same time by neglecting to develop its own editorial resources and initiative.

Probably the best feature of the papers throughout our period was the editorials, in many cases vigorous and forthright. The editorial writers were not ashamed of their prejudices, and their fighting stance on many issues contrasts favourably with the bland, standing fore-square by motherhood, kind of pieces which masquerade as editorials

in many papers today. But there were no featured columnists, and few feature articles, similar to those we get today which supply some background, criticism, and analysis of the contemporary scene.

One traveller, around the mid-century mark, who was not impressed by what he saw of the press in Canada was Hugh Seymour Tremenheere who wrote:

The press of Canada does injustice to the political, moral, social and intellectual character of the people, and is not of a tone to qualify it to speak for a cultivated and intelligent society. It rarely, as far as I could observe, attempts any calm and philosophical discussion of the topics of the highest moment to the future destiny of the colony, moral and social; but is rather occupied in stimulating, instead of striving to allay, the exasperations of party struggles. 47

Later he concedes that a society more or less gets the press it deserves, commenting, "Such writing as appears in some of the papers that are the present organs of party, would not be found in them unless it was in harmony with the tastes of a considerable number of subscribers; and the admission must lead to the inference that education has a great work before it in that colony." 48

But another English traveller a few years later, 1856, Lucy Isabella Bird, gives us a different and broader picture: "Taking the newspapers as a whole, they are far more gentlemanly in their tone than those of the neighbouring republic, and perhaps are not more abusive and

personal than some of our English provincial papers. There is, however, very great room for improvement, and no doubt as the national palate becomes improved by education, the morsels presented to it will be more choice."⁴⁹

The make-up of the papers too was improving slowly but surely. The practice of putting headlines on the dull, stodgy looking columns of print spread westwards from The Novascotian through B.N.A. to the extent that during the American Civil War we started getting not merely label headlines, "Latest From Europe", but story-headlines, "Union Forces Routed", and not only one line heads, but two and three tier ones as well. From about 1860 onwards more papers started using bigger print for the body of the copy so that they could be read without recourse to a magnifying glass. Here again The Novascotian was an honourable precursor; from the beginning of our survey period its type was big, clear and bold, so too was that of our two French language newspapers, La Minerve and Le Canadien, in decided contrast to the fine print that filled the columns of The Montreal Gazette, and The Toronto Globe.

It was not until 1886 that a really satisfactory method of newspaper reproduction of photographs was perfected, and the first ones started appearing in Canada in 1888. At this time The Toronto Globe began carrying

half-tone engravings in its five cent Saturday edition, but used nothing but line drawings in its two cent daily. To the end of the century many papers carried no pictures at all, others used - very sparingly - old fashioned illustration methods.⁵⁰

Two further inventions that were to have a tremendous effect on newspapers were introduced during the latter half of the century should be mentioned here: the typewriter and the telephone. The first workable typewriter was actually built by a former newspaper editor, C. L. Sholes, who patented his machine in 1868.⁵¹ Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone in 1876, but neither invention was fully utilized by newspaper editorial departments until after the turn of the century.

The combined effect of growing population, urbanization and literacy, together with improved transportation and communication facilities, cheaper paper, and improved mechanical production methods was a massive boost in circulation, and of newspapers as organizations in themselves.

Newspaper Circulations

Figures on newspaper circulation during the century are not easy to find. It was not until 1892 that the first Canadian Newspaper Directory appeared, which gave

the approximate and "sworn" circulations for all the daily press of Canada.

Indications of circulations prior to 1892 are very flimsy. Kesterton tells us:

In 1833 some thirty newspapers in the Upper Province had a combined circulation of 20,000.

In the Maritimes the average circulation of provincial papers was fewer than 300 before 1850. In 1840 Halifax's nine newspapers for example had fewer than 4,000 subscribers. Of these the Nova-Scotian claimed 1,500, the Acadian Recorder 800, and the Guardian 708. In the same year the combined circulation of the five weeklies of Saint John, New Brunswick, did not reach 600. 52

Kesterton tells how the influence of the press was much greater than these figures might indicate, for readers — and listeners — far outnumbered subscribers. The contents of a journal were often disseminated to a number of more-or-less illiterate listeners by a friend who could read. "Sometimes such news was spread by conversation and discussion in the saloons and taverns of the land. Such expedients did much to increase the influence of the press, but did little to put money into the pockets of the hard-pressed editors." 53

Lucy I. Bird, writing in 1856, says the prices of daily newspapers in the Colony of Canada varied from a penny to threepence each, and she adds, "A workman would as soon think of depriving himself of his breakfast as of his morning journal. It is stated that thousands of the

subscribers to the newspapers are so illiterate as to depend upon their children for a knowledge of their contents. At present few people, comparatively speaking, are more than half educated. The knowledge of this fact lowers the tone of the press."⁵⁴

Although no figures are available for British North America, an indication of the rapidly growing newspaper circulations during the decade of the 1850s is given by the following paragraph printed by the Toronto Globe in 1860 about the growth of the popular press in Great Britain:

In 1855 the whole circulation of the daily press of the United Kingdom amounted to about 70,000, of which The Times claimed 50,000 and the rest was divided among its rivals in London, Dublin and Edinburgh. The Times had then five-sevenths of the whole circulation of the country. In 1860 the whole circulation of the diurnal press in the United Kingdom is about 333,000 of which The Times still claims 50,000, or not one-sixth of the whole. The rest of the circulation is composed, with the exception of perhaps 20,000 of the high priced journals, of the penny daily press of London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Birmingham which is supposed to amount to 260,000 daily. 55

Obviously it was no longer just an elite audience that was reading newspapers, it was an activity that was rapidly encompassing the whole of the middle classes by 1860, and seeping into the ranks of the artisan and even the labourer.

As stated previously the first edition of the Canadian Newspaper Directory appeared in 1892, and it gave the circulation figures of all the dailies in Canada, and those of the papers making up our sample for this study were as follows: the Halifax Morning Chronicle - over 3,250; the Saint John Telegraph, N.B. - 4,750; Le Canadien - over 3,000; La Minerve - 4,500; the Montreal Gazette - 6,921; the Ottawa Citizen - 2,750; the Toronto Globe - 26,950, the Manitoba Free Press - 4,975, and the Victoria Colonist - 1,750.

Newspapers as Organizations

Corresponding to a growth in the circulation and mechanization of the productive process came a growth in the size and complexity of newspaper enterprises as organizations in themselves. At the beginning of our era they were extraordinarily skeletal and shoe-string affairs, by the end of the century we are approaching the age of newspaper empires. Speaking of the early days of the 1830s, Kesterton says:

Joseph Howe had to make five yearly payments of 210 pounds to obtain the Nova-scotian. His costs would undoubtedly have been less if the journal had been moribund when he bought it, but its circulation was the second highest in the country. 56

Newspapers were often easy to start but difficult to keep going. Many of the papers in the two decades before

mid-century were started by a person borrowing the necessary capital, and then acting as his own publisher-editor-printer-business manager. In his spare moments he would often act as his own reporting staff. More often than not he succumbed to the work load, to the high cost of newspaper distribution and to the unpaid accounts on his subscription lists. ⁵⁷

Inevitably specialization of labour crept in and Kesterton reports:

In 1892, there was a total of 86 persons employed by the three Vancouver newspapers ... A fairly typical staff for an 1899 newspaper was that of the Vancouver Province which was produced by an editor, subscription manager, city editor, advertising manager, three reporters, an accountant, two clerks, a composing room foreman, six compositors, a press room foreman and two stereotypers. ⁵⁸

By the end of our era newspapers were undertakings requiring substantial capital outlay. Kesterton has some figures which illustrate this:

The Regina Leader had been established in 1883, with a capitalization of \$20,000. In 1892 Vancouver's three newspapers, the News Advertiser, World, and Telegram represented an investment of \$50,000, and the combined payroll was \$55,000. In 1899 the Vancouver Province had a capitalization of \$100,000. Nor were these, by any means, the richest newspapers in Canada at the time. ⁵⁹

At the beginning of our period the various colonies of British North America were scattered, isolated and seemingly scarcely cognizant of one another.

Fifty years later they had lived together for a generation as constituent parts of a single federal union, and were connected by a mechanical infrastructure of telegraph wires and steel rails. The question we shall primarily address ourselves to in subsequent chapters is, had the growth of these institutional and mechanical links been paralleled by the growth of emotional bonds amongst the people at large towards the federation. In other words was there an emerging ~~moral~~ equivalent of the C.P.R.?

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CHAPTER FIVE

CANADA FIRST? THE DIVISION
OF PLACE NAMES BETWEEN BNA/CANADA
BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

The primary concern of this chapter is to determine the growth of feelings of community centred on BNA/Canada, and the perception of such a community - or communities- as something distinct and separate from either Great Britain or the United States.

Having completed the task of scanning the 279 newspapers in the sample, and slotting the appropriate symbols into the appropriate categories as outlined in Chapter Three, I therefore turned to the place name count to determine (a) for each individual newspaper, and (b) for the total sample the percentage overall distribution of place names between: (1) BNA/Canada; (2) Great Britain; (3) the United States, and (4) "Other" categories.

The assumption behind the use of place names as an indicator of community feeling, is that the higher the score in any one category, the greater the significance of that community in the eyes of the newspaper and its readers. An increase in BNA/Canada references will be taken as an index of the growth of a separate and distinct community feeling among British North Americans.

Fluctuations in the other categories will be taken as indices of the changing significance of such communities¹ for BNA/Canadians: significance simply in the sense of the magnitude of impact of that community on BNA/Canada.

Quantity will be taken as a reliable measure of significance, but an inkling of what kind of significance - positive, negative, favourable, unfavourable, friendly or hostile - can only be gleaned from the context in which the symbols appear. Therefore, following my quantitative symbol analysis I shall endeavour to give in this and each succeeding analytical chapter some indication of the context in which these symbols appeared.

BNA/CANADA PLACE NAMES

For our entire newspaper sample the overall distribution of symbols, found by averaging the place name distribution of all the nine journals, shows that references to BNA/Canada started high and remained consistently high, being at least double and often triple the number for any other of our categories (see Table 5-1). One can detect from Fig. 5-1 a steady, secular, upward trend. Certainly it is not dramatic. It has its ups and downs, but nevertheless it is quite evident; it is there. The increase in BNA/Canadian symbols can perhaps be seen most clearly from Table 5-4, which gives the average per-

centage of BNA/Canadian symbols for each newspaper prior to 1867, and compares these figures with the average after 1867. There was an average increase of eight per cent in BNA/Canada places names for the whole sample in the latter as compared with the former period; the Manitoban and British Columbian representatives indeed record an increase of practically 16 per cent. Table 5-4 also shows that while only two newspapers -- the Montreal Gazette, and the Toronto Globe -- got above 50 per cent in Canadian place names prior to 1867, only two fell below it in the post 1867 period.

Tracing the movement of the symbols by five yearly intervals from 1845 through to 1895, Table 5-1 shows that for the entire sample we start off with a remarkably high 48.5 per cent of all place names devoted to British North America, we reach a peak of 58.0 per cent in 1875, and finish in 1895 with 56.8. Before 1875 the BNA total never reaches 50 per cent (except once in 1850 when it rose to 50.6), afterwards it only falls below that percentage once, in 1885, and then only by a mere 0.3 per cent.

The main characteristic of the overall distribution of place names, for the purpose of this chapter, is the high percentage consistently devoted to BNA, in-

dicating that for the length of the period surveyed strong community feelings existed in British North America. Undoubtedly here was a highly self-conscious community, or possibly a series of communities, a question we shall specifically focus upon in the next chapter. Immigrants to these colonies in the high immigration years of the 1840s were not pioneers in the sense of having to build up communities from the beginning, or anywhere near the beginning, but were obliged to fit themselves into already existing, well-formed communities.

Another way of throwing into relief the high level of attention devoted to BNA/Canada, and its upward movement, is to look at only the overall distribution of symbols as between BNA/Canada, the United Kingdom (including Ireland), and the United States, omitting the "Other" symbols entirely (see Table 5-3). Here the percentage of attention paid to BNA/Canada was for most of the time over 60 per cent and never fell below 57.0 per cent, ending up on the high note of 68.2 per cent. The low of 57.3 occurred in 1865, when the press was choked with the dramatic closing stages of the American Civil War, and apprehensions of the continental intentions of the North both towards Mexico and the BNA colonies.

BRITISH PLACE NAMES

However, the most clearly discernible trend

of all which we find in these overall percentages lies in the decrease of the annual quota of symbols devoted to Great Britain. No matter if we take the United Kingdom references alone (see Table 5-3, and Fig. 5-1), or together with references to the non-North American parts of the Empire, plus overseas place names mentioned only because of British involvement (see Table 5-1), it is in steady decline. Taking the U.K. symbols alone the decline is from 16.6 per cent in 1845 to 8.6 in 1895 (see Table 5-1), a drop of almost 50 per cent. Note also that the ratio of BNA to U.K. symbols was roughly 3 to 1 in favour of the former at the beginning of our period, and by 1895 BNA preponderance had risen to over 6 to 1. Table 5-4 shows that percentage of symbol space devoted to the U.K. prior to 1867 was 13.7, afterwards it dropped by the substantial amount of almost one-third to 9.7. This downward British trend may be seen as an index of a steady, persistent, but not dramatic drift away from the Mother Country. Attention to the non-North American parts of the British Empire was meagre (see Tables 5-1, 5-2 and 5-4). In only five of the eleven survey years did the percentage of symbols devoted to the Empire manage to struggle above a modest three percent; three of these years are at the very beginning of our survey period. Subsequent percentages indicate

that Canadian interest in the Empire dwindled to even more miniscule levels, failing to respond to the revival of official British interest in Empire during the last quarter of the century (see tables 5-1 and 5-4). True enough the Empire symbols did rise above three per cent in 1885, the year of the abortive Sudan expedition which failed to rescue Gordon from his death in Khartoum, and the very serious threat of a Russo-British clash in the wilds of Afghanistan. Significantly enough Sir John A. Macdonald declined the British invitation to send a body of troops to the Sudan, despite Australia's acceptance, and contented himself with dispatching a group of Ottawa River voyageurs to help with transportation arrangements on the Nile.

It was the same with British involvement overseas, which even fell as low as 0.01 per cent of total place names in 1870. In fact apart from a remarkable peak of 9.3 per cent in 1855, at the climax of the Crimean War, British overseas activity never managed to struggle above 0.7 per cent in the other years surveyed. Low as they were overall pre-Confederation averages for the sample were cut in half after 1867 (see Table 5-4). Figures such as these scarcely support the thesis of Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook that Victorian Canadians

were more jingoistic than the Colonial Office in fervour for Empire, finding their collective identity principally as members of the British Empire.

UNITED STATES PLACE NAMES

The United States place names, however, maintained their strength over the years (see Table 5-4), although their distribution tended to be more erratic than those of the U.K. (see Fig. 5-1). Over the 50 years survey period, the overall average percentage of U.S. place names was 16.0 as compared with 11.9 for the U.K. (see Fig. 5-1). There are only three out of our eleven survey years when United Kingdom place names outnumber those of the United States, and these are 1845, 1855 and 1870; in the latter year only by an insignificant 0.1 percent. From 1875 onwards there tended to develop a noticeable gap between the U.K. and U.S., a gap which meant there was double the number of U.S. symbols printed, as compared with the U.K., in 1875, 1890, and 1895 (see Fig. 5-1).

Table 5-4 shows that the overall average of U.S. symbols printed prior to Confederation was 18.6 percent, as compared with 15.8 percent afterwards, a decrease of 2.8. However, perhaps a truer picture is given if we extract the year 1865 from the pre-Confederation average. It was a totally atypical year when the American Civil War, followed by the bizarre assassination of Lincoln,

dominated all news and boosted the number of United States place names out of all usual proportions. Basing our United States pre-Confederation average on 1845, '50, '55, and '60, we find there is a slight increase in the post-Confederation period of 1.7.

For newspaper readers during the 50 years of our survey there was plenty of evidence of waning British power, and growing American strength, often at the expense of Britain. In the 1840s Britain had pocketed her pride and retreated in the face of American sabre rattling in both the Maine and Oregon boundary disputes. Immediately after this the Americans had been easy and overwhelming victors in their war with Mexico, quickly concluding what must be ranked the most successful expansionary war in modern history, in terms of square miles of territory acquired. Then in the 1850s railways rapidly thrust through the Appalachians breaking out into the Mississippi Valley and bringing with them a flood of settlers which began seeping over into the North-West Territories, then administered by the Hudson's Bay Company. There was fear that the American Army might move in, on the pretext of protecting these settlers, thus presenting Britain with a fait accompli, and little choice but to repeat her Maine and Oregon withdrawals on a bigger scale. Other factors were also at work undermining the position and prestige

of Britain : the patent bungling in her handling of the Crimean War, new threatening noises from continental Europe, first from Napoleon III and later from Prussian Germany, the rise of the United States as an industrial giant challenging Britain's pre-eminence in this field, and finally Britain's obvious desire to avoid affronting the United States even to the extent of disengaging herself from time-honoured Imperial responsibilities in North America.

Moreover, immigration into BNA fell off after 1850 tending gradually to reduce the number of old country born, and those with recent old country experience among the population.. At the same time the rapid expansion of the United States, and the availability of new land in the opening mid- and western-States proved an irresistible magnet for more and more people from BNA. From 1861 to 1871 there was a net emigration of over a quarter of a million, involving the loss of about one-third of the estimated natural increase of the period, while in the three decades, 1871 to 1901, the increase in the Canadian population was less than the estimated natural increase.³

During these three decades while slightly more than one-and-a-half million immigrants intending to settle entered Canada, almost two million people left the country.

Between 1881 and 1901 over 600,000 native Canadians moved across the border, and in 1891 about one-fifth of all Canadian born lived in the United States.⁴ This drain southwards, lamentable in terms of Canadian nation-building, meant a significant increase in familial ties between Canada and the United States; the Canadian family which did not have its quota of sons and cousins in the States was becoming a rarity. Thus at the same time that familial ties with Britain were decreasing, those with the United States were increasing. Yet, despite it all, there was no dramatic shift in the BNA/Canadian foci of attention either away from Britain or towards the United States. The ties to Britain remained strong, and even if they did slacken somewhat over the years, there was no comparable swing towards the United States.

OTHER PLACE NAMES

As for the "Other" place names, they fluctuate erratically over the half-century between a low of 10.7 in 1850 and a high of 35.6 in 1870 (see Table 5-1).⁵ This latter was the year of the Franco-Prussian War, which besides dominating the news for six months was the culmination of a movement, at work throughout the 1860s, towards German unification. The second peak year was 1860, when Garibaldi's invasion of Sicily captured the

imagination of the western world and led to Italian unification. Certainly the idea of bigger, more centralized political units was fashionable during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Was the close attention paid to these events in Europe by the press of BNA entirely unconnected with a keen interest in a similar movement in BNA itself?

There is no discernible trend in "Other" place names; there being merely a 0.7 percent difference between the average overall percentage pre-1867 and post-1867 (see Table 5-4). They fluctuate presumably according to the newsworthiness of events, and war is the most newsworthy of all. Hence the tremendous amount of attention given to the Crimean, American Civil and Franco-Prussian wars, which makes each of the years in which this survey touched on these wars somewhat distorted either in terms of "British Involvement Overseas", or "American" or "Other" symbols.

THE PERFORMANCE OF INDIVIDUAL JOURNALS

Having surveyed the movement of the average, overall distribution of symbols for the entire sample, the next step is to compare the performance of the individual journals to determine if there were any significant variations by province and region. For the whole period 1845-1895, the average percentage of the whole sample devoted to BNA/Canada was 49.0 (see Table 5-2), and the individual journals do not vary tremendously from this mean. There

tends in many cases to be a bigger variation within the individual newspapers when comparing the average BNA place name percentage before and after Confederation. Table 5-4 shows a significant increase of practically eight per cent for the whole sample in the use of BNA/Canada place names after Confederation. For two members of this sample, the Nor'Wester/Manitoba Free Press and the British Colonist, the increases after, as compared with before, were 15.5 and 16.9 per cent respectively; prior to 1867 both these papers were at the bottom of the BNA listings. Afterwards the Manitoba Free Press rose to third place from the top, while the British Colonist recorded the greatest increase in Canadian place names of any paper in the sample.

Our two western papers only began publication in 1858; hence in the pre-Confederation period they could only be included in two survey years, 1860 and 1865. At this time these two frontier journals were both run on shoe-string budgets, equipment and office staffs. The Colonist in Victoria was far removed from the rest of the BNA colonies, so that apart from whatever local news it was able to gather it was entirely dependent on the arrival of ships for its news of the outside world, and trade was principally with Britain and San Francisco; certainly not with the eastern British North American colonies. Moreover,

the bulk of its inhabitants were officials and immigrants direct from Britain, American miners and prospectors left behind by the 1858 gold rush, and imported Chinese labourers—in other words a population with no roots or connections with the rest of BNA/Canada. Victoria's isolation was considerably alleviated when San Francisco was connected by telegraph and rail with the eastern states in 1869. Direct news access across Canadian territory to eastern Canada came only with the completion of the overland telegraph alongside the CPR in 1885. Inevitably the Colonist's quota of BNA news was much reduced by these factors, indeed it is quite remarkable that it was able to make such rapid gains in the post-Confederation period.

Geographic and technical barriers also intervened in the case of Manitoba, until it too was linked by telegraph and rail with St. Paul, Minnesota and with Ontario. The Nor'Wester during its career added to its quota of BNA symbols by frequent and lengthy accounts of western exploration across the great plains and into the Rockies, and to meetings with Indians and descriptions of their mode of life. Manitoba's quick rise to the forefront of those giving attention to Canada in the post-1867 era may at least be partially explained by the fact that after becoming a province in 1871 it derived more and more of its population from Ontario, even to the

extent of taking on the aspect of a projection or extension of Ontario.

Appropriately enough as the representative in our sample of the chief city of the biggest province in the Dominion, the Toronto Globe was the highest scorer in the BNA/Canada category (see Table 5-2). It was a clear winner with 54.6 per cent of all its place names for the 50 years devoted to BNA/Canada; it also had the smoothest distribution curve, less subject to violent swings, than any other member of the sample (see Fig. 5-2(b)). However, in the pre-Confederation period, see Table 5-4(1), the Montreal Gazette was first in BNA ratings with 53.7 per cent, compared with 51.4 per cent for the Toronto Globe. The Gazette fell badly, relatively speaking, thereafter dropping to seventh place, indeed it was the only paper in the sample whose percentage of BNA symbols actually fell after Confederation.

It is often alleged that French Canadians tend to be overly inward-looking, or absorbed in their own French-Canadian milieu and society. Initially at least this is scarcely born-out by the scores of Le Canadien and La Minerve in BNA/Canadian place names, the former, for the whole 50 years surveyed averaged 44.8 percent, giving it eight place, or second from the bottom ranking, while the latter with 49.8 per cent took fifth place (see table 5-2). Unlike the Montreal Gazette, both these French

language papers do show a rise in BNA place names after Confederation, yet they lagged behind the English-language papers outside Quebec. For the entire sample the average increase after Confederation was eight per cent (see Table 5-4), but for La Minerve it was less than half this at 3.1 per cent, while for Le Canadien it was only 2.5 per cent. This can be taken as some evidence that the Quebec trio in our sample failed to respond as positively or enthusiastically to the existence of the new federal state as did the rest of the sample -- why ? It may have been because French Canadians, although most of them lived in the very heartland of Canada, found themselves unable fully to identify with Confederation. They looked upon it as principally a concoction of "les Anglais pour les Anglais". The same sort of attitude probably prevented French Canadians emigrating in any considerable number to augment French-speaking Roman Catholics in Manitoba and the North-West Territories.

The reason for the fall in Canadian place names in the Montreal Gazette is more difficult to explain. As Canada's largest city Montreal was undoubtedly worse hit by the chronic economic depression, which lasted from 1873 to 1896, than probably any other place in Canada. Montreal was in something of a state of transition, the advent of the railways and the imposition of the United States tariff

wall had torpedoed her time-honoured dream and ambition of becoming the main port for the whole of the American mid-west, while at the same time the Canadian West had as yet been neither sufficiently peopled nor developed to provide her with an alternative hinterland. A sure indication that all was not well with Montreal was that in the 1870s and '80s, Toronto was growing at approximately twice the rate of Montreal,⁵ and was beginning to put herself forward as an alternative Canadian metropolis to Montreal. There may also have been a certain turning away, on the part of English-speaking Quebecers, from home province events with the advent of Confederation, as they realized that they were now but a minority in a province, whereas formerly they had been part of the majority in the United Colony.

One paper which scored better than might have been expected in the post-1867 period was the Saint John Telegraph, which with 56.7 per cent came second to the Toronto Globe in the BNA/Canada ratings (see Table 5-4). Its fellow Maritimer, the Novascotian/Halifax Morning Herald, maintained fifth position both before and after 1867, parallelling the average sample increase of eight percent. Both Maritime representatives outdistanced the Ottawa Citizen, which for the full 50 years survey period fell

below the sample average in BNA/Canada references. However, Ottawa was only a provincial lumber centre until it was proclaimed capital, as something of a compromise candidate in 1858, and we see from Table 5-4 that the Citizen increased its average by 10.5 per cent after 1867, moving from seventh to fourth place in the BNA/Canada ratings.

Although there was no tremendous variation amongst the newspapers in our sample in the overall percentage of symbols they each devoted to BNA/Canada there was a good deal of variation as regards the distribution curves for each newspaper (see Figs. 5 - 2(a), and 5 - 2(b)).

It is difficult to discern any overall similarity in these distribution curves, which may indeed be an indication that it was local and home province events which figured primarily in each paper's BNA/Canada total, not national or events in other provinces. However, Figures 5-2(a) and 5-2(b), 5-3 (a) and 5-3(b) show that for a slight majority of the papers there were specific years of uniformly high BNA interest -- 1850 was such a year, a year of tension and crisis on the BNA home front in many ways. It was the year when Britain's new free trade policy really took effect, a year of economic depression and uncertainty, the year after the Montreal riots with the annexation movement still at boiling point. It was followed during the

rest of the 1850s by a falling off of interest as economic conditions improved and soothed discontent. But it began to build up again during the first half of the sixties, the years of military threats from the United States, parliamentary impasse and coalition government, in the United Colony, and the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences. However, the key period 1865-70 presented a rather curious picture with precious little uniformity. B.N.A. place names actually decreased in the Toronto Globe, the Novascotian, and Le Canadien, while La Minerve and the British Colonist both experienced a fairly steep rise. The remaining papers in the sample all moved gently upwards during this period. Then, in the 1870s, the entire sample with the exception of La Minerve, underwent a long and pronounced ascent in Canadian place names, only to be followed in the early eighties by a quick, and precipitous descent for six of the newspapers. The depths of this fall appear to have been plumbed in 1885, or shortly thereafter, and by 1890 an upward movement was well underway. The survey period closed in 1895 on the high note of 56.9, an average only one percent below the half century high of 57.9 recorded in 1875.

The events behind, and the reasons for, these movements may be traced as follows: Confederation was fortunate enough to be caught up soon after its inception

by a wave of economic prosperity and expansion. This created a favourable climate for the infant Dominion and led to great expectations for its future.

We read in the Rowell-Sirois Report:

By 1873, in the short space of six years, the framework of the new transcontinental economic and political system had been erected. The continued rapid expansion of the United States had given the enterprise an urgency it might otherwise have lacked. The 'race to the Pacific' had been won and the vital railway and settlement policies had been launched. These were ambitious policies for a small and scattered people but the nation builders were undeterred by such reflections. 6

At the end of 1873, however, the boom broke, and between 1873 and '79 Canada's main export, forest products, fell by one-half. 7 The depression coincided with the ousting of the Conservatives from office, and when they returned in 1878 it was hoped good times would return with them. They introduced the National Policy tariff in 1879, and business did improve somewhat, but the improvement proved short lived, and by 1883 depression had set in once more. The Rowell-Sirois Report tells how in such circumstances the provinces became restive and began to press for a loosening of Ottawa's reins, a less imperious central government, a more decentralized federalism.

Economic malaise was throwing doubt upon the whole project of building the Canadian nation. Many people began to doubt whether Canada was a viable economic proposition at all. Perhaps the only salvation

lay in some form of commercial union with the United States, possibly the answer really and inevitably was annexation. Then, in 1884, along came the movement for Imperial Federation, but it was not met with any widespread enthusiasm; it seemed too much like a retreat back to the womb.

In the circumstances of gloom, frustration and national doubt other distinct issues came along which exacerbated the situation between the federal government and the provinces. British Columbia was embittered during the late seventies by the problems of the Pacific Railway, while in the early eighties Manitoba and the Dominion clashed over railway policies. The Maritimes and British Columbia, as well, were angry about the tariffs involved in the National Policy.

The scene was further complicated by a resurgence of the old French-English conflict, beginning with the suppression of the second Métis rebellion and the subsequent hanging of Louis Riel, which led to an uproar in Quebec, and to the ousting the very next year of the Conservative provincial government and the succession of Honoré Mercier's Parti National. But if 1885 was the nadir of Canada's post-Confederation fortunes, it may also have been a turning point, for in the same month as

Riel's hanging, the C.P.R. was completed when the last spike was driven into the transcontinental line at Eagle Pass, some twenty miles from Revelstoke.

Moreover, the Métis uprising, disturbing as were its effects on Quebec, was not altogether negative in its implications for Canadian Unity. The Rebellion saw the expansion of the Canadian militia. The rising was put down by men from Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and the North-West Territories, some 8,000 in all - a truly national effort.

After the completion of their task the troops returned to their respective cities where the civic authorities organized parades, receptions, gala dinners and general festivities. In the opinion of Sir Robert Borden the dispatch of Halifax troops to Saskatchewan in 1885 had done more than anything since Confederation to make Nova Scotia feel part of Canada.

Yet, in 1886 the Nova Scotia Assembly passed a motion introduced by its Liberal government, by a vote of 15 - 7, that the economic interests of Maritimers would be advanced if they withdrew from Confederation and united under their own government. The whole thing must be regarded as a political ploy of the Nova Scotia Premier, W. S. Fielding, to force Ottawa to hand over substantially

increased debt allowances, and also partly as an opening gambit in the impending provincial election. No action was ever taken on the motion, but the Liberals won the¹⁰ election. In the same year Quebeckers expressed their wrath at the federal government by turning away from the provincial Conservatives and electing Honoré Mercier and his Parti National to office.

However, despite the continued depression and provincial discontent the Liberals in 1887 suffered their third straight defeat in the federal election. Having licked their wounds they began looking around for some central issue with which they might beat the Conservatives next time. In the prevailing economic conditions the idea of a commercial union with the United States had a great deal of appeal, especially in southern and central Ontario. A number of prominent Liberals espoused the idea, or at least a variation of it—unrestricted reciprocity (commercial union involved a common external tariff, around North America; unrestricted reciprocity would have enabled the two countries to maintain different tariffs against¹¹ other parties). The Conservatives attacked both commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity as implying, in the ultimate, political union with the United States, therefore the end of any attempt at nation-building. There was only

one course open to Canada, if she was to avoid being swallowed up in the United States, and that was the National Policy of Macdonald, which would permit Canada to develop her own manufacturing industry.

However, Sir Richard Cartwright, of the Liberal front bench, tabled a motion in the House of Commons on March 14, 1888 for "full and unrestricted reciprocity". The Government won the vote decisively by 124 to 67, with some 20 Liberals abstaining or absent.¹² Thus the unrestricted reciprocity idea as well as annexation appeared to have been well laid to rest by the this 1888 vote, but the issue was injected into the 1891 election by the McKinley tariff of 1890. The tariff which was for the protection of American farm products was widely interpreted in Canada as an attempt "to starve Canada into annexation," as Macdonald put it. Sir John made the "loyalist cry" the main part of his election campaign accusing the Liberals of selling out to the Yankees by their penchant for unrestricted reciprocity and commercial union. It is in this context that Sir John's declaration, "a British subject I was born, and a British subject I will die", must be seen; it was not an expression of Imperial sentiment, but of Canadian nationalism. Donald Warner comments,

The election of 1891 became the closest approach to a plebiscite on annexation in Canada's

history. Not all, probably not even most who voted Liberal were annexationists, but many were and others were willing to run the risk of political union to get the benefits of reciprocity. Though Macdonald won, the results were neither crushing to the annexationists nor exhilarating to the loyalists. The margin of victory was narrow and the Conservatives and attendant interests had to wage a gruelling campaign to gain it. 13

The great debate on commercial union/unrestricted reciprocity of the late eighties would appear (see Table 5-1, and Figs. 5-1, 5-2 and 5-3) to have rekindled interest among Canadians in their own land, and by 1890 the entire sample of newspapers, with the single exception of the Halifax Chronicle, was moving upwards in its percentage of Canadian place names. Thus several years before prosperity returned in 1896, enabling a Liberal government to bring to fruition Macdonald's National Policy, Canadians had stepped-up their interest in themselves as a distinct society.

As for the attentiveness to Britain on the part of the various papers, Table 5-2 shows that here the Ottawa Citizen scored the highest average with 14.9 percent for the whole 50 years. The Maritimes relatively high orientation towards Great Britain is demonstrated by the fact that the Saint John Telegraph with 12.9 per cent and the Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle with 12.5 per cent came second and third respectively in United Kingdom place name ratings. At the

foot of the list, quite expectedly, were Le Canadien with 9.4 percent, and La Minerve with 8.6. The English language papers with the fewest United Kingdom references were the Toronto Globe with 10.7 and the Nor'Wester/Manitoba Free Press with 9.9.

A good indication of how the United Kingdom share of place names diminished over the years can be seen from Table 5-4. Biggest fall here for an individual newspaper was that of the Novascotian/Halifax Morning Chronicle. Prior to Confederation it scored 15.1 per cent (third place in U.K. attentiveness), while after Confederation it slumped to 6.1 percent (ninth and bottom place). A very striking demonstration indeed of the depth and extent of Nova Scotia's disenchantment with Britain, after the Mother Country had refused to entertain the province's fervent behests to be allowed to secede from Confederation.

The Saint John Telegraph also experienced a significant fall in its percentage of United Kingdom place names between the two periods, as did the Ottawa Citizen which fell from 18.9 and top scorer pre-1867 to 11.6 and third place afterwards. Indeed the only paper which actually showed an increase in British symbols was Victoria's British Colonist, which increased from 10.9 per cent pre-1867 to 14.9 post, and rose quite remarkably from eighth

to first place in the U.K. attentiveness ratings. This probably illustrates nothing so much as just how parochial a newspaper the Colonist was in its early days. It also says something about the remoteness of Victoria from eastern and central Canada; by sea Britain is little further from Victoria than Montreal.

Appropriately enough the British Colonist was a comfortable first in average attentiveness paid to the non-North American parts of the British Empire over the whole 50 years. Victoria ~~was~~ living up to her reputation¹⁴ of being "British maritime rather than British American." It also reflects her Pacific location: for her, Australia and New Zealand were not at the ends of the earth, but fellow British colonies on the rim of the same ocean. The Novascotian/Halifax Morning Chronicle and the Montreal Gazette tied for second place at 2.8 each, with the Ottawa Citizen, and the Saint John Telegraph third and fourth. Predictably Le Canadien at 1.9, and La Minerve at 1.3 were eighth and ninth in the scale of Empire attentiveness, just as they were in the U.K. ratings scale.

There was little correlation between attentiveness to Empire and to British involvement overseas. The only really consistent thing about this latter category was that the Novascotian/Halifax Morning Chronicle was in

first place everytime; no matter whether it was the 50 year average rating (Table 5-2) or the average of the periods pre- or post-1867 (see Table 5-4).

In most cases in the sample we encounter a considerable discrepancy between British Involvement Overseas place names, pre-and post-Confederation (see Table 5-4). In the earlier period these place names were double (in the Saint John Telegraph), triple (in the Novascotian/Halifax Morning Chronicle) and quadruple (Ottawa Citizen, Le Canadien), and even quintuple (La Minerve) what they proved to be for each of these papers after Confederation. In contrast four of the remaining four papers in the sample actually increased their British Involvement Overseas place names after 1867 (see Table 5-4) but all these latter journals published so little in this category that even the inclusion of one extra article, say of British missionary work in China, in any one issue would probably double their existing score. Doubtless the reason five of the sample had a percentage in the first period so much greater than in the latter was that in 1855 Britain was engaged in a major war, in the Crimea.

Significantly in the first period, La Minerve and Le Canadien took second and third place in British Involvement Overseas ratings, whilst in the post 1867 period they were in eighth and ninth places. The reason

lay in the fact that they reported the Crimean War rather extensively, a war in which France was more heavily involved than Britain in terms of troops committed.

As for attention to the United States, the British Colonist quite easily led the 50 year average stakes (Table 5-2), and in the pre- and post-1867 periods as well. Its overall average percentage of place names devoted to the United States was almost exactly half its Canadian place name percentage, and 9.3 percentage points higher than its United Kingdom place names. The Colonist is the only newspaper in the sample which scored two firsts : first in attention to the United States, and first in attention to the British Empire.

Table 5-4 shows that the Colonist's U.S. symbols diminished considerably, from an average of 29.6 prior to Confederation to 18.5 percent afterwards. Apart from showing how dependent the Colonist must have been on U.S. news sources before 1867, this decline is only unusual by virtue of its size. In addition to the Colonist, seven of the sample's nine newspapers all registered somewhat fewer United States place names in the post-1867 period. The only newspaper to record an increase was the Ottawa Citizen, of 0.1 percent.

An interesting point which emerges from scrutinizing Figures 5-1, 5-3(a) and 5-3(b) is that for both the over-

all and individual averages the fluctuations in the pre-1867 distribution curves are not repeated after 1870 when we get pronouncedly smoother curves. Combined with the slight decrease in U.S. place names during the same period it is rather difficult to say what this means. Perhaps the development of a less highly-strung or tense attitude towards the United States, once Canada's western empire had been secured, once all outstanding border questions, apart from the Alaskan boundary, had been settled. And once the American military threat had subsided, having proved itself to be largely a matter of posturing and sabre rattling. So at the same period that British place names were gradually declining Canadian attitudes towards the United States seem to have been becoming less alarmist, somewhat lower-key. Canadians it would appear were gradually, very gradually, becoming more sure of themselves, acquiring more self-reliance and self-confidence.

In the individual averages the Nor'Wester, Manitoba Free Press and the Ottawa Citizen were the English-language papers with the smallest percentage of United States place names at 16.1, but even so they were ahead of the sample's two French-Canadian papers, La Minerve at 13.7, and Le Canadien at 11.9. These two French

papers occupied the last two positions as regards the United States, just as they did in the United Kingdom and British Empire listings.

There is also a somewhat wider spread between top and bottom scores in United States place names (21.3 to 11.9) than was recorded between the United Kingdom ones (14.9 to 8.6); probably indicating a greater cross-Canada uniformity of attitude towards Britain than towards the United States.

It is in the "Other" place names that the French-language papers score. ^{14a} Le Canadien was the leader here by quite a substantial margin with an average of 30.2 of all its place names in the "Other" category, easily outnumbering the paper's total British and American names percentages combined (24.6). Le Canadien even beat by a clear 5.2 percentage points La Minerve which had 25.0 percent of its place names in the "Other" category.

The nearest English-language paper was the Nor'Wester/Manitoba Free Press with 19.2 percent, that is 5.8 per cent behind La Minerve, and 11.0 per cent behind Le Canadien, a substantial difference. The lowest score in the "Other" category was recorded by the Saint John Telegraph with 13.3 percent, which gives a range between top and bottom of 17.0 per cent, showing there was not too much spread between the English-language journals; the real gap was between the English and French-language

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press. The reason for the French-language journals' supremacy in this sphere was due to the amount of space devoted to Metropolitan French affairs, infinitely more extensively reported in the French-language press than in the English, together with the large amount of attention paid to Vatican and Church affairs, especially in the heavily ecclesiastically oriented Le Canadien.

To summarize briefly the salient features of the overall analysis of place names: (a) there was a perceptible rise in the use of BNA/Canadian place names over the 50 years period; (b) pari passu there was a perceptible decline in British place names; (c) United States place names declined very slightly, and fluctuations evident from the distribution curve in the earlier years tend to be ironed out after 1870; (d) attention to the non-North American parts of the British Empire and to British involvement overseas was relatively slight; and (e) there was a pronounced difference between English- and French-language newspapers, in that the English-language press was much more attentive to British and American events, whilst the French-language press displayed a range of interest foreign to the English-language press, as demonstrated by their preponderance in the "Other" place names category.

WHAT THE PAPERS SAID

As previously emphasized frequency of appearance of place names does not necessarily indicate an identification with that place, or even a positive attitude towards it. What it does show is salience or prominence in the mind of the beholder, i.e., the extent to which such a place or group occupies his attention. For instance, during the Crimean War the increase in Russian place names in the columns of the Novascotian did not indicate any growing feelings of affinity between Bluesnokers and Muscovites, while similarly the boost in American symbols imparted by the American Civil War scarcely indicated any sudden infatuation with annexation. Therefore to flesh out the skeleton, make it recognizable, a glimpse, at least, is necessary of the context in which these place names appeared. What kinds of things were actually being said in these journals about a union of the provinces, the links with Britain, and the threat or appeal of annexation? I shall deal with each of these three themes in turn, and as in the place-name analysis divide the 50 years to be covered into the pre-Confederation and post-Confederation periods. The first concern, therefore, is what the journals said about BNA as an entity in the pre-1867 era.

THE UNION OF THE PROVINCES

At mid-century a huge question mark hovered over the future of the British colonies. Britain's espousal of free-trade in the late 1840s had put the whole British North American economy in jeopardy, or so it seemed. Trade depression and economic uncertainty did indeed follow the British move, and when this is coupled with the recent achievement of responsible government it meant that this was a major period of overall change and re-orientation. Was responsible government but one stage along the road to eventual independence? Even in 1850 there was a great deal of discussion about "the new nation". The big question posed being : was independence feasible if Britain went? Many believed that absorption into the United States must follow as the night the day, the bigger mass attracting the smaller, as inevitably as any law of physics.

Both Le Canadien and La Minerve could foresee the day when the last constitutional links with Great Britain would be severed, and the colonies would be as independent as the United States, "and all this the natural consequence of free trade." ¹⁵

The Bytown Packet on March 16, 1850 reprinted an editorial from the Toronto Globe which declared, "We are a young people struggling into full manhood ... tasting for

the first time the blessings of self-government". Great things might be accomplished if only a national sentiment could be generated which would draw men together, and the way to do this, concluded the editorial was to keep ever in view "the wondrous advance we had made as a people in the last 20 years . . . let us cultivate the feeling that our fate is in our own hands".¹⁶

Enthusiasm for a union of BNA was even forthcoming from the Nova Scotian Assembly, where in the early spring of 1850 they had a long, full debate on trade reciprocity with the United States. The Provincial Secretary was quite taken up with the idea of a new nation:

Take Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Upper and Lower Canada, P.E.I. and Newfoundland, and they embrace a territory which promises to be the home of a nation as extensive, as wealthy, as widely diffused, and as powerful as the United States themselves . . . Take these colonies now and if united they can defy the world. We are only two millions, but we have a northern climate and need not fear being overrun by men of the South. For purposes of self-defence, with a few British regiments to aid us, these Provinces are impregnable. 17

British North Americans already distinguished themselves as "men of the North", and therefore were more rugged both in physique and moral fibre than the "effete South".

The New Brunswick Courier already in 1850 had a vision of a land extending into the far west, but to grasp

it and turn it into a reality British North Americans had to open up the highway to the West and end their eternal bickerings and grumblings:

We it seems would rather grumble and growl at Earl Grey for not working miracles in our favour. One party crying out for 'protection' as a panacea for the ills we are labouring under a few puling over 'annexation', instead of all uniting in an effort to open up the 'great highway to the 'far west', so admirably provided for us by nature to advance the prosperity of our common country. 18

But not all the press of BNA regarded the proposed union or federation of the colonies with favour. The Toronto Globe for instance in November, 1850, in reporting two public meetings at which schemes for a "federal union" were discussed, commented scurly:

As regards the proposed federation, we confess that we cannot see what benefit Canada would derive from it. What earthly interest for the Canadas is Newfoundland? What do we know about Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, qualifying us to legislate for them — or they about Canada to legislate for us? . . . We can see no gain to Upper Canada, an inland country with inland interest, in a union which would have a strongly preponderating seaboard influence. 19

The economy of BNA was picking up even before 1850 was out, and the decade turned into one of growth and prosperity. Factors which dispelled gloom and boosted business were the Reciprocity Treaty signed in 1854 by Lord Elgin for and on behalf of the whole of British North America; the Crimean War which vastly increased British

domestic demand, whilst cutting off supplies of Baltic timber and Russian grain, and finally the railway building boom. In the circumstances the need for radical change diminished, the existing system seemed to be working very well and therefore schemes for change were thrust into the background. The mid-1850s were more notable for their protestations of British patriotism and loyalty to the "mother country", and/or to "the loved old union flag".

Even the great Joseph Howe, who in the next decade was to be the bitterest enemy of Confederation, speaking in the Nova Scotia Assembly in 1854 expressed himself in favour of "a consolidation of the colonies," but as he put it, "as an integral part of the realm of England". For him it was to be Confederation first, and then Imperial Federation afterwards.

In the mid-1850s when the question of Canada contributing more money to her own defence was raised the Montreal Gazette saw the justice of the British contention, referring to Canada as, "the strapping son who has now grown up". The Gazette in the same issue continues:

It is clear that it is the intention of Great Britain to give this colony nominal independence with its responsibilities, while at the same time the ties of kindred and nationality are maintained...The time is coming when British American independence will be

pushed still further with the Union of all the colonies and national sentiments will arise, but even this is compatible with maintaining the connection with the loved old Union flag. 21

It would seem from such quotations as these, and also from the place name distribution curves regarding attention to Britain and the Empire, that if ever Imperial Federation was to have stood a chance in Canada it should have been launched during the mid-1850s. Then some kind of colonial representation in the Imperial councils on foreign policy and defence might have seemed attractive; as it was it came 30 years too late.

In the early 1860s there seems to have been a rekindling of interest in a union of the colonies. Prominent advocates of union, one occasionally reads, held public meetings and delivered lectures on the subject. One such was Dr. Tupper, billed as "the ex-provincial secretary of Nova Scotia", when he gave a lecture in late November, 1860, on "The Union of the British North America Colonies". The New Brunswick Courier carried a report in which Dr. Tupper complained of the lack of opportunity for home grown political talent, with the highest political offices reserved for members of the British political elite often in return for services of a most dubious nature. Another evil Dr. Tupper referred to was "our want of nationality".

By a union we would have a nationality and instead of being known abroad as Canadians, or New Brunswickers, or Nova Scotians, too often confounded with Nova Zemblans or inhabitants of places similarly situated, we would be hailed as British Americans and treated with respect due to our position as such. 22

But Dr. Tupper was careful to conclude his address by affirming that a British America, united under one government from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would help and strengthen the hands of the parent state.

Both the French-language newspapers in the sample were very receptive to the idea of Confederation, but they certainly did not look upon it as the way to a "new nationality", rather it was a mode of safeguarding the old nationality, "la nationalité canadienne-française". Rather than a union it was a separation in which the French Canadians were to acquire governmental powers to safeguard their language and culture. It was an escape from an unworkable partnership. Or as Le Canadien put it in 1860:

Mais qui pourrait se flatter d'un avenir heureux sous le régime actuel, en voyant l'antagonisme haineux et jaloux qui existe entre les deux Canadas? Ou est le remède à ce mal, hors d'une séparation à l'aimable...

De quelque côté qu'on se tourne, sous le régime de l'Union des Canadas, on ne voit que dangers pour nous, pour nos institutions, pour notre nationalité. Avec la Confédération au contraire, tout cela devant être soustrait à l'action de la législature fédérale, reste entre nos mains. 23

In its issue of Nov. 19, 1860, Le Canadien was urging the provinces, first Canada followed by the others, to take the initiative in Confederation; "Il faut que les colonies se presentent au Parlement imperial avec un plan tout dressé de confederation".

For its part La Minerve featured prominently and at length speeches and letters received in favour of Confederation, and in its issue of March 14, 1865, appeared the following editorial on Confederation:

Il nous donne une nouvelle garantie pour la conservation de tout ce qui pour nous être cher... L'union des colonies, c'est la consecration de notre existence politique et nationale et la garantie sûre de notre avenir.

Evidence that there was a good deal of Upper Canadian expansionism and chauvinism involved in the drive for Confederation is shown in the following Toronto Globe editorial:

The acquisition of the North-West is a most important step. By incorporating it with this province we can speak for the whole country between British Columbia and New Brunswick. Canada will then be the 'keystone of the arch'. When Canada pronounces for a general union England will understand that more than 3/4's of British America speaks. Canada will be the central, the overshadowing province in the great interoceanic chain, and her area as well as her position and resources will forever secure for her that proud pre-eminence. 24

The people of the North-West were keenly aware that their future destiny lay to a large extent in the hands of Canada. The Nor'Wester commenting on the varying attitudes of the Canadians towards the acquisition of the North West Territories said:

The present government and a large majority doubtless of the Upper Canadians are anxious for the acquisition. On the other hand, however, we hear that in Canada there are those who stoutly oppose the purchase on the ground that the price is too high, that the acquisition is undesirable, the country too far off to be governed and its wealth a myth.

The population here, it must be confessed, would have preferred a Crown Colony to any connection with Canada, but we cannot but feel, as we are adjacent that our interests should be identical with those of Canada. 25

That the government of Canada was already thinking and acting in 1865 in terms of Canada as an entity is shown by a news item which appeared in the Globe, on Nov. 15, 1865, to the effect that:

The Government of Canada is about to appoint a commission to inquire into and report upon the practicability of extending the trade relations of the British Provinces with the West Indies, with Brazil, and perhaps with Mexico. That the fullest success may attend the commissioners must be the prayer of every patriotic British American.

But all was not well in the Maritimes. In 1865, the Montreal Gazette gave prominence to an article on the matter, re-printed from the British periodical, Saturday Review:

Why should the Maritimers join with Canadians of whom they know nothing in their commercial transactions, when they might retain their isolation and deal as of old with Yankee customers?

'Can anything good come out of Canada', is the telling cry on the hustings of New Brunswick ... The word has gone forth that Confederation means nothing but the shifting of Canadian burdens upon the shoulders of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and that they will do better to go on and stagnate in their old independence than to join a people composed, according to their own imaginations half of Frenchmen who hate the name of England and half of Canadians who in heart are Yankees.

Nearly all the intelligence of the Provinces seems to be enlisted on the side of Union. The leading politicians have espoused the project warmly, the trading community in the towns is in its favour, but the rural vote - which here as elsewhere perpetuates the weakest prejudice - is not yet won over to the side of progress. 26

The New York Herald in the summer of 1865 sent a group of correspondents to BNA to investigate the feelings of the colonists on Confederation. The reports they sent back were picked up and published by the Saint John Telegraph, and the one on the Maritimes included the following paragraph:

The bulk of the Blue Noses (sic) look upon the idea (of Confederation) as one entirely calculated to benefit Canada at the expense of the other provinces. In New Brunswick the popular feeling against the measure is still more marked and the reasons are about the same as those professed by the Nova Scotians. In Newfoundland the hostility to Confederation goes a step further. I have conversed on the subject with a great many people in different ranks of society and I find there is a strong feeling in favour of annexation to the United States. 27

The "Bluenoses" most prestigious journal, the Novascotian, was against Confederation completely and implacably; Throughout 1865 it published a series of editorials, "The Botheration Papers", widely known to have been penned by Joseph Howe. These articles listed the many objections Maritimers held towards Confederation, it would mean government by remote control, by men who had never seen salt water, and would pander to the majority vote in the Canadas, forgetting about the less populated fringe areas. Moreover, the political condition of the United Province was most unstable, being deeply in debt and wracked by social and religious strife. The French were accused of maintaining a solid front by which they had been able to dominate the United Province, and they would do the same with the projected federation. The Canadians were always in trouble, They showed incontrovertible signs of disloyalty, in fact both in Britain and in the United Province, the proposed federation was looked upon as the first step towards completely severing all connection with Britain. These were the reasons Nova Scotia did not want to be dragged into such a union. An editorial in the issue of August 14, 1865, stated succinctly:

All the meetings, speeches and brilliant flights of fancy regarding the future nationality of British America under the Quebec scheme of Union are unreal, impracticable, and not to be realized. . . . What is the meaning of the word 'nationality' so freely used by the delegates? The Quebec scheme is a purely Canadian device for purely Canadian reasons.

The above gives a fair cross-sample of the kinds, diversity and fluctuation of opinion regarding a federation of BNA prior to the Act of 1867. Confederation did not come as a bolt from the blue, it had been a probability for a couple of decades previously. Perhaps the delay in its implementation allowed provincial identities to solidify still further, and may even have exacerbated friction between English and French within the United Colony, for after all was not the United Colony in its inception an attempt to force the French-Canadians into the melting-pot?

GREAT BRITAIN

Next, what of the attitudes displayed in the pre-Confederation period towards Great Britain?

The half century mark saw unmistakable signs of exasperation and loss of patience with Britain. A sense of betrayal was abroad, a feeling that Britain was selfishly and with utter indifference to the plight and feelings of the colonists trying to divest itself of them, and mainly for short-term, penny-pinching reasons. This loss of

patience comes through in the following 1850 editorial in the Montreal Gazette. The writer was commenting on the extraordinarily high stipends of colonial governors:

We have been paying altogether too much for the empty honour and sometimes for the empty head of a titled governor. A plain man with plain common sense would have suited us better, and could have been procured at much less expense. The British American provinces cannot afford to pay for the high priced governors they have hitherto employed. 28

The ambiguity of the relationship towards Britain comes out well in a report carried by the Novascotian of a speech of the Hon. J. W. Johnston in the Nova Scotia Assembly in March, 1850. On the one hand effusive in his adulation of the ties which bind Nova Scotians to the Mother Land and to the Empire, on the other a definite bitterness at the unapproachability of the "Home Government," which "obliged us" to struggle for the merest municipal privilege". 29

On the same day the Saint John Morning News chose to give pride of place on its main news page to Colonel Prince's "Declaration of Colonial Independence". Colonel Prince had apparently emigrated from England to settle in Upper Canada, 16 years ago, and was now a representative in the Assembly of the United Colony,

He wrote:

I go for independence from the Mother Country because I think her domination baneful to us ... Dearly bought experience convinces me that as a Colony we are ruined ... we cannot be worse off than we are... Without independence and freedom from the stubbornness and ignorance of Downing Street we can never be prosperous. 30

Col. Prince however advocated peaceful separation, to be got "by petitioning the Queen, who is our lawful sovereign, to grant it to us, by entering into a treaty with Old England not only of friendship, but of the most true, affectionate and faithful alliance ".

England did not lack defenders, the Toronto Globe in 1850, reprinted an editorial from the Montreal Transcript which stated:

So far from England neglecting Canada, of all the colonial possessions under the British flag, Canada has been most petted and spoiled. What have we that we do not owe to the generosity of England? To England we owe the possession of the most magnificent public works on this continent ... Let it be borne in mind too that the policy of England towards Canada has not been dictated by selfishness. She has not tried to stifle liberty here, but has encouraged it. Of all her former rights on this continent she claims only our allegiance. 31

In its issue of March 23, 1850, the Globe made a resounding, "We are standing by British institutions", declaration, saying, "That system is best which works most harmoniously, which gives the greatest security to life and property, which inspires most confidence in its stability and permanence... these can all be secured under British Responsible Government as now in operation in Canada, better than under the American Republican system".

The year 1855 saw the climax of the Crimean War, and was the occasion of many florid declarations of loyalty to both Queen and Empire, "as loyal British subjects".

Le Canadien in a front page editorial on March 23, 1855 expressed enthusiastic support for the war, regarding it as a crusade:

La France et l'Angleterre, dans la glorieuse croisade qu'elles ont entreprise, sont les porte-drapeaux de la liberté du monde, de la civilisation universelle. 32

In 1860 came the state visit to North America of the young Prince of Wales, which with few exceptions was rapturously followed and reported by the press. For instance in the Novascotian of August 13, 1860, there were two extensive articles, one 15 inches long headed, "The Prince of Wales in Newfoundland", the other, "The Prince in New Brunswick", 20 inches long, while on page two we have a detailed account of, "The Prince Again in Nova Scotia", 38 inches long.

In marked contrast to the eager anticipation, and long reams of material used by the other papers as the Prince approached, Le Canadien in Quebec City could only muster a one inch item warning that a host of pick-pockets had descended on the place and were ready to ply their trade in connection with the celebrations which were

scheduled to take place with the arrival of the Prince. ³³

But the Montreal Gazette ecstatically reported:

More than 50,000 turned out to bid him (the Prince) welcome on the wharf; in all the streets thousands of flags were flying; arches of tasteful and elaborate character were erected and when nightfall came the whole city became a blaze of lights. Men who have seen many illuminations in many cities in Europe told us that they remember nothing which exceeded or even equalled parts of that of Montreal. ³⁴

A eulogy to "our Britishness", coupled with a singular lack of enthusiasm for "the new nationality", came in a Thanksgiving Day editorial (still on the American date) from the Novascotian on Nov. 20, 1865:

Amid our thanksgivings, let us not forget the privilege of being Britons, with the meteor flag of England floating over us, with the aegis of that mighty Empire between us and every foe. What 'new nationality', or what old nationality could ever compensate us for separation from a land to which we are attached by so many ties of the highest interest, the purest sentiment and the most hallowed affection. As a Province we share more or less in the prosperity and the glory of the Fatherland. In truth the Palmerstonian boast is realized, and "I am a British subject" has become as sure and as broad a shield as the "Civis Romanus sum" of the olden time. On our Empire the sun never sets. It is six times as populous and three times as extensive as the United States or France.

THE UNITED STATES AND ANNEXATIONISM

In general annexation received a bad press. Most of the comments on the movement were of the kind which appeared in the Toronto Globe on March 23, 1850:

We are passing from a state of partial self-government into full control of our public affairs. Excitement and turmoil are sedulously nourished by the annexationists open and underhand for the deliberate purpose of making weak men flee to annexation as a cure for evil. All men, be they Whig or Tory, who desire to see Canada remain prosperous and in connection with Great Britain will zealously endeavour to frustrate their machinations.

Only a few days previously, the Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia, as reported in the Novascotian (March 20, 1850) was telling the provincial assembly in Halifax: "It would be an utter disgrace to British Americans if just as the Mother Country had said to them, 'govern yourselves', they were to turn round to other people and say, 'We cannot manage our own affairs you come and help us'".

The French language press joined in the general attack against annexationism. Le Canadien had the rather novel argument that escaping slaves from the United States would have no where to go if Canada become part of the United States: "Il serait cruel, inhumain et anti-démocratique d'annexer le Canada aux États-Unis avant que ces derniers soient devenus un pays libre pour tous ces habitants sans distinction de couleur ou d'origine".³⁵

On March 21, 1850, La Minerve had reported that the municipal council of St. Hyacinthe had un-

animously passed a resolution profoundly regretting the agitation stirred up about annexation to the United States.

-- In the Nova Scotia Assembly in May, 1854, Joseph Howe stated :

Sir, I do not deny that any man who sincerely and honestly advocates annexation to the United States has powerful arguments in his favour. I am opposed to it, and would resist such a step by all means within my reach . . . I should be ashamed to go sneaking back (to the Republic) to tell them, "our fathers made a great mistake". Then the United States might get into conflict with old England. I know there is not one here who would raise his hand in hostility against that revered country from whose loins we have sprung and whose noble institutions it has been our pride to imitate. 36

Another assemblyman, Mr. I. Wilkins, was reported by the Novascotian as having declared :

The Republic Sir, was begotten in sin, and brought forth in iniquity, and its end will surely be disastrous in the extreme . . . Let our battle cry be, "The British Constitution and nothing but the British Constitution". We have grievances, Sir, but we have no wish to look to the United States for redress. 37

But Howe was fully in favour of the United States rejoining the Empire, "I prefer full incorporation with them in one great Empire, free participation with them in its good and civil fortunes, its perils, and its distinctions. All this I believe to be practicable and shall not despair of its fulfillment".³⁸

By 1855 prosperity was obliterating the annexation-

ists. An editorial reprinted in the Globe on March 22, 1855, from the London Free Press, stated, "The Fugitive Slave Law, and the Nebraska Bill, have uprooted from the mind of every lover of liberty every sentiment of partiality for any close connection with that country".

As long as prosperity continued in Canada, and storm clouds gathered between slave and anti-slave states, annexation seemed an unattractive alternative; except perhaps in the frontier settlements of the Far West beyond the Canadian Shield. In the Red River Settlement's Nor'Wester in the early 1860s about two-thirds of the adverts were from tradesmen in St. Paul, Minnesota, and an editorial in 1863, said:

Since 1850 we have been gradually becoming American in our sympathies, partly on account of the settlement of Americans among us, partly on account of the unsatisfactory species of government here established and partly because of our business relations with Minnesota. The influence arising from this three fold source is increasing every year, and now with 400 soldiers owing allegiance to the Stars and Stripes stationed in our immediate vicinity the effect is electric. . . . Most of our commercial transactions are with the States. It is on the Washington Government we depend for our postal communication with the outer world. It is through American territory that the only decent route into and out of the country lies. 39

But in the rest of Canada the closing years of the American Civil War brought widespread fears that the North-

ern military machine might be used for the forcible annexation of Canada. A letter on the front page of the Montreal Gazette said :

I wish to ask all and every true Canadian, or those who have selected Canada as a home for themselves and their families, is it not better to expend this amount in defence of our homesteads than be in the constant dread of an invasion from a merciless enemy who would think little of destroying not only our present accumulated wealth amounting to thousands of millions of dollars, but submitting us to a bondage the very thought of which makes our very souls recoil with horror.

Signed: Wm. Barker,
London, Ont..
March, 1865. 40

The Toronto Globe on its front page of August 15, 1865 printed a letter from a "Canadian resident in New York City" which read : "The only class in Canada in favour of annexation are the Americans resident there. The Americans do not seem to understand the Canadians in any respect".

From the foregoing it is clear that at mid-century British North Americans did feel that they were faced with a new turning in their history. There is plenty of written evidence that the inhabitants of these colonies did sense themselves joined together in a common community of fate, however little they might trade with, or visit each other, or possess mutually complementary economies. Their common origin (apart from the population of Quebec), their

similar institutions and ideology, their membership of the British Empire, common orientation to the British market and to London as a decision-making and information-disseminating centre, and the overbearing and menacing presence of the dynamic, expansionary, giant to the South -- all these factors conspired to emphasize that their destinies were inevitably linked. In addition to this there was the dazzling extent and the riches of half a continent to be exploited together. Here was an enterprise and adventure which would require their combined efforts and promised a rich and glowing future.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA

Now I shall return to the post-Confederation period, and first of all the attitudes and opinions towards the newly created Dominion of Canada. Once the BNA Act was signed, and the federal government instituted, was there a sudden blossoming forth of the new national sentiment? How was the idea of a federal Canada received in the various regions across the Dominion?

Of a national sentiment there were few immediate signs. There was no wave of enthusiasm for the new entity, and little evidence of any great satisfaction at having achieved it. Two letters which appeared in the Montreal Gazette in September, 1870, both signed "Canadian", illustrate this. The first one said, "The Confederation is

in a false position, a sort of body without the breath of life infused into it, until a national soul has been called forth among the people of the Dominion under the inspiring prospect of national existence".⁴¹

The second :

Is not something more wanted than a paper constitution to unite these provinces? As well almost place the disjointed members of a human body without life in juxtaposition and call them a man, as to call these provinces one country, without one common sentiment of nationality to cement the whole together; without enlisting all under a common banner in the achievement of one grand object, and that banner the prospect of Canadian independence, and the object the building up of a great northern nation. It is the only banner around which all nationalities will rally with equal enthusiasm. You cannot make Englishmen of them all, all are willing to be Canadian.⁴²

Down east in Halifax, the Novascotian in 1870 was referring to Joseph Howe as "the lost leader", for his acceptance of a post in the federal cabinet. Reporting a meeting at which Howe appeared in Windsor, N.S., the journal records, "He was truly told that he had descended from the position of a leader of a party, which was a people, to that of the smallest and least influential member of a corrupt cabinet".⁴³

For the Novascotian in 1870, the "Dominion authorities", was a reference to an alien body, and "Canadian" still referred only to the territory of the old United Colony.

In those early days, the Toronto Globe probably maintained the most consistently optimistic view towards Confederation. The most striking aspect of its interest in the Dominion was its veritable obsession with the North-West Territories. This was apparent in issue after issue in 1870, as the developing crisis with the Métis and Indian people of the North-West was followed in great detail. Not only were there editorials day after day on the subject but quite often two editorials per day, under such headings as, "The Crisis in the North-West", "The Red River Row", "Mr. Howe and the North-West", "Riel's Dupes Turn Against Him", etc,

In the Red River Settlement itself, the New Nation, one of the most virulently pro-American, and annexationist journals ever to appear on the soil of British North America, was affirming in its first issue :

The Dominion Government by its criminal blunders and gross injustice to these people (Indians and Métis) have forever alienated them; and by their forfeiture of all right to our respect, will prevent us in future from either seeking or permitting its protection. 44

Whilst in its second issue, in an editorial headed, "Annexation Our Manifest Destiny", it said :

The present unsatisfactory condition of the provinces of British North America point one and all to annexation to the neighbouring Republic as the only cure for the evils which they deplore. British Columbians are asking annexation to the American Republic . . . they are activated by a desire to improve the welfare of their country. 45

But by August of the same year, the New Nation was saying: "Now we are in Canada in fact and in name, it will be our duty to defend her rights to the uttermost".¹⁶ The same editorial ends up on the curiously personal note, "we may soon be relieved from the editorial chair". Indeed, the whole paper folded and passed into history in October, 1870.

By 1875 the Halifax Chronicle was using the term "Canadian" to refer to the totality of the inhabitants of the Dominion, and even referring to specific Haligonians as "Canadian", as when it reported an "artist of this city has been commissioned to paint the portrait of two great Nova Scotian statesmen, Mr. Justice Johnston and the Hon. Joseph Howe . . . Mr. Sandham is the first Canadian artist, we believe, who has received a commission from the Government." ⁴⁷

The Toronto Globe showed in 1875 that there were people quite capable of launching into verse in praise of Canada. In its issue of November 22 there appeared the following, entitled, "A Prayer for Canada" :

I bear my country on my heart for thee
Behold its cherished name engraven there;
It is as yet a land in infancy -
A bud unfolding precious fruit to bear.

And so on for three verses in similar vein :
two days later a letter appeared, which read :

It is a great comfort to find there are
Canadians who feel strongly enough on the sub-
ject to say, "Its name is engraven on my heart".

Perhaps I am unfortunate in my friends for in all my experience I have never found even one who would or could fully sympathize with me on that subject. It is enough to drive one wild to hear natives of the country abusing everything concerning it, even the weather. There is certainly no excuse for born Canadians to talk as only too many of them do, and I must say I think those who have come to make their home here should have more good taste than to run the country down. 48

In Victoria they were still debating whether or not to join Confederation in 1870, and among those who had grave doubts was Dr. Helmcken, who declared, "After Union everything will centre in Canada, and all the outlying provinces will be but tributaries or feeders for her. The people of this colony have very little love for Canada . . . there is not the slightest need for joining Canada".⁴⁹ But by 1875 British Columbia was inside the Dominion, and the British Colonist was occasionally finding something nice to say about Canada. For instance, commenting on a news item that Prime Minister Alexander MacKenzie was going back to visit the haunts of his youth in Scotland, it said :

He is the best advertisement possible for immigration. He came to Canada a simple artisan and finishes up prime minister. No where is there such a country as Canada, where a man of industry and common sense can prosper and succeed, and mind you not a man of genius. 50

The Montreal Gazette reviewed Confederation to-date in its Dominion Day issue of 1880 :

The opposition to the great scheme has long since yielded to better feelings and more comprehensive political ideas, the narrow bigotry which was the first trial of Canadian federalism soon passed away . . . The feeling of pride in our annals, our resources, our share in the great British Empire and in our ability to stand up for ourselves was never so marked as it has been since 1867 . . . The early years of Confederation were necessarily devoted to consolidation, pacification of the discontented, to empirical legislation, to the settlement of the balance of power, to the clinching se to speak of the rivets of union . . . Now the era of new-fangleness and experiment is past. The provinces are no longer mere neighbours slightly acquainted, with here and there the memories of old feuds or the estrangement of distrust. They have become virtually one great community . . . the Nova Scotian is no longer shy at the name of Canada; he comes to Montreal or goes to Toronto, not as to a foreign city, but as to a community of friends. Even the British Columbian though he is still distant from us in time as well as in space, has begun to harbour a sentiment of common nationality . . . By and by we hope to include New Brunswick in our list of reconcilements.

But the Halifax Morning Chronicle would scarcely have agreed with the Gazette's assessment of the extent of Nova Scotian acceptance of Confederation by 1880 :

The Chronicle . . . believed that union would prove an injury rather than a benefit to Nova Scotia and time had shown the soundness of the position it took. It has never ceased to believe and upon occasion arising to say, that the forcing of Confederation upon Nova Scotia was an outrage, and that union has utterly failed to realize the expectations of those Nova Scotians who supported it. 51

And the Manitoba Free Press was extremely critical of the progress of Confederation when it printed the following editorial in mid 1885 :

There is evidently a weakness in the Dominion. There is nothing spontaneous, nothing really enthusiastic in our celebration of its natal day. With difficulty we secure its observance even with the aid of the popular weakness for holidays. In some portions of the Federation it is passed over in significant silence. 52

It goes on to say that there was obviously a large measure of incongruity in the elements which were combined to form the union. Certain provinces were all but forced into it, and the necessary conciliatory policies were not pursued by the government in Ottawa, so that :

Today, instead of a national spirit having been developed, we have sectionalism more rampant than ever. Province has been set against province, and district against district, by laws the effect of which no prophet's eye was required to foresee. Men will not willingly sacrifice their material interests for the sake of a country to which they belong only by act of Parliament.

The 1885 military campaign in the North-West played a considerable part in stimulating nationalism throughout Canada, and the place name analysis indicated that a fall in interest in Canada experienced by most of the newspapers in our sample in the early eighties was reversed by 1885. The homecoming troops received heroes' welcomes ; among the headlines in one issue of the Montreal Gazette were, "The Halifax Battalion to be Entertained by the City", "Troops Feted at Hamilton and Toronto", "Oration

to the Ninth at Quebec", and under the headline, "Welcome Home to Our Boys", it reported :

The gallant 65th battalion, our own corps, which so bravely endured the hardships of the campaign and nobly responded to every call of duty is expected to arrive at half past nine o'clock this morning . . . All that remains to make the occasion memorable is a warm hearted outpouring of the feelings of gratitude to the men who nobly responded to their country's call and that will not be stinted by a generous and patriotic people. 53

Most historical accounts, however, have emphasized the divisions caused, deepened or broadened, by the events of 1885, culminating with the execution of Louis Riel on November 16. Yet despite these rumblings the Toronto Globe continued to believe there was a solid base for Canadian Confederation, advantages were derived from it that would not lightly be cast aside :

Sometimes it is said that the division of Canadian territory between two races, both increasing and neither of which will consent to the effacement of its language, signifies that their political union will sooner or later come to an end . . . But the difficulties have been successfully dealt with in the past and there is enough to show that they can probably be overcome in the future. Tolerance and fairness on the part of both races will keep them firmly united forever. 54

And says the Globe there are potent reasons why they should be tolerant and fairminded : they both value the English system of responsible government, the French speaking possess privileges which they could not keep in

American Union, "which would unquestionably absorb the Dominion were it smashed into its original fragments", and the English-speaking would rather work with the French than be absorbed into the United States within which they might eventually find themselves "in battle array against the forces of Great Britain".

Yet by 1890 even the Globe was beginning to feel that some necessary ingredient was lacking in the Canadian Federation, as it painted a picture of a union born out of strife and disruption, that was currently failing to meet expectations:

It will not be argued that the union of the Provinces was a spontaneous combining of mutual interests...(or)...that the elements brought into national alliance under the new constitution were allied in any natural sympathy or inspired by any common patriotism.

The bounds of Canada were extended to avert political chaos and to save the old union of Canada from inevitable disruption. Interprovincial jealousies, creed disputes and race hatreds had hopelessly divided Ontario and Quebec and brought on a deadlock in government. Distrust was everywhere, hot and ungenerous words were spoken from rival platforms, public spirit was inert and helpless, patriotism and loyalty were catchwords of rival political combinations. 55

The editorial adds to this a melancholy account of the present state of affairs, bemoaning the dissatisfaction of Nova Scotia, the unscrupulous partisan appeals to the Quebec populace which aggravate racial and religious

tension, and the failure to develop the North-West. And what is to be the remedy? "We believe that a sterner public sentiment must be developed, the people of all the provinces must unite in a truer loyalty to the common interest".

As the economic depression lingered on into the 1890s and the Manitoba School Question further underlined the linguistic and religious schisms in the Dominion, opinion seemed to relapse into a weary sort of acceptance of the status quo. In a Dominion day editorial in 1895, the only positive things the Saint John Telegraph could find to say about Confederation were that "it is our legal condition", and that about two-thirds of the present inhabitants of Canada had been born since 1867 and knew nothing better:

Confederation has not done for us what was promised; indeed some of the promises made in its behalf were impossible of fulfillment. But as it exists and is our legal condition it is our duty to make the best of it. 56

It may be this factor of a larger home-born and grown population, which had never known anything else but the Dominion, which partly accounts for the growing percentage of Canadian place names in the late eighties and early nineties despite the prevailing gloom surrounding the economy and the future of Confederation.

Nova Scotia continued to be the most dissatisfied of the provinces, and some very bitter and harsh things were said there about Confederation by people in the highest provincial authority, for they knew they could in this way always evoke a response from an audience. The Ottawa Citizen strongly attacked what it termed "one of Mr. Laurier's allies" in 1895, Mr. Longley, Attorney General in the Liberal Government of Nova Scotia, whom it described as "a ranting traitor", after quoting him as saying at Annapolis, N.S.:

If I could believe that this Dominion contains the elements of a great nationality, I would assist to the uttermost in endeavouring to build up such a nationality. But what are the facts? Do the scattered, ragged and disjointed string of provinces now constituting this Dominion contain the elements of a great empire? They have never yet been able to cultivate a healthy inter-provincial trade. It is warring against God and nature, against every element of geography to attempt to establish any consolidated nationality under our present union. 57

It also attacked Mr. Fielding, Liberal Premier of Nova Scotia, as appealing to voters in the following terms:

The demand for separation from Canada should be made not by Nova Scotia alone, but by the three Maritime Provinces. But if New Brunswick and P.E.I. are content to occupy their present position, or the weaker one which they would occupy after the withdrawal of Nova Scotia, they must be permitted, of course, to take their own way. We shall take our way and demand for Nova Scotia alone separation from the Dominion, though we would much prefer joint action. 58

"What sort of a Canadian is this?", asked the Citizen of Fielding who had been a journalist with the virulently anti-Confederation Halifax Morning Chronicle, since 1864, and its editor since 1870, and was to go on to become a federal cabinet minister.

Thus, although the prevailing note in 1895 was one of pessimism, there was light at the end of the tunnel. The year 1896 was to be a watershed for Canada. It was the year the long sought for economic upsurge commenced which was to continue for the next 24 years, bringing the second great influx of immigrants, developing secondary industry, and finally populating the prairies.

GREAT BRITAIN

The slow trend away from Great Britain discernible in the place name analysis, is also readily recognizable in the sample of opinion. In 1870 the newspapers in the sample begin on a high note of Britishness and loyalty, apart from the Novascotian which was terribly disappointed in Britain because of the deaf ear the Mother Country had turned to her pleas for secession from Confederation. For instance, we have the Toronto Globe reprinting an editorial from the Vancouver Colonist which contained the following :

Great Britain must reproduce herself — a second self, a greater self on this continent, or she must decline, die, disappear from among the great nations as Rome did... The Dominion of Canada will either remain a part of Great Britain, become a valid, living part of Great Britain of the wonderful West, or it will be absorbed by the mighty republic from which it is now divided by mere geometrical lines. 59

While the Saint John Telegraph in a page one editorial of November 24, 1875, commenting on the enormous change that had taken place during the last ten years in British attitudes towards the colonial empire, wrote:

The men who have left or may leave the British Islands to go to Canada, Australia, or the Cape of Good Hope to build for themselves homes in these possessions do not on that account cease to be British, or to love or reverence the flag under which they were born... we know no reason why the British race should not grow and flourish and build up empires outside of the two small islands from which it takes its name. . . . The British people dwelling in the British Islands must inevitably, in the course of time, become the lesser portion of the British race, yet there is no reason why that race should cease to be a leading one in progress and civilization.

The most ardent Imperial Federationist could not have done better, and this was in marked contrast to the kind of opinion reflected in the columns of the Telegraph's fellow Maritimer, the Novascotian. In fact there is nothing more striking in all the period surveyed than Nova Scotia's complete volte face in attitudes towards Britain

from the early and mid-sixties to the early and mid-seventies. Contrast the quotes from the Novascotian so far in this chapter with the following:

The colonies cannot be content to see themselves compelled to pay the cost and bear the burden of British wars.... the colonies have no special vocation for fighting Fenians. Colonists have no peculiar affection for compensating in blood and money for the wrongs inflicted upon the unhappy peasantry of Ireland by the brutal legislation of Great Britain. 60

If possible, even more anti-British was an editorial in the same issue which urged the Dominion to strike for "Independence Now", and went on to lambast the "parsimonious and ungenerous spirit which has for the past few years characterized England's dealings with us". Referring to the projected withdrawal of British troops, the editorial stated:

This we believe to be the first step towards the independence of the Dominion....for it cannot be expected that the colonies will long consent to remain subject to Great Britain, exposed to the dangers of wars which the connection involves.....The Fenians or other filibusterers who hate England will be less likely to invade our territories when they find our connection with that country of such a tender kind. 61

On July 11, 1870, the Novascotian was still at it:

The cause of independence is steadily gaining supporters in every section of the Dominion.The Fenians attack us simply because England in past ages and in years not so remote wronged Ireland.....As far as the people of Nova Scotia are concerned, they cannot feel any fond attach-

ment to the British connection, unless they are among the most cold blooded people of the earth. Their petitions have been ignored; their rights as British subjects have been denied; their petitions have been flouted; and their claims treated with contempt by the English people; and it is impossible that they can graciously submit to further insult. Annexation they will be told will certainly follow independence. Whether they believe so or not they will advocate independence. With British and Canadian connection they are miserable.

The great talking point with regard to the British connection in the 1880s was Imperial Federation. The Imperial Federation Association founded in 1884 quickly established branches in the principal cities of Canada, and was joined by many eminent business and political men as something of a nice and well intentioned thing to do, so long as the object remained vague and activities were restricted to pious declarations of loyalty and togetherness.

Despite the ultra-loyalist declarations of the seventies the press gave a very cold, often openly hostile, reception to the idea of Imperial Federation. The same Saint John Telegraph which only ten years ago had been saying, "We know no reason why the British race should not grow and flourish and build up empires outside of the two small islands from which it takes its name", began 1885 by stating:

It is a great error to suppose that the colonies are greatly enraptured with the federation idea. In nearly every province of Canada, excepting Ontario and Quebec, even the Canadian Confederation is unpopular. 62

And on May 29, 1885, an item entitled, "Independence or Federation" reads :

Close upon the meeting of the advocates of Imperial Federation in Montreal has come the banquet of the National Club, at which the toast of the evening was "the independence of Canada". This we are told was perceived with wild enthusiasm. Six mayors of cities in the province, including Mayor Beaugrand of Montreal, responded heartily to the toast, while Imperial Federation was denounced as impractical.

And in July, 1885, the Telegraph outlined one of the main arguments against Imperial Federation :

Ought we to be drawn closely within the system which has made Europe one vast camp bristling with cannon, with five million men under arms, every harbour studded with enormous ironclads; or ought we to remain American, without the incubus of standing armies, and costly fleets. 63

While the Halifax Morning Chronicle in an editorial on Imperial Federation said :

The public mind in this colony at least remains pretty steadily indifferent on the subject. To talk of discussing imperial federation in the abstract leaving details for subsequent deliberation, when once federation has been resolved upon, seems plausible, but it really is little better than nonsense . . . The Imperial Federationists do not give us a single tangible idea. 64

The Manitoba Free Press gives us some inkling of the depth and extent of imperial enthusiasm in Manitoba :

Why in the name of common sense do we talk about this Imperial Federation proposition at

all? We already have all the protection we need from the Empire, and we pay for it too. Do we not run the constant risk of being involved in Britain's wars? . . . Our available funds are all required for the development and improvement of our own land, why should we consent to contribute to the expenditures of the Empire? . . . We will never consent to raise taxes to be expended beyond our borders . . . We see everything to dread and nothing to gain from Imperial Federation.⁶⁵

Entirely predictable, Le Canadien dismissed Imperial Federation with :

Quelques fous se sont mis à la tête de cette absurdité et voici quels sont leurs plans . . . Le parlement de l'Empire se composerait de 640 députés. L'Inde qui a une population de deux cents millions d'habitants n'avait que 59 députés. L'Australie et la Nouvelle Zelande qui sont habitées par 3,200,000 âmes en auraient 61, et le Canada qui compte une population de 4,500,000 n'aurait que 45 représentants. 66

As for the Montreal Gazette, in an editorial in early 1890, it concluded :

Imperial Federation as a political force has no strength; it might even be said no existence in Canada. 67

Even the British Colonist in Victoria, the most Empire oriented paper in the sample, poured cold water on Imperial Federation. Its editorial writer stated :

My ideal for a reconstructed British Empire runs, I confess, in the direction of a frank admission of the potential independence of Canada and Australia, and a good working alliance on that footing . . . With Canada federated and Australia federated, what has the British Empire to fear? It would be as great as ever -- nay greater, for young nations like these would be the best allies that could be had 68

The Toronto Globe made its position clear in an editorial headed, "Independence and the Empire", appearing on January 22, 1890 :

The time when Canadian patriotism was synonymous with loyalty to the British connection has long since gone by. British settlers do not now constitute the bulk or even a large proportion of our population. A generation of native born Canadians is in possession of the Dominion; a generation born since Confederation treads closely on their heels. Canadians no longer call themselves "colonists". They no longer look to England as their home; they are no longer dependent on imported talent to fill the high places of the land. The old loyalty cries are losing their power . . . Canadians have recognized that the colonial status is rapidly being outgrown . . . We are far from saying Canadian patriotism is incompatible with a preference for the British connection. But it is a feeling quite distinct from loyalty to the Empire and the throne. A patriotic Canadian may regard the British crown with little more respect than any other venerable survival, and the most fervid of loyalists may be sadly lacking in Canadian patriotism . . . Ultimate independence seems so reasonable a destiny for the Dominion that many of the older generations of Canadians as well as many citizens of Canada who are not Canadians by birth agree quite heartily with the young men in its advocacy. Independence men are Canadians of the Canadians, with a full appreciation of their Anglo-Saxon heritage, and with no feelings save those of friendship and respect for their kin across the ocean; they still find the colonial yoke a galling one.

Two weeks later, the Globe reported that an "enthusiastic" meeting of the Young Men's Liberal Club in Toronto, resolved : "While having . . . a deep abiding attachment for our kin across the sea we earnestly desire and confidently look forward to the establishment in our

land of a nationality independent of Great Britain and free from all European complications". The motion, said the Globe, was carried by a standing vote amid loud applause only five members voting against it. 69

In the mid-1880s signs began to appear that the Canadian militia was chafing at having a British general officer command them. In 1885 in a lead editorial, shortly after the conclusion of the campaign against the Métis, the Manitoba Free Press ridiculed what it called "rumours and the very notion" that General Middleton, the British officer commanding in the campaign, was to be knighted "for his alleged services" in the North-West. The paper remarked caustically, "Perhaps he will be, we almost hope so, for the reason that the farce of Canadian knighthood is becoming wearisome. The knighting of General Middleton would surely end it". 70

Ten years later, on August 5, 1895, the Montreal Gazette in a lead editorial dealt with "the lack of good understanding" between the British commanding officers of the militia, and Canadian militia officers and men. The editorial was occasioned by the retirement of Major General Herbert, British officer commanding, whose career in Canada, says the Gazette, was "in some respects unsatisfactory". The editorial added :

Sir Frederick D. Middleton, C.B., resigned as a result of an enquiry into certain charges connected with the campaign in the North-West . . . and (on Middleton's return to England) a hot controversy brought to light grave differences of statement and opinion between him and Canadian officers who had served under him . . .

General Luard (a former officer commanding the Canadian militia) whose demeanor to our volunteers had so repeatedly given offence that at last his withdrawal was deemed advisable . . . It will be seen that this unhappy lack of good understanding between the commandant of the force and some more or less influential members of it, has lasted, with intervals of apparent lull, during the last 15 years.

Analyzing the situation the Gazette said :

There has been "too much of the martinet", too much of a tendency to talk de haut en bas to the Canadian volunteers, who were devoting their time, means and energies out of patriotic duty, and did not expect to be rewarded by harsh words and snubs. 71

In short British upper class attitudes were clashing with Canadian notions of social equality.

Another indication of the extent to which Britain and Canada were drifting apart is contained in the same issue of the Gazette :

Ex-Alderman Frankland (of Toronto), the pioneer cattle exporter, just returned from England says, "At one time I wrote and felt Canada should stand towards England as Ireland, but I have since found out Canada is a foreign country, which is mentioned in paragraphs of half a dozen words by English papers." 72

Here apparently was a man who considered himself "British" who journeyed to England only to find to his surprise he was in a foreign country.

THE UNITED STATES

There was not a tremendous amount of discussion of annexation to the United States during the post-Confederation period to 1895. The only journal in the sample to advocate outright annexation was the New Nation of Red River to which I have already referred. It lasted from January to October, 1870, founded by a young American named H.M. Robinson and financed by money looted by Riel from the Hudson's Bay Company.⁷³

The only other journal in our sample which joined it in any annexationist sympathies whatsoever was the Novascotian, and this undoubtedly was due to the latter's profound disillusionment with Great Britain. In its issue of March 14, 1870 it stated :

Already discontent with our own misrule has bred much annexation feeling throughout the Dominion, and if this misrule, which is ruining the country, long continues it will so increase as to be irresistible.

The two French-language journals in the sample were vehemently anti-annexationist, on the few occasions on which they mentioned the subject. On November 28, 1870, La Minerve

gave what it called "Le portrait fidele de l'annexioniste":
"Vous êtes loyaux à la couronne anglaise parce que cela paie;
que cela cesse demain de payer, vous venez annexionistes et
enthousiastes des institutions américaines que vous decriez
tant aujourd'hui".

British Columbia with its much easier communication
with the United States west coast than the rest of Canada,
and the high proportion of Americans amongst its population,
had its quota of annexationists. In 1870 the British Columbia
Assembly held its Confederation debates, and one of the
members, Dr. Helmcken said :

This is a rich colony, why don't we
prosper? When we look at the energy and enter-
prise there (the United States) and the induce-
ments held out to immigrants how can we wonder
that people preferred that country to ours? 74

Dr. Helmcken went on to predict absorption by the
States not only of British Columbia but of Canada eventually.

As for an American visitor's impressions of Canada,
the following letter published in the Memphis Ledger
(Tennessee) was picked up and reprinted by the Ottawa
Citizen in 1880 :

Some interest but more amusement is
created here by the effort of the New York
Herald to start an annexation boom in Canada
• • • So far as I have been able to observe
the Canadians are

contented, prosperous people who are proud of their connection with the mightiest empire on the globe and of a system of government which gives them absolute control of their own affairs in all matters which are not of imperial concern. I do not pretend to say that there are not advocates of independence and even annexation to the United States but these are the merest fraction of the population. 75

This then is an indication of the type of things that were being said by leading newspapers of BNA/Canada on the three great themes around which Canadian nationhood revolved during the 22 years preceding Confederation and the 28 years afterwards.

One need not expect a close correspondence between the years of a high BNA/Canada place name count and the years in which editorials expressed high hopes and optimism regarding a federation of the colonies; symbol analysis is meant to indicate sub-conscious, covert attitudes and orientations as much as conscious, overt attitudes. Moreover, the BNA/Canada total contains all references including those to localities, provinces and regions, as well as references to BNA/Canada as an entity. So any increase in this total could indeed indicate growing localism, provincialism, regionalism, rather than pan-Canadianism.

Yet, there is found a substantial degree of correspondence between the place name count and the survey of opinion as expressed in and through newspaper items and

editorial comment, they buttress and support each other on many occasions. In the BNA/Canada distribution curve (Figure 5 - 1) there may be discerned three cycles, the peaks of which are 1850, 1865 and 1875, whilst the three lows are 1855, 1870, and 1885. The last cycle, the post-Confederation one, was at a somewhat higher level than the two pre-Confederation ones.

The survey of opinion shows that 1850 was a period of great speculation on the future of BNA, the colonists were facing a new turning in their history. The year 1865 saw the great debate upon the Confederation scheme hammered out at Quebec. This was the year the scheme was accepted after lengthy debate in the legislature of the United Colony, and came under heavy fire in the Maritimes. However, in 1875 there was a rare optimism regarding Confederation, even Nova Scotians were getting used to referring to themselves as Canadians, at least on occasions, and the full length and implications of the economic depression, which had just got underway, were not yet apparent.

As for the low points in the BNA/Canada distribution curve, in 1855 the Empire was involved in a major war with a major power, and protestations of loyalty to the Queen, the Empire, and the Mother Country were the order of the day. By 1870 Confederation had been carried

through, but as yet had very little confidence in itself. As the editorials show many people still called it a piece of paper which in itself did not make a nation. Moreover, for the latter half of 1870 the Franco-Prussian war pre-empted a great deal of newspaper space diverting attention away from home events.

The slow, steady rise in Canadian place names from 1885 onwards, however, is scarcely reflected in optimistic editorial opinion, which indeed was pervaded by gloom and doubts about the state and future of Canada as a viable national entity. Yet, the place names kept on advancing through 1890 until by 1895 they were within a fraction of the half century high of 1875. It may well have been that, as the Saint John Telegraph remarked in 1895, two-thirds of the inhabitants of Canada had been born since 1867 and knew no better condition.⁷²

On the whole, the editorials on Britain and the British connection reflect the steady decline in attitudes of affinity towards Britain, as does the place name count. What the place name count does not have, or demonstrate, are the paeans of loyalty and the sharp pangs of disillusion towards the Mother Country that the editorial matter frequently expresses. In other words the place name count does not reflect rhetoric, and here it would seem to be less

mercurial and superficially emotional than editorial opinion and content.

It is the same with editorial opinion expressed towards the United States. It is a little more exaggerated, and on the whole a little more anti-American, than a reading of the United States place name distribution curve would indicate. Apart from 1865, when the American symbols were grossly inflated by the Civil War, the place name count is more steady, more consistent than the editorial comment and items. In a sense the place name count reveals a core of orientations quite basic and fundamental, around which the editorial matter fluctuates widely from day to day.

This completes the analysis of external versus domestic symbols. A closer analysis of the domestic place names comes in the next chapter.

Footnotes : Chapter Five

1. The term BNA / Canadians is intended to cover all the inhabitants of the territories included in the British North American colonies prior to 1867 (excluding Newfoundland), and also the inhabitants of the Dominion of Canada after 1867. The term "Canada" which applied solely to the United Colony of Canada before Confederation was afterwards given to the whole of the Dominion.
2. Carl Berger, The Sense of Power : Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867 - 1914 (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1970) ; and Ramsay Cook, "Nationalism in Canada, or Portnoy's Complaint Revisited", South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. 69 (Winter 1970) : pp. 1 - 19.
3. Donald V. Smiley, ed., The Rowell-Sirois Report: Book 1, an abridgement with an introduction by D.V. Smiley (Toronto : McClelland and Stewart, 1967), p. 27.
4. Ibid., p. 70
5. Peter B. Waite, Canada 1874 - 1896 : Arduous Destiny (Toronto : McClelland and Stewart, 1971), p. 216.
6. D.V. Smiley, ed., Op. cit., p. 61.
7. Ibid., p. 63.
8. P.B. Waite, Op. cit., pp. 157 - 158.

9. Ibid., pp.186 - 187.
10. Ibid., p. 205.
11. Ibid., p.208.
12. Ibid., p.209.
13. Donald F.Warner, The Idea of Continental Union : Agitation for the Annexation of Canada to the United States,1849 - 1893 (Lexington : University of Kentucky Press,1960),p.225.
14. William L.Morton, The Critical Years : The Union of British North America,1857 - 1873 (Toronto: McClelland,1964), p.69.
- 14a. References to France as an entity,and to place names in France,are included in the count of "Other" place names.
15. Le Canadien, March 20,1850.
16. Bytown Packet, March 16,1850.
17. Novascotian,March 23,1850.
18. New Brunswick Courier, March 23,1850.
19. Toronto Globe, November 7,1850.
20. Novascotian,May 29,1854.
21. Montreal Gazette, March 22,1855.
22. New Brunswick Courier, November 24,1860.
23. Le Canadien, August 13,1860.

24. Toronto Globe, August 15, 1865.
25. Nor'Wester, September 21, 1865.
26. Montreal Gazette, November 15, 1865.
27. Saint John Telegraph, August 10, 1865.
28. Montreal Gazette, March 20, 1850.
29. Novascotian, March 20, 1850.
30. Saint John Morning News, March 20, 1850.
31. Toronto Globe, November 7, 1850.
32. Le Canadien, March 23, 1855.
33. Le Canadien, August 13, 1860.
34. Montreal Gazette, September 1, 1860.
35. Le Canadien, November 6, 1850.
36. Novascotian, May 29, 1864.
37. Ibid.,
38. Ibid.,
39. Nor'Wester, November 25, 1863.
40. Montreal Gazette, March 23, 1865.
41. Ibid., September 10, 1870.

42. Ibid., September 12, 1870.
43. Novascotian, March 14, 1870.
44. New Nation, January 7, 1870.
45. Ibid., January 14, 1870.
46. Ibid., August 27, 1870.
47. Halifax Chronicle, August 16, 1875.
48. Toronto Globe, November 24, 1875.
49. British Colonist, March 10, 1870.
50. Ibid., November 24, 1875.
51. Halifax Chronicle, August 18, 1880.
52. Manitoba Free Press, July 9, 1885.
53. Montreal Gazette, August 12, 1885.
54. Toronto Globe, December 10, 1885.
55. Ibid., July 1, 1890.
56. Saint John Telegraph, July 1, 1895.
57. Ottawa Citizen, November 14, 1895.
58. Ibid., November 14, 1895.
59. Toronto Globe, March 10, 1870.

60. Novascotian, March 14, 1870.
61. Ibid., March 16, 1870.
62. Saint John Telegraph, January 15, 1885.
63. Ibid., July 2, 1885.
64. Halifax Chronicle, January 16, 1885.
65. Manitoba Free Press, February 3, 1885.
66. Le Canadien, August 12, 1885.
67. Montreal Gazette, February 24, 1890.
68. British Colonist, March 6, 1885.
69. Toronto Globe, February 4, 1890.
70. Manitoba Free Press, July 29, 1885.
71. Montreal Gazette, August 5, 1895.
72. Ibid.,
73. Wilfred H. Kesterton, "A History of Journalism in Canada" (extended version, manuscript form), pp. 376-377.
74. British Colonist, March 10, 1870.
75. Ottawa Citizen, March 24, 1880.

TOTAL PLACE NAME DISTRIBUTION FOR SAMPLE (Table 5 - 1)

(The actual count in numbers first, the percentage below)

Year	BNA/ Canada	United Kingdom.	British Empire	British Involvement Overseas	Total British	United States	Other	Total
1845	2,556 (48.5%)	874 (16.6%)	178 (3.4%)	11 (0.2%)	1,063 (20.2%)	701 (13.3%)	947 (18.0%)	5,267
1850	3,306 (50.6%)	962 (14.7%)	211 (3.2%)	26 (0.7%)	1,199 (18.6%)	1,332 (20.4%)	698	6,525
1855	2,235 (39.8%)	834 (14.9%)	199 (3.6%)	52 (9.3%)	1,555 (27.8%)	648 (11.9%)	1,174 (20.9%)	5,612
1860	3,090 (43.5%)	841 (11.8%)	117 (1.7%)	52 (0.7%)	1,010 (14.2%)	1,212 (17.1%)	1,789 (25.2%)	7,101
1865	3,163 (47.8%)	813 (12.3%)	225 (3.4%)	28 (0.4%)	1,066 (16.1%)	1,544 (23.4%)	842 (12.7%)	6,615
1870	3,364 (41.0%)	905 (11.0%)	125 (1.5%)	1 (0.01%)	1,031 (12.6%)	894 (10.9%)	2,918 (35.6%)	8,207
1875	3,822 (57.9%)	557 (8.4%)	117 (1.8%)	0	674 (10.2%)	1,183 (17.9%)	920 (13.9%)	6,599
1880	3,760 (54.4%)	792 (11.5%)	160 (2.3%)	51 (0.7%)	1,003 (14.5%)	1,173 (17.0%)	972 (14.1%)	6,908

(Table 5 - 1 (continued))

Year	BNA/ Canada	United Kingdom	British		Total British	United States	Other	Total
			British Empire	Involvement Overseas				
1905	5,011 (49.7%)	1,121 (11.1%)	321 (3.2%)	387 (3.8%)	1,829 (18.1%)	1,400 (13.9%)	1,846 (18.3%)	10,006
1920	5,116 (52.8%)	1,010 (10.4%)	192 (2.0%)	32 (0.3%)	1,232 (12.7%)	2,010 (20.7%)	1,334 (13.8%)	9,692
1925	5,803 (56.8%)	877 (8.6%)	182 (1.8%)	7 (0.1%)	1,066 (10.4%)	1,833 (18.0%)	1,507 (14.8%)	10,209
Percent- age								
Average	49.4%	11.9%	2.5%	1.5%	15.9%	16.0%	18.0%	32,821

(Table 5-1(a))
THE SAMPLE'S OVERALL DISTRIBUTION OF PLACE NAMES

Year	PERCENTAGE CHANGES BETWEEN YEARS SAMPLED					OTHER	Size of SAMPLE
	EMA/ CANADA	United KINGDOM	BRITISH EMPIRE	British Involvement Overseas	TOTAL BRITISH	U.S.A.	
1850	+2.1	-1.9	-0.2	+0.5	-1.6	-7.1*	5,896
1855	-10.8*	+0.2	+0.4	+8.6*	+9.2*	+8.9*	6,068
1860	+3.7*	-3.1	-1.9	-8.6*	-13.6*	+5.6*	6,356
1865	+4.3*	+0.5	+1.7	-0.3	+1.9	+6.3*	6,858
1870	-6.8*	-1.3	-1.9	-0.4	-3.6*	-12.5*	7,411
1875	+16.9*	-2.6	+0.3	-0.01	-2.4	+7.0*	7,403
1880	-3.5*	+3.1*	+0.5	+0.7	+4.3*	-0.9	6,753
1885	-4.7*	-0.4	+0.9	+3.1*	+3.6*	-3.1*	8,497
1890	+3.1*	-0.7	-1.2	-3.5*	-5.4*	+6.8*	9,889
1895	+4.0*	-1.8	-0.2	-0.2	-2.2	-2.7*	9,950

W. Wilkes, "Confidence Limits and Critical Differences Between Percentages", Public Opinion Quarterly, June, 1940, pp. 332-338, provides a chart for determining statistical significance of critical differences in percentages. Chart II, p. 336, shows that for a range of samples varying from 5,896 to 9,950, as is the case above, percentage differences from, and above, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent (for the smaller samples) to 2 per cent (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 level of probability.

1. To determine the sample size an average is taken of the total place names to be distributed in the two years being compared.

* Indicates the percentage changes which are statistically significant.

(Table 5 - 2)

Newspaper	TOTAL PLACE NAME	THE 50 YEARS AVERAGE (1845 - 1895)				PERCENTAGES		
		BNA/ CANADA	United Kingdom	British Empire	British Involvement Overseas	Total BRITISH	UNITED STATES	OTHER
Novascotian/ Halifax Chron. (Total: 12,766)	49.0	12.5	2.8	3.0	18.3	16.2	16.7	
N.B. Courier/ Saint John Tele. (Total: 8,972)	51.3	12.9	2.7	1.5	17.1	18.3	13.3	
Le Canadien (Total: 6,518)	44.8	9.4	1.9	1.5	12.7	11.9	30.2	
La Minerve (Total: 7,346)	49.8	8.6	1.2	1.7	11.5	13.7	25.0	
Montreal Gazette (Total: 10,965)	52.2	12.3	2.8	0.6	15.7	18.4	13.7	
Ottawa Citizen (Total: 8,493)	48.1	14.9	2.8	1.4	10.1	16.1	16.9	
Toronto Globe (Total: 14,046)	54.6	10.7	2.2	0.5	13.4	19.0	14.5	

(Table 5-3)

TOTAL OVERALL DISTRIBUTION OF PLACE NAMES DEVOTED TO
BNA/CANADA, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES

(The actual count in numbers first, the percentage below.
The percentage based on BNA/Canada, U.K. and U.S. place
names only.)

<u>Year</u>	<u>BNA/Canada</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>U.S.A.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1845	2,556 (61.9%)	874 (21.2%)	701 (17.0%)	4,131 (100%)
1850	3,306 (59.0%)	962 (17.2%)	1,332 (23.8%)	5,600
1855	2,235 (60.1%)	834 (22.4%)	648 (17.4%)	3,717
1860	3,090 (60.1%)	841 (16.4%)	1,212 (23.6%)	5,143
1865	3,163 (57.3%)	813 (14.7%)	1,544 (28.0%)	5,520
1870	3,364 (65.2%)	905 (17.5%)	894 (17.3%)	5,163
1875	3,822 (68.7%)	557 (10.0%)	1,183 (21.3%)	5,562
1880	3,760 (65.7%)	792 (13.8%)	1,173 (21.1%)	5,725
1885	5,011 (66.5%)	1,121 (14.9%)	1,400 (18.6%)	7,532
1890	5,116 (62.9%)	1,010 (12.4%)	2,010 (24.7%)	8,136
1895	5,803 (68.2%)	877 (10.3%)	1,833 (21.5%)	8,513
AVERAGE :	<u>63.2%</u>	<u>15.5%</u>	<u>21.3%</u>	<u>5,885</u>

(Table 5-3(a))

THE SAMPLE'S OVERALL DISTRIBUTION OF PLACE NAMES
DEVOTED TO BNA/CANADA, THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND THE
UNITED STATES. (PERCENTAGE CHANGES BETWEEN YEARS
SAMPLED)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>BNA/ CANADA</u>	<u>UNITED KINGDOM</u>	<u>THE U.S A.</u>	<u>SIZE OF SAMPLE</u>
1850	-2.9	-4.0	6.8*	4,865
1855	1.1	5.2*	-6.4*	4,658
1860	0.0	-6.0*	6.2*	4,430
1865	-2.8*	-1.7	4.4*	5,331
1870	7.9*	2.8	10.7*	5,341
1875	3.5*	7.5*	3.0	5,362
1880	-3.0*	3.8	-0.2*	5,643
1885	0.8	1.1	2.7*	6,628
1890	-3.6*	-2.5	6.1*	7,834
1895	5.3	-2.1	-3.2*	8,324

For samples ranging from 4,430 to 8,324, as is the case above, percentage differences ranging upwards from $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent (for the smaller samples) and 3 per cent (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level (see W. Wilkes, "Confidence Limits and Critical Differences Between Percentages", Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332-338, especially Chart II, p. 336.).

1. To determine the sample size an average is taken of the total place names to be distributed in the two years being compared.

* Indicates that the percentage change is significant for the given size of sample.

TOTAL PLACE NAME DISTRIBUTION BY NEWSPAPER (Table 5-4 (1))

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>AVERAGE BEFORE 1867</u>				<u>UNITED STATES</u>	<u>U.S.A. 1845-1860</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>BNA/Canada</u>	<u>United Kingdom</u>	<u>British Empire</u>	<u>British Involvement Overseas</u>			
Novascotian	44.5	15.1	3.6	4.8	16.6	16.5	15.6
New Brunswick Courier	44.9	17.1	3.3	2.0	18.8	16.4	13.9
Le Canadien	43.5	11.2	2.8	2.5	12.6	11.8	27.9
La Minerve	48.1	10.6	1.3	3.1	14.1	11.4	22.7
Montreal Gazette	53.7	13.0	3.0	0.3	20.1	17.8	10.1
Ottawa Citizen	42.6	18.9	3.5	2.1	16.1	12.2	17.0
Toronto Globe	51.4	12.2	2.8	0.3	21.3	20.2	12.1
Nor'Wester	40.6	13.8	3.1	0.0	18.1	11.1	24.4
British Colonist	30.2	10.9	10.7	0.1	29.6	10.0	18.6
AVERAGE	44.4	13.7	3.8	1.7	18.6	14.1	18.0

(Table 5-4 (ii))

TOTAL PLACE NAME DISTRIBUTION BY NEWSPAPER

Newspaper	Canada	AVERAGE AFTER 1867				United States	Other
		United Kingdom	British Empire	British Involvement Overseas			
Novascotian/ Halifax Chronicle	52.7	6.1	2.1	1.4	15.4	17.6	
Saint John Telegraph	56.7	9.4	2.2	1.1	17.7	12.6	
Le Canadien	46.1	8.2	1.5	0.6	11.3	32.2	
La Minerve	51.2	6.9	1.2	0.6	13.1	26.8	
Montreal Gazette	51.0	11.8	2.8	0.7	16.9	16.6	
Ottawa Citizen	53.2	11.6	2.4	0.5	16.2	16.7	
Toronto Globe	57.3	9.5	1.6	0.7	17.1	14.8	
Manitoba F.P.	56.2	8.6	1.6	0.7	15.4	17.6	
British Colonist	47.1	14.9	2.6	0.7	18.5	11.3	
AVERAGE	52.4	9.7	2.0	0.8	15.8	18.7	

TOTAL PLACE NAME DISTRIBUTION BY NEWSPAPER (Table 5-4(a))

PERCENTAGE CHANGES BETWEEN PRE-1867 AVERAGES AND POST - 1867 AVERAGES

Newspaper	BNA/Canada	United Kingdom	British Empire	British Involvement Overseas	United States	Other	Size of Sample
Novascotian/Halifax Chron.	+8.2*	-9.0*	-1.5	-3.4*	-1.2	+2.0	6,381
Saint John Telegraph	+11.8*	-7.7*	-1.1	-0.9	-1.1	-1.3	4,466
Le Canadien	+2.6	-3.0	-1.3	-1.9	-1.3	+4.3	3,262
La Minerve	+3.1	-3.7	-0.1	-2.5	-1.0	+4.1	3,676
Montreal Gaz.	-2.7	-1.2	-0.2	0.4	-3.2	+6.5*	5,485
Ottawa Citizen	+10.6*	-7.3*	-1.1	-1.6	+4.0*	-0.3	4,249
Toronto Globe	+5.9*	-2.7	-1.2	+0.4	-3.2*	-6.8*	7,026
Manitoba F.P.	+15.6*	-5.2*	-1.5	+0.7	-2.7	-6.8*	3,377
British Colonist	+16.9*	-4.0*	-8.1*	+0.6	-11.1*	+0.7	3,486
Overall Average	+8.0	-4.0*	-1.8	-0.9	-2.8*	+0.7	4,601

W. Wilkes' Chart II (Public Opinion Quarterly, June, 1940, p. 336) shows that a percentage difference upwards from 5 per cent (for the smaller samples above), and 3 per cent (for the larger samples) is statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level.

1. To determine the sample size an average is taken of the total place names in the two periods being compared.

* Indicates that the percentage change between the two periods is statistically significant for the newspaper in question.

The Total Distribution of Place Names:

Figure 5 - 1

Average for the Entire Sample

Figure 5 - 2 (a)

BNA / CANADA PLACE NAMES

AND UNITED KINGDOM PLACE NAMES

Figure 5 - 2(b)

BNA / CANADA PLACE NAMES
AND UNITED KINGDOM PLACE NAMES

La Minerve

New Brunswick Courier/
Saint John Telegraph

The Globe

Montreal Gazette

BNA / Canada

United Kingdom

Montreal Gazette

Saint John Telegraph

The Globe

La Minerve

Figure 5 - 3 (a)

Figure 5 - 3(b)

Place Names devoted to THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER SIX

FROM LOCALITY TO NATION : THE BREAKDOWN OF
CANADIAN PLACENAMES

In this chapter I turned exclusively to the analysis of BNA/Canadian place names. How were they distributed between references to own locality, the rest of own province, other provinces, own region, other regions, and BNA/Canada as a collective concept ? The object of this whole exercise was to determine quantitatively the prominence with which their own locality, their province, their region, and finally BNA/Canada as a separate entity in its own right figured in the minds of BNA/Canadians. On this latter matter the questions uppermost in my mind were: did a pan-Canadian sentiment or rather awareness emerge before or after Confederation, or was its birth co-incident with that of the Dominion, and did this awareness after its appearance undergo a steady or checkered growth, or did it indeed stagnate or reverse itself?

It should be noted that in this chapter the totality of BNA/Canada place names in the three issues coded in every year surveyed was taken to be 100 per cent. All the percentages, therefore, in the tables of this chapter are percentages of the total BNA symbols counted in any sample year.

The references to locality, province, region and nation, as anticipated, varied over time, and from province to province, and one of my specific interests was to trace the paths of these individual variations and compare them one with the other. My aim here was to determine which provinces and regions led the way in the growth of a national consciousness, and which areas were persistently local, provincial and regional oriented.

As an indication of the extent to which Canada was becoming aware of itself as a functioning and interwoven entity I investigated the mutual-attention patterns between the provinces and the regions. What amount of attention was devoted by each journal to news from other adjacent provinces and regions, both prior to and after Confederation? Did the various provinces appear to feel that they faced common problems and were bound together in a common community of fate? Did inter-provincial and inter-regional interest grow over the years, and which parts of the colonies and of the Dominion attracted most attention?

Two Methods of Measurement

Apart from local identifications I utilized two related but separate methods of measurement. Method (a) was by a count only of the entity symbols of each identification level, provincial, regional and national : for

instance in the case of provincial identification I counted only those terms which related to the province as a whole, as an entity, such as colony, country (where the term related clearly and unambiguously to the province), province, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, and so forth. Method (b) in addition to this self-same entity count included all other place names (villages, settlements, cities, districts, counties etc.) lying outside the previous level of identification. For instance, to measure the extent of provincial identification I added to the provincial entity symbols all the place names in the province outside the immediate circulation area of the newspaper in question, thus excluding those place names which might indicate a purely local identification or loyalty. For the region I included all the place names in the region outside the paper's own province, and for the nation all the place names in the Dominion outside the paper's region. Method (a), the entity symbols only method, I shall henceforth call "the attenuated method", and method (b) "the extended method".

Method (a) gives some indication of the extent to which the populated territory in question, be it province, region or nation exists in the minds of the beholders as a distinct, separate, unique entity, self-sustaining

and complete unto itself. On the other hand method (b), I would contend, gives a much better indication of the depth or substance of our identification; the extent to which we are involved with or tied into the community under review, be it province, region or nation. It is more rounded, complete and thorough. However, the two methods are complementary: method (a) gives some indication of the acceptance of the reification of the community in question; method (b) gives some indication of the involvement in a real, three dimensional, living community. In the case of the local identification, however, I have used only one type of count, method (b), the total count. I have considered loyalty or identification with the local community as basic to the whole scheme of territorial identification. I found it impossible to envisage a provincial identification without the prior existence of an identification with one's own immediate community, but it was perfectly possible to conceive of a local identification existing quite independently or irrespective of a provincial loyalty or awareness. The next focus of attention or loyalty might very well be the region, or the nation. In my locality count I did not differentiate between references to the city, town or district as an entity, and streets,

suburbs, or districts within the entity; all were counted in toto.
The whole scheme may be depicted by the following diagram :

<u>Method (a)</u>	<u>Method (b)</u>
<u>Entity Only</u>	<u>Entity Plus</u>
National Pan-Canadian Entity Symbols	Pan-Canadian Entity plus place names within Canada but outside own region.
Regional Entity Symbols	Regional ¹ Entity Symbols plus place names within own region, but outside own province.
Provincial Entity Symbols	Provincial Entity Symbols plus all place names with- in own province.
Locality	Locality (Same as in Method (a))

An Overview of the BNA/Canadian Count

First, a rapid and condensed overview of the find-
ings : Tables 6 - 1, and 6 - 2, give in brief and in a comparat-
ive fashion the entire substance of this chapter for both pre
and post-Confederation periods. These two tables take the
totality of BNA place names for each paper as 100 per cent,
and divide them into the following categories : "Own Locality",
"Rest-of-Province", "Entity Symbols of Own Province", "Rest-of
Own-Region", "Entity Symbols of Own Region", "Rest-of-BNA",
and "BNA as Entity".

Measurement by Method (b) includes "rest of prov-
ince...region...BNA" place names in addition to the entity

symbols of the appropriate territorial level.

Table 6-1 shows that pre-Confederation for the sample average approximately one-quarter of all BNA place names were devoted to locality, while over one-third went to the "rest-of-the-province" and provincial entity symbols. Thus locality and province absorbed approximately 60 per cent of the total BNA symbols, whilst one-quarter went to "rest-of-region" and regional entity symbols leaving the remainder for "rest-of-BNA", and BNA entity symbols. This latter category occupied only 1.7 per cent of the total BNA symbol space.

Table 6-2, which gives the averages for the post-Confederation period, shows that the most striking change was an increase in BNA/Dominion entity symbols, whose percentage increased sevenfold, as compared with pre-1867, to 12.6. "Rest of-Canada" place names also increased significantly, from 12.6 to 18.1.*

The second most striking phenomenon was a decrease in total regional symbols from 26.1 to 14.1 per cent, a fall which occurred mainly in regional entity symbols, caused apparently by the demise of the United Colony and the concurrent calamitous drop in references to Canada as a region, principally by the Quebec and Ontario newspapers in the sample.

* See Table 6-2(a) for statistical significance tests on the percentage change between the pre- and post-Confederation sample averages.

The same overall proportion of symbols as before Confederation, one-quarter, was devoted to local symbols, whilst "rest-of-province", and provincial entity symbols fell somewhat to one-third of the total BNA symbols. Thus locality plus provincial symbols totalled 57 percent (60 percent pre-1867).

It is apparent from tables 6-1 and 6-2 that the Maritime and Manitoba papers were significantly more strongly oriented to the "rest-of-BNA" than the Central Canadian newspapers were to the Maritimes and the North-West, thus affording some evidence that before 1867 there was a definite core area of the BNA colonies. After Confederation the interest of Central Canadian newspapers in the "rest-of-Canada" increased substantially.

Attention to BNA/Canada as an entity: Measurement by Method (a)

Having formulated my four-level identification model (See Figure 6), I shall begin by ignoring its sequence, which is presumably from the primary loyalty, local identification, upwards. Instead I shall begin with what for this study is of the greatest importance: the development of a pan-Canadian national feeling.

First of all then I extracted from the total BNA/Canadian place names, those referring to the colonies and the Dominion as a collectivity, or entity: for instance such

terms as "British North America", "these colonies", "this land", "the British half of this continent", "the Dominion", "Canada", etc., where it was quite clear that these terms did refer to the whole of BNA/Canada.

The most striking thing about both the overall average for the entire sample and the individual newspapers was the dramatic increase in pan-Canadian entity references with the advent of Confederation (see Table 6-3, and Fig. 6-1). Before 1867 these references were very puny indeed; the average for the nine newspapers in the sample being merely 1.7 per cent (1845-1865). In 1855 this overall average even fell as low as 0.8 per cent* — it was the significant increase in 1865, a year of widespread debate on the Quebec resolutions, which boosted the pre-Confederation pan-Canadian references.

In contrast to these meagre figures the post-1867 percentages leaped upwards to an overall average of 12.6 or seven times as great as the pre-Confederation average. Indeed, the post-1867 peak occurred in 1870 with a percentage of 15.3, over four times that of 1865, and over 18 times that of 1855. There was a drop in 1875, coincident with the onset of the long economic depression which plagued the years 1874 to 1895. But the pan-Canadian entity symbols were on the rise again by 1880*, and attained over 15 per cent again in 1885, the year of the Métis rebellion, only to

* See Table 6-4

descend to 11.4 by 1895. Figure 6 - 1 clearly shows that the post-1867 pan-Canadian references were on an entirely different plane than the pre-1867 ones. Certainly it would seem that the creation of the governmental structures of the new Dominion was the causal factor here.

Turning now to the individual newspapers (see Table 6 - 3), the Ottawa Citizen appropriately as the Dominion capital's representative had the sample's best overall performance in pan-Canadian symbols : its pre-Confederation average was 2.5 per cent, whilst its post-Confederation average was 15.6, over six times as great. The paper's average before 1867 was boosted considerably by its performance in 1865 when with 9.5 per cent of its references devoted to BNA as an entity it recorded the highest score for any paper in any year surveyed before Confederation (see Table 6 - 4) ; otherwise the Citizen's score in this period was quite nondescript. In fact the highest pan-Canadian average before 1867 was that of the Nor'Wester, a late-comer to the newspaper scene, of which only two years, 1860 and 1865, could be included in the survey ; its average for these two years was 3.0 per cent. Paradoxically, fellow Westerner, the British Colonist, registered zero in pan-Canadian references prior to Confederation. Why this discrepancy ? It may be that the Red River Settlement, as remote as it was, was still close enough to need

and be aware of the presence of a big brother, the United Province, whilst British Columbia was so remote as to be absolutely apart and separate from the rest of BNA, existing practically in another world. Moreover, many of the Red River settlers came from Upper Canada, whilst the French-speaking Métis had ethnic and cultural links with Lower Canada. On the other hand most of the white inhabitants of British Columbia were either government servants or immigrants who had arrived directly by sea from the British Isles, or were immigrant Americans.

Abruptly and surprisingly the British Colonist rocketed upwards in 1870, when it recorded 23.9 percent, the highest of the sample for that particular year (see Table 6-4). This was the year the columns of the Colonist were filled with British Columbia's own Confederation debates in the colony's assembly. However, by 1885 the paper's BNA/Canada references had plummeted to 7.9 percent, and its overall average for the post-Confederation period was 13.1, fifth place in the ranking order. Immediately behind it in sixth place, post-1867, came the Nor'Wester/Manitoba Free Press with a 12.4 average.

PAN-CANADIAN IDENTIFICATION -- By Attenuated

Method -- Method (a): Entity Symbols Only

Percentages of Total BNA/Canadian Place Names

Table 6-3

<u>Pre-1867</u>		<u>Post-1867</u>	
1. Nor'Wester	3.0	1. Ottawa Citizen	15.6
2. Ottawa Citizen	2.5	2. Toronto Globe	15.4
3. Novascotian	2.5	3. Montreal Gazette	14.9
4. Saint John	2.4	4. Novascotian/ Halifax Chronicle	13.3
5. Toronto Globe	1.8	5. British Colonist	13.1
6. Montreal Gazette	1.8	(Sample Average 12.6)	
(Sample Average 1.7)		6. Manitoba Free Press	12.4
7. Le Canadien	1.1	7. Le Canadien	12.0
8. La Minerve	0.6	8. Saint John Tele.	8.6
9. British Colonist	0.0	9. La Minerve	7.8

The above percentage change in Canadian entity symbols for each newspaper in the sample, as between the two periods, is statistically significant at the 0.01 level of probability.

See W. Wilkes, "Confidence Limits and Critical Differences Between Percentages", Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332-338. Chart II on p. 336 shows that for a range of samples varying from 1,448 (Le Canadien) to 3,825 (Toronto Globe), as above, percentage differences ranging from 7 percent to 43 percent are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level.

To determine the sample size an average is taken of the total BNA/Canadian place names to be distributed in each newspaper in the two periods being compared.

The Globe which had a 1.8 pan-Canadian average pre-1867, climbed to one of 15.4 and second place after Confederation, just behind the Ottawa Citizen. Thus the two Ontarian papers show themselves relatively easy leaders, post-1867, in references to Canada as an entity: each attaining an average of over 15 percent of its total BNA/Dominion symbols. Third place in the post-1867 average went to the Montreal Gazette, which rose from an average of 1.8 pre-1867 to 14.9. The Novascotian/Halifax Morning Chronicle took fourth place after 1867 with a very respectable showing of 13.3 percent, showing little evidence of the much publicized Nova Scotian alienation. In the Maritimes, the Saint John Telegraph lagged well behind the Halifax papers after Confederation in its rate of increase in pan-Canadian references; in fact it recorded the smallest rise in such references of the entire sample. Pre-1867 it recorded an average of 2.4 percent, fourth in the listings, but reached only 8.6 percent, a three and a half fold increase after 1867. This was eighth in the post-1867 listings, well below Le Canadien, the seventh with an average of 12.0, and not very far ahead of La Minerve, which came ninth with 7.8 percent.

The two French-language papers were both low in BNA/Canadian entity references both before and after Confederation, occupying seventh and eighth place in the pre-

1867 averages, and seventh and ninth in the post-1867 averages. Thus the two French-language papers in the sample were behind the English-language papers in the development of a pan-Canadian awareness, but certainly in the case of Le Canadien it was not by any significant amount; it was only fractionally below the sample average (see Table 6-3). True, La Miroir's Canadian entity references were only a little more than one third of those of the overall average in the pre-1867 period, and approximately only one quarter of the pan-Canadian references of the Ottawa Citizen, the Novascotian, the Saint John and the Red River papers. But its percentage increased almost 13 times to 7.8 in the post-1867 era, whilst le Canadien's BNA/Canadian references increased tenfold from 1.1 to 12.0, bigger rates of increase than any of the English language papers in the sample with the single exception of the British Colonist. So it could be argued that the two French language newspapers in the sample responded to Confederation, in terms of percentage increases in pan-Canadian entity symbols, even more actively than did the majority of the English-language papers.

How do we explain the relatively small percentage increase, post-1867, of pan-Canadian entity references in the St. John Telegraph? The proximity of the city to the

United States, coupled with its isolation from the other big population centres in the Dominion, and also its close links, as a port busily engaged in the trans-Atlantic trade, with Britain, may very well have acted as counterweights to the growth of a strong Canadian feeling. But surely these same factors must have operated with the Novascotian/Halifax Morning Chronicle, and moreover the record is that Nova Scotia was the more vociferously anti-Confederation province, yet the Halifax papers increased their pan-Canadian references almost fivefold. Possibly Nova Scotia felt less inclined to isolate itself, less apathetic than sections of opinion in New Brunswick. After all, Nova Scotia was the bigger unit, more populous, homogeneous and cohesive and hence may have felt more able to influence its own destiny. However, the two Maritime papers were below the average increase (sevenfold) in pan-Canadian entity symbols for the sample as a whole.

The year 1885 with its Métis rebellion, Riel's hanging and the subsequent fury in Quebec, was for three of the sample, the Montreal Gazette, the Toronto Globe, and the Ottawa Citizen, the peak year for pan-Canadian references in the entire survey. In fact the Gazette in this year recorded the highest percentage of Canadian place names of any paper sampled in the whole 50 years.

To summarize this analysis of BNA/Canadian entity symbols: (1) Before Confederation the references to BNA as an entity were quite insignificant for every single paper in the sample, ranging from an average of nil for the British Colonist to 3.0 for the Nor'Wester. Then between 1865 and 1870 came a big leap forward, coincidental with the establishment of the Dominion, to give post-1867 averages between 7.8 (La Minerve) and 15.6 for the Ottawa Citizen. (2) The peak year for BNA/Canadian references was 1870. Thereafter such references subsided somewhat, but never to anything like the pre-1867 level. (3) The English language papers, although recording more pan-Canadian references than the French - with the single exception of the Saint-John Telegraph - were not tremendously ahead of Quebec City's Le Canadien. However, the highest scoring English language papers did record about double the pan-Canadian references of La Minerve, the lowest scorer in pan-Canadian references both before and after Confederation.

In terms of absolute numbers we can see from Table 6-4 how the Novascotian moved from three references per issue* to BNA as an entity in 1845 to 12 in 1865, 17 in 1870 and up as far as 24 and 26 in 1885 and 1890. The average number of such references for the Novascotian per

* The total number in the three copies examined per sample year divided by three.

issue before Confederation was five, and 20 afterwards. The Saint John papers increased from an average of merely three references per issue pre-1867 to 14 afterwards, and the Montreal Gazette from two per issue to 33 afterwards. Nothing so strikingly demonstrates the increase in the Canadian idea as the Gazette's increase from a mere two mentions of BNA as an entity in the three issues coded in 1855 to 189 in the three issues coded in 1885. In 1860 fellow Montrealer, La Minerve, had no BNA entity reference whatsoever, in the three issues surveyed, However in 1885, '90 and '95 it recorded eleven mentions per issue annually of the Dominion as an entity; its pre-Confederation average was 0.6 per issue, its post-1867 average being nine mentions per issue. Le Canadien increased from two entity references per issue to eleven, the Toronto Globe from four to 43 per issue, the Ottawa Citizen from two to 21 per issue, while the Nor'Wester's two per issue changed to the Manitoba Free Press's 19, and the British Colonist increased from nil to 19 per issue post-Confederation. The greatest increases as between pre- and post-1867 were in the Central Canadian English-language papers, and the least in the two French-language papers in the sample. The Maritimes and Western papers occupied an intermediary position, which was however nearer that of the English-language Central Canadian than the Quebec French ones.

The noticeably bigger increases recorded in absolute numbers as compared with percentage increase is, of course, a reflection of the growing size of newspapers; what had been four page sheets were by the late 1870s and '80s blossoming forth into eight and in some cases 12 page newspapers.

Measurement of a Pan-Canadian Orientation by Method (b):
the Extended Method.

Next I turned to the more extended way of measuring a pan-Canadian identification, Method (b), which entailed a count of BNA/Canada entity symbols plus all place names in the country outside own region, on the assumption that manifestations of a provincial and regional identification would thus be extracted, leaving us with the pure and unadulterated national orientation.

From Table 6-5 it can be seen that the overall sample average rose by a good 15 percentage points as between the pre and post-Confederation periods. The lowest two years for average attention to BNA/Canada by the measure of method (b) were 1855 and 1860 when the sample mean stood at 20.1 percent for both years (i.e. of all place names devoted to British North America). The highest years were 1870 (43.8), and 1885 (45.0), the sample average column in

Table 6-5 shows the striking upsurge in pan-Canadian attention evident first, in 1865. Before this the average for the sample in the years surveyed was always in the 20 to 28 percent range. Once talk of Confederation was seriously underway, after the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences, the average never fell below 34.9 percent (1865), and in fact the post-Confederation average was 40 percent.

Perhaps the clearest indication of the way in which a pan-Canadian orientation (measured by method (b)) developed over the half century 1845-95 can be obtained from Figure 6-4. Here graphically portrayed is the way in which the total BNA/Canada place name count, averaged for the nine newspapers of the sample, was divided between its three basic components: curve (a) traces references to own province, including own locality place names; curve (b) shows references to own region, outside own province. Ontario and Quebec were treated as two separate regions, although any reference to Central Canada as such, in the papers in the sample from Central Canada, was treated as a reference to own region as an entity, whilst curve (c) shows references to the rest of the country outside the paper's own region, and including BNA/Canada as an entity.

Curve (c) shows a drop in attention to BNA from 1850 to 1855, and then a stagnation in interest for the rest

of the decade. This was succeeded by a steep and continuous rise during the whole of the sixties, the level of attention rising from 20.1 in 1860 to 43.8 in 1870. Certainly this was not as dramatic a leap forward as the references only to BNA/Canada as an entity which occurred during the same decade (see Table 6-3), but it is still highly striking. However, attention slumped back by practically seven percentage points to 36.9 in 1875, but thereafter recouped itself to attain 45.0 by 1885, the highest score for any year sampled. This would seem to reiterate that the North-West crisis of that year far from being an overall and unmitigated divisive event in Canadian history was indeed a rallying point at least for English speaking Canada; apparently the very thing needed to shake Canadian national feeling out of the doldrums in which it lay during the prolonged economic depression of the seventies and eighties. Of course, it is far from inconceivable that the same event or series of events may in some aspects be divisive, and in others unifying, and this appears to have been the case here. Indeed the events of 1885 were probably a rallying point for both the two principal, and not easily reconciled, types of nationalism encountered within BNA/Canada during the nineteenth century: first an aspiring pan-Canadianism often linked and inter-woven with the British connection,

(and not very well articulated save in one particular aspect: an often repeated devotion to British political institutions), and second a much more clearly defined French-Canadian nationalism, tightly based on linguistic-ethnic-religious criteria.

Looking at the performance of individual papers in method (b) (see Table 6-6) we find that the Montreal Gazette was well ahead of all rivals with an average of 38.8 percent of its BNA place names devoted to pan-Canadian references pre-1867, when it was 12 percentage points above the average, and 56.4 after Confederation, when it was over 15 percentage points above average. Its lowest score came in 1860 (see Table 6-5) with 30.1, whilst in 1870, 1880, and 1885 it had over 60 percent (see Table 6-4). No other paper in the sample ever attained 60 percent in any year surveyed; indeed in each of these latter three years the Gazette was hovering some 20 percent above the sample average (see Table 6-5). Such figures underline the extent to which the English-speaking population of Montreal, at least in orientation to "the-rest-of-the-country" outside Quebec, was a significant force in promoting pan-Canadian feelings.

PAN-CANADIAN IDENTIFICATION BY

EXTENDED METHOD -- METHOD (b) : Entity Symbols Plus

Place Names Within Canada but Outside Own Region

Table 6-6

<u>Pre-1867</u>		<u>Post-1867</u>	
1. Montreal Gazette	38.8	1. Montreal Gazette	56.4
2. Ottawa Citizen	32.0	2. Ottawa Citizen	51.0
3. Nor'Wester	31.0	3. Toronto Globe	44.8
4. Toronto Globe	29.7	4. La Minerve	41.7
5. La Minerve	27.7	5. Manitoba F.P.	41.2
(Sample Average 24.7)		(Sample Average 40.0)	
6. Le Canadien	23.7	6. Le Canadien	36.8
7. Saint John Telegraph	20.5	7. Novascotian/ Halifax Chron.	31.6
8. Novascotian	17.2	8. Saint John	28.5
9. British Colonist	1.8	9. British Colonist	28.0

The percentage change for each of the above newspapers, as between the two periods, is statistically significant at the 0.01 level of probability.

The sample sizes are the same as in Table 6-3 (viz. Montreal Gazette, 2,830; Ottawa Citizen, 2,062; Toronto Globe, 3,825; La Minerve, 1,839; Nor'Wester/Manitoba Free Press, 1,782; Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle, 2,968; New Brunswick Courier/Saint John Telegraph, 2,346; British Colonist, 1,516).

Percentage differences ranging from 7 per cent for the lowest sample (Le Canadien) to 4½ per cent for the highest (the Toronto Globe) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level.

To determine sample size an average is taken of the total BNA/Canada place names to be distributed in each newspaper in the two periods being compared.

The Ottawa Citizen which led the field in pan-Canadian orientation by method (a), came second both pre- and post-1867 by method (b) with 32.0 and 51.0 respectively; the latter figure being nearly eleven percent above the sample average. The Citizen's Ontario colleague, the Toronto Globe, moved into third place with a 44.8 percent average after 1867, from fourth place before with an average of 29.7. Replacing it in fourth place after Confederation was La Minerve (41.7) which held fifth place before 1867 with 27.7 percent. It was the Nor'Wester/Manitoba Free Press which slipped from third place, pre-1867, to enable the Globe and La Minerve to move upwards into third and fourth places respectively. Pre-Confederation the Nor'-Wester was over six percentage points above average, afterwards it was only 1.2 percent above the mean for the sample. Perhaps this was an indication, however slight, that Manitoba was becoming a stronger and more self-oriented community.

At the other end of the scale the British Colonist came ninth and last, both pre- and post-1867, whereas in Table 6-3, the West Coast paper moved up from ninth to fifth place (in BNA entity symbols only). Thus British Columbia fared even worse by this second method of measuring Canadian orientation, and this result may very well underline B.C.'s special relationship with the rest of

Canada. She is really the province west of the West, the Pacific coast province, unique in her situation and with a quite different topography and economic base than her "fellow" western provinces. As stated before in this chapter, she tends to occupy a world of her own, and her relationship with Canada is that with the nation directly and not through membership of any regional grouping or feelings of close interest and affinity with any of the other provinces.

For the eighth and seventh ranking newspapers in pan-Canadian attention we have to journey to the other extremity of Canada - to the Maritimes. Before Confederation the Novascotian was eighth and the Saint John paper was seventh; after Confederation they simply changed places. Again we are made aware of this peculiarity that the Saint John papers reacted more sluggishly than any other in the sample to the creation of the Dominion. Yet, Saint John showed up better by method (b), being merely three percentage points behind the Novascotian/Halifax Morning Chronicle, compared with five percent by method (a). Moreover, this meant that by method (b) Saint John could match seven pan-Canadian symbols for every eight put forth by the Halifax press, whereas by the first method Saint John only put forth eight Canadian entity symbols for every 13 from Halifax.

Interestingly enough three English-language papers occupied the three lowest positions, both before and after Confederation, by method (b) of measuring pan-Canadianism. The two French-language papers, Le Canadien and La Minerve, were in sixth and fifth places prior to 1867, the only change afterwards was that La Minerve moved up into fourth place. Once more this emphasizes that French-speaking Quebec was not characterized by any disparate dearth of Canadian orientation, its performance in this respect being quite up to the Canadian average. In fact both pre- and post-1867 La Minerve registered more than the sample average, whilst before 1867 Le Canadien was practically on the average mark.

In terms of absolute numbers by the extended method (method (b)) of measuring pan-Canadianism, the increases after Confederation were on the whole greater than the percentage increases, again reflecting the increasing size of newspapers. The Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle increased from 35 pan-Canadian symbols per issue before 1867 to 52 afterwards, whilst the Saint John Telegraph, Le Canadien, the Ottawa Citizen and the Toronto Globe all doubled their references (see Table 6-4). La Minerve increased from 31 to 48 per issue, whilst the Manitoba papers increased theirs sevenfold (8 per issue to 54), and the British Colonist from a lowly 0.7 per issue to a staggering 42.

Attention to Own Locality

Having dealt with the pan-Canadian orientation I now propose to revert to the logical sequence of my four tier identification model and deal in turn with local, provincial, and regional orientations. As stated above I regarded an identification with one's own locality as the basic territorial loyalty — without this nothing else. Loyalty or identification with province, region or nation being merely an extension of this primary loyalty. Moreover, I did not break local identification down any further (into suburb or district identification, as distinct from city or town as an entity); I considered it to be the basic, irreducible territorial identification.

By locality I mean the immediate circulation area of the paper in question, i.e. the city of publication and its immediate environs. The most striking thing revealed by the figures here is the absence of change over time (see Table 6-7 and 6-8): a sample average of 22.9 percent of all BNA symbols was devoted to place names of the journal's own locality before Confederation; afterwards, for the period 1870-95 the average was 23.4. Of the years sampled the ones with the highest "own locality" scores were 1850 with 30.4, 1860 with 26.8 and 1890 with 26.7 — so local identification is shown to have been high

LOCAL IDENTIFICATION by PLACE NAME COUNT

Table 6-7

<u>Pre- 1867</u>		<u>Post-1867</u>	
1. British Colonist	41.3	1. British Colonist	32.3 *
2. Saint John	26.6	2. La Minerve	26.6
3. Le Canadien	26.2	3. Ottawa Citizen	24.5
4. Ottawa Citizen	25.8	4. Montreal Gazette	23.8
5. La Minerve	25.3	(Sample Average 23.4)	
(Sample Average 22.9)		5. Saint John	23.2
6. Montreal Gazette	18.0	6. Novascotian / Halifax Chron.	21.6
7. Novascotian	17.7	7. Le Canadien	21.4
8. Toronto Globe	17.6	8. Manitoba Free Press	20.5 *
9. Nor'Wester (ceased publication 1872)	11.5	9. Toronto Globe	17.1

* Indicates that the percentage change for this newspaper, as between the two periods, is statistically significant at the 0.01 level of probability (See Table 6-3 above).

at the beginning of our period, and continued high throughout it.

The British Colonist with 41.3 percent of its BNA place names devoted to own locality was well at the head of the pre-1867 locality rankings (see Figure 6-7), followed by the Saint John papers which averaged 26.6 percent, and Le Canadien with 26.2. At the bottom of the list were the Novascotian with 17.7, a paper which prided itself both on its provincial and international coverage, the Toronto Globe, with 17.6, a paper which already was boasting of its "national" coverage, in this case of the United Colony, and the North-Westerner, which considered itself the voice of the North-West, rather than merely the news sheet of the frontier settlement of Red River.

After Confederation the British Colonist was still at the head of the list, although with a score nine percentage points below its pre-1867 average its preponderance was greatly reduced. This time the second place was taken by La Minerve with 26.6 percent, and third by the Ottawa Citizen with 24.5. The Montreal Gazette's "own locality" percentage increased by almost six percentage points; an indication, perhaps, that with the creation of the province of Quebec the English-speaking enclave within Montreal concentrated more and more upon itself. The

Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle also increased its "own locality" percentage by four points whilst the Manitoba Free Press boosted its local place names by nine percentage points over the pre-1867 Nor'Wester - at the bottom of the list this time was the Toronto Globe with 17.1 percent.

Despite the lack of change in local percentages before and after Confederation, all but three of the newspapers in the sample recorded increases in local place names in terms of absolute numbers, again an indication of the increasing size of newspapers, they simply had more space to print more news. Both the Manitoba papers (8 per issue to 32), and the British Colonist (15 per issue to 52) increased their numbers in effect fourfold, both these papers increased their size tremendously in the 1880s. Then the Montreal Gazette more than doubled its local place names (from 21 to 52). An increasing number of pages here seems to have been coupled with a narrowing of attention provincially to the English speaking enclave in Montreal, whilst the Saint John Telegraph, whose sluggish response to pan-Canadianism has previously been remarked upon increased its post-Confederation local references from 25 per issue to 37. Moderate increases were also recorded by the Ottawa Citizen (24 per issue to 34), and the Toronto Globe (31 to 48).

Attention to Own Province : Attenuated Method of Measurement, Method (a) -- Entity Symbols Only. (Note: Upper Canada/Ontario and Lower Canada/Quebec were treated in this section as separate and distinct provinces, throughout the entire time period of this survey, 1845 - 1895. Provincial entity symbols included such terms as "colony", "land", "country", where it was clear the province was being referred to, besides the terms "province", and the actual name of the province.)

The sample average shows a steady diminution in provincial entity symbols (see Table 6 - 9): before 1867 the sample averaged 6.8 per cent; after Confederation the average was 4.3 per cent. The highest year for provincial entity symbols was 1845, the first year surveyed, when the sample average was 8.3; the lowest year was 1895, the last one surveyed, when the sample average was 3.3. The average only rose above five per cent after Confederation, and this was in 1870 when 5.2 was attained. Thereafter, a steady decline began.

As regards the individual newspapers Table 6-9 shows that a decline in provincial entity symbols set in after 1860, but the biggest decline occurred from 1865 to 1870 when the entity symbols of five of the sample, the Novascotian, the Saint John Telegraph, Le Canadien, the Montreal Gazette, and the Ottawa Citizen were cut by half.

Against the trend the provincial entity symbols of La Minerve increased from 4.4 per cent (1865) to 12.0 per cent (1870). Did the advent of Confederation enhance provincial awareness in this instance? Before Confederation the two French-language papers occupied intermediary positions in the sample (see Table 6-10); after 1867 La Minerve although preserving the same percentage of provincial entity symbols rose from fifth to second place in the table-rankings, whilst Le Canadien remained in sixth position. After 1870 there was some levelling off for all the papers, and indeed the Halifax Chronicle even managed to recoup a little ground as did Le Canadien, whilst the British Colonist, maverick as ever, went marching ahead from 4.8 per cent to 9.3 in 1875, and thereafter maintained a new level of provincial entity references.

One of the most notable things revealed by Table 6-10 is that the British Colonist shot from the bottom of the pre-1867 rankings to the top of the post-1867. It was able to do this by doubling its percentage of own province entity symbols from 3.3, of its BNA place names to 6.5, while the majority of the sample's papers were -

decreasing their provincial entity symbols. One of the reasons that might be advanced for this odd performance of the Colonist is that British Columbians, although extremely isolated and therefore of necessity intensely focussed on their own little local world, had prior to 1867 probably only the vaguest of concepts of the extent or dimensions of their colony, let alone of it existing as an entity or political unit in itself. However, the formality of constituting British Columbia a province of the Dominion seems to have acted as a catalyst in forging a British Columbian sense of collective self-awareness of themselves as a very distant and very distinct part of the new federation.

The most precipitous fall, evident from Table 6-9, was that of the Ottawa Citizen which plunged from 9.5 percent and second place in the pre-1867 table to 2.1, ninth and bottom place after Confederation. This slump seems to have been intimately connected with the fact that Ottawa became the Dominion capital, and the new enterprise, the new national structure, appears to have asserted its pre-eminent claim on the attention of Ottawans dwarfing their attention to the newly created province of Ontario.

The Saint John papers also underwent a drastic fall in the percentage of their provincial entity symbols from 10.0 percent, and first place prior to Confederation, down to 3.2 and third place from the bottom afterwards. A clue as to the reason for this state of affairs in the Saint John papers may be contained in the Rowell-Sirois Report which says that prior to Confederation New Brunswick resembled nothing so much as "one vast lumber camp"². In other words it had a mobile labour force, a great many of them immigrant male workers, immediately unattached to their families and not anchored to any one locality, but drifting hither and thither about the province in response to the demands of the logging industry. After Confederation, and with the end of the era of wood, wind and sail, the population settled down in specific localities, principally as yeomen farmers, and immigration fell off, hence a possible explanation of the redistribution of provincial place names between entity symbols, and rest-of-province place names.

In terms of absolute numbers the Novascotian led the way pre-Confederation with an average of 19 mentions per issue of the province as an entity, the Saint John papers were second with 12 mentions, and the Ottawa Citizen came third with 11 mentions per issue (see Table 6-9).

After Confederation the Toronto Globe moved into first position with 12 mentions per issue, second place went to the British Colonist with 9 mentions per issue, and in third now was the Manitoba Free Press with 8 per issue. The Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle was now in fourth place, along with La Minerve with 7 per issue; the Chronicle was a daily and much slimmer paper than the weekly Novascotian. The Saint John Telegraph was down to fifth place with 5 mentions per issue, and the Ottawa Citizen was down at the bottom of the list with a mere 2 mentions per issue. However, it would be an error to read too much into these figures, the majority of papers in the sample varied quite considerably in size over the 50 years surveyed, whilst some grew bigger and thicker others changed from comprehensive weeklies to rather slim dailies. The best and most meaningful mode of comparison would seem to be in terms of relative percentages.

PROVINCIAL IDENTIFICATION - By Attenuated Method

Method (a)

Table 6-10

<u>Pre-1867</u>		<u>Post-1867</u>	
1) Saint John	10.0	1) British Colonist	6.5
2) Ottawa Citizen	9.5	2) La Minerve	6.1
3) Novascotian	8.9	3) Manitoba Free Press	5.6
4) Nor'wester	8.4	4) Novascotian/ Halifax Chron.	4.7
(Sample average)	6.8	5) Toronto Globe	4.4
5) La Minerve	6.1	(Sample Average)	4.3
6) Le Canadien	5.7	6) Le Canadien	3.6
7) Montreal Gazette	5.2	7) Saint John	3.2
8) Toronto Globe	4.0	8) Montreal Gazette	2.6
9) British Colonist	3.3	9) Ottawa Citizen	2.1

Attention to Own Province: Extended Method of Measurement
(Method (b)): Entity Symbols plus Rest-of-Province out-
side own Locality.

By the extended method of measurement the fall in provincial symbols was by no means as drastic as by method (a). Whereas the entity symbols were almost halved (from 8.3 to 4.3), the entity plus rest-of-province place names only fell from a pre-Confederation sample average of 36.4 to one of 31.6 afterwards, a proportionate drop of only one-seventh. (see Table 6-12).

The highest years for the sample all occurred in the pre-Confederation period, 1845 with 38.0 percent, 1855 with 36.4 and 1860 with 38.5. The highest percentage achieved in the post-1867 period was 33.8 percent in 1870 and 33.5 in 1875, whilst the lowest was 25.8 in 1885. Thus again by method (b) as in method (a) we get a steady diminution, on the whole, in provincial orientation.

Amongst the performances of individual papers, pre-Confederation, we find the British Colonist was well at the head of the method (b) rank-order table (see Table 6-11) with an average of 56.9 percent, which placed it over 13 percentage points ahead of its nearest rival, the Novascotian. This was in marked contrast to the paper's performance in

PROVINCIAL IDENTIFICATION - By Extended Method:

Method (b)

Table 6-11

<u>Pre-1867</u>		<u>Post-1867</u>	
1) British Colonist	56.9	1) Le Canadien	39.9
2) Novascotian	45.8	2) Toronto Globe	37.8*
3) Nov Western	39.0	3) British Colonist	34.8*
4) Le Canadien	37.4	4) Novascotian/ Halifax Chron.	34.3
(Sample average)	36.4	5) La Minerve	31.6
5) Toronto Globe	33.2	(Sample Average)	31.6
6) Saint John	32.5	6) Saint John	31.1
7) La Minerve	31.8	7) Manitoba Free Press	31.0*
8) Ottawa Citizen	27.2	8) Ottawa Citizen	24.2
9) Montreal Gazette	23.5	9) Montreal Gazette	19.5

* Indicates that the percentage change for this newspaper, as between the two periods, is statistically significant at the 0.01 level of probability (see Table 6-3 above).

the provincial entity only table, method (a), where it was at the bottom of the list. The reasons behind the Colonist's method 'b' ascendancy were probably the same as explain its dramatic leap to the head of the entity list post-1867 — a geographical isolation that of necessity developed an intense local pre-occupation combined with the lack of a clear concept, pre-Confederation, of British Columbia as an entity in itself.

Pre-1867 three Central Canadian newspapers occupied the three bottom places in the rank-order table, method 'b': La Minerve with 31.8, the Ottawa Citizen with 27.2, and the Montreal Gazette with 23.5. It seems the existence of the United Colony, therefore the absence of governmental institutions at the provincial level, reduced the number of provincial entity symbols below what it otherwise might have been, apparently still further evidence of the importance of institutional structures in focussing attention. The sample's two French-language papers had quite modest pre-1867 provincial averages, Le Canadien with 37.4 percent lay in fourth position in the rank-order table, whilst La Minerve with 31.8 lay in seventh position — here at least is some evidence that the newspaper reading Quebecois were no more, and no less, provincially oriented or encapsulated than their brethren.

in the English-speaking provinces. However, after Confederation the French newspapers maintained their provincial percentages, whilst, apart from the single exception of the Toronto Globe, the provincial percentages of the English-language papers diminished, in some cases quite significantly; the British Colonist lost 22 percentage points in the post-1867 averages. On the other hand Le Canadien gained 2.5 percentage points, but this was enough to send it from fourth to first position in the rank-order tables, whilst La Minerve with a more-or-less stationary percentage climbed from seventh to fifth place (see Table 6-10).

Against the English trend the Toronto Globe managed to boost its pre-1867 provincial average of 33.2 per cent to 37.8 which put it into the second position in the post-1867 table. The most ready explanation for this atypical behaviour of the Globe lies in its attempt, emphasized as the century wore on, to establish itself not merely as a Toronto daily, but also as a provincial and indeed national paper.

At the bottom of the post-1867 table still hung the Ottawa Citizen in eighth place (24.2 per cent), and the Montreal Gazette in ninth place (now down to 19.5 per cent). Ottawa's role as the capital of the United

Province and later the Dominion, together with its proximity to Quebec and its substantial French-Canadian population, seems to have toned down the city's provincial orientation. The Gazette's persistence in ninth position may be explained by the fact that here was an English-language paper in a predominantly French-speaking province. Hence it devoted most of its Lower Canadian/Quebec attention on its immediate locality, the English-speaking enclave in Montreal, and paid more attention to Upper Canada/Ontario than to the rest of Quebec. The provincial percentages of all the English-language newspapers in the sample were down after Confederation, apart from the one exception of the Toronto Globe. For instance, the Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle fell by 11 percentage points, the Nor'Wester/Manitoba Free Press by six percentage points and the Montreal Gazette by four percentage points.

One phenomenon apparent from contrasting Table 6-9 (provincial entity symbols only) with Table 6-12 (method (b)) is that while provincial entity symbols diminished in percentages in all the sample's papers, apart from the peculiar exception of the British Colonist, from 1865 to 1870, the provincial symbols as measured by method (b) all expanded. Thus it appears that whilst the significance of the province as a primary mode of identification was

fading somewhat, or being replaced to some extent by other entities, the integration of local communities into the wider society of the province was continuing steadily.

Thus method (b) mode of measurement does not tell us a very different story from that revealed by method (a), perhaps apart from emphasizing the manner in which the two French-language papers maintained their "rest-of-province" orientations much more firmly than the English-language journals, whilst the Montreal Gazette devoted a smaller percentage of its BNA symbols to events in the home province, outside its own city, than any other paper in the sample.

In terms of absolute numbers there were considerable discrepancies between individual papers in the sample, depending on the paper's type, size, page size, and number of pages per issue, and the extent to which these changed over the years. Thus whilst percentages in most of the English-language papers were diminishing, their provincial references in terms of absolute numbers were increasing, as the newspapers themselves grew bigger if not better. The Montreal Gazette whilst firmly establishing its position at the bottom of the provincial method (b) table, and diminishing its percentage after 1867, almost doubled its provincial references in actual numbers from 26 per issue to 47. Likewise the British Colonist, whose average percentage diminished by 22 points after 1867, increased its

absolute numbers from an average of 20 per issue to 33, and the Nor'Wester/Manitoba Free Press while losing eight percentage points increased its average numbers per issue from 32 to 54.

Attention to Own Region: Attenuated Method of Measurement,
Method (a): Entity Symbols Only.

A catastrophic fall for the sample average in regional entity symbols occurred as between pre and post-Confederation periods. Before 1867 the sample average was 10.9 percent of all BNA symbols; afterwards it was down to a mere 0.9 percent; this utter collapse was due to the sudden and apparently unlamented demise of the United Colony with the advent of Confederation. The high point of regionalism was 1855 when the sample average was up to 14.5 percent. It was still 11 percent in 1865, but by 1870 it had sunk to 1.6 percent, and after 1875 the regional entity symbols for the sample average never again rose above one percent (see Table 6-13).

From the performances of the individual papers it can be seen that the collapse in regional entity symbols came exclusively in the Central Canadian journals, indeed the newspapers in the other regions actually increased their percentage of regional entity references. Prior to Confederation the Central Canadian newspapers' regional entity references were vastly in excess of the newspapers in the other regions; the pre-1867 average of the

REGIONAL IDENTIFICATIONS RANK ORDER TABLE - Regional

Attenuated Method: Method (a)

Table 6-14

<u>Pre-1867</u>		<u>Post-1867</u>	
1) Montreal Gazette	19.6	1) Saint John	2.3
2) Toronto Globe	19.5	2) Novascotian/ Halifax Chron.	2.2
3) La Minerve	15.2	3) Manitoba Free Press	1.2
4) Ottawa Citizen	15.0	(Sample Average)	0.9
5) Le Canadien	12.7	4) Le Canadien	0.7*
(Sample Average)	10.9	5) La Minerve	0.5*
6) Novascotian	1.3	6) Toronto Globe	0.4*
7) Saint John	0.4	7) Montreal Gazette	0.3*
8) Nor'Wester	0.0	7) Ottawa Citizen	0.3*
8) British Colonist	0.0	8) British Colonist	0.2

* Indicates that the percentage change for this newspaper, as between the two periods, is statistically significant at the 0.01 level of probability (see Table 6-3 above).

Novascotian was merely 1.3 per cent of its BNA references, those of the Saint John Telegraph 0.4 per cent, whilst the Nor'Wester and the British Colonist recorded an average of absolute zero. The contrast with the Central Canadian newspapers is tremendous: the Montreal Gazette recorded an average of 19.6, the Toronto Globe 19.5, La Minerve 15.2, the Ottawa Citizen 15.0, and Le Canadien 12.7 (see Table 6-13). By 1875 only one of these Central Canadian journals had regional entity references in excess of one percent of its total BNA references - Le Canadien at 1.7. La Minerve was already down to zero references, and was soon to be followed by the others. By contrast the non-Central Canadian newspapers actually increased their percentage of regional entity references: the Novascotian to 2.2 per cent, the Saint John Telegraph undergoing a sixfold increase to 2.3 percent, whilst the Manitoba Free Press mustered a 1.2 percent average after 1867, and the British Colonist, as regionally unaligned as ever, struggled to 0.2 percent. In other words, despite the post-1867 increase, regionalism as measured by the entity indicator in the Maritimes and the West had been miniscule and remained that way after Confederation. Little wonder then that the proposed Maritime federation was so easily displaced and forgotten at the Charlottetown Conference in 1864.

In the rank-order tables pre-Confederation the sample's Central Canadian newspapers occupied all the five leading positions (see Table 6-14) with the Montreal Gazette and the Toronto Globe out in front with 19.6 and 19.5 per cent respectively. Between the last of the Central Canadian newspapers in Table 6-13, Le Canadien in fifth position at 12.7 per cent and the Novascotian in sixth, there was a drop of over 11 percentage points to an average of 1.3. After Confederation, apart from the British Colonist which persisted in remaining at the foot of the table, there was a complete about-face with the Central Canadian papers occupying the lower positions in the table, all being below average, and the Maritime papers in the lead. The Manitoba Free Press occupied third position with a score of 1.2 per cent.

Absolute numbers tell the same story (see Table 6-13): pre-1867 the Toronto Globe recorded approximately 35 entity references to Central Canada per issue, and the Montreal Gazette 23 per issue. Both the Ottawa Citizen and La Minerve had approximately 17 each per issue during this early period, and Le Canadien had 10 per issue. After Confederation all these Central Canadian papers were

down to an average of below one per issue. On the other hand references to the Maritimes in the Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle which averaged four per issue before 1867 were still three per issue, and in the Saint John Telegraph 0.3 before 1867, were up to four per issue afterwards. In the West the Nor'Wester/Manitoba Free Press which could claim no own-regional references before 1867, afterwards averaged almost two references per issue, but it was only once in three or four copies of the British Colonist that one was likely to encounter a reference to the West as a region.

A comparison between provincial and regional entity symbols (see Tables 6-9 and 6-13) emphasizes two points. (a) the importance of institutions in focussing attention, and orienting a population, and (b) the preponderance of the provincial orientation over the regional. Pre-1867 the regional entity symbols of all the Central Canadian papers quite strongly outweighed the provincial entity symbols in the same papers: for instance the Montreal Gazette recorded 19.6 per cent regional entity symbols, and only 5.2 provincial, and the Toronto Globe had 19.5 regional and 4.0 provincial. In the case of the non-Central Canadian papers the complete reverse was the case. The provincial entity symbols strongly outweighed the regional; the Saint John Telegraph had 10.0 per cent

provincial and a mere 0.4 per cent regional, the Novascotian had 8.9 provincial and 1.3 regional. After Confederation the provincial in all instances were greater than the regional. ~~The~~ closest correspondence ~~was~~ in the Saint John Telegraph where provincial entity symbols were 3.2 to 2.3 regional; fellow Maritimer the Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle had 4.7 provincial^d to 2.2 regional. At the other extreme the British Colonist had 6.5 provincial and a mere 0.2 regional.

Attention to Own Region: The Extended Method of Measurement
Method (b) - Entity Symbols plus Rest-of-Region outside
own-Province *

There was no sudden collapse of regional references as measured by the extended method, method (b), as there was by the entity only method. However, there was a substantial decline (see Table 6-16), and the pre-1867 sample average of 28.5 percent was cut in half during the post-Confederation years to one of 14.1. The biggest drop was from 27.8 in 1865 to 17.5 in 1870, and then the decline went steadily on to 15.2 in 1875 to 12.1 in 1890.

* ~~As in method (a)~~ Again as in method (a) Central Canada, comprising Upper Canada/Ontario - Lower Canada/Quebec, is reckoned as one region.

REGIONAL IDENTIFICATIONS - Extended Method

Method (b)

Table 6-15

<u>Pre-1867</u>		<u>Post-1867</u>	
1) Montreal Gazette	45.4	1) Montreal Gazette	22.0 *
2) Ottawa Citizen	36.9	2) La Minerve	19.9 *
3) Toronto Globe	36.2	3) Saint John	17.2
4) La Minerve	33.9	4) Ottawa Citizen	16.9 *
(Sample Average)	28.5	(Sample Average)	14.1
5) Le Canadien	25.4	5) Le Canadien	12.1 *
6) Saint John	20.8	6) Novascotian / Halifax Chron.	11.8 *
7) Novascotian	19.2	7) Toronto Globe	11.5 *
8) Nor'Wester	18.5	8) Manitoba Free Press	11.0 *
9) British Colonist	0.0	9) British Colonist	4.7

* Indicates that the percentage change for this newspaper, as between the two periods, is statistically significant at the 0.01 level of probability (see Table 6-3 above).

The Montreal Gazette was the undisputed leader in both before and after Confederation rank-order tables (see Table 6-15). Prior to 1867 with an average of 45.4 (17 percentage points above the sample average) it was well ahead of the Ottawa Citizen in second place with 36.9 percent. After Confederation the Gazette although it had sunk to less than half its former percentage was at 22.0 still in first place and two percentage points ahead of La Minerve which was now in second place with 19.9 percent.

All the first five positions in the rank-order table (Table 6-15), pre-Confederation, were occupied by the five Central Canadian newspapers in the sample. Even the most lowly of these papers, Le Canadien at 25.4 per cent, was five percentage points above its nearest rival, the Saint John Telegraph. After Confederation all the Central Canadian newspapers suffered a sharp and severe fall in regional symbols (method (b)): the Montreal Gazette fell 23.4 percentage points, the Ottawa Citizen 20.0 and the Toronto Globe 24.7 percentage points — and all this overwhelmingly due to the fall in Central Canadian entity symbols. The two French-language papers also dropped quite severely after 1867, La Minerve by 14, and Le Canadien by 13.3 percentage points — again the decrease was almost entirely

due to the practical elimination of the entity references to Central Canada. However, unlike the case in Table 6-14 where there was a complete collapse, these Central Canadian newspapers still held their own, maintaining percentages above the sample average, and occupying the first, second and fourth positions in Table 6-15. The Maritime papers also suffered a decline in regional percentages, the Novascotian significantly from a pre-1867 average of 19.2 to one of 11.8 afterwards, and the Saint John Telegraph 3.6 percentage points, from 20.8 to 17.2. In the West, the Nor'Wester had an average of 18.5 of its BNA symbols devoted to "the rest of the West" pre-1870, whilst the British Colonist simply had no regional references at all in the issues examined. After the advent of the Dominion in 1867 Manitoba's attention seems to have been tilted eastwards, and until 1885 the Western regional references in the Manitoba papers suffered a considerable fall,* but with and after the Metis rebellion of the 1880s came a rekindling of interest in other parts of the West, and by 1895 the percentage of "rest of the West" symbols was up to 19.3. However, its post-1867 average was down to 11.0, a fall of 7.5 percentage points. The British Colonist seems to have become aware of a link with the prairies only in 1870

* See Table 6-16

on the very eve of joining Confederation, and in that year its references to the "rest-of-the-West" blossomed forth at 5.4, only to fall back to 0.6 in 1875, but thereafter a climb began which had reached 8.3 by 1895.* So even though the British Colonist was still at the bottom of the rank-order table it was at least now off the ground from a zero average pre-1867 to 4.7 afterwards.

A story of diminishing regional references in Central Canada and increasing regional references in New Brunswick and the West is told by a survey of the absolute numbers, method (b) (see Table 6-16). Despite the generally increasing size of newspapers Le Canadien which had 19 regional references per issue before 1867 was down to 11 afterwards. La Minerve had 35 references to its own region before Confederation and 26 afterwards; the Montreal Gazette had 51 before and 48 afterwards; the Ottawa Citizen 40 before and 23 afterwards, and the Toronto Globe 66 before and 30 per issue afterwards. Of the non-Central Canadian papers in the sample only the Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle recorded a decrease in regional symbols, from 42 per issue before 1867 to 18 per issue afterwards, but this can be accounted for by the fact that after 1870 the survey had to switch from the Novascotian, a 12 and sometimes a 14 page weekly, to the Halifax Chronicle, a four and sometimes six

* See Table 6-16

page daily. Moreover, the Novascotian as its name indicates aimed itself at a province wide audience, whilst the Halifax Chronicle aimed itself principally at the Halifax harbour area. Of the other non-Central Canadian papers: the Saint John Telegraph had 22 regional symbols per issue before 1867 and 34 afterwards, the Nor'Wester/-Manitoba Free Press had 12 before and 26 afterwards, and the British Colonist none before and 48 afterwards.

It is interesting to compare provincial with regional attention. Pre-1867 by method (b) four papers in the sample all Central Canadian had more regional than provincial symbols; of these, indeed, the Montreal Gazette had almost double the number of regional references (45.4%) as it had provincial (23.5), the Toronto Globe had 36.2% regional compared with 33.2 provincial, the Ottawa Citizen had 36.9 regional and 27.2 provincial, and La Minerve had 33.9 regional compared with 31.8 provincial. All the rest had substantially more provincial than regional references: the Novascotian had 45.8 provincial and 19.2 regional, the Saint John Telegraph 32.5 provincial and 20.8 regional, Le Canadien 37.4 provincial and 25.4 regional, the Manitoba Free Press 39.0 provincial and 18.5 regional, and last but not least the British Colonist had 56.9 provincial and zero percent regional. After Confederation only the Montreal

Gazette, significantly an English-language paper in a predominantly French-speaking province, had a greater percentage of regional, 22.0 per cent, than provincial references, 19.5 — one manifestation of how this paper devoted more attention to Ontario than to the province of Quebec outside of Montreal. In most cases after Confederation provincial references heavily outweighed regional; the Toronto Globe lavished 37.8 per cent of its BNA/Canada references on the province, and only 11.5 on the region; Le Canadien was 39.9 per cent provincial and 19.9 regional; even the Ottawa Citizen in the Dominion capital, straight on the Quebec border and in a city with a substantial French-speaking population, recorded 24.2 per cent provincial references and 16.9 regional, whilst at the extreme the British Colonist had 34.8 per cent provincial and only 4.7 regional.

Regional Inter-Attention

According to the Deutschian thesis a community, and this includes a nation, is a tightly bound communications network the inhabitants of which are capable of receiving and transmitting information easily and rapidly amongst themselves. Therefore, an excellent way of identifying a community and also the degree of its integration is by the amount and variety of information that circulates

within it. How interested are the inhabitants and the various sections of the community in each other, and over what range of subjects? Moreover, such a barometer also indicates which provinces and regions are the foci of attention, and might therefore be assumed to be the key areas or influence radiating centres in the nation formation process.

I have already tackled the question of the amount of attention devoted by the provinces to other provinces in the same region in attempting to measure the degree of regional orientation; now I broach the question of how interested were the various regions in each other. Note that once again in this section I return to treating Upper Canada/Ontario and Lower Canada/Quebec as two separate regions. Indeed the level of mutual interest exhibited by these two biggest and most populous of the provinces is a vital part of the BNA/Canadian integration process. Throughout the survey period in terms of economic wealth and population growth they were the most dynamic of the regions of BNA/Canada. If these two regions, one the most powerful of the English speaking provinces, the other the homeland of the vast majority of French Canadians, are well integrated, then it might be presumed that the country has a strong and magnetic core around which the other areas might organize themselves.

However, although treating Upper Canada/Ontario and Lower Canada/Quebec as two separate regions there were many references in the press of the other regions to Central Canada as an entity, e.g. "the United Province", "United Colony", "the Canadas", etc., especially in the pre-Confederation years. Therefore, besides reviewing the inter-attention between the four main regions I shall deal briefly with the attention paid by the Maritimes and the West to Central Canada as a unit, which is perhaps of particular importance especially in view of the hypothesis that Central Canada was the core area of the new nation.

Table 6-16(a) the figures of which are culled from the five yearly averages for the sample given in Tables 6-22 to 6-26, shows the overall state of affairs quite succinctly. Upper Canada/Ontario received the most attention from the other areas both pre- and post-Confederation. The sample's seven non-Upper Canada/Ontario papers devoted an average of 11.3 percent of their BNA symbols to Upper Canada before 1867. This included both entity symbols for Upper Canada and also all place names within it; after Confederation this percentage rose to 13.1. The percentage of attention devoted by the sample's newspapers, outside Lower Canada/Quebec, to Lower Canada were practically on a par with the attention devoted to Upper Canada before 1867.

Yet the attention devoted to Ontario increased to an average of 13.1 in the post-1867 years, while that devoted to Quebec declined to 8.3, leaving a significant gap of five percentage points between the two.

Table 6-16(a) /

The regions of BNA/Canada which attracted the most
attention from the newspapers in other regions:

<u>Pre-Confederation</u>	<u>Post-Confederation</u>
1. Upper Canada.....11.3	1. Ontario.....13.1
2. Lower Canada.....11.1	2. Quebec..... 8.3
3. The Maritimes..... 6.1	3. The Maritimes..6.9

Table 6-22 shows that attention to Upper Canada/Ontario maintained itself at a pretty constant percentage over the years, starting off in 1845 at 12.0, reaching heights of 14.9 in 1850 and 15.6 in 1870, and finishing up in 1895 at 12.4. Table 6-23, however, shows a steady decline in attention to Lower Canada/Quebec, as a percentage of total BNA symbols. The sample's average in 1845 was 13.0, and in 1850 it reached a survey high of 14.9; thereafter it hesitantly declined to a sample low of 6.8 in 1890, and finished off at 7.9 in 1895.

References to the Maritimes in the press of other regions was greater than might have been expected in pre-

Confederation days. In our sample it averaged 6.1 percent of all BNA place names, and the advent of Confederation did not augment it by any substantial amount. It is interesting to note that the attention paid to the Maritimes by the press of other regions after 1867 was not substantially less than that devoted to Quebec (8.3 percent, see Table 6-16). The pre-1867 days contain both the low and the high points in terms of attention paid to the Maritimes (see Table 6-24): namely 0.9 percent in 1855, during the Crimean War, and 11.9 percent in 1865, the crucial year in the debate on Confederation; thus the pre-1867 average was considerably boosted by the performance of 1865. After Confederation the gap between the amount of attention to the Maritimes and the amount of attention to Quebec tended to narrow, and in 1880 the Maritimes and Quebec were practically running neck-and-neck in the amount of attention they were receiving in the press of other regions.

The West came fourth in the inter-regional attention scales both pre-and post-Confederation. Before 1867 the amount of attention the region attracted was very puny (see Table 6-25): the low point being 1855 when only 0.1 percent of BNA references in the journals of other provinces went to the West, in other words next to nothing, and the

average for the whole pre-Confederation era was only 1.1 percent. There was an immediate increase in attention to the West after Confederation; in 1870 the average jumped to 4.8 percent, in 1880 to 6.7, whilst in 1885, the year of the North-West Rebellion, it reached 11.9 percent (see Table 6-25, and Fig. 6-3). In 1885 Ontario was the only region to exceed the West in amount of attention received by the journals of other regions, and then merely by 0.7 percent. There was an inevitable decline in 1890 but by this time the West was receiving practically as much attention from other regions as was being paid to Quebec and the Maritimes; its average for the post-Confederation period was 6.9 percent.

References to Central Canada as an entity by the non-Central Canadian newspapers of the sample averaged 9.0 percent of all their BNA symbols pre-Confederation (see Table 6-26) - not very far behind the sample's average percentage of references to Upper and Lower Canada. After 1867 the sample average fell to 1.1 percent - again a drastic reduction in references to Central Canada as an entity with the dissolution of the institutions of the United Province. It is ironical to note that far and away the highest year sampled for references to Central Canada was

1865, key year in the debate on the impending dismantling of the United Province. By 1880 references in the other regions to Central Canada as an entity had dribbled away to practically nothing and they were never to be resurrected.

From the overall averages we can now turn to the amount of attention paid by individual newspapers to other regions. Table 6-17 shows the Montreal Gazette to have been the Chief Upper Canada/Ontario watcher. Before Confederation the Gazette devoted an average of 25.8 percent of its BNA place names to Upper Canada, a tremendous lead over every other paper in the sample apart from fellow Montreal publication La Minerve (18.7). After the creation of the province of Quebec in 1867 its Ontarian references dropped to 21.5 but still well ahead of every other paper, except again for La Minerve (19.4). La Minerve's references to Upper Canada did not change appreciably after Confederation, just like its fellow French-language paper, Le Canadien whose Upper Canadian references decreased from 12.8 to 11.5.

Prior to Confederation the percentage of their BNA symbols which the Novascotian, the Saint John Telegraph, the Nor'Wester and the British Colonist devoted to Lower Canada was double that which they devoted to Upper Canada

(see Tables 6-17 and 6-18). Montreal as the biggest urban centre in BNA was probably the biggest attraction here. One of the most striking things in inter-regional attention if we look at Table 6-17 is the amount by which the Maritimes and Western Canadians increased their Ontario references after 1867 : the Novascotian/Halifax Morning Chronicle increased its almost fourfold, the Saint John Telegraph over fourfold, whilst in the West the Manitoba papers in the sample increased theirs almost fivefold, and the British Colonist almost nine-and-a-half times.

After Confederation, however, the average references per issue to Lower Canada/Quebec declined in the two Ontario papers by approximately one-quarter, and in the Novascotian by one-fifth. Modest increases in Lower Canadian place names were recorded after Confederation by the Saint John Telegraph (from 5.0 to 6.4), whilst the British Colonist only really discovered the province of Quebec after Confederation. The keenest Lower Canada/Quebec watcher was the Ottawa Citizen; no doubt partly because part of its immediate circulation area actually fell within the boundaries of Quebec.

As for references to Central Canada as an entity by individual papers in other regions (see Tables 6-21 and 6-26)

it is noteworthy that the Nor'Wester, pre-1867, had over twice as many such entity symbols as all its Upper and Lower Canadian place names combined, and the Saint John Telegraph too had significantly more Central Canadian entity symbols than all its Upper and Lower Canadian place names added together. However, came Confederation and the usual precipitous fall took place, for instance the average Central Canadian entity references of the Nor'Wester fell from a 17.9 per cent average pre-1867 to a mere 1.6 afterwards, and those of the Saint John Telegraph fell from 10.7 to 0.7. Third in terms of pre-1867 attention to Central Canada was the Novascotian with 6.9, an average considerably boosted by the amount of attention devoted to Central Canada in 1865 (16.0 per cent. of the paper's BNA symbols). The Novascotian's average over the period 1870-95 fell to 1.4. Fourth and well below the other papers came the British Colonist, whose references to the United Province, Central Canada etc., averaged only 0.5 pre-Confederation, and 0.9 afterwards.

A commanding lead in attention to the Maritimes was taken by the Montreal Gazette (see Table 6-19), which had 11.0 percent of its BNA symbols devoted to the Maritimes before Confederation, and 12.0 afterwards. Before 1867 La Minerve (8.2), and Le Canadien (7.5) were

second and third in attention to the Maritimes. After Confederation, when Ontario perked up interest in the Atlantic Provinces, the Ottawa Citizen, and the Toronto Globe displaced the two French-language papers from second and third places respectively. The Western papers sampled paid little if any attention to the Maritimes either before 1867 or afterwards.

As for the West, the Toronto Globe led the field here quite comfortably, especially before Confederation, and from 1860 onwards it became very conscious of the West as the necessary and natural area for the expansion of Canada. The Globe's Western average pre-1867 was 3.9, when every other newspaper in the sample fell below 0.5 percent, apart from Le Canadien, whose Western total was boosted to a 2.3 per cent average on the strength of one long article which appeared in the March 1845 issue sampled, dealing with the experience of French-Canadian missionaries in the Oregon Territory, then still administered by the Hudson's Bay Company. The highest the rest of the sample could attain pre-Confederation was 0.4 by the Saint John newspapers, Fellow Maritimer, the Novascotian, famous for its comprehensive coverage of the English speaking world, could only raise 0.1 per cent, lowest of the whole sample, whilst not very much above it were the two Montreal papers, La Minerve and the Gazette, both with 0.2

per cent (see Table 6-20).

A significant leap forward in Western references was recorded after Confederation by every non-Western paper in the sample. The two Montreal papers both increased their Western references fortyfold, and became second (La Minerve, 8.3), and third (the Gazette, 8.0) in their percentages of Western place names. First place again went to the Toronto Globe with 9.9 of its BNA/Dominion references going to the West. Even the Novascotian/Halifax Morning Chronicle advanced to 3.5 per cent, which even though still the lowest in the sample represented an increase of 27 Western place names in its columns after Confederation to every one before. The two French-language newspapers in the sample were ahead of the two Maritimes representatives in Western references, which is some evidence at least that the French Canadians had their sights set on the West and its potentialities during the early years of the Dominion, quite as much — or as little — as most of their English speaking colleagues.

Thus in summary we find that attention to Ontario remained fairly constant during the whole of the period 1845-95 for the sample average. However, whilst Ontario references in the three Quebec papers in the sample average, either decreased or stagnated after Confederation, the

Maritimes and Western papers in the sample increased their Ontario references very rapidly. On the other hand, after 1867, references to Lower Canada/Quebec, and places therein, slipped noticeably : by as much as one quarter in the Ontario papers; only the Saint John Telegraph and the British Colonist recorded increases.

As has been observed before, references to Central Canada as an entity suffered a complete collapse with the end of the United Province, but after Confederation came dramatic increases in Western attention. Indeed, in most instances in the sample it may be said that the West was only really discovered after Confederation. As for the Maritimes, attention from other regions did increase after 1867, but by no very significant amount.

Inter-Regional Rankings

Attention paid to Upper Canada/Ontario
By Papers outside Ontario
Table 6-17

Pre-Confederation

Post Confederation

1) Montreal Gazette	25.8	1) Montreal Gazette	21.5
2) La Minerve	18.7	2) La Minerve	19.4
3) Le Canadien	12.8	3) Manitoba Free Press	13.3
(Sample Average)	11.3	(Sample Average)	13.1
4) Nor'Wester	2.8	4) Le Canadien	11.5
5) Novascotian	2.4	5) Novascotian/ Halifax Chron.	9.0
6) Saint John	2.0	6) British Colonist	8.5
7) British Colonist	0.9	7) Saint John	8.3

Inter-Regional Rankings: Attention paid to

Lower Canada/Quebec (by papers outside
Quebec)

Table 6-18

<u>Pre-Confederation</u>		<u>Post-Confederation</u>	
1) Ottawa Citizen	21.9	1) Ottawa Citizen	16.6
2) Toronto Globe	16.8	2) Toronto Globe	11.2
(Sample Average)	11.1	(Sample Average)	8.3
3) Nor'Wester	5.9	3) Saint John	6.4
4) Novascotian	5.3	4) Manitoba Free Press	6.0
5) Saint John	5.0	5) Novascotian/ Halifax Chron.	4.3
6) British Colonist	0.4	6) British Colonist	3.5

Inter - Regional Rankings

Attention paid to Maritimes (by papers outside the

Table 6-19

Maritimes)

<u>Pre-Confederation</u>		<u>Post Confederation</u>	
1) Montreal Gazette	11.0	1) Montreal Gazette	12.0
2) La Minerve	8.2	2) Ottawa Citizen	11.0
3) Le Canadien	7.5	3) Toronto Globe	8.3
4) Ottawa Citizen	7.3	4) Le Canadien	7.4
5) Toronto Globe	7.2	(Sample Average)	7.3
(Sample Average)	6.1	5) La Minerve	6.2
6) Nor'Wester	1.6	6) Manitoba Free Press	4.1
7) British Colonist	0.0	7) British Colonist	2.1

Inter-Regional Rankings

ATTENTION PAID TO THE WEST

By Papers outside the West

Table 6-20

<u>Pre-Confederation</u>		<u>Post-Confederation</u>	
1) The Globe	3.9	1) The Globe	9.9
2) Le Canadien	2.3	2) La Minerve	8.3
(Sample Average)	1.1	3) Montreal Gazette	8.0
3) Saint John	0.4	4) Ottawa Citizen	7.8
4) Ottawa Citizen	0.4	(Sample Average)	6.9
5) Montreal Gazette	0.2	5) Le Canadien	5.9
6) La Minerve	0.2	6) Saint John	4.6
7) Novascotian	0.1	7) Novascotian/ Halifax Chron.	3.5

Inter - Regional Rankings

Attention paid to Central Canada (the United Colony:
Ontario - Quebec) as an entity.

Table 6-21

<u>Pre-Confederation</u>		<u>Post-Confederation</u>	
1) Nor'Wester	17.9	1) Manitoba Free Press	1.6
2) Saint John Telegraph	10.7	2) Novascotian / Halifax Chron.	1.4
3) Novascotian	6.9	3) British Colonist	0.9
4) British Colonist	0.5	4) Saint John Telegraph	0.7

WHAT THE PAPERS SAID

In dealing with the context in which BNA/Canadian place names appeared, I have already in Chapter Five dealt with the growth of pan-Canadian feelings. I shall therefore in this chapter concentrate upon two interrelated phenomena: (a) inter-provincial and inter-regional attention, the kind of things the newspapers of one province were publishing about the people and events of other provinces, and (b) the community with which the people in the various provinces appeared most closely to identify: their local, provincial, regional or the national community. I shall proceed step by step through the newspapers in the sample, beginning in the east and ending in the west.

For the Novascotian until Confederation the loyalty-identity pattern, both from an impressionistic reading of the papers and a place name count, seems to have been first Nova Scotia, the province; second Britain; third the Maritime region, and fourth the rest of British North America. The two latter groups do not seem to have excited anywhere near the same intense loyalties as the two former, the province and the British connection. Locality in the case of Nova Scotia does not seem to have presented itself as a primary focus of loyalty, or to have been looked upon as self-sufficient in itself in this matter of determining one's identity.

Confederation disrupted this loyalty map, at least in-as-much as it dealt a blow at the identity-loyalty feelings focussed on Great Britain. To Nova Scotians Britain had proved herself a most unnatural mother; the loyalty of a devoted offspring had been betrayed. Yet there was nothing to replace her, at least immediately. Certainly the Dominion, an artificial construct, did not appear at that time to be an alternative. The lack of an external positive response to Nova Scotian autonomy aspirations also appears to have acted as a depressant on Nova Scotian nationalism, for nationalism is perhaps the best way to describe the feelings of Nova Scotians towards their province during the years of the mid-nineteenth century.

The virility of Nova Scotian nationalism at mid-century may be gauged from the fact that the columns of the Novascotian were then replete with references to "our country", "our land", meaning purely and simply the province, whilst the inhabitants were as often as not referred to as "our own countrymen" etc. Declarations such as the following made by a minister in the provincial government before the provincial assembly were not unusual, "We must with a seaboard more than half that of the United States ultimately become one of the greatest commercial countries on the face of the earth." (Novascotian, March 20, 1850, the Hon. J. W. Johnston).

Gradually, after Confederation, the term "our country" was extended outwards from the borders of Nova Scotia to embrace the whole Dominion. By 1870 there was an occasional vague reference to "the country", obviously meaning the whole Dominion, but much more frequently the term still designated Nova Scotia. At this time the term "Canadians" referred to the English-speaking inhabitants of Ontario and Quebec, and they were still an out-group usually designated as "they", or "them", the term "we" being reserved exclusively for Nova Scotians, as in the following 1870 Novascotian editorial:

We are protesting against a fraud by which our revenues were stolen from us, against an act of tyranny by which Nova Scotians, without their consent, were delivered to the rule of Canadians We are insisting on the fact that the rule of Canada is obnoxious to us for three years we have been going downhill and every year at a more rapid rate. A few more years of the Canadian connection and we will be in the last ditch, bankrupt, helpless and largely depopulated. (Nov. 28, 1870)

By 1875 the Halifax Morning Chronicle was referring to the whole Dominion, on occasions, as "our country", "a country like ours". Moreover, the term "Canadian" was even creeping into use, now and then, to describe Nova Scotians, as when the journal spoke of a Halifax born artist who had become the first "Canadian" portrait painter

to receive a commission from the federal government. (March 11, 1875). By 1890, "Canada" was being used quite easily to refer to the whole federation as for instance when a front page article of August 18, 1890, speaks of "Canadian Atlantic and Pacific ports", whilst Ontario and Quebec had assumed the status of "Central Canada".

As the place name count has shown, the amount of provincial inter-attention increased but did not explode during the latter half of the nineteenth century. An interesting instance of relative news values as weighed by the mind of a mid-century Halifax editor can be seen in the issue of the Novascotian of March 20, 1850, where pushed away on page two at the extreme bottom right-hand corner is a news item barely one inch long, with a tiny, dateline size, heading, "Riots in Montreal", Montreal, March 12: "At the municipal election yesterday, annexationists were returned in two wards. There was considerable rioting and numerous windows were smashed". Astonishingly an item on the same page entitled "The Rat Hunt in Paris" merited top-of-the-page treatment, a much bigger heading, and four and a half inches of space.

Another illustration of the treatment of news from "the Canadas" is the following drawn from the March 19, 1860, issue of the Novascotian, where squeezed away at the

end of two columns devoted to a flimsy piece of fiction, entitled "Aunt Janet's Diamonds", comes the terse, unheaded announcement, "Mr. Rodier has been elected Mayor of Montreal by a majority of two-and-a-half over his opponent, Mr. Holmes"; not even an explanation was offered of the half vote. And one searches the August, 1870, columns of the Novascotian in vain to find any mention whatsoever of the great fire of that month which ravaged the environs of Ottawa, threatening to engulf the federal capital— an event which was given extensive and graphic treatment in Montreal journals both French and English.

Nova Scotians were capable of harbouring a rather bizarre image of their Canadian cousins as an ill-tempered, unstable people prone to violence. Witness this extract from a Novascotian editorial of January 16, 1865, one of the renowned "Botheration Papers":

Are not Canadians always in trouble? Did not Papineau keep Lower Canada in trouble for 20 years, and McKenzie disturb the Upper Provinces for about the same period..... Again in 1849 the Canadians tried their hands at another insurrection. They burnt down their Parliament House, pelted Lord Elgin and his lady through the streets, hung American flags out of the window, and published a manifesto to which the principal citizens of Montreal signed their names, demanding annexation to the United States. Nova Scotians must have short memories if these things are forgotten..... Then are not the Canadas always disturbed by religious feuds and secret societies.... Here we have peace and order, everybody worships God as he pleases, and everybody obeys the law. There are no armed midnight

processions — no villains chalking our doors at night, no arms secreted, no Fenians drilling, and everybody sleeps securely with no man to make him afraid.

As for regionalism in the Maritimes, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick ~~were~~ aware of their familial likeness, often referring to each other as "the sister province", but they seem to have been content to leave it at that, and not tighten the relationship. Talk of Confederation in the early 1860s seems to have strengthened the feelings of affinity between the two provinces, but they never combined forces, and the sheer animosity towards Confederation evident in the pages of the Novascotian and Halifax Morning Chronicle was nowhere to be found in the pages of the Saint John papers. The latter did once in a while, even long before Confederation, speak of "our Canadian brethren", but distance and lack of direct accessibility and abundant commercial contact did cut down on the amount of New Brunswick attention directed towards "the Canadas".

A definite upsurge of interest in events in "the Canadas" can be seen in the columns of the Saint John Daily Telegraph in the early 1870s. Yet New Brunswickers like Nova Scotians persisted in calling their own province "this country" well into the post-Confederation period, and the term "Canada" still referred to the territory of the old

United Colony of Canada. Witness the following from an editorial in that same issue of March 10, 1870, "Let us contrive ways and means of making the coal and other products of Canada supplement those of the United States in our own country".

But the Saint John papers preceded the Halifax papers in their willingness to call residents of the Maritimes, "Canadians" as when in its August 23, 1870, issue the Saint John Morning Telegraph referred to the Archbishop of Halifax, and the Bishop of Chatham, N.B. as "Canadian bishops".

And in the November issue examined of the same year the Saint John Telegraph spoke of a growing economic integration with the Central Provinces, and reprinted the following from the Commercial Times:

It is mentioned incidentally in the annual report of the Grand Trunk Railway that trade between Nova Scotia and the other provinces of the Dominion, as indicated by the traffic of the railway, showed an increase of 12 percent, and that of New Brunswick 39 percent. These are gratifying facts; they show that our ability to supply each other's wants is better understood and increasing. One important result of the intercourse will be to cement closer the ties of nationality until with like kindred drops we mingle into one. (November 24, 1870)

But suspicion of the Central Provinces persisted, and the North-West Rebellion of 1885 sharpened the Saint John Telegraph's perennially anti-French stance, as shown by the following editorial which appeared in the paper on Sept. 3, 1885:

Six of the thirteen (cabinet) portfolios are in the hands of Quebec men, and these are the great money spending and patronage distributing departments ... Think of it, nearly one-half of all the departments and fully one half of the patronage of this Dominion are controlled by one of its seven provinces. What has the great North-West to say about this? As for the Maritime Provinces they have long since given up in despair of ever receiving anything like justice or fair play at the hands of the Tory Party. They must patiently continue to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the pampered and more highly favoured province of Quebec.

In the "pampered" province itself the main feature of the French-language press was the amazing paucity of news about any part of Canada other than Quebec — Quebec first and the rest of Canada a long way behind seems to have been the order of the day. But then this was very little different from the English-language papers in the other provinces. For them Quebec outside of Montreal seemed scarcely more familiar than the other side of the moon.

In the vast majority of cases the term "Canadien" was used by Le Canadien and La Minerve to designate purely and solely French Canadians, but occasionally even as early as 1870 it was sometimes used to denote the totality of the inhabitants of the Dominion, as in a sentence such as the following from the March 11, 1870 issue of Le Canadien, "Quatre millions de Canadiens après avoir organisé une

milice". Confusion surrounded the use of these words, "Canadiens", "Canadians", and "Canada", as demonstrated by another extract from the same issue, "Les Etats-Unis sont mieux disposé en general envers la Nouvelle-Ecosse qu'envers le Canada". Did the writer mean the whole of Central Canada or just Quebec? Even 10 years later reports can be found in Le Canadien where "Canada" is used solely to designate French Canada, as when a speaker at L'Institut Canadien de Quebec declared, "Quelle personne ne s'est pas demandé vingt fois dans sa vie quel sera l'avenir du Canada? L'avenir de sa patrie", and "la patrie" to a French Canadian meant only one thing — Quebec. Throughout the 1870s and '80s La Minerve ran a column of news from the province of Quebec outside Montreal, the heading was, "Nouvelles Canadiennes".

The news coverage of La Minerve was on the whole sparse, and heavily oriented first of all to the local Montreal scene, secondly to the Quebec provincial scene, and then well behind and in the following order: towards France, the rest of the Dominion, and finally Great Britain and the United States, both these latter receiving approximately the same attention. Even the Montreal Gazette, reputed mouthpiece of a commercial elite whose fortunes were closely tied to international trade, scarcely attempted

any sort of comprehensive coverage of either BNA/Dominion, United States, or European affairs. An interesting and prominent feature of the Gazette's advertising columns around mid-century was the abundance of advertisements regarding river and canal steamships bound not only from Montreal to Kingston, to Toronto, to Hamilton, and other points in the United Province, but also from Montreal to destinations in the United States such as Ogdensburg, Burlington, Portland, Boston and New York, etc., exhibiting a close transport linkage between the two countries that does not exist today.

By 1870 the Gazette had begun the practice of having columns of news, consisting of short, pithy paragraphs on the front page, headed respectively, "Ontario", with which province the column always began, then "Quebec", "The Maritime Provinces", and finally even on occasions "Newfoundland". In 1875 this kind of format was even extended to individual communities in Ontario, with items labelled, "From Toronto", "From Kingston", "From Hamilton", "From Port Hope", etc.,. Significantly enough this practice was very rarely extended to communities in Quebec, emphasizing that the orientation of the Gazette and its readers was much more directed towards the English-speaking communities of Ontario, than to the French-speaking communities of Quebec.

In the post-Confederation years the Ottawa Citizen too took up the idea of a column headed "Canadian News", but its conception of Canada appeared very heavily weighted in favour of Ontario and Montreal. The Ottawa papers displayed no protracted interest in the Maritimes. Occasionally there would be a spate of Maritime place names in a single issue, as in the March issue of 1875 of the Ottawa Citizen examined in this study, when there was a full report of a House of Commons debate on the decision of the New Brunswick legislature to abandon its support for the province's separate school system. It was a rare moment indeed when the Ottawa Citizen saw fit to devote an editorial to a Maritime topic, as on August 18, 1890, when it paid homage to New Brunswick Loyalists, commemorating the anniversary of the landing of the United Empire Loyalists at Saint John. The editorial concluded, "All the speeches delivered on the occasion breathed a genuine sentiment of loyalty to Canada and the Empire".

In the case of the pre-Confederation Toronto Globe the reader is often confused by the use of the word "province". Did it refer to Upper Canada only, or to the whole of the United Province? It appears to have been used at the whim of the writer to refer to both. Quite as commonly used as

the term "province" was that of "country"; legislators' speeches in the colonial assembly were strewn with such phrases as "the vital interests of our country", "the voice of the country", "the political circumstances of our country", "in the name of the country", etc.

A fervent feeling for "our country", a sense of a special link between people and land, is evident from the following editorial reprinted in the Globe on November 7, 1850, from the St. Catharines' Journal, entitled "Canada As It Is":

Take Canada as a whole and it is a country to be fond of, a place blessed with many peculiar favours. The fertility of her soil, the purity of her atmosphere, altogether a place where we might naturally enough expect a considerable amount of happiness. What though we cannot boast of ancient baronial halls we are uncursed with the remains of feudality. We may not be able to point to an ancient heraldry, or the lordly palace, but we are saved also from the deeply humiliating spectacle of beggary..... There exists not on the map of the world a country more blessed by God than Canada, or one more favourably situated for everything calculated to make a people great and prosperous.

As mentioned in the last chapter the Globe was capable of asking in a lead editorial of 1850, "What earthly interest for the Canadas is Newfoundland? What do we know about Nova Scotia and New Brunswick qualifying us to legislate for them, or they about Canada to legislate for us?" (Nov. 7, 1850). The paper by 1865 was becoming almost obsessed with the North-West. The prairies had suddenly sprung

into the forefront of the Upper Canadian consciousness, it was their manifest destiny, and the Globe led the campaign vigorously for the annexation of the North West Territories to the United Colony of Canada. As in the following editorial:

Everyone who takes a comprehensive and patriotic view of the future of this province must prize as a great boon the acquisition of such a vast domain on such favourable terms.....We may well congratulate ourselves that we are about to secure an extensive adjacent region which will prove an exact counter-part to the fertile lands of the western states. (Aug. 15, 1865)

Another editorial in the same issue alluded to the hostility found in the Maritimes to Confederation, and commented:

The fear of losing their identity in the large union and having their local importance diminished is the essence of nearly all the arguments used by the anti-unionist of the Maritime Provinces. It is hardly possible to think that such prejudices which if allowed to prevail over the world would give only miserable, petty states in place of the proud Empires which rule nearly the whole habitable globe, will forever keep Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the separate provinces they are now.

After administering this lesson to the Maritimers we find wedged at the very bottom of page two, column four, the following laconic paragraph, without headline:

"Troops have been sent from Halifax to Charlottetown to enforce submission among the tenantry of Prince Edward Island". The event apparently warranted no greater attention than that for Upper Canadians.

By 1870 the Globe was featuring on the front page regular daily columns headed "Latest from Montreal", "Latest from Halifax", "Latest from Quebec", etc., and these were regular features day in and day out, a daily round-up of news from the principal cities of Canada, something no Canadian newspaper offers us today. In 1870 the Globe focussed its gaze strongly upon the North-West and its rebels, devoting not only columns of news to the events at Red River, but a succession of editorials as well, sometimes two a day. The rebellion also excited a general interest in the North-West, and there was a spate of such features as: "The Climate of the North-West", "The Natural Outlet of the North-West", "Trade with the North-West", etc.

In Red River we find that about two-thirds of the advertisements in the Nor'Wester in 1860 and 1865 were from tradesmen in St. Paul, Minnesota; from grocery and provision merchants to wholesale dealers in stoves, to bankers and exchange dealers. The Nor'Wester was reputedly the spokesman of the settlers from Upper Canada, but upon its inception until 1865 the paper had next to nothing to say about Upper Canada. Indeed the journal although surprisingly well written and well produced clearly suffered from the isolation of the settlement and the lack of easy contact with the outside world, especially the rest of British North America; Lower Canada and the Maritimes were virtually terrae incognitae.

However, by 1865 the Nor'Wester had a great deal of editorial comment on "Upper Canadian designs on the North-West". Here is a typical comment:

"The population here, it must be confessed, would have preferred a Crown Colony to any connection with Canada, but we cannot but feel as we are adjacent our interests should be identical with those of Canada. (Sept. 21, 1865).

Red River's New Nation, an avowedly annexationist journal, in its first issue of January 7, 1870, declared:

Practically for years, if not for all time to come, we are shut out from all intercourse with Canada, except through the United States. In fact we form a separate colony and people with different views of life, distinct habits, and different interests and necessities; we have nothing in common with that country or its government. We could never satisfactorily be governed by the Dominion.

The Manitoba Free Press in its early days was an extremely thin journal, besides being printed in big 10-point type, and it carried very little in the way of hard news. But even in those early issues of the 1870s a suspicion and distrust of the "more corrupt and effete big city east" showed through, as in this sentence from an editorial of October 16, 1875: "The chief cities of the Dominion, Montreal and Toronto, have attained a bad pre-eminence as law-defying, riot-promoting centres of population, and a discussion is at present going on as to which of these places is the worst". It is interesting to note the close association in the public mind, and this prevailed from the Atlantic to the prairies themselves, between

Manitoba and the North-West Territories, They seemed to constitute one unit, one rarely being mentioned without the other.

The British Colonist in Victoria began with an horizon which as far as British North America was concerned extended little further than the inhabited parts of its own province, and even after British Columbia joined Confederation in 1871 its interest in that part of the Dominion beyond the Rockies remained quite minimal. Even the completion of the trans-Continental railway in November 1885 evoked little or no enthusiasm in the columns of the British Colonist and was reported in laconic fashion. The only rhetoric accompanying the event, or intimation of its historic significance, was the reproduction of a telegram sent by the B.C. premier, William Smythe to Sir John A. Macdonald: "Completion of the trans-continental railway. May it prove a permanent bond of union between the eastern and western provinces of this great dominion." (Nov. 16, 1885).

Conclusion

The breakdown of BNA/Canadian place names in this chapter has emphasized the importance of institutions in directing public attention and organizing community identifications.

First of all, there was the dramatic increase in references to BNA/Canada, both by method (a) and method (b) modes of measurement, during the 1860s and particularly from 1865 to 1870. This was the most significant discernible change in identifications over the whole 50 years surveyed. The mushrooming of BNA/Canadian identifications during the decade of the 1860s transformed BNA/Canada from a minor mode of identification in 1860 to a major one in 1870.

Secondly, there was an even more striking phenomenon : the abrupt cut-off in Central Canadian entity symbols once the United Colony of Canada had been legislated into history. From the findings of this survey there was only one area where at any time during the period 1845-95 regionalism assumed real importance, and that was Central Canada during the days of the United Colony, i.e., when the region had common governmental institutions, institutions peculiar to it and exclusive of any other part of British North America. This was the only time and place in which provincial symbols did not strongly outweigh regional symbols;

regional entity symbols were especially miniscule in all regions - apart from Central Canada pre-1867. Indeed for the sample as a whole there was a twelvefold drop in regional entity symbols as between pre- and post-Confederation periods, and this fall was entirely due to the virtual elimination of entity references to Central Canada.

As regards the growth of the concept of BNA/Canada as an entity, the English-language papers were generally ahead of the two French-language papers in the sample, and after Confederation it was the English-language papers in Central Canada, the Ottawa Citizen, the Toronto Globe, and the Montreal Gazette which took the lead here. However, by method (b), the extended method of measuring pan-Canadian orientation the two French-language representatives showed themselves quite up to the average in their involvement in, or acceptance of Canada as an inter-related, inter-meshed community, or perhaps in more modern parlance, cybernetic network. Moreover, in their rate of increase in pan-Canadian attention with the inauguration of the Dominion, La Minerve and Le Canadien were quite the equal of their English-language colleagues.

By the extended method of measuring pan-Canadianism - method (b) - the Montreal Gazette and the Ottawa Citizen,

the leaders even before Confederation, further consolidated their positions afterwards. The Toronto Globe moved into third position, straight behind them, after 1867. Moreover, in the Canadian entity symbols rank-order table, post-1867, the Central Canadian English-language trio had a significant lead. All of this endorses the hypothesis that the Dominion of Canada had a core area, namely the Montreal-Ottawa-Toronto triangle. Within this triangle the outstanding performance of the Montreal Gazette in the extended mode of measuring pan-Canadian feeling suggests that the paper's clientele, the English-speaking population of Montreal, played a specially key role in espousing, nurturing and probably propagating a feeling of pan-Canadian identity transcending provincial and regional boundaries.

Distance from this "Canadian heartland", and the firmness and maturity of the existing local, provincial and regional identities seem to have played their part in the development of a pan-Canadian orientation. The English-language journals on the geographical peripheries of BNA/Canada, the British Colonist on the West Coast and the Saint John Telegraph and Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle on the East Coast, occupied the three bottom positions in the pan-Canadian orientation method (b) table. Moreover,

the Saint John Telegraph was, as shown in Table 6-3, the paper whose Canadian entity symbols expanded the least of any in the sample as between pre- and post-Confederation periods. In these instances distance was combined with a firm, established identity to resist the rapid growth of a national feeling. However, on the prairies, the Northwestern Manitoba Free Press not only led the field in Canadian entity symbols pre-1867, and maintained a position close to the sample average in such symbols after Confederation, but in addition was above average in Canadian identifications by the extended mode of measurement both pre- and post-Confederation. Manitoba was apparently too small and of too recent settlement to have developed a thoroughly distinctive identity. She leaned to some extent on Central Canada and only really developed as a province within the context of the Dominion.

Own locality place names for the entire sample started high, with a pre-1867 sample average of 22.9, and remained high throughout the survey period, with a post-1867 average of 23.4 per cent; a remarkable constancy over the years. Easily the most locally absorbed paper of all was the British Colonist, tucked away in the south-western extremity of both its own province and the Dominion.

Provincial place names outside own locality, and own province entity symbols, were also present in massive numbers throughout the survey period. Indeed, provincial entity symbols were at their highest point in the first year of the survey, 1845, and they underwent something of a decline after 1860. The pre-Confederation provincial entity average for the sample was 6.8, afterwards it was 4.3, whereas BNA/Canada entity symbols did rise from 1.7 before Confederation to 12.6 afterwards. Thus provincial orientation did to some extent give way to a national one. However, rest-of-province place names (excluding entity symbols) declined only from 30.7 before to 27.5 after 1867. Thus a strong provincial involvement and identification was maintained.

The existence of strong local and provincial communities with well established identities even before the mid-century mark indicates that the flood of immigrants which came to British North America in the 1840s had to fit themselves into the existing pattern of folkways, culture and modes of behaviour extant in these established communities.

The concept of a core area of Canada received some confirmation from the figures collected on inter-regional attention. Before 1867 Upper Canada closely followed by

Lower Canada received the most inter-regional attention, and this was further boosted by the references to Central Canada as an entity which appeared in the Maritimes and Western papers. However, Confederation saw no boost in this overall attention: the Central Canadian entity symbols slumped to a meagre level. Attention to Quebec fell off somewhat but there was a substantial increase in the amount of attention paid by the Maritimes and Western papers to Ontario, which appeared to have become the main focus of attention of English-speaking Canada. Moreover, the West seems to have really only entered the cognitive map of the population of the eastern provinces. With the inauguration of the Dominion, the way to the West was now open. But on the whole it can scarcely be claimed that Confederation led to a blossoming forth of inter-regional attention; British North Americans still seemed to be principally concerned with their own backyard.

Footnotes : Chapter Six

1. In measuring the pan-Canadian orientation in Upper Canada/Ontario and Lower Canada/Quebec I have included references by Upper Canada/Ontario to Lower Canada/Quebec, and of Lower Canada/Quebec to Upper Canada/Ontario, i.e., I have treated them as two separate regions. I have done this not only on the grounds of the cleavage existing between the two regions (linguistic, ethnic, religious, cultural, historical, etc.) but also because of the importance of Ontario-Quebec links in Canadian integration. If these two provinces/regions are united by strong ties of mutual interest and attention, then the rest of Canada has a firm, magnetic core around which to organize.
2. Donald V. Smiley, ed., The Rowell-Sirois Report : Book I, an abridgment with an introduction by D.V. Smiley (Toronto : McClelland and Stewart, 1963), p. 18.

A NOTE ON THE GRAPHS PERTAINING TO CHAPTER SIX

Figures 6 - 1 to 6 - 13 will be found in the Appendix to Chapter six at the end of the thesis on pages 613 to 625. These figures give a graphic presentation for each newspaper of the disposition of its BNA/Canada place names between the various categories utilized in Chapter six.

A NOTE ON THE TABLES OF CHAPTER SIX

The tables pertaining to Chapter six, not included in the text, are divided into two sections : (a) those immediately following the text of the chapter and located on pages 332 to 347, and (b) those included in the Appendix to Chapter six, and to be found on pages 592 to 611.

Amongst the tables of section (a) 6 - 1 gives the pre-Confederation average division of BNA place names for each paper in the sample; table 6 -2 does the same for the post-Confederation average. Table 6 - 2(a) gives the percentage change for the average of the entire sample, as between pre- and post- Confederation periods, and indicates which changes in which categories were statistically significant.

The other tables on pages 335 to 342 give comparative figures and percentages for the nine newspapers in the sample, for every year surveyed, category by category.

Tables 6 -22 to 6 -26, located on pages 343 to 347, give comparative percentages per paper per year surveyed, for attention to the various regions of BNA/Canada by papers outside those regions.

In the Appendix to Chapter six tables 6 -27 to 6 - 35 will be found. They show the percentage distribution of BNA/ Canadian place names for each newspaper in the sample for every year surveyed.

Table 6 - 1

OVERALL DIVISION OF B.N.A. PLACE NAMES FOR EACH OF THE NINE NEWSPAPERS IN THE SAMPLE

Newspaper	Locality	Rest of Province	PRE-CONFEDERATION (1.e. 1845 - 1865 sample years)					Total
			Province as Entity	Rest of Region	Region as Entity	Rest of BNA	BNA as Entity	
Novascotian	17.7 %	36.9 %	8.9%	17.9%	1.3 %	14.7%	2.5%	100 %
N.B. Courier/ Saint John Tele.	26.6%	22.5%	10.0%	20.3%	0.4%	18.1%	2.4%	100 %
Le Canadien	26.2%	31.7%	5.7%	12.8%	12.7%	9.8%	1.1%	100%
La Minerve	25.3%	25.7%	6.1%	18.7%	15.2%	8.4%	0.6%	100%
Montreal Gazette	18.0%	18.3%	5.2%	25.8%	19.6%	11.3%	1.8%	100%
Ottawa Citizen	25.8%	17.7%	9.5%	21.9%	15.0%	7.6%	2.5%	100%
Toronto Globe	17.6%	29.2%	4.0%	16.8%	19.5%	11.1%	1.8%	100%
Northwestern	11.5%	30.6%	8.4%	18.5%	0.0%	28.1%	3.0%	100%
British Colonist	41.3%	53.6%	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	100%
Sample Average	23.0%	30.7%	6.8%	16.8%	9.3%	12.6%	1.7%	100%

(Percentages out of total number of BNA/Canada Place Names)

Table 6 - 2

OVERALL DIVISION OF B.N.A. PLACE NAMES FOR EACH OF THE NINE NEWSPAPERS IN THE SAMPLE

Post - Confederation (i.e. 1870 - 1895 sample years)

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Locality</u>	<u>Rest of Province</u>	<u>Province as Entity</u>	<u>Rest of Region</u>	<u>Region as Entity</u>	<u>Rest of Dominion</u>	<u>Dominion as Entity</u>	<u>Total</u>
Novascotian/ Halifax Chron.	21.6%	29.6%	4.7%	9.6%	2.2%	18.3%	13.3%	100%
Saint John Telegraph	23.2%	27.9%	3.2%	14.9%	2.3%	20.0%	8.6%	100%
Le Canadien	21.4%	36.3%	3.6%	11.5%	0.7%	13.3%	12.0%	100%
La Minerve	26.6%	25.5%	6.1%	19.4%	0.5%	14.5%	7.8%	100%
Montreal Gazette	23.8%	16.9%	2.6%	21.6%	0.3%	19.9%	14.9%	100%
Ottawa Citizen	24.5%	22.1%	2.1%	16.6%	0.3%	18.8%	15.6%	100%
Toronto Globe	17.1%	33.4%	4.4%	11.2%	0.4%	18.3%	15.4%	100%
Northwestern/ Manitoba Free Press	26.5%	25.4%	5.6%	9.8%	1.2%	25.0%	12.4%	100%
British Colonist	32.3%	28.3%	6.5%	4.5%	0.2%	14.9%	13.1%	100%
Sample Average	23.4%	27.5%	4.3%	13.2%	0.9%	18.1%	12.6%	100%

(Percentages out of total number of BNA/Canada Place Names)

OVERALL DIVISION OF BNA/CANADIAN PLACE NAMES (TABLE 6 - 2(a))

STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE TEST FOR THE SAMPLE AVERAGE

Percentage Change Between Pre- and Post-Confederation Periods

	<u>Locality</u>	<u>Rest of Province</u>	<u>Province as Entity</u>	<u>Rest of Region as Entity</u>	<u>Rest of BNA Entity</u>	<u>BNA as Entity</u>	<u>Sample Size</u>
Pre-Confederation							
Sample Average	23.0	30.7	6.8	16.8	9.3	12.6	14,876
Post-Confederation							
Sample Average	23.4	27.5	4.3	13.2	0.9	18.1	26,350
Percentage CHANGE	+0.4	-3.2*	-2.5*	-3.6*	-8.4*	+5.5*	+10.9* 20,613

W. Wilkes, "Confidence Limits and Critical Differences Between Percentages", Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332-338, provides a chart for determining statistical significance of critical differences in percentages. Chart II, p. 336, shows that for samples over 10,000, as is the case above, a percentage difference of more than 2½% is statistically significant at the 0.01 level of probability.

1. To determine the sample size an average is taken of the total place names to be distributed in the two years being compared.

* Indicates the percentage changes which are statistically significant compared with the previous year's percentage for the given size of sample.

Table 6-4

The Percentage of Total BNA/CANADA Place Names Devoted

Year	Nova Scotia/ Halifax Chronicle	N.B. Courier/Starbuck Saint John Gazette Tele.	La Minerve	Le Canadien	The Globe	Ottawa Citizen	Manitoba Free Press		British Colonist	Overall Average
							North-West	Manitoba Free Press		
1845	(8) 3.3%	(8) 2.6%	(1) 0.3%	(0) 0.0%	(11) 2.2%	(1) 0.4%				1.2%
1850	(23) 3.6%	(6) 1.4%	(5) 1.1%	(5) 1.6%	(12) 2.0%	(10) 1.7%				1.9%
1855	(9) 2.6%	(3) 0.9%	(1) 0.3%	(0) 0.0%	(2) 0.5%	(3) 1.0%				0.8%
1860	(6) 1.1%	(15) 4.4%	(0) 0.0%	(6) 2.5%	(4) 0.7%	(0) 0.0%	(2) 0.8%		0.0%	1.2%
1865	(35) 3.7%	(7) 3.0%	(4) 1.4%	(4) 1.6%	(23) 3.8%	(11) 9.6%	(8) 5.2%		0.0%	3.5%
PRE CONFED. AVERAGE	(16) 2.5%	(8) 2.4%	(2) 0.6%	(5) 1.1%	(12) 1.8%	(5) 2.5%	(5) 3.0%		0.0%	1.7%
1870	(52) 10.8%	(20) 8.0%	(29) 6.1%	(43) 17.8%	(114) 19.0%	(45) 15.4%	(52) 22.0%	(44) 23.9%		15.3%
1875	(41) 13.2%	(55) 8.3%	(14) 4.8%	(11) 6.2%	(60) 8.2%	(53) 12.0%	(17) 11.7%	(78) 15.4%		9.7%
1880	(62) 15.2%	(33) 5.6%	(14) 5.2%	(34) 14.6%	(147) 15.1%	(56) 14.9%	(29) 9.8%	(17) 11.8%		11.6%
1885	(73) 14.8%	(42) 9.6%	(33) 11.0%	(33) 13.2%	(188) 22.4%	(86) 21.2%	(64) 12.4%	(80) 7.9%		15.3%
1890	(79) 15.7%	(39) 6.9%	(32) 11.0%	(46) 11.2%	(116) 14.4%	(55) 15.9%	(88) 9.5%	(80) 8.5%		12.0%
1895	(63) 10.1%	(69) 12.9%	(32) 8.3%	(35) 9.2%	(125) 13.0%	(90) 14.4%	(88) 8.6%	(49) 11.2%		11.4%
POST CONFED. AVERAGE	(61) 13.3%	(43) 8.6%	(26) 7.8%	(34) 12.0%	(130) 15.4%	(64) 15.6%	(56) 12.4%	(58) 13.1%		12.6%

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Table 6-5

Measurement of Pan-Canadian Orientation by Extended Method (Method (b))

i.e. B.N.A./CANADA entity symbols plus place names in other regions

Upper Canada/Ontario and Lower Canada/Quebec										
Year	Horasaction/ Hilifex Chronicle	W.B. Courier/ Saint John Tele.	considered as separate and distinct regions: Absolute Numbers and Percentages						British Colonist	Sample Ave.
			Le Canadien	La Minerve	Montreal Gazette	Ottawa Citizen	Toronto Globe	North-West/ Manitoba Free Press		
1845	110 18.3%	47 12.5%	55 25.3%	111 31.0%	136 42.8%	68 26.7%	144 28.7%			26.5%
1850	83 13.1%	53 12.5%	81 26.1%	138 29.3%	131 45.3%	179 31.0%	219 36.4%			27.7%
1855	45 12.8%	117 21.9%	20 11.8%	61 20.0%	108 34.4%	73 23.1%	69 16.5%			20.1%
1860	42 7.5%	72 21.2%	49 20.4%	55 23.3%	115 30.1%	118 31.3%	176 30.4%	29 15.8%	2 0.9%	20.1%
1865	293 34.4%	81 34.7%	87 34.7%	99 34.7%	181 41.5%	55 47.8%	226 37.1%	19 46.5%	2 2.7%	34.9%
1870	115 17.2%	74 20.5%	58 23.7%	93 27.7%	134 38.8%	98 32.0%	187 29.6%	24 31.0%	2 1.8%	24.7%
AVERAGE										
1875	148 31.4%	62 24.8%	94 38.8%	254 54.5%	383 63.6%	145 49.7%	352 58.7%	83 42.8%	51 29.9%	43.8%
1880	105 33.9%	206 31.2%	44 24.7%	125 42.4%	222 39.9%	234 53.1%	316 43.2%	50 38.6%	111 24.9%	36.9%
1885	132 53.2%	122 39.7%	95 40.8%	106 45.8%	285 51.9%	195 32.4%	448 20.6%	77 32.9%	31 22.9%	38.9%
1890	179 36.3%	128 29.1%	115 45.8%	167 55.5%	469 62.2%	242 59.8%	388 46.2%	174 39.8%	271 30.6%	45.0%
1895	156 30.9%	169 30.3%	160 39.0%	77 26.5%	372 53.5%	154 44.4%	293 36.4%	263 34.1%	178 28.9%	36.0%
1899	216 34.6%	200 37.4%	116 30.4%	121 31.2%	483 56.2%	294 47.0%	373 38.3%	331 36.1%	110 31.0%	38.0%
POST 1867 AVERAGE	156 31.6%	148 28.5%	104 36.8%	143 41.7%	369 56.4%	211 51.0%	362 44.8%	163 41.2%	125 28.0%	40.0%

Table : 6 - 8

Measurement of LOCAL ORIENTATION

Year	Local Place Names - Absolute Numbers and Percentages										For Western/ Manitoba Free Press	British Colonist	Sample Ave.
	Montreal Chronicle	H.B. Courcier/ Saint John Tele.	Le Canadien	La Minerve	Montreal Gazette	Ottawa Citizen	Toronto Globe						
1845	122 20.3%	102 33.6%	56 25.8%	47 13.1%	44 13.8%	49 19.2%	66 13.2%						19.9%
1850	136 21.5%	75 17.7%	105 33.9%	128 27.2%	55 19.0%	84 14.5%	67 11.1%						30.4%
1855	80 22.7%	108 30.8%	39 22.9%	75 24.2%	41 13.0%	91 29.2%	135 31.7%						24.9%
1860	102 18.3%	66 19.4%	63 26.3%	102 43.2%	91 23.8%	145 38.5%	111 19.2%	37 13.9%	43 38.4%				26.8%
1865	57 5.9%	27 11.6%	56 22.3%	54 18.9%	89 20.4%	32 27.8%	79 13.0%	14 9.0%	49 44.1%				19.2%
PRE. CONFED. AVERAGE	99 17.7%	76 26.6%	64 26.2%	81 25.3%	64 18.0%	80 25.8%	92 17.6%	25 11.5%	46 41.3%				22.9%
1870	77 15.9%	75 30.0%	45 18.6%	38 8.0%	94 15.6%	72 24.7%	80 13.3%	40 17.0%	37 20.1%				18.1%
1875	76 24.5%	103 15.6%	46 25.8%	80 27.2%	179 32.1%	70 15.9%	97 13.3%	46 31.7%	156 30.8%				24.1%
1880	58 14.5%	165 27.9%	58 24.9%	82 30.7%	104 23.1%	76 20.2%	207 21.2%	68 23.1%	59 41.0%				25.1%
1885	155 31.4%	80 18.2%	53 21.1%	68 22.6%	163 21.6%	110 27.2%	111 13.2%	99 19.2%	359 35.4%				23.3%
1890	115 22.8%	147 26.1%	93 22.7%	114 39.2%	173 24.9%	114 33.0%	165 20.5%	148 16.0%	202 35.0%				26.7%
1895	127 20.3%	104 19.5%	59 15.5%	123 31.7%	220 25.6%	165 26.4%	205 21.0%	166 16.0%	121 31.5%				23.1%
POST CONFED. AVERAGE	101 21.6%	112 23.2%	59 21.4%	83 26.6%	156 23.8%	101 24.5%	144 17.1%	95 20.5%	156 32.3%				23.4%

Table 6 - 13

Measurement of Regional Orientation by Attenuated Method: (Method (a))

Year	Montreal / M.B. Courier / Hollaz Chronicle		Le Canadien / Saint John Tele.		La Minerve		Montreal Gazette		Ottawa Citizen		Toronto Globe		Manitoba Free Press		British Colonist		Sample Ave.
	i.e. by REGIONAL ENTITY SYMBOLS ONLY: Central Canada considered as one region																
1845	3	0.5%	0	23	40	41	43	102									10.4%
1850	7	1.1%	2	37	64	34	93	108									10.4%
1855	0	0	0	22	50	120	52	76					0	0			14.5%
1860	5	1.1%	1	40	24	60	46	95					0	0			8.1%
1865	39	4.0%	2	28	71	85	15	151					0	0			11.0%
PRE- CONFED. AVE.	11	1.3%	1	30	50	68	50	106					0	0			10.9%
1870	12	3.0%	4	5	13	4	1	6					5	2			1.6%
1875	10	2.5%	25	3	0	1	1	5					2	1			1.2%
1880	8	2.0%	17	0	0	3	0	4					3	0			0.8%
1885	12	3.0%	8	1	0	0	1	0					7	0			0.9%
1890	7	1.4%	3	0	0	0	0	0					6	0			0.3%
1895	6	1.0%	9	0	0	0	6	0					6	1			0.5%
POST CONFED. AVERAGE	9	2.2%	11	15	2	1	1.5	2.5					5	0.7			0.9%

Measurement of Regional Orientation by Extended Method : (Method (b)) Table 6-16

i.e. by REGIONAL ENTITY SYMBOLS plus all place names in the region

Year	Newscotian/ Halifax Chronicle	H.B. Connelley/ Saint John Tele.	except those in own province: ONTARIO AND QUEBEC TREATED AS ONE REGION (CENTRAL CANADA)					British Colonist Free Press	Sample Ave.
			Le Canadien	La Minerve	Montreal Gazette	Ottawa Citizen	Toronto Globe		
1845	39	60	39	117	131	100	201		29.3%
	14.1%	19.7%	18.0%	32.7%	41.2%	39.2%	40.0%		
1850	60	71	60	177	129	230	257		31.8%
	23.6%	15.3%	18.1%	37.6%	44.6%	39.8%	42.7%		
1855	41	36	41	107	225	120	134		32.4%
	16.2%	10.3%	24.1%	34.5%	71.7%	38.5%	31.5%		
1860	65	102	65	67	129	111	188	31	23.5%
	18.8%	29.7%	27.1%	28.4%	33.8%	29.4%	32.5%	11.8%	0.0%
1865	75	67	75	104	156	43	210	39	27.8%
	23.4%	27.9%	29.5%	36.1%	35.8%	37.4%	34.5%	25.2%	0.0%
PRE CONFED AVERAGE	56	67	56	114	154	121	198	35	28.5%
	19.2%	20.8%	25.4%	33.9%	45.4%	36.9%	36.2%	18.5%	0.0%
1870	35	28	35	216	164	54	109	23	17.5%
	8.6%	9.6%	14.5%	45.5%	27.6%	18.5%	18.2%	9.7%	5.4%
1875	20	203	20	47	130	95	110	3	15.2%
	20.0%	27.0%	11.2%	15.9%	23.3%	21.6%	15.0%	2.1%	0.6%
1880	44	92	30	51	112	58	110	16	12.7%
	10.8%	12.7%	13.0%	19.1%	24.8%	15.4%	11.2%	5.4%	2.1%
1885	52	101	32	52	134	79	77	72	14.3%
	10.6%	21.2%	12.4%	17.3%	17.8%	19.5%	9.2%	14.0%	6.5%
1890	68	86	56	29	123	40	58	144	12.1%
	13.4%	14.7%	13.7%	10.0%	17.7%	11.6%	7.2%	15.5%	4.9%
1895	52	104	30	45	169	92	82	205	12.8%
	7.5%	17.8%	7.9%	11.6%	19.6%	14.7%	8.4%	19.3%	8.8%
POST CONFED. AVERAGE	53	102	34	77	130	70	91	77	14.1%
	11.8%	17.2%	12.1%	19.9%	22.0%	16.9%	11.5%	11.0%	4.7%

Table 6-22

Year	Percentages of Attention Devoted to Upper Canada/Ontario by Papers in Other Regions						
	Novascotian/ Halifax Chronicle	N.B. Courier/ Saint John Tele.	Le Canadien	La Minerve	Montreal Gazette	Northwestern/ Manitoba Free Press	British Colonist
1845	12 2.0%	3 1.0%	16 7.4%	77 21.5%	90 28.3%		12.0%
1850	6 1.0%	3 0.7%	50 16.1%	113 24.0%	95 32.9%		14.9%
1855	8 2.3%	11 3.1%	19 11.2%	57 18.3%	105 33.4%		13.7%
1860	5 0.9%	2 0.6%	25 10.4%	43 18.2%	69 18.1%	6 2.3%	7.2%
1865	56 5.8%	10 4.3%	47 18.7%	32 11.2%	11 16.3%	5 3.2%	8.8%
PRE. CONFED. AVERAGE	2.7%	2.0%	12.8%	18.7%	25.8%	2.8%	11.3%
1870	34 7.8%	18 7.2%	30 12.4%	203 42.7%	162 26.9%	20 8.5%	15.6%
1875	22 7.1%	69 10.5%	17 9.6%	47 15.9%	129 23.2%	24 16.6%	12.5%
1880	51 12.5%	40 6.8%	30 12.8%	51 19.1%	109 24.2%	33 11.2%	13.3%
1885	37 7.5%	32 7.3%	31 12.3%	52 17.3%	134 17.8%	69 13.4%	12.6%
1890	42 8.3%	58 10.3%	56 13.7%	29 10.0%	123 17.7%	127 13.8%	12.4%
1895	68 10.9%	54 10.1%	30 7.9%	45 11.6%	168 19.6%	167 16.2%	12.4%
POST CONFED. AVERAGE	9.0%	8.4%	11.5%	19.4%	21.5%	13.3%	13.1%

Table 6-23

Percentage of Attention Devoted to Lower/Canada/Quebec by Other Papers

Year	Montreal Chronicle	Montreal Star	Montreal Tele.	Ottawa Citizen	Toronto Globe	Western Manitoba Free Press	British Colonist	Overall Average
1845	47 7.8%	15 1.9%	57 22.4%	99 19.7%				13.0%
1850	32 5.1%	25 5.9%	137 23.7%	149 24.8				15.0%
1855	9 2.6%	16 4.6%	68 21.8%	58 13.6%				10.6%
1860	14 2.5%	15 4.4%	65 17.2%	93 16.1%		21 7.9%	1 0.9%	8.2%
1865	83 8.6%	19 8.2%	28 24.4%	59 9.7%		6 3.9%	0	9.1%
PRE. CONFED. AVERAGE	5.3%	5.0%	21.9%	16.8%		5.9%	0.4%	11.1%
1870	16 2.3%	19 7.6%	53 18.2%	103 17.2%		16 4.7%	1 0.5%	8.6%
1875	37 11.9%	61 9.3%	94 21.3%	105 14.4%		7 6.2%	8 1.6%	10.8%
1880	9 2.2%	32 5.4%	58 15.4%	106 10.8%		15 5.1%	5 3.5%	7.1%
1885	27 5.5%	15 3.4%	78 19.3%	77 9.2%		41 8.0%	60 5.9%	8.5%
1890	23 4.6%	46 8.5%	40 11.6%	58 7.2%		48 5.2%	22 3.8%	6.8%
1895	52 8.3%	24 4.5%	86 13.8%	82 8.4%		76 7.1%	21 5.5%	7.9%
POST CONFED.	4.3%	6.4%	16.6%	11.2%		6.0%	3.5%	8.3%

Table 6-24

Percentage of Attention Devoted to the Maritimes by Other Papers

Year	Le Canadien	La Minerve	Montreal Gazette	Ottawa Citizen	Toronto Globe	Northwestern Manitoba Free Press	British Colonist	Overall Average
1845	16 7.4%	32 8.9%	38 12.0%	9 3.5%	31 6.2%			7.6%
1850	26 8.4%	20 4.3%	30 10.4%	29 5.0%	58 9.6%			7.5%
1855	1 0.6%	3 1.0%	1 0.3%	1 0.3%	9 2.1%			0.9%
1860	18 7.5%	12 5.1%	41 10.7%	51 13.5%	50 8.6%	0	0	6.5%
1865	34 13.6%	62 21.8%	95 21.8%	16 3.9%	57 9.4%	5 3.2%	0	11.9%
PRE. CONFED. AVERAGE	7.5%	8.2%	11.0%	7.3%	7.2%	1.6%	0	6.1%
1870	13 5.4%	22 4.6%	112 18.6%	25 8.6%	48 8.0%	8 3.4%	3 1.1%	7.1%
1875	10 5.6%	37 12.5%	47 8.4%	70 15.9%	103 14.1%	3 2.1%	6 1.2%	8.5%
1880	20 8.6%	20 7.5%	72 16.0%	53 14.1%	84 8.6%	15 5.1%	2 1.4%	8.7%
1885	20 8.0%	20 6.6%	36 4.8%	30 7.4%	57 6.8%	26 5.1%	29 2.9%	5.9%
1890	37 9.0%	7 2.4%	84 12.1%	27 7.8%	38 4.7%	50 5.4%	13 2.2%	6.2%
1895	26 6.8%	13 3.4%	101 11.8%	76 12.2%	76 7.8%	39 3.8%	14 3.7%	7.0%
POST CONFED. AVERAGE	7.4%	6.2%	12.0%	11.0%	8.3%	4.1%	2.1%	7.3%

Table 6-25

Percentage of Attention Devoted to the West by Other Papers

Year	Novascotian/ Halifax Chronicle	M.B. Courier/ Saint John Tele.	Le Canadien	La Minerve	Montreal Gazette	Ottawa Citizen	The Globe	Average
1845	1 0.2%	1 0.3%	23 10.6%	1 0.3%	2 0.6%	1 0.4%	3 0.6%	1.8%
1850		4 0.9%				3 0.5%		
1855			0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1 0.3%	0.0%	0.2%
1860	1 0.2%	3 0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	1 0.3%	2 0.5%	29 5.0%	1.0%
1865	3 0.3%		2 0.8%	1 0.4%	1 0.3%		87 14.3%	2.3%
PRE- CONFED. AVERAGE		0.4%	2.3%	0.2%	0.2%	0.4%	3.9%	1.1%
1870	19 3.9%	1 0.4%	8 3.3%	5 1.1%	19 3.2%	22 7.5%	87 14.5%	4.8%
1875	3 1.0%	10 1.5%	6 3.4%	27 9.2%	3 0.5%	17 3.9%	48 6.6%	3.7%
1880	9 2.2%	17 2.9%	11 4.7%	21 7.9%	48 10.6%	28 7.5%	111 11.4%	6.7%
1885	37 7.5%	37 8.4%	31 12.4%	62 20.6%	110 14.6%	48 11.9%	66 7.9%	11.9%
1890	8 1.6%	25 4.4%	21 5.1%	9 3.1%	64 9.2%	32 9.3%	81 10.9%	6.1%
1895	32 5.1%	53 9.9%	25 6.6%	31 8.0%	86 10.0%	42 6.7%	90 9.2%	7.9%
POST- CONFED. AVERAGE		4.6%	5.9%	8.3%	8.0%	7.8%	9.9%	6.9%

Table 6-26

References To Central Canada (as Entity) by Papers Outside the Region

Mean Overall Average

British Colonist

Non' Wester/Manitoba
Free Press

N.B. Courier/Saint
John Telegraph

Novascotian/
Halifax Chronicle

Year

6.8%

3.5%

9.4%

4.7%

16.3%

9.0%

3.1%

1.5%

0.5%

0.9%

0.6%

0.2%

1.1%

13

4.9%

0.0%

1

0.9%

0.5%

2

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8

1.8%

0.0%

10

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CHAPTER SEVEN

COLONIALS OR CANADIANS ? MODES OF SELF-IDENTIFICATION

The place name count is finished, and in this chapter I turn to the ways in which British North Americans/Canadians directly and explicitly referred to themselves and the other inhabitants of BNA/Canada in terms of what I have deemed to be groups relevant to the growth of pan-Canadianism.

The questions around which this chapter revolves include : to what extent did BNA/Canadians call themselves "British", "colonials", "subjects of the Queen", or "citizens of the Empire", etc ? To what extent did these British identifications persist during the latter half of the nineteenth century ? What of ethnic-linguistic, and religio-cultural identities ? How strong were they ? Did they persist ? Did they wane ? Were they more, or less, salient than provincial or regional alignments ? With what relative intensities did the people settled in BNA/Canada refer to themselves, and their fellow citizens - by the locality, the province, the region in which they lived ? How did these identifications compare with the national alignment, the feelings, if any, of pan-Canadianism ? What was the pattern and what were the relative intensities of these identifications during the Victorian era ?

The place name count might be characterized as an attempt to delineate the instinctive often sub-conscious assessment by the group of which places and societies had the most relevance to it, the most impact upon it. In the explicit group identification count we move more into the realm of consciousness. Into what groups, significant from the point of view of the growth of pan-Canadianism, did BNA/Canadians see themselves divided, or united, and how deep were the divisions between them? The group identification count should prove a useful adjunct to the place name count in the study of political integration in BNA/Canada.

In my search for appropriate categories into which to divide and collect the group-identity data I was guided by three identity themes encountered in reading the history and press of the period: (a) the British connection, (b) ethno-linguistic, religio-cultural criteria, and (c) territorial criteria. It will be seen that these themes and the sequence in which I have placed them embody the hypothesis that immigrants arrive in a new country bearing their old world group loyalties intact. Indeed, for a time these early loyalties may very well be intensified by contact with different and alien groups, but in due course over an undetermined period, new loyalties will be

evolved, which may exist alongside, superimpose themselves upon, or indeed eventually supersede the original loyalties.

The categories I finally resolved upon within this framework were as follows: (a) Those referring to the British Political Community -- comprising identifications such as "British", "Colonist", "subject of the Queen", "citizen of the Empire", "British Americans", "British North Americans", etc. (b) Those referring to ethnic-linguistic characteristics, comprising whatever ethnic ascriptions were given to individuals or groups domiciled in Canada. Several terms have been taken as two references, e.g.

"Orangeman" signifies that the person or group in question is being defined by two separable phenomena, first that he is a protagonist of the Protestant succession to the British throne, and second that he has origins associated with Ireland. Similarly the term "Irish-Catholic" and "Jew" have double connotations, ethnic and religious, and in this category scheme were therefore recorded twice. However, the term "French Canadian" has been taken as designating solely a person or group by his or its ethnic-linguistic group of origin. Most French Canadians happen to be also Roman Catholics but I have not taken this to be a double

reference. At least some French Canadians even in the nineteenth century were non-practising Catholics, and a few were even Protestants, and in this instance the ethnic-linguistic designation is clearly uppermost. On the other hand in the case of such terms as Mennonite and Hutterite I have taken the religious designation as being paramount and primary and have therefore recorded them only under one category - the religious. For most Canadians the ethnic origin of such groups is obscure, and quite secondary to the religious aspect.

We next come to the territorial categories, which are more or less self-explanatory:

Locality: Torontonian, Haligonian, etc., identification of a person or group by the locality, city, town, settlement or rural district, in which he or it lives, e.g. expressions such as Montreal financier, Quebec City priest, St. John Rowing Club, Halifax stevedores, etc., etc.

Province: identification of a person by his province of residence e.g. New Brunswicker, Bluesoser, Lower Canadian, Upper Canadian, etc.

Region: identification of a person by the region in which he lives. The regions recognized in the group identification count, as in the place name count, were the Maritimes, Central Canada (comprising both Quebec and Ontario), and the West. The term "Atlantic Provinces", and the "Lower Provinces", a

term fairly prevalent for the Maritimes, were both taken as being synonymous with the Maritimes.

- British North America/Canada : identification of a person or group with the whole of the British North American Colonies or with the Dominion, as it was termed after 1867, e.g. British North American volunteers, Canadian farmers, lumbermen, federal politicians, federal public servants, Dominion contingents, etc. (As previously mentioned several terms have been taken as two references. In this case the term "British North American" both identifies a person as associated with the whole of the British North American colonies, and with the British Political Community. It has, therefore been taken as two references and coded twice, once in the British Political Community category and once in the BNA/Canadian category.)

Initially, it was my intention to add one further category to the list, that of "North American", placing under this head any reference to BNA/Canadians as residents of North America, eg. "citizens of the New World". But such designations proved to be so rare that it virtually became a non-category and I decided to abandon it.

Every time a reference to an individual or group of persons fell within the ambit of the above categories, and appeared within the news columns and editorial matter of the newspapers examined in this survey, it was recorded. All the percentages expressed in this chapter are percentages of the total group identifications which fell within the ambit of the above categories.

Identification of Inhabitants: The Sample Average

By far the most popular and ubiquitous mode of identification was by locality of residence for every year sampled. It started high, at 51.2 per cent of all group identifications, (see Table 7-1) within our categories, and remained within the 50 per cent vicinity except for the two lowest years of the survey, 1865 and 1870, when the percentages were 34.5 and 38.0 respectively. These two years, 1865 and 1870 were the years of most intensive debate on Confederation which fell within the years sampled, and they were years when attention was most likely to be focussed on national issues, at the expense of local. The two highest years for local identification were 1855 at 56.9, and 1890 at 57.1; the period surveyed finished in 1895 at 55.2. Thus there would appear to have been well formed local identities throughout this period, just as the place name count indicated. Local identities, as stated in previous chapters, whilst not in themselves of prime significance in the development of a pan-Canadian feeling, at least indicate the foundation, the basic ingredient, was there throughout the 50 years surveyed, at the beginning as much as at the end, upon which wider territorial loyalties could be built, be they provincial, regional or national. It was not a competing loyalty with any of these, but rather a basic datum, a sine qua non - without this nothing else.

The second most ubiquitous and popular mode of identification was by province, although this only ran at approximately half that of local identifications until 1880, (both reckoned as percentages of total identifications), after which it dwindled to one third. The pre-1867 sample average was 24.3, the post-1867 average 19.9. Fluctuations in provincial identifications in the years sampled ranged from 31.7 per cent in 1845 to 15.2 in 1885. These fluctuations were therefore quite wide within averages which differed by less than five percentage points between pre- and post-Confederation. This may be an indication that more fortuitous factors enter into the group-identification count than into the place name count, e.g., an editor's or a reporter's individual propensity to stick labels on people, or possibly the ideological stance of a paper on specific issues may fluctuate more widely than its patterns of attention.

It will be seen that local and provincial identifications both pre- and post-1867, constitute 70 per cent of all the recorded identifications, leaving merely 30 per cent for all the other identifications. Prior to Confederation 22 per cent of this residuary space was taken up by regional and ethnic-linguistic identifications, whilst after 1867 pan-Canadian designations alone took up 17.3 per cent.

In speaking of a third position in identification listings it is necessary to deal separately and distinctly with pre- and post-Confederation periods. During the pre-1867 period both regional and ethnic-linguistic designations vied for third place, the regional actually came out on the average 1.5 percentage points ahead of the ethnic-linguistic which although scarcely significant placed the region in third place. After Confederation, although both averages waned, the regional identifications waned more than the ethnic-linguistic which emerged on the average three times greater than the regional in percentage points. Before 1867 regional percentages of identification were a little less than half the provincial and over five times greater than the BNA identifications. After Confederation they were approximately seven times less than either provincial or Canadian identifications (see Table 7-Q).

Self-Group Reference Identifications - Overall Averages
for the Nine Newspapers In the Sample.

Table 7-0

<u>Pre-Confederation</u>		<u>Post Confederation</u>	
1. Locality	46.8	1. Locality	49.4
2. Provincial	24.3	2. Province	19.9
3. Region	11.8	3. BNA/Canada	17.3
4. Ethnic-Linguistic	10.3	4. Ethnic-Linguistic	7.8
5. British Political Community	3.4	5. Religion	3.0
6. BNA/Canada	1.9	6. Region	2.5
7. Religion	1.6	7. British Political Community	0.7

For a sample size of 7,341, as is the case here, a critical difference, between the two periods being compared, of three per cent is statistically significant at the 0.01 level of probability (See W. Wilkes, "Confidence Limits and Critical Differences Between Percentages", Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332 - 338).

* Indicates that the percentage change between the two periods is statistically significant.

In the post-Confederation period it was the BNA/
Canadian references which stepped clearly and decisively
into third place. Before 1867 pan-Canadian identifications
were quite puny, occupying merely an average 1.9 per cent
of the group identification space, being practically on a
par with religious designations; i.e. at the bottom of the
scale, and little more than half the British designations.
In the single year 1865 BNA identifications for the first
time outpaced the British, and thereafter they shot ahead;
soaring from 4.8 per cent of total identifications in 1865
to 22.1 per cent in 1870, in which year they also swept
past regional designations for the first time, exceeding
them fivefold (See Table 7-1). Here is further confir-
mation of the importance of actual political structures
in crystallizing and shaping loyalties, a phenomenon
which was observed and commented upon in the previous two
chapters. Although the pan-Canadian references fell back
to 13.6 per cent in 1875, they were now on an entirely
different plane, sharing the bulk of the available ident-
ification space with the local and provincial designations.

This then was the most remarkable of discernible
changes in identifications over the 50 years surveyed -
the mushrooming of BNA/Canadian identifications during the
decade of the sixties, more particularly from 1865 to 1870.

The transformation is particularly evident when comparing regional with BNA/Canadian references : before Confederation the regional with an average of 11.3 far outpaced the BNA identifications, with an average of only 1.9; After Confederation there was a complete volte face with a much reduced average of 2.5 for regional identifications, and a much increased average of 17.3 for Canadian designations. Indeed, the post-1867 average for Canadian identifications of 17.3 almost rivalled that of provincial identifications, at 19.9. Thus national designations from being a minor mode of identification prior to 1865 had leaped by 1870 into the major ranks.

Both before and after Confederation the fourth position went to ethnic-linguistic identifications, though their average fell by 2.5 percentage points in the post-Confederation period (from 10.3 to 7.8). The pre-1867 figure was boosted by the inclusion of the Nor'Wester and British Colonist in the sample in 1860 with their abundant references to Indians, and "Half-Breeds", and in the case of the Nor'Wester its obsession with the "Chinese menace". Indeed 1860 was the peak year of the entire survey for ethnic-linguistic designations, with a score of 19.9, five percentage points above the post-1867 sample high year of 1885 which had an average of 14.9.

British political community identifications which averaged only 3.4 per cent prior to 1867 sank to the insignificant average of 0.7 per cent and well at the bottom of the identifications afterwards. Before Confederation these British identifications were approximately double the BNA ones, but after 1867 the British designations slipped to one-fifth of the percentage they had been, whilst the BNA/Canadian percentage mushroomed ninefold. This is an even more dramatic illustration of the decline of the significance of the British connection during the second half of the nineteenth century than that given by the place name count in Chapter five.

Although identifications by religion were at the bottom of the listings prior to 1867, they were nevertheless practically equal to the BNA identifications (an average of 1.6 compared to 1.9). After Confederation the religious designations rose to an average of three percent, ahead of both the British and the regional identifications, and in the sample year of 1875 and 1895 they were on a par with the ethnic-linguistic identifications. The increase after 1867 was undoubtedly connected with the controversy over governmental support of Roman Catholic schools in New Brunswick in the early 1870s and in Manitoba in the 1890s.

Identification of Inhabitants: Performance of Individual
Newspapers

Probably the clearest and most succinct way of dealing with the performance of individual newspapers in the sample is not journal by journal, but identification by identification, by rank-order tables, in a comparative fashion. In the case of localities, provinces and regions identifications are given separately in the following tables for persons and groups domiciled in the paper's own province, and for persons and groups domiciled in other provinces. However, when it came to identification by BNA/Canada, the British Political Community, by ethnic-linguistic and religious groups, the same reference often referred simultaneously to both the paper's own province and other provinces' residents. Therefore, in these latter instances no attempt has been made to segregate references to the population of own province and of other provinces.

An enquiry into the national, ethnic and territorial-political groups into which BNA/Canadians divided themselves and the other inhabitants of BNA/Canada might be expected to throw light on three things; (a) awareness of self as a member of particular groups and of the relative

intensities with which membership in these various groups was held, and of the particular roles defined by membership of these groups ; (b) awareness of others as members of particular groups and the relative strength of these groups, and the societal roles they defined, and (c) the conception held of Canada as a whole : as a string of city states, provinces, regions, as a melange of ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural groups, or as a nation in being, or in process of formation.

Each identification will now be dealt with in turn, and each table will be divided into two parts: before and after Confederation.

Identification by Locality

This was by far the most popular and ubiquitous mode of identification, even for the populations of other provinces. Moreover, the practice of calling someone a "Haligonian", a "Tonontonian", or a "Victorian" increased somewhat after Confederation, perhaps indicating that people were thinking more in terms of cities within the Dominion, rather than cities within provinces.

Pre-Confederation

IDENTIFICATION BY LOCALITIES (Table 7 - 0(a))

<u>Population of Own Province</u>		<u>Population of Other Provinces</u>	
1. Bytown Packet	46.4	1. Montreal Gazette	14.6
2. La Minerve	46.3	2. La Minerve	13.1
3. Le Canadien	45.5	3. Ottawa Citizen	12.5
4. Novascotian	42.4	4. Le Canadien	9.5
5. Toronto Globe	40.7	5. Toronto Globe	9.3
(Sample Average)	35.9	(Sample Average)	7.8
6. British Colonist	32.8	6. Novascotian	4.6
7. Saint John Tele.	32.2	7. Nor'Wester	3.2
8. Montreal Gazette	25.0	8. Saint John Tele.	3.2
9. Nor'Wester	12.2	9. British Colonist	0.6

Post - Confederation

1. Saint John Tele.	44.7	1. Montreal Gazette	18.9
2. Le Canadien	43.6	2. Ottawa Citizen	13.2
3. Halifax Morning Chronicle	41.0	3. Saint John Tele.	13.0
4. Ottawa Citizen	39.9	4. Manitoba Free Press	10.5
5. Toronto Globe	38.2	(Sample Average)	10.4
(Sample Average)	38.1	5. Halifax Morning Chronicle	9.6
6. La Minerve	36.8	6. Toronto Globe	9.0
7. Montreal Gazette	34.8	7. La Minerve	8.8
8. Manitoba Free Press	33.1	8. British Colonist	5.9
9. British Colonist	30.9	9. Le Canadien	5.0

(N.B.: Upper Canada and Lower have been taken as two separate and distinct provinces for the whole of the whole of the period surveyed.)

In the identification of the population of own province by localities the newspapers published in the well-established urban centres of the East led the way. The two exceptions here were the Montreal Gazette, an English-language paper oriented towards English-speaking Canada, yet published in a mainly French-speaking province, and the Saint John newspapers surveyed, the reasons for whose lowly position in the pre-Confederation table are rather more elusive. It will be recalled from the place name count that the Saint John Telegraph tended to be one of the more parochial papers in the sample during this period in as much as it recorded the lowest rate of increase in BNA/Canada entity symbols after Confederation.

It will also be noted that there is not the same dispersion of averages in the "Own Province" table after 1867, the spread being merely from the Saint John Telegraph's 44.7 per cent at the top to the British Colonist's 30.9 per cent at the bottom. Before 1867 the spread ranged from the Bytown Packet/Ottawa Citizen's 46.4 to the Nor'Wester's 12.2 per cent.

However, of more interest to an investigation into the way BNA/Canadians looked at BNA/Canadians, and the possible growth of a pan-Canadian sentiment, are the identifications relating to persons and groups in other provinces. Significantly, it was the Montreal Gazette which headed the tables here, both pre- and post-Confederation in referring to the populations of other provinces solely by their localities, just as it was the Montreal Gazette which headed BNA/Canadian orientation, by the extended place name count.

Pre-1867 the United Province newspapers were above average in identifying persons and groups in other provinces by the locality in which they lived. Most of these "other" identifications were by Lower Canadians of Upper Canadians and vice versa; i.e. the existence of the United Province promoted amongst its citizens group ascription of one another by locality— perhaps another instance of the influence of governmental structures in moulding group perceptions. After Confederation the convenient tags of "Ontarians" and "Quebeckers" quickly came into popular use, and would seem to some extent to have displaced local identifications.

Well at the bottom of the list in reference to localities in other provinces, pre-Confederation, came the geographically isolated British Colonist. After 1867 it came in at eighth place, nearly three percentage points below La Minerve, but ahead of Le Canadien by a slight margin.

Identification By Province

Together with the local, provincial identifications constituted over 60 per cent of all identifications considered relevant in this chapter, both before and after Confederation. The practice of identifying the inhabitants of own province by the name of the province diminished by an average of four percentage points after 1867, whereas "other provincial" identifications continued at very much the same percentage level.

PRE-CONFEDERATION

IDENTIFICATION BY PROVINCE (Table 7 - 0 (b))

<u>Own</u>		<u>Other</u>	
1. Saint John Tele.	22.9	1. Montreal Gazette	16.9
2. Novascotian	21.8	2. La Minerve	10.8
3. British Colonist	14.9	3. Nor'Wester	10.5
(Sample Average)	14.6	4. Le Canadien	9.2
4. Nor'Wester	13.9	(Sample Average)	8.4
5. Montreal Gazette	13.0	5. Novascotian	7.7
6. Le Canadien	12.2	6. Toronto Globe	6.5
7. La Minerve	11.9	7. Saint John Tele.	6.3
8. Toronto Globe	11.5	8. Ottawa Citizen	6.1
9. Ottawa Citizen	9.2	9. British Colonist	1.3

POST-CONFEDERATION

<u>Own</u>		<u>Other</u>	
1. Manitoba Free Press	14.4	1. La Minerve	16.7
2. Novascotian	13.5	2. Montreal Gazette	12.0
3. La Minerve	12.3	3. Ottawa Citizen	11.6
4. British Colonist	11.5	4. Saint John Tele.	10.9
5. Saint John Tele.	11.4	5. Toronto Globe	9.7
(Sample Average)	10.2	(Sample Average)	9.1
6. Le Canadien	9.8	6. Manitoba Free Press	7.6
7. Toronto Globe	7.8	7. Le Canadien	6.2
8. Ottawa Citizen	7.2	8. British Colonist	4.5
9. Montreal Gazette	3.6	9. Halifax Chronicle	3.1

(N.B. : Upper Canada and Lower Canada have been regarded as two separate and distinct provinces for the whole of the period surveyed.)

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The sample's two Maritime papers own-provincial identifications headed the list pre-1867 with a seven to eight percentage points lead over their nearest rivals the British Colonist and the Nor'Wester. The two French-language papers surprisingly scored little more than half the percentages of the Maritimers and were well down the table in seventh and eighth positions, whilst the two Upper Canadian journals fared even worse and occupied the two bottom positions in the table.

After 1867 there was a significant average fall in own-province identifications: now the Manitoba Free Press went into first place with a percentage of 14.4, whilst the unpredictable Saint John Telegraph, formerly in the lead position with 22.9 per cent, slipped into fifth place with 11.4. Although La Minerve rose only slightly in percentage points it was enough to take it into third position, and whilst Le Canadien actually fell slightly in percentage it stayed in sixth place. It may well have been that these two journals preferred to identify French Canadians by the ethnic-linguistic designation rather than the provincial. The four bottom places in the tables both pre- and post-1867 were occupied by Central Canadian newspapers with the Montreal Gazette decisively at the bottom with a mere 3.6 percent.

Reasons for the Ontario papers' lowly positions were probably different in some aspects from those of the Montreal Gazette, for whilst all three journals may very well have had a close identification with the Dominion as a whole, it can hardly be claimed that the Toronto Globe and the Ottawa Citizen could be alienated from their own province by reason of ethnicity, language or culture as might be contended in the case of the Montreal Gazette. Indeed it may have been that they felt so secure in their provincial identities that they did not need to be self-assertive and could allow their provincial identities to linger securely in the background.

The Montreal Gazette, however, was high in propensity to label persons and groups of other provinces by their provincial tag, again, it would seem, demonstrating its pan-Canadian proclivities. It exceeded its nearest rival, La Minerve, pre-1867, by a clear six percentage points, but after Confederation was overtaken by La Minerve, and fell back into second place, whilst the Ottawa Citizen moved up strongly into third. It is noteworthy that after Confederation whilst the sample average for own-province identifications was down by over four percentage points the tendency to designate others by their province was fractionally up; a slight sign perhaps of increasing awareness of and interest in other citizens of the Dominion beyond the boundaries of own province.

It is interesting to compare the combination of scores of individual papers between own-province and other-province designations. In both periods the Novascotian and the British Colonist were notably high in identifications by own-province and low in designations by other-provinces. In the pre-1867 period only, so were the sample's Saint John papers; their post-Confederation scores for own-and other-province identifications were quite close. The Montreal Gazette was the only paper in the sample which had, both pre- and post-1867, a greater percentage of other-province than own-province identifications; this tendency being decidedly more pronounced after Confederation. The Gazette suffered a big drop in own-province identifications after Confederation: apparently it was more reluctant to call its fellow provincials Quebeckers, or Quebecois, than it had been to call them Lower Canadians.

Identification by Region

Just as in the place name count there was a complete collapse in regional identifications after 1867. This was overwhelmingly due to the demise of the United Colony; after it the five Central Canadian newspapers in the sample passed from occupying the top five positions in the identification of the population of own province by region table to the bottom five. The "other regional" identification averages of the Maritimes and Western newspapers also suffered a severe drop after 1867. They had been prone to a considerable extent to

identify Upper and Lower Canadians collectively by the regional tag of "Central Canadians" or simply "Canadians"; after 1867 this came more or less to an end.

Pre-Confederation
IDENTIFICATION BY REGION (Table 7 - 0 (c))

<u>Population of Own Province</u>		<u>Population of other Provinces</u>	
1. Toronto Globe	15.5	1. Nor'Wester	16.7
2. Montreal Gazette	14.0	2. Saint John Tele.	13.5
3. La Minerve	9.2	3. Novascotian	6.0
4. Ottawa Citizen	9.0	4. Ottawa Citizen	5.3
(Sample Average)	6.7	(Sample Average)	5.3
5. Le Canadien	4.6	5. Montreal Gazette	2.9
6. Nor'Wester	4.0	6. British Colonist	2.2
7. Saint John Tele.	2.3	7. La Minerve	0.8
8. Novascotian	1.6	8. Toronto Globe	0.6
9. British Colonist	0.0	9. Le Canadien	0.2

Post-Confederation

<u>Population of Own Province</u>		<u>Population of Other Provinces</u>	
1. Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle	1.7	1. Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle	2.6
Saint John Tele.	1.7	2. Manitoba Free Press	2.2
2. Manitoba Free Press	1.5	3. Saint John Tele.	1.7
3. Le Canadien	0.8	4. La Minerve	1.5
(Sample Average)	0.8	British Colonist	1.5
4. Toronto Globe	0.5	(Sample Average)	1.4
5. La Minerve	0.4	5. Montreal Gazette	1.3
6. Ottawa Citizen	0.3	6. Toronto Globe	1.2
7. Montreal Gazette	0.0	7. Le Canadien	1.0
British Colonist	0.0	8. Ottawa Citizen	0.9

(N.B.: Central Canada, i.e. the area of the old United Province, was counted as one region throughout the period surveyed.)

The average fall in regional designations as between pre- and post-Confederation periods was quite dramatic, especially in own-provincial population lists. In these latter tables the same four Central Canadian newspapers which occupied the top four positions before Confederation, occupied the bottom four positions after 1867. This may be seen as further evidence of the importance of extant political institutions (in this instance those of the old United Colony) in political self-definition. Only Quebec City's Le Canadien, of the Central Canadian newspapers in the sample, was below average in designating its own provincials by the regional tag before 1867. Indeed it was significantly below the other four Central Canadian newspapers, but paradoxically it was the only one able to attain the sample average after 1867; even so the fraction by which it led its fellow regional papers was infinitesimal. The British Colonist's lack of identification with the "rest-of-the-West" was strikingly illustrated by the paper's score of absolute zero in own provincial identification with the West, not only before but after Confederation as well.

In identifying people and groups by other regions the Nor'Wester and the Saint John papers were far ahead of the other journals in the sample, before Confederation. During the same period the Central Canadian papers were the most reluctant to apply regional tags to people and groups living in parts of the British North American colonies other than the United Province (see Table). After Confederation there was, as shown by the same table, a drastic drop in the tendencies of the Nor'Wester/ Manitoba Free Press and the Saint John Telegraph to apply regional designations to people living in other provinces. This seems to indicate that New Brunswickers and Manitobans quickly took up the habit of calling Central Canadians, Ontarians and Quebeckers. Meanwhile, the Central Canadian papers increased little if at all their propensity to identify their new Canadian confreres in the peripheral areas of the Dominion by their regional labels.

Identification by British Political
Community

These were never very numerous, apart from the case of the Saint John newspapers sampled before Confederation. After Confederation British identifications sank to virtual insignificance.

IDENTIFICATION BY BRITISH POLITICAL COMMUNITY

Pre-Confederation

Post-Confederation

1. Saint John	13.6	1. Nor'Wester/Man. Free Press	2.2
(Sample Average)	3.4	2. Saint John Tele.	1.4
2. Novascotian	3.1	3. British Colonist	1.1
3. British Colonist	2.5	4. Novascotian/Hal. Chron.	1.0
4. Bytown Packet/ Ottawa Citizen	2.2	(Sample Average)	0.7
5. Nor'Wester	1.9	5. Ottawa Citizen	0.3
6. Montreal Gazette	1.7	6. Toronto Globe	0.2
7. Toronto Globe	1.6	7. Montreal Gazette	0.2
Le Canadien	1.6	8. Le Canadien	0.1
8. La Minerve	0.6	9. La Minerve	0.0

The most striking thing here was the remarkable lead of the Saint John papers prior to Confederation ; quite out of line with anything else in the sample. From Table 7 - 3 (see Appendices) it can be seen that the Saint John papers were comparatively prolific in identification with Britain and the Empire during the period 1845 to 1860. It was a period which saw the rise and decline of the pro-annexationist movement, the Crimean War, and finally the much heralded North American tour of the Prince of Wales, which proceeded to the accompaniment of lavish protestations of loyalty to the Queen and the Empire. After 1860 the Saint John papers seem to have lost somewhat their enchantment with Imperialism, apart from a brief splurge in 1875. Fellow Maritimer, the Novascotian, although a long way behind Saint John, was in second place, with the British Colonist in third. After Confederation the Nor'Wester/Manitoba Free Press moved into first place with a percentage of 2.2, which before Confederation would only have put it alongside the Ottawa Citizen in fourth place. The Citizen headed the puny scores of the Central Canadian papers in the British identifications table ; the other four were in the bottom four positions both before and after 1867, with the two French language journals recording in effect zero affiliation.

Identification by BNA/Canada

The most dramatic phenomenon in the identification count was the sudden surge upwards in pan-Canadian identifications with the advent of Confederation — and such identifications proved persistent. Although they ebbed and flowed they never again sank to pre-Confederation levels.

IDENTIFICATION BY BNA/CANADA (Table 7 - 0 (e))

<u>Pre-Confederation</u>		<u>Post Confederation</u>	
1. Nor'Wester	6.5	1. British Colonist	25.4
2. Novascotian	4.9	2. Toronto Globe	21.7
3. Saint John	3.2	3. Novascotian/ Halifax Chron.	19.6
4. Toronto Globe	2.4	4. Ottawa Citizen	19.3
(Sample Average)	1.9	5. Montreal Gazette	17.3
5. Montreal Gazette	1.5	(Sample Average)	17.3
6. La Minerve		6. Le Canadien	16.6
Le Canadien		7. Manitoba Free Press	16.5
Ottawa Citizen		8. Saint John Tele.	12.0
British Colonist	0.0	9. La Minerve	9.6

N.B.: Both references to own provincials and to residents of other provinces are included in the above figures.

The most evident thing in Table 7-Q(e) is the tremendous upward leap of the sample average from pre- to post Confederation periods. A leap upwards that included every single newspaper in the sample. Before 1867 the Nor'Wester came first, but again it is necessary to remember that this average was only made up of two sample years, 1860 and 1865, and certainly the latter year was in the very thick of the Confederation debate. Nevertheless these figures do show that before 1867, the British Colonist apart, the collective identification of British North Americans was significantly more prevalent in the papers outside Central Canada.

After Confederation, surprisingly enough, the British Colonist went into the first position with as many as 25.4 per cent of its group identification symbols referring to the inhabitants of the Dominion collectively. It was noted that the British Colonist was very low in identification by province for "other provincials" both before and after 1867. It would not seem to have viewed the population of the Dominion living beyond the Rockies as being made up primarily of residents of the different provinces, and it certainly did not see the population of its own province having very

much of a regional identity. In other words it did not see any close affiliation or community of interest between itself and other provinces in the West. It would, therefore, appear from this accumulated evidence that the population east of the Rockies was seen as an entity, probably a rather vague entity, labelled "Canadians"; separated by an immense distance made up of immense mountains, and the vast sweep of the near-empty prairies of the North West Territories; where if any white man's writ ran it was that of the federal government in Ottawa.

The Toronto Globe moved into second place after 1867, the Ottawa Citizen into fourth, and the Montreal Gazette into fifth : showing the eagerness with which pan-Canadianism was grasped by the Central Canadian press after Confederation, or at least the English-language section of it. Both Le Canadien and La Minerve were below average after 1867, with La Minerve quite decisively at the foot of the table. Further evidence of Saint John's relative lack of response to the formation of the Dominion, noted in the place name count, is again contained in the above table. Its pan-Canadian identification percentage increased less than fourfold as compared with a tenfold increase of the Toronto Globe, and an elevenfold increase of the Montreal Gazette.

Ethnic-Linguistic Identifications

The main thing in the pre-Confederation period was the enormous lead of the two Western papers, the British Colonist and the Nor'Wester, surrounded as they were by an indigenous population. Although the British Colonist's "ethnic" identifications were much reduced in the post-1867 period it still led the field, but the two French-language papers now came on very strongly taking second and third positions.

ETHNIC-LINGUISTIC IDENTIFICATION (Table 7 - 0 (f))

<u>Pre-Confederation</u>		<u>Post-Confederation</u>	
1. British Colonist	44.8	1. British Colonist	14.6
2. Nor'Wester	34.3	2. Le Canadien	13.1
3. Le Canadien	12.7	3. Le Minerve	11.4
(Sample Average)	10.3	4. Nor'Wester/Man. Free Press	9.3
4. Toronto Globe	9.4	(Sample Average)	7.8
5. Ottawa Citizen	9.4	5. Montreal Gazette	7.4
6. Montreal Gazette	7.5	6. Toronto Globe	5.4
7. La Minerve	6.3	7. Ottawa Citizen	3.7
8. Saint John Tele.	5.4	8. Saint John Tele.	2.8
9. Novascotian	2.6	9. Halifax Chronicle	2.4

The most amazing things here are the very high percentages recorded by the British Colonist and the Nor'Western before Confederation, five to eight times the percentages of the other papers, and the continued pre-eminence of the British Colonist in the post-1867 period, although at a very much reduced order of magnitude. The British Colonist almost had half its population identifications absorbed by this ethnic-linguistic category, pre-1867, and headed both pre- and post-Confederation tables. The reasons for the preponderance of the two Western papers are not far to seek; the fact that both communities were in the pioneering stage, and living in the midst of a large indigenous population. In the case of Manitoba the situation was complicated by the existence of the French-speaking Métis "nation", and in the case of British Columbia by the large influx of oriental labourers, which sparked a veritable "yellow-peril" scare in the province. One of the reasons at least for the diminution of ethnic-linguistic identifications by both Western papers in the second period would seem to be the increasing strength of the white communities, relative to the indigenous populations.

After Confederation the two French-language papers both increased their percentages of ethnic-linguistic

identifications: Le Canadien slightly, whilst La Minerve nearly doubled its percentage from 6.3 to 11.4. Thus Le Canadien moved into second place, not too far behind the British Colonist, and La Minerve moved into third place. All the Central Canadian English-language newspapers were below the average in ethnic-linguistic identification in both periods, but it was the Maritimes which seemed to be the least ethnically conscious part of BNA/Canada all through the 50 years surveyed. Among the Maritimes' papers and the English-language journals of Central Canada there was a slight to middling decrease in ethnic-linguistic identifications, the most significant of which were the Ottawa Citizen and the Saint John Telegraph, both possibly being due to a diminution of the rate of immigration into these areas, and a settling down and absorption of the heavy Irish influx of the 1840s.

Identification by Religion

Direct religious identifications were not very prominent either in the pre- or post-Confederation periods, but significantly they did double in the latter period, possibly on account of the New Brunswick and Manitoba school crises. The three papers which were most prone to use religious identifications were the Toronto Globe, the Montreal Gazette, and Le Canadien of Quebec City.

IDENTIFICATION BY RELIGION

Pre-Confederation

Post-Confederation

1. Montreal Gazette	4.2	1. Toronto Globe	6.3
2. Le Canadien	3.1	2. Montreal Gazette	4.6
3. Toronto Globe	2.7	3. Ottawa Citizen	3.7
4. Novascotian	1.6	4. Le Canadien	3.3
(Sample Average)	1.6	(Sample Average)	3.0
5. La Minerve	1.0	5. Manitoba Free Press	2.8
6. Saint John Tele.	0.6	6. La Minerve	2.5
7. Ottawa Citizen	0.3	7. Halifax Chronicle	2.1
8. Nor'Wester		8. British Colonist	1.3
British Colonist	0.0	9. Saint John Tele.	0.5

Although the sample average was low both pre- and post-Confederation, the average for each paper, apart from the Saint John Telegraph which remained more or less stationary, increased in the second period. Most prominent in religious identifications, certainly after 1867, were the English-language Central Canadian papers, the self-same papers which were all below average in the ethnic-linguistic identifications. Could it be that these papers tended to interpret, symbolize, or, if you will, sublimate the Anglo-Saxon "master-race" attitude prevalent in Victorian times in terms of a forward-looking, libertarian Protestantism

versus a tradition-bound, authoritarian Roman Catholicism, the adherents of this latter denomination being assumed to be mainly the French Canadians?

In the Maritimes, where there was also a Protestant-Catholic cleavage between substantial parts of the population, the tables show that religious identifications, however, were low. The main difference, here, between Central Canada and the Maritimes was that in the latter region English was the unchallenged major and dominant language, and although there was an ethnic cleavage between the major European fragments, Celt versus Anglo-Saxon, they both derived from the British Isles, where an English culture predominated.

In the West where, pre-1867, the British Colonist and the North Wester were so decisively at the top of the ethnic-linguistic table, they were only a little less decisively at the bottom of the religious identification table. The ethnic-linguistic encounter in the West was that between settlers of European origin and indigenous and oriental peoples, who posed little if any cultural or religious threat. Here it would seem the racial and cultural cleavages were so pronounced as not to require the assistance of religious support or antagonism.

The Patterns in terms of Absolute Numbers

The number of identifications in the various categories dealt with in this chapter was a grand total of 836 in 1845 for all the seven papers sampled, at three copies per year (see Table 7-1). In 1895 the grand total for the nine papers sampled was 2,103 — two-and-a-half times as many, a multiplier which reflects more the increasing size of newspapers than any growth in the predisposition of Canadians to slap labels on people. For the whole of the pre-Confederation period the sample's yearly average of identifications was 919; the post-1867 yearly average total was 1,673.

Amongst the nine papers themselves the rates of increase in physical size varied considerably. Of the two French-language papers La Minerve stayed fairly constant, whilst Le Canadien had a relatively small rise from an average of 40 identifications in 1850 to 45 in 1890. The Nova-scotian/Halifax Chronicle which changed from a weekly to a daily after 1870 also had scarcely any change in identifications per issue. On the other hand the Montreal Gazette increased tremendously from 38 identifications per issue in 1845 to 111 in 1895, as did the Ottawa Citizen from 23 per issue in 1845 to 92 in 1895, whilst the Nor'Wester/Manitoba Free Press also experienced a rapid rise from 35 per issue in 1860 to 121 in 1895. The Toronto Globe had a steady upward expansion from 37 per issue in 1845 to 56 in 1875

and 76 in 1895.

Conclusion

There does appear to be a great deal of correspondence between the place name count and the identification count, certainly in the broad, overall movements in group affiliation. There is the same heavy concentration on the local scene, the same strong emphasis on the province and the corresponding relatively weak regional place name and regional identifications count, apart from the Central Canadian newspapers in the days of the old United Province. Moreover, there were parallel drastic reductions in both regional place names and regional identifications in Central Canada with the demise of the United

Colony, and the same rapid growth of BNA/Canadian entity references and identifications during the 1860s, especially from 1865 to 1870. BNA/Canada identifications went from an average of 1.9 per cent prior to 1867 to an average of 17.3 per cent afterwards, a somewhat larger increase than that of the place name count which was from 1.7 to 12.6. There was an even more pronounced fall in British identifications (from an average of 3.4 before 1867, to 0.7 per cent afterwards, practically a drop of four-fifths) than in British place names (from an average of 18.4 pre-1867, to one of 13.2 afterwards). On the assumption that the place name count penetrates to more fundamental loyalties it seems that the fashion or habit of referring to oneself as a colonist, a colonial, or as British, or as a member of the Empire was petering out ahead of British orientations, and the habit of directing attention to Britain as an important decision making centre affecting Canada.

As for the performance of individual papers, there was a good deal of correspondence, with one or two notable exceptions. For instance in the BNA/Canada rank-order tables the Ottawa Citizen came second in the place name table, pre-1867, but was amongst the bottom four - all with zero rankings - in the identification table for the same period. These instances demonstrate that there is not a

one-to-one correspondence between the performance of an individual newspaper in the place name count and in the group reference count. So the question arises, what is the relationship between the place name count and the identification count? I might venture the following observations:

(a) The two indicators are measuring somewhat different, but widely overlapping, phenomena. The place name count is broader: what it is essentially doing is identifying groups, territorially based or closely associated with a specific territory, in terms of their impact upon me, the observer. It is measuring the distribution of attention and the presumption is that the groups which have the most impact upon me are those groups into which I have been born, or to which I have subsequently affiliated, in other words, those groups both immediately and on a long term basis which satisfy some of my primary and most pressing needs. But other groups also can have a marked impact upon me; hostile groups that threaten me with deprivation, perhaps even annihilation; the place name count identifies these also. On the other hand overt group identification says less than this, but it says it more directly, identifying a person explicitly as a member of a stated group. Moreover, its groups need not be associated with any specific territory or territories, as may very well be the case with religious and ethnic groups which are widely dispersed.

(b) Group identification is on the overt level of verbal behaviour which is easily and often influenced by current rhetorical and customary factors which may be of a relatively ephemeral nature. The place name count, in identifying groups of importance to me, penetrates beneath the level of overt behaviour into the sub-conscious and taps fundamental and long ingrained attitudes and orientations. This is not to say that direct, overt identification is usually inaccurate or superficial but that the place name count endeavours to get at group identification by a means which tries to get beyond or beneath rhetorical and customary elements.

(c) In comparing the results of the place name count and an overt identifications count it is necessary to ask; were they derived from the same sample? A place name count might be expected to yield a great deal more data from a given number of newspapers than a group identification count. Place names appear almost on every line of a news story; not so with group identifications, which in some instances number only a few to a page. For instance, the total number of group identifications counted in 1895 in the nine newspapers in the sample was 2,103 (see Table 7-1); on the other hand the total number of place names counted in the same year in the same newspapers was 10,209 (see Table 5-1).

(d) So far the factors I have brought forward in this comparison would seem to favour the place name count, but in utilizing it as an identifier of groups and the degree of their integration it is well to bear in mind the audience at which the newspaper in question primarily aims itself. In our sample in this study, the Novascotian and the Toronto Globe aimed at a province-wide readership whilst others in the sample, the Ottawa Citizen and the Montreal Gazette for instance, aimed at a certain area or areas within a province such as eastern Ontario, or the English-speaking parts of Quebec, whilst other newspapers modestly restricted themselves to their own city of publication. The clientele at which the newspaper is aiming will thus influence the selection of news in the paper and hence the number of place names.

In conclusion it must be emphasized once again that in utilizing these two indicators we are not dealing with precision instruments, and must use them both with some discretion and modesty. Ideally they should be used in conjunction with other indicators, such as the Deutschian transaction flow factors, or Rokkan's encounter tests, or with Almond and Pye's six crises.

What the Papers Said: Identifications of Inhabitants
Pre-Confederation

I have already dealt at some length with what the papers were saying about manifestations of Canadian nationalism, relations with Britain and the Empire, and relations between provinces. In this chapter, therefore, I shall concentrate heavily on relations between the two founding and principal ethnic-linguistic groups, the French and the English.

Starting ~~again in the east~~ and proceeding westwards, we find that the columns of the first paper, the Novascotian, show even before mid-century that the people of the colony, although proud of their ancestry, saw themselves as having developed into something of a distinct breed. In 1845 the paper was distinguishing between Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotsmen and Nova Scotians living in "this Bluenose country of ours".¹ By 1850 it was hailing the abandonment of time honoured British customs:

Gunpowder plot, with all its former ridiculous usages, passed off this year in Halifax without a single demonstration - indeed without being thought of, which we take to be one of the significant signs of the times. 2.

And in the Nova Scotia Assembly in March, 1850, the Hon. J. W. Johnston declared:

A Nova Scotian is able with similar advantages to take the stand with any people on the face of the globe. And if the mention of names would not be invidious, I could cite numerous instances where Nova Scotians who have gone abroad have excelled in everything they undertook. 3

Indeed, around the mid-century mark, the term "our Countryman" was often used in the Novascotian to refer to fellow Bluesosers, e.g., "Our distinguished and enterprising countryman, C.D. Archibald",⁴ and, "Our talented young countryman, Mr. Dawson".⁵

However, on occasions a certain feeling of affinity with fellow North Americans could surface, especially British North Americans as when Joseph Howe declared to the Nova Scotia Assembly in 1854: "We North Americans living under the British flag have one-ninth of the whole of the globe", and he proceeded to speak of United Empire Loyalists fraternizing with French Canadians, Acadians, English, Irish, Scotch and German immigrants to form one⁶ race. Yet eleven years later Howe appeared to be very sceptical indeed about the concept of "one race":

The French Canadians by sticking together have controlled the legislation and government of Canada. They will do the same thing in a larger union, and as the English will split and divide, as they always do, the French members will in nine cases out of ten be masters of the situation. 7

The feeling of being a separate and special breed does not seem to have existed to the same extent in New Brunswick; there we do not find the same profusion of allusions to "our countrymen", or "the people", or "our country". New Brunswickers as a group did not exhibit the same self-confidence as Nova Scotians. The following statement by Sir Edmund Head, speaking in Saint John, seems to have struck the right note:

The population of these colonies are made up of the same materials as those of the northern states of the American Union, and they are no ways inferior to their neighbours in native energy, shrewdness and industry, though from a want of self-reliance and other causes to which I have adverted, they do not always employ those qualities with equal success. 8

New Brunswick modes of reference to Upper Canadians appear to have been a little more friendly than those used by Nova Scotians. Indeed New Brunswickers were often apt to call them, "our Canadian brethren", but patience often wore very thin with French-Canadians; an editorial of February 18, 1860 declared:

A motion for reporting and publishing the debates of the House (New Brunswick Assembly) in the French language was very properly negatived. If our fellow-countrymen of French descent are unable to understand or to read English, adopt all means and spare no expense in instructing them in the latter language... We are a British Colony, and the British are the dominant race. 9

In Quebec City, Le Canadien, with its motto adopted from the slogan of Les Patriotes of 1837, "Nos Institutions, Notre Langue et Nos Lois", was a journal intended "pour les hommes actifs et intelligents de notre origine . . . au profit de ce que, faute d'un autre mot, nous sommes convenus d'appeler notre nationalité, la nationalité Canadienne-Française".¹⁰

Le Canadien despite its championship of "La nationalité Canadienne-Française" was hailing Confederation, even in 1860, discounting fears that it was meant simply to drown French-Canadian influence in the councils of the state. Le Canadien argued, "Mais qui pourrait se flatter d'un avenir heureux sous le régime actuel, en voyant l'antagonisme haineux et jaloux qui existe entre les deux Canadas? Ou est le remède à ce mal, hors d'une separation à l'aimable".¹¹

Montreal's La Minerve invariably reserved the term "Canadien" exclusively for French Canadians, and the paper often aired the grievances of French Canadians, as it did in reprinting a speech of a certain Dr. Bibeau recounting the struggle which had been involved in gaining recognition for a French-language school of medicine; "Contre l'égoïsme, les privilèges et le monopole.... je

comprends que des anglais d'origine s'efforcent de neutraliser nos efforts. L'esprit national aussi bien que l'intérêt peuvent l'engager ... Voilà avec quelle jalousie inquiète et craintive on envisagea les efforts d'une école canadienne-française pour obtenir appui et protection contre les attaques sans cesse".¹²

Even amongst the urban proletariat of Montreal there was no working-class solidarity. Ethnic-linguistic-religious factors split them into three major groupings, each occupying its own enclave within the city, as this editorial of La Minerve's shows:

Nous avons dans la population de Montréal trois grands divisions, les Canadiens-Français, les Catholiques Irlandais et les Anglais Protestants ... D'Après la mesure (new municipal electoral districts) le Griffintown élirait probablement un Irlandais Catholique, la partie Est de la ville un Canadien-Français, et les quartiers de centre un Anglais Protestant. 13

Still further evidence of the ardour of French-Canadian nationalism can be gleaned from this editorial of June 23, 1860, entitled, "La Fête Nationale":

L'Amour de sa patrie, de sa nationalité est naturellement gravé dans le cœur de l'homme.... cette fête devait être un moyen de rappeler à tous les Canadiens-Français la nécessité de veiller avec zèle sur ce précieux dépôt légué par nos pères.... Cette fête a surtout été instituée dans le but éminemment national de cimenter l'union entre tous les Canadiens-Français.

La Minerve also supported Confederation, for the following reasons:

Il nous donne une nouvelle garantie pour la conservation de tout ce qui peut nous être cher, la nationalité canadienne-français L'union des colonies, c'est la consecration de notre existence politique et nationale et la garantie sûre de notre avenir. (March 23, 1865) 14

Open insults by leading public men to the "other ethnic group" were not uncommon. The Montreal Gazette reported the following in 1845 from a debate in the United Colony Assembly and uttered by a Mr. Hall:

The people of Lower Canada never had the courage to get into debt... because they had neither the brains nor the courage to get out of it. 15

Mr. Hall admired their prudence, but did not think they were, "the sort of people to live on the continent of America. (cheers and uproar which lasted some time)."

In a rather more gentlemanly vein was an article on the French-Canadians which the Gazette reprinted in 1860 from the London Times:

We do not believe there is any great enthusiasm of loyalty in French-Canadians. But we do believe there is general contentment, and hardly any real disaffection. There has been doubtless some ardent sympathy awakened with the new won glories of La Belle France, some crowing and some bragging about their great nationality The more calm and dispassionate minds among them recognize and appreciate the advantages and benefits of their political alliance with the British race and government. 16

To which the Gazette commented:

Is it any wonder that at times a feeling of bitterness springs up in his heart (the French-Canadian's) as he reflects how little a part his race can play on this continent... We have not now, and never had, an implicit reliance on the loyalty of the masses of the French-Canadian population, if they were moved by some strong temptation — some promise of effective succour to rear the French banner over the strongholds of Canada. 17

The Gazette itself was always aware that it was part of a numerical minority in Montreal and constantly urged moderation and compromise in relations with the French Canadians with whom it was eminently sympathetic, as for instance in an editorial of Nov. 19, 1860 which spoke of Upper Canadians flouting and outraging the natural and religious prejudices of a majority of the inhabitants of Lower Canada, and went on, "The contraction of patriotism within so small a limit as only to apply to one section or district of a country must end."

In Ottawa, around mid-century, the Bytown Advocate was very loyalist and very Tory, emphasizing that Canada was destined to become a valuable appendage of the British crown. 18 The Ottawa Tribune which followed it in the early 1850s was decidedly aimed at an Irish Roman Catholic audience. In its issue of November 16, 1855, it carried a long feature article, reprinted from the Toronto Mirror,

occupying most of its front page, and entitled, "Saxon versus Celt":

In the field of intellect the Canadian Celt is without a competitor. Our great lawyers, our skilled physicians, our clever parliamentary debaters, our cabinet ministers, our learned professors, are all every man of them, Celtic. In the pulpit or the forum the Saxon is nowhere... He is about as well adapted to rule Church or State as the animal that furnishes his writing quill.

And then speaking of the possibilities of a common nationality in Canada, the Tribune itself commented:

How in the name of common sense are we to amalgamate two races differing in religion, language and laws? What indication is there that any such thing is or has ever been contemplated in Canada? ... There are 800,000 French-Canadians in this Province, and 400,000 native born Irish, who would spend the last drop of their blood rather than consent to the extinction or enthrallment of the Celtic race ... The object of the "union" was, no doubt, to hasten the dissolution of the Celtic race; but French and Irish intellect for once was more than a match for British statesmanship. Before this union the Anglo-Saxon ruled; now he has taken to his congenial employment, the yardstick or the plough. The Celt rules the mind of Canada;—he has grasped the helm of state.
(Nov. 16, 1855)

Despite its Celtic championship, and its identification of Irish and French as brother Celts, the Tribune carried precious little news from Lower Canada.

Pride in Canadian achievement in the realm of natural science, irrespective of whether it was made by Celt or Saxon, was expressed in an editorial in the Ottawa

Citizen in 1860, speculating whether the Prince of Wales on his visit to British North America would "bestow honours and titles upon any of Her Majesty's lieges":

If we glance over the pages of the Canadian Journal of Science we will find the name of men hailing from Hamilton, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal whose writings have been instrumental in no small degree in advancing the interests of Canada, gaining for her a high place amongst the enlightened nations of the earth. 19

Even 15 years before this the Toronto Globe was referring to the inhabitants of the whole United Colony of Canada as "Her Majesty's Canadian subjects", "the Canadian people", etc., and was calling the colonial assembly, "the Canadian House of Commons". Pride in the existence of a well formed Canadian society is evident, but all this went along with "an ardent prayer for the happy and advantageous connection with the parent state from every Canadian subject of Her Majesty who rightly appreciates his privileges" (March 25, 1845). Eight months later the Globe was still speaking of "these privileges which are inherited by all British subjects whether they live at home or in the colonies" (Nov. 25, 1845).

Despite these early manifestations of a "common Canadianism", embracing both French and English in the United Colony, the Globe in 1860 was discounting statements that there had been any amelioration in "race relations" since 1837:

We hear it sometimes said that the French and English races in Lower Canada now act more harmoniously together than they formerly did, that ancient prejudices have been removed, and a process commenced which will ultimately make them a people. We have not been able to find any proofs of these allegations and believe that the ameliorations only exist in the mind.
(August 10, 1860)

As if to support this editorial, the Globe reprinted from what it calls "a French Journal" the following day (Aug. 11, 1860) a story on an uproar in the Montreal City Council. The incident arose over a motion introduced by a Mr. Bulmer to change the name of Bonaventure Square to Victoria Square:

(The motion) was received by all the French councillors as it merited. Seeing that the English were in the majority by means of the Irish members, the French members determined to raise a tumult. They wished also to show the British that Canadians would never submit to the unjust laws which they might succeed in passing in opposition to their nationality. Mr. Beaudry said the English would bring on another '37 if they persisted.... Mr. Duhamel promised to go at the head of his compatriots to overturn the statue of Nelson from its pedestal if they changed the name of Jacques Cartier Square to Nelson Square, and Messrs. Rolland and Brousseau rolling up their sleeves wanted to fight immediately and Mr. Cussen flourished his fist under the British noses, without British hands making any opposition.

Councillor Homier proceeded to pour showers of abuse on the heads of the English stating that the cowardly English with their whores and bastards came to the country of the Canadians, and after receiving shelter and support began to domineer over them.

This quotation besides showing to what depths of intemperate virulence race relations could plummet even

amongst elected representatives, also demonstrates that the French Canadians really reserved the term "Canadians" for themselves, and fundamentally looked upon their English-speaking fellow citizens as "British", or "English".

The Globe seemed to search avidly for any evidence of bad "racial feeling". It found and reprinted the following anti-Confederation editorial in the Saint John Reporter:

Canada recognizes a difference of races with distinct laws and usages for their respective local positions... In these Provinces, whatever may have been our political squabbles, the great heart of the people has ever remained truly British, and we desire no connection with a people who while occupying British soil have their affections set upon the reconquest of their country by the despot son of a Frenchman. (Globe, Oct. 29, 1860)

Finally the Globe's search led to Elmira, New York, where a meeting of French Canadians domiciled in that district was addressed thus by a certain Dr. Cadieux to the effect that:

For many years the French Canadians have been compelled, by persecution from the English government to leave their native soil and emigrate to the United States where they sought the bread, space and liberty that were refused them under British rulers. . . Our compatriotes are suffering in Canada, pining away under hard labour which under despots never rewards. (Globe, Nov. 15, 1865)

The Globe's comment was, "The surest trash that French Canadians ever uttered".

The French-English tension spread westward onto the prairies, and the Globe often called the rebellious "half-breeds" in the North-West simply "the French". In the Red River Settlement itself the Nor'Wester, reputedly the spokesman of the settlers of Upper Canada, displayed no fundamental animosity or bitterness towards the French-speaking "Half-breeds". Certainly there were feelings of racial and social superiority, an endemic condition of the Anglo-Saxon mentality in the last century, but there was also a good deal of respect and sympathy.

Although the French-English clash did not extend as far as the West Coast, a race conflict of a different kind was brewing there. From the earliest days of the Gold Rush Chinese labourers had been amongst the immigrant population and very quickly their numbers, their conscientious work habits and their willingness to work hard for low wages were seen as a threat by the white population.

WHAT THE PAPERS SAID - POST CONFEDERATION

Confederation produced no recognizable easing of ethnic tensions between English and French. Indeed many of the English-speaking population of Upper Canada, seeing themselves reinforced by Maritimers, and heirs to a vast western empire, appear to have taken a harder and more uncompromising stand than ever towards the French. The

Franco-Prussian War, at least initially, evoked a considerable amount of anti-French feeling. The most pro-Prussian paper in the sample, which never relaxed its anti-French stance, even as the extent of the Prussian victory became more and more overwhelming, was the Saint John Telegraph. In its issue of August 23, 1870, it declared itself in favour of German unity and said Prussia had the historic mission of forging it. It proceeded to speculate whether the French defeats were due to either badly led or fed armies, or inferior education, or simply inferior race.

On September 12, 1870, it published a letter from a German colonel written to a friend in Geneva, Switzerland, which read:

How can men like yourself have failed to see that the future belongs to the northern or Protestant races? Look at the United States of America, what are by the side of them the small nations of Latin origin. . . Germany the classic land of free thought, which had Luther before France ever knew what logic was, is destined to be for Europe what the country of Franklin is for America.

The Montreal Gazette on August 23, 1870, reprinted an editorial from the magazine, The Witness, which read:

We see plain indications in Quebec and elsewhere that Lower Canada has escaped a great danger. Had Napoleon been successful the national "esprit" of the French and Roman Catholic Irish populations would have got too high to be repressed, and would most probably have been hurried into extravagance of a treasonable nature. At all events the position of Britons among them would have been very disagreeable. . . All this danger has been averted by the Prussian needle gun and heavy battalions and all classes of our people can continue to live together like lambs.

It is little wonder that in the face of such opinions Le Canadien complained, "La population anglaise de cette Province en grand partie se montre très hostile à la France en ce qui regarde le conflit franco-prussien. On se plaint partout de la trop visible hostilité à la France dont fait preuve la population anglaise de la Province, et plus particulièrement de Québec" (Aug. 24, 1870).

For their part editorials in the sample's two French language papers exhibited fierce and enthusiastic support for the French cause, for example Le Canadien on August 23, 1870:

Ayant foi dans l'inalterable courage du soldat français, nous savons qu'il fera une invincible résistance à l'ennemi, dont il triomphera s'il n'est pas écrasé par le nombre.... tous ceux qui ont un coeur français attendent anxieusement le salut de cette France que nous avons toujours crue invincible.

However, as the war advanced, and the plight of France became more and more desperate, entailing as it did a complete upset of the balance of power in Europe, more and more of the English language papers swung their sympathies towards France, for instance, the Ottawa Times:

The object of Prussia is now defined; it is territorial aggrandisement. The people of this country....cannot feel much sympathy with Prussia in her present attempt to enslave the people of Alsace and Lorraine....under such circumstances (Canadians) must wish well to France even though the tri-colour became the emblem of a Republic. 20

Despite the outcome of the war, the French Canadians remained "uppity", and ethnic-linguistic tension in the new Dominion occasionally spilled over into violence of the street-corner variety. The following, headed, "Boy Bigots" appeared in the Montreal Gazette in November, 1870:

Ill-feeling seems to have broken out between English-speaking and French Canadian boys in some districts of this city. Yesterday morning about 30 English speaking boys armed with stones etc., lay in wait in St. James street. . . for the appearance of any French-Canadian boy. Three or four of the latter were severely set upon and had to retreat pursued by their assailants. 21

While on March 11, 1875, the Gazette reported:

A French-Canadian bricklayer and broommaker were charged in the Recorder's Court with assaulting Robert McKay. It appears bad feeling has existed for some time between the French and English speaking inhabitants in the vicinity of Dufresne Street, and some free fights have been indulged in during the last few days. 22

Le Minerve reprinted on April 11, 1885, parts of an article entitled, "French Canada" which appeared in the British magazine, The Month, written by M.T. O'Neill Russell, a long-time resident of Quebec province:

Un fait étrange et surprenant dans la vie sociale de Bas-Canada c'est la haine latente qui existe entre les Canadiens et leurs concitoyens anglais. Il est triste de le dire, mais il est vrai cependant que tout ce qui parle anglais dans la province de Québec, Anglais, Ecossais, Irlandais a rarement une bonne parole à l'adresse de leurs voisins d'origine française et ce qui est extraordinaire et plus regrettable en même temps, c'est que tous ceux-ci, l'Irlandais est celui que les Canadiens ont le plus en grippe.

So much for the Ottawa Tribune's hope of the 1850s of a Celtic alliance of French and Gael against the stolid Anglo-Saxon. Meanwhile the Saint John Telegraph seized every opportunity to express its anti-French stance. The following was occasioned by the discussion in Montreal City Council of a compulsory vaccination by-law:

Such an enactment has been rendered necessary by the obstinate and ignorant position of many of the French inhabitants of the city who refuse to be vaccinated. . . . The rumour that the vaccination by-law was to be discussed filled the galleries of the Montreal Council chamber with the scum of the city, ruffians reeking with filth and smelling badly enough to breed a pestilence by their very presence. (August 16, 1875)

Yet, around 1880 there were some indications that ethnic tensions might be easing. The Montreal Gazette could write on July 1st, 1880:

The early years of Confederation were necessarily devoted to consolidation, pacification of the discontented. . . Now the epoch of new fangledness and experimentation is past. The provinces are no longer mere neighbours, slightly acquainted. . . . they have become virtually one great community. . . the Nova Scotian is no longer shy at the name of Canada; he comes to Montreal or goes to Toronto not as to a foreign city, but as to a community of friends. Even the British Columbian, though he is still distant from us in time as well as in space, has begun to harbour a sentiment of common nationality. . . . By and by we hope to include New Brunswick in our list of reconcilements.

But the French Canadians remained more French than the French, and this according to the Parisian periodical Le Monde, which in an article reprinted in Le Canadien on November 24, 1875 said:

Les Canadiens. . .sont plus Français que nous-mêmes, puisqu' ils n'ont rien renié du passé de la France, et qu'ils ont conservé toute la tradition nationale. Ils n'ont pas coupé en deux la patrie d'avant '89... et la patrie d'en deça '89 follement glorifiée ... Ce que nous aimons dans ce qui nous vient du Canada c'est l'honnêteté, la droiture des sentiments, l'esprit chrétien.

Ethnic-linguistic tensions had quickly revealed themselves in Manitoba. An editorial of classic smugness appeared in the Manitoba Free Press on March 11, 1875:

On the part of the French-speaking people of this province there appears to be a dreadful apprehension that if the English-speaking people have the power they will tyrannise over them, and crush them. Such a feeling is but ill-founded. It cannot be denied that so long as the French-speaking people held control they used that control unjustly in the extreme. . . But on the part of the English-speaking people there is no desire for revenge; it will suffice to secure simple justice. . .they recognize that magnanimity is a grace of the mighty.

As regards links with the British political community the Manitoba Free Press, by early 1885, apropos Imperial Federation, was warning of the "constant risk of being involved in Britain's wars", and was frequently referring in local items to, "Our Scandinavians", "Our Icelanders" followed by brief reports on their church and other association activities.

Despite Dr. Helmcken's declaration in the British Columbia assembly in 1870 that "The people of this colony have

very little love for Canada" (March 10, 1870), the British Colonist could by 1875 carry the following comment on Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie's visit to the haunts of his youth in Scotland: "He is the best advertisement possible for immigration. He came to Canada a simple artisan and finishes up prime minister. . . now where is there such a country as Canada where a man of industry and common sense can prosper and succeed — mind you not a man of genius" (November 24, 1875).

But if British Columbians were beginning to display some pride in Canada and in being Canadians it was a Canadianism that held repugnant any incorporation of Asiatic elements within it. The British Colonist's lead editorial of August 17, 1875, entitled "Whites v. Chinese", said blatantly, "The presence of Chinese in numbers sufficient to drive out white labour is an unmitigated curse".

This "yellow peril" complex continued throughout the rest of the century, and in 1885 the Colonist published the following heavy-handed attempt at irony, entitled "A Page of History Anticipated", which purported to depict Victoria in the year 1935 A.D. as having become entirely a Chinese city:

Approaching the city (so justly now called in the Chinese vernacular, "Chinese-Spo-Ken-He're", The Flowery American Teapot) we saw numerous paradas glistening on the elevated grounds behind the town, huge kites suspended in the air, and countless tea gardens overlooking the water... We were met on the wharf by a crowd of savory, yellow faced Mongolians. (March 6, 1885)

Finally, we come to the major event of the latter part of the nineteenth century, which both reflected and exacerbated ethnic-linguistic-religious-cultural tensions in Canada — the Métis rebellion of 1885, the hanging of Louis Riel and the subsequent harvest of bitterness.

The sample's two French papers reflected the mood of the French Canadians. On the day following Riel's execution Le Canadien published a lengthy account of a meeting of La Société St. Jean Baptiste called to protest the hanging and express "la douleur commune". M. L. P. Pelletier, secretary of the Society, was typical of the speakers:

La société canadienne-française est violemment insultée en ce jour. . . Quand des questions nationales se présentent il faut ne faire entendre que la voix de la patrie. . . la nationalité canadienne-française a été aujourd'hui cruellement frappée. . . Sa mort est un jour de deuil pour notre nationalité et je pleure avec le peuple. Il faut que la Société St-Jean Baptiste prouve qu'elle ressent l'insulte jetée à la face de la nationalité canadienne-française. . . La Société St-Jean Baptiste a une grande mission à remplir: réunir les vrais Canadiens sur le même terrain de l'amour de la patrie. . . Ce n'est pas Riel que l'on a voulu tuer mais nous Canadiens-français. (Nov. 17, 1885)

In an editorial two days later, Le Canadien said :

Ce meurtre judiciaire comporte de plus une insulte sanglante à notre race et à notre religion, car dans cette sinistre tuerie c'est l'opinion orangiste qui a predominé. (Nov.19,1885)

On the other hand La Minerve was critical of Riel, "Nous reprouvons la conduite et les actes de Riel et de ces compagnons, mais d'un autre côté . . . il faut reconnaître que les griefs des Métis sont sérieux" (March 27,1885). Three days later, in its lead editorial, La Minerve stated. "Riel est une halluciné de premier ordre . . . Riel a préféré mettre en danger les vies des siens, exposer leur pays à l'effusion du sang" (March 30,1885). But seven days before Riel's hanging, the paper declared:

Nous croyons qu'il a commis un grand crime. Nous ne lui trouvons pas de justification, pas même d'excuse, mais nous trouvons un champ large pour l'exercice de la miséricorde . . . ce qui nous étonne le plus en ce moment, c'est que nos compatriotes anglais n'ont pas trouvé un mot de compassion pour des malheureux (sic). Un mot de sympathie pour une nationalité amie. (Nov.9,1885)

On November 17, after the hanging, La Minerve commented gravely:

Il n'a pu s'écouler vingt ans que le grand livre de la confédération canadienne fut maculé d'une tache de sang. C'est avoir perdu bien jeune sa beauté virginale. (Nov.17,1885)

The same day the Montreal Gazette published lengthy extracts, in translation, from the French-Canadian press.

L'Étandard was quoted: "The 16th of November was a day of fierce joy to the sanguinary fanatics of Ontario and the North-West, but a day of supreme humiliation for the French-Canadian race"; La Presse wrote, "Riel perished on the scaffold for demanding his compatriotes' rights. .. He died above all to expiate the crime of belonging to our race".

The Gazette itself on the day after the hanging reported:

The excitement among some of our French citizens ran above blood heat. .. After the meeting of the council the flag was raised half mast over the city hall. ... Draped flags and signs of mourning were very general throughout the east end of the city. .. And came the night, a pro-Riel rally on the Champ de Mars terminated in a parade through Notre Dame and St. James streets to Victoria Square where Sir John was hung in effigy from the neck of the Queen's statue".
(November 17, 1885)

The Gazette's comment: "The French Canadians are impressionable and above all things filled with the pride of race."

Outside Quebec the Riel incident proved to be a rallying point for anti-French solidarity. To the English-speaking part of the population the matter was one of who was really ruling Canada — the majority (i.e. themselves), or a minority.

The Halifax Morning Chronicle in a lead editorial on September 10, 1885, headed "Riel's Appeal Dismissed", said:

Many who might have been willing to see Riel pardoned had the French of Quebec not been so clamorous on his behalf feel that to pardon him now would be a concession to an element already too painful and aggressive. By their vehemence Riel's friends have excited opposition that would never have been aroused had they adopted quieter methods.

The next day, Sept. 11, the Chronicle asked, "What is the secret of the French sympathy with the rebels of the North-West?....The other inhabitants of the Dominion in punishing a rebel or any criminal would scarcely make the enquiry of what nationality he is, or what is his religion". And on Sept. 14, the paper commented, "Frenchmen who differ on all other points agree on the Riel question".

The Saint John Daily Telegraph ran true to form on the Riel question:

Who is there will deny that measured by any or by all the standards that indicate the gravity of human guilt this man stands pre-eminent as the greatest criminal who has yet desecrated Canadian soil with his pestilential presence....Justice for Riel is the swift and unrelenting punishment of a traitor and a murderer. 23

Ten days later the Telegraph was comparing the Canadian campaign in the North-West with the British campaign against the "Mad" Mahdi, which was taking place simultaneously in the Sudan: "While we may deplore the results in the Sudan we may at least congratulate ourselves on the success of the Canadian campaign. Some will think it demonstrates that Canada need not remain longer in leading strings, seeing we can manage such matters quite as well as the mother country appears to do for herself". (May 28, 1885)

However, the Telegraph did appear to be rather over-awed , and excited by the vehemence of the French Canadian reaction to the hanging of Riel. After reporting the demonstrations and rallies in Quebec subsequent to Riel's execution it commented, in an item headed "War of the Races" that, "The Government is doomed...Edward Blake's return to Canada will be the signal for an outburst of tremendous enthusiasm. He is the only man who can save Canada from a war of the races, and a war is certain unless the Macdonald government is overthrown" (Nov. 18, 1885). The following day the Telegraph reprinted an editorial from the New York Herald on Riel's execution:

A few years will roll by before those who have done it will comprehend and confess that by converting Riel from a lunatic to a martyr they have long retarded the reconciliation of races and the fusion of Canadians into one harmonious people. Nor is the probability to be ignored that the hanging of Riel will impress the present generation of Canadians of French descent with an unconquerable conviction that reconciliation and fusion can never be accomplished so long as Canada remains a British possession. (Nov. 19, 1885)

And, warned the Telegraph, "The feeling on the Riel question is not confined to Quebec, but is shared by the Acadian population of the Lower Provinces" (Nov. 19, 1885).

Out in the great North-West, the Manitoba Free Press on August 3, 1885, had no hesitation in saying: "If Riel had been hanged 15 years ago, as he should have been,

it would not have to be done now....If ever a man deserved
24
punishment Riel does". The Free Press also took the opportunity to lash out at the government:

The Government alone should share with Riel popular detestation. They fitted the half breeds to his hands. By years of cruel outrage and still more cruel neglect they have driven the unfortunate people whom he led astray into a state of feeling exactly suited to the wishes of the dangerous demagogue whom they then allowed to run at large in the Saskatchewan. 25

The Free Press waited impatiently for the hanging, becoming quite angry when it was postponed "yet again": "Two members of the cabinet responsible for this disgraceful state of affairs are in Winnipeg at the present time, and will be entertained by their admiring friends at a banquet in this city to-night - rotten eggs should be the first item".

On the morning after the execution the Free Press brayed:

Riel has expiated his crimes. He was fairly tried, honestly convicted, laudably condemned and justly executed....The attitude assumed towards the Executive by Quebec would have rendered Riel's execution necessary even could it have been otherwise avoided. Canada cannot afford to allow one section of her people to interfere with the regular carrying out of her laws. There is not one law for the French and another for the English in this country....Today we have a "solid" Quebec filled with cold hatred pushing asunder the Maritimes and inland portions of Canada. (Nov. 17, 1885) 26

On the next day, as news of the demonstrations in Quebec flowed in, the Free Press commented, "It is evident that the sympathy of the people of Quebec has been worked on not by the wrongs of the half-breeds but by the French blood which flowed in Riel's veins. They undertook to uphold a criminal because of his nationality" (Nov. 18, 1885).

For the British Colonist Riel was "an unprincipled traitor" and "a bloodthirsty wretch". Announcing his capture on May 22, 1885, the Colonist said: "The rebel long ago forfeited all claims to life and the ending of his being should be effected by a long rope and short shrift. He deserves to be hanged forthwith and we hope he will be". On May 29 the Colonist wrote: "There should be no hesitation in carrying out the law; for if Riel is to escape the halter the Dominion should put up the shutters and go out of business as a nation". On November 20, after the execution, the Colonist carried a despatch from Regina, saying: "It would be difficult at this time to gauge public feeling in the North-West as to Riel. The expressed views are almost entirely unfavourable to him, and the halfbreeds are unusually silent on the subject. A majority of the resident population believed that he deserved death, and this is undoubtedly the case in Manitoba and here, where he was tried". The Colonist's comment was, "The law has properly been allowed to take its course. Properly, if ever human being deserved death that

human being; was Riel. . . Riel is entitled to no sympathy from loyal men" (Nov. 10, 1885).

In Ontario, reputed "Orangiste" territory, the Toronto Globe judged the occasion apposite for a demonstration of sympathy and understanding towards the French Canadians, finding the whole Riel affair a superlative club with which to bludgeon the Tory government. Its lead editorial on the morning following Riel's execution read:

We can easily understand why the indignation of our French-Canadian citizens should take the form of protest against the death of Riel. He seems to them to personify the wrongs and aspirations of their Métis half brethren. Sir John's long course of oppression and insult towards the Halfbreeds, and of deceit towards the French race and their most revered Church dignitaries, has made heroes of the insurgents and their leader... His (Riel's) execution fell like a thunderbolt out of the blue sky on the powder magazine of inflammable sympathies and smouldering resentments. (Nov. 17, 1885)

In the same issue, the Globe chose to reprint an editorial from the Dublin Freeman's Journal:

The Minister who is responsible for the death sentence is Sir John Macdonald, a time serving opportunist.... Behind him are the Orangemen who in Canada and at home are filled with hatred of their Catholic neighbours, and who are doing all they can to crush out the old French element in the Dominion. These are the people who have clamoured unceasingly for the blood of Riel, less because he was a rebel than because he was a Catholic and of French extraction. (Nov. 17, 1885)

When the hubbub, the demonstrations and the violence which followed the execution died down the Globe on

December 10, 1885, in an attempt to soothe the wounds, wrote:

Sometimes it is said that a division of Canadian territory between two races, both increasing and neither of which will consent to the effacement of its language, signifies that their political union must sooner or later come to an end. . . But these difficulties have been successfully dealt with in the past and that is enough to show that they can probably be overcome in the future. Tolerance and fairness on the part of both races and the public men of both will keep them firmly united forever. A question that goes to the root of the matter is this: Have the two races strong incentives to be tolerant and fair to the peculiarities of the other? We think they have. Both value the English system of responsible government highly. . . One race particularly values privileges that could not be held in the American Union, which would unquestionably absorb the Dominion were it smashed into its original fragments. The other race would sooner work with the Canadian French forever than undertake an allegiance which might place them or their children in battle array against the force of Great Britain. Therefore Canadians and Canadiens have good and sufficient reasons for being to each other's virtues ever kind and to their faults a little blind.

A similar conciliatory approach was made by the Ottawa Citizen, and moreover the Citizen, a Tory paper, said.:

The one lamentable circumstance throughout the whole affair is that an effort has been made by those opposed to the Government to create political capital and to prompt unthinking people to believe that Sir John Macdonald was and is responsible for the North-West uprising. (Nov. 17, 1885)

The Citizen preferred to concentrate upon the more positive aspects of the uprising:

The chivalrous manner in which young Canadians of all nationalities took arms up last spring proved how reliable they were and will be in time of danger. Passing through a baptism of blood a new destiny presented itself; a new nation was born. The union is no longer one on paper; it has been cemented by the lives of many of our best and bravest.

The voice of the nation, not one section thereof, went up for union. (Nov. 17, 1885)

But just how rampant bigotry and prejudice were in the Ontario of 1885 is attested to by an editorial the Citizen reprinted in March of that year from the St. Thomas Evening Journal, a paper the Citizen stigmatized as "One of the oldest and most rabid Grit sheets in Canada":

We have altogether too much French in Canada, for Canada's good. This is an English country, in preponderance of numbers, in speech, and in sentiment; and it is anomalous, degrading and dangerous for us to longer recognize a foreign language as official. . . . The solid body of French who inhabit the Province of Quebec is the most dangerous element to the success of Confederation. Increasing at an alarmingly rapid rate, and maintaining the ideas and customs of 200 years ago, the French Canadians are nothing less than a huge obstruction lying in the path of Canadian progress. They are a distinct nationality imbedded in the heart of the Dominion keeping themselves utterly devoid of the sentiment of loyalty to Canada and the progressive ideas common to the rest of the country, and hoping for nothing more eagerly than the re-establishment of a French Dominion on this continent. (Mar. 4, 1885)

The aftermath of the events of 1885 was not a drawing back from the brink, a feeling that things had gone far enough, but a veritable Kulturkampf, Canadian-style.

The Montreal Gazette, on January 15, 1890, carried a report of "an interesting address" delivered by Mr. Charles M. Holt, BCL, president of the St. Paul's Church Young Men's Association, to the Association, entitled "The Two Races in Canada":

Our volunteers at great personal sacrifice went to the North-West to crush the rebellion excited there by Louis Riel, and when they returned they found this double murderer exalted into a hero because he had some French blood in his veins. And ever since this criminal's righteous execution we have heard the howling of fanaticism and hatred of everything English from a certain section of the French press... Unfortunately there is a large, ignorant and bigoted class in the province to whom race prejudice is the watchword, and the execution of the criminal Riel a war cry, and these men once stirred up might force the hands of the higher classes and precipitate a conflict between the two nationalities.

D'Alton McCarthy and kindred spirits stalked the land, and the Gazette, on March 26, 1890, reported one of their number, Col. O'Brien, M.P., as declaring before "an Orange entertainment in Carleton County, last night: There is no justification for the use of this language (French) as an official one, any more than Swedish and German in Canada. There should be and could be only one recognized language and that was not French, but English".

The Gazette had already lambasted McCarthy for:

His attacks on the French-Canadian people before Ontario audiences; his crusade against their language; his candid confession of a

desire to destroy the compacts of Confederation... Imagine a government composed of such extremists as Mr. McCarthy, Col. Amyot, Col. O'Brien, and Mr. Beausoleil. . . The methods of these gentlemen may gain temporary success in a province, but they can never rule the Dominion. . . Confederation, the very basis of which was compromise, was formed to lift Canada above the prejudices and bigotries of race and creed, to infuse a broad national spirit into the people... The duty of true patriotes is clear, namely to avoid giving needless offence to our French fellow Canadians, to cultivate mutual respect and confidence, to be prepared to give as well as take, and not to precipitate a war of the races in the vain hope of attaining results which time, the trend of immigration and wise statesmanship are steadily accomplishing. 27

Reviewing Canada's progress and prospects on Dominion Day, 1890, the Toronto Globe said inter-provincial jealousies, creed disputes and race hatreds had spelt "finis" for the old United Province and brought on Confederation, and the paper warned:

Once again the rash preacher of intolerance is abroad. The government subsidy and the appeal to race and religious prejudice move the electorate. . . Conditions have been developed that are perilous to the harmony, and it may be to the very existence of the union... We believe that a sterner public sentiment must be developed, that the people of all the provinces must unite in a truer loyalty to a common interest. 28

Perhaps the Globe's editorial writer need not have been so pessimistic, for, as the place name count indicated in Chapter five, by 1890 the percentage of Canadian place names for the entire sample of newspapers used in this study,

with the exception of the Halifax Morning Chronicle, was moving upwards. Moreover, the dramatic upsurge in self-identification as Canadians, which came about with the advent of Confederation, although it had suffered a slight relapse in 1875, had never fallen back to anything approaching pre-Confederation levels. So if in the Globe's words "a truer loyalty to a common interest" had not yet been fully achieved, Canadians appeared to have located the track towards it and at least were heading in the right direction.

FOOTNOTES : CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Novascotian, August 18, 1845.
2. ^o Ibid., November 11, 1850.
3. Ibid., March 20, 1850.
4. Ibid., March 20, 1850.
5. Ibid., March 20, 1850.
6. Ibid., May 29, 1854.
7. Ibid., January 16, 1865.
8. Saint John Morning News, March 20, 1850.
9. New Brunswick Courier, August 11, 1855.
10. Le Canadien, February 4, 1846.
11. Ibid., August 13, 1860.
12. La Minerve, November 11, 1850.
13. Ibid., March 15, 1860.
14. Ibid., March 23, 1865.
15. Montreal Gazette, March 25, 1845.
16. Ibid., September 17, 1860.
17. Ibid., September 17, 1860.
18. Bytown Advocate, August 26, 1845.
19. Ottawa Citizen, August 11, 1860.
20. Ottawa Times, October 6, 1870.
21. Montreal Gazette, November 24, 1870.
22. Ibid., March 11, 1875.

23. Saint John Telegraph, May 18, 1885.
24. Manitoba Free Press, August 3, 1885.
25. Ibid., August 3, 1885.
26. Ibid., November 17, 1885.
27. Montreal Gazette, February 24, 1890.
28. Toronto Globe , July 1, 1890.

A Note on the Ensuing Tables for Chapter Seven

Table 7 - 1 gives the average percentage of identifications in each category for the whole sample for each year surveyed. The total in absolute numbers of all the identifications counted in every year surveyed will be found in the eighth, i.e. the last, column. This figure has been taken as 100 per cent of all identifications for each specific year.

The absolute numbers in each category have then been converted into percentages of this total figure

Tables 7 - 2 to 7 - 10, inclusive, give for each individual newspaper in the sample the actual number of identifications counted in the three copies coded per year surveyed. This actual number is followed, in brackets, by the percentage this is of the total identifications counted in that newspaper in that year; which absolute number is given in the eighth, i.e. the last, column.

SIGNIFICANCE TESTS

Attached to each of the tables 7 - 1 to 7 - 10, inclusive, is an additional table 7 - 1(a), 7 - 2(a)... 7 - 10(a), which gives the percentage change in each category for each year sampled. If such percentage changes are asterisked it indicates that the percentage change is statistically significant at the 0.01 level of probability for the relevant samples. The statistical significance of a

given percentage change was determined by the same method as that employed in Chapter Six (see W. Wilkes, "Confidence Limits and Critical Differences Between Percentages", Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332 - 338).

Table 7 - 11 gives the breakdown of the percentage of locality identifications for each paper in the sample into identifications by own province and other provinces for each year sampled.

Table 7 - 12, likewise, breaks down the percentage of provincial identifications per paper per year sampled into own province and other provincial identifications.

Table 7 - 13 does the same for the percentage of regional identifications per paper per year sampled (i.e. breaks them down into own regional identifications, and other regional identifications).

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS										(Table 7 - 1)	
Year	OVERALL SAMPLE			AVERAGE (In Percentages)			By Ref. to Province Region	By Ref. to BNA/ Canada	Total Number		
	By British Political Community	By Ref. to Religion	By Ethnic-Linguistic Identification	By Ref. to Locality	By Ref. to Province Region						
1845	2.3	1.3	4.0	51.2	31.7	8.9	0.7	832			
1850	5.9	1.6	6.9	46.0	26.3	8.3	2.7	968			
1855	2.3	1.9	8.7	56.9	18.1	11.8	0.2	750			
1860	4.6	2.2	19.9	45.2	20.3	6.9	1.3	1219			
1865	1.8	1.0	12.1	34.5	25.2	23.2	4.8	878			
Pre-Confederation Average	3.4	1.6	10.3	46.8	24.3	11.8	1.9	4647			
1870	2.2	1.1	5.9	38.0	27.4	4.4	22.1	1379			
1875	1.1	5.8	5.6	47.4	24.2	2.5	13.6	1606			
1880	0.0	1.0	9.1	51.5	20.0	1.5	16.8	1164			
1885	0.5	1.4	14.9	47.1	15.2	4.1	18.8	2045			
1890	0.4	3.8	6.6	57.1	15.3	1.3	15.7	1738			
1895	0.0	4.9	4.6	55.2	17.1	1.1	16.9	2103			
Post Confederation Average	0.7	3.0	7.8	49.4	19.9	2.5	17.3	14682			

(Table 7 - 1 (c))

OVERALL SAMPLE AVERAGE

Year	PERCENTAGE CHANGE BETWEEN YEARS SAMPLED						Sample Size
	By British Political Community	By Ref. to Religion	By Ethnic-Linguistic Group	By Ref. to Locality	By Ref. to Province	By Ref. to Region	
1850	3.6	0.3	2.9	-5.2	-5.4	-0.6	900
1855	-3.6	0.3	1.0	10.9*	-8.2*	3.5	809
1860	2.3	0.3	11.2*	-11.7*	2.2	-4.9	984
1865	-2.8	-1.2	-7.0	-10.7*	4.9	16.3*	1048
1870	0.4	0.1	-6.2	3.5	2.2	-10.8*	1128
1875	-1.1	4.7	-0.3	9.4*	-3.2	-1.9	1492
1880	-1.1	-4.8	3.5	4.1	-4.2	-1.0	1385
1885	0.5	0.4	5.0*	-4.4	-4.8	2.6	1604
1890	-0.1	2.4	-8.3*	10.0*	0.1	-2.8	1891
1895	-0.4	1.1	-2.0	-1.9	1.8	-0.2	1920

See W. Wilkos, "Confidence Limits and Critical Differences Between Percentages", Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332 - 338. Chart II, p. 336, shows that for sample sizes varying from 809 to 1,920, as is the case above, percentage differences ranging from 9.4* (for the smaller samples) to 5.0* (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level.

*Indicates that the percentage change from the previous year is statistically significant.

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS (Table 7 52)

NOVASCOTIAN / HALIFAX MORNING CHRONICLE : Actual Number Counted in the

Three Copies Coded per Year Given First Followed' by Percentage This Is

Of Total Identifications in Brackets

Year	By British Political Community	By Ref. Religion	By Ethnic- to Linguistic Group	By Ref. to Locality	By Ref. to Province	By Ref. to Region	By Ref. to BNA/ Canada	Total Number
1845	6 (4.32)	6 (4.32)	7 (5.04)	58 (41.73)	51 (36.7)	9 (6.5)	2 (1.4)	139
1850	40 (21.0)	2 (1.00)	5 (2.50)	64 (32.0)	57 (28.5)	3 (1.5)	27 (13.5)	198
1855	4 (3.28)	0	2 (1.64)	82 (67.21)	31 (25.41)	3 (2.5)	0	122
1860	4 (3.36)	3 (2.5)	2 (1.68)	78 (65.6)	30 (25.2)	2 (1.7)	0	119
1865	6 (2.5)	0	5 (2.1)	68 (28.2)	76 (31.5)	63 (26.1)	23 (9.5)	241
Pre-Confed. Average	(6.8)	(1.6)	(2.6)	(47.0)	(29.5)	(7.6)	(4.9)	819
1870	7 (3.7)	11 (5.73)	5 (2.6)	63 (32.81)	46 (24.0)	22 (11.7)	38 (19.7)	192
1875	0	5 (4.31)	0	55 (47.4)	27 (23.3)	4 (3.5)	25 (21.6)	116
1880	0	0	0	76 (42.7)	64 (35.9)	2 (1.1)	36 (20.2)	178
1885	1 (0.4)	0	22 (9.4)	131 (56.2)	24 (10.3)	13 (5.6)	42 (18.0)	233
1890	3 (1.8)	0	1 (0.6)	111 (65.3)	18 (10.6)	4 (2.4)	33 (19.4)	170
1895	0	4 (2.4)	3 (1.8)	100 (59.2)	28 (16.6)	3 (1.8)	31 (18.3)	169
Post-Confed. Average	(1.0)	(2.1)	(2.4)	(50.6)	(16.6)	(4.3)	(19.6)	1,058

NOVASCOTIAN / HALIFAX CHRONICLE Table 7 - 2(c)

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS

YEAR	PERCENTAGE		CHANGE		BETWEEN		YEARS		SAMPLED	
	By British Political Community	By Ref. to Religion	By Ethnic-Linguistic Group	By Ref. to Locality	By Ref. to Province	By Ref. to Region	By Ref. to B.N./Canada	Sample Size		
1850	16.68	-3.32	-2.5	-9.7	-8.2	-5.0	12.1	160		
1855	-17.72	-1.0	-0.9	35.2*	-3.1	1.0	-13.5	160		
1860	0.08	2.5	0.0	-1.6	-0.2	-0.8	0.0	120		
1865	-0.86	-2.5	0.5	-37.1*	6.3	24.4*	9.5	180		
1870	1.2	3.2	0.5	4.6	-7.5	-14.4	10.2	216		
1875	-3.7	-1.4	-2.6	14.6	-0.7	-8.2	1.9	154		
1880	0.0	-4.3	0.0	-4.7	12.6	-2.4	-1.4	147		
1885	0.4	0.0	9.4	13.5	-15.6	4.5	-2.2	205		
1890	1.4	0.0	-8.8	9.1	0.3	-3.2	1.4	201		
1895	-1.8	2.4	1.2	-6.1	6.0	-0.6	-1.1	169		

For sample sizes varying from 120 to 216, as is the case above, percentage differences ranging from 23% (for the smaller of these samples) to 17% (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level (See W. Wilkes, Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332 - 336.).

* Indicates that the percentage change from the previous year sampled is significant.

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS

Table 7 - 3

NEW BRUNSWICK COURIER / SAINT JOHN TELEGRAPH (Actual number counted first, followed by percent -

age in brackets)

Year	By British Political Community	By Religion	By Ethnic- Linguistic Criteria	By Ref. to Locality	By Province	By Region	By BNA/Canada	Total
1845	2 (2.7)	0	2 (2.7)	46 (62.2)	20 (27.0)	4 (5.4)	0	74
1850	18 (27.3)	2 (3.0)	2 (3.0)	11 (16.7)	29 (43.9)	3 (4.6)	1 (1.52)	66
1855	4 (11.8)	0	2 (5.9)	10 (29.4)	7 (20.6)	11 (32.4)	0	34
1860	14 (26.4)	0	1 (1.9)	14 (26.4)	15 (28.3)	5 (9.4)	4 (7.6)	53
1865	0	0	10 (13.7)	18 (24.7)	19 (26.0)	20 (27.4)	5 (6.9)	73
Pre-Con- federation Average	(13.6)	(0.6)	(5.4)	(31.9)	(29.2)	(15.8)	(3.2)	300
1870	0	0	0	38 (58.4)	18 (27.6)	4 (6.1)	5 (7.7)	65
1875	20 (7.7)	0	1 (0.4)	134 (51.3)	66 (25.2)	10 (3.8)	30 (11.49)	261
1880	0	0	7 (4.2)	117 (70.5)	30 (18.1)	1 (0.6)	11 (6.6)	166
1885	1 (.5)	0	17 (9.2)	114 (61.6)	17 (9.2)	9 (4.9)	27 (14.6)	185
1890	0	0	4 (2.3)	97 (55.1)	54 (30.7)	4 (2.3)	17 (9.7)	176
1895 Post-Confed. Average	0 (1.4)	6 (3.4) (0.5)	1 (0.6) (2.8)	87 (48.9) (57.7)	40 (22.5) (22.3)	5 (2.8) (3.4)	39 (21.9) (12.0)	178 1.031

NEW BRUNSWICK COURIER / SAINT JOHN TELEGRAPH Table 7 - 3(a)

IDENTIFICATION OF IMMIGRANTS									
Year	PERCENTAGE CHANGE BETWEEN YEARS				SAMPLE				
	By British Political Community	By Ref. to Religion	By Ethnic-Linguistic Criteria	By Ref. to Locality	By Ref. to Province	By Ref. to Region	By Ref. to DNA/Canada	Sample Size	
1850	24.6*	3.0	0.3	-45.5*	16.9	-0.8	1.5	70	
1855	-15.5	-3.0	2.9	12.7	-20.3	27.8*	-1.5	55	
1860	14.6	0.0	-4.0	-3.0	7.7	-23.0	7.6	43	
1865	-26.4*	0.0	11.8	-1.7	-2.3	18.0	-0.7	63	
1870	0.0	0.0	-13.7	33.7*	1.6	-21.3	0.8	69	
1875	7.7	0.0	0.4	-7.1	-2.4	-2.3	3.8	163	
1880	-7.7	0.0	3.8	19.2*	-7.1	-3.2	-4.9	213	
1885	0.5	0.0	5.0	-8.9	-8.9	4.3	8.0	175	
1890	-0.5	0.0	-6.9	-6.5	21.5*	-2.6	-4.9	175	
1895	0.0	3.4	-1.7	-6.2	8.2	0.5	11.2	177	

For sample sizes varying from 43 to 213, as above, percentage differences ranging from 37% (for the smaller samples) to 17% (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level (See W. Wilkes, Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 322 - 326).

* Indicates that the percentage change from the previous year sampled is statistically significant.

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS

Table 7 - 4

IE CANADIEN : (Actual number counted first, followed by percentage in brackets)

Year	By British		By Ethnic-		By Ref.		By Ref.		Total
	Political Community	By Religion	Linguistic Criteria	to Locality	By Province	By Region	to BNA/ Canada		
1845	1 (1.8)	0	3 (5.3)	39 (68.4)	13 (22.8)	1 (1.7)	0	57	
1850	5 (4.2)	0	17 (14.3)	69 (58.0)	16 (13.5)	12 (10.1)	0	119	
1855	0	2 (3.3)	5 (8.3)	45 (75.0)	6 (10.0)	2 (3.3)	0	60	
1860	2 (1.98)	8 (7.9)	17 (16.8)	45 (44.5)	21 (20.79)	8 (0.8)	0	101	
1865	0	4 (4.0)	19 (19.0)	29 (29.0)	40 (40.0)	8 (8.0)	0	100	
Pre-Con-federation Average	(1.6)	(3.1)	(12.7)	(55.0)	(21.4)	(4.8)	0	437	
1870	0	0	17 (15.6)	46 (42.2)	18 (16.5)	5 (1.6)	23 (21.1)	109	
1875	0	0	5 (8.9)	29 (51.8)	14 (25.0)	3 (5.4)	5 (8.9)	56	
1880	0	3 (4.6)	9 (13.6)	27 (40.9)	13 (19.7)	1 (1.5)	13 (19.7)	66	
1885	1 (0.8)	3 (2.3)	34 (26.3)	59 (45.8)	11 (8.5)	3 (2.3)	18 (14.0)	129	
1890	0	2 (1.5)	11 (8.1)	86 (63.2)	15 (11.0)	0	22 (16.2)	136	
1895	0	14 (11.4)	7 (5.7)	59 (48.0)	19 (15.5)	0	24 (19.5)	123	
Post-Con-fed Average	(0.1)	(3.3)	(13.1)	(48.6)	(16.0)	(1.8)	(16.6)	619	

Table 7 - 1₁(a)

LE CANADIEN

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS

Year	PERCENTAGE CHANGE			BY ETHNIC-LINGUISTIC		BY REF. LOCALITY		BY REF. PROVINCE		BY REF. TO REGION		BY REF. TO DNA/ CANADA		Size of Sample
	By British Political Community	By Ref. to Religion	By Ethnic-Linguistic Group	By Ref. to Locality	By Ref. to Province	By Ref. to Region	By Ref. to DNA/ Canada							
1850	2.4	0.0	9.0	-10.4	-9.3	8.4	0.0	88						88
1855	-4.2	3.3	-6.0	17.0	-3.5	-6.8	0.0	89						89
1860	2.0	4.6	8.5	-30.5*	10.8	-2.5	0.0	80						80
1865	-2.0	-3.9	2.2	-15.5	19.2	7.2	0.0	100						100
1870	1.6	-4.0	-3.4	13.2	-23.5	-6.4	21.1	104						104
1875	-1.6	0.0	-6.7	9.6	8.5	3.8	-12.2	82						82
1880	0.0	4.6	4.7	-10.9	-5.3	-3.9	10.8	61						61
1885	0.3	-2.3	12.7	4.9	-11.2	0.8	-5.7	97						97
1890	-0.8	-0.8	-18.2	17.4	2.5	-2.3	2.2	132						132
1895	0.0	9.9	-2.4	-15.2	4.5	0.0	3.3	129						129

For sample sizes varying from 61 to 132, as above, percentage differences ranging from 33% (for the smaller samples) to 23% (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level (See W. Wilkes, Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332 - 336).

*Indicates that the percentage change from the previous year sampled is significant.

Table 7 - 5

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS

: (Actual number first, followed by percentage in brackets)										
Year	By British Political Community	By Religion	By Ethnic- Linguistic Criteria		By Ref. to Locality		By Province	By Region	By Ref. to BNA/ Canada	Total
1845	3 (2.6)	1 (0.9)	2 (1.7)	50 (43.5)	46 (40.0)	11 (9.6)	3 (1.7)	115		
1850	3 (3.2)	0	12 (12.9)	41 (44.1)	32 (34.4)	4 (4.3)	1 (1.1)	93		
1855	0	8 (7.0)	8 (7.0)	39 (33.9)	27 (23.5)	32 (27.8)	1 (0.9)	115		
1860	0	8 (4.9)	6 (3.7)	73 (44.8)	50 (36.8)	26 (16.0)	0	163		
1865	3 (2.8)	9 (8.3)	13 (12.1)	34 (31.5)	16 (14.8)	29 (26.9)	4 (3.7)	108		
Pre-Confed- eration Average	(1.7)	(4.2)	(7.5)	(39.6)	(29.9)	(16.9)	(1.5)	594		
1870	0	1 (0.6)	13 (7.6)	79 (46.2)	36 (21.1)	5 (2.9)	37 (21.6)	171		
1875	2 (0.9)	19 (8.9)	21 (9.8)	105 (49.1)	46 (21.5)	0	21 (9.8)	214		
1880	0	0	1 (0.8)	86 (66.7)	22 (17.1)	2 (1.6)	18 (14.0)	129		
1885	0	8 (2.7)	47 (16.8)	128 (45.7)	25 (8.9)	5 (1.8)	67 (23.9)	280		
1890	0	24 (9.8)	16 (6.6)	132 (54.1)	34 (14.0)	1 (0.4)	39 (16.0)	214		
1895	0	19 (5.7)	10 (3.0)	201 (60.5)	36 (10.8)	4 (1.2)	62 (18.7)	332		
Post-Confed. Average	(0.2)	(1.6)	(7.4)	(53.7)	(15.6)	(1.3)	(17.3)	1,370		

MONTREAL GAZETTE

Table 7 - 5(a)

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS

PERCENTAGE CHANGE BETWEEN YEARS SAMPLED

<u>Year</u>	<u>By British</u>				<u>By Ref. to</u>		<u>By Ref. to</u>		<u>By Ref. to BNA/Canada</u>	<u>Size of Sample</u>
	<u>Political Community</u>	<u>By Ref. to Religion</u>	<u>By Ethnic-Linguistic Group</u>	<u>By Ref. to Locality</u>	<u>By Ref. to Province</u>	<u>By Ref. to Region</u>	<u>By Ref. to Region</u>	<u>By Ref. to Region</u>		
1850	0.6	-0.9	11.2	0.6	-5.6	-5.3	-5.3	-0.6	-0.6	104
1855	-3.2	7.0	-5.9	-10.2	-10.9	23.5	23.5	-0.2	-0.2	104
1860	0.0	-2.1	-4.3	10.9	13.3	-11.8	-11.8	-0.2	-0.2	139
1865	2.8	3.4	8.4	-13.3	-22.0*	10.9	10.9	3.7	3.7	135
1870	-2.8	-7.7	-4.5	14.7	6.3	-24.0*	-24.0*	17.9	17.9	139
1875	0.9	8.3	2.2	2.9	0.4	-2.9	-2.9	-11.8	-11.8	192
1880	-0.9	-8.9	-9.0	17.6	-4.4	1.6	1.6	4.2	4.2	171
1885	0.0	2.7	16.0	-21.0*	-8.2	-0.2	-0.2	9.9	9.9	204
1890	0.0	7.1	-10.2	8.4	5.1	1.4	1.4	7.9	7.9	262
1895	0.0	4.1	-3.6	6.5	-3.2	0.8	0.8	2.7	2.7	288

For sample sizes varying from 104 to 288 percentage differences ranging from 25% (for the smaller samples) to 15% (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level (See W. Wilkes, Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332-336).

* Indicates that the percentage change from the previous year sampled is statistically significant.

Table 7 - 6

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS

LA MINERVE : (Actual number first, followed by percentage in brackets)

Year	By British			By Ethnic-Linguistic Criteria		By Ref. to Locality		By Province		By Region		By Ref. to BNA/Canada		Total
	Political Community	By Religion	By	By	By	By	By	By	By	By	By	By	By	
1845	2 (1.5)	0		9 (6.7)		44 (32.6)	74 (54.8)	6 (4.4)	0			0		135
1850	2 (0.8)	2 (0.8)		10 (4.1)		178 (72.9)	38 (15.6)	14 (5.7)	0			0		244
1855	0	1 (0.9)		6 (5.6)		83 (76.9)	16 (14.8)	2 (1.9)	0			0		108
1860	2 (1.3)	5 (3.3)		20 (13.1)		104 (68.0)	16 (10.5)	6 (3.9)	0			0		153
1865	0	0		1 (1.8)		26 (46.4)	10 (17.9)	19 (33.9)	0			0		56
Pre-Confederation Average	(0.57)		(1.0)	(6.3)		(59.4)	(22.7)	(10.0)	0			0		696
1870	0	2 (0.8)		4 (1.5)		57 (21.6)	172 (65.2)	7 (2.7)	22 (8.3)			264		
1875	0	13 (10.3)		5 (3.9)		52 (40.9)	46 (36.2)	1 (0.8)	10 (7.9)			127		
1880	0	0		12 (12.8)		52 (55.3)	20 (21.3)	3 (3.2)	7 (7.5)			94		
1885	0	0		29 (26.13)		42 (37.8)	23 (20.7)	4 (3.6)	13 (11.7)			111		
1890	0	3 (2.9)		16 (15.4)		61 (58.7)	10 (9.6)	1 (1.0)	13 (12.5)			104		
1895	0	1 (1.0)		(8.9)		60 (59.4)	21 (20.8)	0	10 (9.9)			101		
Post-Confederation Average	(0)	(2.5)		(11.4)		(45.6)	(29.0)	(1.9)	(9.6)			801		

Table 7 - 6(a)

LA MINERVE

IDENTIFICATION OF IDENTIFIANTS

Year	PERCENTAGE By British Political Community	CHANGE By Religion	By Ethnic- Linguistic Group	By Ref. to Locality	By Ref. to Province	By Ref. to Religion	By Ref. to DNA/ Canada	Size of Sample
1850	-0.7	0.0	-2.6	40.3 [#]	-39.2 [#]	1.3	0.0	109
1855	-0.0	0.1	1.5	4.0	-0.8	-3.8	0.0	176
1860	1.3	2.4	7.5	-8.9	-4.3	2.0	0.0	130
1865	-1.3	-3.3	-11.3	-21.6	7.4	20.0 [#]	0.0	104
1870	0.0	0.0	-0.3	-24.0 [#]	47.3 [#]	-31.2 [#]	0.3	160
1875	0.0	9.5	2.4	19.3	-29.0 [#]	-1.9	-0.4	195
1880	0.0	-10.3	0.9	14.4	14.9 [#]	2.4	-0.4	110
1885	0.0	0.0	13.3	-17.5	-0.6	0.4	4.2	102
1890	0.0	2.9	-10.7	20.9	-11.1	-2.6	0.0	107
1895	0.0	-1.9	-6.5	0.7	11.2	-1.0	-2.6	102

For sample sizes varying from 102 to 195, as is the case above, percentage differences ranging from 25% (for the smaller samples) to 18% (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level. (See W. Milko, Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332 - 336).

[#] Indicates that the percentage change from the previous year sampled is statistically significant.

Table 7 - 7

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS

BYTOWN PACKET / OTTAWA CITIZEN : (Actual number first, followed by percentage in brackets)

Year	By British Political Community	By Religion	By Ethnic- Linguistic Criteria	By Ref. to Locality	By Province	By Region	By Ref. to BNA/Canada	Total
1845	0	1 (1.5)	2 (3.0)	43 (64.2)	11 (16.4)	11 (16.4)	0	68
1850	3 (3.18)	0	3 (3.1)	54 (56.3)	18 (18.8)	18 (18.8)	0	96
1855	1 (0.8)	0	40 (30.1)	60 (45.1)	21 (15.8)	11 (8.3)	0	133
1860	9 (7.3)	0	2 (1.6)	92 (74.2)	9 (7.3)	12 (9.7)	0	124
1865	0	0	2 (9.09)	12 (54.6)	4 (18.2)	4 (18.2)	0	22
Pre-Conf- ederation Average	(2.2)	(0.3)	(9.4)	(58.9)	(15.3)	(14.3)	0	643
1870	1 (0.8)	0	0	48 (39.0)	45 (36.6)	2 (1.6)	27 (22.0)	123
1875	1 (0.5)	21 (9.6)	8 (3.7)	109 (50.0)	50 (22.9)	1 (0.5)	28 (12.84)	218
1880	0	2 (1.9)	4 (3.8)	56 (53.3)	19 (18.1)	1 (0.9)	23 (21.9)	105
1885	1 (0.5)	5 (2.5)	19 (9.3)	113 (55.4)	23 (11.3)	3 (1.5)	40 (19.6)	204
1890	0	9 (7.3)	3 (2.4)	69 (55.7)	10 (8.1)	2 (1.6)	31 (25.0)	124
1895	0	2 (0.7)	8 (2.9)	179 (64.9)	44 (15.9)	3 (1.1)	40 (14.5)	276
Post-Confed- eration Average (0.3)	(0.3)	(3.7)	(3.7)	(53.1)	(18.8)	(1.2)	(19.3)	1,050

BYTOWN PACKET / OTTAWA CITIZEN

Table 7 - 7(a)

IDENTIFICATION OF IDENTIFIANTS

Year	PERCENTAGE CHANGE			BY ETHNIC-LINGUISTIC GROUP		BY LOCALITY		BY PROVINCE		BY REGION		BY ENA/CANADA		Size of Sample
	By British Political Community	By Religion	By Ethnic-Linguistic Group	By Locality	By Province	By Region	By ENA/CANADA							
1850	3.2	-1.5	0.1	-7.9	2.4	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	82
1855	-2.4	0.0	27.0 [*]	-11.2	-3.0	-10.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	114
1860	6.5	0.0	-22.5 [*]	29.1 [*]	-8.5	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	128
1865	-7.3	0.0	7.5	-19.6	10.9	8.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	73
1870	0.8	0.0	-9.1	-15.6	18.4	-16.6	22.0	22.0	22.0	22.0	22.0	22.0	22.0	72
1875	-0.3	9.6	3.7	11.0	-13.7	-1.1	-9.2	-9.2	-9.2	-9.2	-9.2	-9.2	-9.2	170
1880	-0.5	-7.7	0.1	3.3	-4.8	0.4	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	161
1885	0.5	0.6	0.5	2.1	-6.8	0.6	-2.3	-2.3	-2.3	-2.3	-2.3	-2.3	-2.3	154
1890	-0.5	4.8	-6.9	0.3	-3.2	0.1	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	164
1895	0.0	-6.6	0.5	9.2	7.8	-0.5	-10.5	-10.5	-10.5	-10.5	-10.5	-10.5	-10.5	200

For sample sizes varying from 72 to 200, as is the case above, percentage differences ranging from 30% (for the smaller samples) to 18% (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level (See W. Wilkes, Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, p. 332-336).

*Indicates that the percentage change from the previous year is statistically significant.

Table 7 - 8

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS

(Actual number first, followed by percentage in brackets)

TORONTO GLOBE

By British

Political Community

By Religion

By Ethnic-Linguistic Criteria

By Ref. to Locality

By Province

By Region

By Ref. to BNA/Canada

Total

Year	8 (3.3)	9 (3.7)	8 (3.9)	112 (45.9)	59 (24.2)	44 (18.0)	3 (1.2)	244
1845								
1850	1 (0.7)	10 (6.6)	12 (7.9)	64 (42.1)	45 (29.6)	20 (13.2)	0	152
1855	1 (0.6)	4 (2.3)	4 (2.3)	126 (70.8)	29 (16.3)	12 (6.7)	1 (0.6)	178
1860	1 (0.4)	3 (1.1)	64 (22.7)	148 (52.5)	36 (12.8)	29 (10.3)	0	281
1865	5 (2.9)	0	17 (10.0)	64 (37.6)	12 (7.1)	55 (32.4)	17 (10.0)	170

Pre-Con-

federation

Average

(1.6)

(2.7)

(9.4)

(50.0)

(18.0)

(16.1)

(2.4)

1,025

1870

0

3 (1.2)

23 (9.2)

99 (39.6)

41 (16.4)

13 (5.2)

71 (28.4)

250

1875

0

38 (12.5)

5 (1.6)

167 (54.9)

61 (20.1)

3 (10.1)

30 (9.9)

304

1880

0

1 (0.4)

19 (6.9)

130 (47.1)

43 (15.6)

2 (6.7)

81 (29.4)

276

1885

3 (0.7)

14 (3.5)

35 (8.7)

125 (31.0)

97 (24.1)

9 (2.2)

119 (29.5)

403

1890

2 (0.6)

31 (9.4)

9 (2.7)

191 (57.7)

42 (12.7)

1 (0.3)

55 (16.6)

331

1895

0

47 (10.8)

15 (3.5)

229 (52.6)

71 (16.3)

2 (0.5)

71 (16.3)

435

Post-Confed.

Average

(0.2)

(6.3)

(5.4)

(17.2)

(17.5)

(1.7)

(21.7)

1,999

Table 7 - 2(a)

THE TORONTO GLCSE

IDENTIFICATION OF INITIATIVES

Year	PERCENTAGE CHANGE BETWEEN YEARS SAMPLED							By Ref. to BMA/ Canada	Size of Sample
	By British Political Community	By Religion	By Ethnic-Linguistic Group	By Locality	By Province	By Region			
1850	-2.6	2.9	4.0	-3.8	5.4	-4.8	-1.2	198	
1855	-0.1	-4.3	-5.6	28.7*	-13.3	-6.5	0.6	165	
1860	-0.2	-1.2	20.4*	-18.3*	-3.5	3.6	-0.6	234	
1865	2.5	-1.1	-12.7	-14.9	-5.7	22.1	10.0	225	
1870	-2.9	0.1	-0.8	2.0	9.3	-27.2*	18.1*	210	
1875	0.0	11.3	-7.6	15.3	3.7	4.9	18.5*	277	
1880	0.0	-12.1	5.3	-7.8	-4.5	-3.4	19.5*	290	
1885	0.7	3.1	1.8	-16.1*	8.5	-4.5	0.1	339	
1890	-0.1	5.9	-6.0	27.7*	-11.4	-1.9	-12.9	367	
1895	0.0	1.4	0.8	-4.9	3.6	0.2	-0.3	383	

For sample sizes varying from 165 to 383, as above, percentage differences ranging from 21% (for the smaller samples) to 15% (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level (See W. Wilkos, Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332-336).

*Indicates that the percentage change from the previous year sampled is statistically significant.

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS

Table 7 - 2

NOR'WESTER / MANITOBA FREE PRESS : (Actual Number first, followed by percentage in brackets)

Year	By British Political Community	By Religion	By Ethnic- Linguistic Criteria	By Ref. to Locality	By Province	By Region	By Ref. to BNA/Canada	Total
1860	1 (0.9)	0	66 (58.4)	16 (14.2)	24 (21.2)	6 (5.3)	0	113
1865	2 (2.9)	0	7 (10.1)	7 (10.1)	19 (27.5)	25 (36.2)	9 (13.0)	69
Pre-Confed- eration Average	(1.9)	(0)	(34.3)	(12.2)	(24.4)	(20.7)	(6.5)	182
1870	17 (12.6)	2 (1.5)	15 (11.1)	18 (13.3)	38 (28.1)	9 (6.7)	36 (26.7)	135
1875	0	4 (6.6)	8 (13.1)	24 (39.3)	13 (21.3)	2 (3.3)	10 (16.4)	61
1880	0	3 (2.7)	7 (6.3)	60 (54.1)	24 (21.6)	4 (3.6)	13 (11.7)	111
1885	0	4 (1.8)	22 (9.8)	105 (46.7)	49 (21.8)	5 (2.2)	40 (17.8)	225
1890	0	6 (2.2)	16 (5.8)	117 (53.3)	63 (22.8)	7 (2.5)	37 (13.4)	276
1895	1 (0.3)	7 (1.9)	36 (9.9)	199 (54.8)	60 (16.5)	14 (3.9)	46 (12.7)	363
Post-Confed. Average	(2.2)	(2.8)	(9.3)	(43.6)	(22.0)	(3.7)	(16.5)	1,171

Table 7 - 2(a)

NOVEMBER / MANITOBA FREE PRESS

IDENTIFICATION OF IMMIGRANTS

Year	PERCENTAGE CHANGE BETWEEN YEARS SAMPLED									
	By British Political Community	By Religion	By Ethnic-Linguistic Group	By Locality	By Province	By Region	By Ref. to BNA/Canada	Size of Sample		
1865	2.0	0.0	-48.3*	-4.1	6.3	30.9*	13.0	91		
1870	9.7	1.5	1.0	3.2	0.6	-29.5*	13.7	102		
1875	-12.6	5.1	2.0	26.0*	-6.8	-3.4	-10.3	98		
1880	0.0	-3.2	-7.2	14.8	0.3	0.3	-4.7	86		
1885	0.0	-0.9	3.5	-7.4	0.2	-1.4	6.1	168		
1890	0.0	0.4	-4.0	6.6	1.0	0.3	-4.4	250		
1895	0.3	-0.3	4.1	1.5	-6.3	1.4	-0.7	319		

For samples ranging from 91 to 319, as above, percentage differences ranging from 25.1% (for the smaller samples) to 14.2% (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level (See W. Wilkes, Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332-336).

* Indicates that the percentage change from the previous year sampled is statistically significant.

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS

Table 7 - 10

BRITISH COLONIST : (Actual Numbers first, followed by percentage in brackets)

Year	By British Political Community	By Religion	By Ethnic- Linguistic Criteria	By Ref. to Locality	By Province	By Region	By Ref. to BNA/ Canada	Total
1860	0	0	66 (58.9)	19 (17.1)	22 (19.6)	5 (4.5)	0	112
1865	2 (5.1)	0	12 (30.8)	19 (48.7)	5 (12.8)	0	0	39
Pre-Confed- eration Average	(2.5)	0	(44.8)	(32.8)	(16.2)	(2.2)	0	151
1870	2 (2.9)	0	4 (5.7)	16 (22.9)	8 (11.4)	1 (1.4)	39 (55.7)	70
1875	2 (.8)	0	23 (9.3)	105 (42.2)	55 (22.1)	6 (2.4)	58 (23.3)	249
1880	0	0	13 (33.3)	13 (33.3)	5 (12.8)	0	8 (20.5)	39
1885	4 (1.5)	0	52 (18.9)	121 (44.0)	35 (12.7)	9 (3.3)	54 (19.6)	275
1890	2 (1.1)	2 (1.1)	27 (15.3)	90 (50.9)	32 (18.1)	2 (1.1)	22 (12.4)	177
1895	0	8 (6.4)	6 (4.8)	61 (48.4)	24 (19.1)	1 (0.8)	26 (20.4)	126
Post-Confed. Average	(1.1)	(1.3)	(14.6)	(36.8)	(16.0)	(1.5)	(25.4)	936

Table 7 - 10(a)

THE BRITISH COLONIST

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS

PERCENTAGE CHANGE BETWEEN YEARS SAMPLED

Year	By British Political Community		By Ethnic-Linguistic Group		By Locality		By Province		By Region		By ref. to BMA/Canada		Size of Sample
	By Religion		By Religion		By Locality		By Province		By Region		By ref. to BMA/Canada		
1865	5.1	0.0	-28.1		31.6		-6.6		-4.5		0.0		75
1870	-2.2	0.0	-25.1		-25.8		-1.4		1.4		55.7*		54
1875	-2.1	0.0	3.6		19.3		10.7		1.0		-32.4*		159
1880	-0.8	0.0	24.0*		-28.9*		-9.3		-2.4		-2.8		144
1885	1.5	0.0	-14.4		30.7*		-0.1		3.3		-0.9		157
1890	-0.4	1.1	-3.6		6.9		5.4		-2.2		-7.2		176
1895	-1.1	5.3	-10.5		-3.3		1.0		-0.3		8.2		151

For samples varying from 54 to 176, as above, percentage differences ranging from 35% (for the smaller samples) to 21% (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level (See W. Wilkos, Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332 - 336).

*Indicates that the percentage change from the previous year sampled is statistically significant.

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS OF B.N.A./CANADA

By Own Provincial Localities and Localities in Other Provinces

In Percentages of Total Identifications Used in this Chapter

Year	Nova Scotia		Saint John		Le Canadien		Montreal		La Minerve		Ottawa		Toronto		Nor'Wester		British	
	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other
1845	35.9	5.8	60.9	1.3	61.4	7.0	35.2	8.3	25.5	7.1	51.0	13.2	35.9	10.0				
1850	30.5	1.5	16.0	0.7	48.0	10.0	15.1	29.0	62.1	10.8	49.0	7.3	31.4	10.7				
1855	63.0	4.2	29.1	0.3	60.0	15.0	17.3	16.6	57.9	19.0	32.8	12.3	50.8	20.0				
1860	57.4	8.2	17.0	9.4	36.3	8.3	25.0	10.0	57.4	10.6	58.4	15.8	43.2	9.3	11.5	2.7	15.9	1.1
1865	24.9	3.3	20.6	4.1	21.8	7.2	22.5	9.0	28.6	17.8	40.9	13.7	31.1	6.5	6.5	3.6	48.7	0.0
Pre-Confed.	42.4	4.6	28.7	3.2	45.5	9.5	25.0	14.6	46.3	13.1	46.4	12.5	40.7	9.3	9.0	3.2	32.2	0.6
1870	31.8	1.0	47.7	10.8	39.2	3.0	22.6	23.6	9.2	12.4	30.7	8.3	26.0	13.6	10.4	2.9	18.6	4.3
1875	34.4	13.0	28.7	22.6	48.3	3.5	33.9	15.2	33.2	7.7	26.7	23.3	38.3	16.6	32.6	6.7	41.0	1.2
1880	34.3	8.4	64.5	6.0	36.4	4.5	48.3	18.4	39.4	15.9	43.3	10.0	39.3	7.9	47.7	6.4	9.4	3.9
1885	44.9	11.3	49.5	12.1	34.3	11.5	29.9	15.8	30.5	7.3	41.4	14.0	28.5	2.5	38.9	7.8	35.8	8.2
1890	56.8	8.8	41.8	13.3	58.2	5.0	34.1	20.0	53.1	5.6	49.0	6.7	51.0	6.7	40.1	13.2	42.3	6.1
1895	44.3	14.9	35.6	13.3	45.4	2.6	40.2	20.3	55.4	4.0	48.1	16.8	45.8	6.8	29.0	25.8	36.9	11.5
Post-Confed.	41.0	9.6	44.7	13.0	43.6	5.0	34.8	18.9	36.8	8.8	39.9	13.2	38.2	9.0	33.1	10.5	30.9	5.9
Average																		

TABLE 7-12

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS OF B.M.A./CANADA
By Own Province and Other Provinces

In Percentages of Total Identifications Used in this Chapter

Year	Nova Scotia		Saint John		Le Canadien		Montreal		Le Minerve		Ottawa		Toronto		Nor'Wester		British	
	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other
1845	28.6	7.9	24.3	2.7	17.6	5.2	26.9	13.1	28.1	26.7	8.8	7.6	16.8	7.4				
1850	23.5	5.0	43.9	0.0	9.2	4.3	8.6	25.8	11.5	4.1	10.4	8.4	14.6	15.0				
1855	15.0	10.4	20.6	0.0	8.3	1.7	7.9	15.6	7.4	7.4	9.0	6.8	12.9	3.4				
1860	20.0	5.2	15.9	12.4	10.9	9.9	19.7	17.1	3.8	6.7	4.0	3.3	9.3	3.5	17.7	3.5	19.6	0.0
1865	21.5	10.0	6.8	19.2	15.0	25.0	1.9	12.9	8.9	8.9	13.7	4.5	4.1	3.0	10.1	17.4	10.3	2.5
Pre-Confederation																		
Average	21.8	7.7	22.9	6.3	12.2	9.2	13.0	16.9	11.9	10.8	9.2	6.1	11.5	6.5	13.9	10.5	14.9	1.3
1870	16.9	7.0	23.1	4.6	8.3	8.3	1.8	19.3	26.9	38.3	18.7	17.9	8.5	7.9	20.0	8.1	7.1	4.3
1875	10.0	13.3	9.2	16.1	19.6	5.4	3.8	17.7	14.2	22.0	4.1	18.8	5.3	14.8	18.0	3.3	18.9	3.2
1880	28.2	7.7	15.0	3.0	16.6	3.2	4.7	12.4	8.5	12.8	3.8	14.3	6.2	9.4	6.3	15.3	12.8	0.0
1885	7.8	2.5	4.3	4.9	3.9	4.6	2.7	6.2	4.5	16.2	6.4	4.9	15.1	9.0	15.1	6.4	6.9	5.8
1890	8.2	2.4	14.8	15.9	7.4	3.7	5.4	8.6	7.7	1.9	4.1	4.0	6.7	6.0	15.6	7.2	13.6	4.5
1895	10.0	6.6	2.4	20.1	3.3	12.2	3.3	7.5	12.0	9.0	5.8	10.1	5.0	11.3	11.3	5.2	9.6	9.5
Post-Confederation																		
Average	13.5	3.1	11.4	10.9	9.8	6.2	3.6	12.0	12.3	16.7	7.2	11.6	7.8	9.7	14.4	7.6	11.5	4.5

TABLE 7-13

IDENTIFICATION OF INHABITANTS OF B.N.A./CANADA

By Own Region and Other Regions

In Percentages of Total Identifications Used in this Chapter

Year	Nova Scotia		Saint John		Le Canadien		Montreal		La Minerve		Ottawa		Toronto		Nor'Wester		British	
	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other	Own	Other
1845	0.0	6.47	2.7	2.7	1.7	0.0	5.3	4.3	4.4	0.0	0.0	16.4	17.2	0.8				
1850	0.5	1.0	3.1	1.5	10.1	0.0	4.3	0.0	5.7	0.0	9.4	9.4	12.4	0.8				
1855	2.5	0.0	0.0	32.4	3.3	0.0	27.8	0.0	1.9	0.0	8.3	0.0	6.7	0.0				
1860	1.7	0.0	1.9	7.5	0.8	0.0	14.4	1.6	3.9	0.0	8.5	1.2	9.4	0.9	0.9	4.4	0.0	4.5
1865	3.3	22.8	4.1	23.3	7.0	1.0	20.0	6.9	30.3	3.6	18.2	0.0	32.1	0.3	7.2	29.0	0.0	0.0
Pre-Confederation Average	1.6	6.0	2.3	13.5	4.6	0.2	14.0	2.9	9.2	0.8	9.0	5.3	15.5	0.6	4.0	16.7	0.0	2.2
1870	1.1	10.3	3.1	3.1	1.0	0.6	0.0	2.9	2.3	0.4	1.6	0.0	2.8	2.4	6.7	0.0	0.0	1.4
1875	1.3	1.2	3.1	0.7	3.6	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.0	3.3	0.0	2.4
1880	1.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	1.6	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.7	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0
1885	4.3	1.3	1.6	3.3	0.0	2.3	0.0	1.8	0.0	3.6	0.0	1.5	0.0	2.2	1.3	0.9	0.4	2.9
1890	1.8	0.6	0.6	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.3	1.1	1.4	0.0	1.1
1895	0.8	1.2	1.1	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.5	0.0	3.9	0.0	3.8
Post-Confederation Average	1.7	2.6	1.7	1.7	0.8	1.0	0.0	1.3	0.4	1.5	0.3	0.9	0.5	1.2	1.5	2.2	0.0	1.5

CHAPTER EIGHT

BNA/CANADIAN IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES

GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE

Of great importance in the development of a national feeling, besides the degree of a society's self-obsession and its modes of self-description, are the ways it looks at other societies, particularly those nearest to itself both geographically and culturally, and perceives them as being different from itself. For Canada the two societies closest to it geographically, culturally and historically were and are Great Britain, the Mother Country, and the United States, the country which Canada might be said to have opted out of at the time of the American Revolution, but which by reason of its size, proximity and dynamism has continued to play an immense role throughout Canadian history. Moreover, France as the homeland of about one-third of the BNA/Canadian population may be said to be of special interest, certainly to French Canadians, and for them the ways in which they conceive themselves as being different from the Metropolitan French are important.

That there is a connection between the images of adjacent societies current within a country and the degree of political integration within

that country seems certain. Does not criticism or rejection of these adjacent societies imply that there is a better way, namely our way? An image, although it must have some credibility based on objective fact, can select certain aspects of those facts and suppress others, and of those selected it can either minimize or exaggerate to suit its own purposes. To some extent we see what we want to see, namely those aspects of totality that correspond and meet our own preconceptions and inner needs. The depiction of Canadian society as different and remote from the British implies that Canadians would be better ruling themselves. Why should a remote and reputedly effete elite in London, totally ignorant of conditions in Canada, determine policies and laws which directly affect the wellbeing and future of Canada? The depiction of Canadian society as less violent, more law-abiding, less neurotic than the American blesses the division of North America and urges Canadians to opt for the virtues and the wholesome pleasure of their northern homeland rather than the riches and dubious pleasures of the south. Adverse images of the United States and Great Britain are an endorsement, a legitimization of a separate Canadian existence and future.

An attempt to give some quantitative expression to the image presented by a newspaper must take four factors

into account: (a) the amount of information given by the newspaper about the said community, thus demonstrating the extent to which that community figures in the consciousness of both the newspaper and its readers, (b) the positive reference to that community, (c) the negative references and (d) the neutral references. The total image presented is principally an interplay or balance of these four factors.

Accordingly I counted in every copy of every newspaper examined in this survey (the whole 279 of them) each item pertaining to and dealing principally with (i.e., not merely mentioning incidentally) the three "other" or "foreign" communities which I have deemed most relevant in the development of Canadian feelings of separateness or nationalism, namely the United States, Britain and France. By an item I mean every self-contained news story, feature or article; its length might vary from a one sentence paragraph to a whole page or more, so long as it was self-contained, i.e., not connected to the narrative of the preceding or ensuing item.

In counting I classified each item according to whether I judged it to be a positive, a neutral/indeterminate, or negative reference to the said community. My criterion for a positive judgement was whether the article

in question was laudatory, evocative of admiration, adulation, affinity or envy of the society in question. For instance, an item which referred to the Americans in terms of "our cousins to the south", "our good neighbours", or "fellow Anglo-Saxons", or to Britain as "land of our forefathers", "mother-land", and the British as "our kith and kin" — all these I would classify as "positive".

Moreover, any reference to one of these three communities as a promoter of or contributor to the arts, and sciences, or technology, for example spectacular engineering feats or contributions to material progress, was reckoned as a positive reference, as was any item on the military prowess or successes of any one of these three communities.

Allotted to the "negative" category were items evocative of ridicule, distaste, dislike, fear, abhorrence, loathing or revulsion towards the said community. Stories of strife, violence, lawlessness, intolerance, governmental action infringing or curtailing basic democratic rights, such as arbitrary arrests, censorship, brutal repressive measures against strikers, demonstrators, religious or racial persecution — all such as these rated a negative listing, as did stories of loose or outrageous moral behaviour, and also those of military defeats or ineptness.

Neutral/indeterminate items were those which clearly did not have any of the above tendencies: being usually factually reported events in which human malice, viciousness and immorality were not among the principal causative factors.

I have already touched upon one hypothesis regarding number of images of adjacent societies and integration in Chapter five. This might be stated thus: the greater the proportion of total symbols devoted to home place names, and the less to those of adjacent societies, the greater the degree of integration; this is related to factor (a) mentioned in paragraph three of this chapter. In Chapter five I found that the percentages of British and American place names did indeed diminish over the survey period whilst that of BNA/Canadian place names increased (see Table 5-4); thus there was greater concentration upon the scene within BNA/Canada, more self-orientation, greater self-sufficiency.

Another possible hypothesis is that the degree of integration of a given political unit varies directly with the number and scurrility of the negative images current within it of adjacent societies. Certainly negative images of neighbours supply a rationale for one's separateness or exclusivity, and play an important role in the development of any new nationality, being an essential part of its very

raison d'être. However, it is reasonable to presume that if they are unduly severe or palpably unbalanced images then they indicate nothing so much as that the society within which they circulate feels itself menaced or threatened in some way, and is a prey to feelings of insecurity. Overly negative images would seem to be indicative of the new nationality in its primary, formative stages, or of societies in periods of crises, when they feel themselves more threatened than is usually the case.

One can indeed envisage a society united in an orgy of xenophobia bound together in a universal common hatred of everything and anything foreign. Yet hatred would seem to be an insufficient basis upon which to build a separate nation, or any social organization for that matter. For one thing, hatred is likely to be self-destructive. In the long run one has to achieve some kind of peaceful modus vivendi with one's neighbours, or face exhaustion. Hatred too is likely to be temporary; no one but a psychopath can keep his anger at boiling point indefinitely. Negative images certainly play their part, and a big part, in the life of a nation but there comes a point beyond which they can be a disutility, impeding mutually beneficial co-operation with neighbours, and exciting counter hatreds which may lead to reprisals. As has been perhaps indicated

already, negative images of neighbours are more useful at some times than others, when the political unit or new nation is in its early and formative stages and emphasizing its distinctiveness, also in certain periods of internal crises when centrifugal forces threaten to disrupt a society.

As for positive images, one might expect a well-integrated, self-assured society to pay honest appreciation and tribute to neighbours, thus exhibiting that it does not fear any diminution or threat to its own identity thereby. Indeed, on occasions neighbours' achievements can be paradigms for emulation, spurs to action and achievement. But one would not expect a society that is sure of itself to be excessively eulogistic or sycophantic towards its neighbours. This could very well indicate that the society was immature and therefore excessively dependent on others or had lost adequate faith in itself and its future, and might therefore lead to questions concerning the utility of their own society's further existence, at least as a politically independent entity.

And what of neutral images, do they exhibit an impartial attempt to get at the facts and nothing but the facts about one's neighbours, or do they simply exhibit disinterest? If only neutral images were purveyed this probably would be the ideal indicator of integration (discounting internal centrifugal forces), for then adjacent

societies would no longer be considered a threat nor an attraction, but would be looked upon merely as foreign, different than oneself. But this is an ideal situation unlikely to pertain in the real world, yet it does suggest that one facet of integration may lie in the similarity of images held by members of a society about foreigners, provided these images are not excessively eulogistic.

So is it that the greater the proportion of neutral images of adjacent societies, relative to positive and negative, the greater the integration of a given political unit? In an ideal situation, yes, but certainly not in a country like Canada, spread over an immense territory and made up of diverse elements. Such a situation requires a good deal of negative imagery of neighbours until time at least has given that society some degree of solidity, some distinctive traditions. But even then its position is somewhat precarious, as a country with a long artificial border, with a neighbour ten times its size, speaking the same majority language, with a similar culture (i.e., not particularly foreign), and equipped with an economic machine capable of consistently giving its citizens a standard of living up to ten percent greater than that which Canadians enjoy. The magnetic "pull" of such a neighbour is immense, and one technique of resisting it is to emphasize its negative aspects.

The most that we can probably say is that in the well integrated, self-assured society there is a certain balance as between positive-neutral-negative images. The optimum balance will not be the same for all societies, nor the same for the same society at all times.

The Image Count — Positive, Neutral and Negative

My count of the items in the nine newspapers of the sample dealing with the United States, Great Britain and France revealed the following distribution over the period 1845-1895. Table 8-0 shows that pre-Confederation 86 per cent of these items went to the United States and Britain, being almost equally divided between the two, and the remaining 14 per cent went to France (it is necessary to note that in the following tables all the percentages are calculated out of the totality of items devoted to the United States, Great Britain and France — the sum of these was my 100 per cent). After Confederation the United States took a comfortable lead over Britain: items on the United States now averaged 46.5 per cent, an increase of 2.7 per cent on the pre-1867 average. The British items now averaged 31.3 per cent, down by 11.1 per cent on the pre-1867 average. It can be seen from Table 8-0 that in 1845 the British items were double the American; in 1895 the American items were double the British. As for France the pre-1867 average for the sample of 14.0 per cent went up by roughly one-third after Confederation to 21.7. This increase was entirely

due to the flood of items which came with the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 when items dealing with France and the French soared to the abnormal percentage of 64.5. If 1870 is excluded from the post-1867 French total the sample's average slumps to 13.1, practically the same as the pre-Confederation average.

Table 8 - O(a) gives the percentage change between the years sampled. In the case of the United States six of the yearly fluctuations, out of a possible 10, are seen to be statistically significant at the 0.01 level of probability. A big upsurge came in the Civil War years, reflected in the March and August issues surveyed in 1865, which caught the last days of the Confederacy and the assassination of Lincoln. A substantial drop in American place names came in 1870 : the Civil War was over, the United States was at peace again, and attention was diverted to another massive blood-letting -- the Franco-Prussian War.

In the case of Britain the biggest change between any two years sampled was that from 1845 to 1850, when a decrease of 18.7 per cent was registered. From then on the British percentage continued to slither until 1875 when it revived co-incidentally with Britain's reviving interest in Empire. However, after the critical year of 1885, which included amongst other things the death of General Gordon and the threat of war with Russia over Afghanistan, there was a steep fall of 17.2 percentage points in the number of items on Britain.

The percentage of French items pottered along at a modest level with a pre-Confederation peak in 1855, when Britain and France were partners in the lack-lustre Crimean campaign. However, the real crescendo in attention to France came with the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. This fateful year saw a percentage increase of 52.6 in French items. The succeeding year surveyed, 1875, showed an equally abrupt fall of 48.3 percentage points.

In Tables 8-1, 8-2 and 8-3 we turn to the division of items dealing with each of the three countries into positive, neutral and negative. First, in Table 8-1, which deals with the United States, the pre-Confederation figures show that the sample divided its United States items (43.9 per cent) into 4.6 positive, 29.2 neutral, and 10.1 negative. As can be seen from Table 8-1, there does seem to have been something of an increase in negative imagery during the pre-1867 period: in 1845 the negative percentage was 5.9, in 1850 it was 10.8, and in 1865 it reached 15.0 per cent. However, the ratio of negative to total number of items remained approximately the same throughout this first period, varying from 1 : 4 to 1 : 6. Even in 1865, during the Civil War and its immediate aftermath, the ratio of negative to total items was still only 1 : 4, indicating that a vicious war was scarcely needed to excite the Canadian animus against the United States. However, from 1880 onwards the ratio of negative to total images decreased slightly to a uniform 1 in 4. Although in the post-Confederation period the total percentage of

United States items increased slightly, to 46.5 per cent, this was the result of a joint increase in neutral and negative items offsetting a decrease in positive items.

In the case of Britain (see Table 8-2) the pre-Confederation items averaged 42.3 per cent for the whole sample, divided between 8.8 per cent positive, 30.4 neutral, and 3.1 negative. After Confederation there was a notable decline in British items to 31.3. Although positive items were cut in half, from 8.8 to 4.1 per cent, the biggest drop, 8.2 percentage points, came in neutral items which fell from 30.4 to 22.2 per cent, and negative items recorded an increase from 3.1 to 5.0 per cent. The years with the biggest percentage of negative items on Britain were 1880 with 10.3, and 1885 with 8.0 per cent, significantly the peak years for Imperial Federation and Britain's renewed concern with Empire. However, it must also be pointed out that the post-Confederation peak year for positive items on Britain was also 1885, which may be termed the year of most intense British military involvement overseas between the Crimean and Boer Wars.

As for France (see Table 8-3), the percentage of items before Confederation was 14.0, of which there was an almost perfect balance between positive (2.5) and negative (2.4), with the remainder (9.1) being neutral. After Confederation the French score increased by 7.7 percentage points to 21.7. The biggest part of the increase went to negative items, which rose by 4.3 percentage points, neutral items increased 3.2, while positive items remained more or less static.

The increase in France's share of the total was due entirely to the flood of stories and articles on France and the French which occurred in 1870 with the Franco-Prussian War. During that year negative French items rose to 27.0 per cent (from 3.1 per cent in 1865), principally due to the quick succession of military disasters suffered by the French between July and December, 1870. Indeed, the negative items almost equalled the neutral items at 29.1 per cent. In 1875 the French figures were back to "normal" : a total of 16.2, down by 48.3 percentage points from 1870 (negative items were down 24.0 percentage points to 3.0, neutral items were down by 17.0 to 12.1 per cent, and positive by 7.3 to 1.1 per cent).

French items which began our period with a sample average of 6.9 per cent (1.2 positive, 4.4 neutral and 1.3 negative) ended the period in 1895 with a total percentage of 6.7 (made up of 2.7 positive, 4.4 neutral and 1.8 negative). Indeed the story is very much the same for every year sampled, apart from that one year of 1870.

Individual Newspapers

Table 8-4(a) shows that pre-Confederation the British Colonist was decisively ahead of the rest of the field in terms of attention to the United States; in fact its percentage of 78.2 was almost double the average for the sample. The large number of U.S. items in the British Colonist would appear to be an indication of the extent to which

the channels of information to the Pacific coast colony were dependant upon the United States, geographically isolated as the colony was from the rest of the settled portions of British North America. The vast majority of the Colonist's U.S. items were neutral in character (58.6 per cent) whilst 14.7 per cent were negative, three times as many as the positive items at 4.8 per cent. The British Colonist's total of U.S. items was 17 percentage points ahead of its nearest rival, another paper on the periphery of British North America, the Novascotian, which had 61.3 per cent U.S. items, divided between 2.7 positive, 42.3 neutral and 16.2 negative, i.e., the negative items were six times as prevalent as the positive. In third place with U.S. items came the Toronto Globe with 56.7 per cent. These three leading papers in U.S. items were well ahead of the rest of the field. In fourth position, 13 percentage points behind the Globe, came the Montreal Gazette (43.7 per cent). This 13 point gap between Globe and Gazette was greater than the distance which separated the Gazette from the paper with the least percentage of items on the U.S., Le Canadien at 31.5 per cent. However, in both the Globe and the Gazette the negative U.S. items, at approximately 11.0 per cent, were double the positive at approximately 5.5 per cent. The two papers with the lowest percentage on the U.S. list were the Ottawa Citizen with 36.0 per cent and Le Canadien with 31.5, about half the percentage of U.S. items in the British Colonist and Novascotian.

Both the Ottawa Citizen and Le Canadien had a little over four times more negative items on the U.S. than positive.

The post-Confederation years produced a noticeably more uniform distribution of attention to the United States amongst members of the sample than was previously the case. In the pre-1867 period the spread of attention ranged from the British Colonist with 78.2 per cent U.S. items to Le Canadien with 31.5, a spread of 46.7. After Confederation the spread was merely from the Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle at the head of the head of the U.S. percentage list with 53.9 to Le Canadien with 30.5, a spread of 23.4 per cent. Indeed the percentage difference between the English-language papers was only 10.2 per cent, from the Novascotian with its 53.9 to the Toronto Globe with 43.7. The two French-language papers were now distinctly behind their English brethren in U.S. items, occupying the two bottom positions: La Minerve with 35.8 per cent, and Le Canadien with 30.5. Apart from the Ottawa Citizen the ratio of negative to positive was also noticeably greater in the two French-language papers. For most of the English papers after 1867 it ranged from 4 negative to 1 positive (the Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle) to 2 negative to 1 positive (the Toronto Globe), but for Le Canadien it was 5 negative to 1 positive, and for La Minerve as many as 17 negative to 1 positive.

A much more sophisticated measure of the orientation of each of the sample's nine newspapers towards the United States is given in Table 6-5(a). This table shows the

relationship between the number of U.S. items in each newspaper and the distribution of these items between positive-neutral-negative categories. The method used in calculating this relationship is set forth by Irving L. Janis and Raymond Fadner in The Language of Politics, by Harold D. Lasswell, Nathan Leites and Associates, specifically in Chapter eight which is entitled, "The Coefficient of Imbalance", pp. 153-169. This coefficient of imbalance is given in Table 8-5(a) for each of the sample's newspapers before Confederation. During this period the sample's average number of items dealing with the United States was 8.0 per issue, of which 0.7 items were positive, 5.4 neutral and 1.8 negative, giving a sample average coefficient of imbalance of -0.031.

Table 8-5(a) shows the pre-1867 coefficient of imbalance for each of the sample's newspapers, arranged in a descending order of positiveness. On balance the most positive image of the United States during this period was in the Saint John papers of the sample. They were the only papers, along with the Red River's Nor'Wester, to show a positive balance. The highest negative scores were those of Le Canadien with -0.095 and the Ottawa Citizen at the bottom of the list with a negative coefficient of -0.101.

After Confederation the sample's average coefficient of imbalance for United States items fell to -0.054 (see Table 6 - 5(b)). The sample's average number of U.S. items was nine per issue, made up of 0.5 positive, 6.1 neutral and 2.3 negative. The coefficient for every paper in

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the sample was now negative. The least negative and therefore top of the list was the British Colonist with a coefficient of -0.014. In second place was the Toronto Globe with -0.024, and the Saint John Telegraph was in third with -0.027. Surprisingly at the foot of the list was the Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle with the highest negative score of the whole sample (-0.116), and second from the bottom was the Ottawa Citizen with a coefficient of -0.087. Certainly all these BNA/Canadian newspapers appear to have stood united in the predominance of negative to positive U.S. images.

Great Britain

In contrast to its position at the foot of the U.S. items listings, the Ottawa Citizen in the pre-Confederation period led the sample in the percentage of items devoted to Britain, 51.6 per cent of its U.S.-U.K.-French items. They were divided between 8.7 positive, 38.7 neutral and 4.2 negative (see Table 8-4(b)). Running neck and neck with the Citizen in items on Britain were the Saint John papers in the sample, which had a pre-Confederation average of 51.3 per cent divided between 11.9 positive, 36.6 neutral and 2.8 negative. In sharp contrast to the case of the United States there were more positive items than negative for every paper in the sample before 1867. At the foot of the table for items on Britain was the British Colonist with only 15 per cent of its U.S.-U.K.-French items devoted to the U.K., but of these

3.4 were positive compared with a zero percentage of negative items.

After Confederation there was a marked diminution for many papers in the sample of the percentage of items on Britain. For most of the papers the fall in British items was of the order of about 10 per cent; the two exceptions were the Toronto Globe which increased its British percentage by approximately seven points (from 34.3 pre-1867, to 41.1 post-1867), and the British Colonist which more than doubled its percentage from 15.0 to 36.4 per cent. Thus in the post-1867 table on British items the Toronto Globe jumped into the lead with the British Colonist moving up from last to second position. Again as with the United States there was a reduction in the spread of percentages between the various newspapers in the post-1867 period. Before Confederation the spread was one of 36.6 per cent, ranging from the Ottawa Citizen with 51.6 per cent to the British Colonist with 15.0 per cent. After 1867 the spread was down to 19.9 per cent ranging from the Toronto Globe with 41.1 per cent to La Minerve with 21.2. Again as was the case with the percentage of United States items the two French language papers in the sample were at the bottom of the list after Confederation, and quite markedly so (see Table 8-4(b)).

In striking contrast to the image conveyed of

the United States there was not one, pre-Confederation, negative coefficient of imbalance in the sample for items on Great Britain (see Table 8-6(a)). Eight papers returned a positive coefficient of imbalance, and the ninth, La Minerve, returned a perfectly balanced coefficient of 0.000. The Nor'Wester had the most favourable balance of all, +0.097, but then it had also the smallest average number of items on Britain of the entire sample: only 2.2 per issue, of which 0.8 were positive, 1.2 neutral and only 0.2 negative. In second place came the Novascotian with a coefficient of imbalance of +0.055 : it had the highest number of items on Britain, 10.3 per issue, of which 2.7 were positive, 6.7 neutral and only 0.9 negative. In third place was the New Brunswick Courier of Saint John with a coefficient of +0.034. At the bottom of the scale were the Toronto Globe and La Minerve : the Globe had an average of 5.6 items on Britain per issue (0.7 positive, 4.3 neutral, and 0.6 negative) to give a coefficient of imbalance of +0.002, and La Minerve had an average of 4.3 items on Britain per issue, made up of 0.5 positive, 3.3 neutral and 0.5 negative, which produced a perfectly balanced coefficient of 0.000.

After Confederation came a distinct deterioration in the image purveyed to Canadians of Britain (see Table 8-6(b)). The average coefficient of imbalance for the sample in items on Britain was now negative at -0.1177. Only one newspaper in the sample, the Saint John Telegraph, now had

a positive coefficient of imbalance, and at that it was merely one of 0.0023, equivalent to that of the Globe, second from the bottom in the pre-1867 listings. The sample's two French language papers, interestingly enough, were second in the listings with perfectly balanced coefficients of 0.000 each, although it should be noted that both papers had the least average number of items on Britain per issue of the sample. La Minerve had 4.1 British items per issue (distributed 0.5 positive, 3.1 neutral, 0.5 negative), and Le Canadien had 2.8 (distributed 0.3 positive, 2.2 neutral and 0.3 negative). Oddly enough, whilst one Maritimer, the Saint John Telegraph, was at the top of the post-1867 listings, another, the Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle, was at the bottom with a coefficient of -0.042 (distribution of its 5.5 average British items being 0.8 positive, 3.1 neutral and 1.6 negative). The Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle's performance undoubtedly sprang from the intense frustration of Nova Scotians: first at being pushed into Confederation, and secondly at being unable to extricate themselves from it.

FRANCE

Le Canadien, of Quebec City, devoted a greater percentage of its U.S.-U.K.-French items to France than any other paper in the sample, both in the pre- and post-Confederation periods (see Table 8 - 4(c)). It also on balance purveyed the most positive image of France of any paper in the sample (see Tables 8 - 7(a) and 8 - 7(b)). Before 1867 Le

Canadien reserved 24.2 per cent of its total U.S.-U.K.-French items for France, distributed between 7.0 positive, 16.8 neutral and 0.4 negative. After 1867 the paper's French percentage had increased to 46.1, distributed between 7.6 positive, 33.0 neutral and 5.5 negative. Before 1867 the Nor'Wester, on the strength of the two years surveyed, was in second position with a French percentage of 21.9, leaving La Minerve in third place with 20.3 — still these leading three newspapers in French items were well ahead of the rest of the field. La Minerve was separated from the Nova-scotian in fourth place by seven percentage points. After Confederation Le Canadien with 46.1 per cent and La Minerve with 43.0 reigned in isolated splendour at the head of the table: both had more than double the percentage of their nearest rival amongst the English-language papers, the Ottawa Citizen with 20.2 per cent. It is also to be noted that there was remarkably little spread between the English-language papers: after 1867 it ranged only from the Ottawa Citizen with 20.2 per cent to the Toronto Globe with 15.1 in the percentage of French items they carried.

Turning to Table 8 - 7(a), for the coefficients of imbalance for both the entire sample and the individual papers vis-à-vis France, we find that the pre-1867 average for the sample was merely 1.8 items per issue, of which 1.3 were neutral, whilst positive and negative items were each 0.3 per issue, which gives a coefficient of imbalance of

-0.0008. In the pre-Confederation period three individual papers in the sample, Le Canadien, the Montreal Gazette, and the Nor'Wester each returned a positive coefficient of imbalance; the remainder of the sample were negative. Of these the Ottawa Citizen, and the Toronto Globe were the most negative with coefficients of imbalance of -0.0312 and -0.0349 respectively. It is interesting to note that the Nova-scotian averaged more items per issue on France than any other paper in the sample (see Table 8-4(b)), 3.9, compared with 2.4 for both Le Canadien and La Minerve. After Confederation (see Table 8 - 7(b)) the sample's average number of items on France was 4.5 per issue, divided between 0.6 positive, 2.4 neutral and 1.5 negative, to give an overall imbalance of -0.0838. Of the individual papers all now had a negative imbalance with the sole exception of Le Canadien which was in a state of perfect balance (i.e. it had a coefficient of 0.000), with an average now of 6.3 items per issue, of which 0.9 were positive, 4.5 neutral and 0.9 negative. The paper in second place, and therefore with the least negative coefficient amongst the remaining members of the sample, was the Manitoba Free Press with an imbalance of -0.0612, whilst the paper with the highest negative coefficient of imbalance was the Montreal Gazette with -0.1406.

One thing that this survey has shown is that French Canada was not as culturally severed from France during the 19th century as is sometimes purported. After Confederation Le Canadien devoted on average double the

number of items to France that it did to the United States (no less than 52.1 per cent of all its U.S.-U.K.-French items went to France, and only 25.2 to the United States). La Minerve had twice as many items on France as it had on Britain (43.0 per cent to France, and 21.2 to Britain).

In concluding this section on the images of these three "adjacent" societies, two points might be signalled out for mention : (a) The increased negative image purveyed to Canadians of all these three countries after Confederation. It may have been that a burgeoning "Canadianism" was fed on an increasingly negative image of these "adjacent" societies. Or it may partly have been a reflection of the general trend in journalism, a trend which, in attempting to capture the growing mass and plebeian readership that was becoming available, was moving into the sensational, the violent and the tragic more than hitherto.

(b) A growing uniformity in the percentage of items in all the papers of the sample in dealing with the United States and Britain, or, as one might put it, a growing consensus on the relative newsworthiness of these two "adjacent" societies. There was also slightly less variation in the kind of image purveyed after Confederation. If we compare Table 8 - 5(a) with 8 - 5(b) we find that the pre-Confederation difference between the most positive image presented in the sample of the United States (that of the New Brunswick Courier with a coefficient of imbalance of +0.042), and the most negative (the Ottawa Citizen with a coefficient of im-

balance of -0.101) was 0.143. After Confederation the difference between the highest and the lowest coefficients was 0.102. In the case of Britain, Table 8 - 6(a) shows that pre-1867 the difference in coefficients of imbalance was 0.097; afterwards it was cut by over half to 0.044.

However, in items on France the discrepancy was greater after Confederation. The figures for France show that before 1867 the difference was 0.087, afterwards it was 0.1406 (see Tables 8 - 7(a) and 8 - 7(b)). The increased difference would appear to be due to the somewhat different approaches by members of the sample to the Franco-Prussian War.

What the Newspapers said about the United States

The general impression of the United States imparted by a reading of the Canadian press is of a great, seething cauldron of a society. To be sure, diverse images are presented; American energy, enthusiasm and enterprise are all there. The United States is a land of economic expansion, great opportunities and fabulous wealth, but it is also the land of violence, turbulence, lawlessness on the part of individuals, groups and the state itself. It is the land of outrageous crime, mobs, riots, lynchings, loose morals, graft, fraud, farcical justice, intolerance, and on a lesser plane of evil, bombast, braggadocio and ballyhoo. The picture conveyed on the whole is not a pretty or pleasant one; the Ugly American is by no means a recent invention.

The pre-eminent impression of the States that one gets through these journals is of a violent society, a land where life is cheap. As one wades through the columns of murders, beatings, lynchings, and suicides from the great Republic one is tempted to ask: "Surely there must be some tales of malevolence and mayhem in Canada too?" But no, here we draw a relative blank in the papers of the time. In contrast to the American tendency to wash their dirty linen in public, Canadians appear to be rather reticent in revealing the discreditable aspects of Canadian life; the seamy and the unseemly are hurriedly and piously swept under the carpet..

Both because of the emphasis upon it, and the column inches it occupies, violence, both on the group and individual levels, must be the first item in this picture of America as presented by the BNA/Canadian press. Riots and murderous mobs were very much part of the scene at mid-century. The Novascotian reported in 1850:

There has been another tremendous riot between the journeymen tailors and the police of New York. Two of the former were reported killed, 20 or 30 wounded and 40 have been lodged in prison. The tailors were all Germans. (August 12, 1850)

In the litany of riots, mobs and lynchings, the city of Louisville, Kentucky, figures to a prominent degree. Among its citizens were many practising "Know-Nothings", and they seemed ever ready to take to the streets to do

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In the litany of riots, mobs and lynchings, the city of Louisville, Kentucky, figures to a prominent degree. Among its citizens were many practising "Know-Nothings", and they seemed ever ready to take to the streets to do

battle. On August 13, 1855, the Novascotian said it had received a despatch that "rioting was continuing" in Louisville:

Several persons have been killed and many wounded. Two blocks of buildings have been fired and are still burning. The most intense excitement prevails, and there will probably be more fighting. The Irish fired from windows and killed three Americans. One Irishman has been hung by the Americans, several were killed and others taken prisoner.

The Ottawa Tribune on the same riot said:

It was perpetrated by a wicked mob of Know-Nothing rioters, worthless bullies. . . Most painful sight of all was the Stars and Stripes waved at the head of the sacrilegious mobites. (August 17, 1855)

Le Canadien commenting on this Louisville riot said: "Vingt cadavres au moins sont le trophée de ce superbe triomphe, la victoire americaine". (August 17, 1855)

This theme of American violence was given added impetus by the Civil War, which seemed to inure Americans even more to a steady stream of cruelties and butcherings. The Montreal Gazette on August 9, 1865, printed the following despatch from Richmond, the battle engulfed Southern capital:

The evil spirits of men have been let loose upon us. . . Young men, citizens, seem to feel it a duty incumbent upon them to assault and waylay every coloured man. . . The most stringent orders of General Terry are inadequate to meet the cases of growing abuse, executed as they are by soldiers utterly devoid of every principle of patriotism and morals.

Again the general lawlessness and brutality unleashed by the war are illustrated by the following item in the Ottawa Citizen:

The City of Nashville, Tennessee, acquired an unenviable reputation during the war. Scarcely a morning dawned upon the city when one, two, or more murdered bodies were not found upon the streets. Its citizens would seem solicitous to sustain its reputation for almost every mail brings news of some pistol or knife butchering affray upon its streets. (Nov. 15, 1865)

To the horrors of the Civil War was added the butchery of the Indian wars; hideous cruelties being practised by both sides. The following letter was published in the Montreal Gazette in 1865 (March 23) from an outraged, but anonymous, American citizen protesting a treacherous and sadistic onslaught by the army on a band of peaceful Indians near Denver:

The slaughter was indiscriminate — warriors, old men, women, helpless children fell before the attack. . . . Men boast of having taken infants by the heels and bashed their brains out on the ground. An officer states that he cut the heart from a dead squaw and carried it on a pole. Other acts of demonism were committed that are too horrible to relate The devilish infamy of this murder has no parallel in border war. The Colonel commanding states that his command fought 900 to 1,000 warriors and killed between 500 and 600. Persons best informed tell me the entire camp did not exceed 200 warriors and 300 women and children. Officers on the field state that not over 60 warriors were killed, and that about 200 women and children were counted dead upon the field.

Signed,

Kappa.

Simultaneously with the war, crime mushroomed in the burgeoning Northern cities. The Novascotian in early 1865 described New York as, "A nest of robbers and a den of thieves" (March 27, 1865). The Nor'Wester asked, "Why does nearly every man walk the streets of Chicago armed? ...The bloody riots, the midnight assassinations, the brutal murders, the horrible massacres... will be a convincing answer to all such questions" (an item reprinted on Nov. 2, 1865, from the Chicago Times).

La Minerve on August 9, 1865 in an editorial type article bemoaned, "L'application de la loi de Lynch dans l'Indiana", and went on to inform its readers:

Quinze assassinats ont été commis à Edgefield (Tennessee) dans l'espace des deux dernières semaines... Il est impossible de marcher dans les rues de Washington, après le coucher du soleil, sans être bien armé et avoir l'œil au guet. Il en est à peu près de même à New York depuis quelques semaines.

The self-righteousness of Americans about their violence is illustrated by the following from the Novascotian, an inscription recorded on a Colorado deacon's tombstone, "When circumstances rendered it impossible for him to attend the stated preaching of the gospel he made it a sacred duty to kill an Indian every sabbath" (August 29, 1870).

This reputation for violence of the Americans sometimes rebounded to the advantage of Canadians. The Toronto Globe pointed out on August 29, 1870:

Nothing is more opportune than the recent slaughter of Indians for effectually putting a stop to any ideas of annexation at Red River, and for confirming the Indians in their resolution of fighting to the death rather than permit the whole of that wide territory of the North West to pass into the hands of Uncle Sam . . . the conduct of the British has always been in noticeable contrast.

And as a grim warning of what annexation to the United States really meant, The Globe on Feb. 11, 1870, gave prominence to the following, which it had picked up from the San Francisco Chronicle:

Since Alaska became annexed to the United States and a lawless soldiery entered upon that territory we have nothing to chronicle but scenes of horror, bloodshed, brought about sometimes by the licentious soldiers and their dissolute commanders and at other times by the reckless traders who have over-run the new territory.

The tales of violence and crime remained unabated for the rest of the century. "Lynch Law in Kansas", was a heading in the Globe on July 12, 1870, as citizens of that state sought to speed up the work of justice. One of the many excesses of this type of summary justice appeared in the Ottawa Citizen of August 23, 1870, which reported that "about 50 chivalrous men" stripped, tarred and feathered a widow and then paraded her around the town astride a pole for some hours. The incident occurred in Cortland Village, New York, where a woman committed suicide because she suspected her husband of paying attention to the said widow. The Citizen commented:

There was no evidence that the unfortunate victim has really been guilty of any impropriety . . . We do not believe that in any country in the world claiming to be civilized such an outrage on a defenceless woman would be perpetrated. It is not that the Americans are less humane than other people but simply because the certain consequences of unbridled democracy is to induce men to take the law into their own hands, to pay no regard to constituted authorities and to set themselves up as judges of right and wrong. Every day the spirit of lawlessness grows stronger and more defiant. Even in New York a judge who lately did his duty is dogged by assassins and compelled to have a body guard. . . Such are the fruits of political institutions which place authority and power in the hands of the most ignorant and depraved classes.

Hardly a corner of the United States seemed immune from violence. The Manitoban on Nov. 26, 1870, said "Tennessee is a land of vendettas. Every man who goes to Tennessee carries his life in his hands and his pistol in his pocket". Fifteen years later, the Manitoba Free Press, describing "Life in Kentucky", said: "Ireland as a homicidal region has never come near some states in the Union and especially Kentucky. It is no exaggeration to say that in every year as many murders and murderous outrages occur in one county of Kentucky as have occurred in the whole of Ireland in any of the worst two years" (July 21, 1885).

One of the most dreadful instances of mob violence occurred in the fall of 1880 in Denver; it was directed against the Chinese. The Globe reported:

Denver has been in the hands of the mob for eight hours and there are now fully 1,500 rioters in the streets. One Chinese was dragged from Sop Lee's place with a rope around his neck and his skull crushed in with stones and bricks . . . Another Chinaman was dragged and his ears cut off and otherwise terribly beaten. . . The reports of pistols have been heard all over the town. . . The rioters gutted every Chinese house in town. . . One Chinaman was hung over his front door and several badly beaten and wounded. (Nov. 2, 1880)

As the century came round to its final decade, violence became prominent in industrial disputes. In one infamous incident at Albany, New York, Pinkerton detectives were employed to protect railroad property from striking rail workers. At one stage the detectives panicked when rocks were thrown at them and fired into a crowd, killing several people including women and children. The headings in the Ottawa Citizen are typical, "Pinkerton Men Fire Volleys With Their Winchesters: Their Victims Women and Boys: Detectives Mobbed: Arrest of Cowardly Detectives" (August 18, 1890). Another story on the same page was headed, "A Kansas Express Pillaged by Seven Desperadoes".

The extent to which violence was regarded as a permissible mode of expression has its somewhat humorous as well as its chilling aspects. More than occasionally one reads of the elected representatives of the people throwing whatever dignity they possessed to the winds and replacing debate with fistcuffs or worse. At the very beginning of

our period the Novascotian reports: "Last evening whilst the Bill to amend the charter of the city of Cincinnati was under discussion in the House, one of the dignified members took off his coat and laid it on his desk swearing that he would lick the first three men who would vote for it".¹

The manners and dignity of legislators at the end of the period seems to have undergone no improvement. In the Saint John Telegraph of March 15, 1895, we read: "Indiana's Law Makers Fight Like Demons, March 12: The Legislature broke up in a wild riot last night in which almost every member participated. Revolvers were drawn and many persons were seriously injured".

The instances of violence recorded above contain within them abundant evidence of the lawlessness and intolerance which were also seen as salient features of the United States. Many of the manifestations of mob violence were by those who considered themselves native Americans taking to the streets against intruding Irish, Germans, Jews, Roman Catholics, and Chinese.

We have seen how in the pre-Civil War years the existence of slavery constituted a formidable and popular argument against annexation. The Toronto Globe on March 22, 1855 wrote:

The Fugitive Slave Law, and the Nebraska Bill, have uprooted from the mind of every lover of liberty every sentiment of partiality for any close connection with a country in which there is not a foot of soil consecrated to the protection of the Negro from the bondage of slavery.

But with the abolition of slavery equally vicious techniques — the regular use of the mob and summary executions—were used to keep the Negro in his place. Even the Saint John Telegraph, probably the most kindly disposed of all the papers examined towards the United States sadly reported in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War the many "gross outrages perpetrated on coloured people by their former masters" (Aug. 10, 1865). The same techniques were still all too evident at the end of the century. The Daily Colonist, Victoria, reported on March 15, 1895:

Lynching outrages are, it appears, becoming more frequent than ever in the United States. The people of many parts of the great republic are in the habit, on the slightest provocation, to take the law in their own hands. Some of the sentences of Judge Lynch are horribly severe, and it sometimes happens that his prisoners are executed without even the form of a trial.

The paper goes on to quote from the Commercial Advertiser of New York, of the killing of a white farmer in Georgia by a coloured farm hand which resulted in a general uprising in Brooks County. "A mob of several hundred white-men has surrounded a negro settlement bent on killing every human being in it, and already seven blackmen have been shot to death". And the Colonist comments:

It is very questionable if the state of society which is allowed to exist in Georgia today is any improvement on that of the pagan savages who inhabited it before it was discovered and settled by civilized men who professed to be guided by the teaching of the religion of love. 2

Again, akin to the violence was the corruption, even in high places, which was supposedly widespread in the United States, and the farcical justice to be had in the courts. The Novascotian in August 1860, for instance, carried the following terse sentence in its "American Advices": "Judge Terry who killed Senator Broderick was recently acquitted under circumstances leaving no doubt of collusion of prosecution and defence" (August 13, 1860).

The Montreal Gazette lambasted the trial of those accused of conspiring to assassinate Lincoln:

The most important state trials that have ever taken place in the great Republic of the West World have been conducted after a fashion which has led them to be looked on by civilized Europe as little more than a hideous farce.
(August 9, 1865)

The article goes on to point out that the accused were tried by martial law, after the end of the War, "when the civil government was supreme".

In 1875, the Montreal Gazette published an expose of the "Whisky Frauds in Chicago" :

Time out of mind it has been a subject of wonder to outsiders how quickly officials connected with the Internal Revenue offices in this and other cities have grown rich. Poor political adventurers having no visible means of support, except small salaries, have become owners of valuable real estate, fast horses, patrons of the arts, or of gaming houses — and more generally of the latter. 3

Commenting on the United States presidential election campaign of 1880, the Toronto Globe spoke

of "a species of intimidation" being used with great frequency which would never have been countenanced in a British or a Canadian election :

According to Republican reports hundreds of American manufacturers have threatened to close their factories and dismiss all their hands if Hancock (the Democratic candidate) is elected... Bribery and other questionable practices are being resorted to universally ... Thanks to one of the stupidest provisions of that "masterpiece of human ingenuity", the American constitution, the Democrats though they may be defeated today have foot, horse and artillery for yet another session during which they have command of both Senate and House . (November 2, 1860)

Another prevalent image of the United States depicted it as the land of fraud, shady deals and sharp business practices. A humorous instance of this is to be found in the Montreal Gazette's issue of August 11, 1860, under the unlikely heading, "Eastern Township Matters":

Of all civilized portions of the world the neighbouring republic takes undeniably the lead in artful devices to make money. Humbug of various descriptions, as everybody knows, abounds there. So long, however, as these speculations are confined within the States themselves, we in Canada may be well content to let the Americans manage their own affairs in their own way. Unfortunately for us they are very fond of extending the good or ill connected with their "peculiar institutions" beyond their own borders. It follows, therefore, that multitudes among ourselves are annually made the dupes of their greed for gain. The Eastern Townships lying as they do directly on the American border, without even an intervening river barrier, are therefore peculiarly annoyed by showmen of all descriptions, who thus render us in no small degree tributary to a foreign land.

The article goes on to tell of "a mock menagerie" which claimed through its advertizing to have elephants and "the most complete collection of wild animals in America", which in fact turned out to be a rather tatty show, "A most inferior affair. . . many of the animals advertized not being there at all, the deficiency in this respect being supplied by odds and ends, including no small amount of tomfoolery of various kinds. Crowds fooled out of their money went away from the scene loudly inveighing against the deception practised".

On November 19 of the same year, the Novascotian lashed out at the "itinerating U.S. sample men", in other words American commercial travellers who were swarming into Nova Scotia:

This province is now being overrun with travellers from commercial houses in the United States who by their unfair dealing injure the business of the regular trader. They come into the country in swarms and continue in it until driven out by the approach of winter. . . We believe that 19/20ths of the failures of country traders in Nova Scotia may be traced directly to the operations of these itinerating sample men.

Fraud and deception extended to the highest government levels in the States. The Ottawa Citizen on March 15, 1895, published an item headed, "Uncle Sam Never Pays a Debt - If He Can Help It". The article declared, "The United States owes Whitemen, Negroes and Indians. It owes Americans and foreigners. Everything it can get out of paying in the way of debt it invariably does".

Not unconnected with these sharp practices and shady deals were the long lists of accidents in American mines, workshops, and railroads which the Canadian papers carried in abundance. In one issue taken at random of the Halifax Morning Chronicle, that of August 12, 1885, the front page carried a story of a bridge collapsing under the weight of a train, another of a dam giving way, and the ensuing devastation, and still another of the air ventilation system in a mine breaking down resulting in the death of four miners. Not infrequently the impression was left that many of these accidents were the direct result of shoddy workmanship, and the cutting of corners. These long lists of disasters and catastrophes from the States stood in sharp contrast to the absence of such compilations from across Canada.

Another image of the United States was that of the land of showmanship and braggadocio. Capers that apparently impressed the gullible masses of the States, merely excited the ridicule and disdain of the more canny British North American. Under the heading "Yankee Farce", the Ottawa Citizen on March 16, 1860, drew attention to what it termed, "a particularly silly and boastful, bragging story in the New York Herald about how they would welcome the Prince of Wales", after bemanning that it was he and not the Queen

who was to make a tour of North America. The New York Herald article was quoted as saying, "The Canadians we are sure will receive the son in lieu of the mother with becoming thankfulness. . . If they want to do the thing in appropriate style we will send them up some of our fourth of July programmes".

A "tasteless piece of showmanship" was referred to by the Montreal Gazette in its issue of Nov. 15, 1865:

Americans as a race are fond of novelty, nor are they usually fastidious in their taste. . . a pig which wears spectacles and diets on plum pudding . . . a donkey which brays articulately, like the author of a certain article on the bohemians of New York. . . The above remarks were suggested to our reporter by an affair long talked about in high life. We mean the consummation of the famous matrimony in a balloon.

"A Yankee Yarn — A Cock-and-Bull Story", snorted the Ottawa Citizen on August 13, 1885, in its headline on a story of an alleged attempt being planned to rescue Louis Riel from his prison in Regina.

As the United States grew richer, so did its capacity and capabilities for tastelessness. To its simple gaucheries were often added those of a rank and fetid opulence: one of the outstanding manifestations of which trend was the gigantic funeral and mausoleum provided for the remains of General Ulysses S. Grant, reported in detail by the Canadian papers in 1880. But long before this French-

Canadian editorialists had been quick to detect and condemn the opulence and the concomitant demoralization they saw in the United States. La Minerve in an editorial on August 9, 1865 commented thus:

C'est un fait bien connu qu'aujourd'hui, quand on veut designer un pays profondément démoralisé tous les regards se tournent instinctivement vers les Etats-Unis. Si l'on veut du bien-être et des jouissances matérielles nous n'avons qu'à aller y contempler, non pas les émigrants qui y crevent de faim, mais les riches enfants du sol, les Yankees qui s'appliquent à faire couler leur existence par tous les raffinements de l'opulence. . . Mais que l'on pénètre quelque peu dans la vie intime de ce peuple charlatan, que l'on analyse les éléments de sa prospérité, et l'on y trouve du premier coup, l'absence la plus complète du grand principe qui comporte en soi la stabilité d'un empire — la morale. Ce pompeux appareil de grandeur extérieure n'est élevé avec plus d'éclat que parce qu'il sert d'avantage à masquer l'horrible néant qui se trouve au sein de la nation. Nous avons beau chercher, nous ne trouvons chez les Américains aucune élévation d'idée, aucune vertu solide, aucun sentiment religieux. Il n'y a là que des hommes matériels, des apôtres de la sensualité et des richesses.

Despite its shimmering riches, the United States all too often turned out to be the land of disappointment for French Canadians. On August 12, 1860, La Minerve wrote:

Nous lisons deux extraits de lettres dans le Journal de Québec venant de deux messieurs de Maskinonge maintenant dans les mines (de la Californie). . . Tous deux semblent regretter d'avoir quitté le Canada pour aller si loin gagner si peu et être si souvent malades... Un dit qu'il a vu beaucoup de Canadiens qui travaillent pour faire assez d'argent pour s'en retourner en Canada.

Moreover, the United States was dominated by Protestants, more often than not bigoted Protestants. Again in 1850 in an article comparing philanthropic works in Protestant and Roman Catholic countries La Minerve said: "Quelle espèce de philanthropie trouve t-on(sic) dans les Etats-Unis, protestants qui tiennent plus de trois millions de leurs semblables sous le joug de l'esclavage? C'est une philanthropie barbare" (November 11, 1850).

British North Americans and Canadians often found themselves slighted and annoyed by what they saw as the high-handed arrogance of the American government and its officials. Probably the most blatant example of this was the Trent episode during the Civil War, when a Northern warship stopped and put a boarding party onto the British merchantman, the Trent, on the high seas, and forcibly took off two Southern diplomats en route to Europe. Even the Saint John Telegraph, normally so sympathetic and well disposed towards the United States, in publishing a feature article in 1895 on "the Trent outrage" commented:

It is well known that American naval officers have always been somewhat hasty in asserting what they conceive to be the rights of their country, and in many cases it has been necessary on the part of those representatives of other countries with whom they have come into collision to exercise great forbearance. (Nov. 14, 1895)

Linked to this high-handedness of the United States towards foreign nations was the perception by Canadians of the giant to the south as a menace constantly threatening to swallow up its neighbours. La Minerve on Nov. 13, 1845, said:

L'annexion de la Californie, du Canada, et même du Mexique est encore agitée dans les colonnes de quelques journaux Américains. . . Nous désirons que l'esprit qui a guidé les opérations de l'armée anglaise dans la péninsule espagnole et qui a dirigé les forces militaires sur le champ de Waterloo, vienne sur les provinces britanniques de l'Amérique du Nord pour les protéger contre une puissance qui n'est pas moins ambitieuse que Napoléon, et qui est peut-être moins scrupuleuse sur les moyens de contenter son ambition.

During the Crimean War the Novascotian took the American press and politicians in general to task for their pro-Russian, anti-British attitude:

The American press, with few exceptions as honourable as they are rare, has openly and undisguisedly sympathized with the Russians in the present great European struggle. . . The grand style of every oration from Maine to Florida is the same, a recapitulation of the wrongs real and imaginary, perpetrated by England, prior to the Revolution, and undying hatred of the Mother Country. (Oct. 8, 1855)

The colossal capacity of the United States for waging war, demonstrated during the Civil War, added a new dimension to the threat to Canada — the unlikelihood that any force the Anglo-Canadian authorities might muster could stop a

determined American thrust. The Globe on March 23, 1865, reprinted an editorial from the London Court Journal saying:

In the event of a war with the United States breaking out no English army would be able to hold its own against the overwhelming force of the invaders that the Northerners (and perhaps Southerners too) could pour into Canada.

Paradoxically, in speaking of these fears that the United States might one day gobble up Canada, we are approaching the positive side of the Canadian image of the United States: its bigness, strength, wealth, power. "America with that quick and sagacious foresight with which she ever peers into the future", was how the Montreal Gazette began an article on November 12, 1845, and this acuity together with American energy, enterprise, business acumen and technical ingenuity made the United States the land of economic progress and individual opportunity.

Envy often showed through in comparing what was seen as the sluggish growth of the British North American colonies with the rapid strides being taken by the States. The Toronto Globe reporting a speech made in 1850 by a Mr. Isaac Buchanan in support of a union of BNA, and an end to "their numerous petty governments and their staffs", quoted this:

Whilst in the United States you meet with (in every direction) activity, enterprise and prosperity in the Canadas (sic) (in every direction) you find the very reverse — inactivity, despondency and poverty.
(Nov. 7, 1850)

And in a speech by Sir Edmund Head, reported in the Saint John Morning News, on March 20, 1850:

The population of these colonies are made up of the same materials as those of the Northern States of the American Union and they are in no wise inferior to their neighbours in native energy, shrewdness and industry, though from want of self-reliance, and other causes to which I have adverted, they do not always employ those qualities with equal success.

The United States was the land of economic enterprise and expansion, even in 1845, when the New Brunswick Courier marvelled at the spectacular growth of the major U.S. cities:

The population of New York has increased to 371,102, in 1835 it was 270,089. St. Louis appears to be increasing with wonderful rapidity; over 2,000 houses were built last year. In Baltimore between 1,800 and 2,000 houses were built. (Nov. 15, 1845)

California as a kind of Eldorado, the land at the end of the rainbow, featured also in Canadian mythology as well as American. The Novascotian in 1850 wrote:

We have had frequent occasion to notice the intensity with which the California fever has raged in the United States. In Canada and New Brunswick also the mania has made considerable progress. Even in Nova Scotia, the last to move in any enterprise, two or three vessels have been fitted out for the diggings. (Quoted in the Toronto Globe, March 23, 1850, from the Novascotian.)

The Globe in the same issue printed a letter from a Canadian who had reached California, which began, "I made

myself one morning \$15 before breakfast by lugging trunks to the steamboat". But such indeed was paltry and homespun stuff compared with the frequent rags to riches tales of labourers transformed to millionaires.

Yankee enterprise was proverbial, and it often achieved results by ignoring the conventional to the point sometimes of irreverence. For instance the Ottawa Citizen on March 10, 1855, reported that the Americans were sending metallic coffins to the allied forces in the Crimea filled with all kinds of delicacies for the wounded and the weary. But this "go-aheadiveness" was usually more conventional than this, for instance an industrial fair held in London, which Canadians might do well to emulate, or the ingenuity of a Pennsylvanian who had "invented a machine for mining which weighs 200 lbs., cost \$300, and does the work of 20 men. The machine operates a series of picks each having the peculiar motion of the human arm".

In brief the Canadian image of the United States was of a society big and dynamic, but where the spoils more often than not went to the trickster, the ruthless and the vicious. The picture conveyed was that of a society in the process of a dramatic transformation from a predominantly rural, egalitarian community of sturdy individuals to that of an industrial giant where the bemused and gullible masses,

of indeterminate parentage, were manipulated by a selfish and cynical plutocracy, partially through a weak, facade-like government. This society certainly had its rewards in the shape of excitement and riches — for the lucky. For the unlucky it all too frequently turned into the land of bitter disappointment.

What The Newspapers Said About Great Britain

As for Great Britain, there was a great reservoir of basic respect and affection, evident in the frequent use of such terms as, "the old country", "old England", and "the mother country", and in such quotes as: "Our parent nation the most enlightened, religious and liberal nation in the world" (the Novascotian, November 17, 1845); "What have we that we do not owe to the generosity of England" (Toronto Globe, Nov. 7, 1850); and "Great Britain — the greatest naval nation on the face of the earth" (New Brunswick Courier, March 23, 1845).

But the offspring had left the old home and was now living a long way from the parent, and certainly after 1860 life in the old country was not sketched in the same detail nor the same abundance as life in the United States — apart, that is, from purely political news. British parliamentary proceedings and election campaigns were reported

in greater detail and with greater continuity than was the political scene in the States. The States provided more stories of the personal and sensational variety : crime, disasters, hard luck stories, tall stories, which Canadian editors were all too wont to lift straight off the telegraph wire, or directly out of American newspapers to fill up not only the columns headed "American Advices", or "American Dates", but also as fillers for any odd corner left over. Life in England was undoubtedly more genteel than in the States, but there were certain aspects of the old parental home that were better left well behind, beyond three thousand miles of Atlantic ocean: principally the gross inequalities of class with pampered riches, and often silly snobberies, on the one hand, and the dumb deference, wretched poverty and constantly suffered indignities on the other. Quite often too the class system propelled totally incompetent scions of the aristocracy into positions of power with dire consequences, as in the Crimean War.

Regarded with particular horror by editorial writers were the slums of Britain's large industrial cities, whose deformed and degenerate denizens, "the sweepings of the gutter", were not the type of immigrant Canada needed. But despite these warts, and they were considerable, Britain stood out throughout those 50 years as the land pre-

eminently of noble institutions and often noble men. Canada to her great good fortune had inherited the British system of government.

On March 23, 1850, the Toronto Globe stigmatized "the Calebite faction of the Reform Party" for its republican tendencies denouncing these as but a first step towards annexation:

Elective institutions from the head of government downwards, universal suffrage, no property qualification, biennial parliaments and fixed elections - embody the whole difference between a Republican form of government, and the limited monarchy of Great Britain. The adoption of these principles would simply be a revolution. We think the people of Canada are not prepared to enter on a new career of agitation for the overthrow without even a trial of that constitutional system which they have just achieved after 20 years of exertion. . . . The high toned principle of British legislation and the solidity and purity, and prosperity of the British government, labouring as it does against the sore evils of an over-crowded population will not suffer by contrast with the tyranny and restlessness of Republican France, or the corruption and immorality of slave-holding, slave-extending Republican America . . . That system is best which works most harmoniously, which gives the greatest security to life and property, which inspires the most confidence in its stability and permanence. . . these can all be secured under British responsible government as now in operation in Canada, better than under the American republican system.

On August 14, 1865, the Novascotian extolling "the noble spectacle of British elections", added, "We are proud that the benign mother over the sea is not only free but knows well how to use her freedom". A further occasion

for widespread eulogies of British institutions and the glories of Empire was the Prince of Wales' North American tour of 1860.

England not only begat noble institutions but noble men as well. The ideal type of English gentleman was depicted as fair-minded, of staunch, incorruptible moral character, selfless and dedicated to duty, bold, daring and unflinching — the United States did not produce such types. The Montreal Gazette on March 25, 1845, referring to the death of Earl Grey, father of the Reform Act and four years prime minister of England:

He was in truth a fine specimen of an English nobleman — able, honest and high minded, warmly attached to "his order", yet an advocate of the rights of the people in contradistinction to the privileges of the aristocracy.

In 1850 the Novascotian was lamenting the recall of the Earl of Dundonald, admiral-in-chief with headquarters in Halifax of the North American and West Indies naval command. In giving a lengthy account of the old naval hero's remarkable career, which ranged from feats of daring in the Peninsula War, through several South American wars of liberation to a seat in the House of Commons, the Nova-scotian commented: "It will be hard to lose his eminent services and judicious counsels".⁵

On March 4, 1885, the Montreal Gazette in a front page article extolling General Gordon, who had just fallen at Khartoum, spoke of his qualities of military leadership and his religious character:

He was above all an Englishman. . . his religious modesty, his quiet unassuming manner . . . His religion was not less essentially English . . . The manly piety of his earlier career has many parallels in the annals of the British Army . . . Great alike as a soldier, as a Christian, and as a man.

In fact no greater or more sincere praise of a foreigner could be paid than to say "he acted like an Englishman". The Toronto Globe said of Garibaldi, after a glowing account of his Italian unification exploits: "Garibaldi it becomes more and more clear is a man quite after the English heart, noble, daring, courageous, as a lion and generous to a fault" (Globe, July 12, 1860).

British troops too, the rank and file, were also brave and courageous. In the same issue as its eulogy to General Gordon, the Montreal Gazette said of the conduct of the British soldiers in the Sudan campaign: "The courage of the men, their splendid behaviour in time of extreme danger, and their perfect discipline were the elements which safely carried General Butler's little army back to Gakdul" (Gazette, March 4, 1885). At this time British heroes were Canadian heroes too, and the British Army was often referred

to as "our army", at least in the English-language press.

And as for "the gallant British tar", the New Brunswick Courier of Nov. 3, 1855, printed a little tribute to him on its front page:

He's Britain's boast and claims a toast
In peace my boys or war.
Here's to the brave upon the wave,
The gallant British tar.

Yet despite all the bravery and gallantry, it had to be admitted that there were some defects of organization in the British army. The Ottawa Citizen at the height of the Crimean War published what it described as an extract from the letter of a French officer writing to a friend in Paris: "The English are fine, gallant soldiers — but we the French are positively the victims of the negligence and defects of organization of the British army". (March 10, 1855).

Moreover, this British jingoism remained quite restricted, a pride in origins. It did not spread over into any great passion for Empire. The Empire was just too vast, diverse and vague for that, there was no clear conception of it as a tight, functioning power unit. The news from its far flung corners was scanty and sketchy; a devastating fire in Barbados, the Maori wars in New Zealand, reported in wholly factual terms with little of a rhetorical or eulogistic nature. There was certainly no continuous, regular flow of news.

Until about 1880 or 1885, Britain had a clear cut lead in industry and technology over any other country. She had a reputation for inventive genius and engineering prowess. The maiden voyage of the ~~Great~~ Eastern, largest steamship of its day, and its triumphal visit to U.S. Atlantic ports, the building of the Forth Bridge in Scotland, the opening of the largest dry dock in the world by royalty at Southampton, all these were recorded in the Canadian press with fidelity and enthusiasm. In the 1850s, the 1860s and the 1870s industrial centres in the north of England, such as Bolton, Preston, Sunderland and Manchester were the power centres of the new industrial civilization, and as such appear to have been household names in the Canada of that period. A fire in a cotton mill, the bankruptcy of some manufacturing company, a mine disaster, in any of these places, was reported in some detail. To-day the self-same places seem remote and half-forgotten, and the average Canadian would be hard put to it to place them upon a map of the British Isles.

Some of these positive images of Britain contained within themselves the seed of negative images. The cult of the elite was a factor contributing to the stark and severe social inequalities existing in the Mother Country, often manifest in silly social snobberies. Industrialism seemed

to entail slums, poverty and a demoralized lumpen-proletariat below the honest working class. Membership in a world-wide Empire involved Canada constantly in the dangers of foreign wars, whether it be from the influence of Fenianism on the policies of the United States, or French and German colonial aspirations in Africa, or a chance clash between Russians and tribesmen on the borders of Afghanistan.

The most persistent negative image of Britain was that of a land of the grossest kind of social inequalities. The Ottawa Citizen, for instance, on August 9, 1865, published the following notes on a trip to Europe by a Canadian, Alex Workman of Ottawa:

I have experienced the unbounded hospitality of Englishmen in their merry homes, and become familiar with their ways. Still I would not exchange especially since I have been in London. I feel more democratic in my notions and though it may be wrong I cannot help feeling that the wealth of this country is unevenly distributed. A walk down Regent Street or through St. James Park will show you the riches of England in its silver and gold lace, and besides it the wretched, poverty-stricken, half-starved creatures, begging for half-a-penny or waiting for you to enter a cab, so that he or she may close the door thus making a copper.

The dreadful gap between the British upper and lower classes persisted throughout the 19th century and continued to excite the horror of Canadians. On March 15, 1895, the Montreal Gazette reported that a severe February cold spell in Britain had wrought a terrible toll:

The coroners' reports show no less than 80 persons literally frozen to death in the city of London during four days of ~~the~~ present week. Even Englishmen were compelled to realize that it was time to adopt a few additional measures for dealing with the incalculable sum of human suffering which such severe cold adds to hunger. The very poor of London and other English cities have been compelled to make a deliberate choice between food and fuel. The aid given from the public purse to those absolutely helpless is so small that it is almost a mistaken kindness as it serves only to prolong the agony. . . . Take for instance the case of Elizabeth Harvey, a woman 73 years old, who was frozen to death in her bed in the bare, miserable little room in which she lived in London. Her sole income was 62 cents a week allowed by the Overseer of the Poor. Rent took 37 cents of that, and she had managed to exist until now on 25 cents a week for food, fuel and clothing.

At the other end of the social scale we learn from the Toronto Globe how indulgent and benevolent British society could be; sometimes it even went to farcical excesses, such as when "An express train was kept waiting half-an-hour for the arrival of the baggage of a single passenger who happened to be an earl's son-in-law". In the same issue it was announced that a pension of 6,000 pounds had been voted by parliament for the widow of Lord Palmerston.⁶

Many of the lower classes apparently sought solace in drink to an extent that was a national disgrace. The Manitoba Free Press in 1895 ran the following in its "London Letter":

Even allowing for the large population of London, there is more drunkenness and annoyance from drunkards than in Russia, or in any part of the continent, or in America. Yet no act can be passed to check it on account of the lords and other members of parliament who own public house property and are personally interested in breweries and distilleries. They live for the most part behind high walls or in parks, where they are not troubled with the consequences; but it is far otherwise with the respectable poor who have to live in crowded streets with two or three public houses close by and their children in daily contact with those who frequent them. (March 15, 1895)

Five years previously the Montreal Gazette had quoted from a piece published by Rudyard Kipling in the Fortnightly Review, entitled "A Mahomedan Indian's Idea of a visit to London" :

I clearly see that this town, London, which is as large as all Jagesur, is accursed, being dark and unclean, devoid of sun and full of low born, who are perpetually drunk and howl in the streets like jackals, men and women together. (March 26, 1890)

The image of the denizens of "Britain's great industrial cities" was so bad that many Canadians reacted in horror to suggestions that part of them at least might be settled and rehabilitated in the colonies. The Bytown Packet in 1850 had expressed violent opposition to a proposal, then before the British parliament, to make the island of Anticosti a convict settlement to help relieve the burden on the prisons of the U.K. (Bytown Packet, Nov. 9, 1850). The Ottawa Citizen in 1890 was equally against a scheme of General Booth, of the Salvation Army, "for the rehabilitation of the lowest classes of the cities of the U.K. (the submerged tenth) by settling them in the colonies". In a lead editorial

denouncing the scheme with vehemence the Citizen wrote:

To England belongs the discredit and the disgrace of her criminal and pauper classes. Canada must not be the dumping ground for the moral lepers of the old country. . . The refuse of the slums. . . the moral, social and physical wrecks, the scrapings and the scourgings of the gutters upon the colonies of the Empire.

(November 4, 1890)

In addition to this jaundiced view of the lower strata of British society, the "Imperial" elite often came in for harsh criticism. Prior to Confederation the charge was made with some frequency that those handed colonial appointments, often for the most dubious of reasons, displayed little or no interest in their colonial charges, regarding their stay in the colonies as a period of exile from London. The self-same type also bedevilled English domestic politics as well, according to the British Colonist. In an editorial on the impending British election of 1865, it came out strongly in support of Mr. Gladstone's proposals for the payment of full time professional politicians:

The English people where they can vote untrammelled will be certain to send such men to Parliament. When the House of Commons has its proper quota of political intelligence of the country, when less dawdling aristocracy and effete country squiredom usurps the place of the practical and thinking class the Lower House of the British Parliament will become all potent for good. The present election will no doubt eliminate from the great representative body much that is ignorant and much that is narrow minded; for us therefore as well as for every other portion of the British Empire, the political struggle at hand possesses an interest of no ordinary character. (British Colonist, August 9, 1865)

Not only were Britain's aristocratic elite often stupid and incompetent, but occasional instances of degeneracy and loose living in high places surfaced and were followed with interest by the Canadian press. These instances appeared to become more numerous, or the press more daring, as the century wore on. On August 12, 1885, the Halifax Morning Chronicle revealed that members of the aristocracy as well as renowned politicians were frequenting houses of ill-fame in London. The Canadian papers, so reticent as regards any local or home grown scandal, closely followed such English court proceedings as the Mordaunt divorce case (which involved the Prince of Wales as a witness), the downfall of Sir Charles Dilke, the similar fate of Parnell, and the appearances of Oscar Wilde.

Canadians sometimes complained that money from the Dominion sometimes found its way into the pockets of this aristocracy. The Toronto Globe, on August 16, 1875, printed an article by David Stirton, an Ontario M.P.P., who had just returned from a trip to Manitoba. The article said:

The company (Hudson's Bay) have extensive farms and large stocks of cattle in several parts of the province . . . But the unfortunate feature of the whole matter is that the gross profits of their large and profitable business goes into the pockets of an over-fed aristocracy in Britain, instead of benefitting the businessmen of our own country.

The trouble too was that the British were so naively ignorant of Canada, and apathetic as well. We have previously seen how Joseph Howe was reported in the Nova-scotian in 1854 as saying: "If an Englishman thinks of North America at all, he divides it between Canada and the United States. Except in some sets and circles, chiefly mercantile, you rarely hear of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, P.E.I., or Newfoundland".⁷

Even amidst the celebrations to welcome the Prince of Wales in the summer of 1860, the New Brunswick Courier in an editorial bemoaning the relatively unknown condition of New Brunswick said: "The people of England suppose we are a part of Canada, and the press of that country treats of us and speaks concerning us in that sense" (August 18, 1860).

And the Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia, the Earl of Mulgrave, admitted at a banquet in honour of the visiting Prince: "The people of the Maritime Provinces often complain that at home they are confounded with Canada, and that few Englishmen draw the proper lines of distinction between provinces that are as distinct in their boundaries and political organizations as are any countries of the same extent in Europe or elsewhere (Novascotian, August 13, 1860).

The great ignorance in Britain of anything about Canada was affirmed by a high-level iron and steel industry committee from Britain, which in 1890 visited the Dominion. At a Montreal banquet a Gazette man reported them as saying; "In England they were given to understand that Canada was a land bounded by perpetual ice, a land barren and sterile in the highest degree. . . there is a great ignorance in Great Britain regarding the resources of Canada" (Gazette, November 4, 1890).

A Gazette reporter in 1895, interviewing a Toronto Alderman who had just stepped off a trans-Atlantic steamship, wrote: "Alderman Frankland found on a visit to England that Canada is regarded as a foreign country which is mentioned occasionally in paragraphs of half-a-dozen words by the English papers."⁸

The danger of being involved in Britain's wars was expressed occasionally by a number of the papers in the sample. The Novascotian in 1870 at the nadir of its disillusionment with Britain found the British attitude towards "us" in the last few years to have been characterized by "a parsimonious and ungenerous spirit", and in the same issue said:

The colonies cannot be content to see themselves compelled to pay the cost and bear the burden of British wars. . . the colonies have no special vocation for fighting Fenians. Colonists have no peculiar affection for compensating in blood and money for the wrongs inflicted upon the unhappy peasantry of Ireland by the brutal legislation of Great Britain. (March 14, 1870)

The various overseas adventures in which Britain found herself involved in 1885 — a year after the foundation of the Imperial Federation League — reminded Canadians of what membership of the Empire might entail in the way of unpleasant obligations, obligations which appeared to many of them to be remote and irrelevant to their ordinary everyday lives and problems. At the time of the Sudan campaign in 1885 the Saint John Telegraph commented: "We have not yet offered, as New South Wales has done, to furnish, equip and pay the troops it has been proposed to raise in Canada. Our population of four-and-a-half million is scattered over a large area and all our people are needed at home". (March 23, 1885). The Manitoba Free Press on Feb. 3, 1885, had stated: "We already have all the protection we need from the Empire, and we pay for it too. Do we not run the constant risk of being involved in Britain's wars? . . . Our available funds are all required for the development and improvement of our own land".

Yet on August 29, 1885, the Saint John Telegraph took the wider view in a lead editorial which first presented and then argued the case against Canadian "isolationism":

It may be objected that we here have nothing more than a sympathetic interest in the wars in which Britain from time to time engages. What have we to do with Indian wars or Egyptian wars? These

wars are waged by England for her own purposes and to her own advantage. Of what benefit is India to us? It is on account of Egyptian bondholders, none of whom hail from Canada, that the Egyptian campaign was undertaken . . . Ah, this is apparently true; and yet, when we consider what an aegis of defence Britain would hold over us, protecting our lives and liberties from even the fear of assault, we ought to go to a great length in contributing to the general defence of the Empire by recruits from Canada, something which we have already shown a disposition to do.

Finally, news from the British Isles was often besmirched by reports from Ireland with tales of famine, destitution, evictions, boycotts, murders and riots. Ireland was a constant festering sore in the side of Britain throughout the century. Items bearing titles such as the following in the Saint John Telegraph were steady fare in the Canadian newspapers of the time: "Rioting in Belfast - Mounted Police Chase Mob : Arrest 20", and in the very next column, "Irish Riots - Conflict between Police and Mob at Dungannon; Buckshot and Bayonets".

The Irish problem was a unique and isolated phenomenon, quite distinct from anything going on elsewhere in the British Isles at the time. But the duration and bitterness of the Irish conflict could scarcely have enhanced the image of Great Britain, in view of the fact that so many Canadians were of Celtic, Roman Catholic Irish Origin, and can only have helped to convince the latter that they were better off with 3,000 miles of Atlantic Ocean between them and the troubled spot.

What The Newspapers Said About France

The image of France conveyed by the newspapers in the sample was much more sketchy and fragmented than that conveyed of either the United States or Great Britain. Even the two French-language papers, although they carried a much greater proportion of metropolitan French news than the English-language journals, still did not present a continuous flow of French political and social items, except during the six or seven months of the Franco-Prussian War and its immediate aftermath. One could not have continuously followed French political life through the columns of La Minerve and Le Canadien as it was possible to follow to some extent British political life through the English-language papers. One further if small point of differentiation, the serialized novel which was a feature of the newspapers of the day, invariably had a French locale in the two French-language papers, and an English one in the English-language papers, except where in the latter case it was American.

The most striking feature of the French image was that of the instability of the political scene. A large number of political wild men appeared to be at large, placing the foundations of the whole French system in a state of jeopardy unknown in either Britain or the United States.

Large segments of the society were seen to be diametrically and irrevocably opposed to each other. It was a matter of terror and counter-terror. On the one hand there were bomb-throwers and anarchists, denizens of a political underworld which scarcely existed in the two principal Anglo-Saxon countries, and on the other, the forces of despotism and repression desperately trying to keep the pot from boiling over.

At the beginning of our period many people must have been alive who had some recollection of the days of the French Revolution and the Jacobins, or at least had been reared on tales of the horrors of the Revolution. An article in Le Canadien of August 15, 1845 recalled how revolutionary tribunals, accompanied by "Mistress Guillotine", travelled the length and breadth of France executing summary justice. And in 1850, even after the advent of a new strong-man, Napoleon III, the Toronto Globe still spoke of "the tyranny and restlessness of France", and of "politicians at loggerheads", whilst the Novascotian reported that incendiaries continued to spread terror and revolution.¹⁰

The most favourable image of France presented in British America came during the Crimean War, with Le Canadien¹¹ boasting of "the patriotism of this warrior people", and even the Novascotian referring to the French as "a wise and pract-

ical race in military affairs"¹². Any criticism there was of the allied war effort, in the Canadian press, was directed at the quality of British generalship and military organization. But only five years after hostilities had ended in the Crimea, the erstwhile allies, France and Britain, were at each other's throats again with Lord Palmerston ordering the fortification of coastal towns in southern England to counter troop concentrations on the other side of the Channel. And to English-language newspapers in BNA, Napoleon III was that "despotic son of a Frenchman"¹³. This crisis passed, but it served to emphasize that Napoleon's unpredictable imperialism, comic opera as it may have been in some facets, might result in dangerous consequences for Britain and hence Canada too.

One aspect of Napoleon's overseas adventurism which drew applause from both La Minerve and Le Canadien was his ready championship of the Christians in the Lebanon. Both these papers carried lengthy accounts of the terrible massacres inflicted upon these unfortunate people by the Druse, and applauded French efforts to mount a multi-national expeditionary force to protect them. Le Canadien criticised Britain for not jumping with alacrity to France's clarion call:

Chaque heure de retard coute la vie à des milliers d'hommes, et avec les tergiversations interminables de l'Angleterre nous arriverions tout juste assez à temps pour ensevelir le dernier des chrétiens.
(Le Canadien, August 13, 1860)

There was some speculation during the American Civil War of the intervention by Napoleon III on the side of the South; there was more talk that following a Northern victory the United States would not tolerate a French army on Mexican soil. In the event the French departed before it was necessary for the United States to send an army to help the Mexican rebels.

At its outset the Franco-Prussian War was seen as having been forced upon the Germans by a Napoleon bent on humbling Prussia, and annexing all Prussian territory west of the Rhine. Sympathy was with the Germans as the French were pictured unleashing their military juggernaut in the direction of Berlin, and the rapid and complete bouleversement of the French armies left everyone aghast. The Toronto Globe spoke of "paper and inflated generals", and "an ill-armed and disorganized army", ¹⁴ whilst the French-language press told of innumerable French local victories, as the Prussians advanced deep into France, and then switched to the image of a heroic people who although betrayed by their leaders were pursuing the masterly strategy of bleeding the Prussian invaders white by their stubborn defence.

However, the war punctured the balloon of French military prowess and mastery of the art of war; France was never again, either in image or reality, to become the number one military power on the continent of Europe.

The republican regime which followed the war with its persecution of the Jesuits and policy of secularizing the French state excited the loathing of staunchly Catholic Quebec. The province was becoming more and more alienated from France. La Minerve spoke bitterly of the Godless state that was being created;

Les republicains français poursuivent leur travail de désorganisation social. Ils sont en train de realiser l'idéal d'un gouvernement et d'un nation sans Dieu et sans religion. Après la secularisation de l'enseignement, on a supprimé les aumoniers militaires. Les aumoniers ont été congédiés le 1er août, juste un mois après l'expulsion des jesuites Les gouvernants de la France veulent en faire une nation athée, en chassant Dieu de l'enseignement de l'armée et jusque des ateliers... Ceux-ci ne tarderont probablement pas à s'apercevoir qu'un peuple sans foi est aussi un peuple sans loi, impossible à gouverner. On frémit en songeant à l'avenir qui se prépare pour cette malheureuse France, que tout son genie et tout son raffinement si près de la barbarie ne sauraient sauver des conséquences de ses folies. (March 24, 1880)

As France plunged further into godlessness, Le Canadien published a 96 inches long article by L'Abbé Apollinaire Gingras which traced all the woes of the modern age to the baneful influence of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789, and to the divorce of Church from State (Le Canadien, March 24, 1880).

The staple news fare from the Third Republic did not differ from what it had been previously : anarchists with bombs either blowing themselves or somebody else up, and the obsessionist pursuit of la gloire with France lavishing troops and treasure on the subjugation of Tonkin, or the suppression of rebels in Madagascar. The Halifax Chronicle in an editorial of August 12, 1885, said : "To look big upon the map of the world, bigger above all than England, that is the idea of the vast majority of the French respecting colonization".

The only other kind of item from France that was guaranteed a mention in the press of the Dominion was a cholera scare. Marseilles, after Naples, appeared to be the principal port of entry of the dread disease into western Europe, and stories of apprehended cases of cholera in that port, together with measures to combat an outbreak in Paris itself, occurred regularly.

Conclusion

In the quantitative part of this chapter I have examined the images presented in the sample's newspapers of these three "adjacent" societies, the United States, Great Britain and France. I have done so along three different dimensions : (a) the amount of attention, i.e. the number of items, both for the sample as a whole and for each individual newspaper; (b) the balance of the items and their division into three categories: positive, neutral, negative; and finally (c) a dimension which pervades the other two, that of dispersion. By dispersion I mean the spread, the differences in percentages, between the paper with the highest score and the one with the lowest vis-à-vis a specified country in total number of items, and in positive- neutral-negative items also. These dispersion measurements have been taken in an attempt to ascertain of similar images of these "adjacent" countries were current throughout the Dominion, or if such images varied from region to region, province to province, and also over the time covered by this survey. Moreover, such a survey should indicate to us whether these images current in various parts of the Dominion became more, or less, uniform over the years covered by this study.

First of all as regards (a), the quantity of attention, we have already seen in a previous chapter, Chapter five (see Table 5-4), that the percentage of total place names devoted to the United States was down somewhat after 1867:

the sample average was 18.6 per cent of total place names before Confederation, and 15.8 afterwards. United Kingdom place names were down from 13.7 per cent of place names before 1867 to 9.7 afterwards.

From the data examined in this chapter we have learned something of the relative attention paid to the United States and to Britain. Table 8 - 0 shows us that the number of items on Britain was in the ascendancy until 1855, but the United States had caught up by 1860, and by 1865 had assumed an ascendancy which it thereafter never relaxed. In the pre-Confederation days the average attention, in terms of items, for the sample was more-or-less evenly divided between Britain and the United States with the former taking 42.4, and the latter 43.8 per cent of the total U.S.-U.K.-French items. After Confederation the British items were down to 31.3 per cent, less than three-quarters of the United States percentage (46.5). The French items for the sample average were approximately one-third of the British items, and of the U.S. items also, before 1867. Afterwards they were two-thirds of the British and somewhat less than half of the American. This increase in French items was due to the deluge of items on France during the War of 1870; otherwise the proportion would have been very little different from that of pre-Confederation days.

A count of items may not be the perfect way to measure the amount of attention devoted to a particular country. For instance, during the 19th century there was a

much greater discrepancy in the length of newspaper items than there is today: some of these items were even down to two and three line stories, baldly reporting some event much in the manner of some modern radio newscast. Often a whole series of such items occupied half, or even a full, column, and at the other extreme it might occupy an entire page or more. Nor, when it comes to the amount of attention paid to a series of communities, countries, etc., do these discrepancies iron themselves out. The longer items habitually go to the more "adjacent" societies: i.e., the longer, more detailed articles were usually on the United States or Britain rather than on France, and on France rather than, say, on Prussia. However, on the assumption that the number of items serves as a rough indicator of the amount of attention paid to a specified community I took the average number of items dealing with our three "adjacent" societies per issue of the sample, both before and after 1867 (see Tables 8 - 5(a) to 8 - 7(b)), and divide this figure into the average number of column inches of news space per newspaper in the sample, both before and after 1867.¹⁵ I found that in the case of the United States before 1867 there was an average of one U.S. item for every 39.5 inches of news space (i.e., everything in the newspaper except advertisements, commodity prices and shipping movements). After Confederation the ratio was one U.S. item for every 40.2 inches, scarcely any difference at all. In the case of Britain the findings were similar: one item on Britain for every 56.4 inches of news space before Confederation, and

one item for every 56.5 inches afterwards. And of French items there was one for every 175.5 inches of news space before 1867, increasing to one for every 80.4 inches of news space after 1867. In brief, there was remarkably little change for the items either on the United States or on Britain, as between pre- and post confederation, but the French items after 1867 doubled their incidence, again no doubt due overwhelmingly to the war of 1870.

The surprising thing, perhaps, is that the number of items on the United States and Britain were held constant per inch of news space, and did not expand pari passu with increasing telegraph facilities in North America, the Atlantic submarine cables, increasing editorial staffs and an expanding awareness on the part of the readership as literary general education progressed.

As for the kinds of item, i.e., the balance between positive - neutral - negative, that the sample was devoting to these three "adjacent" societies, just less than one in ten of the United States items, before 1867, was positive, whereas just over one in four was negative. After 1867 the United States positive items decreased to one in 15, whilst negative items stayed approximately the same -- one in four. Thus there was a movement from positive into neutral U.S. items after Confederation : before 1867 neutral items were nearly eight times as prevalent as positive; after 1867 they became 12 times as prevalent. The ratio of neutral to negative items remained approximately the same both before and after 1867 : one in three.

As for Britain, before Confederation roughly one item in five was laudatory, whilst only one in every 13 or 14 was negative. After 1867 I found that positive items had fallen to approximately one item in every eight, whilst negative items had risen to one item in every six. The balance of neutral-positive-negative items on Britain before Confederation was roughly four neutral items to every one positive, and ten neutral items to every one negative. After Confederation the ratios were seven neutral to every one positive, and four neutral to every one negative. In other words there had been movements out of positive not only into neutral but more significantly into negative items. So the balance with regard to Britain had altered quite decisively. A definite process of casting off the apron strings was well under way; the old sycophantic and reverential attitudes were disappearing.

The press of BNA, as represented in this sample, maintained what might be termed a perfect balance of non-involvement vis-à-vis France, before Confederation, with approximately an even balance between positive and negative, roughly one item in every four falling into each category. France, as Britain's ally, came in for a good deal of favourable mention during the Crimean War. After Confederation I counted one item in every eight on France to be positive, whereas one in every three was negative. All of which corroborates the coefficients of imbalance shown in Tables 8 - 5(a) to 8 - 7(b) : that there was a measurable deterioration in the images current in Canada of all these three "adjacent"

societies after Confederation.

In the matter of dispersion we have previously seen in Chapter five (Table 5 - 4) that the percentage of place names devoted to the United States, pre-1867, ranged from the British Colonist's 29.6 per cent to Le Canadien's 12.6 per cent, a dispersion of 17 percentage points. After Confederation the range within the sample was from the British Colonist's 18.5 per cent to Le Canadien's 11.3 per cent, a dispersion of only 7.2. Moreover, if we exclude the sample's two French-language papers, which had the lowest percentage of U.S. place names, the post-Confederation dispersion was only from the British Colonist's 18.5 to the Manitoba Free Press' 15.4, a gap of merely 3.1. This indicates a quite remarkable growth of uniformity across the Dominion in the amount of attention paid to the United States after 1865.

With regard to Britain, there was not the same diversity of attention by the sample (as measured by place names), pre-1867, as there was in the case of the United States : the range was only from the Ottawa Citizen with 18.9 per cent to La Minerve with 10.6, a gap of only 8.3. After Confederation, indeed, the range in British place names was from the British Colonist's 14.9 to the Nova-scotian/Halifax Chronicle's 6.1, a gap of 8.8. However, if we leave the alienated Nova Scotians aside, the next lowest English-language paper in British place names was the Manitoba Free Press with 8.6 per cent, giving a dispersion range of 6.3. The two French-language papers,

apart from the Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle, were lowest in U.K. place names post-Confederation, as they had been pre-Confederation with the exception of the isolated and rather parochial British Colonist.

The range, within the sample, of items on both the United States and Britain was approximately cut in half after Confederation. The dispersion of items on the United States, before 1867, was from the British Colonist's 78.2 per cent to Le Canadien's 31.5 (see Table 8 - 4(a)), a gap of 46.7 percentage points. After 1867 it was from the Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle's 53.9 to Le Canadien's 30.5, a gap of 23.4.

The dispersion of items on Britain, before 1867, ranged from the Ottawa Citizen with 51.6 per cent of its U.S.-U.K.-French items devoted to Britain, to the British Colonist with only 15 per cent of such items dealing with Britain, thus giving a gap of 36.6 percentage points. After Confederation the range was from the Toronto Globe with 41.1 per cent items on Britain to La Minerve with 21.2, a dispersion of 19.9.

However, the reverse was the case regarding items on France : the dispersion doubled after 1867. Before Confederation the sample's range was from Le Canadien's 24.2 to the British Colonist's 6.6, a gap of 17.6. After 1867 it was from Le Canadien's 46.1 to the Toronto Globe's 15.1, a gap of 31.0 percentage points. This increased dispersion

was due to the greater attention paid to France by the French-language papers (see Table 8 - 4 (c)). Le Canadien's post-1867 percentage of French items (out of the U.S.-U.K.-French total) was 46.1, and La Minerve's 43.0, both more than double the English-language paper with the highest French score, the Ottawa Citizen with 20.2 per cent. Indeed the English-language members of the sample displayed a considerable amount of uniformity in their percentage of items on France, the range being merely from the Ottawa Citizen's 20.2 to the Toronto Globe's 15.1. Thus the post-1867 divergence on French items was essentially one between French and English members of the sample. The wide dispersal was due to the greater attention paid to France by the French-language papers. Here is the relevance of all this for Canadian integration : when newspapers of one language group pay between 40 and 50 per cent of their total attention to "adjacent" societies to a particular foreign country of the same language, whereas newspapers of the other language group pay only 15 to 20 per cent to it, then it bespeaks of a substantial difference in interests and orientations between the two groups, and this difference increased in my sample during the post-1867 period.

Although the main purpose of this chapter has been descriptive, it might be said that certain trends do appear to have revealed themselves. First there is some indication of a growth of interest in Canada at the expense of attention to other societies: the percentage of place names was down

for both the U.S. and Britain after Confederation. Moreover, although the number of items remained fairly constant per inches of news-space, one might have expected that with the improved facilities for news gathering and transmission the amount of "foreign" news would have increased commensurately.

However, more decisively and significantly in this matter of trends were the dimensions of balance and dispersion. We have seen that the image of the United States deteriorated after Confederation in as much as there was a movement out of positive items into neutral. However, the figures given in Table 8 - 1 show that negative items occupied no greater proportion of the U.S. total after 1867 than they did before: the 1865 figures boosted the sample's pre-Confederation negative average.

The change in the image balance was more pronounced in the case of Britain. Before Confederation the balance of items on Britain was remarkable, as compared with that of the U.S., in that positive items were greater than the negative in every newspaper in the sample, except for La Minerve in which positive and negative images were evenly balanced. After Confederation there came a general movement out of positive mainly into negative, and partially into neutral. The generally laudatory image portrayed of Britain, pre-1867, was seriously breached. Strange to say the British image held up better in the sample's two French-language papers than in the English (see Tables 8 - 6(a), and 8 - 6(b)).

Any deterioration in the image of France may safely be attributed to the war of 1870, rather than any internal Canadian need of a worse French image. But the difference in the amount of attention, and the balance of that attention, to France existing between the French and English-language papers in the sample is at odds with easy integration -- as was the increased divergence after 1867 between the amount of attention paid to the United States and Britain by the English-language newspapers on the one hand, and the French newspapers on the other.

FOOTNOTES : CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Novascotian, March 31, 1845.
2. British Colonist, March 15, 1895.
3. Montreal Gazette, November 24, 1875.
4. British Colonist, March 23, 1865.
5. Novascotian, August 12, 1850.
6. Toronto Globe, March 23, 1865.
7. Novascotian, May 29, 1854.
8. Montreal Gazette, August 5, 1895.
9. Toronto Globe, March 23, 1850.
10. Novascotian, March 20, 1850.
11. Le Canadien, March 23, 1855.
12. Novascotian, March 26, 1855.
13. Toronto Globe, October 29, 1860.
14. Toronto Globe, November 24, 1870.
15. The average number of column inches for each issue
of every paper in the sample before 1867 was 316; after

FOOTNOTES (continued)

1867 it had risen to an average of 362 inches.

Table 8 - 5(a) shows that the average number of U.S. items per issue was eight. Hence by dividing the eight into 316 (average number of column inches per issue) we find that there was one U.S. item for every 39.5

column news inches, before 1867. After Confederation the average number of U.S. items per issue for the sample was nine (see Table 8 - 5(b)), and the average number of column inches was 362. This gives an average of one U.S. item for 40.2 column inches.

Performing a similar calculation for Britain we find that before 1867 there was one item on Britain for every 56.4 column news inches. After 1867 there was one item on Britain for every 56.5 column news inches (Tables 8 - 6(a), and 8 - 6 (b) give the average number of British items per issue for the sample).

In the case of France (see Tables 8 - 7(a), and 8 - 7(b) for the average number of French items per issue), there was one French item for every 175.5 inches of column news space before 1867, and one for every 80.4 inches afterwards.

TABLE 8 - 0

ITEMS DEVOTED TO THE U.S.A., GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE

Year	IN PERCENTAGES : AVERAGES FOR THE WHOLE SAMPLE			Total Number of Items
	U.S.A.	Great Britain	France	
1845	30.1	62.9	6.9	302
1850	44.9	44.2	10.8	363
1855	36.2	40.3	23.5	287
1860	42.7	40.3	17.0	415
1865	65.2	24.5	11.9	490
Average Pre-1867	43.8	42.4	14.0	1,857
1870	19.1	15.5	64.5	697
1875	59.4	24.5	16.2	475
1880	47.0	40.3	11.7	497
1885	38.5	47.8	13.2	554
1890	54.5	30.6	15.6	625
1895	60.8	29.3	8.7	347
Average Post-1867	46.5	31.3	21.7	3,195

TABLE 8(a)

ITEMS DEVOTED TO THE U.S.A., GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE : AVERAGES FOR THE

WHOLE SAMPLE : PERCENTAGE CHANGE BETWEEN THE YEARS SAMPLED

YEAR	U.S.A. [*]	Great Britain [*]	France	Size of Sample
1850	+14.8	18.7	+3.9	332
1855	-8.7	-3.9	+12.7	325
1860	+6.5	0.0	-6.5	351
1865	+22.5 [*]	-15.8 [*]	-5.1	452
1870	-46.1 [*]	-9.0	+52.6	593
1875	+40.3 [*]	+9.0	-48.3 [*]	506
1880	-12.4 [*]	+15.8 [*]	-4.5	486
1885	-8.5	+7.5	+1.5	525
1890	+16.0 [*]	-17.2 [*]	+2.4	589
1895	+6.3	-1.3	-6.9	436

*Indicates the percentage changes which are statistically significant, for the given size of sample.

See W. Wilkes, "Confidence Limits and Critical Differences Between Percentages", Public Opinion Quarterly, June, 1940, pp. 332-338. Chart II, p. 336, shows that for a range of samples varying from 225 to 592, as above, percentage differences from 14 to 11½ per cent are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level. To determine the size of sample an average is taken of the total place names to be distributed in the two years being compared.

TABLE 8-1

DIVISION OF ITEMS DEVOTED to the UNITED STATES : THE AVERAGE

FOR THE WHOLE SAMPLE

Year	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total Percent- age of U.S. Items
1845	5.7	18.5	5.9	30.1
1850	4.5	29.6	10.8	44.9
1855	2.7	26.4	7.1	36.2
1860	4.0	27.5	11.8	42.7
1865	6.2	44.0	15.0	65.2
Pre-1867 Average	4.6	29.2	10.1	43.9
1870	1.5	13.9	3.7	19.1
1875	4.1	43.0	12.3	59.4
1880	2.1	32.9	12.0	47.0
1885	4.0	24.9	9.6	38.5
1890	1.5	36.7	16.3	54.5
1895	5.9	39.0	15.8	60.7
Post-1867 Average	3.2	31.7	11.6	46.5

TABLE 8-2

DIVISION OF ITEMS DEVOTED TO GREAT BRITAIN : THE AVERAGE

Year	FOR THE WHOLE SAMPLE			Total Percent- age of British Items
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	
1845	12.2	45.4	5.3	62.9
1850	7.8	33.6	2.8	44.2
1855	9.9	27.3	3.0	40.2
1860	9.9	27.2	2.7	40.3
1865	4.3	18.6	1.6	24.5
Average Pre-1867	8.8	30.4	3.1	42.3
1870	0.7	11.6	3.2	15.5
1875	2.6	20.1	1.8	24.5
1880	3.0	27.0	10.3	40.3
1885	7.0	32.8	8.0	47.8
1890	4.4	22.1	4.1	30.6
1895	6.9	19.7	2.7	29.3
Average Post-1867	4.1	22.2	5.0	31.3

Table 8-3

DIVISION OF ITEMS DEVOTED TO FRANCE : THE AVERAGE

YEAR	For the WHOLE SAMPLE			Total Percent- age of French Items
	POSITIVE	NEUTRAL	NEGATIVE	
1845	1.2	4.4	1.3	6.9
1850	0.5	7.6	2.7	10.8
1855	7.9	13.5	2.1	23.5
1860	1.6	12.8	2.6	17.0
1865	1.3	7.5	3.1	11.9
Pre-1867 Average	2.5	9.1	2.4	14.0
1870	8.4	29.1	27.0	64.5
1875	1.1	12.1	3.0	16.2
1880	0.6	9.2	1.9	11.7
1885	1.1	8.7	3.4	13.2
1890	3.1	9.6	2.9	15.6
1895	1.7	5.2	1.8	8.7
Post-1867 Average	2.7	12.3	6.7	21.7

Table 8-4 (a)

PERCENTAGES OF ITEMS DEVOTED TO THE UNITED STATES

BY NEWSPAPER : AVERAGES PRE- 1867

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Negative</u>
British Colonist	78.2	4.8	58.6	14.7
Novascotian	61.3	2.7	42.3	16.2
Toronto Globe	56.7	5.2	40.4	11.1
Montreal Gazette	43.7	5.5	27.7	10.6
La Minerve	43.5	3.4	32.8	7.3
Nor'Wester	43.0	13.8	24.1	5.1
New Brunswick Courier	39.1	6.0	27.2	5.9
Ottawa Citizen	36.0	2.9	20.1	13.0
Le Canadien	31.5	3.0	16.3	12.2

AVERAGES POST- 1867

Novascotian/Halifax Chronicle	53.9	5.8	27.7	20.4
Manitoba F.P.	51.6	2.4	41.9	7.5
St. John Tele.	51.5	2.4	37.6	11.5
Montreal Gazette	48.0	3.9	31.5	12.6
British Colonist	47.5	3.7	32.3	11.5
Ottawa Citizen.	46.4	2.0	31.1	13.3
Toronto Globe	43.7	3.1	33.7	6.9
La Minerve	35.8	0.5	26.7	8.6
La Canadien	30.5	1.7	20.3	8.5

Table 8-4(b)

PERCENTAGE OF ITEMS DEVOTED TO GREAT BRITAINBY NEWSPAPER : AVERAGES PRE- 1867

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Ottawa Citizen	51.6	8.7	38.7	4.2
New Brunswick	51.3	11.9	36.6	2.8
Montreal Gazette	48.2	10.9	35.3	2.0
Le Canadien	44.4	8.5	33.2	2.7
Novascotian	41.1	10.8	26.9	3.4
La Minerve	36.2	4.5	27.7	4.0
Nor'Wester	34.9	15.6	15.8	3.5
Toronto Globe	34.3	4.4	26.8	3.5
British Colonist	15.0	3.4	11.5	0.0

AVERAGES POST - 1867

Toronto Globe	41.1	2.7	33.4	5.0
British Colonist	36.4	4.1	27.9	4.4
Montreal Gazette	35.9	5.3	23.9	6.7
Ottawa Citizen	33.5	4.4	20.9	8.2
St. John Tele.	31.9	4.9	22.7	3.7
Manitoba F.P.	31.8	4.0	23.1	4.7
Halifax Chronicle	30.2	5.7	17.2	7.3
Le Canadien	23.9	2.6	18.4	2.3
La Minerve	21.2	2.6	16.0	2.6

Table 2-4(c)

PERCENTAGE OF ITEMS DEVOTED TO FRANCE

<u>BY NEWSPAPER</u>		<u>AVERAGES PRE- 1867</u>		
<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Le Canadien	24.2	7.0	16.8	0.4
Nor'Wester	21.9	4.8	13.5	3.6
La Minerve	20.3	1.1	16.9	2.3
Novascotian	13.0	1.7	8.9	2.4
Ottawa Citizen	12.2	1.5	7.3	3.4
New Brunswick Courier	9.6	1.0	8.0	0.6
Toronto Globe	8.4	0.8	5.7	1.9
Montreal Gazette	7.9	3.2	3.0	1.7
British Colonist	6.6	1.9	2.8	1.9

AVERAGES POST- 1867

Le Canadien	46.1	7.6	33.0	5.5
La Minerve	43.0	5.7	23.6	13.7
Ottawa Citizen	20.2	2.6	10.2	7.4
British Colonist	17.2	1.7	7.2	8.3
Saint John Tele.	16.5	2.2	7.0	7.3
Manitoba F.P.	16.5	1.0	10.6	4.9
Montreal Gazette	16.1	1.6	8.0	6.5
Halifax Chronicle	15.6	2.2	6.4	7.0
Toronto Globe	15.1	0.8	9.1	5.2

NOTE

COEFFICIENTS OF IMBALANCE

The method of calculating the coefficients of imbalance utilized in the following tables (Table 8 - 5(a) to Table 8 - 7(b), inclusive) is that set forth in The Language of Politics, Harold D. Lasswell, Nathan Leites, and Associates (New York, George W. Stewart, Inc., 1949). See Chapter 8, "The Coefficient of Imbalance", pp. 153 - 169, by Irving L. Janis and Raymond Fadner, for a detailed explanation of the two formulae used :

$$C_f = \frac{f^2 - fu}{rt} \quad \text{where } f > u$$

and

$$C_u = \frac{fu - u^2}{rt} \quad \text{where } f < u$$

Where :

f = favourable units of content

u = unfavourable units of content

t = number of units of total content

r = total units of relevant content

ORIENTATION TO THE UNITED STATES (Table 8-5(a))

Coefficient of Imbalance Pre-Confederation : Calculated on the Average

Number of Items, per Issue Sampled, dealing with or referring to the

United States, 1945-1965

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Number of Items</u>	<u>Positive Items</u>	<u>Neutral Items</u>	<u>Negative Items</u>	<u>Coefficient of Imbalance</u>
New Brunswick Courier	3.8	0.6	2.7	0.5	+0.042
New West	5.0	1.3	2.9	0.7	+0.042
La Minerve	5.1	0.4	3.9	0.8	-0.012
Toronto Globe	9.2	0.7	7.2	1.7	-0.020
British Colonist	16.0	0.7	12.5	2.8	-0.023
Novascotian	13.6	0.9	9.0	3.3	-0.042
Montreal Gazette	7.5	0.5	4.6	2.1	-0.063
Le Canadien	3.5	0.4	1.8	1.3	-0.095
Ottawa Citizen	6.4	0.5	3.6	2.3	-0.101
Average	8.0	0.7	5.4	1.8	-0.031

ORIENTATION TO THE UNITED STATES (Table E-5(b))

Coefficient of Imbalance Post-Confederation : Calculated on the Average

Number of Items, per Issue Sampled, dealing with or referring to the

United States, 1870-1895

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Number of Items</u>	<u>Positive Items</u>	<u>Neutral Items</u>	<u>Negative Items</u>	<u>Coefficient of Imbalance</u>
British Colonist	9.8	0.6	6.7	1.5	-0.014
Toronto Globe	10.8	0.6	8.3	2.0	-0.024
Saint John Telegraph	9.6	0.4	7.3	1.8	-0.027
Manitoba F.P.	11.3	0.5	8.6	2.3	-0.041
Montreal Gazette	12.6	1.1	8.0	3.5	-0.053
La Minerve	7.0	0.1	5.2	1.7	-0.056
Le Canadien	3.0	0.3	2.0	0.8	-0.067
Ottawa Citizen	7.6	0.3	4.9	2.4	-0.087
Halifax Chronicle	8.7	1.0	4.2	3.5	-0.116
Average	9.0	0.5	6.1	2.3	-0.054

(Table 8-6(a))

ORIENTATION TO GREAT BRITAIN

Coefficient of Imbalance Pre-Confederation : Calculated on the Average

Number of Items, per Issue Sampled, dealing with or referring to

Great Britain, 1845-1865

Arranged in order of descending positive orientation

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Number of Items</u>	<u>Positive Items</u>	<u>Neutral Items</u>	<u>Negative Items</u>	<u>Coefficient of Imbalance</u>
Nor Wester	2.2	0.8	1.2	0.2	+ 0.097
Novascotian	10.3	2.7	6.7	0.9	+ 0.055
New Brunswick Courier	5.3	1.2	3.7	0.4	+ 0.034
Montreal Gazette	5.2	1.1	3.7	0.3	+ 0.032
British Colonist	3.2	0.5	2.7	0.0	+ 0.024
Le Canadien	5.3	0.9	4.0	0.4	+ 0.016
Ottawa Citizen	9.0	1.4	6.7	0.8	+ 0.010
Toronto Globe	5.6	0.7	4.3	0.6	+ 0.002
La Minerve	4.3	0.5	3.3	0.5	0.000
Average	5.6	1.1	4.0	0.5	0.030

ORIENTATION TO GREAT BRITAIN (Table 8-6(b))

Coefficient of Imbalance Post-Confederation : Calculated on the Average

Number of Items, per Issue Sampled, dealing with or referring to

Great Britain, 1870-1895

Arranged in order of descending positive orientation

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Number of Items</u>	<u>Positive Items</u>	<u>Neutral Items</u>	<u>Negative Items</u>	<u>Coefficient of Imbalance</u>
Saint John Tele.	5.9	0.8	4.4	0.7	+ 0.0023
La Minerve	4.1	0.5	3.1	0.5	0.000
Le Canadien	2.8	0.3	2.2	0.3	0.000
Manitoba F.P.	6.3	0.8	4.6	1.0	-0.005
British Colonist	10.0	0.7	8.0	1.3	-0.008
Toronto Globe	8.5	0.4	7.0	1.1	-0.011
Montreal Gazette	9.0	1.0	6.0	2.0	-0.024
Ottawa Citizen	5.7	0.7	3.6	1.4	-0.030
Halifax Chronicle	5.5	0.8	3.1	1.6	-0.042
Average	6.4	0.7	4.7	1.1	-0.1177

(Table 8-7 (a))

ORIENTATION TO FRANCE

Coefficient of Imbalance Pre-Confederation : Calculated on the Average

Number of Items, per Issue Sampled, dealing with or referring to

France, 1845 - 1865

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Number of Items</u>	<u>Positive Items</u>	<u>Neutral Items</u>	<u>Negative Items</u>	<u>Coefficient of Imbalance</u>
Le Canadien	2.4	0.6	1.7	0.1	+0.052
Montreal Gazette	1.5	0.4	0.9	0.2	+0.036
Northwestern	1.7	0.3	1.2	0.2	+0.010
Novascotian	3.9	0.5	2.7	0.7	-0.009
La Minerve	2.4	0.1	2.0	0.3	-0.010
New Brunswick Courier	1.0	0.1	0.7	0.2	-0.020
Ottawa Citizen	2.4	0.3	1.5	0.6	-0.031
Toronto Globe	1.3	0.1	0.9	0.3	-0.035
	<u>1.8</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>-0.001</u>

ORIENTATION TO FRANCE

(Table 8 - 7 (b))

Coefficient of Imbalance Post-Confederation : Calculated on the Average

Number of Items, per Issue Sampled, dealing with or referring to

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>France, 1870 - 1925</u>				<u>Negative Items</u>	<u>Coefficient of Imbalance</u>
	<u>Number of Items</u>	<u>Positive Items</u>	<u>Neutral Items</u>	<u>Negative Items</u>		
Le Canadien	6.3	0.9	4.5	0.9	0.000	
Manitoba F.P.	2.8	0.2	1.8	0.8	-0.061	
La Minerve	8.3	1.1	4.6	2.6	-0.065	
Ottawa Citizen	4.1	0.6	2.1	1.4	-0.068	
St. John Tele.	2.1	0.4	0.8	0.8	-0.073	
Toronto Globe	4.4	0.3	2.5	1.6	-0.107	
Halifax Chronicle	4.2	0.9	1.4	1.9	-0.108	
British Colonist	4.1	0.4	2.0	1.7	-0.132	
Montreal Gazette	4.5	0.4	2.2	1.9	-0.141	
Average	4.5	0.6	2.4	1.5	-0.084	

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The case of Canada as a study in nation-building is a particularly fascinating one. In Hartzian terms¹ it might be described as a European fragment, or rather series of fragments, one a pre-Revolutionary French, another a United Empire Loyalist fragment, and another a nineteenth century immigrant fragment overwhelmingly from the British Isles. As an immigrant receiving country Canada's history spans the entire history of European overseas colonization, from the settlement of New France under the edicts of Louis XIV to the post- World War II efflux from Europe. Moreover, different areas of the country have been settled at widely differing times, from Quebec in the seventeenth century, to the North-West and British Columbia mainly since 1896.

The period of this study covers practically the whole of the Victorian era. During this time British North America passed from a scattered series of colonies specializing in fish, furs and timber, tied to the British home market via the mercantilist system, to a self-governing Dominion with its own protective tariff, busily engaged in exploiting half a continent for the benefit of the "new nationality". Unlike the United States, which began with a most

violent rupture from the Mother Country, it became the first of the incipient nations which the British government acknowledged had outgrown colonial status. Apart from the surviving French fragment and the United Empire Loyalists, it was peopled mainly by refugees from Scottish enclosures, Irish troubles and British agricultural and industrial revolutions. These people armed with the technology of the communications revolution of the mid-nineteenth century were able to break down the distance and geographical barriers between the various regions, settle what had hitherto been regarded as virtually inaccessible areas, and bind the whole together into one cybernetic network.

Aided by the economic strength of Britain, and a steady flow of reinforcements from the British Isles, together with a scattering from Western Europe, they swept over, around and beyond, but did not submerge, the original European fragments. Whatever indigenous, non-European peoples they found in their paths they scattered, corrupted, demoralized.

These incursions from the British Isles might be characterized as populist folk movements : they were spontaneous, unplanned and unorganized. The spurs were principally hunger, poverty and greed. Individuals were simply dumped on the shores of the new land and confronted with the imperative of survival. The representatives of the Imperial Government and the locally elected assemblies provided a flimsy

governmental framework within which the struggle for life could take place. British officials, moreover, merely on a tour of duty overseas for a few years, could have felt little rapport not only with the French Canadians, but with the bulk of their own immigrant countrymen, separated as they were from most of them by the usual social impedimenta of an elite social position.

Against such an invading horde the already entrenched, more homogeneous European groups, the French and the United Empire Loyalists, did not find it difficult to survive. Despite their affinities in language and culture with the newcomers, the Loyalists were able, for a time at least, to maintain themselves as an elite group, whilst the French Canadians strengthened their internal bonds thus forging their own peculiar nationalism.

These then were the raw materials for the "new nationality". The problem I posed for myself in this study was to determine to what extent these disparate elements had been forged into a cohesive community. Working on Karl Deutsch's theories on density of communications and group cohesiveness, I selected a sample of cross-Canada newspapers. By means of a geographic place name count, a self-group reference count and a survey of the images purveyed of Great Britain, the United States and France in the news columns of these newspapers, I have attempted to measure and compare the foci of attention, the group affiliations, and the perceptions of "adjacent" societies current among the population of

BNA/Canada over the 50 years, 1845 - 1895.

The findings of this survey may be summarized chapter by chapter. Chapter five was the first which dealt with the data and findings of the survey, and it showed that: (a) references to BNA/Canada started high and remained consistently high, throughout the 50 years surveyed. Indeed, there was a secular upward trend : BNA place names increased by eight per cent of total place names as between pre- and post-1867. BNA references started at 49 per cent, reached a high point of 58 per cent in 1875, and finished up at 57 per cent in 1895.

(b) The most clearly discernible trend of all in the overall symbols was the decrease in the annual percentage of place names devoted to Great Britain. The U.K. place names declined from 16.6 per cent in 1845 to 8.6 in 1895, a drop of almost 50 per cent. The sample's average percentage of place names devoted to the United Kingdom prior to 1867 was 13.7 ; afterwards it dropped by the substantial amount of almost one-third to 9.7.

(c) Attention to non-North American parts of the British Empire was meagre in the extreme. In only five of the 11 years surveyed did the percentage of place names devoted to the Empire manage to rise above a modest three per cent, and three of these years were at the very beginning of our survey period. It was the same with British activity overseas, apart from a remarkable peak of 9.3 per cent of all

place names at the climax of the Crimean War. British overseas activity never managed to struggle above 0.7 per cent in the other years surveyed. Moreover, Canadian interest failed to respond to the revival of official British interest in the Empire during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. If Imperial Federation was to have stood a chance it should have appeared on the scene about three decades previously.

The evidence here is that strong community feelings existed in British North America even in 1845, half of the sample's place names being devoted to BNA. Therefore, the big immigrant wave of the 1840s encountered already well established communities sure of their own identity. There is evidence here pertinent to the question posed by Gad Horowitz in his essay "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada" as to when the Canadian political culture congealed. From what evidence there is, it would appear to have congealed prior to 1845, supporting the view that immigrants had to adapt themselves to already well established communities.

Secondly, this question of the diminishing percentage of British place names indicates a gradual drift away from Britain towards greater self-reliance, a drift which accelerated after Confederation. Thirdly, the lack of interest in Empire shown by the place name count, and the coolness with which Canadian newspapers received the idea of Imperial Federation, run counter to the thesis of Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook that Canadians were fervent enthus-

ists for the Empire, more imperialist than the British who found their collective expression through membership of the British Empire.² On the contrary, the Empire as such seems to have only occupied the periphery of their minds.

Chapter six brought us to the very core of this study, and it concentrated exclusively on BNA/Canadian place names. The most striking finding was the increase of pan-Canadian references straight from the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences of 1864, both from the entire sample and for each individual paper, measured either by the entity only method, or the more extended method, i.e., BNA entity symbols plus all BNA/Canada place names outside own region.

The study indicates that the decade of the 1860s witnessed the blossoming of a pan-Canadian awareness and feeling as the significant force in all regions of the country, particularly during the years 1865 to 1870. The sample's average BNA entity symbols before 1867 was merely 1.7 per cent, indeed in 1855 the overall average fell as low as 0.8 per cent; it was the significant increase in 1865 to 3.5 per cent which boosted the pre-1867 pan-Canadian references. The pan-Canadian count by the extended method began to rise before Canadian entity symbols alone did, the biggest rise in the former taking place from 1860 to 1865, and the biggest rise in the latter from 1865 to 1870. By 1870 the Canadian entity percentage was 15.3, over four times higher than that of 1865, and over 18 times that of 1855. There was a relapse after 1870 coincident with the onset of the long economic

depression of 1874-1895, but the pan-Canadian symbols were on the increase once more by the 1880s, attaining 15.3 per cent again in 1885, the year of the North-West Rebellion.

Combined with this evidence of an upswing in pan-Canadian feelings there is also evidence of a Canadian core area, an area that led the way in pan-Canadian feeling and was looked upon by other areas as the leading centre; this was the Montreal-Ottawa-Toronto triangle. Evidence in support of this includes the fact that the Ottawa Citizen took the lead in Canadian entity symbols followed by the Toronto Globe and the Montreal Gazette. In the pan-Canadian identification by the extended method, the Montreal Gazette headed the field and the Ottawa Citizen took second place both before and after Confederation with the Toronto Globe in fourth place before, and third after, 1867. Again, as regards a core area, Upper Canada combined with Lower Canada to receive the most attention from other regions pre-1867, but Ontario swung into the lead after Confederation, well ahead of any other region.

In contrast to the eagerness with which pan-Canadianism was grasped by the English-language section of the press in Central Canada, the two French-language papers were both low in Canadian entity symbols both before and after Confederation. They occupied seventh and eighth places in the pre-1867 averages, (ahead of the British Colonist which at that time had no pan-Canadian references whatsoever. After Confederation they occupied seventh and ninth positions in

the post-1867 averages; the Saint John Telegraph was in eighth. Although they remained in these lowly positions they did respond quite actively to Confederation ; in fact in percentage increases in pan-Canadian entity symbols they responded even more actively than did the majority of the English-language papers. For instance, La Minerve increased its percentage of BNA/Canadian entity place names twelvefold, and Le Canadien tenfold, whereas the average for the sample was sevenfold. The two Maritime papers were both below average in their increase in BNA/Canadian entity symbols : the Novascotian /Halifax Chronicle increase was fivefold, and the Saint John Telegraph with a three-and-a-half fold increase, half the average, had the smallest percentage increase of the entire sample. Of the two Western papers, the Nor'Wester/Manitoba Free Press increased its pan-Canadian entity symbols fourfold, from 3.0 per cent to 12.4 per cent, and the British Colonist from zero to 13.1 per cent.

The second most remarkable change in BNA/Canada place names revealed by Chapter six was the sudden collapse in regional entity symbols (Central Canada being counted as one region) with the end of the United Colony. The sample average in regional entity symbols before 1867 was 11 per cent of all place names in BNA, afterwards it was down to a paltry one per cent. Before Confederation the five Central Canadian papers occupied the five leading positions in the regional entity symbols rank-order table ; afterwards they occupied the last five. However, we must be careful here for

the ambiguity of words complicates the matter somewhat. The term "Canada" was now transferred from referring solely to the territory of the old United Colony to the whole of the area of the new Dominion. Canada for Central Canadians, at least the English-speaking ones, now signified the whole of the new entity. The new Canada (i.e., the Dominion) was an expansion of the old Canada (i.e., the United Colony). After 1867 when these English-speaking Central Canadians spoke of "Canada" they undoubtedly meant, as the context indicates, the whole of the Dominion in 98 per cent of the cases. Yet, equally undoubtedly, their remarks often pertained more to Central Canada than to the Dominion as a whole. In other words some parts of Canada (i.e., Central Canada) were more Canadian than other parts (i.e., the Maritimes and the West). The term "Central Canada" does not appear to have caught on in either Quebec or Ontario in the popular sense, and remained very much a technical or geographic term. This in itself is significant, indicating that there was no closely knit Central Canadian community per se.

By the extended method of measuring regionalism (regional entity symbols plus all other place names in the region outside own province) there was also a substantial drop in regional place names after Confederation. In Central Canada before 1867 regional place names averaged 35.5 per cent of their total BNA symbols; afterwards this average fell to 16.5 per cent. However, the Montreal Gazette and the Ottawa Citizen, and La Minerve too, main-

tained a certain Central Canadian orientation after Confederation. The Gazette carried more Ontario place names than it did Quebec place names outside Montreal, and the Ottawa Citizen had two Quebec for every three Ontario place names outside the Ottawa area. The French-language La Minerve carried as many Ontario place names as it did place names in the province of Quebec outside Montreal.

For the Maritimes before Confederation the average amount of attention (counting entity references plus all other place names in the region outside own province) to ~~own~~ region (including P.E.I. and Newfoundland) was about 20 per cent of their total BNA symbols. After Confederation this average fell to 11.8 per cent for the Halifax papers and 17 per cent for the Saint John papers. Maritime Union, scarcely a winner before Confederation, seemed to be receding more and more.

In the West regionalism was even less prominent :
down from 18.5 per cent before Confederation in the Nor^WWestern to 11 per cent afterwards, by the extended method. As for the British Colonist it simply had no western regional references either by the attenuated or extended method prior to 1867, and its average was still under five per cent, by the extended method of measurement, for the period after Confederation.

The relative paucity of regional references becomes more apparent when we compare them with local and provincial symbols. Own locality references averaged 22.9 per cent of all BNA place names recorded before Confederation

and 23.4 afterwards, whilst provincial place names outside own locality started high for all the nine newspapers in the sample and remained high throughout the 50 years surveyed. Before 1867 the sample average for such provincial place names was 36.0 per cent, afterwards it declined somewhat to 31.6 per cent. So in toto own locality plus rest-of-province place names, including provincial entity symbols, averaged 59.3 per cent pre-1867 and 55.0 afterwards. There was something of a percentage decline in provincial (outside own locality) place names after 1860, but it was not a pronounced one by any means, just an evacuation of a few percentage points to make room for at least part of the expansion in pan-Canadian symbols.

So here we get the steady persistence of orientations to locality and province, despite the growth of pan-Canadian feelings. As argued early in Chapter six, there appears to be nothing incompatible between strong local and strong national feelings. Indeed, I have considered loyalty or identification with the local community to be basic to the whole scheme of territorial identification - the irreplaceable foundation for the whole edifice. However, the case is somewhat different between province and nation; both may be considered competitors to some extent in this matter of orientations, loyalties and identifications. Therefore, it appears that the old provincial orientation surrendered little to the new national foci of attention. Provincial feelings appear to have remained almost as important after Confederation as they were before it. But whereas before 1867 the national orientation was weak,

substantially below the provincial orientation, after 1867 national entity references quite markedly exceeded provincial entity references (see Table 6-1 and 6 - 2). Before 1867 the province on average received four times as many entity references (6.8 per cent) as did British North America as an entity (1.7 per cent of all BNA place names). After 1867, however, there were nearly three times as many references to the Dominion (12.6 per cent) as entity as to the province as entity (4.3 per cent), a remarkable about-face. Again, before Confederation the total provincial orientation (rest-of-province place names outside the paper's own locality plus entity references to the province) averaged for the sample 36.4 per cent of all BNA symbols compared with a national orientation of 14.3 per cent, as measured by BNA entity references plus references to all places in BNA outside the paper's own region (my method (b) for measuring the national orientation). After Confederation total provincial place names (my method (b) for measuring provincial orientation) were 31.4 per cent, whilst total BNA symbols (method (b)) were 30.7, i.e., they were practically equal. Moreover, if we treat, as I have done in Table 6-6, Upper Canada/Ontario and Lower Canada/Quebec as two separate regions (as indeed the many cleavages between the two - ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural etc.- warrant), and so include references by Ontario to Quebec and to Quebec by Ontario in the "rest-of-Canada" total, then pre-1867 BNA entity symbols plus "rest-of-BNA" place names averaged 24.7 per cent, only some 12 percentage points below the average own province references. After Confederation by this method

total Canadian national references averaged 40.0 per cent of the sample's Dominion references, which was nearly nine percentage points ahead of provincial references -- an even more striking demonstration of the growth of the national orientation, and the stagnation of the provincial one. The national symbol again, after 1867, was mainly at the expense of regional symbols, particularly regional entity symbols, and only a little at the expense of provincial symbols.

Thus among the lessons to be derived from Chapter six are the following : besides pinpointing the decade of the 1860s, particularly the last five years 1865 - 1870, as the time of the real emergence of a significant pan-Canadian orientation, it seems that by 1870 this orientation had reached its peak for the next 25 years at least. However, if after 1870 this national orientation did fall off, it was now on an entirely different plane than hitherto, never again to relapse to pre-Confederation days. Indeed by 1885 these national symbols had surged back to 1870 levels.

The chapter also emphasizes the strength of local communities and provincial identities in the pre-1867 period. The immigrants of the 1840s found themselves not in an overall British North American society but in strongly established local and provincial communities. On the other hand, the survey shows that regionalism, in the sense of Maritime, Central Canadian, and Western regionalism, was never a very powerful force, and never really competed with the provinces as a focus of identification ; after 1867 it receded quite noticeably

in significance.

Before Confederation in British North America the focus of attention, and presumably of identification, was most decidedly on the local and provincial levels. Canada was not a conglomeration of regions but of localities and provinces, each with quite a distinctive character of its own. Despite shared traditions, constitutional forms, and a focus upon the Colonial Office in London, there was no pressing urge, or groundswell movement, in these provinces to unify or federate. However, once the movement was under way in a serious fashion, sparked by a pragmatic political and economic elite, it was accepted easily enough and very rapidly. It was almost as if there was something inevitable about it, and if it received no rapturous applause neither did it encounter any embittered resistance, except in Nova Scotia which had developed in its own way with a somewhat distinctive history, and certainly distinctive traditions and economic orientation. But even here the place name count shows an uplift in pan-Canadian orientation co-incident with that in the rest of the Dominion, although a little more sluggish and subdued.

Canada has always been the land of the great tomorrow, and so it proved in 1870. Tangible benefits from Confederation were certainly not immediately in evidence, and there was something of a relapse in pan-Canadian symbols, but they did not plunge catastrophically; the Confederation hung on, the alternatives being not very inviting. An injection of drama was provided by the 1885 North-West Rebellion,

which despite its gory and unpleasant aspects, and its exacerbation of the ethnic-cultural cleavage between English and French, did set Canadian pulses beating faster and sent pan-Canadian symbols and place names in 1885 back to their 1870 levels, even in the sample's French-language newspapers.

The group self-identification chapter, Chapter seven, was important principally because its data supported the findings of Chapter six. The most remarkable of discernible changes was the mushrooming of BNA/Canadian identifications during the decade of the 1860s, more particularly from 1865 to 1870. National identifications from being a minor mode of identification prior to 1865 had leaped by 1870 into the major ranks. Before Confederation pan-Canadian identifications were quite infrequent, occupying merely an average 1.9 per cent of the total group identifications taken account of in this chapter. In the single year 1865 BNA identifications for the first time outpaced the British, and thereafter they soared ahead from 4.8 per cent of total identifications in 1865 to 22.1 per cent in 1870, in which year they swept past regional designations for the first time, in fact exceeding them five-fold. After 1867 pan-Canadian identifications averaged 17.3 per cent of total identifications for the sample.

Moreover, as in the place name count there was a collapse in regional identifications after 1867, again overwhelmingly due to the demise of the United Colony. And similarly to the place name count, the four Central Canadian news-

papers which led in regional identifications before 1867, afterwards fell to the four bottom positions. Although a considerable way behind local and provincial identifications, the region did occupy third place in the identifications table prior to Confederation. Into third place after 1867 went pan-Canadian identifications, which rose from the bottom of the pre-1867 listings, whilst regional identifications sank to second from the bottom position. One more thing that may be mentioned before leaving regional identifications is to point out again the British Colonist's lack of identification with the "rest-of-the-West".

Identifications with the British Political Community were never numerous, apart from the Saint John papers, prior to 1867. The sample average pre-1867 was only 3.4 per cent -- even by 1845 any habit the British North Americans ever had of referring to themselves as "colonists" or "colonials" had gone, probably long since gone. Nor did they refer directly to themselves as "British" : the most popular tag was by the name of the province, or as "Upper Canadians", "Lower Canadians", "French Canadians", "Canadians", etc. After Confederation, British Political Community identifications became the least used of all and fell to the bottom of the identifications used in this chapter, with a sample average of 0.7 per cent.

Again, as in the place name count, the most popular and ubiquitous mode of identification was by locality

of residence in every paper in every year sampled. In the pre-Confederation period the sample average for the locality tag was almost 44 per cent; afterwards it was 48.5 per cent. The next most important to the locality label was the provincial, which pre-1867 averaged for the sample 23.0 per cent; after Confederation this average was down to 19.3 per cent. Thus as in the place name count local and provincial identifications maintained their strength after Confederation, the growth of national identifications accruing principally from a retreat in regional identifications.

Ethnic-linguistic identifications occupied fourth place in the group identification rank-order tables, both pre- and post-1867, although the percentage of the identification space they occupied fell from a sample average of 10.3 per cent pre-Confederation to 7.8 afterwards. The most significant thing to be noted here is the distinctive pattern of the two Western papers before Confederation, the British Colonist approaching four times the sample average, and the Nor'Wester three times the average. Most of these references were to the indigenous peoples amongst whom these two papers of pioneering communities found themselves. After Confederation, although the British Colonist hung on to its lead, Le Canadien and La Minerve now moved into third and fourth places respectively, leaving the Nor'Wester/Manitoba Free Press in fifth place.

As for religious identifications the surprising

thing is that they were not particularly prominent. Before Confederation they accounted for merely 1.6 per cent of the sample average; afterwards they rose to 3.0 per cent, which brought them above identifications by region and by British Political Community. Moreover, this was still less than half the ethnic-linguistic identifications, and almost six times less than BNA/Canadian identifications.

In Chapter eight I turned from the way in which Canadians referred to their own society, and the groups within it, to the ways they viewed other societies closely associated with their own through culture, history and geographic proximity. I examined the images portrayed in the sample's newspapers of the United States, Great Britain and France regarding the number of items published on each country, and the distribution and balance of these items between positive-neutral-negative items. I proposed hypotheses connecting integration with a reasonable but not obsessive amount of attention bestowed on "adjacent societies", and a balance within the items so printed, placing an emphasis on neutral items, and in the case of a country like Canada living cheek-by-jowl with a powerful, dynamic and in many ways highly attractive neighbour such as the United States, a moderate weighting towards the negative as indicators of self-reliance and self-confidence.

In the case of the United States I found that certainly one of the things on which Canadians appear to

have stood united was in the predominance of negative to positive images of their neighbour to the south, both before and after Confederation. A case might just be made that on the whole the newspapers in the peripheral areas of BNA/Canada had a more favourable view of the United States than did those of the core area, Central Canada. Easily in the lead, pre-1867, in the number of items published per issue on the U.S., were the British Colonist and the Nova-scotian, whilst the New Brunswick Courier and the Nor'Wester were the only two papers in the sample which had positive coefficients of imbalance in their United States items (see Table 8-5(a)). After Confederation the percentage of U.S. items (out of the total U.S.-U.K.-French items) for the sample average increased slightly, from 43.9 to 46.5 -- the result of a joint increase in neutral and negative items offsetting a decrease in positive items. Every one of the sample's newspapers now had a negative coefficient of imbalance in their U.S. items, although the least negative was the British Colonist, and the two non-Central Canadian members of the sample, the Saint John Telegraph and the Manitoba Free Press, were amongst the four papers with the least negative coefficients of imbalance (see Table 8-5(b)). Even before Confederation the two French-language papers were low in the percentage of items devoted to the United States. Le Canadien with 31.5 per cent of such items was at the bottom of the list, having much less than half the percentage of the British Colonist and half that of the

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Novascotian. After Confederation La Minerve and Le Canadien both devoted considerably fewer items proportionately to the United States than did the English-language members of the sample.

There was a significant decline in the percentage of items on Britain after Confederation: they fell from 42.3 per cent (pre-1867) to a sample average of 31.3 per cent afterwards. As between the two periods positive items were cut in half (from 8.8 per cent to 4.1); neutral items fell by about eight percentage points, but negative items recorded an increase from 3.1 to 5.0 per cent. So although the percentage of items on Britain decreased, the negative percentage within it actually increased.

Amongst the individual papers in the sample there was greater uniformity after Confederation as regards the percentage of items they devoted to both the United States and Great Britain. Indeed, the spread in both cases between the paper with the highest percentage and the one with the lowest was cut in half. In contrast, the items on France in the sample doubled their spread, between highest and lowest percentage, after Confederation. However, this increase was due solely to the discrepancy of attention to France paid by the French- and English-language members of the sample. After 1867 the percentage of French items in Le Canadien and La Minerve was more than double the English-language papers' average on French items. Moreover, after 1867 Le Canadien devoted an average of twice as many items to

France as it did to the United States, whilst La Minerve had twice the percentage of items on France that it had on Britain. Perhaps these differences between the two language groups in their external foci of attention were not very important in themselves, but they do seem to have been reflective of cleavages within the Dominion, which cleavages Confederation was apparently doing nothing to assuage.

As with U.S. and British items the French items were, on average and on balance, more negative after 1867. But this was due to the successive military disasters of 1870, rather than any Canadian need to assert itself vis-à-vis an "adjacent" society. However, as regards the United States and Britain the swing to more neutral and negative images can be interpreted as a Canadian essay in self-reliance and self-assertion. The decline of the British image was greater, because it started off from such a highly positive point, and possibly because at that particular stage of history there was a more immediate need to assert "Canadianism" against the "Mother Country", than against the Americans.

What are we to glean from all this ? Confounding my predilection towards a political cultural interpretation of the formation and viability of new nations, this study suggests the importance of institutional structures as foci of attention, and as creators and moulders of loyalties and identifications. In both Chapters six and seven we have seen the quite sudden spurt (a) in pan-Canadian place names,

and (b) pan-Canadian identifications once talk of Confederation was seriously under way. The decade of growth in pan-Canadian orientations was according to the data here quite decisively in the 1860s, above all the period from 1865 to 1870, the years coincident with the formation and establishment of the new federal structure -- the Dominion government. Confederation was not a new idea and it did not come as a surprise, but there was scarcely any expression of pan-Canadian feelings until the process of forming actual government structures was underway. And even though the Dominion encountered many lean years in its first quarter of a century, there was no plummeting of Canadian symbols back towards the levels of pre-Confederation years.

Probably the second most striking phenomenon demonstrated by the data in both Chapters six and seven was the virtual effacement of Central Canadian entity symbols and identifications once the United Colony had been legislated into history. References to it as an entity did not linger on. Identifications by it did not persist, once the institutions had been dismantled. True, the term "Canada" was loaned to a new and bigger entity and each of the constituent parts of the old United Province assumed completely different names. Probably the phenomenon of "transference" was at work here. The Dominion was the old United Province, more-or-less, writ large, but the haste with which Central Canadian identifications were discarded seemed scarcely decent. During its existence, however, the United Province as an entity did attract 13

to 14 per cent of all BNA place names, further evidence it would seem of the power of institutions to attract attention and orient a population.

These findings are so at variance with those of Merritt on colonial America, in Symbols of American Community, 1735 - 1775, that it seems of use at this juncture to carry out some comparison with his study. The greatest difference is the appearance of significant feelings of American community, a full dozen years prior to the Declaration of Independence, and my data which indicates the complete insignificance of a pan-Canadian orientation certainly until the latter half of the 1860s. Merritt reports that American continental symbols in his sample averaged over 10 per cent of all American symbols as early as 1755 -- 20 years before independence. In BNA/Canada my survey did not pick up BNA/Canadian entity symbols in excess of 10 per cent until 1870 -- three years after Confederation.

Merritt writes :

Not until 1755 did the continental share of American symbols rise above the ten per cent level . . . and not until eight years later did it go above that level and remain there. From 1735 to 1761 the average newspaper devoted about one American symbol in 16 (6.5%) to continental events. Although this average quadrupled to 25.8 per cent in the 14 years from 1762 to 1775, for the entire 41 years slightly over one in six American symbols (17.9 %) referred to the colonies as a whole. 3

Later he adds :

The first significant break in the pattern of slight interest in the colonies as a whole occurred in 1762, when the share of continental symbols more than doubled over the previous year; and the level of 1763 was almost four times that of 1761. By 1761 . . . the

continental share of the total American symbol count had risen to 37.3 per cent -- an increase of almost 1,000 per cent over the level of 1761. 4

And he concludes:

The data surveyed above indicate growing colonial interaction from 1735 to 1775 . . . To be sure, they indicate that the emergence of an American community consciousness was a slow process . . . (but) by the early 1770s, the colonists were sufficiently different from their English contemporaries that they comprised . . . a distinct American political community. 5

Look how different this was to the Canadian experience : the share of BNA/Canada entity symbols was a tiny 1.2 per cent of total BNA place names in 1860 (see Table 6 - 4), and even in 1865 they were only 3.5 per cent, one year after the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences which set the whole Confederation process in motion. The significant spurt, the big increase in pan-Canadian symbols was not detected by this survey until 1870, when they reached 15.3 per cent of total Canadian place names ; a pinnacle from which they had fallen back by 1875 to 9.7 per cent. Further sampling around 1867 would be interesting and revealing to pinpoint the relatively sudden blossoming of a pan-Canadian interest.

To facilitate comparison between Merritt's study and my own I have taken the five yearly averages of the yearly figures he gives for "continental" (i.e. American entity symbols), "home colony", "regional" symbols, etc., and placed them side by side with my five yearly survey figures. For instance, in the case of American continental symbols versus pan-Canadian entity references :

<u>The continental</u> (TABLE 9 - 1) <u>share of American</u> <u>symbols</u>		<u>BNA/Canadian</u> <u>Entity</u> <u>References</u>	
1735/39.(average).....	4.5%	1845.....	1.2%
1740 /44(").....	5.6%	1850.....	1.9%
1745 /49(").....	4.6%	1855.....	0.9%
1750 /54(").....	4.9%	1860.....	1.2%
1755 / 59(").....	8.9%	1865.....	3.5%
1760 /64 (").....	10.4%	1870.....	15.3%
1765 / 69(").....	28.5%	1875.....	9.7%
1770 / 74 (").....	18.3%	1880.....	11.6%
1775 (Year's figures).....	39.6%	1885.....	15.3%
		1890.....	11.4%
		1895.....	11.2%
Sample Average	<u>17 .9%</u>	Sample Average	<u>1.7%</u>
		Pre-1867. . .	
		After-1867...	<u>12.6%</u>

Thus we see that even 40 to 35 years before the Declaration of Independence the incidence of continental symbols amongst American symbols was nearly four times the incidence of BNA entity references amongst total BNA place names in 1860, only four years before the Quebec Resolutions. Even in 1865 BNA entity references, at 3.5 per cent, were below the American yearly average for continental symbols for any five year period from 1735 to 1774 . Thus it would appear that before the creation of some kind of confederal and federal amalgamation the idea of the 13 colonies as some kind of unit figured more prominently in the American mind than did the

idea of BNA unity in the British North American mind. We must remember here the more disparate and geographically far flung nature of the BNA colonies, as compared with the American 13 colonies. Undoubtedly we might have expected Canadian entity references to have risen higher had Confederation had to be fought for, as had independence in the United States, or even if there had been a bitter political struggle to attain it. As it was, Dominion status was handed to the British North American colonies not only graciously, willingly but eagerly.

Before leaving the matter at this, however, it is necessary to look very closely at exactly what Merritt is counting in his various categories. He persistently uses the vague and blanket term "symbols", only occasionally does he speak of "place name symbols". Early in his study he writes: "I analysed the frequency and distribution of place-name symbols used in the colonial press from 1735 to 1755".⁶ He says he counted each appearance of the name of a continent, a country, a region, a province, a colony, city and town -- indeed any inhabited place. Notwithstanding this he suddenly states: "American place-name symbols were then broken down further into four sub-categories: symbols referring to the American continent as a whole and to its inhabitants (or "continental symbols"); symbols referring to places in the region (that is, the northern, middle, or southern colonies) in which the newspaper using them was published

symbols referring to places in the newspaper's own colony;
and symbols referring to places in colonies other than those
of the home region ".⁷

Strangely enough only "continental symbols include
"symbols referring to . . . its inhabitants". There is no
mention of "inhabitants" being counted in the other categories.
It would appear from what Merritt himself says that he included
and counted an additional dimension of references in his
"continental symbols" category. He offers no comment on or
explanation of this anomaly. Moreover, in another part of
his investigation he counted "symbols of common identity",
and reported on them separately. There would appear to be
some duplication here, but again he does not explain. So
the question arises, are we comparing like with like?
Pending illumination on this point from Merritt, comparisons
between my BNA/Canada entity totals and Merritt's
"continental symbols" must perforce be tentative.

Merritt does not differentiate between local and
"rest-of-province" symbols, but puts them together in one
category, "home colony symbols" (including home colony entity
symbols). He defines "home colony symbols" thus : "This
category contains references in a newspaper pertaining to
the newspaper's own colony, or to places within the colony".⁸
So apparently this category includes only place names ; no
mention here of "home colony inhabitants". As in the case of
my BNA data, Merritt says that in contrast to the "sporadic,
if growing, use of continental symbols . . . those of the
home colony appeared prominently throughout the 41 years

(1735 - 1775). In only one of those years did the newspapers on an average devote less than one fifth of their symbol space to home colony news, while the average for the entire period was almost three in ten (29.7%). The exceptional year, 1775, was one in which the colonists paid unprecedented⁹ attention to the continent as a whole".

Unlike the BNA/Canada local plus "rest-of-province" place names American symbols devoted to the home colony decreased during the four decades from 1735 to 1775, despite a revival in the early seventies. From 1735 to 1744, Merritt's sample devoted 40.4 per cent. of their American symbols to their home colony; from 1766 to 1775 this percentage share had dropped by more than one-third to¹⁰ 26.3 per cent.

In the Canadian case we have seen that "home colony" symbols did not decrease over the years, but held remarkably constant throughout the 50 years surveyed. Moreover, as the following tables show, BNA/Canadian "home colony" orientation would appear to have been much stronger than the American, judging from the percentage of symbols. Indeed Canadian "rest-of-province" place names plus provincial entity symbols were roughly equal to the whole of the American home colony symbols. If we add local place names to the Canadian total then attention to the "home colony" averaged over 25 per cent higher, as the following tables show :

(TABLE 9 - 2)

American Home Colony Symbols		BNA/Canada Local Place Names	Rest-of Prov- ince Place Names	Canad- ian Total
1735/39 (Average)	45.0	1845...19.9	+ 38.0 =	57.9
1740/44 (")	37.3	1850...30.4	+ 34.2 =	64.6
1745/49 (")	39.6	1855...24.9	+ 36.4 =	61.3
1750/54 (")	34.4	1860...26.8	+ 38.5 =	65.3
1755/59 (")	30.2	1865...19.2	+ 27.0 =	46.2
1760/64 (")	29.7	1870...18.1	+ 33.8 =	51.9
1765/69 (")	24.7	1875...24.1	+ 33.5 =	57.6
1770/74 (")	32.3	1880...25.1	+ 32.5 =	57.6
1775 (Year only)	19.3	1885...23.3	+ 25.8 =	49.1
		1890...26.7	+ 31.1 =	57.8
Average	29.7	1895...23.1	+ 31.6 =	54.7
		Average pre- 1867..22.9	+ 36.4 =	59.3
		post- 1867..23.4	+ 31.6 =	55.0

In other words BNA "home colony" place names before Confederation were double the American pre-independence "home colony" place names. If the place name indicator is valid, therefore, and even taking into the balance the somewhat different nature of 18th and 19th century newspapers -- the latter having a wider readership and a wider concept of news -- the BNA provinces were more self-conscious communities, and had a greater sense of their own distinctiveness and unique personalities than did the individual pre-1775 American colonies.

In measuring regional symbols Merritt uses all place names outside the home colony but within one of his designated regions - a method analogous to my "extended mode" of measuring regional orientation in BNA. Merritt divided the original 13 colonies, and Vermont, into four regions: the northern colonies, the middle Atlantic colonies, the southern colonies and "other" (this latter including such places in the western country as Ohio and Detroit).¹¹ Again into these categories only place names were inserted. He writes:

Emphasis on events taking place within the home region but outside the home colony also decreased with the passage of time . . . In the decade from 1735 to 1744 the average newspaper devoted more than one fifth of its total American symbol space to home region news ; by the end of the colonial period, however, in the years from 1765 to 1775, it was giving less than one seventh of its space to that end. ¹²

Here are the comparative figures, of the two studies, for the home region :

<u>American</u> <u>Home Region</u> <u>Symbols</u>	(TABLE 9 - 3)	<u>BNA/Canadian</u> <u>Regional Orientation</u> <u>(Extended Method)</u>
1735/39 (Average)..	23.0	1845..... 29.3
1740/44 (Average)..	22.0	1850..... 31.8
1745/49 (") ..	18.5	1855..... 32.4
1750/54 (") ..	21.2	1860..... 23.5
1755/59 (") ..	20.3	1865..... 27.8
1760/64 (") ..	21.4	1870..... 17.5
1765/69 (") ..	14.4	1875..... 15.2
1770/74 (") ..	15.4	1880..... 12.7

<u>American Home Region Symbols (continued)</u>	<u>BNA/Canadian Regional Orientation (Extended Method (continued))</u>
1775 (Year only)....13.6	1885..... 14.3
Overall Average 17.1%	1890..... 12.1
	1895..... 12.8
	Pre-1867 Average.. 28.5%
	Post-1867 Average.. 14.1%

So regional symbols in both the American colonies and BNA/Canada suffered a decline. But the main drop in the American ones came during the decade of the 1760s. In Canada there was a schism, which cut regional references in half, and this was Confederation, a definite event, a definite re-arrangement of political institutions. In both the American colonies and Canada the region seems to have been the biggest loser in the growth of national symbols. The principal reason for the high degree of BNA regionalism manifest in the pre-1867 percentages (see Table 6 - 16) was that Lower Canada/Quebec and Upper Canada/Ontario (and I have treated them as a single region in the above percentages) were united together before 1867 under a common government (cabinet, legislature, bureaucracy) -- another demonstration that extant political institutions act as a focus and organiser of attention.

As for inter-colonial attention, Merritt says that from 1735 to 1775 "the average newspaper devoted 52.4 per cent of its American place names to colonies other than the one in which the newspaper appeared".¹³ In the case of

Canada the data given in Chapter six (see Tables 6 - 22 to 6 - 26 inclusive) shows that the amount of attention given to other provinces varied from the Montreal Gazette, which devoted about 40 per cent of its BNA/Canada place names to other provinces (mainly because of its high attention to Upper Canada/Ontario), to the British Colonist, which from its far away position on the Pacific coast set aside only 1.8 per cent of its BNA place names to other parts of BNA before 1867; this attention rose to 19.7 per cent after 1867. Other members of the sample devoted, on the average, just under 30 per cent of their BNA place names to other provinces before 1867 (28.2%), and just over 30 per cent (30.8%) after 1867.¹⁴

Thus it would appear that 18th century American colonists had a greater degree of inter-attention than did 19th century British North Americans. In this respect two factors must be borne in mind: the American colonists were confined mainly to the Atlantic seaboard and its immediate hinterland, with easy access by sea to each other, and no geographical obstacles between by land. Moreover, the character of 18th century newspapers differed from that of 19th century newspapers: the former concentrating on what might be called "official intelligence", government pronouncements and formal activity, the latter leavening such fare with a broader coverage of events. One thing that BNA/Canada seems to have had was a stronger, more consistent centre of attention than the American colonies. Merritt says New York

held first place for the first three decades of his survey. Then it was replaced by another colony -- Massachusetts, which was embroiled in a different kind of battle. This one was against the English parliament rather than the French and the Indians.¹⁵ In the case of Canada, however, Ontario was the main focus of attention to the other provinces throughout the period 1845 -1895, as Table 6 -27 shows. Lower Canada did practically equal it before 1867, but afterwards Ontario had a comfortable lead.

So far in pursuing this comparison between Merritt's findings and my own, I have dealt only with American "continental" and domestic symbols, and British North American place names (these two sets of figures have formed the bases for the percentages thus far given in this chapter). Now we turn to the "global distribution of symbols", as Merritt terms it, i.e., in his study the distribution of all the place names counted between Great Britain, the American Colonies, and "other" place names;¹⁶ in my study the distribution of all place names counted between British, BNA/Canada, the United States, and "Other" categories.

It is necessary to note that my definition of British symbols included all place names within the British Political Community, outside North America, and place names mentioned directly as a result of British military and diplomatic intervention in an area. Merritt's definition of British symbols was narrower: he restricted himself to counting all

British entity symbols and references to all inhabited places in "all the areas within the British Isles (including Ireland and Scotland), and the British European possessions of Gibraltar and Minorca".¹⁷

(TABLE 9 - 4)

Global Distribution of Symbols(Percentages)

<u>Merritt's Study</u>		<u>British Place Names</u>	<u>BNA/Canada Study</u>	
<u>Composite American Symbols</u>			<u>BNA/Can. Place Names</u>	<u>British Place Names (total)</u>
1735/39			1845... 48.5	20.2
(Average) 13.9		22.3	1850... 50.6	18.6
1740/44	") 12.5	17.8	1855... 39.8	27.8
1745/49	") 11.0	20.1	1860... 43.5	14.2
			1865... 47.8	16.1
1750/54	") 17.3	21.4	1870... 41.0	12.6
1755/59	") 20.1	19.2	1875... 57.9	10.2
			1880... 54.4	14.5
1760/64	") 17.4	18.3	1885... 49.7	18.1
1765/69	") 31.2	26.7	1890... 52.8	12.7
			1895... 56.8	10.4
1770/74	") 32.2	25.1		
1775				
(Year only) 56.4		20.8		
Overall Average	22.3	21.5	49.4	15.9

The first remarkable thing is the way the British symbols maintained their strength throughout the length of Merritt's study. In 1735 they were 20.4 per cent of total symbols and in 1775 they were 20.8 per cent, maintaining an average through the 41 years of the survey of 21.5 per cent. In the Canadian case the percentage share of British place names out of total place names diminished steadily after the Crimean War. Starting out at 20.2 per cent in 1845 British place names reached a high point of 27.8 per cent during the Crimean War. Thereafter they diminished more or less steadily, finishing the survey off in 1895 with 10.4 per cent, half the 1845 figure.

The second point to note is that at the beginning of his study Merritt found British references heavily outweighing American; it was not until 1755, the year following the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754, that American symbols managed to slip ahead of British symbols for the first time. Yet they did not stay there, and there were even more British symbols than American as late as 1771 and 1772. It was only in 1774 and 1775 that American symbols shot quickly and decisively ahead to percentages over double the British.¹⁸ This American rush into self-absorption, ignored by Merritt, in the mid-1770s indicates a relatively sudden crystallization of American feelings of separateness, notwithstanding Merritt's claims that significant feelings of American community were evident a full dozen years before the Declaration of Independence.

In my case, although the percentage of British place names started off with precisely the same percentage as the American survey, they were down to half that figure by 1895 as the result of a fairly constant process of attrition. In 1845 total BNA/Canada place names were already double the British, even by my extended mode of measuring British. In 1865 they were nearly three times the British, and in 1875 and 1895 over five times the British. This shows that the degree of self-concentration of British North Americans on British North Americans was already high in 1845, and it continued that way throughout the next 50 years. This degree of self-concentration, psychic self-sufficiency if you will, was considerably greater in the BNA press I examined than in the American press Merritt surveyed, at least until the 1775 American figures, which suddenly gave the Americans parity with the highest years I recorded of BNA self-concentration (see Table 9 - 4). Thus the evidence here is that the BNA provinces had a greater sense of their separate and distinct identity even before Confederation than had the pre-independence American colonies. However, the BNA provinces, even after Confederation, appear to have had less awareness of themselves as some kind of collective entity than did the pre-1775 American colonies, as we have already seen in this chapter.

As for the high percentage of British symbols straight up to 1775 in the American survey, this may very well have been due to the repressive impact of Britain upon the colonies, which was to lead to a prolonged, bitter and violent war. While not

wishing to under-estimate the relevance of Britain for BNA/ Canadians, the British connection appears to have been even more relevant for the Americans of the 18th century. After all they were on a collision course with Britain which was to radically alter the lives of a great many Americans and the society in which they lived. It was not so with BNA/Canadians. Confederation hardly caused a ripple on the vast majority of their lives. It would be interesting to see how British symbols fared after the last British soldier had left the Thirteen Colonies.

The increased domestic share of the total American symbol space was achieved at the expense of "Other" symbols. Merritt's figures show his "Other" symbols starting off in 1735 with a quite astonishing 70 per cent of his total symbols. The Canadian "Other" symbols in 1845 were 18.0 per cent : the Canadian average for the whole 50 years surveyed was 18.0 per cent. Merritt's "Other" symbols averaged 56.3 per cent. One reason for the vast discrepancy between the two averages is the simple fact that I included more categories than Merritt in the disposition of total symbols. Merritt merely had three categories; I had four. To get a somewhat comparable Canadian figure I should have to include with my "Other" place names the category reserved for American place names, which occupied so much of Canadian "foreign" attention. The results are as follows :

(TABLE 9 - 5)

<u>Merritt's "Other" Symbols</u>	<u>BNA/Can. "Other" Symbols</u>	<u>U.S. Place Names</u>	<u>Total</u>
1735/39 (Average)..63.8%	1845....18.0	+ 13.3 =	31.3%
1740/44 (")..70.0%	1850....10.7	+ 20.4 =	31.1%
1745/49 (Average)..68.9%	1855....20.9	+ 11.5 =	32.4%
1750/54 (")..61.6%	1860....25.2	+ 17.1 =	42.3%
1755/59 (")..60.7%	1865....12.7	+ 23.4 =	36.1%
1760/64 (")..64.3%	1870....35.6	+ 10.9 =	46.5%
1765/69 (")..42.2%	1875....13.9	+ 17.9 =	31.8%
1770/74 (")..42.7%	1880....14.1	+ 17.0 =	31.0%
1775 (Year only).. 22.9%	1885....18.3	+ 13.9 =	32.2%
	1890....13.8	+ 20.7 =	34.5%
	1895....14.8	+ 18.0 =	32.8%
 Average	 56.3	 18.0	 34.0

There is still a considerable discrepancy between the American and Canadian figures, although in the last decade before the Declaration of Independence there was a significant drop in Merritt's "Other" symbols as home events assumed an ever more important role. Again the principal reason for the discrepancy is that there was something of a change in the character of newspapers and the concept of news as between the 18th and 19th centuries, with the latter century's newspapers attempting to get more coverage of local events to meet the demands of an increasing readership.

Merritt did not attempt to delineate the images held by the American colonists of "adjacent" societies, but he did include a short foray into "symbols of common identity". However, in this section of his study Merritt dealt only with the incidence of British and American identifications : no other modes of identification such as religion, ethnic-linguistic group, locality, colony, region were included in his count.

He writes:

Prior to 1763 the colonial press was all but unanimous in identifying the colonists with the British political community ... By far the most popular terms during these 29 years were those identifying the colonists as subjects of the British crown -- "His Majesty's subjects", "His Majesty's colonists", and after 1756, the regimental name "Royal Americans"-- which together comprised 108 (or 79.4 per cent) of the total of 136 symbols of both British and American origin.

It was not until the years after 1764 that the distinction between "His Majesty's subjects" or "British colonists" and "Americans" became a real one in the colonial newspapers. 20

On the next page he adds :

The data available suggests that, as far as symbol usage in the colonial press is concerned, the colonies own threshold of self-conscious or explicit "Americanism" -- that imaginary 50 per cent line -- was crossed at the latest in 1773, although it is true that there were some three years before that date when the curve was above the 50 per cent level, and at least one year after 1773 when it was below the halfway mark. 21

Yet in his place name count Merritt previously told us that significant feelings of American community appeared a full dozen years prior to the Declaration of Independence. However, at that time apparently people were not yet "self-consciously American": this line was not crossed until 1770 or 1773. They were thinking American, acting American, but just not calling themselves "American".

Thus, from Merritt's data, I have already cited two factors suggesting that feelings of American community on a "continental" scale did not emerge until the early 1770s: (a) composite American symbols experienced a tremendous boost in the last two years of Merritt's study, from 23.4 per cent in 1773 to 51.3 per cent in 1774 and 56.4 per cent in 1775 ; (b) the press did not begin identifying the domestic population as "Americans, at least in the majority of cases, until 1773.

Both these factors run counter to Merritt's contention that significant feelings of American community were manifest a full dozen years prior to the Declaration of Independence. Here at least are the foundations of a case that significant feelings of American community did not emerge until 1774 and 1775.

Unfortunately Merritt did not collect any data telling us to what extent the American colonists referred to themselves by reference to their locality of residence, their colony, or their region, not to mention ethnic-linguistic origin or religious persuasion. Therefore we have no way of determining whether any or all of these designations varied as American identifications varied.

As we have seen in Chapter seven, in BNA/Canada neither British nor pan-Canadian identifications were prominent in my list of "politically relevant" categories, pre-1867. Extracting British identifications and pan-Canadian identifications in my study and comparing the two (see Table 7 - 1), we get the following :

(TABLE 9 - 6)

Identifications of BNA/ Canada Inhabitants

<u>By Ref. to British Political Community</u>		<u>By Ref. to BNA/Canada</u>
1845.....	2.3	0.7
1850.....	5.9	2.7
1855.....	2.3	0.2
1860.....	4.6	1.3
1865.....	1.8	4.8
Pre-Con- federation Average	3.4	1.9
1870.....	2.2	22.1
1875.....	1.1	13.6
1880.....	0.0	16.8
1885.....	0.5	18.8
1890.....	0.4	15.7
1895.....	0.0	16.9
Post Con- federation Average	0.7	17.3

We might claim that the findings here are very close to those of Merritt. Like his survey regarding American

"continental" identifications mine did not detect BNA/Canadian identifications crossing that "imaginary 50 per cent line" until two years before our respective climactic events : the Declaration of Independence and Confederation. But for BNA this was the first time, whereas Merritt says "there were some three years before that date when the curve was above the 50 per cent level, and at least one year after 1773 when it was below the halfway mark". The BNA figure was less volatile - once above it stayed there increasingly. However, concentrating on the pre-1867 BNA scores, we find that British identifications outweighed BNA identifications in every year surveyed prior to 1865, usually to the tune of three to one, as in 1845 and 1860, i.e., 75 per cent British to 25 per cent British North American. In 1865 we get an about-face with BNA/Canadian identifications now almost three times the British.

In the case of BNA/Canada I found that pan-Canadian place names did not precede an increase in pan-Canadian identifications. Indeed they both increased, and at comparable rates, simultaneously. Here is further evidence that the actual formation of pan-Canadian governmental structures was needed to stimulate pan-Canadian feelings. This lends support to the frequent assertion by historians that there was little or no grass roots support for Confederation.

It can also be argued that there was really no convenient name by which the inhabitants of BNA/Canada could refer to themselves collectively before Confederation.

The label "British North Americans" is a rather clumsy, hybrid term, in fact almost a legal, technical designation. As for the people of Central Canada, there was nothing novel about calling oneself "Canadian" or "Canadien"; they had been doing so for decades. It was a mere matter of extension to apply the term "Canadian" to the whole of the inhabitants of the new Dominion. So use of the term came naturally to a good proportion of the population.

The manifold differences touched on above between Merritt's study and the one I have carried out on Canada underscore what the historians have pointed out all along -- the different nature and modes of development of Canadian and American nationalism. American nationalism was nurtured in an atmosphere of high drama, bitter confrontation, and violent conflict. Canadian nationalism has been a slower, more hesitant, more subdued growth. Canada, if she has not had nationhood thrust upon her, certainly had Confederation handed to her on a platter. However, it is important to remember that Canada did not assume the full panoply of a completely sovereign state, having control over her foreign policy, until the 1920s.

In the case of Canada it cannot be claimed that feelings of a national community preceded the creation of the state, as Merritt claims for the American colonies. It appears from Merritt's data, that American feelings of a common community were more intense, and their record of inter-attention more pronounced, a decade or more before they declared their independence than I have found it was for Canadians, even after Confederation.

Pan-Canadianism depended for its success upon the probabilities of grafting on to, or superimposing it upon, already well formed, more limited identities : French Canadian, Upper Canadian, Nova Scotian. Home colony place names in BNA/Canada were notably stronger than they were in the American colonies, and whereas the American tended to dwindle over the years preceding independence, the Canadian retained their strength with a vigorous constancy all through the 50 years surveyed. Provincial identities were not submerged or dwarfed by any development of a pan-Canadian feeling, which drew any increase in its strength mainly from a retreat from regionalism, or rather in the case of Central Canada in particular, from a substitution of national for regional orientation.

Nor was it a question, at least very much of a question, of separating the Canadians from the British. After all the two basic and organized groups, the French Canadians and the United Empire Loyalists, had been on this continent longer than or quite as long as the most inveterate Americans. The BNA/Canadians were quite conscious of their separateness from the British long before there was any appreciable pan-Canadian feeling; indeed, separate identities had been established before 1845, when this survey began. The problem after 1867 was that of fusing these separate, limited identities into the "new nationality".

We revert now to general theoretical considerations.

After studying the case of the Canadian "new nationality" it would seem that if we must choose between one of the two hypotheses which I outlined in Chapter one, the first embodying the political culture school of nation-building and political integration, the second the institutional or structural school, then my choice, as far as the Canadian case is concerned, must go to the structural school. Indeed, this is the main theoretical difference between my findings and those of Merritt. By predilection I leaned decidedly towards the cultural school, believing that a common fund of attitudes and values was necessary for successful nation-building, but this study has compelled me to de-emphasize substantially these leanings. In Canada we apparently have a case where it was not until the politicians had decided upon the nature and form of the embracing federal institutions that a nationalist sentiment was sparked, or rather an opportunity was given for a nationalist orientation to grow from flimsy beginnings.

Moreover, possibly too great a value consensus is not really necessary for the growth of a national feeling. It would seem to be a matter of balancing a variable cultural-value consensus with a corresponding, appropriate degree of benefits derived from the union. If the union pays off in terms of economic gains for the bulk of the citizenry, and wider politico-economic opportunities for the home-grown elite, then the degree of value consensus need be quite minimal for the union to survive. Just as European rulers of the 16th

and 17th centuries over-emphasized the need for religious conformity within their domains, so the political culture school tends to over-emphasize the need for value consensus within a state.

I began this thesis speaking in emotive language. I spoke of the patriotism, the loyalty, the feelings of identification of Canadians for the new Dominion. However, I discovered that Deutsch treads very softly, very warily, when it comes to attitudes and values. For Deutsch, as we have seen in Chapter two, the density of communications connotes or implies integration without necessitating any reference to values or affective disposition.

In nation-building theories it seems we might be well advised to think rather less in terms of value consensus, common attitudes and folkways, and more in terms of beneficial pay-offs not only for the ruling elite but for the majority within the state.

Footnotes : Chapter Nine

1. Louis Hartz, The Founding of New Societies : Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia (New York : Harcourt, Bruce and World, 1964), pp.3 - 65.
2. Ramsay Cook, "Nationalism or Portnoy's Complaint Revisited", South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol.69 (Winter 1970): pp.11 - 12 ; Carl Berger, The Sense of Power : Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867 - 1914 (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 259 - 261.
3. Richard L. Merritt, Symbols of American Community, 1735 - 1775 (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1966), p.84.
4. Ibid., p.86.
5. Ibid., p.182.
6. Ibid., p.44.
7. Ibid., p.45.
8. Ibid., p.203.
9. Ibid., p.92.
10. Ibid., p.93.
11. Ibid., pp.203 - 204.
12. Ibid., p.98.

13. Ibid., p.98.

14. The following figures give for each newspaper in the sample the percentage of its BNA/Canada place names which referred to provinces other than its own, and to places within those provinces. The figures are derived from Chapter six (Tables 6 -22, 6 - 23, 6 - 24, 6 - 25, and 6 - 26):

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Pre-1867</u>	<u>Post-1867</u>
<u>Novascotian / Halifax Chronicle</u>	33.9	30.0
<u>New Brunswick Courier / Saint</u>		
<u>John Telegraph</u>	38.9	37.7
<u>Le Canadien</u>	22.6	24.8
<u>La Minerve</u>	27.1	33.9
<u>Montreal Gazette</u>	40.7	41.5
<u>Ottawa Citizen</u>	29.6	35.4
<u>Toronto Globe</u>	27.9	29.4
<u>Nor'Wester / Manitoba Free Press</u>	28.8	34.4
<u>British Colonist</u>	1.3	18.8

15. R.L.Merritt, Op.cit., p. 102.

16. Ibid., p.281.

17. Ibid., p.204.

18. Ibid., p.215.

19. Ibid., p.215.

20. Ibid., p.130.

21. Ibid., p.131.

22. Ibid., p. 86.

APPENDICES

Appendix - 1

APPENDIX : CHAPTER SIX

The following tables show the percentage distribution of BNA/Canadian place names for each of the nine newspapers in the sample (Tables 6-27 to 6-35)

SIGNIFICANCE TESTS

Attached to each of the above tables is an additional table (they are labelled 6-27(a), 6-28(a), 6-29(a), 6-30(a), etc.) giving the percentage changes between each of the years sampled. If such percentage changes are asterisked it indicates that the percentage change is statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level for the relevant samples.

To determine the sample size an average was taken of the total place names to be distributed in the two years being compared.

W. Wilkos, "Confidence Limits and Critical Differences Between Percentages", Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940, pp. 332-338, provides a chart on p. 336 for determining critical differences in percentages. Chart II, on p. 336, shows the percentage differences for various sizes of sample which are statistically significant at the 0.01 level of probability.

APPENDIX : CHAPTER SIX Table 6 - 27

Basic Figures and Percentages for Each Newspaper in the Sample

THE NOVASCOTIAN / HALIFAX CHRONICLE									
TOTAL NUMBER OF		BNA/CANADA		PLACE		NAMES		DEVOTED TO (In Percentages) :	
Year	Own Locality	Rest of		Maritimes	Central Canada	The West	BNA/Canada	Total Absolute Number	
		Own Province	Rest of						
1845	20.27	47.34	14.13	16.78	0.17	1.33	603		
1850	21.52	41.77	23.58	9.41	0.00	3.64	632		
1855	22.73	48.30	16.19	10.23	0.00	2.56	352		
1860	18.28	55.38	18.82	6.27	0.18	1.08	553		
1865	5.89	36.30	23.37	30.40	0.31	3.72	967		
1870	15.94	46.58	6.32	16.74	3.93	10.76	483		
1875	24.52	24.52	17.10	19.68	0.97	13.23	310		
1880	14.25	43.49	9.82	14.999	2.21	15.23	407		
1885	31.44	21.70	10.55	14.00	7.51	14.81	493		
1890	22.82	32.74	13.40	13.68	1.58	15.67	504		
1895	20.32	36.80	7.52	19.36	5.12	10.08	625		

* Includes Maritimes referred to as an entity

Table 6 - 27 (Continued)

SUBDIVISION OF THE NOVA SCOTIAN / HALIFAX CHRONICLE'S MARITIMES									
AND CENTRAL CANADA PLACE NAMES (In Percentages)									
Year	New Brunswick	P.E.I.	Nfld.	Maritimes as Entity	Total Maritimes	Upper/Can. Ontario	Lower Can. Quebec	United Colony	Total Central Canada
1845	12.96	0.50	0.17	0.50	14.13	1.99	7.81	6.98	16.78
1850	12.66	5.70	4.11	1.11	23.58	0.95	5.06	3.40	9.41
1855	10.80	1.70	3.69	0.00	16.19	2.27	2.56	5.40	10.23
1860	8.96	3.05	5.73	1.08	18.82	0.90	2.50	2.87	6.27
1865	12.51	3.72	3.19	4.03	23.37	5.79	8.58	16.03	30.40
1870	2.69	2.07	1.65	0.41	6.82	7.94	3.31	5.59	16.74
1875	12.90	3.55	10.40	0.65	17.10	7.10	11.93	0.65	19.68
1880	4.67	1.47	2.70	0.98	9.82	12.53	2.21	0.25	14.99
1885	5.48	2.03	0.61	2.43	10.55	7.51	5.48	1.01	14.00
1890	8.93	1.59	1.59	1.39	1.40	8.33	4.56	0.79	13.68
1895	4.00	1.76	0.80	0.96	7.52	10.88	8.32	0.16	19.36

DISTRIBUTION OF BNA/CANADA PLACE NAMES

Percentage Change Between Years Sampled (Those percentages

with an asterisk are statistically significant for the given size of sample at the 0.01 level of probability)

Year	Locality	Rest of Province	Rest of M'timos	Upper Canada	Lower Canada	United Colony	Total		The West	BNA/ Canada	Sample Size
							Central Canada				
1850	+1.25	-5.57	+9.45	-1.04	-2.75	-3.58	-7.27	-0.17	+2.31	618	
1855	+1.21	+6.53	-7.39	+1.32	-2.50	+2.00	+0.82	-0.00	-1.08	494	
1860	-4.45	+7.08	+2.63	-1.37	-0.06	-2.53	-3.96	+0.18	-1.48	455	
1865	-12.39*	-19.08*	+4.55	+4.89	+6.08	+13.16*+24.13*	+0.13	+2.64	763		
1870	+10.05*	+10.28*	-16.55*	+2.05	-5.27	-10.44*	-13.66*	+3.62	+7.04	725	
1875	+8.60	-22.06*	+10.28	-0.74	+8.62	-4.94	+2.94	-2.96	+2.47	396	
1880	-10.27	+18.97*	-7.28	+5.43	-9.72	-0.40	-4.69	+1.24	+2.00	358	
1885	+17.19*	-21.79*	+0.73	-5.02	+3.27	+0.76	+0.99	+5.30	-0.41	450	
1890	-8.62	+11.04	+2.85	0.82	-0.92	-0.22	-0.32	-5.93	0.86	498	
1895	-2.50	4.06	-5.88	2.55	3.76	-0.63	5.68	3.54	-5.59	564	

For sample sizes varying from 358 to 763, as above, percentage differences ranging from 14% (for the lowest sample) to 10% (for the highest sample) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level.

Table 6 - 28

NEW BRUNSWICK COURIER/ SAINT JOHN TELEGRAPH

TOTAL NUMBER OF BNA/CANADA				PLACE	NAMES	DEVOTED	TO :	
Year	Own Locality	(In Percentages)			Total Central Canada	The West	BNA/Canada	Total Absolute Numbers
		Rest of Own Province	Rest of Maritime times	Rest of				
1845	33.55	31.25	19.73	9.50	0.33	2.63	306	
1850	17.69	53.54	16.27	10.15	0.94	1.42	424	
1855	30.77	37.04	10.26	21.08	0.00	0.85	351	
1860	19.41	29.79	29.70	15.88	0.88	4.41	340	
1865	11.58	25.75	27.89	31.75	0.00	3.00	233	
1870	30.00	35.60	9.60	16.40	0.40	8.00	250	
1875	15.62	26.10	26.99	21.38	1.51	8.34	659	
1880	27.91	38.74	12.69	12.17	2.87	5.58	591	
1885	18.22	31.43	21.18	11.16	0.42	9.56	439	
1890	26.06	29.25	14.71	18.61	4.43	6.91	564	
1895	19.47	25.28	17.79	14.60	9.92	12.92	534	

Table 6 - 28 (continued)

SUBDIVISION OF THE NEW BRUNSWICK COURIER/SAINT JOHN TELEGRAPH'S

Year	MARITIMES AND CENTRAL CANADA				PLACE NAMES (In Percentages)			Total Central Canada	
	Nova Scotia	P.E.I	Nfld. as Entity	Maritimes	Total Maritimes	Upper Can./ Ontario	Lower Can./ Quebec		United Colony
1845	19.07	0.33	0.33	0.0	19.73	0.99	1.93	6.58	9.50
1850	14.15	0.47	1.18	0.47	16.27	0.71	5.90	3.54	10.15
1855	7.98	1.14	1.14	0.00	10.26	3.13	4.56	13.39	21.08
1860	17.65	7.94	3.82	0.29	29.70	0.59	4.41	10.88	15.88
1865	17.59	3.86	5.57	0.85	27.89	4.29	8.15	19.31	31.75
1870	5.60	2.40	0.00	1.60	9.60	7.20	7.60	1.60	16.40
1875	20.94	1.66	0.60	3.79	26.99	10.47	9.25	1.66	21.38
1880	8.29	1.18	0.33	2.87	12.69	6.76	5.41	0.00	12.17
1885	14.57	3.87	0.91	1.82	21.18	7.28	3.41	0.45	11.16
1890	12.94	0.35	0.88	0.53	14.71	10.28	8.15	0.17	18.61
1895	13.85	1.31	0.93	1.68	17.79	10.11	4.49	0.00	14.60

TABLE 6 - 28(a)

NEW BRUNSWICK COURIER / ST. JOHN TELEGRAPH

DISTRIBUTION OF BNA/CANADA PLACE NAMES

Year	Percentage Change Between Years Sampled					Total Central Canada	The West	BNA/Canada	Sample Size
	Own Locality	Rest of Province	Rest of M'times	Upper Canada	Lower Canada	United Colony			
1850	-15.86*	22.29*	-3.46	-0.28	3.97	-3.04	0.65	-1.21	365
1855	13.07	-16.50*	-6.01	2.42	-1.34	9.85	10.93	-0.94	387
1860	-11.36	-7.25	19.44*	-2.54	-0.15	-2.51	-5.20	0.88	345
1865	7.83	-4.04	-1.81	3.70	3.74	8.43	15.87*	-0.88	286
1870	18.52*	9.85	-18.29*	2.91	-0.55	-17.71*	-15.35	0.40	241
1875	-14.38*	-9.50	17.39*	3.27	1.65	0.06	4.98	1.11	454
1880	12.29*	12.64*	-24.30*	-3.71	-3.84	-1.66	-9.21	1.36	625
1885	-9.69	-7.31	8.49	0.52	-2.00	0.45	-1.03	6.55	515
1890	7.84	-2.18	-6.47	3.00	4.74	0.28	7.46	-3.99	501
1895	-6.59	-3.97	3.08	-0.17	-3.66	-0.17	-4.00	5.49	549

* Indicates the percentage changes which are statistically significant compared with the previous year's percentage for the given size of sample.

For sample sizes varying from 241 to 625, as above, percentage differences ranging from 18% (for the lowest sample) to 11% (for the highest sample) are statistically significant at the 0.01 level of probability.

Table 6 - 29

LE CANADIEN

TOTAL NUMBER OF BNA/CANADA PLACE NAMES DEVOTED TO :								
Year	Own Locality	Rest of Province	(In Percentages)					Total Absolute Numbers
			Own Region	Upper Canada	M'times	The West	BNA/Canada	
1845	25.81	38.25	10.60	7.37	7.37	10.60	0.00	217
1850	33.87	28.06	11.94	16.13	8.39	0.00	1.61	312
1855	22.94	52.35	12.94	11.18	0.59	0.00	0.00	170
1860	26.25	36.67	16.67	10.42	7.52	0.00	2.50	240
1865	22.31	31.87	11.15	18.73	13.55	0.80	1.59	252
1870	18.60	40.50	2.07	12.40	5.37	3.30	17.77	242
1875	25.84	47.75	1.69	9.55	5.62	3.37	6.18	178
1880	24.89	34.33	0.00	12.88	8.58	4.72	14.59	233
1885	21.12	32.67	0.40	12.35	7.97	12.35	13.15	251
1890	22.68	30.29	0.00	13.66	9.02	5.12	11.22	410
1895	15.49	54.07	0.00	7.87	6.82	6.56	9.19	381

TABLE 6 - 29(a)

LE CANADIEN

DISTRIBUTION OF BNA/CANADA PLACE NAMES								
Year	PERCENTAGE CHANGE			BETWEEN YEARS		SAMPLED		Size of Sample
	Own Locality	Rest of Own Province	Own Region	Upper/Canada-Ontario	Maritimes	The West	BNA/Canada	
1850	+8.06	-10.19	+1.34	+8.76	+1.02	-10.60	+1.61	264
1855	-10.93	+24.29*	+1.00	-4.95	-7.90	0.0	-1.61	240
1860	+3.31	-15.68	+3.73	-0.76	+6.93	0.0	+2.50	205
1865	+3.94	+4.80	-5.52	+8.31	+6.03	+0.80	-0.91	245
1870	-3.71	+8.63	-9.08	-6.33	-8.18	+2.50	+16.18*	246
1875	+7.24	+7.25	-0.38	-2.85	+0.25	+0.07	-11.59	210
1880	-0.95	-13.42	-1.69	+3.33	+2.96	+1.35	+8.41	205
1885	-3.77	-1.66	+0.40	-0.53	-0.61	+7.63	-1.44	242
1890	+1.56	-2.38	-0.40	+1.31	+1.05	-7.23	+1.93	330
1895	-7.19	+23.78*	0.00	-5.79	-2.20	-0.56	+2.03	395

For sample sizes varying from 205 to 395, as is the case above, percentage differences ranging from 18 per cent (for the smaller samples) - to 13½ per cent are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level.

Table 6 - 30

LA MINERVE

<u>TOTAL NUMBER OF BNA/CANADA</u>									<u>DETECTED TO :</u>	
<u>Year</u>	<u>(In Percentages)</u>								<u>Total Absolute Numbers</u>	
	<u>Own Locality</u>	<u>Rest of Province</u>	<u>Own Region</u>	<u>Upper Canada</u>	<u>Mari- times</u>	<u>The West</u>	<u>BNA/ Canada</u>			
1845	13.30	44.69	11.17	21.51	8.94	0.28	0.28	358		
1850	27.18	29.94	13.54	23.99	4.25	0.00	1.06	471		
1855	24.19	39.68	16.13	18.39	0.97	0.32	0.32	312		
1860	43.22	23.31	10.17	18.22	5.08	0.00	0.00	236		
1865	18.95	21.40	24.91	11.22	21.75	0.35	1.40	285		
1870	8.00	34.74	2.74	42.74	4.63	1.05	6.11	475		
1875	27.19	30.51	0.00	15.93	12.54	9.15	4.75	295		
1880	30.71	29.59	0.00	19.10	7.49	7.88	5.24	267		
1885	22.59	21.93	0.00	17.28	6.64	20.60	10.96	301		
1890	39.18	34.36	0.00	9.97	2.41	3.09	11.00	291		
1895	31.70	37.11	0.00	11.60	3.35	8.00	8.25	388		

TABLE 6 - 30(a)

LA MINERVE					DISTRIBUTION OF BNA/CANADA PLACE NAMES		
Year	PERCENTAGE CHANGES		BETWEEN YEARS		SAMPLED		
	Own Locality	Rest of Own Province	Own Region	Upper Canada/Ont.			Maritime
1850	14.05*	-14.75	2.37	2.48	-4.69	-0.28	
1855	-2.99	9.74	2.59	-5.60*	-3.28	0.32	
1860	19.03*	-16.37	-5.96	-0.17	4.11	-0.32	
1865	-24.27	-1.91	14.74	-7.00	16.67	0.35	
1870	-10.95	13.34	-22.17*	31.52 *	-17.12	0.70	
1875	19.19*	-4.23	-2.74	26.81*	7.91	8.10	
1880	3.52	-0.92	0.00	3.17	-5.05	-1.27	
1885	-8.12	-7.66	0.00	-1.82	-0.85	12.72	
1890	16.59	12.43	0.00	-7.31	-4.23	-17.51	
1895	-7.48	2.75	0.00	1.63	0.94	4.91	

For sample sizes varying from 260 to 414, percentage differences ranging from 16½% (for the smaller samples) to 13½% (for the bigger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level.

THE MONTREAL GAZETTE Table 6 - 31

Year	TOTAL NUMBER OF BNA/CANADA PLACE NAMES DEVOTED TO :							
	(In Percentages)				The West	BNA/ Canada	Total Absolute Numbers	
	Own Locality	Rest of Province	Own Region	Upper Canada				
1845	13.84	30.50	12.89	28.30	11.95	0.63	1.89	319
1850	19.03	23.88	11.76	32.87	10.38	0.00	2.08	289
1855	13.06	14.33	38.22	33.44	00.32	0.00	0.64	315
1860	23.82	30.37	15.71	18.06	10.78	0.26	1.05	382
1865	20.41	18.58	19.49	16.28	21.79	0.23	3.21	436
1870	15.61	20.10	0.66	26.91	18.60	3.16	14.95	602
1875	32.14	27.83	0.18	23.16	8.44	0.54	7.71	557
1880	23.06	13.08	0.66	24.17	15.96	10.64	12.42	451
1885	21.62	16.18	0.00	17.77	4.77	14.59	25.07	754
1890	24.86	21.70	0.00	17.67	12.07	9.20	14.51	696
1895	25.61	18.16	0.00	19.56	11.76	10.01	14.90	859

MONTREAL GAZETTE

TABLE 6 - 31(a)

DISTRIBUTION OF BNA/CANADA		PLACE NAMES						
PERCENTAGE CHANGE BETWEEN YEARS		SAMPLED						
Year	Locality	Rest of Province	Own Region	Upper Canada/Ont	Maritimes	The West	BNA/Canada	Size of Sample
1850	5.19	-6.62	-1.13	4.57	-1.57	-0.63	0.19	304
1855	-5.97	-9.55	26.46*	0.57	-10.06	0.00	-1.44	302
1860	10.76	16.04*	-22.51*	-15.38*	10.41	0.26	0.41	348
1865	-3.41	-11.79	3.78	-1.78	11.06	-0.03	2.16	409
1870	-4.80	1.52	-18.83*	10.63	-3.19	2.93	11.74*	519
1875	-16.53*	7.73	-0.48	-3.75	-10.16	2.62	-7.24	578
1880	-9.08	-14.75*	0.48	1.10	7.52	10.10	4.71	504
1885	-1.44	3.10	-0.66	-6.40	-11.19	3.95	12.65*	602
1890	3.24	5.52	0.00	-0.10	7.30	-5.39	10.56*	720
1895	0.75	-3.54	0.00	1.90	-0.31	0.81	-0.39	777

For sample sizes varying from 302 to 777, as above, percentage

differences ranging from 15% (for the smaller samples) to 10% (for the

larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level.

Table 6 - 32

BYTOWN PACKET / OTTAWA CITIZEN

TOTAL NUMBER OF BNA/CANADA PLACE NAMES DEVOTED TO :

(In Percentages)

Year	Own Locality	Rest of Province	Own Region	Lower Canada	Maritimes	The West	BNA/Canada	Total Absolute Numbers
1845	19.22	37.25	16.86	22.35	3.53	0.39	0.39	255
1850	14.53	38.41	16.09	23.70	5.02	0.52	1.73	578
1855	29.17	30.77	16.67	21.79	0.32	0.32	0.96	314
1860	38.46	18.04	12.20	17.24	13.53	0.53	0.00	377
1865	27.82	11.30	13.04	24.35	13.91	0.00	9.56	115
1870	24.66	25.34	0.34	18.15	8.56	7.53	15.41	292
1875	15.87	30.84	0.23	21.32	15.87	3.85	12.02	441
1880	20.21	27.93	0.00	15.43	11.10	7.45	14.89	376
1885	27.16	12.84	0.25	19.26	7.41	11.85	21.23	405
1890	32.95	22.54	0.00	11.56	7.80	9.25	15.90	346
1895	26.40	25.60	0.96	13.76	12.16	6.72	14.40	625

TABLE 6 - 32 (a)

TABLE 6 - 32 (a)									
BYTOWN		PACKET/ OTTAWA		CITIZEN		PLACE		NAMES	
DISTRIBUTION OF BNA/CANADA YEARS SAMPLED									
PERCENTAGES CHANGE BETWEEN									
The									
West									
Canada									
Size of									
Sample									
Year	Locality	Rest of Province	Own Region	Lower Canada	Maritimes	Years	Sampled	BNA/Canada	Size of Sample
1850	-4.69	1.16	-0.77	1.35	1.49	0.13	1.34	1.34	416
1855	14.64*	-7.64	0.58	-1.91	-4.70	-0.20	-0.77	-0.77	446
1860	9.29	-12.73	-4.47	-4.55	13.21	0.21	-0.96	-0.96	344
1865	-10.64	-6.74	0.84	7.11	0.38	-0.53	9.56	9.56	246
1870	-3.16	11.04	-12.70	-6.20	-5.35	7.53	5.85	5.85	203
1875	-8.79	5.50	-0.11	3.17	7.31	-3.68	-3.39	-3.39	366
1880	4.34	-2.91	-0.23	-5.89	-1.77	3.60	2.87	2.87	408
1885	6.95	-15.09*	0.25	3.83	-6.69	4.40	7.34	7.34	390
1890	5.79	9.70	-0.25	-7.70	0.39	-2.60	-5.33	-5.33	375
1895	-6.55	3.06	0.96	2.20	4.36	-2.53	-1.50	-1.50	485

Table 6 - 23

THE TORONTO GLOBE

Year	Own Locality	(In Percentages)					The West	BNA/Canada	Total Absolute Numbers
		Rest of Province	Own Region	Lower Canada	Maritimes	NAMES DEVOTED TO :			
1845	13.15	37.85	20.22	19.72	6.18	0.6	2.19	503	
1850	11.13	34.55	17.94	24.75	9.63	0.0	2.00	604	
1855	31.69	34.27	17.84	13.62	2.11	0.0	0.47	427	
1860	19.17	34.02	16.41	16.06	8.64	5.01	0.69	579	
1865	12.97	25.12	24.79	9.69	9.36	17.29	3.78	609	
1870	13.33	27.00	1.00	17.17	8.00	14.50	19.03	600	
1875	13.27	42.82	0.68	14.36	14.09	6.57	8.21	731	
1880	21.21	32.48	0.41	10.76	8.61	11.37	15.06	976	
1885	13.23	40.52	0.00	9.18	6.79	7.87	22.41	839	
1890	20.50	43.11	0.00	7.10	4.73	10.06	14.41	805	
1895	20.96	40.70	0.00	8.38	7.77	9.20	12.99	978	

TABLE 6 - 33 (a)

THE TORONTO GLOBE

DISTRIBUTION OF BNA/CANADA PLACE NAMES

Year	Percentage Change Between Years Sampled							Size of Sample
	Locality	Rest of Province	Owm Region	Lower Canada	Maritimes	The West	BNA/Canada	
1850	-2.02	-3.30	-2.38	5.03	3.45	-0.6	-0.19	553
1855	20.56*	-0.28	-0.10	-11.13	-7.52	0.00	-1.53	515
1860	-12.52*	-0.25	-1.43	2.44	6.53	5.01	-0.22	503
1865	-6.20	-8.90	8.38	-6.37	0.74	13.28*	3.09	594
1870	0.36	8.88	-23.79*	7.48	-1.36	-2.79	15.22*	604
1875	-0.06	15.82*	-0.32	-2.81	6.09	-7.93	-10.79	665
1880	7.94	-10.34	-0.27	-3.60	-5.48	5.80	6.85	853
1885	-7.98	8.04	-0.41	-1.58	-1.82	-3.50	7.35	907
1890	7.27	2.59	0.00	-2.18	-2.06	2.19	-8.00	822
1895	0.46	-2.41	0.00	1.38	3.04	-0.86	-1.42	891

For sample sizes varying from 503 to 907, as above, percentage differences ranging from 12 (for the smaller samples) to 9 per cent (for the bigger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level.

NOR'WESTER/

Table 6 - 34

THE MANITOBA FREE PRESS

TOTAL NUMBER OF BNA/CANADA PLACE NAMES DEVOTED TO :

(In Percentages)

Year	Own Locality	Rest of Province	N.W.T.	British Columbia	Upper Canada	Lower Canada	United Colony	M'times	BNA/Canada	Total Absolute Numbers
1860	13.91	58.65	5.26	6.60	2.26	7.90	4.89	0.0	0.75	266
1865	9.03	19.35	21.29	3.87	3.23	3.87	30.97	3.22	5.16	155
1870	16.95	30.51	9.32	0.42	8.47	4.66	4.24	3.39	22.03	236
1875	31.72	27.59	2.06	0.00	16.55	5.21	2.07	2.07	11.72	145
1880	23.05	38.64	2.71	2.71	11.19	5.08	1.69	5.09	9.83	295
1885	19.22	26.99	12.04	1.94	13.40	7.96	0.98	5.05	12.43	515
1890	16.03	34.42	11.70	3.79	13.76	5.20	0.21	5.42	9.53	923
1895	16.13	27.59	15.06	4.28	16.23	7.09	0.39	3.79	8.55	1,029

Table 6 - 34(a)

DISTRIBUTION OF BNA/CANADA PLACE NAMES

Percentage Change Between Years Sampled

Year	Locality	Rest of O'm Province	N.W.T.	B.C.	Upper Canada	Lower Canada	United Colony	Maritimes	BNA/ Canada	Sample Size
1865	-4.88	-39.30*	16.03	-2.73	0.97	-4.03	26.08*	3.22	4.41	210
1870	7.92	11.16	-11.97	-3.45	5.24	0.69	-26.73*	0.17	16.87	196
1875	14.77	-2.92	-7.26	-0.42	8.08	0.55	-2.17	-1.32	-10.31	190
1880	-8.67	11.05	0.65	2.71	-5.36	-0.13	-0.38	3.01	-1.89	220
1885	-3.83	-11.65	9.33	-0.77	2.21	2.88	-0.71	-0.03	2.60	405
1890	-3.19	7.43	-0.34	1.85	0.36	-2.76	-0.77	0.37	-2.90	719
1895	0.10	-6.83	0.49	0.49	2.47	1.89	0.18	1.63	-0.98	976

608

For sample sizes varying from 190 to 976, as above, percentage differences ranging from 18% (for the smaller samples) to 9% (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level.

THE BRITISH COLONIST (VICTORIA, B.C.) Table 6-35

TOTAL NUMBER OF BNA/CANADA PLACES DEVOTED TO :												
Year	(In Percentages)											Total Absolute Numbers
	Own Locality	Own Province	Upper Canada	Lower Canada	United Colony	NWT	Mani- toba	The West	The East	Mari- times	BNA/ Canada	
1860	38.39	60.71	0.0	0.89	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	112
1865	44.14	53.15	1.80	0.00	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	111
1870	20.11	44.02	3.26	0.54	0.0	5.43	0.0	0.0	1.09	1.09	23.91	184
1875	30.83	43.68	4.94	1.58	1.58	0.0	0.59	0.2	0.2	1.19	15.42	506
1880	40.97	34.03	6.25	3.47	0.0	1.39	0.69	0.0	0.0	1.39	11.81	144
1885	35.40	27.71	12.92	5.92	0.39	4.14	2.37	0.0	0.59	2.86	7.89	1,014
1890	35.01	31.20	13.17	3.81	0.0	1.56	3.29	0.0	1.21	2.25	8.49	577
1895	31.51	28.39	10.42	5.47	0.0	1.56	7.29	0.26	0.26	3.65	11.20	384

THE BRITISH COLONIST (VICTORIA, B.C.) TABLE 6-35(a)

DISTRIBUTION OF BNA/CANADA PLACE NAMES

Year	Locality	Percentage Change Between Years Sampled						The M' BNA/ Sample		
		Rest of B.C.	Upper Canada	Lower Canada	United Colony	N.W.T.	M' TOBA West East times Canada Size	Sample Size		
1865	5.75	7.56	1.80	-0.89	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	111
1870	-24.03*	-9.13	1.46	0.54	-0.9	5.43	0.0	0.0	1.09	23.91* 147
1875	10.72*	-0.34	1.68	1.04	1.58	-5.43	0.59	0.2	-0.89	0.10 8.49 345
1880	10.14	-9.65	1.31	1.89	-1.58	1.39	0.10	-0.2	-0.20	0.20 -3.61 325
1885	-5.47	-6.32	6.67	2.45	0.39	2.75	1.68	0.0	0.59	1.47 -3.92 574
1890	-0.39	3.49	0.26	-2.11	-0.39	-2.58	0.92	0.0	0.62	-0.61 0.60 795
1895	-3.50	-2.81	-2.75	1.66	0.00	0.00	4.00	0.26	-0.95	1.40 2.71 480

For sample sizes varying from 111 to 795, as above, percentage differences ranging from 25% (for the smaller samples) to 92% (for the larger samples) are statistically significant at the 0.01 probability level.

GRAPHS * CHAPTER SIX

OVERALL AVERAGE REFERENCES TO HOME PROVINCE AND
BNA/CANADA

FIG. 6-1

REFERENCES TO UPPER CANADA/ONTARIO AND LOWER CANADA/QUEBEC

BY PAPERS IN OTHER PROVINCES

FIG. 6-2

FIG. 6-3

REFERENCES TO THE MARITIMES AND THE WEST BY PAPERS

IN OTHER REGIONS.

OVERALL AVERAGE OF BNA/CANADIAN SYMBOLS: DIVISION BETWEEN HOME PROVINCE,

OWN REGION AND REST-OF-COUNTRY (i.e. BNA/CANADA as a unit, and references to other regions) Fig. 6-4

Home Province (Provincial entity symbols + all other place names in province including own localities)

Rest-of-Country
(BNA entity symbols + place names in all other regions other than own)

Own Region (Regional entity symbols + all other place names in own regions outside own provinces)

NOVASCOTIAN/HALIPAX
FERNIEG CHRONICLE

BNA/CANADIAN SYMBOLS DEVOTED TO HOME PROVINCE, OWN REGION,
AND REST-OF-COUNTRY

FIG. 6-5

Home Province (Provincial entity symbols + all
other place names in province
including own localities)

(BNA entity symbols plus place names
in all regions other than own)

Rest-of-Country

Own Region (Maritimes) (Regional entity symbols
+ all other place names in own
region outside own province)

FIGURE 6 - 8

LA MINERVE : BNA / CANADIAN PLACE NAMES DEVOTED TO HOME PROVINCE, OWN REGION, and

REST-OF-COUNTRY

MONTREAL GAZETTE : BNA / CANADIAN PLACE NAMES DEVOTED TO FIGURE 6 - 9

HOME PROVINCE, OMN REGION, and REST-OF-COUNTRY

FIGURE 6 -10

: BNA / CANADIAN PLACE NAMES DEVOTED TO

BYTOWN PACYET / OTTAWA CITIZEN

HQEE PROVINCE, OWN REGION, and REST-OF-COUNTRY

FIGURE 6 - 11

THE TORONTO GLOBE : BNA / CANADIAN PLACE NAMES DEVOTED TO HOME PROVINCE,

OWN REGION, and REST-OF-COUNTRY

NORWESTER / MANITOBA FREE PRESS

FIGURE 6 - 12

BNA / CANADA PLACE NAMES DEVOTED TO HOME
PROVINCE, OWN REGION, and REST-of-COUNTRY

THE BRITISH COLONIST

FIGURE 6 - 13

Appendix - 2

INTRA - CODER RELIABILITY TEST

To test the accuracy or reliability of my original coding I did a recount of five per cent of the sample. The 14 newspapers which made up this five per cent (279 newspapers were coded) were chosen by means of random numbers.

The newspapers selected in this fashion were coded exactly as in the original manner described in Chapter three. The place name count was carried out according to the categories listed in Chapter three, Appendix 1, the group identification count according to the grid shown in Chapter three, Appendix 3, and in the images count (images of the United States, Great Britain and France) I again utilized the grid depicted in Chapter three, Appendix 4.

In the images count all three newspapers in the original sample for every year in which a randomly chosen newspaper happened to occur had to be counted, as I had not distinguished between the individual three copies per newspaper in my original count but had lumped them all together by the year. Thus in the image count 39 newspapers of the original sample, i.e. 14 per cent, were recoded (two of the newspapers chosen by means of random numbers happened to be copies of the same newspaper in the same year, the Toronto Globe for 1880) .

Having completed the recount I calculated the reliability coefficient between the two counts, using a formula referred to by Holsti as "one widely accepted" [see Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1966), p.68]:

$$\text{Coefficient of Reliability} = \frac{2 (C_{1,2})}{C_1 + C_2}$$

Where,

$C_{1,2}$ = The agreements between the first count and the recoding count.

C_1 = The number recorded by the first count.

C_2 = The number recorded by the second count.

The coefficient of reliability was calculated for each individual category (e.g., in the place name count : local, provincial, regional ,etc.) for each newspaper issue recoded, and then overall for the whole of the place name categories for each paper. The same was done for the group identification count, and finally for the images count of the United States, Britain and France.

The overall coefficients of reliability for each newspaper were :

(a) Place Name Count

<u>The Novascotian</u> , August 18, 1845.....	0.87
<u>The Halifax Chronicle</u> , November 24, 1875.....	0.90
<u>The New Brunswick Courier</u> , March 24, 1855.....	0.86
<u>The Saint John Daily Telegraph</u> , March 15, 1895...	0.95
<u>The Saint John Daily Telegraph</u> , March 11, 1875...	0.93
<u>Le Canadien</u> , March 24, 1865.....	0.92
<u>La Minerve</u> , August 11, 1860.....	0.96
<u>La Minerve</u> , August 16, 1875.....	0.93
<u>La Minerve</u> , August 19, 1890.....	0.92
<u>The Toronto Globe</u> , March 22, 1855.....	0.84
<u>The Toronto Globe</u> , March 24, 1880.....	0.88
<u>The Toronto Globe</u> , November 2, 1880.....	0.91
<u>The Weekly British Colonist</u> , March 17, 1875...	0.94
<u>The Daily British Colonist</u> , August 18, 1880....	0.89

Average for the 14 newspapers... 0.91

(b) Identification of Inhabitants

<u>The Novascotian</u> , August 18, 1845.....	0.82
<u>The Halifax Chronicle</u> , November 24, 1875.....	0.78
<u>The New Brunswick Courier</u> , March 24, 1855....	0.80
<u>The Saint John Daily Telegraph</u> , March 15, 1895..	0.92
<u>Le Canadien</u> , March 24, 1865.....	0.87
<u>La Minerve</u> , August 11, 1860.....	0.89
<u>La Minerve</u> , August 16, 1875.....	0.82
<u>The Toronto Globe</u> , March 22, 1855.....	0.83
<u>The Toronto Globe</u> , March 24, 1880.....	0.82
<u>The Toronto Globe</u> , November 2, 1880.....	0.86
<u>The Weekly British Colonist</u> , March 17, 1875..	0.84
<u>The Daily British Colonist</u> , August 18, 1880...	0.87
<u>La Minerve</u> , August 19, 1890.....	0.89

Average for the 14 newspapers.....	0.85
------------------------------------	------

(c) Images of the United States, Great Britain
and France

<u>The Novascotian, 1845.....</u>	0.91
<u>The Halifax Chronicle, 1875.....</u>	0.87
<u>The New Brunswick Courier, 1855.....</u>	0.78
<u>The Saint John Telegraph, 1875.....</u>	0.76
<u>The Saint John Telegraph, 1895.....</u>	0.84
<u>Le Canadien, 1865.....</u>	0.90
<u>La Minerve, 1860.....</u>	0.85
<u>La Minerve, 1875</u>	0.72
<u>La Minerve, 1890.....</u>	0.87
<u>The Toronto Globe, 1855.....</u>	0.79
<u>The Toronto Globe, 1880.....</u>	0.86
<u>The Weekly British Colonist, 1875.....</u>	0.82
<u>The Daily British Colonist, 1880.....</u>	0.80
<hr/>	
Average for the 13 years.....	0.83
<hr/>	

It will be seen that the degree of correspondence was highest in the place name count, an average of 91 per cent for the sample as a whole. This was the simplest of the three counts (place name, identification and images) undertaken, presenting few problems other than those imposed by the monotonous, mechanical and meticulous nature of the task. Although much may be attained by application and discipline man is not essentially a counting machine.

The counting of identifications was somewhat less straightforward. It involved the counting of adjectives as well as nouns, and some identifications had to be counted twice, i.e., slotted into two categories, for instance British North American was both a mode of identification with reference to the British political community, and with reference to BNA/Canada as an entity. Appropriately enough the sample's overall coefficient of reliability was somewhat less than in the place name count.

Finally, the image count rested very much on personal judgment, dealing as it did with the classification of items, articles and stories into positive, neutral and negative -- no easy task at the margins where one's own predilections, biases and prejudices come very much into play. These latter difficulties, however, were minimized by the fact that the same coder, myself, carried out the entire survey. Therefore a greater degree of correspondence might be expected than amongst two or a diversity of coders.

The question of an acceptable degree of correspondence between the two counts is an open one. Ole Holsti in Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities writes :

Defining an acceptable level of reliability is one of the many problems in content analysis for which there is no single solution. The question which can only be answered within the context of a given research problem, sometimes poses real dilemmas for the investigator. That high reliability can be achieved for simple forms of content analysis, in which coding is essentially a mechanical task, is amply documented in the literature. Conversely, as categories and units of analysis become more complex, they may yield results that are both more useful and less reliable Thus in formulating research design the analyst may be forced to strike some balance between reliability and relevance of categories and units ; the coefficients of reliability cannot be the sole criterion for making such decisions. (Page 142)

Richard W. Budd in Content Analysis of Communications writes :

In the test- retest method, the same test is used twice on the same population; if the order of the scores of subjects does not change appreciably from one test to the next, reliability (stability) has been established

How high must the coder's percentage be to qualify his work as reliable ? There is no level generally agreed upon The analyst must decide what level of agreement -- that is of reliability -- is satisfactory to him and should state in his report how he carried out his reliability tests and what the results were.

(Page 67)

In The Prestige Press : A Comparative Study of Political Symbols, Ithiel de Sola Pool writes : "Reliabilities (subject of inter-coder reliabilities) in content analysis

seldom run over 90 percent (sic). Reliabilities between 70 and 80 percent (sic) are quite usable where the error is not systematic on the topic in question."

It would seem therefore that if inter-coder reliabilities of the order of 70 to 80 per cent are "quite usable" then one might optimistically pitch the degree of intra-coder reliability somewhat higher, at say between 80 and 90 per cent, with the simpler, more mechanical enumerations at the upper end of these percentages, and the more difficult, more discretionary at the lower end.

Appendix - 3

EXTENDED SAMPLE TEST

In order to test the validity of my original sample of three copies per year surveyed for each of the nine newspapers, I drew a larger sample of the Montreal Gazette for the three years 1860, 1865, and 1870.

This larger sample consisted of ten copies for each of these three years of the Gazette, drawn by means of random numbers. I coded the 30 issues thus drawn exactly in the same manner as the original sample, i.e., according to the scheme set forth in Chapter three and its appendices.

The dates drawn for 1860 were : January 13, February 21, March 12, May 16, June 13, June 22, August 15, October 1, November 2, and November 27.

The dates drawn for 1865 were January 7, January 17, February 9, April 1, April 25, May 11, July 4, July 22, October 11, and December 14.

For 1870 the dates were January 6, February 12, March 21, April 8, June 8, August 13, September 26, October 20, November 23, and December 7.

Table A

OVERALL DISTRIBUTION OF PLACE NAMES FOR THE MONTREAL GAZETTE

Year	(In Percentages)			
	BNA/Canada	British	U.S.A.	Other
1860				
Original Sample (Three Copies)	62.5	12.3	13.9	12.6
Extended Sample (Ten Copies)	58.2	12.4	17.3	12.5
1865				
Original Sample (Three Copies)	38.6	10.3	29.4	15.4
Extended Sample (Ten copies)	39.6	13.4	32.8	14.2
1870				
Original Sample (Three copies)	47.2	14.7	11.0	27.7
Extended Sample (Ten copies)	50.2	16.9	12.6	20.3

Table B

		MONTREAL GAZETTE		EXTENDED SAMPLE				
		Distribution of BNA / Canadian Place Names (in percentages)						
<u>Year</u>	<u>Own Locality</u>	<u>Rest of Province</u>	<u>Own Region Symbols</u>	<u>Upper Canada/Ont.</u>	<u>Maritimes</u>	<u>The West</u>	<u>BNA/Canada</u>	
1860								
Extended Sample (Ten copies)	28.5	29.5	15.8	16.5	5.4	2.4	2.0	
Original Sample (Three copies)	23.8	30.4	15.7	18.1	10.7	0.3	1.05	
<hr/>								
1865								
Extended Sample (Ten copies)	25.2	23.1	17.4	19.5	11.3	0.04	2.7	
Original Sample (Three copies)	20.4	18.6	19.5	16.3	21.8	0.2	3.2	
<hr/>								
1870								
Extended Sample (Ten copies)	25.7	15.5	0.7	17.6	10.2	10.7	19.4	
Original Sample (Three copies)	15.6	20.1	0.7	26.9	18.6	3.6	14.9	

Table C
MONTPEAL GAZETTE - EXTENDED SAMPLE

		Identification of Inhabitants (In percentages)					
Year	By British Political Community	By Religion	By Ethnic-Linguistic Group	By Locality	By Province	By Region	By Ref. to BNA/Canada
1860							
Extended Sample.....	1.6	6.0	5.0	42.2	29.5	15.5	0.0
Original Sample.....	0.0	4.9	3.7	44.8	36.8	16.0	0.0
1865							
Extended Sample.....	3.6	8.8	10.6	31.2	12.4	29.7	4.5
Original Sample.....	2.8	8.3	12.1	31.5	14.8	26.9	3.7
1870							
Extended Sample.....	3.2	5.0	8.0	42.6	17.2	1.8	23.4
Original Sample.....	0.0	0.6	7.6	46.2	21.1	2.9	21.6

MONTREAL GAZETTE Table D
EXTENDED SAMPLE

IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES

(Average Number of Items Per Issue of Sample)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Coefficient of Imbalance</u>
1860					
(Extended Sample) 0.0 10 copies	1.7	0.4	2.1	-0.036	
(Original Sample) 0.3 3 copies	2.6	0.7	3.6	-0.022	
1865					
(Extended Sample) 1.2	14.3	6.1	21.6	-0.064	
(Original Sample) 0.0	15.3	7.0	22.3	-0.099	
1870					
(Extended Sample) 0.6	4.0	3.8	8.4	-0.172	
(Original Sample) 0.7	3.0	2.3	6.0	-0.102	

The method of calculating the coefficients of imbalance is that set forth in The Language of Politics, Harold D. Lasswell, Nathan Leites, and Associates (New York, George W. Stewart, 1949). See Chapter 8, pp. 153 - 169, by Irving L. Janis and Raymond Fadner.

Table E

<u>MONTREAL GAZETTE</u>		* <u>EXTENDED SAMPLE</u>			
<u>PAGES OF GREAT BRITAIN</u>					
<u>(Average Number of Items Per Issue of Sample)</u>					
<u>Year</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Coefficient of Imbalance</u>
1860					
(Extended Sample)	1.4	1.0	0.0	2.4	0.097
(Original Sample)	0.3	2.3	0.0	2.6	0.088
1865					
(Extended Sample)	0.9	2.8	0.0	3.7	0.007
(Original Sample)	0.7	2.7	0.6	4.0	0.005
1870					
(Extended Sample)	0.8	3.9	1.3	6.0	-0.018
(Original Sample)	0.7	6.0	1.3	8.0	-0.012

MONTREAL GAZETTE - EXTENDED SAMPLE Table F

Year	<u>IMAGES OF FRANCE</u> (Average Number of Items Per Issue of Sample)			TOTAL	<u>Coefficient of Imbalance</u>
	<u>POSITIVE</u>	<u>NEUTRAL</u>	<u>NEGATIVE</u>		
1860 Extended Sample (Ten Copies)	0.3	0.8	0.3	1.4	0.000
Original Sample (Three Copies)	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	- 1.000
1865 Extended Sample	0.2	6.2	0.3	6.7	- 0.001
Original Sample	1.0	4.0	0.3	5.3	0.032
1870 Extended Sample	2.8	4.4	5.3	12.5	- 0.095
Original Sample	2.0	6.0	8.7	16.7	- 0.209

In the overall distribution of place names (see Table A) the extended sample of the Montreal Gazette closely follows the pattern established by the original sample.

In both samples the percentage of total place names devoted to British North America was near the 60 per cent mark in 1860, and was by far the major category being some five times higher than the British and also "Other" symbols. Although not very far ahead of the British, the United States place names formed the second most populated category. In U.S. place names there was a divergence of 3.4 percentage points in 1860 between the original (13.9%) and the extended sample (17.3%).

In 1865 both samples were down by some 20 percentage points from 1860 in their BNA place names. A good proportion of this loss, about 15 percentage points, in both samples was taken up by the United States, which drew an extraordinary amount of attention that year because of the Civil War and its immediate aftermath.

BNA/Canadian place names bounced back again in 1870, in both samples, by nearly eleven percentage points simultaneously with a retreat, again in both samples, from United States place names by some 20 percentage points from Civil War levels. On the other hand British symbols advanced in 1870 by just over three percentage points for the extended sample and just over four for the original. "Other" symbols were up

very substantially in both counts, because of another war -- the Franco-Prussian. However, there was a discrepancy between the original sample's "Other" percentage and that of the extended sample of over seven percentage points, doubtless reflecting the fact that two-thirds of the original sample was published during the course of actual hostilities, whilst only half of the extended sample happened to be published during the period of hostilities.

Table B compares the two samples in the distribution of their respective BNA/Canadian place names. In several cases discrepancies are more evident here than in the overall distribution of place names. For instance in 1860 in the extended sample references to the West were slightly ahead of references to BNA as an entity, whereas in the original sample references to BNA as an entity were three times those to the West, and references to the Maritimes in the extended sample were only half the percentage of those in the original sample. In 1870 the extended sample boasted three times the percentage of Western place names that the original sample had. Except for the latter instance the percentages involved in these cases were so small that even the occurrence of an additional story or article of any reasonable length (i.e., longer than one or two short paragraphs) could have doubled the percentage in favour of one sample or the other. However, despite the small percentages involved BNA/Canadian place names in the two samples were closer. In 1870 when pan-

Canadian entity references really blossomed forth to substantial percentages of the total there was a discrepancy of 4.5 percentage points (19.4 as compared with 14.9).

In the larger categories --own locality, "rest-of-province", and own region(sub-divided into own region entity symbols,i.e.,Central Canada, and Upper Canada/Ontario place names) --the patterns were broadly similar in both samples. Each of these "larger" categories maintained the same relative positions to each other in the extended sample that they held in the original. However, there was one exception,in 1870,when in the extended sample own-locality place names were easily ahead of all the other categories, followed at a distance of eight percentage points by own-region place names (i.e., Upper Canada/Ontario place names) and at a distance of ten percentage points by "rest-of-own-province" place names. In 1870, however, in the original sample references to own-region (i.e.,Ontario) headed the list of categories followed at a distance of nearly seven percentage points by "rest-of-own-province" place names, and at a distance of over 11 percentage points by own-locality place names. Thus the year of 1870 was the one instance in which the distribution of Canadian place names diverged to a serious extent.

Table C shows the comparisons between the two counts regarding the identification of inhabitants. The correspondence between the two counts was closest in the categories attracting most identifications, namely identif-

ications by locality, province, region and BNA / Canada. In the cases of British and religious identifications the extended sample percentages were consistently higher than those of the original sample by varying margins.

In the images count -- at least for the United States and Britain -- the essential pattern of the original sample was confirmed by the extended count. The relative strengths of positive, neutral and negative images was very similar in the extended sample -- as shown by the coefficients of imbalance -- to what they had been in the original. However, in the case of France the correspondence between the extended and the original counts is rather more capricious, and here in 1865 we get the extended sample yielding a negative coefficient of imbalance, whilst the original yielded a negative one. The discrepancy in the case of France, apart from 1870 when there was a plethora of material on the Franco-Prussian conflict, can be attributed to the paucity of items on France so that a single story or article was able to affect the French data quite substantially.

However, in all three counts -- place names, identifications, and images -- the data yielded by the extended sample was sufficiently close to that of the original sample to demonstrate the reliability of the latter. In all cases the broad, overall pattern established by the original sample was maintained.

APPENDIX - 4

Newspaper Issues Coded

The following are the newspaper issues coded for
this survey :

NOVASCOTIAN / HALIFAX CHRONICLE

- 1845 : March 31 ; August 18 ; November 17 (All Novascotian)
- 1850 : March 20 ; August 12 ; November 11 (All Novascotian)
- 1855 : March 26 ; August 13 ; November 12 (All Novascotian)
- 1860 : March 19 ; August 13 ; November 19 (All Novascotian)
- 1865 : March 27 ; August 14 ; November 20 (All Novascotian)
- 1870 : March 14 ; August 29 ; November 28 (All Novascotian)
- 1875 : March 11 ; August 18 ; November 24 (All
Halifax Chronicle)
- 1880 : March 24 ; August 18 ; November 2 (All
Halifax Chronicle)
- 1885 : March 4 ; August 12 ; November 17 (All
Halifax Chronicle)
- 1890 : March 26 ; August 18 ; November 4 (All
Halifax Chronicle)
- 1895 : March 15 ; August 5 ; November 14 (All
Halifax Chronicle)

NEW BRUNSWICK / SAINT JOHN TELEGRAPH
COURIER

1845 : March 25 ; August 16 ; November 15 (All N.B.Courier).

1850 : March 23 ; August 17 ; November 9 (All N.B.Courier)

1855 : March 24 ; August 11 ; November 3 (All N.B.Courier).

1860 : February 18 ; August 18 ; November 24 (All N.B.
Courier).

1865 : March 25 (N.B.Courier) ; August 10 (Saint John Tele.) ;
November 16 (Saint John Telegraph).

1870 : March 10 ; August 23 ; November 24 (All Saint John
Telegraph).

1875 : March 11 ; August 16 ; November 24 (All Saint John
Telegraph).

1880 : March 24 ; August 18 ; November 2 (All Saint John
Telegraph).

1885 : March 4 (New Brunswick Daily Telegraph) ; August 12
(New Brunswick Daily Telegraph) ; November 17 (New
Brunswick Daily Telegraph).

1890: March 26 ; August 18 ; November 4 (All Daily Telegraph,
Saint John, N.B.).

1895: March 15 ; August 5 ; November 14 (All Saint John
Telegraph).

LE CANADIEN

1845 : March 26 ; August 15 ; November 12.
1850 : March 20 ; August 12 ; November 6.
1855 : March 23 ; August 17 ; November 19.
1860 : March 14 ; August 13 ; November 19.
1865 : March 24 ; August 9 ; November 15.
1870 : March 11 ; August 24 ; November 25.
1875 : March 11 ; August 16 ; November 24.
1880 : March 24 ; August 18 ; November 2.
1885 : March 4 ; August 12 ; November 17.
1890 : March 26 ; August 18 ; November 4.
1895 : March 15 ; August 5 ; November 14 , (All these issues of
1895 Le Courrier du Canada of Quebec City -- Le Canadien
suspended publication in 1891 in Quebec City).

LA MINERVE

1845 : March 27 ; August 14 ; November 13.
1850 : March 21 ; August 12 ; November 11.
1855 : March 23 ; August 14 ; November 14.
1860 : March 15 ; August 11 ; November 20.
1865 : March 23 ; August 9 ; November 15.
1870 : March 10 ; August 23 ; November 24.
1875 : March 11 ; August 16 ; November 24.
1880 : March 24 ; August 18 ; November 2.
1885 : March 4 ; August 12 ; November 17.
1890 : March 26 ; August 19 ; November 4.
1895 : March 15 ; August 5 ; November 14.

MONTREAL GAZETTE

1845 : March 25 ; August 14 ; November 12.
1850 : March 20 ; August 12 ; November 6.
1855 : March 22 ; August 16 ; November 13.
1860 : March 14 ; August 11 ; November 19.
1865 : March 23 ; August 9 ; November 15.
1870 : March 10 ; August 23 ; November 24.
1875 : March 11 ; August 16 ; November 24.
1880 : March 24 ; August 18 ; November 2 .
1885 : March 4 ; August 12 ; November 17.
1890 : March 26 ; August 18 ; November 4.
1895 : March 15 ; August 5 ; November 14.

BYTOWN PACKET / OTTAWA CITIZEN

1845 : March 27 (Bytown Gazette) ; August 26 (Bytown Ottawa Advocate) ; November 20 (Bytown Gazette) .
1850 : March 16 ; August 17 ; November 9 (All Bytown Packet).
1855 : March 10 (Ottawa Citizen) ; August 17 (Ottawa Tribune) ;
November 16 (Ottawa Tribune).
1860 : March 16 ; August 11 ; November 20 (All Ottawa Citizen).
1865 : March 23 (Ottawa Daily Union) ; August 9 (Ottawa Citizen) ; November 15 (Ottawa Citizen).
1870 : March 10 (Ottawa Citizen) ; August 23 (Ottawa Times) ;
November 24 (Ottawa Times).

OTTAWA CITIZEN (continued)

1875 : March 11 ; August 11 ; November 24 (All Ottawa Citizen).
1880 : March 24 ; August 18 ; November 2 (All Ottawa Citizen).
1885 : March 4 ; November 17 ; August 13 (All Ottawa Citizen).
1890 : March 26 ; August 18 ; November 4 (All Ottawa Citizen).
1895 : March 15 ; August 5 ; November 14 (All Ottawa Citizen).

TORONTO GLOBE

1845 : March 25 ; August 19 ; November 25.
1850 : March 23 ; August 13 ; November 7.
1855 : March 22 ; August 22 ; November 13.
1860 : March 14 ; August 11 ; November 19.
1865 : March 23 ; August 15 ; November 15.
1870 : March 10 ; August 23 ; November 24.
1875 : March 11 ; August 16 ; November 24.
1880 : March 24 ; August 18 ; November 2.
1885 : March 4 ; August 12 ; November 17.
1890 : March 26 ; August 18 ; November 4.
1895 : March 15 ; August 6 ; November 14.

NOR'WESTER / MANITOBA FREE PRESS

1860 : March 14 ; August 14 ; December 1 (All Nor'Wester)
1865 : April 8 ; September 21 ; December 11 (All Nor'Wester)
1870 : March 18 (New Nation); August 27 (New Nation); November 26 (Manitoban).

MANITOBA FREE PRESS (continued)

- 1875 : March 11 ; August 16 ; November 24 (All Manitoba Free Press).
- 1880 : March 24 ; August 19 ; November 2. (All Manitoba Free Press)
- 1885 : March 4 ; August 12 ; November 17 (All Manitoba Free Press).
- 1890 : March 27 ; August 18 ; November 4 (All Manitoba Free Press).
- 1895 : March 15 ; August 5 ; November 14 (All Manitoba Free Press).
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BRITISH COLONIST

- 1860 : March 15 ; August 11 ; November 20.
- 1865 : March 23 ; August 9 ; November 15 .
- 1870 : March 10 ; August 23 ; November 24.
- 1875 : March 17 ; August 17 ; November 24.
- 1880 : March 24 ; August 18 ; November 2.
- 1885 : March 6 ; August 14 ; November 20.
- 1890 : March 28 ; August 22 ; November 5.
- 1895 : March 15 ; August 6 ; November 14.
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