

*Rule of the Routes: Infrastructure, Colonization, and 'the Social Science' in the Canadas  
from Conquest to Confederation*

**A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
Carleton University**

**By  
Rhys E. Steckle**

**In partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

### *Abstract*

*Rule of the Routes* offers a rich and detailed account of colonial social and political development from 1759 to 1875 by focussing on a state-led process of what is throughout referred to as ‘infrastructural colonization’. Offering a novel account of state formation and infrastructure development by shifting from traditional infrastructural systems, namely highways, canals and railways, and toward mundane modes of transport, specifically rural routes, this thesis shows how agricultural settlement, communal development, rural infrastructures and forms of political administration became inextricably intertwined by the mid-nineteenth century. Longstanding historical divisions between state-military roads and common-merchant routes began to fade at the turn of the nineteenth century. While states have always sought to ensure military control over their roads, attempts to establish an ‘art of government’ based on the prudent administration of the common routes of the people are comparatively more recent. Through an examination of a specific road-building initiative, the colonization roads project, *Rule of the Routes* offers an account of Canadian social and political development by outlining the State’s use of common routes as a mechanism of social and political subjectification.

This is the first thesis of its kind examining rural infrastructure development for the region known as ‘the Canadas’ during the late-18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Drawing on an exhaustive amount of archival material, *Rule of the Routes* uses the process of infrastructural colonization to trace the decline of mercantile conceptions of public order, infrastructure, and settlement strategy, and its notion of a static political equilibrium of ‘kings, lords, and commons’. Beginning in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, conceptions of political sovereignty stressing patronage, the people’s ignorance, and static class structures, slowly gave way to recognizable liberal governmentalities which targeted populations, not ‘the people’, and privileged notions of social order and political subjection based on practices of ethical subjectification, not traditional authority or sovereign-judicial force. *Rule of the Routes* shows how such concerns can be seen in the very form of rural roads themselves, from their materials, width, orientation, layout of lots, maps depicting them, and their organizational administration. The form of the liberal-bureaucratic state expanded as its interest in the regularities of population tightened. New ministries developed as techniques for representing the social, moral, and economic progress of colonization were institutionalized.

*Rule of the Routes* documents conditions on the ground to offer a reflexive historical sociology revealing how colonial socio-political relations between the French and English, as well as imperial attempts to anglicize *canadiens*, motivated the early development of ‘the social science’ in the Canadas. The thesis concludes by demonstrating how attempts by state actors and amateurs alike to use the social science to demonstrate the progress of infrastructural colonization led to the creation of new territorial abstractions which led to changes in the form of infrastructural colonization in the 1870s and the end of the colonization roads.

### *Acknowledgements*

I suppose the ‘acknowledgements’ sections of doctoral theses are typically read by those expecting to find their own names mentioned. If I’m right, hopefully each of you reading this already knows the contributions you’ve made to my work and to myself as a person and researcher. If not, I want it known that I certainly didn’t intend to leave it ‘till now to acknowledge the numerous people who’ve made a profound impact on me during my time at Carleton. I hope I’ve already told you in one way or another how much whatever you did or said, or didn’t do or didn’t say, was appreciated. If I haven’t, I’ll thank you now for doing or not doing what you did or didn’t do. It was a great help: thanks! However, if you’re one of the dozen or so people likely to stumble upon my work while trolling for sources for your own, let me just say, ‘Welcome!’, and I hope you find whatever it is you’re looking for. Or maybe even something you weren’t. Those which surprise and reveal are always the best sources anyway. I hope you’ll count my work as one of them.

There remain some who need to be named outright. They could never know how much their love, support and friendship has meant and continues to mean to me. As in all matters, Trisha Bingeman comes first. I’m pretty sure she knows just how much she helped me during these last few years, but just in case she doesn’t: Thank you my darling. I really couldn’t have done this without your loving support. Next, and first among equals, is Matthew Johnston. If you’re a sociologist who stumbled across this dissertation and you don’t know Matt’s work yet, give it time. He is the hardest working academic I have ever met and the most prolific writer I ever will. It’s become almost courteous among academics now to describe someone as ‘brilliant’. “Have you met so-and-so, they’re brilliant” or “Did you read that piece that author wrote that one time? It’s brilliant.” I don’t like this trend. It devalues people like Matt. He was my peer who more than anyone brought me out of my shell and encouraged me to share my thoughts, which we occasionally wrote down and published. Other times such thoughts were simply lost to the wind on the steps of the Prescott. Matt’s a kind person and a gentle soul; hell of a shortstop too.

Next is Matthew Sanscartier. Like Johnston, Matt is a singularly gifted writer and prolific scholar. More than anyone, Matt was the person during my time at Carleton I looked forward to bouncing ideas off. He has a keen eye for the weak points in an argument alongside an inexhaustible knowledge of how to fix them. When you talk to Matt, you get smarter. It just happens. I can’t explain it. It’s like finding a cheat code for reality. But perhaps the things I admire most about Matt are his wonderfully dark sense of humour and his innate personal confidence in himself and his abilities (unlike in most cases, it rarely shows as cockiness; it takes a few beers). He reminds me constantly that you can do anything ... if you’re brave enough. I’m constantly striving to emulate him and usually coming up short. I’m still a little sour towards Laura for taking him back to Winnipeg. I don’t care who had him first.

I couldn’t omit Ryan Couling and Mark Ramsay. Ryan was always willing to discuss the most abstract sociological/philosophical ideas at the drop of a hat. He was the first, and possibly, remains the only person I know with the same willingness to dig to the roots of an idea and then keep going as I have. Mark had the misfortune of being assigned the office next to mine. I spent hours talking to him about every conceivable subject and was a constant source of distraction. I’d

barge into his office at the slightest opportunity and pull him away from his work. I'm sure I once went on an hour long rant about the power of perspective and unnecessary sexualisation in Stephen King adaptations. I was like Kramer from Seinfeld, but slightly less animated with my entrances. Anyway, I need him to know how much I appreciate his friendship and to thank him for indulging me; it helped keep me sane. Sorry for distracting you, but I'd do it all again. Finally, Ryan and Mark each taught me in their own ways that being a great scholar and a great person are not mutually exclusive. I learned firsthand that you can be gifted without sacrificing any of your innate personal kindness. I cherish that lesson.

There are countless other people who deserve to be mentioned and I hope they'll forgive the disservice of being named so briefly: Aaron Doyle, Alexis Shotwell, Jeffrey McNairn, Elsbeth Heaman, J-G. Prevost, Paula Whissell, Darlene Moss, Patricia Lacroix, that lady who handles OGS awards for Carleton, Randy Lippert, Samantha McAleese, definitely not the people at SSHRC, Janna Klostermann, Alan Hunt, Justin Paulson, the librarian who knows me as 'Rise' but whose name I don't know, Jennifer Henderson, and all the people involved in interlibrary loans at MacOdrum; you're the real MVPs.

I need to acknowledge the support of my committee: William Walters, Bruce Curtis, and Mike Mopas. None of them were in the room as I did the typing, but each was in the back of my mind while writing every sentence of this dissertation. That's, after all, the mark of a good teacher; someone who gives you the insights and guidance you need to be able to think for yourself. From William and Bruce I got a masterclass in the governmentality approach to political sociology. As someone who arrived at Carleton reading primarily Nietzsche, Levinas, and Derrida, both showed me in their own ways that there was more than one way to be a theorist. Bruce played the role of academic physician in curing me of my 'theory-titis'. On second thought, maybe 'cured' is too strong a word, but I'm definitely in remission. I benefitted greatly from my chats with Mike. He taught me how to think the particulars of the research as part of a whole. A dissertation is a project. You don't just *write* one. It takes months or years of planning. Mike helped me see the forest through the trees. Thanks Mike.

Lastly, there are also some to whom I feel apologies are owed. The victims, you might say, of my research process. Sorry to anyone who ever wanted to use the desk in the south-east corner of office D783. I'm a paper person and my books and articles needed a place to live. It was actually Trisha who refused to allow me to keep them at home so please direct any animus and angry letters to her. Also, sorry to anyone who wanted to use that office's printer. I'm the reason it was perpetually out of ink from September 2014 to July 2016. If you were wondering why there are stickers on them telling you to use they are 'for TA purposes only', I ran through three ink drums in a summer. I don't know how but they figured it out I wasn't TA-ing. Sorry as well to the very kind Commissionaire at Library and Archives Canada who told me repeatedly not to use pens in the reading room even if I was not consulting materials. I never once listened to you. Once I lied outright and told you my pen was a mechanical pencil. Sorry for that. You seemed nice. Finally, sorry to the librarians at MacOdrum. I wrote snide comments in a lot (read: most) of the library's books by Bruno Latour. I didn't set out to do it, it just sort of ... happened, you know? I did other stuff too I'm sure, but these are the few things I'll apologize for.

## *Table of Contents*

<i>Abstract</i>	ii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	iii
<i>Table of Contents</i>	v
<i>List of Figures and Illustrations</i>	vi
 <i>1. Introduction: ‘The Mire of the Macadam’: Roads and the Politics of ‘Hearts and Minds’</i>	 <u>1</u>
 <i>2. The Road to Owen Sound: Settlement, Subjectification, and Infrastructural Colonization in the Backwoods</i>	 <u>28</u>
 <i>3. The Administrative Infrastructure of Colonization: Colonization Roads, Ethno-Nationalism, and the Liberal-Bureaucratic State</i>	 <u>58</u>
 <i>4. Laying Down the Lines: Social Science, Political Reform, and Infrastructural Colonization in the Ottawa-Huron Tract</i>	 <u>85</u>
 <i>5. ‘Everybody Knows This is Nowhere’: Thomas Devine, Social Mapping, and the Space of Infrastructural Colonization</i>	 <u>111</u>
 <i>6. ‘They Canna’ be Fashed’: Colonization, Confederation, and the End of the Roads</i>	 <u>135</u>
 <i>7. Conclusion</i>	 <u>164</u>
 <i>Works Cited</i>	 <u>173</u>

*List of Figures and Illustrations*

**Figure 1.1** – Map of the Canada West Colonization Roads

**Figure 3.1** – ‘Cheating the Toll Man’, Cornelius Krieghoff, 1863.

**Figure 5.1** – Thomas Devine’s Map of the North-West

**Figure 5.2** – Thomas Devine’s 1859 Map of the Canadas

**Figure 5.3** – The ‘Split-Line’ Fieldbook

**Figure 5.4** – The ‘Old Form’ Fieldbook

*You road I enter upon and look around, I believe you are not all  
that is here,*

*I believe that much unseen is also here.*

- Walt Whitman, 'Song of the Open Road', 1856

*Oh, give me one, one more kiss mama*

*Just before I go,*

*'Cause when I leave this time you know I,*

*I won't be back no more.*

*I got the key to the highway,*

*Billed out and bound to go.*

*I'm gonna leave here running;*

*Walkin' is much too slow.*

- Big Bill Broonzy, 'Key to the Highway', 1941

### *The Mire of the Macadam: Roads and the Politics of Hearts and Minds*

This thesis presents a historical sociology of state formation in the British North American Colonies called ‘the Canadas’ during the Period of Union (1840-1867).<sup>1</sup> I use the general process and practice of what I call ‘infrastructural colonization’ as a means to trace broad shifts in the form and function of colonial government; from a general commitment to sustaining a socio-political order based on a static equilibrium between ‘king, lords, and commons’ to one based on the calculated subjectification of populations, reared to be responsible for their own self-government. Infrastructure is treated throughout not merely as a technical system for the movement of people or goods, nor as a politically or ethically neutral technology, but as a component of a general project of social engineering and political training. In the years preceding the Period of Union, attempts to wed infrastructure, colonization, and mixed monarchical forms of government were prominent. After the union, infrastructure and colonization became key features of an emerging liberal discourse that wed ideas of legitimate political sovereignty to knowledge of ruled populations configured in politically congenial territorial units. Investigations of these populations offered fertile ground for the development of techniques of knowledge encapsulation typical of ‘the social science’.

From the Conquest of 1759 to the end of the eighteenth century, provincial governors were loath to invest public funds in the construction and maintenance of rural routes. While the ‘royal’ or ‘military’ roads were of state interest, the same could hardly be said of the paths of the peasantry. By the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, supporters of an emerging liberal mode of government began to link infrastructural underdevelopment with political backwardness. Addressing the former would solve the latter. Improved roads could foster solidarities, configure populations in territory, increase commerce, and thereby create governable subjects with a taste for improvement and a nascent ethic of accumulation. Yet such efforts could be and were resisted. Turbulent rallies took place in response to new road legislation altering the traditional responsibilities of the peasantry. At times, path-masters were accosted, tied up, marched to the parish square, and forced to resign their office. By effacing the distinction between state roads and common routes, ‘rule of the routes’ marked a new order of things; a new relation between

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<sup>1</sup> The word ‘Canada’ (originally ‘Kanata’) is an appropriation from the Iroquois dating from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In this thesis I use the term the Canadas to refer to the politico-administrative entity created by the British in 1791. After the British military conquest of 1759 and the ceding of New France by the French in 1763, the conquered territory was called ‘Quebec’ and encompassed the entirety of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes region. In 1791, after several attempts to continue French military style rule in modified form (Treaty of Paris, 1763; Quebec Act 1774), the Constitution Act of 1791 was passed by the Imperial Parliament creating two separate provinces called Upper and Lower Canada. Geographically, the two provinces were separated by the Ottawa River from roughly the point of its confluence with the St. Lawrence and continuing north-west into what was then called ‘Rupert’s Land’. Each province was to have the same political structure; an appointed Governor was to be advised by appointed Executive and Legislative Councils while the will of the people was to be represented by an elected representative Assembly. This arrangement continued from 1791 until the Rebellions of 1837-38 at which time the government was suspended, a dictatorial Special Council was created, and plans for the union of the two provinces were developed. The new union, the Province of Canada, was created in 1840 divided into two sections, Canada West and Canada East. Despite the huge population disparity in favour of the East over the West, each were to have an equal number of representatives (forty-one) in an elected Assembly. Despite their distinct political structures, Canada West and Canada East continued to be referred to colloquially as Upper and Lower Canada respectively. References to Upper or Lower Canada should not be understood as referring to the time before 1841 unless otherwise indicated.

individuals and the State. Beginning in the nineteenth century, it set about inscribing the conditions of possibility of responsible subjectification into the very landscape of the Canadas. Infrastructural colonization was one outcome of the attempts to rule through routes.

This thesis examines these developments in social and political context. Although great effort has been made to examine the links between rural roads and political development in a general way, the narratives offered to capture central moments in this process are presented through an account of a specific provincial initiative: the colonization roads. A scheme of backwoods agricultural settlement, developed in the 1830s and centered on the creation of a series of long leading lines into the forests to the rear of the existing townships. By most modern accounts, the colonization roads program was a quaint experiment in land settlement, conducted at the fringes of the existing settlements in the Canadas and which failed to meet its lofty goals. There had been many experiments in backwoods colonization and would be many more. Prior to the 1840s, most of these efforts had been the ventures of chartered corporations. The provincial governments sold land to private companies who built roads through them in exchange for the right to sell lots to prospective settlers at an inflated price. Some of these efforts were successful in their goals of raising a colonial land fund and relieving Britain of its pauper population. The Canada Company in the western section of Upper Canada was generally successful to this end. On the other hand, its Lower Canadian counterpart, the British American Land Company, failed so spectacularly that its occupation of 600,000 acres of land in the Eastern Townships became a key rallying point of the *Parti Patriote*, formed a key grievance in the famous Ninety-Two Resolutions, and ultimately became a causal factor in the Rebellions of 1837.<sup>2</sup>

The colonization roads program emerged in the Canadas at a moment of social and political transition. Older mercantilist models of social and political domination, which based rule on the cementing of local power dynamics, moral training and popular ignorance, and of which traces could still be found in the activities of the aforementioned chartered corporation ventures, began to be thoroughly repudiated. In place of land companies, the successive provincial administrations began to take a more interested role in the colonization process. That such social and political reform could be accomplished through the mechanism of the rural road development had already been a key argument of social reformers and early advocates of the social science in England. Many of these ideas were shared by key colonial political actors. Edward Wakefield, father of Edward Gibbon, Lord Durham's (unofficial) Crown Lands Commissioner, advocated something like a program of colonization roads as social reform in his 1812 *Statistical Account of Ireland*. A few years after that, the *Edinburgh Review* published an article criticizing the parish system of road making as being largely a means for cementing local power relations and facilitating the petty corruption of influential individuals.<sup>3</sup> By the 1830s, individuals associated with the London and Manchester Statistical Societies, as well as Ricardo's

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<sup>2</sup> The activities of the British American Land Company was a key topic of discussion for Lord Durham's Crown Lands commission as the surviving correspondence shows. See LAC, MG24 A27, v. 22. See also Browde, A. 2002. "Settling the Canadian Colonies: A Comparison of Two Nineteenth Century Land Companies." *The Business History Review* 76 (2): 299-335.

<sup>3</sup> Anon. 1819. *Edinburgh Review*, v. xxxii, 477-87.

Political Economy Club, most notably George Poulett Scrope (brother of Durham's successor as Governor General, Lord Sydenham) began to advocate a system of 'colonization at home' for Ireland, which involved the reclamation of waste lands through the creation of a program of public works.<sup>4</sup> These ideas were not long in migrating to Canadian shores.

With the import of the new technique of road building known as macadamization to the Canadas, the relation between rural infrastructures and political subjectivity began to be more widely acknowledged, particularly in the colonial press. The editor of the *Kingston Chronicle* marvelled at the ability of the technique's transformative effect on the youth of the area. On the road from Kingston to Napanee, a great number of boys and girls eleven years old and upwards were set to work breaking and sorting stone and were earning up to a .25c per day, even those who were little used to the work. As its systematizer, John Loudon Macadam, saw it, 'macadamization' was a type of social reform and moral education for those of all ages, not merely children. His new system would eliminate poverty by setting entire families of paupers to work. Similar effects were hoped for in the Canadas. As the *Chronicle* remarked: "how much better is it that they should be so employed than begging or lounging about the streets and wharves in idleness, or probably doing what is worse?"<sup>5</sup>

Although none of the colonization roads would be macadamized by the time of confederation, the link between improved rural infrastructures and political subjectification was already forged. As a political technology, road making was one manner by which prudent liberal administrators could colonize individual subjectivities by cultivating new habits, desires, and ethical sensibilities. The system of roads could inculcate new 'tastes'<sup>6</sup> which could be used as the basis for novel, and less coercive, mechanisms of political control. In this sense, an improved system of roads was a thoroughly didactic instrument; those who resisted the creation of a modernized infrastructure system could be made willing to pay for it once they experienced its benefits. Yet this would have to be imposed and required the intervention of the State. As letters to the editor of the *Chronicle* make clear, many felt Canadians were blind to their own interests and would have to be *shown* the benefits of an improved system of roads.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Scrope, G.P. 1836. *How is Ireland to be Governed?* Ridgway: London.

<sup>5</sup> *Kingston Chronicle*, 24 May 1837.

<sup>6</sup> In Lower Canada particularly, the largely English commercial class of Quebec was contemptuous of the largely French peasantry and their resistance to improving the roads. Writing with a healthy dose of ethnic chauvinism, the *Quebec Mercury* claimed that "Jean-Baptiste has an inherent propensity to keeping his purse strings closed against any disbursement however much it may be for his own advantage, and does not consider the wear and tear in horse-flesh, carriage, and harness which might be saved" by improved roads. This of course fails to consider that the local interests of the habitants might be protected by poor roads. As a letter to the editor of the *Quebec Mercury* claimed, the poor roads formed a 'protective duty' against the Americans who "will hardly encounter the miseries incidental to a Lower Canada winter journey at the risk of taming his horses, to dispose of a sleigh-load of produce". For the first quote, *Quebec Mercury*, 14 April 1840; for the second, 28 July 1829.

<sup>7</sup> *Kingston Chronicle*, 26 November 1831. The 24 June 1837 issue of the *Chronicle* features a letter signed 'Pro Bono Publica' wherein the writer marvels at the durability of a macadamized road and expresses his shock at having his preconceptions shattered.

Finally, it was becoming an increasingly prominent position among reformers, both in England and the Canadas, that an artful or scientific system for the construction of roads could be one means by which knowledge of populations could be generated and configured in politically congenial ways. By the 1830s, in both Upper and Lower Canada road building had become implicated simultaneously in new practices of subjectification and in the emergence of a domain of knowledge and government which later came to be identified as ‘the social’. In this way, a historical sociology of infrastructural colonization is one means by which historians can anchor a genealogy of the social sciences in concrete practices of state and subject formation.

### ***Infrastructure, History, and Politics***

When Canadian historians think ‘infrastructure’, visions of canals and railways spring first to mind. This is a bit of discourse creep; that troublesome tendency for categories of State to be unreflexively imported into the arts and social sciences as analytic ones. In Canada, the history of canals and railways are stories the State likes to tell about itself. The massive public expenditures and centralized bureaucratic power necessary for their construction help to legitimate its existence as a form of social and political domination. But roads were the first infrastructure projects taken up by Canadian governments. No railways were begun before the 1830s and even the first, the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railway, was only a seasonal portage path; a supplement to river transit. Recognizably modern railways were not begun before the 1850s. Primitive attempts at canal building began earlier but the first recognizably modern channel, the Lachine Canal near Montreal, was not begun until 1821 and only finished by 1825. Ottawa River canals had begun earlier in 1819 but these took a decade longer than the Lachine to be operational. Plans for a canal between Montreal and Kingston that did not rely on the St. Lawrence were proposed after the end of the War of 1812 and a canal on the Rideau River was envisioned, but it was not finished until 1832. By contrast, public expenditures on roads began at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as attempts to increase agricultural settlement required them. Canadian applications of ‘police science’ are discernible in the 1770s as administrators sought to envision a ‘standardized’ highway.<sup>8</sup> Improved roads would facilitate new tax schemes as classification and categorization of roads and their quality could justify more invasive levies for those on good streets. Were the roads clear? Were they planked? Were they properly drained? Citizens living on better roads could be *asked* to pay more tax. Whether or not they *would* is another matter entirely.<sup>9</sup>

Shifting the focus from traditionally recognized infrastructural systems to the colonial roadway involves a reimagining of the relation between transport and the State and this work goes a long way towards initiating a revisionist historiography of Canadian infrastructure by distinguishing between ‘routes’ and ‘roads’. From the time of New France, colonial administrations have always sought control of the roads, what few there were. New France was little more than a collection of military outposts stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson’s

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<sup>8</sup> Cugnet, F.J. 1775. *Traite de la Police*. Chez Guillaume Brown: Quebec.

<sup>9</sup> *The Globe*, 27 October 1847.

Bay and from the Gaspé to Lake Superior. At least initially the British continued this approach. After the Conquest, the most sophisticated account of colonial roads was the military map drawn up by the engineers of the invading British army. They found roads paralleling the Richelieu and Chaudière Rivers useful for moving troops and a road leading to the ironworks at St. Maurice useful for supplying them.<sup>10</sup> The Governors of New France had little interest in the routes upon which the peasantry moved and subsequent British Governors opted to maintain the status quo rather than proceed immediately to wholesale reform.<sup>11</sup>

The division between the peasant route and the government road which is so alien to modern sensibilities was well-known to contemporary reformers. In the Canadas, it began to collapse at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Reformers and activists began to show how roads mattered to ensuring civilized communal relations, partly by drawing attention to the matter of roads.<sup>13</sup> Reformers argued improvements to inland communications would do a great deal to maintain social order by fostering stabilizing social relations, structures, and communal practices. Military force would be less necessary where the State had already won ‘hearts and minds’. Types of road construction began to be seen as exerting a formative influence on subjectivity and varieties of road construction as a technology of subjectification that extended considerably beyond a mere concern with ‘enlightenment’. As I argue prominently in the first half of this thesis, prior to the mid-nineteenth century roads could be and often were used to preserve social and political hierarchies and keep the peasantry in a state of controlled ignorance. ‘Liberal’ subjectification did not equal social levelling.

Finally, this thesis is part of a large and growing literature concerned with examining roadways as spaces of social, political, aesthetic, and economic significance. The last decade has witnessed a tremendous increase, particularly among anthropologists, in the amount of research concerning the social and communal relations developing around roadways as well as their transformative effect on public space.<sup>14</sup> Yet, as William Walters argues persuasively, much of

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<sup>10</sup> Glazebrook, G. 1934. “Roads in New France and the Policy of Expansion.” *Report of the Annual Meeting/Rapports annuels de la Société historique du Canada*, 13 (1): 51-52.

<sup>11</sup> Caron, I. 1933. “Historique de la voirie dans la province de Québec.” *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, 39 (5): 278-300.

<sup>12</sup> See Guldi for an account of British developments dating back to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. Guldi, J. 2012. *Roads to Power: Britain Invents the Infrastructure State*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.

<sup>13</sup> For example, see the letters of “A Man in the Woods” in the *Quebec Mercury*, 7 September 1805 and an anonymous letter to the editor on 9 March 1805.

<sup>14</sup> See, Campbell, J. 2012. “Between the Material and the Figural Road: The Incompleteness of Colonial Geographies in Amazonia.” *Mobilities*, 7 (4): 481-500; Dalakoglou, D. 2010. “The Road: An Ethnography of the Albanian-Greek Cross-Border Motorway.” *American Ethnologist*, 37 (1): 132-149; Dalakoglou, D. and Harvey, P. “Roads and Anthropology: Ethnographic Perspectives on Space, Time and (Im)Mobility.” *Mobilities*, 7 (4): 459-465; Harvey, P. 2010. “Cementing Relations: The Materiality of Roads and Public Spaces in Provincial Peru.” *Social Analysis*, 54 (2): 28-46; Harvey, P. 2005. “The Materiality of State-Effects: An Ethnography of a Road in the Peruvian Andes.” In, *State Formation: Anthropological Perspectives*, C. Krohn-Hansen and H.G. Nugstad (Eds.), 123-141.

the emerging literature on roads and other transportation infrastructures suffers from a debilitating presentism.<sup>15</sup> Entirely concerned with the motorway, this literature weds problematics of movement to a concern with liberal understandings of ‘mobility’; that is, the free circulation of persons, things, and ideas. Yet, as I argue throughout, the colonization roads and the idea of the common road as a site of political government was often little concerned with the mobility of those connected to one another by it. As I discuss extensively in chapter four, colonization roads were concerned as much if not more with fixing settlers in place, than with facilitating their free movement. Building roads was meant to prevent mobility, that is, the migration of young French-Canadians to the United States. The problematic of the time was not how to encourage a free circulation of persons, but how to enable movement within the territory *just* enough to ensure people would not pack up for greener pastures in the American West. A historical sociology of communicative infrastructures like roads offers the potential to explore the history of the roadway as a space of mobility, rather than read a concern with mobility into a time which had little concern with it.

### **Colonization Roads**

The colonization roads project has never drawn sustained interest from historians or sociologists. What histories have been written usually confine the roads to the narrow purview of the localities through which they ran. We get only isolated histories of individual roads by historians of the regions. Those interested can read of the Opeongo Road in histories of the Ottawa Valley<sup>16</sup>, of the Hastings in histories of Belleville, of the Muskoka and Great Northern Roads in histories of Parry Sound, or of the Owen Sound in histories of that township.<sup>17</sup> Few comprehensive studies of the roads program as a whole have ever been conducted and those which do exist are exclusively concerned with the program as it developed in Upper Canada. I have read intriguing statements in the works of John Walsh and Derek Murray, each of whom claim the colonization roads were part of the first “‘Canadian’ colonization project, undertaken by Canadian authorities and with Canadian objectives in mind”<sup>18</sup>, but I am left to wonder how

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<sup>15</sup> Walters, W. 2015. “On the Road with Michel Foucault: Migration, Deportation and Viapolitics.” In, *Foucault and the History of Our Present*, 94-110. Palgrave MacMillan: New York; Walters, W. 2014. “Migration, Vehicles, and Politics: Three Theses on Viapolitics.” *European Journal of Social Theory*, 18 (4): 469-488.

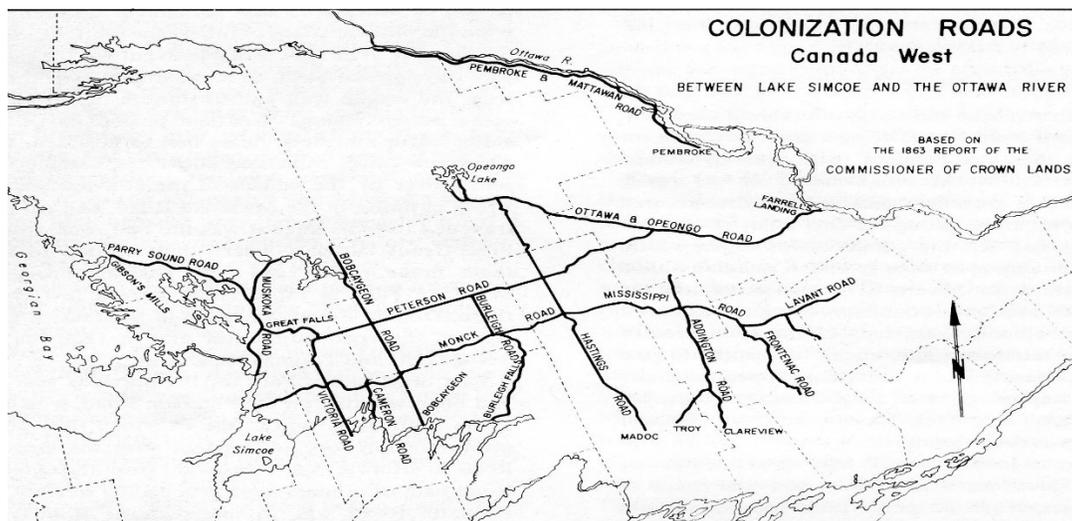
<sup>16</sup> The Opeongo Line has been served best by local historians. See, Finnigan, J. 2006. *Life Along the Opeongo Line: The Story of a Canadian Colonization Road*. Penumbra Press: Ottawa. More recently, see Blank, J. 2016. *Creating Kashubia: History, Memory, and Identity in Canada’s First Polish Community*. McGill-Queens University Press: Kingston-Montreal.

<sup>17</sup> I am referring to, respectively, Parson, H. 1975. “The Colonization of the Southern Canadian Shield in Ontario: The Hastings Road.” *Ontario History*, 79 (3): 15-28; Eckhardt-Smith, L-A. 2012. *Muskoka’s Main Street: 150 Years of Courage and Adventure along the Muskoka Colonization Road*. Muskoka Books: Huntsville; MacFie, J. 2004. *Up the Great Northern Road: The Story of an Ontario Colonization Road*. Boston Mills Press: Erin, ON; White, P. 2000. *Owen Sound: The Port City*. Dundurn Press: Toronto.

<sup>18</sup> Murray, D. 2013. “Equitable Claims and Future Considerations: Road Building and Colonization in Early Ontario, 1850-1890.” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, 24 (2): 159. See also Walsh, J.C. 2001. *Landscapes of Longing: Colonization and the Problem of State Formation in Canada West*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation: The University of Guelph.

the other half of the Canadas fits into such statements. On Murray's part, this historiographical isolation can be read as part of a broader historiographical movement in Canadian history to correct the neglect of the British North American colonies in studies of imperial history.<sup>19</sup> Murray foregrounds the place of Canadian authorities in the project and downplays the influence of the Colonial Office. The study of Lower Canada is apparently incidental to his larger historiographical objective. For Walsh, whose study is confined to the colonization efforts in the Ottawa Huron Tract (see Figure 1.1) – the territory bounded by the Ottawa River to the East, the French River and Lake Nipissing to the North, Lake Huron to the west, and the existing townships to the south – incorporating Lower Canadian developments would seem to be irrelevant.

Figure 1.1



Despite the empirical richness of their accounts, Walsh and Murray have left a tremendous amount of the historical record untouched. They largely fail to account for the full significance of the union on the political circumstances in which the roads program developed and consequently struggle to capture the dynamic between state forms of administration and subjective modes of existence. The neglect is surprising, particularly for Walsh given his governmentality approach, as neglecting Lower Canada prevents a full examination of the relation between liberal-democratic politics, state administrative organization, and the modes of political subjectification typical of a liberal governmentality. Both Walsh and Murray appear content to trace the development of a liberal bureaucratic state through the medium of road-building without situating these developments in the larger field of socio-political conflict, both in the Canadas and in transatlantic politics more generally. Important questions remain unanswered, such as: 'Why the liberal-democratic state?' or 'liberal-democracy, as opposed to what?' Without consideration of the other choices on offer and of the factional political struggles

<sup>19</sup> See Buckner, P. 2002. "Was there a 'British' Empire? The Oxford History of the British Empire from a Canadian Perspective." *Acadiensis*, 32 (1): 110-28; see also, Harris, R.C. 2004. "How Did Colonialism Dispossess: Comments from an Edge of Empire." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 94 (1): 165-182.

which gave shape and form to the colonization roads project, liberal-bureaucratic development appears teleological; as though it were fated to be as such.

Another important aspect is underdeveloped, particularly in Walsh's account, which is central to my own; the place of the social science in infrastructural colonization. To my eyes, much of what makes the colonization roads interesting is how the mechanisms of government oversight and reportage central to liberal-bureaucratic state formation were implicated in a larger epistemological politics over what counts as knowledge of the social. How could it be objectified? Who was qualified to speak of it? What use could it be? These debates inflected colonial discourse broadly and state administrators were not ignorant of them. The publication of social scientific texts like M. Fugere's *A la propagation de la science sociale dans les classes ouvrières*, led Tory organs like the *Montreal Herald* to encourage their readers to trust in the findings of the social science only if the person proposing them was "better off than you" and the value of scientific knowledge was closely tied to individual class position in many ways.<sup>20</sup> These debates were by no means settled by the time of the colonization roads' development and key state actors were intimately connected with them. The colonization roads were in part an experiment in ways of studying the social.

### ***Infrastructures, Technologies and Materiality***

For much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and particularly in the Canadian context, the connection between infrastructures and politics was conceived in a more or less teleological or determinist manner. The work of Harold Innis in particular was highly influential, inspiring a generation of 'staple theorists' to link social and economic structure to modes of transportation. Yet in his accounts and in some of the works he inspired, modes of transportation and infrastructure (natural or otherwise), are seen determinative of social, political, and economic organization. Innis's most famous student, Marshall McLuhan, gives proof to such determinism in his famously claiming "the medium is the message."<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, McLuhan's work remains interesting for the connections made between communicative media and the psychic development of subjects. In an interesting chapter examining 'Roads and Paper Routes' McLuhan insists that "the use of any kind of medium or extension of man [sic] alters the patterns of interdependence between people, as it alters the ratios among our senses." The work bears a striking comparison to passages in Norbert Elias's work where the great progenitor of reflexive historical sociology insists that differing road systems can reveal discernible variations in the 'psychic habitus' of subjects in separate social circumstances. But despite fleeting references to

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<sup>20</sup> *Montreal Herald*, 28 February 1855. Notice of the publication of Fugere's work appeared in *Le Canadien*, 17 November 1848.

<sup>21</sup> McLuhan's position is far more complicated than I suggest here and considerations of space prevent a full-scale elaboration on his central themes. Put simply, while McLuhan's glib phrase obviously appears to endorse a vulgar technological materialism, the broader approach to media studies he constructs disproves this. His concepts of 'reversal' and 'retrieval' show how the effects of any communicative media can be counteracted. Crucially, these reactions occur not at the infrastructural level, not at the level of form, but that of content. Think of a highway, speed and mobility reverse into traffic jams and lost time. This is not a problem of the road, but its users; in dialectical terms, not ground but figure. This has not prevented generations of scholars finding in McLuhan an unpalatable determinism. McLuhan, M. 1964. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Routledge: New York, 89-105.

the American Revolution and the War of 1812, we get from McLuhan no real historical account of the relation between social structures, roadways, and the psychic constitution of subjects. Roads seem to have their effects regardless of circumstance. History is for examples not explanation.

There are recent examples of historians taking seriously the process of infrastructure development in the Canadas at mid-century. Ruth Bleasdale's minutely researched *Rough Work*, being one such example.<sup>22</sup> Looking principally at canal construction, Bleasdale offers an interesting account of the development of state systems of administration and the consequent effects on class culture and consciousness. Bleasdale's work offers important insights on how class consciousness is generated in the context of labour camps on major public works like the Welland and Lachine canals. For my purposes, Bleasdale's work is limited by its focus on class and its place within a larger historiographical lineage which views colonization as part of a bourgeois attempt at creating a marginalized proletarian labour force.<sup>23</sup> In focussing instead on the mutual constitution of state forms of administration and subjective forms of being, I extend the analysis of state power and liberal political development beyond any capital-labour binary. Simply, the idea that structural location defines interest and constitutes subjects is too narrow to be of much use in analyses of political subjectification more broadly.

Studies of infrastructure projects, including that offered by Bleasdale, typically fail to distinguish between infrastructures and technologies.<sup>24</sup> The conflation is especially prominent in much of the popular 'new materialist' literature. Here, infrastructure and technology are conflated and viewed as the conditions of possibility for forms of action, regimes of veridiction, modes of representation, etc. A causal relation is put forth in which infrastructures, technologies and matter more broadly are seen as more fundamental than the social, political and discursive which they condition.<sup>25</sup> As Jane Bennett has it, matter has a 'vitality' all its own and "is *not* the

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<sup>22</sup> Bleasdale, R. 2018. *Rough Work: Labourers on the Public Works of British North America and Canada, 1841-1882*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

<sup>23</sup> This is a claim first made, I believe, by H. Clare Pentland. 1981. *Labour and Capital in Canada, 1650-1860*. James Lorimer & Co: Toronto. Calls were made, notably by Family Compact member William Allan, for the creation of a large landless proletariat produced through highly restrictive land granting policies but these were rejected by Governor General Sydenham. He called Allan's arguments "trashy in the extreme." Russell, R. Fraser, R. and Cross, M.S. 2003. "Sullivan, Robert Baldwin". In, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, v. 8. University of Toronto/Université Laval: Toronto/Laval.

<sup>24</sup> For example, in Marx we get the classic statement that technology determines social forms: "The hand-mill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill society with the industrial capitalist." Marx, K. 1973. *The Poverty of Philosophy: Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon*. Progress Publishers: Moscow, 95. For a counter-example see, Easterling, K. 2014. *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space*. Verso: New York.

<sup>25</sup> Of course, new materialists claim not to do this. Inspired as many are by Latourian Actor-Network-Theory and the notion of a 'flat ontology' many draw instead on Barad's notion of 'intra-action'; a theory of causation that explicitly rejects depth accounts of cause. To Barad: "iterative intra-actions are the dynamics through which temporality and spatiality are produced and iteratively reconfigured in the materialization of phenomena and the remaking of material-discursive boundaries and their constitutive exclusions." Put simply, it is wrong to assume a material-ideology split, with the former altering the latter. Social life should be seen as the emergent product of many prior determinations and of the intra-actions of an infinite number of component elements. Barad, K. 2007.

raw material for the creative activity of humans.” This means the ‘material’ (which I presume includes infrastructures) is distinguished from politics, economics, religion, ethnicity, etc., each of which is a discursive reality distinct from the primary material one. In the new materialist argument, social factors are conditioned by material and technical factors which they can never themselves condition.

Splitting the technical and the infrastructural, claims Brian Larkin, allows for researchers to focus on how infrastructures are also involved in symbolic politics. To Larkin, infrastructures are the objects which create the grounds upon which other objects operate; they are topological, producing new spatio-temporal dynamics as a result of their ability to connect (or disconnect) disparate peoples and places.<sup>26</sup> The breadth of Larkin’s definition of infrastructure enables researchers to extend the analysis of the infrastructural beyond questions of technical functioning and question how infrastructures are connected with political orders demanding a systematic organization of collective life and of individual patterns of behaviour in relation to those conditions. But it also calls attention to more effusive aspects of infrastructure. Infrastructures are ‘promising’ things. At the same time that they configure social relations in the present they invoke notions of a future to come. Furthermore, because infrastructures are not simply technical or instrumental objects but are diffuse systems, they generate the conditions of possibility for representational forms which become connected to them. Chapter five’s examination of Thomas Devine’s attempts to map the settlement space opened by the colonization roads shows the interpenetration of the infrastructural and aesthetic.

Viewing infrastructure as involved in political struggles for ‘hearts and minds’ offers opportunities for analyzing how infrastructural matters were the site of contestation between the State and other social institutions for social and political hegemony. It also has implications for how we view the ‘liberal’ character of infrastructural colonization in the Canadas. Although similar but less extensive efforts were proposed for Upper Canada, in Lower Canada the Catholic Church sought to use the colonization movement as a means to co-opt and counter liberal ideals among the younger generations of French Catholics, while also bolstering the Church’s social and political-economic domination over the habitants. As I discuss in chapter four, the ultramontanist Bishop of Montreal, Ignace Bourget, even briefly joined forces with the left-

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*Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning.* Duke University Press: Durham, 178.

<sup>26</sup> Larkin, B. 2013. “The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure.” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 42, 329. Larkin’s work is analytically helpful in getting passed the limitations of the ‘structure/perception’ binary typical in much 20<sup>th</sup> century work. Larkin rejects the idea that infrastructures are defined by their invisibility; that we only notice them when they fail and therefore, cease to be infrastructure. Such a position, argues Larkin, presupposes too clear a linear relationship between the underlying, infrastructural matrices and the phenomenal world to which they supposedly give rise. This position becomes untenable when we consider issues of repair and maintenance. Infrastructures are perpetually failing and political forms of administration develop to ensure their smooth functioning. See Graham, S. and Thrift, N. 2007. “Out of Order: Understanding Repair and Maintenance.” *Theory, Culture, and Society*, 24: 1-25.

radical *l'Institut Canadien de Montreal* in 1848 to further the colonization effort.<sup>27</sup> The membership of *l'Institut Canadien* saw in the colonization movement an opportunity to secure a prosperous existence for the youth of Lower Canada in keeping with a liberal political imaginary and nationalist ideology, while the Church saw an opportunity to use the roads program as a means to impart moral discipline and a Catholic social imaginary to the *canadiens* in the backwoods. The Church's was a political project, but not a liberal one. Its involvement in infrastructural colonization is discussed thoroughly in chapter six through an analysis of the proto-sociological writings of colonization road agent, Stanislas Drapeau.

### *The Sociology of Sociology*

As a discipline, sociology has been marked by an urban bias and a focus on the city street over the country road. This is hardly surprising. After all, the studies which prompted the rise of disciplinary sociology on both sides of the Atlantic were prompted by the increasing disorder originating from industrialization and urbanization.<sup>28</sup> Even extending the origins of sociology beyond its late 19<sup>th</sup> century disciplinary origins and into its mid-nineteenth century practical and rhetorical foundations, we find concerns framed mostly in terms of the horrors of industrialization on labouring bodies and the disastrous effects of physical and moral degradation on social order.<sup>29</sup> Landmark sociological texts like Simmel's 'Metropolis and Mental Life' have generally focussed on the city-street; with the urban road marked as a space of 'bumbling, buzzing, confusion', generating forms of individuality and community based on perception, precision, objectivity and calculation. These are contrasted with the organic harmony of the rural vista, which goes unexamined.<sup>30</sup>

This urban bias is discernible in much of the Anglo-American governmentality literature as well. Consider Foucault's claims that beginning in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, police science, the immediate precursor to liberal governmentality in his genealogy, was chiefly characterized in "making the kingdom, the entire territory, into a sort of big town; arranging things so that the territory is organized like a town, on the model of a town, and as perfectly as a town."<sup>31</sup> Governmentality studies spent decades charting the rise of liberal political sovereignty through

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<sup>27</sup> The relationship between the Catholic Clergy and *l'Institut Canadien* shifted markedly in 1851 when radical partisans known as the "*L'Avenir* group" gained control over the *Institut*.

<sup>28</sup> For the history, see Abrams, P. 1968. *The Origins of British Sociology, 1834-1914*. Chicago University Press: Chicago. For an example of an early sociological work examining rural life, see Weber's "Capitalism and Rural Society in Germany." In, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (Eds.), 363-382. Oxford University Press: Oxford. The essay is noteworthy for its examination of rural social dynamics although Weber begins the essay by making the problematic claim that "rural society, separate from the urban social community, does not exist at the present time in a great part of the modern civilized world". So a strong urban bias remains.

<sup>29</sup> See Engels, F. *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Oxford University Press: Oxford; see also, Le Play, F. 1855. *Les ouvriers Européens*.

<sup>30</sup> Simmel, G. 1997. 'The Metropolis and Mental Life'. In, *Simmel on Culture*, D. Frisby and M. Featherstone (Eds.). Sage Publications: London.

<sup>31</sup> Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 336.

the State's gradual control over the public streets and the sewers that ran beneath them. Much less, if any, attention has been paid to the means by which the rural routes and country roads have been caught up in political debates over desirable forms of political authority and the best means of producing forms of subjectivity amenable or inimical to it. The idea that the country was or could be structured 'like a town' effaces the distinction between State roads and peasant routes, a distinction that, in the English context, began to fade only in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. What I refer to as 'rule of the routes' is a general orienting form for understanding how life on the road has been problematized, particularly how the common route became a field of experiment both for novel practices of rule, but also for a new form of knowledge accumulation: the social science.

Throughout, I employ the tools, concepts, and approaches characteristic of a reflexive historical sociology as developed in the works of Norbert Elias, Pierre Bourdieu, and Hungarian sociologist Arpad Szakolczai. To the first I am indebted for the demonstration provided in *The Civilizing Process*, of the link between changes in forms of ethical subjectivity (relations of self-to-self and self-to-other) and social and political organization. Elias puts great stress on the fact that bodily dispositions and 'affective economies'<sup>32</sup> can be linked to, and to a considerable extent, explained by, such changes as well as by class struggles for dominance over the State system. Elias points specifically to the link between the large-scale structures and powers affecting road systems and the ethical character of individuals who travel upon them. In social groupings marked by local power relations as opposed to centralized bureaucracies, says Elias, individuals' bodily dispositions along the roads are characterized by a fear of attack, the play of their emotions, the design of their vehicles, their gazing about the countryside – as I might while driving along the highway – are not expressions of voyeurism or wanderlust, but of fear for safety. To nineteenth century liberals, such uncertainty and fear needed to be administered out of existence. As I show in chapter two, such concerns were at the fore of attempts at 'ruling through routes', particularly in Lower Canada.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> By pairing the term 'economy' with 'affect' I mean something more than a play of emotions. 'Economy' is used here in the archaic sense as a balancing and distribution of effective forces rather than an object, such as 'the economy'. In my use, 'affect' refers not simply to 'emotions' but, drawing on Fredric Jameson, the remainder which is left over after sensations are given named forms. In this sense, affect is similar to Freud's notion of the 'uncanny' which defines forms of experience that are frightening, 'concealed, and kept out of sight' but also simultaneously 'familiar and agreeable'. Affective economy therefore refers to something more than a new hierarchy of the senses in the Kantian understanding. It refers to a new balancing and organization of the field of possible experiences and possible psychic dispositions towards them. As I see it, affective economies can be structured physically or ideologically (but it is usually a bit of both as this thesis makes clear). For instance, the design of toilets and privies encourages forms of behaviours and relations between a person and their excrement and thus particular ways of being in the body. Ideologically, as Jean-Marie Fecteau has argued, 19<sup>th</sup> century liberalism recodes the future as a field of possibility, risk, and excitement against which individuals can securitize themselves. In short, liberalism cultivates a distinct ethic of personhood along a new temporal axis requiring the balancing of emotions regarding it. Jameson, F. 2016. *The Antinomies of Realism*. Verso New York; Fecteau, J-M. 2016. *The Pauper's Freedom: Crime and Poverty in Nineteenth Century Quebec*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston. You can read Freud's essay on the 'Unheimlich' or 'Uncanny' but I did so you wouldn't have to.

<sup>33</sup> I agree to a point with Elias's detractors who claim his project is teleological insofar as his 'civilizing process' describes a trans-historical development culminating in the production of 'closed' or compartmentalized individuals (What Elias calls at various times, '*homo clausus*'). While I admit the move is problematic, there is no reason we

From Bourdieu, I take the need for an *epistemological*, and not merely *narcissistic* reflexivity. The practice of narcissistic reflexivity is common today in the social and human sciences, usually taking the form of acts of personal confession. Narcissistic reflexivity involves turning the sociological gaze back onto the person of the sociologist themselves, not in the hope of incorporating the sociologist into the research process holistically, but in the hopes of controlling for its effects. In Bourdieu's terms such narcissistic reflexivity conflates the *empirical* with the *epistemic* individual.<sup>34</sup> The personal characteristics of the individual researcher (e.g. sex, name, age, gender, race, class, etc. *ad infinitum*) are confessed, that is, acknowledged for the effect which they may or may not have on the research process, and then the project is begun in earnest.

Yet, as Bourdieu claims, the most fundamental biases are not those which stem from the social positioning of the researcher nor of their position in the sociological field, but in the 'intellectual posture' they effect between themselves and the objects under study; that is, biases stemming from the 'fuzzy logic' of sociological practice itself. The epistemic individual, in contrast to the empirical, is the correlate produced by such fuzzy logic imposing a finite list of effective properties in keeping with contemporary sociological doxa. The epistemic individual produced by sociological practice differs from that produced by psychoanalytic or anthropological practice as a result of the effective properties it selects as relevant and the methods it uses to identify them. Most fundamental for epistemological reflexivity, such limits are themselves to be seen as objects of struggle within social, political, and institutional fields which structure the distribution of cultural or symbolic capital. In short, epistemological reflexivity has to turn the tools and techniques of sociology onto sociological practice itself. We are forced to ask: How are sociological methods implicated in the construction of the objects under study? What is the history of those practices themselves? Inventory-making, statistical abstraction, systematic observation, interviewing, now recognized as part of sociology's methodological toolbox were each at one time objects over which struggles were fought in determining how best to represent 'the social'. For example, even those nineteenth century figures who believed in the existence of such a domain of collective regularity, disagreed as to whether or not statistical abstraction was useful in representing it.<sup>35</sup> As it was put in

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cannot supplement the approach taken by Elias by focussing on how new forms of 'being-with-others' are also developed.

<sup>34</sup> Bourdieu, P. 1988. *Homo Academicus*. Polity Press: New York; 1994. "Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field." *Sociological Theory*, 12 (1): 1-18; 2001. *The Science of Science and Reflexivity*. Chicago University Press: Chicago. And Wacquant, L. 1989. "Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu." *Sociological Theory* 7 (1): 26-63; 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago University Press: Chicago; Wacquant, L. 2006. "Pierre Bourdieu." In, R. Stones (Ed.) *Key Contemporary Thinkers*, 1-17. MacMillan: London and New York.

<sup>35</sup> I am referring here to Thomas Carlyle's 1840 pamphlet *Chartism*. Carlyle is not chosen at random. He was the boyhood tutor of two members of the Durham Commission (Charles and Arthur Buller) and a member of the same social circles. To Carlyle, questions like "why are the working classes discontented; what is their condition, economic, moral, in their houses and their hearts, as it is in reality and as they figure it to themselves to be; what do they complain of? – These are measurable questions; on some of these any common mortal did he but turn his eyes to them, might throw some light (8)." To Carlyle, the social is a purely empirical object and class conflict is the

parliamentary debate over the creation of the Bureau of Agriculture – a topic discussed at length in chapter four – ‘statistics could be used to prove anything’.<sup>36</sup> Finally, as Bourdieu states, it is the “task of the history of the social sciences to uncover all the unconscious ties to the social world that the social sciences owe to the history which has produced them.”<sup>37</sup> By studying the interrelation between rural road development and social scientific practice, such acts of revelation are a central feature of my project.

Finally, I take from Szakolczai the identification of four main themes for reflexive historical sociological practice. They are: the history of forms of subjectivity, of knowledge, of thought, and of the regularization of time and space.<sup>38</sup> Szakolczai’s themes are not ideal types nor are they mutually exclusive. Changes in the ways people conduct themselves, conceive of themselves as social beings, and plan and scheme for their futures, might provide for new ways of thinking about collectivities, new forms of knowledge, and, from the State’s perspective, new ways of structuring them in time and space. Despite their interrelation I do not offer equal consideration to each of these axes in my analysis of the colonization roads. I focus chiefly on subjectivity, knowledge, and time and space. The first two themes are closely linked to the works of Elias and Bourdieu already mentioned and are examined at length in chapters two through four. The third, time and space, forms a central consideration of chapters five and six. The historicization of spatial and temporal considerations puts this thesis squarely in the realm of post-Kantian thought. Whereas for Kant, space, time and the twelve categories of understanding were *a priori* categories, that is, elements of the mind of the subject of transcendental apperception (i.e. the I, or, he or she, or ‘it’ that thinks<sup>39</sup>), I treat them instead as historically produced by social and political circumstance. The construction of roads through the Canadian backwoods was an explicit attempt to structure agrarian settlements in such a way as to serve simultaneously as the very ground for the production of responsible political subjects, possessed of desirable habits, customs and ways of being, and as a means of configuring subjects in such a way as to make general characteristics of their settlements knowable. The manipulation of spatial units, such as the acreage of the free grants, were explicitly rationalized in terms of the type of subjects it was desirable to produce. Too large and settlements would not be dense enough to sustain backwoods settlers, vulnerable as they were to deprivation and want on their own. Too

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result of neglect. Statistics is not only unnecessary but ill-suited since “tables are abstraction and the object a most concrete one (10)” and “statistical inquiry, with its limited means, with its short vision and headlong extensive dogmatism as yet too often throws not light, but error worse than darkness (12).”

<sup>36</sup> *Debates*, 25 August 1852. The speaker is MP Gamble who prefaces his remarks by citing Bastiat’s *Political Economics*. Here is the direct quote: “Statistics were very useful but it is well known that they were not to be relied upon, for in fact anything could be proved by them.”

<sup>37</sup> Bourdieu, *Rethinking*, 3.

<sup>38</sup> Szakolczai, A. 1998. “Reflexive Historical Sociology.” *European Journal of Philosophy*, 1: 209-227; 2000. *Reflexive Historical Sociology*. Routledge: London; McMylor, P. 2005. “Reflexive Historical Sociology: Consciousness, Experience, and the Author.” *History of the Human Sciences*, 18(4): 141-160.

<sup>39</sup> Sharpe, M. 2016. “Žižek’s Kant, or the Crack in the Universal (Politicising the Transcendental Turn).” *International Journal of Žižek Studies*, 2(2): 1-22.

small, and settlers would abandon the Canadas for the more liberal (read ‘generous’) grants available in the United States. As I show in chapter six, forms of social scientific spatio-temporalization configured spatialized the field of infrastructural colonization in ways to make it knowable as a social scientific object. As I argue, the new configuration was not necessarily amenable to the sort of infrastructural colonization as it was carried out along the colonization roads.

### *Social Science in the Canadas*

In addition to its documentary goals, which are considerable, this thesis contributes to filling in some of what Bruce Curtis has called the ‘missing memory’ of Canadian sociology.<sup>40</sup> The origin story of sociology in Canada suffers in part due to an epistemological nominalism that identifies sociology only when it emerges labelled as such and incorporated into universities. In these accounts, there was no English language sociology prior to the 1920s and what did exist remained under the aegis of political economy scholars like Harold Innis until at least the 1940s. There are nuances to these accounts. Some, like Rick Helmes-Hayes and Alan Hunt, identify a ‘social gospel’ movement and some university teaching of something resembling sociology in the late 1880s.<sup>41</sup> Others challenge the institutionalist reading. Wanting to find Canadian counterparts to key British figures, they identify the individual fact-finding efforts such as Herbert Ames’s 1897 *The City below the Hill: A Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal, Canada*, which is viewed as the colonial equivalent of Charles Booth’s poverty surveys. Occasionally mentioned as well is the Catholic Church’s 1891 encyclical known as the *Rerum Novarum* which is seen as influencing the development of a doctrinal sociology in the 1890s and the development of attempts by the Société de Saint Vincent de Paul to study the ‘working class question’ and regulate the distribution of charity.<sup>42</sup>

I have found few Canadian scholars willing to trace the intellectual history of Canadian sociology before 1880.<sup>43</sup> Those who do, such as Robert Leroux and Jean-Charles Falardeau, do

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<sup>40</sup> Curtis, B. 2016. “The Missing Memory of Canadian Sociology: Reflexive Government and ‘the Social Science.’” *Canadian Review of Sociology*, 53 (2): 203-225.

<sup>41</sup> Helmes-Hayes, R. 2016. “Building the New Jerusalem in Canada’s Green and Pleasant Land: The Social Gospel and the Roots of Canadian Academic Sociology, 1889-1921.” *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 41 (1): 1-52; Hunt, A. 2002. “Measuring Morals: The Beginnings of the Social Survey Movement in Canada, 1913-1917.” *Histoire-Sociale/Social History*, 35 (69): 171-194.

<sup>42</sup> Hoerder, D. 2010. *“To Know Our Many Selves”: From the Study of Canada to Canadian Studies*. Athabaska University Press: Athabaska. See also Warren, J-P. 2009. “The Three Axes of Sociological Practice: The Case of French Quebec.” *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 34 (3): 803-829.

<sup>43</sup> I would be remiss to forget the work of Paul Sabourin who extends the prehistory of Canadian sociology to the 1850s and identifies Antoine Gérin-Lajoie as a Le Playsian ‘social engineer’, *avant la lettre*, as a result of his realist novel, *Jean Rivard*. Sabourin, P. 2010. “La contribution leplaysienne a la naissance d’une science économique ‘heterodoxe’ au Quebec.” *Société d’Économie et de Science Sociales* 151: 53-82. See also, Warren, J-P. 2017. “L’Éffacement de la sociologie le Playsienne au profit de la sociologie doctrinal: Sociologie et Catholicisme au Canada Français.” *Archive de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 179 (Juillet-Septembre). One excellent article incorporating Upper Canadian social science from the first third of the 19th century is, Prevost, J-G. 2002. “Espace

so briefly and only in the context of Lower Canada. The standard history sees Canadian sociology as a product of American and European scholars whose theories and methods were imported by Canadian intellectuals to help explain problems associated with urbanization and industrialization in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, it is common to read that the first major sociological research project was a Rockefeller-funded study of the state of unemployment in Montreal in the 1920s.<sup>44</sup>

While there is disagreement as to when sociology first emerged in the Canadian context, there is universal agreement that there was no such discipline prior to the 1880s. By 1912, the ‘sociology’ section of the library of the Parliament contained no works with ‘sociology’ in the title prior to 1889, though numerous works referred to something called ‘the social science’. Sociology, the term coined by Auguste Comte, was known to many influential figures of the day but remained a niche term for much of the nineteenth century owing to its speculative and moral-philosophical character. The key figures we in sociology departments identify to our students as the ‘founding fathers’ of the discipline, including Martineau, Le Play, Marx, and Weber, did not see themselves as ‘sociologists’ in part because this would mean ‘follower of Comte’ and none sought to base what we identify as their more ‘sociological’ works on speculative thought. Even those figures usually identified as the founders of Canadian sociology, Leon Gérin and Errol Bouchette, explicitly rejected Comtean sociology as the basis for their own practice. When the two were charged with founding a new research division of sociology and political economy for the Royal Society of Canada, Gérin complained that sociology was a poor term for the work he intended the division to perform, preferring instead the term ‘the social science’ for its methodological and empirical connotations.<sup>45</sup>

As I argue, when we shift our analyses from sociology to ‘the social science’ the intellectual roots of sociological thought extend considerably further back and Canadian events are given a much larger role to play. We can trace the development of sociology in colonial

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public, action collective et savoir social: Robert Gourlay et le *Statistical Account of Upper Canada*.” *Histoire-Sociale/Social History*, 25 (69): 109-139.

<sup>44</sup>Falardeau, J-C. 1967. *The Rise of the Social Sciences in French Canada*. Department of Cultural Affairs: Quebec; Falardeau, J-C. 1968. *Leon Gérin: Habitant de Saint-Justin*. Les Presses de la Université de Montreal: Montreal; Falardeau, J-C. 1974. “Antécédents, débuts, et croissance de la sociologie au Québec.” *Recherches Sociographiques*, 55: 135-165; Fecteau, J-M. 2002. “La dynamique sociale du catholicisme Québécois au XIXe siècle: éléments pour une réflexion sur les frontières et les conditions historiques de possibilité du ‘social’.” *Histoire-Sociale/Social History*, 35 (69): 495-515; Fournier, M. 2001. “Quebec Sociology and Quebec Society: The Construction of a Collective Identity.” *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 26 (3): 333-347; Fournier, M. 2014. “La redécouverte de Leon Gérin, premier sociologue du Canada.” *Recherches Sociographiques*, 55 (2): 207-222; Hunt, A. 2002. “Measuring Morals: The Beginnings of the Social Survey Movement in Canada, 1913-1917.” *Histoire-Sociale/Social History*, 35 (69): 171-194; Leroux, R. 2001. “‘La Nation’ and the Quebec Sociological Tradition.” *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 26 (3): 349-373; Shore, M. 1987. *The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School and the Origins of Social Research in Canada*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston

<sup>45</sup>Gérin, L. 1913. “La sociologie: le mot et la chose.” *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*, Series III, VIII. See also, Gérin, L. 1905. “La vulgarisation de la science sociale chez les Canadiens-Français.” *Des Mémoires de la société royale du Canada*, Deuxième Série, tome XI.

social and political developments. As Patrick Carroll-Burke has argued, the social science or social economy can be distinguished from sociology proper based on how ‘the social’ is employed rhetorically. Sociologists since Durkheim have viewed the social as an active force, ‘external and coercive’ upon the actions of individuals. Yet, to nineteenth century reformers, the ‘social’ referred not to an agential force, but to a domain of possible experience separate from the purely economic logic of the market and the exchanging individual. Proponents of the social science were actively involved in the work of configuring the social as a possible object of study in the early and mid-nineteenth century and this was often a contested process. The colonial press printed articles detailing the activities of British associations including the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (NAPSS) which provoked heated responses from their readers. One article in the Montreal Herald titled ‘A Ladies Lecture on the Social Science’, chastised the members of the NAPSS for failing to include matters of domestic economy and by extension the place of women in the social sphere. Likewise, there had been great interest in the years after Harriet Martineau’s tour of the United States for a translation of her *Society in America*, as her accounts of domestic life were believed to provide a useful metric of the progress of American civilization.<sup>46</sup>

The genealogy of the social science in the Canadas offered here contains both prosopographical and substantive moments. Where possible I demonstrate the personal connections between state and non-state actors and key figures of nineteenth century social science. Were key players in infrastructural colonization readers of the social science? Did they have personal connections to them? For the most part however, I focus on substantive developments such as the expansion of observational methods of social reporting, forms of tabulation and comparison, debates over the reliability of informants, the development of metrics of social progress, issues of epistemological scale, etc. I have privileged such methodological innovations and shifts in political administration as key features of an emerging social science in order to distinguish my reflexive historical sociological effort from a history of ideas. I have forsaken concern with the importing of speculative thought from abroad in order to demonstrate the deep linkages between sociological knowledge and institutional organization and processes of state formation. The development of social scientific practice and attempts to ‘rule the routes’ were part of a single line of temporal continuity.

### ***Liberal Governmentality***

I approach the sociology of state formation through Michel Foucault’s analysis of liberal governmentality. Accordingly, I provide nothing in the way of a theory of ‘the State’ in favour of tracing broad shifts in the objects and practices of political rule and state administration. The contribution Foucault’s governmentality offers to political sociology lies not in its empirical richness since Foucault did not use governmentality to explore any concrete phenomena in any real detail.<sup>47</sup> Rather, his contribution lay in a new way of analyzing practices of state rule and

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<sup>46</sup> *Montreal Herald*, 16 December 1858; *Le Canadien*, 21 October 1836; *L’Ami du Peuple*, 11 April 1838.

<sup>47</sup> At times, the governmentality lectures lapse problematically into exactly the sort of speculative idealism Foucault is usually credited for bypassing. Specifically, his claim that a modern ‘art of government’ developed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but was somehow ‘blocked’ until the late 18<sup>th</sup>. The ‘blockage’ is later revealed as the very condition of

their effect on conceptualizations of political sovereignty. In his *Security, Territory, Population*, Foucault explicitly contrasted his approach to forms of political analysis based on “a circular ontology of the state” which begin by privileging considerations of legality, right, and legitimacy.<sup>48</sup> To Foucault these are objects of inquiry, not facts of state power. Foucault began instead by analyzing governmental practice as a way of asking and answering questions of such considerations. Drawing on Foucault we might therefore ask: how is the question of legitimate political sovereignty formulated at different times? At what objects is government action directed? Through what mechanisms does it operate? Through which agents?

Prominent Canadian historians have conceptualized 19<sup>th</sup> century liberalism as a sort of precursor to Thatcherite notions of ‘individualism’. As Ian McKay has argued, a ‘liberal order’ is one that attempts to “spread across time and space a belief in the epistemological and ontological primacy of the individual”<sup>49</sup> in contrast to ‘the social’. In McKay’s work, liberalism is presented in Gramscian terms as an ongoing project of rule or ‘revolution from above’. Yet, because McKay bases his conception of liberalism on abstract notions of the ‘possessive individual’, liberalism is presented without internal contradiction. It is as though 19<sup>th</sup> century liberals did not bicker about what *sorts* of individuals it was desired to produce nor about how *community* dynamics should be balanced to ensure they could be in the first place. It has been a basic tenet of sociological theory since Durkheim that the ‘individual’ of liberal individualism is not an empirical being, but a postulate operating to ensure a particular form of social cohesion. Individualism is a *social* relation.

Foucault’s approach to liberalism differs markedly from Thatcherite conceptions of the individual. Liberalism is the name for a group of governing practices that are analytically distinguishable from earlier ones. The common opposition between liberalism and mercantilism and the late 18<sup>th</sup> replacement of the latter by the former, is altered by Foucault not by finding between them different theories of the State, but in the practices used to ground legitimate sovereignty in effective political rule. Mercantile government and its logic of ‘police science’ sought the realization of a totally administered collective life. It was marked by a concern with cleanliness, social order, and essentially, any and all “means for bringing about the internal growth of the state’s forces.” Police science sought as near as possible a complete knowledge of the internal domain of the State. Yet the accumulation of information on such a vast scale led to the acknowledgement of certain intractable regularities; certain patterns of collective existence which could be known and controlled. These phenomena could be discerned in vital events and

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possibility for the development of a modern art of government: the emergence of ‘population’. The logic is clearly circular. See Dupont, D. and Pearce, F. 2001. “Foucault contra Foucault: Rereading the Governmentality Papers.” *Theoretical Criminology*, 5: 123-158.

<sup>48</sup> Foucault, M. 2007. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977-78*. Picador: New York, 354.

<sup>49</sup> McKay, I. 2009. “The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History.” In, J-F. Constant and M. Ducharme (eds.), *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, 35-63. University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

therefore serve as the foundation for the emergence of a new object of political-economic rationalization: the ‘population’.

This new object, which in Foucault’s analysis emerges in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, is to be analytically distinguished from earlier, mercantilist, conceptions. Police science, generally, was concerned with maximizing population; with concern for populousness and increasing the multiplicity of individuals. Such a conception was fully in keeping with conceptions of static political equilibrium – a hierarchy of kings, lords and commons – and practices of government were directed towards matters of social order; that is, keeping this hierarchy intact. A liberal mode of government is discernible once governmental practice becomes oriented not towards the multiplicity of individuals but towards population. With liberalism there is a fundamental antinomy between the domain of governmental practice – the level of the population – and the multiplicity of individuals. The latter is relevant to liberalism only to the extent it can be figured as population. In contrast to considerations of populousness, population has no absolute, but only a relative value. Understood as a set of observable regularities within the collective life of a populace, it is altered by a potentially limitless series of independent variables. Population varies with customs, with laws, with infrastructures, with economic practices, with the capacity for agricultural production, with climate, etc.

In its liberal mode, governmentality operates on territorialized populations through mechanisms of ‘security’ and is informed by the human sciences. Foucault distinguishes apparatuses of security from earlier disciplinary forms of control based on the manner in which they operate. Whereas disciplinary techniques are ‘centripetal’ that is, focussed inwards and towards a standard norm, apparatuses of security are ‘centrifugal’, expansive, and focus on ‘letting things happen’, though only within desirable thresholds of tolerance. Such governmental practice was to be guided in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century by the emerging science of political economy which was later supplemented by the human sciences of moral philosophy, as well as moral and social economy, and ‘the social science’. The social science was not so much distinct from political economy as it was an attempt to bring social and moral considerations to bear upon it.<sup>50</sup> Populations needed to be understood as possessed of community dynamics which structured rates of observable regularities (e.g. birth rates vary based on age of marriage which varies based on religion and in urban or rural environments, ‘pauperism’ varied based on population density, etc.); government could work as much through these dynamics as by the economic truths proclaimed by the political economists.

In bringing the moral and social to bear on the economic, liberal governmentality proposes a novel configuration of the political and ethical spheres. In his later formulations of the concept, Foucault sought to disconnect governmentality from the focus on power/knowledge which his late-1970s formulation had proposed, in favour of greater focus on analysis of modes of subjectification; on how individuals within populations are led to see themselves as particular types of being. Thus, in a liberal mode, political subjectification and ethical subjectification are

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<sup>50</sup> Procacci, G. 1991. “Social Economy and the Government of Poverty.” In, G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, 151-168. Chicago University Press: Chicago; Lemke, T. 2019. *Foucault’s Analysis of Modern Governmentality: A Critique of Political Reason*. Verso: New York.

inherently linked. In his 1980s lectures, Foucault sought to show how forms of dominating others politically and the modes of relating to oneself as a living being, with particular forms of conduct, habits, and ways of being in the body and with others, are connected. In contrast to the emergence of a sort of power/knowledge such as social or political economy, governmentality comes to denote something far broader; the articulation of modes of ethical subjectification with desirable forms of political rule.<sup>51</sup>

Foucault's analytic is quite useful to the study of infrastructural colonization I put forth. Left-Whig factions in England as well as reformers in the Canadas began in the 1830s to speak of liberalism as a distinct practice of governing. Advocates of 'systematic colonization' developed their thought explicitly in terms of articulating populations within politically congenial territorial units. Representative governmental forms and the configuring of settlement space in the backwoods were each intended to contribute towards the creation of responsible political subjects. As I discuss in chapter two, the 1830s saw various colonization schemes proposed based on the manners by which they articulated populations in settlement space. The place of the road system in these schemes varied accordingly. But the creation of responsible subjects also meant the creation of subjects who possess the agency to resist forms of government intervention. The construction of new roads through the backwoods did not always meet with the approbation of the existing settlers. In Lower Canada, for instance, the poor roads served as a 'protective duty' to peasant farmers against potential American competitors. Locals who knew the routes and when to avoid certain roads, possessed a distinct market advantage over those who did not.

### ***Settler Colonialism***

My study of infrastructural colonization has obvious connections to the field of settler colonial studies. Although it seemed so to imperial eyes, the colonization roads did not traverse a 'wilderness' or *terra nullius*; they crossed the traditional homelands of numerous First Nations peoples whose rights of tenure were (usually) formally acknowledged even as they were

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<sup>51</sup> There is a large literature of critical realist sociology critiquing Foucault on the grounds that his analysis confuses the distinction between ethics and politics and replaces the latter with the former. Were this the case Foucault could be justifiably read as a political fatalist; political action would take the form of creating new types of communities with (potentially) subversive ways of being. Foucault at times discusses homosexual sexual behaviours as a re-articulation of the relation between desire and the body away from its 'reproduction' centres (the 'degenitalization' of sex; his privileged example is anal-fisting) and thus a challenge to the heteronormative substrate of modern society. The proposing of a *direct* relation between the ethical and political in this way is problematic when considered as a form of political subversion. However, Foucault does not say ethical subjectification exhausts the possibilities for political action. I would agree with the critical realists were this the case. Foucault is simply interested in the articulation of different forms of subjectification and the potential relations between them. For the critical realists on Foucault, see Frauley, J. and Pearce, F. 2007. *Critical Realism and the Social Sciences: Heterodox Elaborations*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto. For Foucault on anal-fisting, desire, subjectification, and politics, see Foucault, M. Morar, N. and Smith, D.W. 2011. "The Gay Science." *Critical Inquiry*, 37 (3): 385-403. For his later lectures and their relation to governmentality see, Foucault, M. 2005. *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the College de France, 1981-82*. Picador: New York; 2010; *The Government of Self and Others: Lectures at the College de France, 1982-83*. Picador: New York; 2014. *On the Government of the Living, Lectures at the College de France, 1979-1980*. Picador: New York.

practically eliminated. The distinction between settler colonial studies and post-colonialism more broadly is important to this thesis. The distinction, while it did not go by these terms, was well-known in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the final chapter of *Capital* ('The Modern Theory of Colonization'), Marx wrote of two types of colonies, distinguishing European settler societies (e.g. British North America and the United States) from plantation colonies "set up exclusively for the export trade"<sup>52</sup> and which subjected the indigenous to forced labour and permanent subordination. By contrast, in the recent work of Lorenzo Veracini and Patrick Wolfe<sup>53</sup> settler colonialism is viewed as a process occurring over time having both positive and negative dimensions. Negatively, it strives for the replacement or elimination of the indigenous from their lands. Positively, it erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land which offers (limited) opportunities for recognition and for claiming legal rights. This is what Veracini means when he states that settler colonialism is marked by a tendency to erase itself. Crafting a place for the indigenous within settler society justifies the operation of the colonial state as it moves to erase its violent past. It is not based on permanent subordination and exploitation, although this does not necessarily make it less violent.<sup>54</sup>

Yet in my reading, Canadian settler colonial studies suffers from two key issues which I address to varying degrees. First, there is a problematic teleological presentism where the liberal assimilationist policies of the different Canadian administrations at mid-century are read into the periods which preceded them. Assimilation, domination, and genocide are viewed as 'presaged' or 'anticipated' in earlier events while the aleatory character of the historical present is ignored.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Marx, K. 1967. *Capital Volume I: A Critique of Political Economy*. Penguin: New York, 931, 917. Patrick Wolfe's seminal work, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*, imports Marx's categorization more or less completely: "But what if the colonizers are not dependent on native labour? – Indeed, what if the natives themselves have been reduced to a small minority whose survival can hardly be seen to furnish the colonizing society with more than remission from ideological embarrassment? [. . .] In contrast to the kind of colonial formation that Cabral or Fanon confronted [i.e.: 'franchise' or 'dependent'], settler colonies were not primarily established to extract surplus value from indigenous labour" (1999: 1).

<sup>53</sup> Piterberg, G. and Veracini, L. 2015. "Wakefield, Marx, and the World Turned Inside Out." *Journal of Global History*, 10: 457-478; Veracini, L. 2013. "Settler Colonialism: Career of a Concept." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41: 313-333; Wolfe, P. 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8 (4): 387-409.

<sup>54</sup> Veracini's account of the operations of settler colonialism clearly parallels the actions of the English elite in Quebec respecting the canadiens. As Nancy Christie has recently noted, the granting of official government positions to French-Canadians paired with increasingly brazen attempts at eliminating any all symbols of French-Canadian nationality, reflects an obvious 'settler colonial' mindset, but one that requires a reframing of the colonizer-colonized relation as necessarily between Europeans and First Nations. See Christie, N. 2020. *The Formal and Informal Politics of British Rule in Post-Conquest Quebec, 1760-1837: A Northern Bastille*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>55</sup> For an example of a pre-Confederation study, and its implications for contemporary settler colonial studies, see Gettler, B. 2012. "En espèce ou en nature? Les présents, l'imprévoyance et l'évolution idéologique de la politique indienne pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle." *Revue de l'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 65 (4), 409-437. For more on Lord Dalhousie's paternalism in the context of relations with settler communities, see Little, J.I. 2010. "'The Fostering Care of Government': Lord Dalhousie's 1821 Survey of the Eastern Townships." *Histoire-Sociale/Social History*, 43 (85): 193-212.

We read in the widely cited work of John Tobias that “protection, civilization, and assimilation have always been the goals of Canada’s Indian policy.”<sup>56</sup> Yet each of these represent different strategic actions on the part of imperial and colonial administrations in the pre-Confederation period and each was conditioned by changing political contexts, actors, and circumstances at home and abroad. ‘Protection’, ‘civilization’, and ‘assimilation’ each represent distinct efforts to govern through the rational calculation of spatial dynamics. As Elsbeth Heaman argues, prior to the 1830s, ‘protection’ implied a spatial relation between indigenous and settler populations premised on the ideas of social order as the maintenance of a static equilibrium between social groups. Successive Tory administrations sought to spatialize territories in keeping with a ‘frontier logic’ dividing the two peoples. For the indigenous older mercantile logics prevailed as the Crown sought to manage indigenous populations. Yet ‘managing’ populations in my reading is not the same as ‘governing’ them. It is equally amenable to ‘ruling’ them in accordance with a static equilibrium opposed to a liberal social order. As long as the conservative logic of protection held sway, as it did under the Tory administrations of Lord Dalhousie, there was the *potential* for a civilizational pluralism which is only eliminated by later shifts towards policies of genocidal assimilation embodied in 1857’s *Gradual Civilization Act* and most famously in 1876’s *Indian Act*.<sup>57</sup>

Second, as numerous scholars have pointed out, settler colonial studies suffers from viewing inequality and exclusion in terms of a binary between European colonizers and the indigenous colonized. Duncan Bell has made some intriguing suggestions for surpassing this limitation by focusing on the different forms of rule practiced in settler colonies. Nevertheless, his stark binary between the ‘despotic model’ used in India and the ‘liberal-democratic model’ employed in British North America, Australia and New Zealand, continues to view settler societies as internally homogeneous. In fact, it seems to offer little in the way of advance from that of Marx! Instead, as C.A. Bayly has argued, we should view colonialism in a broader sense that includes the subjugation of the non-Protestant and non-English European communities as well as the indigenous. As Nancy Christie and Michel Gauvreau have persuasively claimed, models such as those proposed by Bell are ill-suited to the Canadas for they tend to ignore efforts to subjugate the Roman-Catholic, French-speaking majority in Lower Canada.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Tobias, J. 1976. “‘Protection, Civilization, Assimilation’: An Outline History of Canada’s Indian Policy”. *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology*, 6 (2): 13-30.

<sup>57</sup> Miller, J.R. 1989. *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto. Heaman, E. 2019. “Space, Race, and Violence: The Beginnings of ‘Civilization’ in Canada.” In, *Violence, Order and Unrest: A History of British North America, 1749-1876*, ed. E. Mancke, J. Bannister, D. McKim, and S. See, 150-173. UTP: Toronto, 139, 141.

<sup>58</sup> Bayly, C.A. 1989. *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830*. Longman: London; Bell, D. 2010. “John Stuart Mill on Colonies.” *Political Theory*, 38 (1): 34-64; 2016. *Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ; Christie, N. and Gauvreau, M. 2017. “‘Freedom of the Factions’: The Politics of the Street in Montreal and the Struggle against the British Fiscal-Military State.” *Critical Historical Studies*, Spring: 75-106.

Putting it all together, I argue the model of settler colonialism evinced by infrastructural colonization should not be viewed teleologically as a prelude to liberal assimilationist policies, and more in keeping with what Alan Greer has recently called the imposition of a distinct ‘property formation’.<sup>59</sup> The idea of treating settler colonialism as a type of property formation is particularly relevant for my study as it derives from the larger literature on state formation which has enjoyed a prominent place in Canadian historical sociology. A ‘property formation’ analyses the social forces at play in settler colonialism, implicating both ‘natives and newcomers’, and refuses to view settler colonialism from the lens of a teleological presentism. Greer’s approach also allows researchers to follow Bayly’s advice and see ‘settler societies’ as internally fragmented and composed of competing property forms. Settler colonial studies has viewed the colonizer-colonized binary as defined by individual vs. communal property, with the latter serving as evidence of ‘wildness’ and the need for indigenous ‘civilization’.<sup>60</sup> However, such a view tends to ignore Lower Canadian seigneurial (feudal) tenure – itself a form of communal property – and the repeated attempts by Canadian administrations to colonize Lower Canada by granting land in English tenure (free and common socage).<sup>61</sup> Viewed in such a way, we can see settler colonialism as gendered as well as raced, since the granting of lands in free and common socage also attacked widow’s property rights and their enfranchisement which seigneurial tenure ensured.

### Documentation

Anyone wishing to do a history of communications infrastructure in the Canadas is likely to encounter problems relating to the material reality of the archive itself. After confederation, matters of agricultural settlement and land administration were handed over to the individual provinces and the archival record reflects this division. However, although the colonization roads were not seen as matters of ‘national’ importance like railways or canals, neither were they merely provincial concerns in the sense of the term today. The roads program was intended to influence political development in both Canadas equally and its administrative history does not

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<sup>59</sup> Greer, A. 2017. *Property and Dispossession: Natives, Empires, and Land in Early Modern North America*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

<sup>60</sup> See in particular, Evans J., Grimshaw, P., Phillips, D. and Swain, S. 1997. *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights: Indigenous Peoples in British Settler Colonies, 1830s-1910*. Manchester University Press: New York, chapter two. Also, Dickason, O.P. 1992. *Canada’s First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

<sup>61</sup> Throughout the first third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Canadian Governors, beginning with Lord Craig, attempted to settle the Eastern Townships with English settlers holding land in free and common socage and connect these lands to the markets at Quebec and Montreal through the construction of long leading lines of road; the Craig Road being the most prominent. Such efforts were strongly resisted by the Lower Canadian assembly which sought to isolate the Eastern Townships, control their population growth, and limit their effect on the composition of the assembly. See Caron, I. 1921. “La colonisation sous le regime Anglais (1815-1822).” *Annuaire statistique du Quebec*. Imprimerie du Roi: Quebec; 1933. “Historique de la voirie de la province du Quebec, v(s). 1-6.” *Bulletin des recherches historiques dans le province du Quebec*, avril-aout; Ouellet, F. 1980. *Economic and Social History of Quebec, 1760-1850*. Carleton University Press: Ottawa.

fit neatly into contemporary jurisdictional divisions. The early colonization roads at Owen Sound and Megantic were administered by the Crown Lands Department whose records are presently housed at the Provincial Archives of Ontario (PAO; Toronto) and Bibliothèque et archives nationales du Québec (BANQ; Quebec City), respectively. Once the roads program was expanded in 1853, administration of the roads was split along provincial lines. The newly created Bureau of Agriculture (Agriculture and Statistics after 1855 and eventually Statistics Canada), was given responsibility for the lines in Canada West while Crown Lands continued to manage the roads in Canada East. There were numerous recommendations to have the Quebec roads transferred over to the Bureau of Agriculture in the late 1850s and early 1860s. Not only did this not happen, in 1861 the Bureau of Agriculture lost control of the western roads which were given over to Crown Lands.

This confusion is further complicated by the fact that although the Bureau of Agriculture was responsible for the management and administration of the western roads, the individuals assigned to oversee and monitor their development were agents of the Crown Lands Department. This creates considerable issues for archival researchers as instructions emanating from the Bureau of Agriculture (which was federalized after confederation) are held in its correspondence files at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa, while responses (which survive) are contained in the records of the Crown Lands Departments in the provincial archives, 400km in either direction. Then of course there are the usual issues of historical research; namely, the large gaps in the archival records which cannot be explained. I routinely found myself wondering whether or not desired materials were located at one of the provincial archives or if they were simply lost. For example, the index file for the correspondence of the secretary of the Bureau of Agriculture (RG 17 A.I.2, v. 1490) lists many items supposed to be found in the subsequent volumes (1491-1494 for my purposes), but which cannot be found at either archive. The numerous archivists to whom I spoke in regard to these issues were often eager to assist, but usually unable to help.

All of this is to say nothing of the records of local officials involved in the roads project whose files are housed at one of the numerous local archival facilities in both provinces. Chapter two draws on materials gathered from the Oakville Historical Society, while the research process for the dissertation overall began in the county archives in Renfrew (which consists mostly of photocopies of materials I later found elsewhere). I could list numerous other administrative peculiarities but it would bore you and tire me. All this to say, I unpack the history of a specific colonization project through a wide variety of sources gathered from numerous locations. I draw particularly heavily on government documents, such as the aforementioned correspondence files, as well as the debates of the legislative assembly, the publications of the various ministries, and the personal fonds of government agents where available. These sources are supplemented by newspaper descriptions where possible and contemporaneous secondary sources where not. Most of the newspaper sources were gathered from BANQ's searchable database, which contains an impressive number of different papers of all political leanings, including the *Quebec Mercury*, *Le Canadien*, *Morning Chronicle*, *Le Journal du Québec*, and *Le Courrier du Canada*, among others (although, if I recall correctly, not *La Minerve*). I also draw heavily on the searchable database of the Kingston Historical Society which contains issues of most Kingston newspapers up to 1846. For Upper Canadian developments after 1846, I drew largely on the *Toronto Globe*

database at Carleton, Google Newspapers (unfortunately not searchable), the microfilm holdings at LAC (mostly the *Bytown Packet* for Upper Canada and the *Montreal Gazette* for Lower) and on coverage provided by BANQ's Quebec papers.

The breadth of the archival work upon which this thesis is based offers insights to a wide variety of scholars and should itself be seen as a contribution of the dissertation. Those without the least bit of interest in the theoretical problems with which I am engaged will still find themselves able to draw on the richly documented narratives I have assembled. Social historians as well as sociologists of infrastructures, social science, mobilities, governmentality, and settler colonial studies will all find novel contributions to their fields worked into the narratives I weave through the prism of infrastructural colonization. But even more than this, I believe this study to have interest to the general public at large as infrastructures are ever-present issues of political debate. About a year before I began research, a new Liberal government was elected in part on the back of a promise to double the infrastructure spending commitments of the previous Conservative administration. The Trudeau government's proposals highlighted many of the same questions as had advocates of infrastructural colonization including: What is an infrastructure? What should it do? Are infrastructures merely material objects or does the term also include social arrangements? The answer is clear in the capaciousness of the Liberal program which committed to public transit infrastructure, green infrastructure, and 'social infrastructure'. Trudeau committed to 'strengthening communities' as much as reinforcing our bridges.

What is usually forgotten in thinking about infrastructure is the character of the relation between it and the State. Infrastructures are seen as something the State does; they are works that contribute to its grandeur. High school Canadian history courses are simply not taught without reference to the Canadian Pacific Railway as a grand project of political unification. A precocious tenth grade student might ask: 'What is the State?' and a jaded history teacher would respond, 'It was the thing that built the railway, of course'. At the university level, a generation of Marxist social control theorists privileged grand projects of canal building as a means for examining the depth of the State's penetration into the collective life of the people via the creation of a labour force amenable to economic and political domination.<sup>62</sup> In either case, infrastructures are a symbol of State splendour – a sort of 'showy garb' legitimizing it. 'The State' is clearly reified in such conceptions. I take a different approach. By focussing on infrastructure as a process in time; that is, not merely as something that strengthens communities of labouring bodies but an active force engineering social wholes, and by tracing the administrative history of the colonial state in regards to a specific infrastructure project, I argue it is mistaken to claim States make infrastructures without also acknowledging the obverse; that infrastructures make States.

### ***Chapter Outline***

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<sup>62</sup> Pentland, H.C. 1948. "The Lachine Strike of 1843." *Canadian Historical Review* 29: 263-4; Bleasdale, R. 1989. "Class Conflict on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840s." In, *Historical Essays on Upper Canada*, J.K. Johnston and B.G. Wilson (Eds.), 261-304. Carleton University Press: Ottawa; Johnston, J.K. 1977. "The U.C. Club and the Upper Canadian Elite, 1837-1840. *Ontario History*, 69: 151-68.

Chapter two begins with the Conquest of 1759 and traces the numerous attempts to eliminate French cultural institutions and to institute a British constitutional structure. Attempts to grant a representative assembly, initially mandated in 1763, were blocked until 1791 as colonial governors refused to grant an assembly without some means of raising the moral and intellectual character of the people. Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, improving the rural road network became linked to the general political project of ‘improvement’ and anglicization. Local administration of roads and patronage systems of colonial land settlement had been oriented towards mercantilist notions of social order. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, infrastructure development of colonial settlement strategies began to evince a more identifiably liberal character. The chapter concludes with an examination of the Owen Sound Road. Proposed by Governor General Sydenham, the Owen Sound Road was the first colonization road and the first to link varieties of road construction, settlement strategy and social scientific reporting as part of a general project of ethical and political subjectification.

Chapter three has two aims. First, it problematizes the direct equation of infrastructure development and liberal projects of rule through an examination of the Owen Sound principle’s adoption by French Catholic reformers who sought to create backwoods communities under the authority of the Church. Infrastructural colonization was not a unitary process but one which could be taken up and used by the very people it had been designed to colonize. Second, the chapter examines how Lower Canadian developments and a desire by English reformers to use infrastructural colonization to create secular (protestant) settlement space led to a new conception of settlement space as a liminal domain between the ‘national’ and the ‘local’. Attempts to determine the intractable social regularities occurring within that domain fostered experiments in the social science. The chapter concludes with an examination of the place of rural roads in debates over representation by population and the efforts of the 1849 select committee on emigration to determine the best means of retaining French youth on Canadian soil. The committee is interesting for a genealogy of the social science for its standardization of social relations, estimation of population rates, and methodological innovations.

Chapter four examines the expansion of the colonization roads program and the place of the colonization movement within the reorganization of the statistical apparatus of the colonial government. Using the specific example of the colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract, this chapter examines how road building and settlement were to be guided by a nascent administrative apparatus and state representatives who were simultaneously involved in the effort of ‘political moulding’ and social scientific representation. The chapter also places the infrastructural development of the Ottawa-Huron Tract within the social and political context of the time, specifically debates over representation by population and Catholic-Protestant relations. The chapter argues that while the necessary administrative apparatus was in place for social scientific representation of the progress of colonization, such a study was never conducted as key officials were more interested in advertising the Tract than with ‘knowing’ it.

Chapter five examines the role of map-making in the process of infrastructural colonization. During the 1850s, no settlement maps of the province as a whole existed. The desire to represent the Canadian backwoods as settlement space, that is, as a social space,

provoked a crisis of representation. The chapter explores the historical links between map-making and social science in the Canadas, examining specifically the activities of Joseph Bouchette, former Surveyor General of Lower Canada. The bulk of the chapter examines the work of Thomas Devine, head of the Survey Branch of the Crown Lands Department. Devine made significant alterations to surveying practice and map-making in the Canadas. I examine the changes made by his split-line fieldbook and its role in the creation of a settler-colonial property formation which erased undesirable forms of property tenure from representations of the land.

Chapter six begins with an examination of the administrative overhauls of the provincial colonization apparatus at the start of the 1860s. The Bureau of Agriculture lost control of the colonization roads in Upper Canada at the very same time the Bureau was being given greater control of the colonization movement overall. I examine the role and influence of state agents Thomas D'Arcy McGee and Stanislas Drapeau. Each were advocates of an extreme form of Catholicism known as ultramontanist and each subscribed to a vision of social order based on the morally salubrious effects of agricultural labour. Further, each advocated the use of social scientific research for guiding government policy and each used the social science to create spatial abstractions which gave credence to their Catholic visions of social progress. The chapter concludes with a discussion of two select committees on colonization in 1864 and the slow decline of the roads leading up to confederation.

My conclusion begins by rehearsing the various issues at the end of the 1860s that led to the marginalization of the colonization roads program and the emergence of a new institutional configuration for processes of infrastructural colonization. I also make recommendations for moving beyond the 'two solitudes' in Canadian historiography. The abandonment of such nationalist concerns in the telling of English and French Canadian history is to be accompanied by a similar shift in studies of infrastructure. Infrastructures should not be seen as something the State does, but as involved in the reconfiguring of state administration and the types of political subjectivities such administrative organization is intended to produce. Finally, I make suggestions for governmentality studies and the scholars investigating the history of the social science in Canada.

**Chapter Two:*****The Road to Owen Sound: Settlement, Subjectification, and Infrastructural Colonization in the Backwoods***

This chapter is comprised of three parts. The first is a broad overview of the period extending from the Conquest of 1759 to roughly the 1830s. I examine social and political developments surrounding the rural routes and discern a broad shift in the logic of colonial governmentality from a concern with mercantile conception of political sovereignty predicated on maintenance of traditional social arrangements and a concern with public order, to a liberal one stressing the importance of winning ‘hearts and minds’ of British North Americans as the best means of ensuring security. The second part traces changes in provincial settlement strategy in the social and political context of the 1830s as older models of mercantile social order propagated by the Tory fiscal-military state gave way to liberal notions of using the backwoods as a machine of political subjectification. The patronage systems of settlement were replaced as reformers stressed the design and orientation of roads as the means of raising the character of incoming migrants. A brief discussion of the proceedings of the Durham mission and its approach to the general project of anglicization leads to the final section of the chapter; a case study of the Owen Sound Road. The Owen Sound was to be a test case of a new type of backwoods colonization that stressed the importance of road orientation and settlement as the primary methods of subjectification. I conclude with an account of the place of the social science in measuring the progress of settlement along the road.

***Land Settlement and 18<sup>th</sup> Century Political Sovereignty***

Political debate on roads and rural infrastructure changed markedly in the period from the Conquest of Quebec in 1759 to the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The imperial government’s principal efforts at establishing a characteristically British colonial political structure, one modelled on the Constitution of 1688, were hampered by realities of the situation in Quebec and also by the first two governors appointed to the post. This was not purely an issue of their idiosyncrasies as colonial administrators. The political tumult in the Thirteen Colonies over taxation without representation arising in the aftermath of the Sugar Act of 1764 and the Stamp Act of 1765 caused Britain’s colonial administrators to proceed cautiously in Canadian matters. The imperial parliament initially sought the anglicization of their newly acquired French Canadian subjects. This had been the approach taken in Acadia in 1755. Waves of English migrants were to be ushered to Canadian shores, displace their French counterparts, and take up lands in free and common soccage. Seigneurial or feudal tenure in lands was to be abolished, the English language and common law were to replace French and the civil law, and the Catholic Church was to be granted no more privilege than British law allowed: none.<sup>1</sup>

The Acadian example was not the one followed in Quebec. In part, this plan was obstructed by the road system. Acadia had much more developed internal communications, as

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<sup>1</sup> The following paragraphs rely largely on Tousignant, P. 1979. “The Integration of the Province of Quebec into the British Empire, 1763-91.” In, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

British soldiers had been commissioned to construct them. Settlers could access vacant lands through the territory. By contrast, New France had been marked by an almost complete lack of roads. Two highways flanked either shore of the St. Lawrence but only the northern line would be finished by the Conquest and even then it was difficult to travel from Montreal to Quebec in less than a week. The sparse character of settlement, the small population, and a settlement structure based on travel by river, worked against the construction of a more sophisticated road system. But more than this, poor roads were also a means to keep the peasantry poor, noble, and honest. Ordinances were passed against the keeping of more than two horses and one colt in the District of Montreal as fear developed among the elite that travel by horse on good roads led to young men 'losing the art of walking' and forgetting their place in the social hierarchy.<sup>2</sup> Simply, it was difficult for the Acadian plan of agricultural settlement to work in a country characterized by a complete absence of internal communications.

Nevertheless, the 1763 Treaty of Paris institutionalized the belief that a wave of migrants from the Atlantic Provinces and the Thirteen Colonies would flock to Quebec, replacing the people and culture of New France. Governor Murray was instructed to institute a land policy not unlike that already in place in New England. Settlement was to reward loyalty and military service. Dividing the territory into plots of 20,000 acres, the various townships would contain the basics to maintain a primitive social structure: reserves would exist for military and naval purposes, along with a central town with lots for a church, a clergyman, and a schoolteacher. To prevent speculation in lands, grants were to be limited to 100 acres and given, theoretically, only to those who could cultivate them with a further fifty acres being held in reserve for each additional family member. But the centrepiece of Murray's plan was a reward system for those who had performed military service for the Empire in one way or another. Grants were determined by rank. Common soldiers were to be allowed lots of fifty acres and exempted from any quit-rent for a period of ten years. Field officers, on the other hand, were to be given 5000 acres and lower ranked officers 200.<sup>3</sup> With such incentives, the imperial parliament bet on a large influx of British citizens.

A census taken by Governor Murray in 1766 gave the lie to this idea. No more than a few hundred British settlers had chosen to shun greener pastures in the American West in favour of the cold snows of Quebec. Not only did the proportion of French Canadians to British settlers not decrease in the short term, the disparity grew. The numerical superiority of French Canadians and threat of political insurrection posed by being subjected to cultural and legal principles with which they were unfamiliar, led colonial administrators to question the possible success of the anglicization program. The new Attorneys and Solicitors General, Charles Yorke and William de Grey, issued a report in 1766 which was to become the basis of the landmark Quebec Act of 1774. They proposed the retention of the seigneurial system and the requirement that British

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<sup>2</sup> The ordinance would require the killing of a large number of horses. Losses could be mitigated if the peasantry could be convinced to eat the horses as the indigenous of the area were claimed to do. Glazebrook, G. 1934. "Roads in New France and the Policy of Expansion." *Report of the Annual Meeting/Rapports annuels de la Société historique du Canada*, 13 (1): 48-56.

<sup>3</sup> Governor Carleton's instructions of 1783 limited the size of the grants for field officers to 1000 acres.

citizens be required to adopt French customs when purchasing land. Their report reflected a growing concern with a need to base political government on the realities of population. However, their recommendations were shelved until a bill legislating them could be passed.

Seigneurial or feudal tenure in land was a central mechanism for maintaining the simplistic agrarian social structure of 18<sup>th</sup> century Quebec. As defined by the Custom of Paris, the seigneurie was a form of property that stipulated particular social and economic obligations between two social classes – seigneurs and censitaires. The seigneurs, as owners of all the lands in the seigneurie, were responsible for settling them and for providing the censitaires with a grist mill from which they drew a fee for the processing of grain, and also for maintaining a mill road. Censitaires were responsible for paying yearly rents, the *cens et rentes*. It was also hoped given their economic interest in having their lands settled so they could collect rents, the seigneurs would act as primitive colonization agents. Although accounts of their function in this role vary, it is generally recognized that few if any seigneurs ever paid the passage of immigrants with the hope of having them settle on their lands.

The unpopularity of Murray's administration of the colonies and his reticence to adopt wholesale the program of anglicization led to his recall in 1766. His replacement, Sir Guy Carleton, was hardly more committed to it. A central mechanism of anglicization was the imposition of British political forms. Murray's 1763 Instructions stipulated the Canadas were to have the basic structure of the British parliament. The Governor General would represent the King's interest and be assisted by appointed Legislative and Executive Councils, the equivalent of the House of Lords, while the will of the people was to be represented by an elected House of Assembly. Carleton was no more disposed to implement this system than Murray had been. He particularly chafed against the idea of representative institutions.<sup>4</sup> This was not simply a personal aversion to such forms, but based in part on an evaluation of the circumstances of the province. The effects of the seigneurial system proved difficult to erase. As Allan Greer has argued, seigneurial tenure in lands combined with the Church's right to the tithe meant significant amounts of the rural agricultural surplus were siphoned off by priests and seigneurs, who were little disposed to reinvest such funds in the lands or internal communications. For Carleton, this was not merely an economic problem; it was a political one. The extraction of surplus meant there was no agricultural or landed bourgeois class which could fill the role of the House of Lords and an elected assembly in the absence of such a class meant the masses could hold the colony hostage to the capriciousness of republicanism.<sup>5</sup>

Seigneurialism had not been instituted by the rulers of New France because it was a particularly effective settlement strategy. It was to serve the same purpose it had in Old France:

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<sup>4</sup> As Carleton claimed, "it may not be improper to observe, that the British form of government, transplanted into this continent, never will produce the same fruits as at home, chiefly because it is impossible for the dignity of the throne and the peerage to be represented in the American forests." Cited in Lamonde, Y. 2013. *The Social History of Ideas in Quebec, 1760-1896*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston, 8.

<sup>5</sup> As Bruce Curtis notes a largely English merchant class in Quebec could have filled such a role, but Carleton's "class-cultural prejudices were more powerful than his ethnic and religious prejudices. Class prejudice led him to prefer landed property, aristocratic manners, and military prowess to capital in trade". Curtis, *Ruling*, 28.

to support an ecclesiastical and lay aristocracy by appropriating to it the agricultural surplus generated by the peasantry.<sup>6</sup> It was not a matter of convenience or because the system was especially productive that seigneurial tenure was maintained in British North America. Its abolishment had been proposed by many contemporaries as a result of the active hindrance it formed against the development of the countryside.<sup>7</sup> The social structure of seigneurialism left its mark on the landscape, forming an infrastructural barrier to the development of other forms of social and political administration. The estates were large and rectangular, generally four by twelve kilometers, and usually fronted on a major river which served as the principal artery of communication. The holdings granted to the peasantry were small, about 150 meters wide and around 1600 deep. The long rectangular shape reflected the state of the internal communications of the time, as narrow lots were needed to ensure each of the censitaires had frontage on the river. Eventually, as settlement progressed and the frontage on the river was taken up, a second line of farms, known as a *rang*, was opened along a parallel interior road. As Brian Young and John Dickinson note, this system was effective for extracting the surplus productions of the peasantry, but detrimental to what later liberal reformers would identify as ‘civilizing social structures’.<sup>8</sup> Specifically, it “militated against village formation and made homes difficult to defend”.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the single-front layout of the censitaires’ lots made the construction and maintenance of roads, built under the *corvée* or statute labour, burdensome since maintenance was usually performed only by those whose lots fronted the road.

The rural roadways had been laid out in keeping with the social and political order of seigneurialism. There were three principal types of road, royal roads, which connected the parishes to one another, communication roads joining the ranks of a parish together, and mill paths which connected parishes to the seigneurial mill. The roads had not been made to facilitate the circulation of the peasantry but to keep them within tightly knit social groupings. Parishioners knew their local roads well, but royal roads could be another matter. Providing they were in condition suitable to travel, they were generally unmarked which slowed travel, limiting it to those who already knew where they were going. Nineteenth century reformers argued the lack of signage actually itself retarded the intellectual development of the habitants. Posted signage would convince rural farmers of the usefulness of education and a developed sense of self, over communal interest.<sup>10</sup>

In the presence of such obstacles, Governor Carleton opted to ignore his instructions and maintain the status quo. The colony would continue to be ruled by its traditional authorities, the

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<sup>6</sup> Greer, *Peasant, Lord, Merchant*, 8.

<sup>7</sup> Dechêne, L. 1971. “L’évolution du régime seigneurial au Canada: le cas de Montréal aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles.” *Recherches Sociographiques* 12.

<sup>8</sup> LAC MG 24 A27 v. 37, 24 May 1838, Derbyshire to Durham.

<sup>9</sup> Young, B. and Dickinson, J. 1988. *A Short History of Quebec: A Socio-Economic Perspective*. Copp Clark Pitman: Toronto. 45.

<sup>10</sup> *Bibliothèque Canadienne*, 15 July 1829.

seigneurs and the clergy. A representative assembly was unnecessary since “the better sort of Canadians, fear nothing more than popular assemblies, which, they conceive, tend to render the People refractory and insolent.”<sup>11</sup> Carleton was wholly committed to preserving the peasantry in their ignorance, even finding a way to sound magnanimous while doing so. The existing social and political infrastructures in place in Quebec formed significant barriers to the anglicizing project. While the decision to maintain lands in seigneurial tenure and to limit infrastructural development to solidifying those relations must be seen as a form of political discipline through the manipulation of social structures and territorial space, there was no attempt on the part of the central government to engage in practices of ethical subjectification. There was little interest in using infrastructure as a means to develop political subjects, only to maintain existing relations of domination.

### *The Quebec Act 1774*

By 1768, Carleton, seeking to combat the growing republicanism in the American colonies and prevent its spread into Quebec, sought to bolster his political power by gaining the support of the largely French-Catholic seigneurs. His compromise, the Quebec Act of 1774, officially reinstated seigneurial tenure and French civil law, while allowing for the taxing of the French-Canadian peasantry (seigneurial rent and tithes) without offering anything in the way of a popular assembly. The Governor continued to exert almost total control of the affairs of the province with the help of an Executive Council he appointed and it was largely recognized that the mostly Protestant British authorities would rely on the support of the French-Catholic seigneurs. Ruling Quebec would require a compact between the two, as well as shared common values to prevent the sort of insurrectionism on display in the American colonies: loyalty to the King, support for a landed aristocracy, and belief in the union of Church and State would all be required to prevent the spread of a dangerous sectorial republicanism.<sup>12</sup>

To the British at home in the United Kingdom, the Quebec Act seemed a monstrous betrayal of the principles of 1688’s Glorious Revolution while to the Americans to the south, the Act’s conciliatory measures to the Catholics represented a dangerous threat to their fledgling Protestant republicanism. If the Catholic Church, and its anti-Assembly position could hold sway in political matters on North American soil, it threatened the viability of the American political project. The Americans thought, correctly, that should they launch an invasion of Quebec they would enjoy widespread habitant support. In response, Catholic priests had been marshalled to secure popular support of their congregations for the British and to encourage them to reject any and all support for the cause of the ‘Bostonnais’. This does not seem to have been very successful. In October 1776, the second Continental Congress penned a letter to the people of

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<sup>11</sup> Cited in Tousignant, *Integration*.

<sup>12</sup> This and the following paragraphs draw principally from the following sources. Curtis, B. 2012. *Ruling by Schooling Quebec: Conquest to Liberal Governmentality – A Historical Sociology*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto: Chapter two; Greer, A. 1985. *Peasant, Lord and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto; Lamonde, Y. 2013. *The Social History of Ideas in Quebec, 1760-1896*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston; Ouellet, F. 1980. *Economic and Social History of Quebec, 1760-1850*. Carleton University Press: Ottawa; Young and Dickinson, *Short History*.

Quebec specifically targeting the central tenets of the Quebec Act. Should the French-Canadians join in the fights against the English, the Americans promised abolition of the tithe and the feudal taxes of *cens et rentes* and *lods et ventes* and also freedom of the press and other basic civil liberties. If the habitants tore off the shackles of the priests and joined them in rebelling, the Americans promised to restore English law, notably the principal of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury and to install a form of representative government for all French-Canadians with no stipulation preventing Catholics from holding office as the Test Act had done.

It was in partly due to the onerous burdens of the seigneurial system that when the Americans sought French-Canadian support for their revolution they found a receptive audience. The Americans who attacked Montreal and Quebec in 1775 were given aid by the inhabitants of the surrounding seigneuries. Wheat and flour were supplied, the censitaires hid spies and performed guard duty, and they also participated in lighting signal fires along the river so the Americans could coordinate their attacks. Although most of the habitants met the invading Americans with ambivalence, what support the Americans did receive appeared sufficient for Carleton to commission a fact-finding endeavour to determine the extent of disloyal sentiments within the St. Lawrence seigneuries. The three commissioners, Mgrs. Baby, Taschereau, and Perkins were sent to the parishes surrounding Quebec City in May of 1776 under the cover story of being dispatched to test the readiness of the local militias. The real purpose of the mission was to inquire about the state of feeling of the population; to determine the character of the ‘hearts and minds’ of the habitants. Although the commissioners’ methods were primitive and of little probative value - they often gauged the loyalty of the habitants by shouting ‘Vive le Roy!’ three times and noting who did and did not applaud in response – their efforts were not wholly without merit.

For my purposes, the tour is significant for how it represents the possibility of a shift in the logic of colonial governmentality. The administration’s ignorance of the masses and of their collective sentiment, paired with a lack of any means to ensure prevention of the spread of seditious ideas, was coming to be seen as an obstacle to the social, political, and economic development of the province. The ignorant could not challenge the ideas of traveling rabble-rousers who would never fail in convincing the peasantry that problems of daily life were failures of the government. Ignorance was coming to be seen as a governmental problem which fact-finding missions could help to remedy. This was the purpose of Carleton’s commission. It was to be a documentation of the collective sentiment about the present state of colonial government. It was to be an early instance of the recognition that (semi)systematic observation and reporting, techniques that would be refined by practitioners of the social science, could be of use in formulating an art of government.<sup>13</sup>

Real change in land administration would begin to come about after the end of the American Revolution. The use of seigneurial tenure in land administration in the province

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<sup>13</sup> This tour is cited both in Curtis, *Ruling* and Lamonde, *Ideas*. The original source can be found online at the website of Bibliothèque et Archives National du Québec (BANQ). See: “Un Journal de 1775-76.” *Rapport de l’Archiviste du Québec* (RAPQ), 1927-28: 431.

greatly displeased the Loyalist settlers who arrived in the 1780s, settling mostly in the Eastern Townships on the southern shores of the St. Lawrence. The growing numbers of Americans unfamiliar with the tenets of seigneurialism as well as an increasing recognition that the people of Quebec would soon demand an elected assembly, led to the passage of a Constitutional Act for the British North American colonies. The Constitutional Act 1791, signed into law by William Pitt, divided Quebec into two autonomous provinces, Upper and Lower Canada. It granted to each a governmental structure in keeping with the principles of 1688. Each would be led by a Lieutenant Governor as before, but each would also possess a House of Assembly elected by quite a large electorate. Suffrage was not to be universal, but a greater percentage of colonial citizens could vote than could those in England. Voters were to be Canadian by birth or naturalized, twenty-one years old, and owners of property worth at least two pounds or being tenants who paid annual rent of at least ten pounds.<sup>14</sup> The property qualification was passed with no mention of sex. This meant that in Lower Canada where the traditional right of the dower gave widows claim to half the property of their deceased husbands, those who met the property qualification were allowed to have their voices heard in the assembly.<sup>15</sup>

Of course, the changes made by the Constitutional Act were more symbolic than actual. The Governor still possessed the ability to check the influence of the assembly by appointing a Legislative Council loyal to him. As the 1763 Treaty of Paris had initially stipulated, the constitution was to codify a hierarchical model of social relations. The three central entities – the Governor, Legislative Council, and Elected Assembly – represented the three pillars of the British constitutional monarchy: King, Lords and Commons. A respectable colonial aristocracy would check the passions and destructive impulses of the people. In addition to the basic ternary structure of sovereignty which placed the Assembly under the control of an aristocratic class, the new constitution also made significant changes to the administration of land. In Upper Canada, sizable reserves (1/7<sup>th</sup> of all the land) were to be made for the support of a Protestant clergy and for the support of the Crown while in Lower Canada Jesuit's estates were to be set aside and seigneurial tenure maintained everywhere but the Eastern Townships where lands were allowed to be held in free and common socage. As Curtis has acknowledged, the model of political sovereignty was outdated even before it was applied but traces of its influence would continue to

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<sup>14</sup> According to Lemire, the 1791 Constitution enabled a full 12% of the population to vote while in England, only 4% had the franchise. Lemire, M. 1991. "Le discours post-révolutionnaire sur la place du peuple dans la société." In, S. Simard (Ed.), *La révolution française au Canada française*. Ottawa University Press: Ottawa.

<sup>15</sup> This is not to say that many women actually exercised the franchise. Women were routinely turned away from the polls even though they proclaimed, rightly, that 'property not persons' determined who was entitled to vote. The right of the dower and the 'spectacle' of women voting led the *patriote* dominated assembly to strip women of the right to vote in 1834. See, Bradbury, B. 1998. "Debating Dower: Patriarchy, Capitalism and Widows' Rights in Lower Canada.", In, *Power, Place, and Identity: Historical Studies of Social and Legal Regulation in Quebec*, ed. T. Myers, K. Boyer, M-A. Poutanen, and S. Watt. Montreal: Montreal History Group; Riddell, W.R. 1928. "Woman Franchise in Quebec, a Century Ago." *Royal Society of Canada Proceedings and Transactions*, 22 (2): 85-99; Greer, A. 1993. *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

be felt in the administration of Crown Lands and road development for the first third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup>

### *Philoides*

The new constitution was not universally accepted. Carleton rejected the Act because it granted an elected assembly without the necessary preconditions to ensure the people were sufficiently enlightened to handle the responsibility. No provisions were made for establishing a system of education that would raise the people out of ignorance. Neither were significant changes made in the administration of roads. To reformers, a more rational road system would help to undermine regressive social structures. To many, this had already been proven in Scotland which partly due to language and religious differences, was not dissimilar from the situation in Quebec. Military innovations in surveying and road-building similar to Macadam's system had been central in the fight against the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745.<sup>17</sup> A subsequent parish and turnpike boom had shown that rational organization of road making could help produce governable subjects.<sup>18</sup> Why could the same not be true for Lower Canada? An improved system of organization for the administration of provincial roads could be a form of political training in and of itself. Local administration would provide habitants with a sense of interest beyond that of their class positions or traditions. Accordingly, the Road Act of 1796 attempted to create a secular sphere of association by allowing the land-owners to elect road inspectors in new territorial divisions created by the Grand Voyer of their district, but nothing of the sort existed prior to its passage. Carleton's apprehension were not without merit.

By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, most rural roads in the Canadas were little better than blazed trails, impassable in any season but winter when deep snows filled the ruts and mud-holes permitting the driving of horse-drawn sleighs. Even many years after the passage of the Constitutional Act and the empowering of a representative assembly, funding for Canadian roadways was considered by powerful factions within the Houses of Assembly as a 'luxury'.<sup>19</sup> In

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<sup>16</sup> Curtis, B. 2004. "Le ré découpage du Bas-Canada dans les années 1830: un essai sur la 'gouvernementalité' coloniale". *Revue d'histoire de L'amerique francaise* 58(1): 27-66.

<sup>17</sup> The name 'Jacobite' refers to the (highlander) Scottish supporters of the Catholic Stuart Kings (Jacobite = Jacobus, latin for James, the deposed king) overthrown in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and who launched a series of rebellions from 1715 to 1745. There are key parallels between the Scottish jacobites and *canadiens* at this time, both were largely Catholic, spoke a language other than English, and maintained land administration in quasi-feudal tenure, i.e. the clan system and seigneurial tenure, respectively. See Thompson, E.P. 1975. *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act*. Breviary Stuff Publications: London. T.M. Devine's 2019. *The Scottish Clearances: A History of the Dispossessed, 1600-1900*. Penguin Books: New York, is a good overview of the suppression of highland culture.

<sup>18</sup> Guldi, J. 2012. *Roads to Power: Britain Invents the Infrastructure State*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA, 81.

<sup>19</sup> Road improvements would continue to be seen as a luxury by the Lower Canadian House of Assembly for the next thirty years. For example, Louis-Joseph Papineau, head of the *Parti Canadien* and speaker of the house, would claim in debate on the report of the Standing Committee on Roads and Internal Communications that "Improvements in roads, etc. were in fact a luxury in legislation in which could not now indulge". *Quebec Mercury*, 6 March 1832.

Upper Canada there was no legislative appropriation for roads until 1804 and even then only £1000 was granted.<sup>20</sup> If the roads were poor, it was felt, it was on the poor to fix them. Proposals were made to administer roads through voluntarily forming subscription societies that would secure sufficient funds to make and repair the village roads but the success of these initiatives is debateable.<sup>21</sup> Literate farmers made overtures to the editorial staff of the conservative *Quebec Mercury* calling for the province to adopt the system, then in use in the United States, for the government to grant a certain portion of the waste lands to capitalists in exchange for opening a road.<sup>22</sup> These landed aristocrats would also be able to exert control over the unruly masses and keep them politically docile while simultaneously improving the communications.

However loudly such views were exclaimed, an examination of the public discourse on roads reveals cracks in such mercantilist formations. Even in the pages of the *Mercury*, it was increasingly acknowledged that maintaining a population in ignorance and advocating the utility of poverty could be just as politically dangerous as the alternative. Lack of concern with the state and safety of the roadways left travellers open to the violence of others and threatened the legitimacy of the provincial administration. Stories circulated of Americans wandering the roads between New England and Montreal, “travelling by the dozens, and filling our roads night and day ... void of decency and manners, or even common humanity, they drive onto or over, everyone they meet ... and frequently beat every Canadian they meet in our roads.”<sup>23</sup>

Such instances began to be seen as a political problem linked to the problem of a largely uneducated and impoverished agricultural class. In the spring of 1805, the *Quebec Mercury* published a series of letters from a person writing under the pen-name ‘Philoides’ who made this link. Countering the Burkean position that stressed the need for an ignorant peasantry, Philoides claimed it was precisely the ignorance of an otherwise pious and provident agricultural people that “leaves them open to impositions” where they “are a ready prey to any artful demagogue who may endeavour to inflame their minds with the exaggerated picture of trivial or imaginary grievances.” It must be remembered, stressed Philoides, that “any interested pretender to reform will be at no loss to represent these as faults of government.” To Philoides, political reform that did not address the potential for an ignorant peasantry to be led astray was short-sighted in the extreme.

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<sup>20</sup> Keefer, T.C. 1863. “Travel and Transportation.” In, H.Y. Hind (Ed.), *Eighty Years of Progress of British North America*. L. Nichols: Toronto.

<sup>21</sup> Forthcoming work by Jeffrey McNairn deals with these societies as part of what he calls ‘contributory democracy’. Roads are a medium allowing interested persons to cohere around a common problematic and for the emergence of a distinct form of political action. Roads are chosen in this case but it would not be difficult for McNairn to have chosen local education, or possibly even surveying instead. I don’t see how the approach would change. However, to my eyes, McNairn’s approach instrumentalizes the roadways. I differ from McNairn in on the point of ‘interest’. When we examine governmental practice as dependent on forms of ethical subjectivity, roads are no longer seen as medium for coalescing the interests of local groups, but a means of creating them.

<sup>22</sup> *Quebec Mercury*, 6 January 1806.

<sup>23</sup> *Quebec Mercury*, 6 March 1809.

The provincial elites were gradually becoming more receptive to idea that it was politically beneficial to ensure the creation of an educated and materially improved peasantry, within narrow thresholds of tolerance. Lacking such improvement in their condition proved an insuperable barrier to detachment from their adherence to traditional customs and beliefs. Good government would have to be concerned with the creation of new ethical relations of self-to-self and new psychic constitutions. As Philoides claimed, un-improvement led to idleness and an unwillingness to deviate from tradition, particularly in regards to the rural infrastructures. Travel writers noted the prominence of the caleche among rural *canadiens* and regarded it as a symbol of ‘habitant conviviality’. But the caleches were also acknowledged to have usually been ‘very clumsily built’ and the pulling of horses in train was held to contribute to the creation of ‘cahots’, the poor state of the roads, and the inhibition of a spirit of industriousness.<sup>24</sup> Motive to industry was believed to depend on the capacity for foresight and futurity, capacities which an un-improved agricultural class could not possess in sufficient number and which the material reality of the communications worked against. Yet such a system of improvement was not a claim for the ‘universal rights of the people’ or a civic-humanist ideology. Somewhat paradoxically, improvement of the people should be “suitable to their stations and mode of life” yet also didactic. Philoides claimed improvement would “open their view to a number of accommodations of which they are plainly in want.” Surely, the state of the roads were the principal accommodation in mind.<sup>25</sup>

Where it had previously been the case that road administration was to bolster traditional forms of authority, the new position sought something more in keeping with using roads to create what Michel Foucault described as a system of security. Foucault’s position is unique and bears unpacking. A concern with ‘security’ is not to say roads were primarily a military endeavour. There were of course military roads, but the roads of which Philoides made reference were of a different sort. In Foucault’s figuration, ‘security’ (*securité*) must be differentiated from ‘safety’ (*sûreté*) and refers simultaneously to a series of practices which aim to structure, rather than prevent, the occurrence of a particular phenomenon (Foucault’s example is scarcity of grain). Security is also unique in Foucault’s work as it signals a shift in the epistemological politics of government which attempts to “find a point of support in those processes themselves.”<sup>26</sup> In short, a new strategy of ensuring ‘rule of the routes’ was developing. Road construction and material improvement began to be viewed as a system of security by ensuring the production of subjectivities armed with the capacities for foresight and futurity, a sense of industriousness, and a disposition for obedience and loyalty to the dominant political order and the interests maintaining it. This shift was not immediate or all-encompassing. As Philoides’s letters make clear, because ideas of improvement and subjectification could be defined in reference to proper

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<sup>24</sup> The state of the roads owing to the vehicles of the habitants became a much more prominent source of debate in the 1820s but traces of it can be found during this time as well. See, Weld, I. 1955 [1800]. *The St. Lawrence Valley in the 1790s.* In, *Early Travellers in the Canadas*, G. Craig (Ed.), 14-27. Pioneer Books: Toronto.

<sup>25</sup> *Quebec Mercury*, 16 March 1805; 9 March 1805.

<sup>26</sup> Foucault, M. 2007. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977-78*. Picador: New York: 59.

stations and modes of life, any material changes in circumstance for the largely agricultural population of the Canadas could also be rationalized within and used to reinforce existing power dynamics.

### *An 'Inundation of the Idle'*

Until the 1820s, land settlement and colonization efforts continued to rely on models of social relations based on patronage and the politically disciplinary effect of a landed aristocracy. Colonial land policy in the 1810s sought to combat idleness and the deleterious effects of ignorance. In Upper Canada, Lord Bathurst, then Secretary of the Colonial Office and childhood friend of William Pitt, sought to protect that province from “exposure to an inundation of idle persons” by restricting land grants only to emigrants with significant capital.<sup>27</sup> This position came to be referred to in later years as the ‘Plan of 1818’. Bathurst’s position includes aspects of what contemporary historians refer to as the ‘Tory touch’<sup>28</sup> but to be understood he has to be put in transatlantic context. In Britain, peace with France led a loose but increasingly powerful left-Whig opposition to challenge the Tory administrations government by campaigning for economic civil government. They targeted specifically the wastefulness of the expansive military-fiscal State which had developed over the course of the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>29</sup> Particularly in the wake of anti-colonial publications by prominent thinkers like Bentham and Mill, British officials became sensitive to the costs, both political and economic, of colonial administration. I believe the ‘Tory touch’ should lead historians of this era to exercise caution in how we read Bathurst’s fears regarding the idle.

To the Tories of the period, the relation between social order, prosperity, and political subjectification was fundamentally distinct from later left-Whig and liberal conceptions. To the Tories, liberty, prosperity and security were dependent upon maintaining social order. This helps us understand positions like that expressed by Philoides and why an apparently reformist piece appeared in the pages of the conservative *Quebec Mercury*. Notions of social order, particularly those stressing fundamentally distinct stations, favour state solutions. Education, improvement, and enlightenment were beneficial to the extent they improved the behaviour of those only within their proper stations. For those ascribing to Tory positions like Philoides’s, an equilibrium between peasants, lords, and merchants must be maintained or the social order would collapse into anarchy, making the accumulation of capital difficult.

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<sup>27</sup> *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the United Province of Canada (JLAC)*, 1852-3, Appendix UU: “History of Crown Lands Regulations”.

<sup>28</sup> This is the idea that Canadian history should not be read purely as a ‘long liberal revolution’ as historian Ian McKay has proposed. Instead, as Jerry Bannister has suggested, Canadian history can, from his perspective, be read as a ‘counter-revolution’; a Tory instead of a liberal one. Bannister, J. 2009. “Canada as Counter-Revolution: The Loyalist Order Framework in Canadian History, 1750-1840.” In, *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, ed. J-F. Constant and M. Ducharme, 98-146. University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

<sup>29</sup> Hilton, B. 1977. *Corn, Cash, Commerce: The Economic Policies of the Tory Governments, 1815-1830*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

The ‘Tory touch’ helps to clarify the relation between political and ethical practices of subjectification between differing models of social order.<sup>30</sup> To the Tories, ethical subjectification was seen to depend on a prior political one. People should be habituated to established relations of domination. Forms of improvement could be developed for those who might benefit, but such practices should in no way challenge the existing order. For later liberals, political and ethical subjectification were two sides of the same coin. Political order would be ensured by the exercise of political liberty. Schemes of ethical subjectification would produce individuals whose sense of self was wedded to a moral fluid idea of social order which could be guided and directed to politically congenial ends. These subjects would evince behavioural, moral, and social regularities that, subjected to forms of systematic observation, recording, and analysis, could reveal the existence of a domain of existence beyond the individual. Through the techniques of the emerging social science, knowledge of this domain could be used to ground modes of political government upon forms of truth distinct from traditional models of authority and existence.

As I suggest, neither infrastructural colonization nor the social science are inherently liberal practices. Improvement in roads and attempts to settle the backwoods with particular sorts of subjects may or may not lead to attempts to govern through knowledge of their collective dynamics. Likewise, knowledge of the present state of the ‘hearts and minds’ of the Lower Canadian peasantry can be used to buttress forms of social order committed to maintaining a hierarchical political equilibrium, rather than serving as the basis upon which liberal notions of ‘good government’ are based. The remainder of this chapter examines the specifics of this shift in conceptions of social order which occurred in Canadian colonization policy in the 1830s. It concludes with an analysis of a particular case: the Owen Sound Road, Upper Canada’s first colonization road.

### *A ‘Taste’ for Luxury*

In 1828, the Reform party in Upper Canada strengthened their hold on the assembly and the tightness of their grasp paired with the arrival of John Colborne that August as the new Lieutenant-Governor likely encouraged the Reform majority to take progressive measures toward improving the province’s roads. In his previous post, Colborne served as Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey where he endeared himself to the public by making substantial improvements to inland communications, instituting indirect forms of taxation for public works, an increase in communication with England, and the reversal of patterns of outmigration.

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<sup>30</sup> On this point I draw on the work of Alan Hunt although there is a growing field of critical realist sociology which makes a similar argument. Analyzing problems of moral regulation movements in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Hunt suggests the need for a conceptual distinction between ethical and political subjectivity to capture the distinction between moral regulation as a process writ large, and moral regulation movements (e.g. temperance). To Hunt, moral regulation occurs on a broader field and may or may not involve the any specific claim to political subjectivity. I differ from Hunt only on point of emphasis. I agree there is a need for differentiating political and ethical practices of subjectification. I disagree that there can ever be any form of ethical subjectification that is not political in some sense. Hunt’s distinction is based on the ‘claims’ of actors for political recognition. While it is true moral regulation may involve actantial practices which make no expressly political claims, I believe it is unnecessarily limiting to suggest these are not nevertheless political. See Hunt, A. 1997. “Moral Regulation and Making-Up the New Person.” *Theoretical Criminology*, 1 (3): 275-301.

Colborne worked to repeat these successes during his time in Upper Canada. In November 1830, his Civil Secretary, Zachariah Mudge, was instructed to send a circular letter containing proposals relative to the general improvement of the roads to the local agricultural societies. The directors were to convene meetings of their members and send in their responses. Based on the replies in the surviving correspondence of the Civil Secretary, the proposal was well met. They expressed, among other things, surprise, claiming “such acts of condescension on the part of the persons administering the government have not been usual. His Excellency will therefore in this measure receive the hearty approbation of a grateful public.”<sup>31</sup> More letters continued to trickle in until February the following year.<sup>32</sup>

Colborne’s condescension merits attention. While today ‘condescension’ has a negative connotation, in the sense of being patronizing, at the time it was recognized as a technique of the ruling class to win the esteem of the ruled through a symbolic renunciation of the fineries and privileges of their position. Such ‘condescension’ demonstrated a willingness to turn the daily lives of the settlers into an object of political importance and thereby signalled the weakening of an absolute distinction between the daily lives of communities and the object of political government. For my purposes, that Colborne’s circular could be readily interpreted as condescension signals the novelty of attempts to rule through routes. Having been left to manage their own affairs, farmers interpreted the interest of the central government as a welcome, but temporary and exceptional intervention into daily life.

Regardless, Colborne’s condescension had a purpose. The aim of the inquiry was to determine the acceptability of proposed alterations to the existing Road Act, specifically regarding the raising of a general fund for road improvements through the commutation of statute labour.<sup>33</sup> Statute labour, or the compulsory repair of the roads by those living near them, was wildly unpopular and difficult to compel. The Civil Secretary heard complaints throughout the 1830s of the road commissioners being unable to force settlers to fulfill their obligations.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, what statute labour was performed was usually done on days when it was too wet or rainy for farm work which were also the days when as much damage as repair were likely to be done to the roads.<sup>35</sup> Nearly everyone acknowledged a more professional, scientific system of

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<sup>31</sup> LAC RG 5 A1, 104, 9 December 1830. Today, ‘condescension’ has a negative connotation. However, ‘condescension’ at this time could be used as a technique of the ruling class to win the esteem of the ruled through a symbolic renunciation of the fineries and privileges of a superior position. For a sociological analysis in the Canadian context, see Curtis, B. 2008. “The Most Splendid Pageant Ever Seen: Grandeur, the Domestic, and Condescension in Lord Durham’s Political Theatre.” *The Canadian Historical Review*, 89 (1): 55-88. Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago University Press: Chicago.

<sup>32</sup> LAC RG 5 A1, 105, 15 February 1831, Macaulay to Mudge.

<sup>33</sup> Statute labour, or the compulsory labour of those living along the roads to keep them in repair had been both wildly unpopular and had failed spectacularly in producing good roads.

<sup>34</sup> LAC RG 5 A1, 134, 21 October 1833.

<sup>35</sup> *Kingston Chronicle*, 24 June 1837.

road building was needed.<sup>36</sup> More sophisticated systems, like macadamization, were well known and their successes in England were reported in the colonial press,<sup>37</sup> but there was no money to adopt them on a general level.

Despite the unpopularity and unsuccessfulness of the statute labour system, the Civil Secretary's circular was met with rejection by the respondents to the agricultural societies. Most rejected commutation for the simple reason that if poor farmers were forced to pay into a general fund whose expenditure would be determined by act of parliament, there was no guarantee the money they paid would be expended on their own roads. They would thus end up both paying into a fund to commute their labour, while also continuing to work to keep their own lines open. Moreover, even if the new act were to stipulate the money raised had to be expended in the area whence it came, in new townships where settlers were sparsely located, the money would be insufficient to make much of a difference in the quality of communications anyway.<sup>38</sup> Despite the negative response to its proposals, the circular is still interesting. It implicated both local elites in matters of infrastructural politics, including the Civil Secretary, a direct appointee of the Governor. It showed rule of the routes and public opinion as legitimate objects of government.

Statute labour became no less pressing an issue in Upper Canadian politics in the years following Mudge's circular. The elections of 1834 returned another Reform majority, though by this time fractures had begun to appear in its ranks. Mainstream reformers like Peter Perry and Speaker of the House Marshall Spring Bidwell were challenged by emerging radicals like William Lyon MacKenzie, David Gibson, John Rolph, and Charles Duncombe; each of whom would have some role in the Upper Canadian Rebellion of 1837. Calls in the assembly for greater expenditure on the provincial roads became more prominent in the months following the election and by March 1835, a select committee was appointed to consider the best methods for improving them.

The committee was chaired by Duncombe, who had always held strong republican inclinations and later became fully invested in the brand of Jacksonian republicanism developing in the United States.<sup>39</sup> His social policy was predicated on the need for the government to ensure

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<sup>36</sup> In Upper Canada, the earliest example of a public call for more scientific methods of road construction I have found in my research comes from an article in the *Kingston Chronicle*, 11 August 1818. Given that MacAdam's *Remarks on the Principles and Practices of Road Making* was published just three years prior, the chronology seems to make sense.

<sup>37</sup> *Canadian Spectator*, 28 July 1827; *Kingston Chronicle*, 26 November 1831. In Lower Canada, certain roads around Montreal were said to be macadamized roads, but they appear to have been little worthy of the name. It was claimed in the *Quebec Mercury* that "the misapplication of the term 'Macadamizing' has done much to strengthen the prejudice which here prevails against his system of road making." *Quebec Mercury*, 3 July 1827.

<sup>38</sup> LAC RG 5 A1, 105, 15 February 1831, Macaulay to Mudge.

<sup>39</sup> Schrauwers, A. 2019. "'The Road Not Taken': Duncombe on Republican Currency: Joint Stock Democracy, Civic Republicanism, and Free Banking." In, *Revolutions Across Borders: Jacksonian America and the Canadian Rebellion*, ed. M. Dagenais and J. Maudit, 174-208. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston; Read, C.F. 1982. *The Rising in Western Upper Canada: The Duncombe Revolt and After*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

equality of opportunity between its subjects, but not equality of condition. His understanding of equality, despite its ‘republican’ label was not based on absolute equivalence, but equity between differential populations in territorial space, specifically between the particular characters of city and country populations. Improvement of the provincial roadways would ensure the existence of his definition of equality. Connecting country and city would, via the ‘collision of so many minds brought into frequent contact ... develop the resources of the human mind’. Yet Duncombe was no leveller. He sought public improvement and the development of the mind as a means to improve individuals only ‘within their respective departments’. He proposed a stark division between the country and the city; the latter being the domain of ‘splendid luminaries radiating intelligence’ while the former ‘supplied food and fuel to the city’ so they might bask in its light. Social improvement and a logic of stations and static equilibrium sat uneasily side-by-side in Duncombe’s political imaginary.<sup>40</sup>

In his calls for a select committee on roads, Duncombe criticized the existing system of statute labour by recounting at length the history of the institution in England, Scotland, Russia and the United States, claiming in none of these places had it ever produced good works. In the specific case of Upper Canada, Duncombe rejected it not because it subjected backwoods settlers to more labour than those in more compact regions, but because it deprived them of the opportunity to develop a ‘taste for luxury’. In keeping with his Jacksonian republicanism, those backwoods settlers had made a choice to live in difficult circumstances and must bear the consequence of their decision. Statute labour and the state of the roads were not a moral issue in Duncombe’s figuration. The existing state of the roads proved instead a social and economic problem. Upper Canadian farmers were not hampered by poor soils or insufficient lands on which to turn a profit. Nor was their surplus appropriated by seigneurs or the clergy as was the case in Lower Canada. Upper Canadian farmers suffered by the immense cost of transporting their harvests. A nascent capitalist economy was dependent on the cultivation of a desire within farmers for “a few luxuries that must be imported.” Being forced to spend exorbitant amounts on transporting their goods to mill and market meant despite their geographic and social advantages, they accumulated no surplus and their “love of acquiring wealth was lessened.”<sup>41</sup>

Duncombe’s report was likely the most ambitious plan yet devised for the provincial roads. He proposed grants of sufficient extent to put all the roads in the province in complete repair, even macadamizing where possible, and extending existing and beginning construction of a series of new turnpike roads. Aware of the unpopularity of statute labour but also the inability to generate a sufficient fund through its commutation to secure loans for road works, Duncombe proposed a new land tax compelling settlers along the road where the money was to be expended to contribute 25% of the cost of the improvements by installments of 5% annually. Roads upon which funds were to be expended were to be divided into mile long sections within which every

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<sup>40</sup> *British Whig*, 9 March 1835; PAO, RG 14-162-5-16, ‘Report of the Select Committee on Roads’, 26 March 1835.

<sup>41</sup> *Kingston Chronicle*, 24 February 1835.

settler with frontage would be assessed. Ideally, this fund would provide the necessary collateral to secure a grant of £200,000 from England.

Despite Duncombe's efforts, and owing to the declining political situation in the province, matters of road administration would be put on hold as the political situation in Upper Canada deteriorated in the years before the Rebellion. Funding bills continued to be passed but these drew strong reactions from those who believed the administration had poorly estimated of the actual needs of the province.<sup>42</sup> The Reform party was devastated in the elections of 1836, partly due to the electioneering of the new Lieutenant Governor, Francis Bond Head. Their reduction to a minority left them powerless to make progressive changes of the sort Duncombe envisioned. While no one was against improved roads and bridges – as the Reform member for Prescott, Hiram Norton, claimed, “If any member was opposed to improving the roads and bridges, let him record his vote”<sup>43</sup> – there was fierce debate over how to do so. The Supply Bill of 1834 had granted £25,000 for the improvement of the province's roads with most districts getting around £2,300 (although the Prince Edward and Ottawa districts received only £650 and £1,300, respectively);<sup>44</sup> sums most representatives considered insufficient. The new Tory Supply Bill made no improvements for most of the province while reducing the overall grant to £20,000. The measly sum drew rebuke from the independent representative from Essex, John Prince, who claimed £20,000 would not even cover the damage to the road by the spring rains.<sup>45</sup> Even some radical Tories like Ogle Gowan balked at the miserliness, claiming much more was needed, although Gowan refused to vote any supplies for roads until an improved system of road making was adopted. The Assembly of 1836 was clear at least on one point: underfunding the provincial roads could be just as dangerous as, or even worse, than not funding them at all. For the province to dole out thousands of pounds on the roads and make little improvement in their actual character would only lead to the continuation of the poor communications while habituating the people to government handouts. For years, the assembly had doled out an annual sum of £25,000 to little effect. Yet as Duncombe laid out in his report, the money for good roads could be had. It just required a broader tax base. It required more settlers.

### *The Whigs in Canada*

Further debate on road matters would have to wait until after the Rebellion and the arrival of Lord Durham's Commission in May of 1838. Durham was a prominent left-Whig, the son-in-law of the former party leader and Prime Minister the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl Grey, and a long-time advocate of governmental reform. Informed principally by the works of Alexis de Tocqueville and Harriet Martineau (whose *Society in America* formed part of his commission's travelling library), Durham possessed a proto-sociological vision which linked desirable social relations to social

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<sup>42</sup> LAC RG 5 A1, 200, 26 July 1837, Phillips to Joseph. Phillips claimed the new bills would be “highly distasteful to nine-tenths of the people of the country.”

<sup>43</sup> *Kingston Chronicle*, 21 December 1836.

<sup>44</sup> *British Whig*, 21 February 1834.

<sup>45</sup> *Kingston Chronicle*, 21 December 1836.

and material structural conditions.<sup>46</sup> He was a suitable choice to lead the mission to the Canadas in part because of his own personal circumstances. Although kin to Prime Minister Grey, Durham was regarded among the British aristocracy as *nouveau riche* as his wealth was in coal mining. In certain respects, the Durham miners were comparable to the British understanding of the *canadiens*. They were poorly, illiterate, and susceptible to the political agitation of demagogues. In the early 1830s, Durham commissioned Martineau to perform a study of his miners and suggest means for raising their condition and securing the extraction process. In the same way, the Durham Mission was in fact a giant social scientific study of the relation between institutions of liberty, administrative organization, and the moral state of the colonists. It was comprised of numerous sub-commissions, with emphases on education, crown lands, and municipal institutions (which included the administration of the roadways). His instructions dictated he ‘ascertain the wishes and opinions of the people of both provinces’ who ‘from their station, character, and influence represent the feelings of their class’.<sup>47</sup>

Durham’s time in Canada and his resulting report have generally been under-valued by Canadian historians. Durham’s claims that French Canadians were a race without history or literature is taken as clear evidence of his francophobia and general prejudice and justifiable grounds for ignoring the more practical operations of his commission. Yet his prejudice was not idiosyncratic or personal, it was a direct result of his sociological imagination which linked cultural regularities directly to material circumstance. To the Durhamites, ‘society’ was the product of institutions, administrative practices, and collective tendencies, each of which left an imprint on the political subjectivities of individuals. In the absence of British civilizing structures, it was only natural for the French Canadians to rebel. Conversely, a grand project of social engineering through the alteration of the relation between society’s component elements could enable congenial forms of political rule. Viewing the activities of the Durham commissioners in keeping with the sociology of national character allows researchers to see the direct connections established at this time between state forms and subjectivities.

This is nowhere clearer than in the Report of the Commission on Municipal Institutions.<sup>48</sup> Usually, Canadian historians have noted the presence of rabid francophobe Adam Thom on this commission and ignored its more mundane aspects. This is unfortunate. The Durham Commission was to take up the Upper Canadian assembly’s concerns with road administration. Specifically, the idea that more was needed than simply finding a way to fund repairs. Administrative changes in the form of government itself were needed. In Lower Canada, the report of the municipal commissioners targeted the continued existence of the office of the Grand Voyer (a relic from New France) which they claimed prevented the development of local

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<sup>46</sup> If by no one else, Martineau’s work was read by Jane Ellice, wife of Durham’s personal secretary. Ellice was unimpressed, finding her style ‘tiresome and prose-y’. Godsell, P. 1968. *The Diary of Jane Ellice*. Oberon Press: Ottawa.

<sup>47</sup> LAC MG 24 A27, v. 7(1), 20 January 1838, Glenelg to Durham.

<sup>48</sup> Lucas, C.P. 1912. Durham Report, Appendix C: “Report on Municipal Institutions”. “The system by which the roads and bridges have been managed will be one of the first and most important objects of investigation.”

administration of roads, facilitated political jobbing and corruption, kept the roads in a state of disrepair, and left the people in a state of uncivilized political ignorance. In keeping with the Durhamite political sociology, changes in the administrative form of local government would produce the necessary subjective changes ensuring civilized social relations.

This political sociology also informed the commission's Crown Lands policy. Durham was an early proponent of the theory of systematic colonization as developed by Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Durham had been so impressed by Wakefield's theory he tried to appoint him to his outfit as Commissioner of Crown Lands. However, Wakefield's scandalous past – he was imprisoned for three years for abducting and illegally marrying a wealthy shipping heiress - and Durham's having already named another *persona non grata*, T.E.M. Turton, his legal advisor, blocked Wakefield's official appointment. For his part, Wakefield was interested to travel to the Canadas because of the tremendous influence Robert Fleming Gourlay's *Statistical Account of Upper Canada* had had on his theory. It had been one of the books on colonial conditions Wakefield read during his incarceration. Although not officially part of his retinue, and travelling separately, Wakefield traveled to British North America and joined Durham as his unofficial Crown Lands Commissioner.

Unlike the sort of organized emigration schemes coming out of the colonial office in the 1820s, which stressed the removal without improvement of the condition of England's paupers, systematic colonization was simultaneously a project for dealing with pauperism and social unrest in England, a plan for capitalist primitive accumulation, and a theory of social and individual subjectification. The problem of underdevelopment and consequent social unrest in the colonies was not a lack of settlers or insufficient political order, it was an issue of a lack of civilizing social structures; specifically of the disciplinary effects of wage labour. Wakefield's theory expressly links social and political order to the manipulation of populations in units of territorial space. What led to unrest in the colonies, claimed Wakefield, was the excess of land available for ownership relative to the population. Successful colonization was a matter of determining the proper ratio of settlers to territory such that the morally salubrious effects of wage labour could take hold. This, Wakefield hoped, would reproduce old world civilizing structures in the new world.

However, this could not work if settlers could instantly become landowners and exercise the franchise. In such cases, even recent transplants from England would regress to a state of primitiveness, festering in ignorance and bad government. But if lands could be restricted by setting their cost at a 'sufficient price' that prevented new settlers from affording them, they would be forced to turn to wage labour until they could afford their own lands upon which a new crop of settlers would be forced to labour for wages. Systematic colonization is a means of social engineering, ethical subjectification, and agricultural education which tried, not to prevent peasants from becoming landowners, but to prevent them from becoming *so too quickly*.<sup>49</sup> The

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<sup>49</sup> Wakefield's idea of wage labour as a social relation was highly influential on the later writings of Karl Marx. It is possible Marx was introduced to Wakefield's thought by Engels who cited several of Wakefield's alarmist 1830s writings on the 'working class question' in his own 1845 *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. In any case, Marx touted Wakefield as one of the most important political economists of the 1830s and dedicated the final

logic of ‘stations’, so prominent in previous considerations of infrastructural colonization, is reframed within a more fluid social ontology in which mechanisms of social control are calculated based on knowable relations of population and territory.

For my purposes, the Durham Commission is interesting not just for its personnel or its ultimate recommendations – which as it relates to Crown Land administration were unevenly implemented – but for its role in placing matters of infrastructural colonization firmly within a new epistemological politics. While Wakefield had more famously theorized the relation of population to territory as the foundation for social order in the colonies, earlier efforts had been carried out in Upper Canada for settling the countryside around existing townships with migrant labours settled on five acre lots. The relation between population, social order, and calculated units of space was no less prominent in the development of these schemes than it had been in Wakefield’s.<sup>50</sup> These were obstructed by being technically illegal as free grants of land had been forbidden since 1825. However, the Durham Commissioners formulated their recommendations by employing the observational and investigative techniques nascent to the still developing ‘social science’.

The actual work of Durham’s commissions was not simply to be a solicitation of elite opinion or the imposition of traditional models of governmental administration. As was made clear to Durham in his instructions, his recommendations were to be based on social investigation.<sup>51</sup> Of course, the Durham commissioners heard from men of elite opinion and those who were highly knowledgeable in matters of colonial government and administration. Wakefield took the opportunity during his time in Upper Canada to travel to Niagara Falls and meet with Robert Fleming Gourlay, who sought from Durham a pardon for the charge of sedition.<sup>52</sup> Others on Durham’s team dedicated themselves to conducting empirical observation of daily life and soliciting first-hand accounts of the people. Durham’s point-man and propagandist, Stewart Derbyshire arrived at Quebec a full month prior to his superior and travelled along the country paths around Quebec gathering the opinions of his driver, whom he claimed “represents the feelings of his class”, as well as those he passed along the road his driver pointed out as worth speaking with.<sup>53</sup> To Derbyshire, the Rebellion had been a result of the *habitants* being prone to sluggishness and ignorance in part because of the physical structure of

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chapter of *Capital I* to an analysis of Wakefield’s theory, which became the basis of Marx’s theory of primitive accumulation. Marx, K. *Capital Volume I*. Penguin Books: New York.

<sup>50</sup> For more on the scheme, developed by the Tory head of emigration in Upper Canada, A.B. Hawke, see LAC RG 5 A1, 151, 14 March 1835; A1, 168, 20 July 1846; A1, 224, 9 July 1839; CO 42/270[?], 27 October 1840; *Montreal Gazette*, 8 July 1835.

<sup>51</sup> LAC MG 24 A27, v.7, n.1, 20 January 1838, Glenelg to Durham.

<sup>52</sup> Milani, L. 1971. *Robert Fleming Gourlay, Gadfly: Forerunner of the Rebellion in Upper Canada, 1837*. Ampersand Press: Toronto, 224; Bloomfield. P. 1961. *Edward Gibbon Wakefield: Builder of the British Commonwealth*. 193-4.

<sup>53</sup> LAC MG 24 A27, v.37, 24 May 1838, Derbyshire to Durham.

their settlements which prevented the development of a proper affective economy or hierarchy of the senses. Whatever we might say about Derbyshire's primitive sociological imagination and its mechanistic causation, such rhetoric was common among the Tocquevillians of the day. In this sense, he is at least consistent with that field of thought when he writes of the *habitants*: "There seems to be no decorative taste in the people, no active spirit of improvement ... A square mile of land will be cut up into a hundred narrow strips and divided from the rudest description of hurdles, presenting the uninteresting appearance of a succession of sheep pens as far as they eye can reach". We should note here the direct link between psychic development, civilization, and territorial structure.

The link between methods of social investigation, knowledge of population, and congenial forms of sovereignty is central to a Foucaultian conception of a liberal mode of government. Analyzing the practicalities of governmental power instead of characterizing States within a circular ontology of Right and legitimacy, the Foucaultian approach resituates the sphere of validation of governmental action upon knowledge of territorialized populations. Broadly, as Foucault sees it, in a liberal mode of government questions of *permissibility* are subordinated to those of *practicality*.<sup>54</sup> Thus the Durham Commission committed itself not to examining only those programs it would be legal to pass, they heard recommendations for those which would have been expressly forbidden by colonial legislation.

One of these recommendations was that of Lord Howick, the eldest son of former UK Prime Minister Earl Grey and Durham's brother-in-law. Howick proposed a scheme of village emigration that he would nearly implement during his time as Colonial Secretary in the 1840s. Howick's scheme was explicitly Wakefieldian, and in his words, designed to prevent emigrants from rising too quickly from labourers to landowners. He proposed the government funded building of backwoods villages of 100 to 150 cottages connected to existing settlements by roads specially built for the purpose. A very small quantity of land attached to each cottage, likely not more than a quarter of an acre. There would also be a church and a schoolhouse, one building would serve for both and all buildings would be the simplest and cheapest possible.<sup>55</sup> Howick's scheme was meant to address the shortcomings of unregulated emigration proposed in the 1820s by the Colonial Office.<sup>56</sup> In those schemes, Howick claimed, migrants became dependent on government rations or altogether abandoned the backwoods out of the difficulty stemming from a lack of a social network. By creating a regulated, or moderated austerity in the form of a grant of land insufficient to support a family, the emigrant would develop a faculty for industry while being supported by a social network of like individuals. To Howick the point was to develop a

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<sup>54</sup> Foucault, M. 2008. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978-79*. Picador: New York.

<sup>55</sup> LAC MG 24 A27, v. 22, 18 March 1838. Despite its explicitly Wakefieldian tone, the plan drew Wakefield's ire when it was sent to Lord Durham in March of 1838. Wakefield claimed that Howick would try to impose his own ideas on Durham as if they had been Durham's all along. Wakefield's animosity towards the plan can likely be explained as nothing more than an attempt to secure Durham's favour and prevent anyone else from being noticed. It is also worth noting that Howick was Durham's brother-in-law and they were on generally cordial terms at the time.

<sup>56</sup> For a discussion of the defects of these schemes and how they were viewed by proponents of systematic colonization, see Harrington, J. 2015. "Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the Liberal Political Subject and the Settler State." *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 20 (3): 333-351.

systematic and meticulous form of settlement, as he would later write in a letter to the Governor General, “it is difficult to understand what natural obstacle prevents such a territory from being occupied not by individuals but by societies, properly organized for mutual support, and assistance, carrying with them as they advance all the means and appliances of civilization.”<sup>57</sup>

Attention to the microphysical aspects of settlement reveals the interplay between attempts to establish relations of domination over others and associated practices involved in governing the self. The arrangement of settlements in the backwoods was to work through a moderated discomfort, or stated counterfactually, a certain quantum of pleasure was necessary to ensure successful settlement. The size of the lots would help to produce desirable psychic states within individual settlers. Settlers would develop a sense of foresight and futurity based on the available land to cultivate.

By the 1840, in response to schemes like that proposed by Howick, provincial debate began to revolve around the practicalities of settlement. Even those Upper Canadian Tories who supported such proposals found the granting of a quarter acre, or even five acres of land, too miserly. Over the objections of the Colonial Office, not less than fifty acres was deemed necessary as the “minimum amount of land upon which an industrious man could maintain a family in comfort and with a proper prospect of bettering his condition.” Advocates worried that smaller grants would render men idle, content, and seen “as having no enterprise, spirit, or industry.” Conversely, grants of 100 acres would enable men to live in a state of prosperity and comfort thus contributing to the spread of republican politics.<sup>58</sup> In a highly Wakefieldian way, advocates of infrastructural colonization stressed that “efficient control in the disposition of the land itself” would lead to the settlement of subjects “with a view to English politics” and prevent the sort of settlement that had occurred in America to which Upper Canadian Tories were totally opposed. The Owen Sound Road was to be the first test of such ideas.

### *The Owen Sound Road*

The settlement at Owen Sound and the road connecting it to the existing townships was decided upon in part as a result of a felt need to establish a population of loyal settlers along Lake Huron to establish a Canadian counterpart to the expanding settlements along its Michigan shores. By 1837, Lieutenant-Governor Bond Head had wrested control of the land from the remaining Ojibwa in part on the advice of the province’s Chief Emigration Agent. The arch-Tory, A.B. Hawke, had suggested the entire Native population could be relocated to Manitoulin and the other islands in Lake Huron and, because of the abundance of fish and game and the absence of white settlers, did not anticipate any difficulty in “getting the Indians to take up their abode there.” Hawke cloaked his plan under a thin veneer of magnanimity since on the islands the Ojibwa would supposedly be removed from the temptations of civilized life “that surround

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<sup>57</sup> LAC RG 7 G1/116(47), 1 April 1847, Grey to Elgin. In this and other letters around this time, Howick (by now going by Lord Grey), was attempting to implement his scheme of village emigration.

<sup>58</sup> LAC CO 42/477 (214), 17 December 1840, Sullivan to Arthur.

and ruin them.”<sup>59</sup> Yet there was also a political motivation for the move. Reports that the Mississauga peoples were converting to Methodism *en masse* and, as Elsbeth Heaman recently notes, Methodist evangelicals were seldom good Tories, stoked fears in Tory elites of the possibility of an anti-Tory race. Removing the Ojibwa to Manitoulin solved both the problem of a lack of land for new settlers as well as the need to contain the spread of Methodism among the First Nations. Once the Ojibwa land was taken, settlers could be easily brought in as long as the province committed to building a main road through their land.<sup>60</sup>

When the Owen Sound colonization road was approved by the Executive Council, its central object had been to “promote settlement where for political reasons it was desired that population should be created”.<sup>61</sup> The cross-border insurrections of the 1838 Patriot War were still fresh in the mind of the loyalist Tories in charge of the government. The need to combat the Owenite socialism of the American Patriot movement and its Canadian sympathizers<sup>62</sup> as well as prevent the diffusion of American republicanism into Upper Canada were each chief among the aims of those seeking to grow loyal Canadians in the soil of the backwoods. Although the Patriot War might have been perfunctory, no one was eager for another ‘Battle of the Windmills’ however decisive the British victory had been.<sup>63</sup> In this sense, infrastructural colonization was war by other means. The need to form a bulwark separating American republicanism and Owenite Utopian agrarianism from Upper Canadian soils implicated colonization roads in practices of political subjectification whereby the settler was to be thought of as an undifferentiated social category mouldable in politically congenial ways by purpose built institutions and specifically appointed bureaucrats.

Advertisements for the road began appearing in the colonial press in December 1840. The *Montreal Gazette*, *Quebec Mercury*, and *Kingston Chronicle* all featured postings from the

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<sup>59</sup> As framed in the section of the introduction discussing settler colonialism, Hawke’s plan is thoroughly in keeping with the 1820s Tory position viz. the First Nations; that is, his was a logic of protection and fixed public order. As Hawke rationalized the plan, moving the Ojibwa to Manitoulin was desirable because it would protect their land from the encroachments of white settlers. LAC RG 5 A1, 168, 20 July 1836.

<sup>60</sup> LAC RG 5 A1/168, 20 July 1836, A.B. Hawke to Joseph. These events are also described in White, P. 2000. *Owen Sound: The Port City*. Dundurn Press, but White attributes this plan entirely to Bond Head which, based on the correspondence of the Provincial Secretary, does not appear to be the case. For the Heaman piece, Heaman, E. 2019. “Space, Race, and Violence: The Beginnings of ‘Civilization’ in Canada”. In, ed. Mancke, E. Jerry Bannister, Denis McKim, Scott See, *Violence, Order, and Unrest: A History of British North America, 1749-1876*, 150-173. University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

<sup>61</sup> LAC RG 7 G12, v. 62(77), 11 April 1842, Bagot to Stanley.

<sup>62</sup> Charles Duncombe was one such sympathizer and was rumoured to be head of a Hunter’s Lodge.

<sup>63</sup> LAC CO 42/477 (214), 17 December 1840. The 161 men who surrendered to the British at the ‘Battle of the Windmills’ near Prescott, Upper Canada were mostly American. See Richards, T. 2019. “The Lure of a Canadian Republic: Americans, the Patriot War, and Upper Canada as Political, Social, and Economic Alternative, 1837-1840.” In, *Revolutions Across Borders: Jacksonian America and the Canadian Republic*, ed. Maxime Dagenais and Julien Maudrit 91-136. MQUP: Montreal; Schrauwers, A. 2017. “Tilting at Windmills: the Utopian Socialist Roots of the Patriot War, 1838-1839. *Labour/Le Travail* 79: 53-80; McKenzie, R. 1984. *Leeds and Grenville: Their First Two Hundred Years*. McClelland and Stewart Press: Toronto.

Commissioner of Crown Lands publicizing the opening of the line and its availability for enterprising settlers.<sup>64</sup> No mention was made of the impending decision to offer free grants along it as the practice was, strictly speaking, illegal. The Land Act of 1837 had forbidden the granting of free lots in keeping with the dictates of the Colonial Office but there had been a desire among colonial elites to phase out the practice since at least 1825. By mid-June 1840 however, the Executive Council decided to proceed to open the road and not await deliberations on the propriety of the grants. The Council authorized the construction of sixty-six miles at a cost of £32.10.0 per mile and awarded surveyor Charles Rankin £3,000 to begin charting out the line.<sup>65</sup>

Although the choice of Owen Sound made sense from a provincial standpoint, it made the project of ethical subjectification difficult. The settlement was at a far remove from existing population centers and those initial settlers in the area were only tenuously connected to existing settlements. Most rarely saw a newspaper and there was no direct mail. For communication with the outside world, a postmaster in St. Vincent would routinely walk the more than fifty-five miles to Barrie and bring back the area's letters. A settler from Owen Sound was thereby only required to walk a meagre eighteen miles to St. Vincent for their post.<sup>66</sup> But despite their isolation, the people of Owen Sound were neither ignorant nor illiterate. From its earliest days there was a lively trade in books and literature including a primitive library which operated out of the residence of Mr. Gideon Harkness. His wife served as the first librarian but was later moved to the residence of a relative of the local Crown Land Agent, William Telford Sr. as Harkness kept a vicious looking black dog that scared away readers. The subscription fee was relatively inexpensive (.25c per annum) though most were allowed to pay their fees in book donations. As a result, the library featured the necessary works for education in matters of religion, literature, history, and economics. Scottish settlers brought over popular religious works, including *A History of the Disruption of 1843*, and also classic economic tracts like Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*. Other notable works included the six volumes of David Hume's *History of England* and the poetry of Walter Scott and Lord Byron.<sup>67</sup>

Although literary materials would prove useful for developing a population of educated settlers, the principal topic of debate for colonial administrators was not which books would be available for reading, but how best the everyday arrangements of settlement, to which all would be subjected, should be structured to encourage the development of loyal subjects? How could the very nature of the backwoods settlement be inscribed into the landscape in such a way as to implant the conditions of possibility for such subjectivities into the soil of the township? These were the questions being posed. Provincial administrators were concerned with the microphysics of settlement. For example, the width of the roads through new settlements had to be precisely determined. It was important the roads be wide enough to allow two wagons to pass by one

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<sup>64</sup> *Quebec Mercury*, 19 December 1840; *Kingston Chronicle*, 2 December 1840.

<sup>65</sup> PAO, RG 1 A.I.7, v. 17, 10 June 1840, Lee to Council.

<sup>66</sup> White, *Owen Sound*.

<sup>67</sup> Ross, A.H. 1924. *Reminiscences of North Sydenham: A Retrospective Sketch of the Villages of Leith and Annan, Grey County, Ontario*. Richardson, Bond and Wright: Owen Sound.

another unobstructed. Too narrow and the roads would wear out too quickly with deep ruts carved into it. If on such a road two wagons came to a head, it would be very dangerous for whoever had to climb the deep ruts to get around the other. The colonial press featured many stories of settlers being thrown from their vehicles in such instances.<sup>68</sup> In many cases they were badly injured, in others they were killed. Yet if the roads were too wide the settlers whose statute labour would be the principal means of maintaining the line would be insufficient to keep them open. The width of the roads was connected to settlers' inclinations. They had to be trained to see that the road was worth the effort of keeping it open and such sentiments were easier to elicit on roads of a particular width.

### *William Chisholm's Tour of Inspection*

Unlike previous settlement efforts, the Owen Sound was not to be put under the supervision of a landed gentry and left to development outside the state apparatus. Beginning in the 1830s, state funded settlement initiatives were often conditional upon regular inspection and reporting to the central bureaucracy. The first such account of the Owen Sound settlement was carried out by Colonel William Chisholm of Oakville in May 1841, barely a year after the initial opening of the road and less than a year after the passage of the Land Act 1841 officially giving the government the authority to dole out free grants along the line.

Chisholm came from a line of well-off Presbyterian Highland Scots – his grandfather built the Croy parish church - who left Scotland sometime in the early 1770s. His father brought the family to Tryon County, New York, where he fought with the loyalists in the American Revolution. Loyalty to the Crown forced the elder Chisholm to relocate, taking the family initially to Nova Scotia before finally settling near Hamilton Harbour, Upper Canada in 1793. Chisholm's arrival came at a time of great political and social unease. The recent passage of the Constitutional Act and the idea of a stratified social equilibrium of mixed monarchical government at its heart was antithetical to the reformist social vision of Scots like Chisholm. The singular divide between the aristocracy and 'the people' was inimical to successfully settling individuals in the backwoods. Yet, there was no perceived need for social science in the vision of the Constitutional Act. To Scots like Chisholm, the idea that governmental practice should be premised on forms of social enquiry was imported to Canada in the figure of Robert Gourlay. Prior to emigrating, Gourlay's writing advocated for the idea that governmental practice should not be concerned with Right and tradition but based on a systematic knowledge of society "not as it has been, but as it is at this hour."<sup>69</sup> Knowledge of social relations gleaned through experience and observation would counteract the regressive effects of traditionalism and prejudice and

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<sup>68</sup> LAC RG 5 A1, 130, 11 June 1833. The Provincial Secretary was told of a Dutch family hurled down the bank of a hill. According to initial reports, the mother riding in the wagon was pregnant, broke some fingers, and was otherwise badly injured. She miscarried three days later.

<sup>69</sup> Gourlay, R.F. 1809. *A Specific Plan for Organizing the People and Obtaining Reform*. Gourlay was also highly skeptical, paranoid even, of government run schools. These schools, he claimed, presaging social control theorists by 160 years, would simply educate the masses in the interest of the government. If they were to exist, government schools should only teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, leaving knowledge to be acquired by individuals in accordance with their own self and communal interests.

enable politically motivated action by the people. This idea was at the heart of the township meetings which became the basis of Gourlay's *Statistical Account of Upper Canada* and it is likely what drew Chisholm to advocate for social enquiry and reform.

In 1816, Chisholm took up residence on a farm in Nelson Township where, in 1817, he read Gourlay's advertisement in the public papers calling for statistical information on every township in the province. Chisholm was one of seven from Nelson who took it upon themselves to distribute Gourlay's questionnaire among their neighbours. Impressed by the need for such information, Chisholm opted to take part in 1818 in Gourlay's subsequent endeavour: the Upper Canadian Convention of Friends to Enquiry. The Convention was organized in part due to the inability of the Province to engage in systematic social enquiry. Citing decades of imperial mismanagement of the Province, the conventioners urged Lieutenant-Governor Peregrine Maitland to see "that the most ardent desire of the great majority of those whom you come to govern is that the state of the Province be made an enquiry which will show the real subject of its agitation."<sup>70</sup> Several motions had been put forward in the House of Assembly calling for such documentation, but these were easily scuttled in Parliament. The conventioners initially met to petition the Prince Regent George IV but quickly resolved to direct their request to Maitland who could ensure the measure would pass when the House of Assembly moved for it. Unfortunately, Maitland rejected their petition as unconstitutional and the Convention itself was slammed in the colonial press as "a systematic attempt to organize sedition." Not only was their motion rejected, the signatories to the Convention's petition were also targeted for political retribution; those who had served in the military, like Chisholm, and were thereby entitled to a grant of land, had their scrip forfeited.<sup>71</sup>

### ***'A Thick-Headed Highlander'***

Chisholm greatly resented the actions of Governor General Maitland and over time, perhaps as part of an effort to secure work through patronage, began to renounce his Gourlayite political sympathies in the 1820s. He served for a time in the House of Assembly representing Halton but did not run for re-election in 1824 choosing instead to support the efforts of John Rolph. He also acted for a time as a reporter for William Lyon MacKenzie's *Colonial Advocate*. After 1826, Chisholm began expanding his commercial enterprises in Oakville, coming to own the town's first tavern, sawmill, and grist-mill and he also served as the postmaster in 1835. The political conservatism of his later years endeared Chisholm to colonial elites. Perhaps as a result of his previous enthusiasm for statistical practice, when Sydenham proposed the opening of leading lines of road and the founding of the free grant settlement at Owen Sound, he turned to Chisholm to help in its administration<sup>72</sup>.

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<sup>70</sup> *Le Canadien*, 2 December 1818.

<sup>71</sup> *L'Aurore*, 28 November 1818; *Niagara Spectator*, 24 November 1818. See also the *Transactions of the Upper Canadian Convention of Friends to Inquiry*; Gourlay's convention is also briefly discussed in Wilton, C. 2000. *Popular Politics in Upper Canada 1800-1850*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston, 33.

<sup>72</sup> Lewis, W. 1988. "William Chisholm". *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, VII.

Chisholm's inspection of the Owen Sound line evidences the place of social science as a form of knowledge production and methodological practice in State-based administration. His new alliance with Tory political elites seems not to have affected his youthful interest in social enquiry; appearing no less committed to the belief in the ameliorative capacity of social knowledge when he was commissioned by Durham's replacement, Governor General Sydenham in May 1841 to perform a systematic account of the state of the settlement.<sup>73</sup> Despite being given official appointment, Chisholm's inspection was an amateurish undertaking although this should not be taken to mean the practice was not social scientific. Early social scientific work often drew on the personal interests of amateurs who derived some professional benefit or personal pleasure from the endeavour<sup>74</sup>. It could, following this line of argument, simply bring joy to the analyst to arrange information in aesthetically pleasing or rhetorically powerful forms. This is important to note. At this point in his life Chisholm had bought in wholesale to the colonization project. His personal interest was wedded to it. If colonization could work in out of the way settlements like Owen Sound, it would be promising sign for his own colonizing practice in Oakville.

Chisholm was given his appointment to inspect the Owen Sound settlement on May 12<sup>th</sup> 1841, but did not actually start until the 20<sup>th</sup> and filed his report with the Crown Lands Department eleven days later on June 1<sup>st</sup>. He found some encouraging signs upon arrival, notably that there was a well-attended Sunday school in operation, but upon arrival at the south end of the road in the town of Arthur, he found the settlers in a poor state. There were serious issues with their potato crop and the state of the road generally. Settlers were growing despondent about their prospects on the line and rumours had spread amongst them that the promised fifty acres adjoining their lots, which they were to be allowed first right to purchase, were going to be put to sale. Many were on the brink of quitting the line altogether before, by his own account, Chisholm was able to assuage their fears.

From the perspective of a genealogy of the social science in the Canadas, Chisholm's inspection is significant for how he sought to generate knowledge of the settlement beyond his own personal or anecdotal experience. His inspection was a rudimentary census. He presented his account of the settlement in tabulated form by the lot number, the part of the lot occupied by settler, their names, religious affiliation, the age and sex of all those residing on each, the number of oxen, cattle, hogs, acres cleared, and bushels of potatoes in progress of being planted. Finally, he also provided a section for general remarks where he included his own personal observations. His tabulations employed standard categories of his own invention for classifying settlers according to their experience. Thus he referred to the Presbyterian widow Sarah McMillan on the third part of lot ten as 'newly come to the place' and without any oxen, cattle or acres in progress of clearing. Chisholm recorded McMillan as living with 'eight souls', three boys, two girls and another woman. The Episcopalian George Kemp was similarly labelled 'a new beginner' but had the benefit of two heads of cattle despite residing alone on the fourth part of lot fifteen.

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<sup>73</sup> Oakville Historical Society (OHS), 13 September 1841, Chisholm to Davidson.

<sup>74</sup> Abrams, P. 1968. *The Origins of British Sociology, 1834-1914*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Interesting as these details are, we are left to wonder why Chisholm included them in his report. Neither Sydenham, nor then Commissioner of Crown Lands Sullivan, gave him any specific instructions as to what his report was to include or how he was to relay the information beyond recording the number of informants, their progress, and the overall state of the settlement.<sup>75</sup> Although Sullivan did instruct Chisholm to document anything respecting the settlement “which he may find interesting or material,” the lack of any definitive criteria for social reporting left Chisholm free to speculate on what to include and how to present it.

Chisholm’s report, in which he describes the enjoyments and/or agitations of the settlers, as well as the several tables he had created, combined statistical abstraction and first hand observations in such a way as to create a picture of the settlement as a whole. He situated the individual settler as a minor part of a more engrossing social environment. Given the lack of directives for Chisholm’s inspection it is significant he chose to tabulate his results. As Foucault stressed prominently in his later governmentality lectures, the form of presentation of material cannot be reduced to a matter of pure utility or a singular expression of a regime of power/knowledge. In this sense, tabulation can be seen as an ‘alethurgical’ operation which brings to light something to be regarded as true as opposed to false, hidden, or undiscoverable.<sup>76</sup> Of course, alethurgy is not a politically or epistemologically neutral practice. It affects the information transmitted. Tabulation, as Foucault claims in *The Order of Things*, is one way of presenting objects which defines “conditions under which it is possible to know them”<sup>77</sup>. It enables a sense of objectivity and mastery of a domain of the existential which can be separated from the perspective of the individual observer and used to construct a field upon which political and administrative schemes could be applied. Tabulation is one way of constructing the object of government as a population comprised of ontologically undifferentiated beings.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> JLAC, 1842, Appendix MM, 9 June 1841, Report of R.B. Sullivan on the Owen Sound Settlement. For more on Sullivan’s role in the initial development of the Owen Sound Settlement see, LAC RG 1 E1, v. 77, 9 September 1840, Sullivan to Executive Council; there is also some correspondence between Sullivan and the Crown Lands Agents in PAO, RG 1 A.I.7.

<sup>76</sup> Foucault, M. 2014. *On the Government of the Living, Lectures at the College de France, 1979-1980*. Picador: New York, 7.

<sup>77</sup> Foucault, M. 1994. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. Vintage: New York, 74.

<sup>78</sup> I am not saying here that observers or even government statistics viewed individuals as qualitatively indistinct. There were strong views on the suitability of settlers to live and work in the Canadian backwoods based on ethnicity, nationality, and religion to name only three. On a practical level, these distinctions mattered tremendously as I explain throughout the thesis. What I am saying, following Foucault, is that it tabulation is a significant form of abstract presentation which shapes the pre-discursive conditions of possibility for engaging politically with population in such a way as its component elements are seen as orderable, or capable of being put in a temporally continuous sequence. While empirically individuals are seen as qualitatively distinct, at a broader level, tabulation reveals they are nevertheless aspects in an orderable ratio which can be configured in politically congenial ways. For more on this, see Henry, A. 2014. “William Petty, the Down Survey, Population and Territory in the Seventeenth Century.” *Territory, Politics, and Governance*, 2 (2): 218-237; Mykkanen, J. 1994. “‘To Methodize and Regulate Them’: William Petty’s Governmental Science of Statistics.” *History of the Human Sciences*, 7 (3): 65-88.

Tabulation should not be seen as simple observation and recording. It also involved a significant degree of opinion and interpretation of what to include and how to do so. Chisholm included oddly specific details of the settlers in addition to his more general classifications. He felt it important to include that one of the settlers living on a Clergy Reserve lot was told that he was likely to lose the value of any improvements he made to it but he “could not see the reason of this” since he appeared “a good deal of a thick-headed Highlander”. But such instances were uncommon. Mostly Chisholm sought to show how contented the settlers were. When visiting the farm of the Roman Catholic Brien O’Donnell on May 22<sup>nd</sup>, he recorded the birth of a child who the parents were to call Victoria in honor of the Queen. Such instances were evidence of the success of the settlement and the wisdom of the colonization effort. In the same vein, he also included in his census settlers who were not yet residents of the line as well as the intentions of settlers who were. So we learn that the Protestant George Halladay living on the third part of lot two also wanted to purchase the fourth part. Hopes, desires, grievances, and loyalty, were all recorded and placed on epistemologically equal footing, orderable by plots of land.

While Chisholm’s endeavour might seem highly insignificant since it occupied its author a mere eleven days, it is nevertheless important to note that the combination of personal observation, description and tabulation was still quite a novel technology of knowledge in the early 1840s. He ventured into the backwoods and spoke with the settlers directly, not contenting himself to get the requisite information from the clergymen residing there or from either of the two Crown Lands Agents along the line. This approach was by no means commonsensical. Even ten years later, after the Bureau of Agriculture had been created to oversee the Canadian colonization effort, the agents it sent into the backwoods did not always attempt to record the actual conditions of the settlers through personal observation and interaction. The inquiry of J-P. Rheume is one such case. Though he was equipped with a questionnaire for interviewing peasant proprietors, he spoke to few if any. As Bruce Curtis writes: “The Minister [of Agriculture] probably expected that Rheume would question francophone peasant farmers directly. But gentlemen travelled in buggies and buggies travelled on roads where small peasant holdings did not have frontage”.<sup>79</sup> Chisholm’s attempts to do so reveal a commitment not shown by Rheume. In this respect, his effort was more in keeping with the social scientific efforts of his European counterparts engaged in the study of industrial and agricultural proletarianization. Engels’s *Condition of the Working Class*, Tocqueville’s *Fortnight in the Wilderness*, and Martineau’s *Society in America* all feature their authors making the effort to insert themselves into the daily lives of their subjects and record and reflect upon what they saw.

From the perspective of a reflexive historical sociology the combination of personal description and tabulation makes this an early adaptation of the social science to further state projects of colonization. But it is also an interesting moment in the genealogy of a liberal political project. Combining classification and observation and recording this information within the geometric structure of tabular space enables the development of a form of political knowledge based on a ratio calculus. Though Chisholm did not actually synthesize any ‘social

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<sup>79</sup> Curtis, B. 1998. “Administrative Infrastructure and Social Enquiry: Finding the Facts about Agriculture in Quebec, 1853-4. *Journal of Social History* 32 (2): 309-327.

facts' on the basis of his tabulation, it would have been simple for him to do so. For example, given that he recorded the number of cleared acres, the number of settlers, and the bushels of potatoes grown along the line, it would be quite possible (based on their actual yields) to determine the desirable ratio of settlers per acre and to instruct Crown Lands Agents to enforce it. Furthermore, by recording the religion and family structure of each settler, it would be possible to correlate instances of successful settlement (in whatever way deemed appropriate to operationalize), to the religion of the settler. Were Catholics more successful than Presbyterians? Episcopalians? Methodists? Than those to whom no religion could be ascribed? Did large families produce more than small ones? How did the number of females to males and boys to girls in a family affect clearance rates? Did these vary based on religious observance or location along the line? What was the production of Catholic families with less than two boys residing in the household? Each of these questions would be easily determinable based on the information Chisholm collected. Given the paucity of his instructions and the fact that his social scientific mentor, Robert Gourlay, had already performed such ratio calculations in his previous works for the English Board of Agriculture under Arthur Young it is surprising Chisholm did not do so. Perhaps he might have had he not died the following year.

The settlement at Owen Sound proved remarkably successful both in reality and discursively. It garnered international attention *via* mention in the *Edinburgh Review's* 1850 discussion of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's recently published *A View to the Art of Colonization*.<sup>80</sup> The *Review* discusses two instance of such colonization projects: first, the 'Garrafeasan' road, by which they meant Garafraxa, the township forming the southern terminus of the Owen Sound Road; second the road from Oakville on Lake Ontario to Owen Sound. These were really two of the same project. The Owen Sound-Garafraxa line being the inspiration for the second road from Oakville to Owen Sound, which was built later on the advice of William Chisholm.

### **Conclusion**

Whatever reticence might have been directed at the colonization roads plan in the 1830s, by the end of the 1840s the early tests of infrastructural colonization carried out at Owen's Sound were viewed as generally promising on a limited scale. In both sections of the province, colonization and settlement societies began to form with increasing frequency in the existing townships and commenced to flood the Provincial Secretary's office with calls for settlement roads on the Owen Sound model<sup>81</sup> although whatever potential the associations saw in the project was being stalled by the social and political turbulence of those years. The Irish famine migrations of 1846-48 overwhelmed the administrative capacities of the colonial government and encouraged the provincial administration to adopt restrictive emigration practices.

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<sup>80</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, "Colonization" January 1850. Published in MacDonagh, O. 1973. *Emigration in the Victorian Age: Debates on the Issue from Critical Journals*. Gregg Publications: London. While it could be seen as an oversight in Wakefield's works to that point that he had not conceived of the practicalities of colonization, here the success of any colonization project is linked to the construction of roads through the settlements.

<sup>81</sup> *British Whig*, 14 July 1847; 22 December 1847.

Meanwhile funding for new infrastructure projects was held up by the embarrassed state of the provincial finances. British and American investment in the Canadas slowed partly due to the uncertainty generated by the Rebellion Losses Riots and partly to the nascent Annexationist movement and the rise of the pseudo-Chartist Clear Grit party in Upper Canada. Concern grew over the growing rate of French outmigration to New England and its potential effect on the economy.

The following chapter begins with a brief examination of Catholic colonization schemes intended to combat the French outmigration to New England. I then discuss the impact of these schemes on the development of the colonization roads scheme on a provincial scale. I examine how settlement space came to be viewed by provincial administrators as ‘abstract space’ through an in-depth reading of Inspector-General Francis Hincks’s ‘Memorandum on Immigration and Public Works. Finally, I discuss how novel methods of social scientific abstraction became useful in representing such space via an examination of 1849’s select committee on emigration.

*Chapter Three:**The Administrative Infrastructure of Colonization: Colonization Roads, Ethno-Nationalism, and the Liberal-Bureaucratic State**Introduction*

The previous chapter used the concept ‘infrastructural colonization’ to trace a broad shift in logics of political sovereignty relating to road development and settlement policy; from those based on static equilibrium to those rooting good government in knowledge of the collective dynamics of a territorialized population. There, novel territorial configurations were revealed as a political process; the size of settlement lots being determined by concerns for engineering desirable (liberal) social forms. By extending my analysis beyond the specific case of the Owen Sound Road, I move in this chapter to complicate this depiction somewhat. As I employ the concept, infrastructural colonization is a political process involving competition for state resources and sanction *via* tactics available to individuals and groups based on their historically influenced structural location in social fields. Whereas the previous chapter contrasted the emergence of the colonization roads program from earlier settlement strategies based on patronage and protectionism, this chapter shows the roads program to be implicated in concrete political struggles across the whole of the united Canadas; a consideration which, as the chapter shows, significantly complicates a reading of their development as the simple implementation of a liberal mode of government.<sup>1</sup>

The present chapter has two primary aims. First, I argue infrastructures are not merely the withdrawn or otherwise invisible preconditions of daily life, but are themselves dense socio-material fields.<sup>2</sup> As the work of Timothy Mitchell shows, it is important for any researcher of

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<sup>1</sup> Walsh, J.C. 2001. *Landscapes of Longing: Colonization and the Problem of State Formation in Canada West*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation: The University of Guelph. I have been quite inspired by Walsh’s work and benefitted considerably from speaking with him at the early stages of this project. However, my work differs considerably. Mainly, by failing to account for alternative models of political sovereignty and by not tracing the emergence of liberal bureaucratic forms against the concrete political struggles of the day, Walsh’s analysis appears at times teleological; as though liberalism was fated in the Canadas. Using Foucaultian concepts (i.e. power/knowledge) but neglecting his method (genealogy) makes the significance of Foucaultian tools less intelligible. Work heavily reliant on Walsh’s, such as that of Joshua Blank, reproduces some of these problematic teleological claims. See Blank, J. 2016. *Creating Kashubia: History, Memory and Identity in Canada’s First Polish Community*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston, especially chapters four and five.

<sup>2</sup> The tendency to use visibility/invisibility as epistemological criteria for infrastructural intelligibility stems, I believe, from Martin Heidegger’s distinction between *vorhandenheit* (ready-to-mind) and *zuhandenheit* (ready-to-hand). In Heidegger’s work we read insightful passages such as: “When, for instance, a man wears a pair of spectacles which are so close to him distantly that they are sitting on his nose, they are environmentally more remote from him than the picture on the opposite wall. Such equipment has so little closeness that often it is proximally quite impossible to find. Equipment for seeing – and likewise for hearing, such as the telephone receiver – has what we have designated as the *inconspicuousness* of the proximally ready-to-hand (emphasis mine).” Infrastructural embeddedness makes such an approach difficult to reconcile with reality since, as Larkin argues, ‘infrastructure’ is an operational, not an empirical, concept; that is, defining infrastructure is a categorical act. Heidegger’s approach was influentially imported into science and technology studies by Susan Leigh-Star. See, Heidegger, M. 2008. *Being and Time*. Harper: New York, 141; Larkin, B. 2013. “Politics and Poetics of

infrastructural systems to recognize their density is complicated by their embeddedness within other structures and infrastructures,<sup>3</sup> including social and institutional arrangements. Such infrastructural embeddedness is a characteristic of no small importance in studies of the emergence of liberal governmentality in the Canadas. As Jean-Marie Fecteau has persuasively argued, the emergence of a liberal mode of government in French Canada cannot be understood in isolation from the activities, practices, and institutional breadth of the Catholic Church and its administrative infrastructures (including hospitals, orphanages, asylums, emigrant housing, etc.). The idea of liberalism as oriented around the triad of liberty, property, equality must reconcile these ideological underpinnings within a French Canadian social space marked profoundly as it was by the hierarchical administrative model of the Church. To put it in clearer terms, the administrative infrastructure of liberal social life was becoming embedded alongside the decidedly anti-liberal social infrastructure of the Catholic Church.<sup>4</sup> By extending the analysis of the colonization roads beyond the narrow confines of the Owen Sound Road and incorporating the developments in Lower Canada, the roads program reveals how attempts to create governable populations through the calculated manipulation of space could be wedded to political projects based on hierarchy, traditionalism, and local authority; projects largely distinct from the usual image of a liberal mode of government.

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Infrastructure.” *Annual Review of Anthropology*; Leigh-Star, S. 1999. “The Ethnography of Infrastructure.” *American Behavioural Scientist*, 43 (3): 377-391.

<sup>3</sup> Mitchell’s analysis of the link between energy infrastructure and social and political forms has been highly influential on the approach I take throughout. In this instance I am thinking of his description of coal production as vulnerable to the disruptions of labour movements in the ‘coal towns’ since mining was a highly localized and intensive process. The introduction of oil and pipelines and the geographic breadth of the transportation process set limits on coal’s ‘democratizing potential.’ Of course, since the publication of Mitchell’s book, indigenous protest movements, most notably the Standing Rock protests over the Dakota Access Pipeline, have complicated this depiction slightly. Mitchell, T. 2011. *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil*. Verso: New York. See in particular chapters one and five.

<sup>4</sup> Fecteau does not phrase the problem in terms of infrastructural embeddedness but a similar problem is at the heart of his conclusions. However, I do not agree with Fecteau’s approach to liberalism. His definition frames 19<sup>th</sup> century liberalism as a form of social organization where “freedom formed and delimited an as-yet empty space in which people could develop initiatives, express desires, act according to their wishes and, in general, mark the passage of time with their own imprint” (264). Most problematically, Fecteau’s definition of liberalism attempts to turn a historiographical concept (his liberalism) into a historical one. Nineteenth century liberals did not simply argue over freedom in the abstract. Campaigns to organize social life around the collective dynamics of the population were rooted in ideas of social, political, economic, racial, and gendered assumptions about the desirable relation of these variables. For example, J.S. Mill did not develop his liberalism solely in his published books and theoretical speculations. It developed through readings of concrete political events, including the 1830s developments in the Canadas. For liberals, ‘freedom’ *actually meant* severing the indigenous from their lands, removing the rights of women to vote, and generally structuring modes of selfhood and subjectification so they would not appear ‘political’. For my money, attempts to divorce liberalism from such concrete and spatio-temporal political struggles obscure at least as much as they reveal. See Fecteau, J-M. 2016. *The Pauper’s Freedom: Crime and Poverty in Nineteenth Century Quebec*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston. On Mill and colonies, see Bell, D. 2010. “John Stuart Mill on Colonies.” *Political Theory*, 38 (1): 34-64; 2016. *Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire*. Princeton University Press: Princeton; Finer, S.E. 1972. “The Transmission of Benthamite Ideas, 1820-1850.” In, G. Sutherland (Ed.), *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth Century Government*. Kegan Paul: London.

Second, I examine the place of the colonization roads program in developing administrative infrastructures which facilitated central government's attempts to know and administer settler populations in the backwoods. Such an analysis is useful for a reflexive historical sociology because it can help anchor a history of the social science in Canada in concrete practices of governing colonial settler populations. By the late 1840s, in both England and the colonies the domain of the social was being more clearly delineated as an empirical reality which could be known and configured in politically congenial ways. As Philip Abrams noted, the failure of sociology to develop as an intellectual discipline in England and its English speaking colonies in the same manner as had other human sciences was not the result of a general poverty of intellectual acumen or a lack of philosophical training. What prevented the emergence of a full-fledged field of sociology was a lack of institutional organization. Sociology, understood as an intellectual tradition with its own distinct categories (e.g. community, authority, status, the sacred, alienation<sup>5</sup>), methods of research, and argumentation, first required the organization of the social domain itself as something which embodied those categories and was amenable to research methods. As Abrams claims, it is wrong to assume that the domain of the social has or ever had a purely ideological existence; it had and continues to have an administrative one as well.<sup>6</sup> Attention to such administrative changes and the efforts of mid-level bureaucrats to configure the social as an object of governmental intervention is one avenue that can be explored in providing a genealogy of the social science. This is a central focus of the present chapter.

This chapter is divided into three broad sections. First, I examine Lower Canadian developments in infrastructural colonization; specifically, the case of the *Association des établissements canadiens des Townships* – a peculiar alliance of the young *canadien* proto-liberals from *l'Institut canadien de Montreal* and the ultramontanist movement headed by the Bishop of Montreal, Ignace Bourget. Political economic anxiety over extensive French outmigration to New England, and fears of moral decline arising from proletarianization offered the possibility for the two groups to unite over ethno-national concerns. Infrastructural colonization was, for a time, useful to both parties.<sup>7</sup> Second, I examine attempts by mid-level bureaucrats to configure the space of infrastructural colonization at a particular level of abstraction enabling political-economic calculation. Finally, examining the activities of the 1849

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<sup>5</sup> See Nisbet, Robert. 1966. *The Sociological Tradition*. Basic Books: New York.

<sup>6</sup> Abrams, Philip. 1968. *The Origins of British Sociology, 1834-1914*. Chicago University Press: Chicago: 4.

<sup>7</sup> Bourget had opposed the activities of *l'Institut Canadien* since their founding in 1844. Basic tenets of their political platform (e.g. abolition of the tithes, secularization of education, and separation of Church and State) clashed at the most basic level with Bourget and the ultramontanist movement. It is therefore highly significant that Bourget was willing to join the association, even for a limited time. The tenor of the relationship changed inalterably between Bourget and *l'Institut canadien* after 1851, when the left-radical partisans of the newspaper *l'Avenir* took control over the latter. The dynamics of this relationship are incidental to my purposes here and I do not trace them at any greater length. Yvan Lamonde's 2013. *The Social History of Ideas in Quebec, 1760-1891*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston, is my standard reference on this topic. See also, Little, J.I. 1989. *Nationalism, Capitalism, and Colonization in Nineteenth-Century Quebec: The Upper St. Francis District*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston.

select committee on emigration, I discuss how the need to wed settlers to that abstract space, afforded the opportunity for social scientific investigation and experimentation.

### *How to Colonize with Townships*

As infrastructural colonization and the Owen Sound Road began garnering international attention toward the end of the 1840s, the colonization debate in the colony was being consumed by concerns of French outmigration to New England.<sup>8</sup> So much so that by the spring of 1848, numerous letters to the editor began appearing in the pages of *Le Canadien*, *L'Avenir*, and *Le Journal de Quebec* expressing concern over the exodus and the provincial administration's unsuccessful efforts to concoct effective colonization schemes retaining them. Of course, such outmigration was nothing particularly new to the end of the 1840s, but concern over the issue had been compounded by decades of restricting French mobility in the St. Lawrence seigneuries and maintaining the Eastern Townships in a state of artificial underdevelopment by refusing the construction of roads connecting them to Quebec.<sup>9</sup> New schemes of British settlement for the Townships were undertaken in the early 1830s but the continued lack of funding from the increasingly *patriote* dominated assembly, and the unwillingness of the Governor General Kempt to slight the *patriotes* by intervening on their behalf, meant those migrants who did arrive continued to find themselves isolated.<sup>10</sup> New road bills in 1829 and 1832 attempted to give localities more control over road development, but these failed to secure more funding from an assembly that continued to see road making in the Townships as a "luxury in legislation in which we could not now indulge."<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, in the absence of significant changes to road administration, the seeking of road money appeared as little more than vote-buying and translated little into improved communications. Few significant improvements were made prior to the Union.

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<sup>8</sup> For a detailed overview of these events by a first-hand account of them, see Turcotte, L-P. 1872. *Canada sous l'Union, 1840-1867*, volume two.

<sup>9</sup> Settlement in the Eastern Townships began in earnest in the 1790s with the arrival of British loyalists from the States. Efforts were made in the 1810s to connect these settlements to Quebec via the Craig Road, but attempts to secure its continued funding were rejected by French-Canadian assemblymen. As Pierre Bédard, former leader of the *Parti Canadien* and editor of *Le Canadien* put in a letter to Louis-Joseph Papineau, "Is it possible that the House not perceive the absurdity, the baseness of using the province's money to have roads built for these Yankees and then have them kept up with more money? People will buy land thirty leagues from habitations, where they will get it cheap, and then the province will have to use its funds to give it value, to fourfold perhaps tenfold its value." Cited in Ouellet, F. 1980. *Lower Canada, 1791-1840: Social Change and Nationalism*. McClelland and Stewart: Toronto, 215.

<sup>10</sup> After the disastrous tenure of Lord Dalhousie, Kempt engaged in a deliberate charm offensive towards the *patriotes*. He appears to have won over Papineau almost immediately after his arrival. Curtis, *Ruling by Schooling*; Little, J.I. 2013. "A.C. Buchanan and the Megantic Experiment: Promoting British Colonization in Lower Canada." *Histoire-Sociale/Social History* 46 (92): 295-319; Gallichan, G. 2012. "La crise parlementaire de 1827 au Bas-Canada." *Les cahiers de dix*, 66: 95-166.

<sup>11</sup> *Quebec Mercury*, 6 March 1832. The quotation comes from Speaker Papineau. His cries of austerity were challenged by English representatives who failed to understand how a grant of £27,000 could be made for elementary education as part of the 1832 reform to the Trustees School Bill but a meagre £3,400 could not be had for improved roads.

Since the 1830s, particularly within the pages of the colonial press, underdeveloped rural roads had been linked to French outmigration.<sup>12</sup> Unable to expand meaningfully beyond the seigneuries, young French families became discouraged by their prospects in Canada and were motivated to try their luck elsewhere. Public outcry had become so extreme that by the end of 1847 the outmigration of French youth to the New England states could no longer be ignored. Taking inspiration from the Owen Sound model, a sizable colonization movement was developing among the youth of Lower Canada. Chief among the correspondents to the colonial press was St. Hyacinthe Abbé Bernard O'Reilly who penned a series of letters to *Le Canadien* and *Le Journal de Quebec* advocating for the formation of colonization societies in Montreal and Quebec. O'Reilly's proposal was well met by the members of the progressive *l'Institut Canadien de Montreal* who called a special meeting to discuss the project in March 1848.

*L'Institut Canadien* was an important cultural institution for the youth of Montreal and Quebec City, and also for liberal governmentality more broadly. Under the influence of men like Etienne Parent, P-J-O Chauveau and Antoine Gérin-Lajoie<sup>13</sup>, *L'Institut Canadien* promoted the grounding of government policy in knowledge of population. Among those who came of age during the Rebellions or shortly before, there was a growing recognition of the decline of traditional forms of authority. To men like Parent, editor of *Le Canadien*, ignorance was unacceptable. He had read the works of the French Marquis de Condorcet<sup>14</sup> and the physiocratic political economist Francois Quesnay and appears to have imbibed the principles of the latter's "*l'art social*"; an early precursor to the social science.<sup>15</sup> His numerous lectures to the membership of *l'Instituts Canadien* at Montreal and Quebec during this time reflected his support for the study of social and political economy. His readings of Condorcet, Quesnay and also the sociology of August Comte reinforced his belief in *l'art social*, namely, that if government was to be dedicated to the production of social happiness then the social sciences (synonymous with social economy at this time) and cultural arts must show through attentive study and patient description how that was possible.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See the series of letters by 'Curtius' published in the *Montreal Gazette* between June and August, 1835.

<sup>13</sup> For more on Gérin-Lajoie and his place in the genealogy of French Canadian social science, see Sabourin, P. 2010. "La contribution leplaysienne a la naissance d'une science économique 'heterodoxe' au Québec." *Société d'Économie et de Science Sociales* 151: 53-82; Trépanier, P. 1987. "Les influences leplaysienne au Canada-francais, 1855-1888." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 22 (1): 66-83.

<sup>14</sup> See Baker, K.M. 1964. "The Early History of the Term 'Social Science'." *Annals of Science*, 20: 211-26; 1975. *Condorcet, from Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

<sup>15</sup> Falardeau, C. 1967. *The Rise of the Social Sciences in French Canada*. Department of Cultural Affairs: Quebec; 1968. *Leon Gérin: Habitant de Saint-Justin*. Les Presses de la Université de Montreal: Montreal; 1974. "Antécédents, débuts, et croissance de la sociologie au Québec." *Recherches Sociographiques*, 55: 135-165. As a leader of the physiocrat movement, Quesnay is a key figure in Foucault's elaboration of 'apparatuses of security' which he identifies as the hallmark of a liberal governmentality. See, Foucault, M. 2007. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977-78*. Picador: New York.

<sup>16</sup> Head, B.W. 1982. The Origins of 'La Science Sociale' in France, 1770-1800. *Australia Journal of French Studies*. 115-132; Falardeau, J-C. 1972. "Etienne Parent". *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, volume X.

To this clique, infrastructural colonization was to be an adjunctive effort to a wide-ranging project of cultural reform. The membership of *l'Institut Canadien* was deliberately, and somewhat controversially, engaged in fashioning a specifically *canadien* social identity. Parent's son-in-law, Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, and his contemporary P-J-O Chauveau were prominent in this effort. Both were celebrated writers of French Canadian fiction which sought to create a narrative frame through which to understand the social dynamics of the *habitants*.<sup>17</sup> Chauveau's novel, *Charles Guérin: roman de mœurs canadiennes*, which appeared in serial form in 1846-47, is the story of a lawyer, Guerin, who abandons his trade to join a colonization society and carve a social space for French Canadians out of the backwoods of the Eastern Townships.<sup>18</sup> Chauveau wrote in a curious mode of literary realism, including census reports and population statistics in lengthy appendices to his novel. These would show the tremendously fecund nature of the French Canadians; a shorthand for their innate national superiority. In provincial politics, fertility rates were a popular cudgel with which to beat the English whose large population increases were held to be due to artificial factors like emigration, and not an equally impressive virility. The backwoods offered the youth of Quebec a field for self-actualization and the ability to preserve the Catholic virtues of its ancestors. Though Chauveau's crude imitation of Balzac has not fared well to posterity, at its time it made him a celebrated writer of prose. It sold well, retailing at Octave Crémazie's Quebec bookshop for 1s. 3d.

Parent's son-in-law, Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, father of Leon Gérin - widely claimed as Canada's first sociologist - was similarly involved in the fashioning of a French Canadian identity as well as promoting public education. He wrote several lengthy letters to the liberal-progressive *La Minerve* advocating for a system of public libraries where men of all classes could "acquire the necessary knowledge in their respective states." Without this, the French-Canadiens were condemned to live in ignorance and rely on the outdated forms of traditional knowledge or 'old simplicity'.<sup>19</sup> Through his advocacy for public libraries, Gérin-Lajoie was intimately involved in the work of *l'Institut* in the 1840s, and his novel, *Jean Rivard, le défricheur Canadien*, published in 1862, was similar to Chauveau's in that it told the story of a man who ventures into the backwoods to set up a small republic where a *habitant* cultural identity could flourish.

Both Gérin-Lajoie and Chauveau sought to fashion a particular sort of 'knowable community' for the French Canadian farmer; an 'ideal type' serving as the basis for objective examination and the archetype for programs of social meliorism.<sup>20</sup> These works aided in the

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<sup>17</sup> I use the term 'habitant' to describe the French Canadian peasant class and not as a term for French Canadians overall.

<sup>18</sup> Chauveau, P-J-O. 1853. *Charles Guérin: roman de mœurs canadiennes*. G-H Cherrier: Quebec.

<sup>19</sup> *La Minerve*, 14 May 1847. I take the term 'old simplicity' from Lamonde, *Social History*, 350. Lamonde uses it in a manner akin to Max Weber's discussion of traditionalist ethics as opposition to new the new ethic of accumulation afforded by protestant asceticism. 'Old Simplicity' continued to link social order to community traditions rather than social and individual improvement. See Weber, M. 1958. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Chas. Scribner's Sons: New York, 171.

<sup>20</sup> Williams, R. 1982. *The Country and the City*. Vintage: New York.

construction of a cultural frame and model of French subjectivity comprised of a desirable array of habits and tendencies which were best developed in the conditions of agricultural colonization. It was on these grounds that the peculiar alliance of *l'Institut Canadien* and the ultramontanist Bishop of Montreal, Ignace Bourget could form. After all, as Bourget claimed in a letter to Governor General Elgin, a lack of available settlement space was particularly harmful to habitants due to their superior fertility. Explicitly echoing Malthus, the Bishop claimed a lack of space led to deferring the age of marriage and periods of prolonged celibacy. As agricultural labour and early marriage promoted morality, a lack of available farmland led to moral decline by pushing the habitant into the towns where they were overcome by idleness, immorality, and vice without “the paternal eye of the clergy to protect them.”<sup>21</sup> If good roads could be opened up and maintained, morality, extended family ties, and the watchful eyes of the clergy could extend deep into the backwoods. Only the poorest habitants lacked a team of at least a few horses and a cariole (sleigh) and calèche (carriage) which on good roads allowed travel of seventy or eighty kilometers a day.<sup>22</sup>

Chauveau and Parent’s imaginaries were being realized in the spring of 1848 as Abbe O’Reilly spoke before *l’Institut’s* membership.<sup>23</sup> In a well-attended March lecture, he boasted of the historical importance of the colonization project, claiming future historians would write the name of his Association as among the greatest benefactors of Lower Canada. O’Reilly channelled populist energies in echoing certain aspects of the famous Ninety-Two Resolutions, specifically in his claims that history would smile upon any effort to fight the true enemies of French blood – those large landed proprietors who allowed the French to emigrate instead of opening their lands and providing a field for *canadien* cultural identity to flourish. O’Reilly’s lectures were extremely popular. Just two weeks after his Montreal speech, he took his eloquent message to Quebec where he spoke to a crowd of nearly 3,000 at a meeting whose congregants had waited over six hours to hear him.<sup>24</sup> Beginning at 7:15pm and flanked by the former *patriote* leader Louis-Joseph Papineau, who delivered a plenary address reminding the French and Irish present of British aggressions against them, O’Reilly reiterated the importance of their Association for the moral development of future French generations.

### *Temporary Allies*

Forming an unlikely pairing, *l’Insitut Canadien de Montreal*, together with the ultramontanist Bishop of Montreal, Ignace Bourget, formed the *Association du District de Montreal pour l’Etablissement des Canadiens Francais dans les Townships du Bas-Canada*. The

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<sup>21</sup> *JLAC* 1849, App. UUU, Bourget to Elgin, 19 April 1848.

<sup>22</sup> Craig, G. 1955. *Early Travellers in the Canadas*. Pioneer Books: Toronto; Greer, A. 1993. *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellions of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 88.

<sup>23</sup> *Journal de Quebec*, 1 April 1848. This article describes the events of 16 March 1848.

<sup>24</sup> *Journal de Quebec*, 30 March 1848.

Association's membership featured many prominent *canadiens*, including J.P. Rheaume,<sup>25</sup> P-J-O Chauveau, as well as future Ministers of Agriculture, Francois Évanturel, and N-F Belleau. Among their first acts was to petition the Colonial Office for the granting of lands which the Association would take the initiative to settle. Their letter, sent under Bourget's name on 19 April 1848, stressed the importance of opening new lands along leading lines of road away from the old seigneuries. As the Association framed the problem, what farmland remained on the old St. Lawrence seigneuries was being exhausted. Overcrowding led to a steep increase in rents owed to the seigneur which put additional financial pressure on the habitant and restricted their access to the necessary manure for their fields. Agricultural production declined and the youth of the seigneuries left to seek work in the cities or New England, where, being employed mostly by English capitalists, they quickly lost their language and their ties to the culture of their ancestors.

To the Association, the solution was simple. Colonization roads would be built through the vacant lands of the Crown upon which townships would be built on the model already developed at Owen Sound. The townships laid out by the Association would be guided by a mix of government land agents and clergymen who would, in tandem, oversee the political and moral health of the populations. O'Reilly proposed to show the spiritual as well as political importance of the townships by having a clergyman strike the first axe blow towards opening each new township by the Association with the felled tree being later shaped into a cross to be erected in the town on St. Jean-Baptiste Day.<sup>26</sup> It would be the government's job to grant the land, survey the lines and construct the roads. It would be the Association's to attest to the character of the farmer and ensure their status as *bona fide* settlers. The Association would find settlers in the towns and cities and direct them to the backwoods where they would apply to a government agent stationed along the road who could assign them a lot if they met certain moral and economic pre-conditions.<sup>27</sup>

By August 1848, advertisements began appearing in the colonial papers stating that fifty acres would be granted to men aged eighteen or older who met such conditions. Prospective settlers would be responsible for getting and carrying with them a certificate of probity and sobriety which was to have been signed by known persons (members of the Association would presumably do). In addition to providing the agent with this certificate, they would be expected to state their name, age, condition, trade/profession, marital status, name and age of wife if married,<sup>28</sup> the number of children as well as their names and ages if possible, where from,

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<sup>25</sup> For more on Rheaume and his later work for the Bureau of Agriculture, see Curtis, B. 1998. "Administrative Infrastructure and Social Enquiry: Finding the Facts about Agriculture in Quebec, 1853-54." *Journal of Social History* 32 (2): 309-327.

<sup>26</sup> Little, *Nationalism*. See also, *Le Journal de Quebec*, 1 April 1848, 20 June 1848, 15 July 1848; *Le Canadien*, 3 July 1848.

<sup>27</sup> Much like at the Owen Sound Road, prospective migrants would have to demonstrate some sort of plan for how they would support themselves and their families and also demonstrate some strategy for how they would clear their lands.

<sup>28</sup> The association can be seen as contributing toward a new property formation in the sense Alan Greer gives the term and as I described in the introduction. In the agents' reports, women themselves appear here as property, or

whether or not they owned property elsewhere, and in what township they intended to settle. As a result of such extensive documentation, each agent had a fairly sophisticated census of their respective lines of road.<sup>29</sup> While the agents would be responsible for granting title to the lands if the settler cleared twelve acres of bush in four years and built a house while maintaining continuous residence, the Association would be responsible for building a school, a church, and sustaining a missionary in each Township. The Association was the cutting edge of social progress among the young *rouges* and those who took social and political inspiration from the *Parti Patriote* and considered Louis-Joseph Papineau their patron saint. Such young *rouges* were eager to join in the endeavour. The government agent for the Gosford Road, Jean-Olivier Arcand, was a fervent *patriote* who had been active in the Rebellions and jailed in Montreal until being released under Lord Durham's general amnesty.<sup>30</sup>

Nevertheless, and despite the fervent enthusiasm of agents like Arcand, the Association's plans were placed under serious strain almost immediately and for numerous reasons. Along Arcand's line, he had trouble getting funding for repairs as early as July 1848. Large sections of the line were completely impassable with the maximum load bearable by the average horse being only a couple barrels of flour. Travel was deemed dangerous for 'man and beast' as ruts had been dug axle deep in many places. Arcand tried to secure £270 for repairs and to prevent carters, who had seized upon the difficulty of travel, from charging more than twice what would be reasonable on a decent road. However, the damage was already done as the high prices for carting had discouraged settlers from exploring along the line. It was only at the end of September that Arcand received any funds at all when then Assistant Commissioner of Public Works, Malcolm Cameron, granted him £230.<sup>31</sup> The difficulty in securing funding was compounded along Arcand's road by the settlers' unwillingness to perform basic maintenance of it. Settlers, feeling the onus for upkeep rested with the province, refused to repair the line. Eventually, being unable to convince them, Arcand himself refused additional funding for the road in order to avoid the risk of confirming the settlers' 'ridiculous' position. By February 1849, the overseer of roads for the district deemed the Gosford a 'public municipal highway' thereby compelling the settlers to repair it.<sup>32</sup>

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features of the settlers' capacity for success, rather than as settlers themselves. This is noteworthy given the extensive rights of the dower which had prevailed in Lower Canada, rights which included that of owning property. On the dower and property rights, see Bradbury, B. 1998. "Debating Dower: Patriarchy, Capitalism and Widows' Rights in Lower Canada." In, *Power, Place, and Identity: Historical Studies of Social and Legal Regulation in Quebec*, ed. T. Myers, K. Boyer, M-A. Poutanen, and S. Watt. Montreal: Montreal History Group. For Greer, 2018. *Property and Dispossession: Natives, Empires, and Land in Early Modern North America*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

<sup>29</sup> *Quebec Mercury*, 23 August 1848.

<sup>30</sup> Notice of Arcand's appointment appeared in the 31 July edition of the *Quebec Mercury*. For Arcand's participation in the Rebellions see RAPQ, 1927-28.

<sup>31</sup> JLAC App. UUU, 24 July 1848, Arcand to Elgin; 21 September, Cameron to Arcand.

<sup>32</sup> JLAC App. UUU, 9 February 1849, Begley to Arcand.

Despite these difficulties, the scheme was generally viewed as a moderate success. Even with the bad roads, by the fall the agents reported running out of surveyed lots to grant. Also, as few settlers had decided to winter on the lots and instead chose to take advantage of nearby family, there was little need for government support of the settlers as there had been at Owen Sound. As Little claims “the Association des Townships had been accurate in its prediction that habitants would move to the frontier to maintain extended family ties.”<sup>33</sup>

Ultimately, the work of the societies was hamstrung by mostly circumstantial factors. It would appear that O’Reilly and *l’Institut Canadien de Montreal* erred significantly in their partnership with the divisive Papineau. A powerful ally, Bourget abandoned the Association in September 1848, unable to stomach an alliance with Papineau and the *rouges*. Conservative organs in the press lambasted Papineau for his new partnership with the clergy when he had previously treated them with contempt; bemoaning the burden of the tithe but not the payments to seigneurs as this would have affected him. The *Quebec Mercury* painted Papineau as someone who cared little for French culture beyond his own self-interest; additionally claiming that when the Castle St. Lewis burned down, Papineau had been central in preventing the “noble gubernatorial residence from being rebuilt.”<sup>34</sup> Internationally, the Colonial Office sought to restrict Papineau’s influence given the international insecurity provoked by populist uprisings in France as well as the disastrous Irish famine migrations. These events stoked fears in the Colonial Office of French and Irish insurrection in the colonies. There was little desire to see Papineau given such a prominent platform for his political views as that offered by the new *Association*. The Colonial Office was willing to tolerate it so long as the conservative Bourget was at its head, but by reducing him to a nominal figure in favour of Papineau, and Bourget’s renunciation of his partnership, the Association was no longer palatable to British authorities. Nevertheless, Governor General Elgin appreciated the volatility of the situation. Although refusing to grant public funds to any association with Papineau at its head, he was aware of the need to appear magnanimous. He signalled his own personal support by granting the *Association* land in the Eastern Townships and a paltry £20 of his own personal funds.<sup>35</sup>

Whatever its problems, the *Associations des Townships* had served as additional proof of one thing; that contra the apparent Colonial Office dogma prohibiting their use, free grants along leading lines of road into the backwoods could work under a system of proper supervision. It demonstrated to the progressive intellectuals of Lower Canada, many of whom read the works of the nascent social science, that self-sustaining and civilized social relations could be engineered practically, and the creation of such communities in the backwoods could not but expand the agricultural productions of the province and ensure its financial security. In a more abstract sense, it was also a blow to conceptions of political sovereignty based on the idea of a fixed social order.

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<sup>33</sup> Little, *Nationalism*, 95.

<sup>34</sup> *Quebec Mercury*, 3 June 1848.

<sup>35</sup> Doughty, A.G. 1937. *The Elgin-Grey Papers, 1846-1852*. Secretary of State: Ottawa, 26 April 1848.

*'A Leetle Too Much of a Good Thing'*

The promising developments in the Eastern Townships and the settlement of a sizable agricultural population along publicly funded colonization roads came at a highly desirable time as settlers began to express opposition to turnpike roads. Varieties of road construction and the sorts of solidarities they facilitate can be analyzed as technologies of subjectification. The move towards a regular system of colonization roads was also aided by the social and political uncertainty generated by the unpopularity of toll roads among the farmers around the province's urban centers. The first Governor-General of the united Canadas, Charles Poulett Thomson, had claimed, "the practical conviction of better roads, better streets, and Quays" was to be part of a more encompassing civilizing process that would, along with more macro political reforms like the creation of municipal governments and district councils, teach settlers 'habits of self-dependence' and facilitate liberal means of governmental rule. Municipal government and district councils would insulate the central government from local political struggles while also allowing for the channeling of political ambition among local leaders through acceptable state channels.<sup>36</sup> The manipulation of relations of territory and population, in the form of colonization roads, would serve as a central instrument for ruling the people in this way.

Yet Thomson did not distinguish between sorts of road building. While he saw ruling the routes as a form of political subjection via ethical subjectification in the sense that it would encourage the taming of individual self-interest and a recognition of the general will<sup>37</sup>, he did not consider varieties of road building. Colonization roads were politically desirable for the fact that they were not tolled or taxed in the same manner as other, comparatively more advanced means of communication. While some like Jeffrey McNairn<sup>38</sup> have recently argued that the habits of self-dependence Thomson sought to inculcate would include mostly paying taxes and forming contributory associations for the financing of public works (such as toll-roads), McNairn does not call attention to how this sort of self-dependence also lead to collective resistance by those who did not want to be governed in that way.<sup>39</sup> Self-dependence could also mean the ability to define the general interest in manners not conducive to state rule, and state policy would in turn be shaped (to a degree) by settler insouciance. This was on display in the pages of the *Kingston Herald* in January 1847 when letters to the editor began to appear complaining of the tolls on the

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<sup>36</sup> The disciplinary effects of representative institutions was explicitly advocated by Durham Commission Secretary Charles Buller in his, 1840. *Responsible Government for the Colonies*. London; see also, Haury, D. 1987. *The Origins of the Liberal Party and Liberal Imperialism: The Career of Charles Buller, 1806-1848*. Taylor & Francis: London; Curtis, B. 1989. "Representation and State Formation in the Canadas, 1790-1850. *Studies in Political Economy*, 28: 59-87.

<sup>37</sup> 16 September 1840, Poulett Thomson to Russell. Kennedy, W.P.M. 1930. *Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1759-1915*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

<sup>38</sup> McNairn, J. forthcoming. "Incorporating Contributory Democracy: Self-Taxation and Self-Government in Upper Canada".

<sup>39</sup> In Foucault-ese, this is referred to as 'counter-conduct' and its emergence is framed by Foucault as a key moment in the genealogy of liberal governmentality. Cadman, L. 2010. "How Not to be Governed: Foucault, Critique and the Political." *Environment and Planning D*: 28 (3): 539-556.

Kingston-Napanee road. ‘A Farmer’ complained that while tolls were necessary the number of them was “too many oats for a shilling” and made “a hole in the price of a load of produce.”<sup>40</sup>

In February, ‘A Farmer’s’ complaints were seconded by ‘Another Farmer’ who initially confessed that the road, and the tolls necessary to maintain it, were in fact a benefit to settlers like himself. However, he complained that the five gates in twenty-five miles, and three gates in the span of twelve miles “was a leetle too much of a good thing.”<sup>41</sup> In one sense, the letters showed the success of liberal political reforms; they insulated the central government from local concerns. ‘Another Farmer’ complained that their representatives in the assembly “have been too much occupied when they should have been attending to the interests of their constituents, in eating and drinking, and ‘faring sumptuously every day’.” Important issues for farmers were being ignored. Wagons with four-inch tires were being charged the same toll-rates as the far more destructive two-and-a-half inch. The numerous tollgates meant settlers living within five miles of the market were charged fifteen pence to transport crops for sale. It was not uncommon for others to have to pay six shillings and three pence for a twenty-five mile journey, in addition to the four shilling market toll. Settlers were being bled dry and ‘Another Farmer’ griped that the local representatives were “too chicken-hearted to press the suit of their constituents.” Settlers took matters into their own hands, including brazen attempts at ‘cheating the toll-man’.

**Figure 3.1** – “Cheating the Toll-Man.” Cornelius Krieghoff, 1863



In another sense, poor-administration of the toll-roads led to their being viewed as an excessive tax and fostered social solidarities in opposition to elite interests. Farmers conjured the spectre of the 1843 Rebecca Riots in Wales where high-tolls and general pauperization of the agricultural population led to a series of armed attacks involving the destruction of the toll-

<sup>40</sup> *Kingston Herald*, 26 January 1847.

<sup>41</sup> *Kingston Herald*, 9 February 1847.

gates.<sup>42</sup> Although the Rebecca Riots had been short-lived and somewhat humorous (men dressed in women's clothing, painted their faces black, and wrote letters to the editor as 'children of Rebecca'), in the eyes of political elites, more serious popular disturbances would develop if meliorative measures were not taken. This was the imagery conjured by 'A Farmer' when he made reference to 'Rebecca and her daughters' and signalled storming the gates as a possibility in the event of a failure of political amelioration. Though the toll-rates did increase in 1848, the province introduced reforms tying the amount of toll paid to the size of wagon wheels; four inch wheels would pay half the standard rate, six inch paid one-quarter, and eight inch wagons traveled freely.<sup>43</sup>

Potential backlash over expanding the turnpike roads and the successes of the Association des Townships were not lost on those in the Upper Province, most notably on Inspector-General Francis Hincks. While approving of the colonization roads scheme, Hincks recognized that if it were to work on an extended, provincial scale, significant changes would be necessary. For one, it could not be so reliant on the Catholic Church if it was to be of any applicability to the mostly Protestant Upper Canada. Also, it would have to be supplemented by nothing short of a province-wide statistical apparatus, which Hincks would spend much of the next half decade helping to develop.

### ***Statistics, Investment, and Settlement***

In March 1848, the Baldwin-LaFontaine Reform ministry took power and Hincks was named Inspector General. Hincks, a Protestant Irishman of moderate reformist political persuasion, had been a prominent banker and journalist before entering into politics. His father had been a Presbyterian minister in Ireland, and was keenly interested in educational issues and social reform generally. From a young age, Hincks was encouraged to pursue these interests and was sent to the Royal Belfast Academical Institution beginning in 1823. Though his time there was brief, it led to a successful business career in shipping before, in 1832, he moved to York, Upper Canada. In the Canadas, Hincks's hereditary moderate reformism was on display as he quickly joined the ranks of the Reform party. He was, however, disillusioned by the calls of William Lyon MacKenzie for rebellion and hopeful the new Lieutenant Governor, Francis Bond Head, would restore some order of sanity to the Reformers. This of course did not happen. In the aftermath of the political maelstrom surrounding the skirmish at Montgomery's Tavern, Hincks and other moderates were forced to lay low for a time. The reformers who disapproved of the violent actions of MacKenzie and his lieutenant John Rolph – whom Hincks would later appoint to the posts of Commissioner of Crown Lands and Minister of Agriculture – even briefly explored leaving the Canadas and taking up lands in the United States. For his part, Hincks joined the Mississippi Emigration Society and dreamt up schemes for systematic emigration of

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<sup>42</sup> Rees, L.A. 2011. "Paternalism and Rural Protest: the Rebecca Riots and the Landed Interest of South-East Wales". *Agricultural History Review*, 59 (1): 36-60; see also, Guldi, J. 2012. *Roads to Power: Britain Invents the Infrastructure State*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge; Wakefield, E.G. 1831. *Householders in Danger from the Populace!* Effingham-Wilson: London.

<sup>43</sup> *Kingston Herald*, 23 March 1847.

Upper Canadians to Iowa. However, the appointment of Lord Durham to investigate the causes of the Rebellions and to suggest enlightened political reform, particularly to the emigration and Crown Lands apparatuses, gave Hincks and the other moderate reformers some hope that meaningful change was possible in the Canadas.<sup>44</sup> His position as Inspector-General in the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry put Hincks in a central position to effect meaningful change in governmental practice and he set about immediately targeting colonial economic policy.

During his time as Inspector General, the Province's finances were in shambles and the Colonial Office saw no reason to assume the financial burden on its behalf. The previous Inspector General, William Cayley, had taken out large loans from England without a plan for repaying them. This meant Canadian debentures in England, which were the main financial tool used to fund public works projects in the Canada, sold at a discount, if at all. To remedy the situation, Hincks set about devising a plan which would be sent to the Colonial Office in December as his Memorandum on Immigration and Public Works.

This Memorandum has garnered much academic attention. As Michael Piva has noted, though distinct from Cayley's bungling, Hincks's plan shows more continuity than change with earlier efforts and benefitted from being widely circulated among the Reform elite prior to its publication.<sup>45</sup> It involved securing loans from English capitalists to fund large-scale public works to increase immigration and exports. But this was a tough sell. Popular opinion in England made little of the distinction between emigration and colonization. The introduction of the Poor Law into Ireland<sup>46</sup> after the crop failures of 1845 had led Irish landholders to develop schemes to rid themselves of their pauper tenants for whose care they were now responsible. Based on these plans, entire Irish villages would be transplanted onto the soil of Upper Canada. The schemes prompted heated discussion in the colonial press in the summer of 1847. In a review of one such plan, the *Quebec Mercury*, a Tory organ, crossed party lines to join with more moderate papers in condemning it. Given the embarrassed financial state of the province, its resultant inability to fund public works or employment schemes, and also the Colonial Office's unwillingness to finance emigration schemes, there was no real threat of the Irish aristocracy succeeding in shovelling out their paupers. Nevertheless such schemes were widely discussed and effaced the

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<sup>44</sup> Ormsby, William G. "Sir Francis Hincks". *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume XI. For the character of Durham's 'enlightened reforms, see, Azjenstat, J. 1988. *The Political Thought of Lord Durham*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston. Azjenstat's work is interesting for the thorough connection demonstrated between Durham's political thought and Tocquevillian social science. See also, Curtis, B. 2006. "Tocqueville and Lower Canadian Educational Networks." *Encounters on Education*, 7: 113-130. Curtis delves into prosopography here, which I actually don't mind. I take note only because he once chided me for doing so!

<sup>45</sup> Perhaps more interestingly, and despite his stated aversion to the man, Hincks's scheme is highly Wakefieldian in substance. See Hincks's 1884 auto-hagiography, *Sir Francis Hincks: Reminiscences on a Public Life*. For Piva's work regarding Hincks, see, 1992. "Government Finance and the Development of the Canadian State". In, Greer, A. and Radforth, I (Eds.) *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada (257-283)*. UTP: Toronto; 1992. *The Borrowing Process: Public Finance in the Province of Canada, 1841-1871*. University of Ottawa Press: Ottawa.

<sup>46</sup> A leading advocate for the introduction of the poor law into Ireland had been Lord Sydenham's brother, George Poulett Scrope. See Scrope, G.P. 1834. *How is Ireland to be Governed?*

necessary distinction between emigration and colonization in the discourse.<sup>47</sup> Making the Canadas appear fiscally desirable to English capitalists by increasing emigration to the province was like as not to have the opposite effect.

To depict the Province as a promising site for capital investiture, increased emigration to the province was not to be confused simply with an increase in number, but an increase in the people and its (profitable) relations.<sup>48</sup> Hincks seems to have realized the importance, as many in England during this general period had, of statistical data for large scale comparative analysis of the sort needed to underline the distinction between emigration and colonization.<sup>49</sup> The Statistical Societies in England had demonstrated convincingly in the 1830s that vital and economic statistics could serve as a tool for social and political evaluation<sup>50</sup> and important members of the Reform Party, notably L.H. Lafontaine, had travelled to England after the Rebellions and met with some the heads of these Societies.<sup>51</sup> So, in 1849, Hincks published a pamphlet, *Canada: Its Financial Position and Resources* for a British audience with the hope the glowing account of social and economic progress it provided would assuage cautious potential investors. Hincks drew on the 1848 census data compiled by the largely incompetent high-Tory Walter Crofton. Nevertheless, Crofton's incompetence was politically useful as his statistical depiction strongly contrasted with the disastrous political image of the Canadas being painted internationally in the wake of the Rebellion Losses Riots. Hincks would use statistical data to depict a burgeoning economic power; one worthy of investment by savvy English financiers.<sup>52</sup>

Despite the recognized need for such statistics, for the better part of the decade after the Act of Union, government administrators had complained of the lack of statistical information

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<sup>47</sup> *Quebec Mercury*, 1 May 1847, 11 May 1847, 31 March 1849.

<sup>48</sup> Hincks approach here has to be seen as in continuity with the 'critique of political economy' being developed within the social science. The conceptual distinction between population and numerousness which subtends his argument resonates strongly with sections of Marx's *Grundrisse*. To Marx, "population is an abstraction, if we leave out e.g. the classes of which it exists. These classes, again are but an empty word, unless we know what are the elements on which they are based, such as wage-labor, capital, etc. ... If we start out, therefore, with population, we do so with a chaotic conception of the whole". 1973: 292.

<sup>49</sup> As an article reviewing Edward Gibbon Wakefield's *A View to the Art of Colonization* published in the *Edinburgh Review*, makes clear that colonization was not to be left to the cupidity of adventurers and was dedicated to the production of settlers of sound morals. As a result, colonization involved and depended upon civilizing social institutions. The *Review* argued that any system of colonization needed "a system of domestic police" lest they lapse into primitive rudeness. Anonymous. "Colonization". *Edinburgh Review*, January 1850.

<sup>50</sup> Abrams, *Origins*, 17.

<sup>51</sup> Lafontaine travelled to England in December 1837 and met with Lord Brougham, who was then head of the *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, an organization that included pioneering sociologist, Harriet Martineau. Lamonde, *Social History*.

<sup>52</sup> The appendix to Hincks pamphlet contained numerous statistics compiled by Crofton including overall increases in both sections of the province, but also the increases in numbers of churches, schools, mills, available farmland, shops, etc. In short, it demonstrated the improvement in the social condition of the Canadas, and not just its supposed economic prosperity. Hincks, F. 1848. *Canada: Its Financial Position and Resources*. Montreal.

respecting the various regions of the Province. Chief Clerk in the Provincial Secretary's office, T.D. Harrington, who had been in charge of producing the annual Blue Book of statistics for the Upper Province, began to complain after the Union that it was no longer possible for him to continue to provide such information as he had prior. In the winter of 1841, Harrington grumbled that the great administrative changes brought about, as well as the untimely death of Lord Sydenham from a fall off his horse, caused great confusion in the Secretary's office. Indeed, Harrington complained that not only could he not compile the provincial statistics, he no longer even knew how to go about getting the information to be included. The District Council Bill had completely altered the duties of the old townships and their reporting mechanisms, while the Division Courts and Education Bills had done the same for those institutions. The existing forms of the Blue Books were believed ill-suited to their new task and highly likely to be misread if used. Harrington went on to assure his superiors that he was not attempting to shirk his duties, since "the labour is beyond the power of anyone to complete this book as ordered and from having such a bulk of new duties to arrange, questions to answer, explanations to give which area daily called for, arising out of the union."<sup>53</sup>

Hincks's appointment as Inspector-General came about at the same time as concerted attempts to remedy Harrington's complaints and bring colonial statistical practice up to date with practices carried out internationally, most notably those of Belgian statistician Adolphe Quetelet.<sup>54</sup> Yet more substantial changes were in the process of being wrought. In the spring of 1847, new Boards of Agriculture for both sections of the province were in the process of being formed. They would, among other things, "promote every branch of rural economy" as well as obtain correct statistics of the state of agriculture, its produce, etc.<sup>55</sup> At the provincial level, little had been done since Harrington's time to update the statistical apparatus of the province. This would change later that year when the nearly defunct Tory ministry of Henry Sherwood was able to pass a new Census and Statistics Act in the summer of 1847. Among other things, the Act (10 & 11 Vic. c. XV) created the Board of Registration and Statistics which would overhaul the statistical apparatus and address the issues Harrington had raised. The Board, to consist of the Receiver General, the Provincial Secretary and the Inspector General would be responsible for issuing reports containing "all such information relative to the trade, manufactures, agriculture and population of the province as they may be able to obtain." To do this, the Board was empowered to appoint statistical enumerators who could demand from the head of every family (or any member of it over twenty-one years old), as well as the owner or manager of factories, or agents of companies, within their respective enumeration districts, "true answers to all such questions as shall be necessary." Participation was mandatory. Those who refused the demands

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<sup>53</sup> LAC CO 42/481(41), 4 December 1841.

<sup>54</sup> Prevost, J-P. and J-P. Beaud. 2012. *Statistics, Public Debate and the State, 1800-1945*. During the early years of the Union, provincial secretary Rawson W. Rawson, former President of the London Statistical Society, maintained a limited correspondence with Quetelet and there is some reason to believe that Quetelet may have had an influence on Canadian census design in the early 1840s. Curtis, B. 2001. *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875*. UTP: Toronto.

<sup>55</sup> *Quebec Mercury*, 16 March 1847.

of the enumerators could be fined between ten and fifty shillings and, if they did or could not pay, jailed for not more than seven days.

As a member of the Board of Registration and Statistics, and therefore at the center of the colonial statistical apparatus, Hincks was in a good position to develop schemes of colonization informed by statistical practice. As Inspector General, but also a resident of Montreal, he was well aware of the ongoing work of Abbé O'Reilly's Association. *Le Canadien* and *Le Journal de Quebec* often published the Association's letters in full which occasionally took up two of the papers' four pages.<sup>56</sup> But more than this, as a member of the Board of Registration, Hincks had access to the reports and statistics produced by agents like Arcand and those at Owen Sound. Although it is unclear whether Hincks actually used such reports in framing his Memorandum – he did acknowledge in an article published in *The Globe* that he was aware of the reports of the Owen Sound agents<sup>57</sup> – there are strong affinities between his colonization scheme and these predecessors.<sup>58</sup>

### *The Memorandum on Immigration and Public Works*

The Memorandum's publication was timed to capitalize on colonial public interest in the colonization debate. The Tory press, specifically the *Quebec Mercury* and the *Morning Herald* had run lengthy pieces advocating infrastructural colonization as opposed to emigration.<sup>59</sup> Like Sydenham before him, Hincks acknowledged the need for infrastructure development on a grand scale to ensure the social and economic development of the Province as a whole. Yet the financial crises of 1847-49 made spending on projects unpalatable. What was worse, Hincks acknowledged, was that those projects which had been ordered under Sydenham, namely the St. Lawrence canals, were not financially viable. They would not generate sufficient revenue to pay for their own maintenance let alone the interest on the loans taken to build them. To Reformers, continuing to hang hopes on such projects was simply to throw good money after bad. Instead, Hincks's plan was to capitalize the Crown Lands and use them as security to obtain loans from England financing large scale public works. Millions of acres of Crown Land were at present unoccupied<sup>60</sup> within fifteen miles of existing seigneuries and townships. As the work of the *Associations des Townships* had already demonstrated, were the province to modestly increase the public debt by spending on roads into the backwoods and granting some of the lands along them free of charge, domestic strife over toll roads could be sidestepped, immigrants could be

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<sup>56</sup> See for example, *Le Journal de Quebec*, 18 November 1848. This letter was also sent to Etienne Parent, editor of *Le Canadien* for publication there as well.

<sup>57</sup> *The Globe*, 10 June 1848.

<sup>58</sup> For the Memorandum see LAC CO 42 552(151), 20 December 1848. It is also published as an Appendix to the Journals of the Legislative Assembly for 1849, see JLAC 1849, Appendix EEE.

<sup>59</sup> *Quebec Mercury*, 5 October 1848.

<sup>60</sup> 'Unoccupied' is a definitional matter. As the reports of the survey parties sent out to map them clearly show, the lands were occupied by First Nations people. 'Unoccupied' seems to mean not under British forms of capitalist husbandry. 'Unoccupied' depends on the sort of property formation within which the lands are viewed.

lured to the Canadas where they would settle at a moderate distance from the public works, and save what money they earned to reinvest in the Province and buy even more Crown Lands. To mitigate the costs associated with colonization at the local level, Hincks also proposed the creation of new municipal corporations which would have the power to tax and borrow in order to pay for ‘strictly local works’.

Hincks’s Memorandum has been seen by scholars as a moment of significance on par with the Annexation Manifesto or the Rebellion Losses Bill. But it was in many ways a simple restatement of certain Wakefieldian ideas.<sup>61</sup> In some ways Hincks was merely a more suitable package for the scheme than the highly controversial Wakefield and, given that Wakefield had left the colony some years prior, he could not easily claim ownership of Hincks’s plan.<sup>62</sup> Yet in Hincks’s rejection of claims like that published by the editor of the *Quebec Mercury* that “emigrants are alone successful who select for themselves their home and clear their land unaided by company or government” he tacitly acknowledged the claim that individual, isolated emigration schemes were bound to fail. For Hincks, much like Wakefield, was operating from within a space marked by a new sort of epistemological politics with regards to the emigration-colonization debate. Although the Wakefieldian scheme was intended to serve as the basis for the primitive accumulation of capital and the real subsumption of labour to the mechanisms of a waged manufacturing force, it was also premised on a sophisticated critique of the ideology of individualism and the need to reveal the social as the privileged object-domain of government.

Wakefield’s published writings on colonization, which had been read by colonial reformers like Durham and Buller, but also by private advocates of social scientific forms of knowledge production like Marx, Engels, and Martineau<sup>63</sup>, stressed the insufficiency of the individual to serve as the basis for colonization schemes. As he wrote in his *Letter from Sydney* “people in a highly civilized country, like England, are not aware of their own wants. The wants exist, but most of them are supplied as soon as they are formed.”<sup>64</sup> This ignorance at the basis of civilized life in England was not a problem. Indeed, it was the base condition for the daily

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<sup>61</sup> It is unlikely Hincks would agree with such a characterization for mostly *ad hominem* reasons. Hincks despised Wakefield as a result of their shared time together in the Assembly. See Piva, *Government Finance*; Piva, *The Borrowing Process*. Unlike many interlocutors who see wholesale rejection of the Wakefieldian schematic in the Canadas – in part because of Sydenham’s claims they were unworkable in the colony - John Walsh agrees with my claim, writing “the language and logic in this memorandum suggest more continuity than change articulated a decade earlier by Edward Gibbon Wakefield”. Walsh, *Landscapes*, 39. For those who deny Wakefield’s influence, Abella, I.M. 1966. “‘The Sydenham Election’ of 1841.” *The Canadian Historical Review*, 46(4): 326-343.

<sup>62</sup> Wakefield had been elected as a representative for Beauharnois, a seigneurie formerly owned by Durham’s father-in-law Edward ‘Bear’ Ellice who had sold it to a colonization company run by Wakefield. For a superb biography of the Wakefield family including extensive sections on Edward Gibbon, see Temple, P. 2002. *A Sort of Conscience; the Wakefields*. Auckland University Press: Auckland.

<sup>63</sup> Discussed at length by Marx in *Capital Volume 1* and also in his *Grundrisse*.

<sup>64</sup> Wakefield, E.G. 1829. *A Letter from Sydney, The Principal Town of Australasia and Other Writings on Colonization*. Dent Dutton: London. Cited in, Lloyd-Prichard, M.F. 1968. *The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield*, 104.

existence of the civilized. It was this condition which was to be eventually reproduced in the colonies. Conceived in such a way, colonization was not merely a tool of economic doctrines mandating the removal of a surplus population but also a conscious plan of liberal state formation based on the ethical and political subjectification of the colonizing population. To Wakefield, and also to Hincks, colonization required a reformulation of the proper domain of government. Government was being reconceived as the ‘conduct of conduct’ and colonization was to act upon the conditions of possibility of civilized social life, the supplying of wants which the individual under ‘normal’ conditions misrecognized. As concerns the genealogy of the social science, such a position is foundational to the later Durkheimian position of the insufficiency of the individual as an epistemologically privileged source of social knowledge and also the consequent recognition of a domain of collective life of which individuals are not only typically ignorant, but are so necessarily.<sup>65</sup>

### *Colonizing Abstract Space*

Where Hincks’s Memorandum *is* particularly novel, and what historians and historical sociologists have tended to miss, is his conceptualization of colonization as the articulation of populations within a particular type of settlement space. That is, in his Memorandum, Hincks weds Wakefieldian conceptions of liberal subjectivity to abstract conceptions of territory as the foundation of his colonization scheme. Though it is rarely acknowledged, the entirety of Hincks plan rested on tying infrastructural colonization to an abstract conception of territory and Hincks defined infrastructures based on the three different ways they articulated subjects in space.

First, there were ‘general’ public works like canals and railways and which involved tremendous governmental expense. Ultimately, Hincks’s scheme was intended to facilitate such works although he acknowledged at the present moment he was “clearly of the opinion that the Canadian legislature ought not under existing circumstances to undertake new works of any great magnitude.” It was these works which required loans from English capitalists and which the province was in no financial position to undertake. These were distinguished from works of a ‘strictly local character’. These were works deemed to benefit only a particular locality and in which the province should have no role. Provincial involvement in such works tended to create ‘intense dissatisfaction’ and provide cause for jealousy among those regions which were not favoured. These works, which included things like regional macadamized roads, often failed to generate enough revenue to pay the interest on the loans taken to construct them, resulting in further provincial expenditure and compounded jealousy.

Yet Hincks was adamant local works should be prosecuted. Here, Hincks creates a third configuration of infrastructure space which he called the ‘local’. While the province was to relieve itself of concern with all *strictly* local works, leaving these to the newly incorporated municipalities, it would nevertheless continue to engage in local works where the locality’s concerns were seen as a particular manifestation of concerns affecting the province as a whole.

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<sup>65</sup> On this point, in addition to Durkheim, E. 1969. “Individualism and the Intellectuals.” *Political Studies*, 17 (1); see also 1982. *The Rules of the Sociological Method and Selected Texts on Sociology and its Method*. The Free Press: New York; Martineau, H. 1889. *How to Observe Morals and Manners*. Transaction Press: New Brunswick, NJ; Hoecker-Drysdale, S. 1992. *Harriet Martineau: First Woman Sociologist*. Berg: New York.

At a purely conceptual level – since he provides no statistics and only cursory descriptions of his three spatial archetypes – Hincks effects a divide between the particular and the general; a sort of abstract space which does not correspond directly to the empirical, and which can be configured in various ways depending on how one defines ‘matters of concern to the province.’ To advocates of infrastructural colonization, drawing on the example of the *Associations des Townships* as well as the Owen Sound Road, the government was to be involved in opening leading lines of road through the millions of acres bordering existing townships and seigneuries. Granting lots of fifty acres to intending settlers would open these lands, increase their value, encourage investment, and turn them into a sinking fund for provincial expenses.

Hincks’s Memorandum, as a commitment to thinking colonization as a social process, also contributed to a specific practice of spatialization that altered the tenor of the issue as it had been formulated by the Associations and which had not been consciously reflected upon by the administrators of the Owen Sound road. As Thomas Osborne and Nikolas Rose have argued, social science contributes to a particular realization of spatiality that is simultaneously historical and phenomenological. Practices of spatialization within the social sciences influence the thinking, materialization, and demarcation of spatiality. These processes are not merely a distinct branch of the history of ideas, but must be seen in their empirical context. In the case of the Memorandum, its modelling of settlement space as within a liminal domain between the particular and the general contrasts strongly with the highly moralized urban-rural distinction of the ultramontanes and *l’Institut Canadien*. While Hincks obviously privileges rural space as the site of colonization’s demarcation, his figuration lacks the explicit moral and ethno-nationalist connotations of the ultramontanes. It is difficult, for example, to imagine Hincks having a clergyman swing an axe or shape a township’s first felled tree into a cross.<sup>66</sup>

### ***Representation and Outmigration***

A little more than one month after Hincks delivered his Memorandum to the Governor General the question of the proper colonization of the Canadas became the primary concern of a new select committee formed to investigate the causes of rural outmigration from the St. Lawrence seigneuries to New England and propose the best means of retaining French youth in the Province. While politically, the objectives of the committee were antithetical to Hincks, they would actually adopt many of the same substantive points regarding colonization as a means of political subjectification. Outmigration was a source of great concern among the French reformers, in part because it played into broader debates over political representation, population, colonization, and the work of the Board of Registration and Statistics.

Beginning in January 1849, the new Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry had been fielding concerns from Lower Canada’s representatives calling for change in the laws regulating the subdivision of townships. As the colonization societies had already amply demonstrated, too much land had been allowed to accumulate in the hands of too few, leading to a rural outmigration. Yet tied to this concern was the larger problem of electoral representation

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<sup>66</sup> Osborne, T. and Nikolas Rose. 2004. “Spatial Phenomenotechnics: Making Space with Charles Booth and Patrick Geddes”. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22: 209-228.

generally. Were the outmigration stopped, how could successive administrations best gain knowledge of the will of the people? How many representatives would be required? How would this affect the balance of political power between the two sections of the Province? The Act of Union had granted equal representation between Upper and Lower Canadas in an arrangement that, at the time, was decidedly unfair to the far more numerous French population of the Lower Province. To take advantage of their sizable popular majority, Papineau and his clique had begun calling for representation by population. Yet depending on the population of the two sections of the province, representation by population could swing political power in favour of Upper Canada. It was crucial to know the number of persons in Lower Canada, how many were leaving, how many might come back, and how best to retain Quebec youth on the soil of their ancestors.<sup>67</sup>

The questions of political representation and colonization were fundamentally intertwined at this time. The most recent census had given figures showing a prolific increase in the population of Upper Canada while, in the eyes of some on the select committee, drastically under-enumerating the French countryside. So much so that in March, P-J-O. Chauveau called for a new census altogether. In most instances, those who had left to find work in the States but who would be returning shortly, had not been counted while little else was being done to address the larger issue of permanent outmigration. Infrastructural colonization was acquiring a new political importance in the Lower Province. The select committee was an effort to show the versatility of the *canadiens*. Chauveau and Papineau had complained previous administrations were directing colonization efforts only at Upper Canada, claiming Hincks's Memorandum was a clear instance of this tendency. Nothing showed this so clearly as the Throne Speech opening the new session of Parliament for the Baldwin-Lafontaine administration. It made no mention at all of the rural outmigration which offended prominent French Canadians since great lengths had been gone to describing Hincks's concerns.<sup>68</sup> In response, Chauveau demanded the appointment of a select committee to get to the bottom of the situation.

It is reasonable to assume that Chauveau wanted the Committee because it would incorporate local knowledges of the collective dynamics of the habitants into political debates at a provincial level. The census was believed to be inadequate because, and among other reasons, it had failed to account for those who had left the province (temporarily) to obtain work in the States. To French-Canadian elites, those who had left the province were still 'French-Canadian' and should be counted, since it was a foregone conclusion that the ethno-national pull of French-Canadian soil would eventually bring them back. But the census counted only those physically present. It had no way of determining the presence of those absent. To the French-Canadian elite, political representation needed to be figurative to be fair. Only local knowledge could determine which people would return, which were lost for good, and how many assemblymen might be

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<sup>67</sup> See *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the Canadas*, 22-24 January 1849.

<sup>68</sup> *Le Canadien*, 5 February 1849.

necessary to represent them. A proper, social scientific accounting would be a boon to the political power of the Lower Province and the select committee would provide this information.

### *The Select Committee on Emigration*

In addition to being among the first select committees to actively consider the problems posed by systematic colonization efforts, the committee was also noteworthy in part because of its personnel. Chaired by P-J-O Chaveau, who wrote its first report, the committee also featured historian Robert Christie, progressive lawyer Francois-Xavier Lemieux, as well as future architect of the 1871 census and key practitioner of the social science in the Canadas, Joseph-Charles Taché. It is likely this work on the Committee was Taché's first exposure to the potential benefits offered by social scientific methods for determining governmental practice.<sup>69</sup>

As was the case for many government-appointed committees in 1849, much of their early labours were lost to the burning of Parliament during the Rebellion Losses Riot of 25 April. As a result, its final report, delivered at the end of May, was lacking in detail. Plagued by the complete absence of anything like complete or representational statistics with which to aid their objective, and without much of the background research they had already conducted, the committee's report depended entirely on circulars sent to the landed elite including presidents of various agricultural societies, clergy, and other potentially knowledgeable informants. Although they focussed exclusively on retrieving their data from influential persons, their questions were nevertheless published in the colonial press for any of the literate public to see and potentially write in about.<sup>70</sup> Publishing the questions in the paper was one way to address public anxieties. Progressive organ *Le Canadien* in particular was eager to assuage their readers that pressing concerns were being given the full force of governmental inquiry.

Key among the findings of the Committee was the importance of the Province's rural road network. As numerous respondents testified, the road laws were entirely insufficient to ensure the existence of passable communications between the new settlements and the existing townships. The Committee found "the settler can neither bring his produce to market nor procure things necessary for cultivating his land." This economic insecurity was also matched by a physical precarity as the new settler was also "isolated and unprotected." The fear of isolation

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<sup>69</sup> While serving as one of Canada's ambassadors for 1855's International Exhibition in Paris, Taché would also establish a regular correspondence with early social scientist Frederick Le Play who was personally chosen by Louis Napoleon to organize the event. Le Play would also publish his landmark *Les Ouvriers Européens*; one of the first modern empirical sociological studies into the working class question and a work that would have profound influence on later Canadians like Leon Gérin. Gérin's two most explicit avowals of Le Play's sociological principles can be found in two articles published in *La Presse* in 1886, see 22 and 30 June 1886. See Heaman, E. 1999. *The Inglorious Arts of Peace*. UTP: Toronto. For historical and sociological studies on the influence of Le Play on Canadian politics and social theory, see; Falardeau, J-C. 1968. "Leon Gérin: Habitant de Saint-Justin. Les Presses de la Université de Montreal: Montreal; Fournier, M. 2014. "La Redécouverte de Leon Gérin, Premier Sociologue du Canada". *Recherches Sociographiques*, 55 (2): 207-222; Warren, J-P. 2017. L'Éffacement de la Sociologie le Playsienne au Profit de la Sociologie Doctrinal: Sociologie et Catholicisme au Canada Français. *Archive de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 179 (Juillet-Septembre).

<sup>70</sup> *Le Canadien*, 19 February 1849.

along the roads had been a concern of the backwoods settler for years. In April 1847, the *Kingston Herald* reported the stage coach carrying the mail being robbed near the Lachine Canal on its way to Kingston. Three armed men carried out the job. Two held the driver while the third robbed the passengers with a blunderbuss, striking one of the passengers whom he thought to be reaching for a pistol. The robbers ended up running off with a silver hunting watch and thirty-eight dollars in notes and silver.<sup>71</sup>

While in some cases the solution to violence and precarity on the province's rural roads was a matter of military or sovereign-judicial force, it was also increasingly recognized as an infrastructural problem. The width of the roads could be a means of preventing violence and insecurity. If the roads were not wide enough to allow two wagons to pass abreast, travellers were forced to slow for oncoming traffic, making them an easier target for marauders. But if the roads were also regularly maintained and if travellers could reasonably plan their route, they would be less reliant on strangers and locals to direct them to their destination. When travellers did not know which roads would be passable, or, indeed, even identifiable as roads at all, they would be forced to rely on others to provide them with local information thereby slowing them down and making them more vulnerable.<sup>72</sup> Civil engineers had for the better part of a decade identified the varying width and seasonal variations in road quality as key issues for the province. The rural roads in the Canadas were in some cases forty, while in others sixty or sixty-six feet wide and seldom properly drained meaning they were usually impassable in the spring and fall. As James Cull, lead engineer for the Kingston-Napanee road said to the attendees of a township meeting at Blake's Tavern in October 1837, "two ingredients are necessary for good roads, namely, science and common sense."<sup>73</sup> The Canadas had, to that point, rarely had either in abundance and mud holes and deep ruts were the result.

Interestingly, while the committee identified the importance of ensuring physical security, they did not examine this problem purely as a law-and-order matter but linked the issue of road development more broadly to questions of social and political subjectification. The unreliability of roads, their physical insecurity, and the tremendous cost (physical and otherwise), left settlers not merely unsafe, but *disheartened*. This was the true political problem. As the committee reported, farmers were "discouraged in every way, and little disposed withal, from his character and habits, to toil alone in the desert." Consequently, they "abandon after a while a settlement which, with more encouragement on the one hand, and more perseverance on the other, might have become more productive." Alterations in the form of the road would not only securitize public space in the physical sense, it would securitize settlement space long-term by winning the hearts and minds of the inhabitants.

### *Hypothetical Families*

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<sup>71</sup> *Kingston Herald*, 7 April 1847.

<sup>72</sup> Guldi, *Roads*, discusses sociality on British roads prior to the standardization of road-building in the 1810s and the dangers possibly encountered by travellers as a result. Less social roads were also securitized roads.

<sup>73</sup> *Kingston Chronicle*, 25 October 1837.

At least initially, the committee was not able to provide much in the way of definitive numbers of French outmigration. Nevertheless, they were able to provide both ‘official’ as well as ‘speculative’ estimates for the outmigration. To get an ‘official estimate’, they appealed to Bishop Bourget who claimed 1000 families had left from the Diocese of Montreal alone during the previous five years. Two-thirds of those were said to be members of the working class; the remainder were farmers. However, and most disastrously to the ultramontane bishop, nine-tenths of those who left were French Canadian. Assuming a ‘normal’ family size of six persons, the committee used the statistics supplied by Bourget to project that 6000 persons had left just the Montreal Diocese alone. In providing their official estimate, the committee also reflexively criticized their own data as well. Acknowledging the category of ‘family’ excluded from consideration any individuals or young men who may have gone to New England to find work, and accounting for testimony which suggested there were a great many of such persons in Montreal, the committee supposed that not less than 50% the number of family individuals must also have left. Arriving at the figure of 4000 young men, the committee hypothesized that a reasonable figure for the official number of emigrants having left the Montreal Diocese would be 10,000 over the previous five years. Thus, each year, they claimed, Lower Canada lost 2000 people, 1800 of which were French and 200 English. And these were just the numbers from Montreal! When the figures from Quebec were compiled, it could reasonably be suspected that Lower Canada had lost 14,000 people over the last half decade.

Interestingly, the committee extended the boundaries of legitimate social knowledge to include documentation of rumour and gossip, not just statistical calculations. Although they acknowledged such gossip could not be granted ‘official’ status nor used as valid representations of the actual state of things, neither could it be ignored outright. The committee reported that according to one rumour, not 1000 families over five years, but somewhere between 8000 and 10,000 individuals had left Montreal in just the previous year. According to the numbers provided by another of their informants, the Reverend Mr. Chiniquy, no fewer than 70,000 could be reasonably assumed to have left. While Rev. Chiniquy was considered a reliable informant, his figures were rejected on their basis of certain particularities which coloured his evidence:

Perhaps the mere moving about of the population towards the back country, the emigration from the old settlements to the new ones in the Eastern Townships, the Ottawa, Saguenay, and Rimouski, the voyages made by a great number of workmen and labourers, and even of farmers, who absent themselves temporarily only, may have led Rev. Chiniquy into error, and may account for the great difference between his evidence and that of the other members of the Clergy on this point.

The work of the select committee represents an important instance of social abstraction in the guiding of governmental policy. Although the committee’s sampling can in no sense be considered representative and their argumentation appears deeply flawed by any modern standard,<sup>74</sup> its work does call attention to the practice of the social science at mid-century. The

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<sup>74</sup> The final report makes no significant effort to get the perspective of the actual farmers who were perhaps best acquainted with those who had left or those most likely to leave themselves.

Committee engaged in methodological debates about the proper form of social knowledge. It engaged with issues of reliability and representativeness (Who can give evidence? What counts as reliable evidence?), as well as those of generalizability (Whose opinions could be said to be projectable? What is a normal farm? A normal family?) They puzzled over how the resulting testimonies should be distilled to separate the generalizable truth from the particular-idiosyncratic opinion of the testifier.<sup>75</sup> Through the use of multipliers and averages, the committee constructed an emigrating population as a tentative and dynamic abstraction; one without empirical correlate. In their ‘official numbers’, the committee presented a yearly average derived from applying an abstract multiplier (50% +1000) to figures provided by the Bishop of Montreal to determine the probable number of emigrating six person families and arrive at a suitable figure depicting the total outmigration of Lower Canadians over a five year period. Yet, none of the numbers given correspond to an actual empirical entity which could be identified in the actual as ‘population’.<sup>76</sup> The 900 French and 100 English individuals who left Lower Canada every year existed as purely statistical abstractions. Importantly, for a genealogy of the social science such statistical abstraction implies a particular sort of subjective relation between the person observing and the external world measured. Conceived in such a way, the social becomes an abstract space with an empty form of equivalence between constitutive elements of population. The Social, conceived as such a statistical abstraction corresponds not to the real, and becomes, in a Durkheimian sense, a social fact.<sup>77</sup>

### ***Conclusion and Colonization Counterfactuals***

At the end of the 1840s the Canadian backwoods was being reconceptualised as abstract political space as the conceptual terrain of colonization was decoupled from actually existing spaces of settlement. Hincks’ influential Memorandum, as well as the works of the colonization associations and the select committee on emigration from Lower Canada, attest to the emergence of a discernibly liberal approach to infrastructural colonization. As I argue throughout, the colonization roads were part of a larger, transatlantic attempt to rule the routes in part by instituting new relations of social and political order, ones in which older mercantilist models of a stable political equilibrium between kings, lords, and commons, steadily gave way to characteristically liberal efforts to conceptualize political space, and the populations within it, as abstract entities with their own knowable regularities. Accordingly, the governmental problem shifted from a question of how best to ensure order through an existing political equilibrium, to

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<sup>75</sup> For the first report, see JLAC 1849, Appendix AAAAA; for the second, JLAC 1850, Appendix TT. Taché held a lifelong interest in the social science. After serving as one of the Commissioners to the Paris Industrial Exhibition in 1855, he met prominent sociologist Frederic Le Play and maintained a correspondence with him for many years. Taché’s importance to the colonization project overall is discussed at greater length in chapters six and seven. See Heaman, *Inglorious Arts*.

<sup>76</sup> In this paragraph I draw largely on Beaud, J-P. 2009. “Emergence, Migrations, et Routinisation du Pourcentage dans les Sciences du Politique (XVIIe-XIXe Siècles).” *Revue de Synthèse* 130(6/4): 637-660.

<sup>77</sup> Joyce, P. 2002. “Maps, Blood and the City: The Governance of the Social in Nineteenth-Century Britain.” In, P. Joyce (Ed.) *The Social in Question: New Bearings*, 91-114. Routledge: New York; 2003. *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City*. Verso: London.

one of how best to articulate populations in abstract space so as to enable the realization of social and political objectives. This was the problem of the colonization roads.

Yet as this chapter has shown, infrastructural colonization and the shift to a more liberal colonial governmentality did not lead inexorably to the decline of local or traditional authorities. It also afforded the opportunity for the Church to resituate itself as part of the critique of ‘old simplicity’ by aligning itself, even just temporarily, with the colonization effort. As I describe in chapter six, the Church was offered further possibilities to align itself with infrastructural colonization efforts in the 1850s and 1860s. These events would prove influential in the 1870s.

The state of infrastructural colonization at the end of the 1840s offers material for a counterfactual argument. We might wonder: what could have happened if the colonization effort had continued under the aegis of the private colonization societies developed by the French-Canadian left and ultramontanes? The existence of private colonization societies is important from a Foucaultian perspective because it calls attention to the need to analyze different forms of subjectification and the different techniques by which ‘the people’ are led to relate to themselves and others as particular types of subject.<sup>78</sup> This is clearly vital for if ‘liberalism’ is to be understood as a regime or mode of government which bases political sovereignty around the notion of a population rooted in the here and now, then it is necessary to attend to these practices. As Jean-Marie Fecteau argues, the over-emphasis on liberal rationalism in sociologies of state formation has resulted in some not inconsiderable neglect of the deeply religious perspectives of the ultramontanes, who, paradoxically, entrenched liberalism deeply into the fabric of French-Canadian social life, but through the institutions of the Catholic Church. The role of the Church, which after responsible government and the official separation of Church and State in 1848, found itself competing, in a liberal sense, with other social institutions over which it bore no official supremacy. Yet, as Fecteau convincingly argues, the notion that the Church had to compete in a social market increasingly characterized by an emphasis on Freedom should not be taken to mean that the sort of social relations the Church sought to configure, would be based on freedom. To use Fecteau’s words “the freedom of the Church had no necessary correlate of freedom *within* the Church”<sup>79</sup>. Traditionalism, hierarchy, and the symbolic, would striate the domain of the social, complicating Foucaultian depictions of liberal government significantly.

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<sup>78</sup> Foucault’s later lectures call attention to the different ways political power has constituted subjects as particular beings. Whereas his earlier lectures, say from ‘*Society Must be Defended*’ to the *Birth of Biopolitics*, had focussed on the impact of Kantian thought in structuring individuals as knowable beings, his later lectures situate practices of the self in a larger genealogy of practices oriented around the ‘care of the self’. In this later genealogy, the Kantian form of ‘care’ – structured around the injunction to ‘know thyself’ (*gnothi seauton*) – is one particular manifestation of the injunction to ‘care of the self’ (*epimeleia heautou*). In *The Hermeneutics of the Subject*, this Kantian formulation is maligned for its subordination of the importance of spirituality in forming the subject and bringing the entirety of the subject’s being (including its moral and spiritual components) into play. Understood in such a way, ultramontanism is clearly a form of the care of the self which challenges certain Kantian-liberal assumptions about the relation between knowledge and being. See Foucault, M. 2005. *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the College de France, 1981-82*. New York: Picador; *The Government of Self and Others: Lectures at the College de France, 1982-83*. New York: Picador.

<sup>79</sup> Fecteau, *Pauper’s Freedom*, 218.

Buttressed as they were by the social and political authority of the ultramontane wing of the Catholic Church, the colonization societies would provide for a more conservative configuration of the Social which would in turn be marked by a peculiar spatio-temporal character. The Church, even in its alliance with *l'Institut Canadien*, deeply opposed enlightenment rationalism<sup>80</sup> and the sort of republican individualism espoused by prominent Upper Canadian Reformers. As Elsbeth Heaman argues, the sort of 'liberal rights' advocated by the Church, particularly after the rise of the ultramontanes, was for *collective* rights; the rights of Catholics, French-Canadians, or in this case, the rural agricultural class. The attempt by the colonization societies to create linkages between the State and these collectivities was seen by Upper Canadian Reformers as 'patronage' and as the apotheosis of the new liberal order. And while their practices of colonization were significant in influencing mainstream Anglophone reformers to expand the colonization roads scheme, it did so without the Church's emphasis on the subjects of colonization as moral wholes, souls, who "weren't proprietors of themselves so much as authorized borrowers of capacities granted by and owed to God."<sup>81</sup> It stands to reason that the administrative infrastructure of colonization would have looked remarkably different had the influence of the Church over the mechanisms of colonization not been displaced. Instead, the Catholic Church's position on social reform and amelioration were explicitly rejected by the key players in the colonization roads program.

By the end of the 1840s, proper governmental action related to colonization would be guided by provincial, not local concerns, and towards population, not the people. The following chapter will examine how this secular administrative infrastructure was extended throughout the Ottawa-Huron Tract under the aegis of the newly minted Bureau of Agriculture in partnership with the Crown Lands Department, by a network of state agents who sought to ground social relations in a politically congenial configuration of backwoods life.

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<sup>80</sup> On this point see Heaman, E.A. 2009. "'Rights Talk' and the Liberal Order Framework". In, *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, J-F. Constant and Michel Ducharme (eds.), 147-175. UTP: Toronto; See also Lamonde, *Social History*.

<sup>81</sup> Heaman, *Rights*, 163.

**Chapter Four:*****Laying Down the Lines: Social Science, Political Reform, and Infrastructural Colonization in the Ottawa-Huron Tract***

The developments at Owen Sound and the successes of the *Associations des Townships* in the country around Montreal turned provincial attention towards broader fields of colonization in the early 1850s. The 1853 Public Land Act increasing the size of free grants along leading lines of road and a new parliamentary ‘colonization road grant’, to be voted annually, were viewed by supporters in parliament as the solution to the ‘great question of colonization’.<sup>1</sup> Jean Chabot, returned in 1851 for riding of Bellechasse, stressed the need for new roads to open the backcountry. He positioned himself against those who called for greater funding for rail projects, claiming these would do little to increase the agricultural production of the countryside. For that roads were needed. Two fields were especially promising to *canadien* reformers: the Gaspé and the Saguenay regions. The Saguenay in particular had been the site of fervent speculation at least since 1829, when a select committee of the Lower Canadian assembly was convened to determine its potential for agricultural settlement. The committee saw in the Saguenay a challenge to Malthusian political economic orthodoxy showing how properly engineered social relations, French cultural customs, and a wide field for agricultural settlement could expose the falseness of Malthus’s law of population.<sup>2</sup>

Chabot’s proposal was countered by English MPs. John Langton, representative for Peterborough, thought it crazy to go wandering about the Saguenay for settlement lands when such an expansive field was already open on the boundaries of existing settlements in Upper Canada. Just north of his own riding, the Ottawa-Huron Territory had been proposed as the most fertile field of colonization anywhere in the Canadas earlier in the same legislative session. Provided the lands could be ceded by the First Nations of the area, the Tract could be opened up to millions of agricultural settlers. Roads could be cut through it leading to thriving agricultural communities.

The present chapter puts attempts to open up the Ottawa-Huron Tract through a series of colonization roads in their social and political context. Extending the Owen Sound model over the whole of the Ottawa-Huron Tract required significant changes to the administrative form of the state. As administrators increasingly viewed settlement as more than simply abandoning families to the backwoods, they began to conceptualize political forms and settlement structures as implicated in the production of subjectivities, commonalities, and social solidarities. Beginning in the 1850s with the creation of the Bureau of Agriculture, the colonization movement was to be guided by statistical productions and public inquiries dedicated to acquiring knowledge of life in the backwoods and using it to guide colonization policy. In this, the Bureau

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<sup>1</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 19 May 1853. Chabot had been proposed as the new commissioner of public works for the Baldwin-Lafontaine administration but his nomination was revoked before taking the post. Chabot was an incorrigible drunk and despite having recently won re-election over an Annexationist candidate, was forced to resign after spending a night in a Toronto jail.

<sup>2</sup> LAC RG 4 B76, Papers Relating to Emigration and the Saguenay Country. See in particular the essay by Andrew Stuart which offers a full-throated rebuke of Malthusian political economy.

of Agriculture was unlike any other government ministry, it possessed the legal power to compel other departments to provide it with any information it required.

This chapter proceeds in three parts: first, I examine the political events underlying the creation of the Bureau of Agriculture. The Bureau began the process of laying out the colonization roads with the express goal of configuring the backwoods so that individual settlers would see their own personal interest as part of the common good. Successful colonization efforts required producing subjects who could be convinced to aid in the construction of settlements. Prudent design of the communications infrastructure would go a long way to ensuring this. Next, I examine the activities of the Public Lands Committee of 1855. The committee canvassed expert opinion to direct settlement policy and determine the best means of producing desirable subjects. Finally, I examine the role of the colonization road agents in turning rural communal structures into machines for political subjectification. The colonization road agents saw themselves as involved in the work of ‘political molding’. Most importantly for my purposes, the agents used recognizable standards of social scientific observation and recording to chart the progress of settlement and the moral character of the settlements for which they were responsible. I stress the importance of seeing these changes in the social and political context of the time. Settling the Ottawa-Huron Tract was implicated in prominent debates of the day. Increasing the population of Canada West would stimulate debates over representation by population. The design and orientation of roads was likewise seen as implicated in furthering English protestant colonization by making the climate more hospitable to an ‘English constitution’.

### ***The Bureau of Agriculture***

Despite the successes of the Owen Sound Road, it was only in the early 1850s that the colonization roads program became a core component of provincial policy. Their elevation in social and political importance was by no means inevitable. The Baldwin-Lafontaine administration, which had been so receptive to the colonization societies of Lower Canada, began to find itself under attack by a new political faction which resented the attention given to Lower Canadian colonization and the lack of progress on the abolition of the clergy reserves in Upper Canada. The Clear Grits, as they were named by the *Toronto Globe*, were Scottish Protestants (with a healthy number of Orangemen) holding staunchly Jacksonian republican inclinations but who also took liberally from the Chartist movement in England.<sup>3</sup> Led by former Upper Canada rebel John Rolph and former Assistant Commissioner of Public Works, Malcolm Cameron, the Grits dedicated themselves to embarrassing the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry at every turn. They resented the passage of the Rebellion Losses Bill which they saw as reimbursing the French for disloyalty and forced the incumbent Reform administration to debate divisive political issues like universal manhood suffrage, elective institutions, elimination of the property qualification for MPs, retrenchment, as well as for an end to all forms of political patronage. Mostly on the basis of their calls for the elimination of the property qualification and

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<sup>3</sup> My knowledge of the Grits is drawn from articles in the *Globe*, 20, 22, 25 December 1849; but also Vance, M. 1997. “Scottish Chartism in Canada West?: An Examination of the ‘Clear Grit’ Reformers”. *International Review of Scottish Studies* 22: 56-10; and M. Stephen. 2001. “Grits, Rebels, and Radicals: Anti-Privilege Politics and the pre-History of 1849 in Canada West.” In, *Canada in 1849*, edited by D. Pollard and G. Martin eds. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press; and Allin, D. and Jones, G. 1912. *Annexation, Preferential Trade and Reciprocity: An Outline of the Canadian Annexation Movement of 1849-50*. Toronto: Musson Book Co.

universal manhood suffrage, the Grits' political opponents branded them socialists and/or communists. Conservative papers like *Le Journal de Quebec* claimed the Grits, as well as the *rouges* in Quebec, called for reforms that were incompatible with Canadian institutions.<sup>4</sup> *Le Journal* went on to counter the claims of Grit organs like the *Toronto Examiner* and the *North American* who maintained the Grits were not socialist because they did not preach the doctrines of Proudhon or Fourier.<sup>5</sup> Regardless, it claimed, their platform was just as dedicated to the cause of social levelling as that of those widely acknowledged and controversial writers.<sup>6</sup>

Whatever opposition they might have faced, the Grits' agricultural base became politically vital to the Reform party after the fall of the Baldwin-Lafontaine administration. They had mustered a strong coalition of support in part by holding their political debates outside the cities at town halls in the countryside and raging, in true populist fashion, against 'urban elites'.<sup>7</sup> The Grits' influence grew to such an extent within the Reform party the new *de facto* head of the Reformers, Francis Hincks, was forced to bring Rolph and Cameron into his cabinet.

Incorporating the two into the cabinet required deft political manoeuvring. In order to include the Grits without alienating his own more moderate allies in the assembly, Hincks believed giving prominent Grit John Rolph and Ultra John Sandfield-MacDonald high ranks in the Executive Council, as President of the Executive Council and Commissioner of Crown Lands, respectively, while also placing the popular moderate W.B. Richards in the Attorney Generalship, he could achieve both ends simultaneously. Unfortunately for Hincks, this arrangement was not to be. Sandfield-MacDonald claimed he should be allowed the Attorney-Generalship as he held the position in a previous administration. At the same time, Rolph, who accepted the plan to appoint him as President of the Executive Council, informed Hincks his supporters expected popular Grit Malcolm Cameron to have a seat in the Cabinet. Rolph was adamant he could not accept a position in the Ministry without him. Though Hincks claimed to have no objection to Cameron receiving a position in principle, he had serious reservations to him serving as Commissioner of Crown Lands. He sought instead to place Cameron as

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<sup>4</sup> *Le Journal de Quebec*, 15 November 1851.

<sup>5</sup> There was considerable support for Fourier's doctrines in Quebec. *Le Canadien* ran a story covering a banquet given in honor of Fourier's birth. Calls to adopt methods of social scientific investigation in studying the working class question were made. One, given by a Mgr. Fugere was titled "A la propagation de la science sociale dans les classes ouvrieres". *Le Canadien*, 17 November 1848.

<sup>6</sup> The accusations of socialism were also made in the assembly by Joseph Cauchon, prominent *Bleu* and future Commissioner of Crown Lands. See *Debates*, 27-30 August 1852. It should also be acknowledged that 'levelling' here is to be understood as occurring within the Anglophone population only. The Grits generally saw Union as weakening the economic potential of Upper Canada and derided French 'cultural backwardness'. Furthermore, prominent Grits like George Sheppard did not feel social levelling should apply to freed slaves in the Canadas and supported schemes of African emigration to the Caribbean. In letters to fellow Grit, Charles Clarke, Sheppard expressed support for the Confederate South in the American Civil War and also the 'States-rights' argument for slavery. Despite their otherwise amiable relationship Sheppard chastised Clarke for his "partiality for the nigger-worshipping, foreigner hating Republicans." LAC MG 24 B 121, 11 May 1860, Sheppard to Clarke.

<sup>7</sup> One prominent meeting which garnered press coverage was that at Glen Morris, a small farming community on the Grand River about twenty miles north of Brantford. See *The Globe*, 2 February 1853.

Postmaster-General with James Morris as Commissioner of Crown Lands and with Rolph as President of the Executive Council.

Unfortunately again for Hincks, Morris refused any position but Postmaster General forcing the appointment of Rolph to Crown Lands and Cameron to President of Council.<sup>8</sup> Cameron initially refused the role of President of the Executive Council over what he claimed was his strong sense of civic duty. Whatever 'sense' he may have had aside, part of the reason was personal. Cameron had previously been outspoken in his belief the Presidency was a sinecure and claimed it would be hypocritical to occupy an office he had previously lambasted. In reality, Cameron wanted a role with a more meaningful purview so Hincks devised a plan that would attach to the office of the President of Council three additional responsibilities. First, he assigned to the position the care of the government's Agriculturalist pamphlet as complaints had been made over its mismanagement. Second, he charged Cameron with lessening the burden on the Board of Registration and Statistics which complained of being overtasked with the work of other departments. Third, Cameron was to be in charge of deriving measures to encourage emigration through the St. Lawrence. By attaching the three duties to the office of the President of Council the foundation of the Bureau of Agriculture was laid.<sup>9</sup>

When Parliament finally reconvened in the summer of 1852, Cameron found himself the target of widespread mockery, entering the legislature's first sitting to loud jeers of 'Here's the Bureau! Here's the Bureau'.<sup>10</sup> He did his best to deflect the criticism of his new Bureau, claiming its founding legislation had just recently passed (16 Vic. Cap. 11; assented 10 November 1852) and should not be judged so quickly. Further, he insisted the Bureau was to be recognized as an 'experiment', one from which much was expected, but one which should be given time to see if it could be truly effective. Not all were unconvinced by this. Cameron's previous life as a lumber merchant in the Ottawa Valley and his support for a line of road based on the 'Owen Sound Principle' to run between the Madawaska and Bonnechere Rivers may have given some a reason to support him as the Minister in charge of emigration.<sup>11</sup> He appears to have wasted little time in fulfilling his mandate to "institute inquiries and collect useful facts and statistics relating to the agricultural interests of the province, and to adopt measures for disseminating or publishing the same in such manner and form as he may find best adapted to promote improvement within the Province and to encourage immigration from other countries."<sup>12</sup> By the end of December 1852, Cameron had crafted a list of questions to be distributed throughout the province gathering general information on its various localities and determining which would be most suitable for

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<sup>8</sup> Hincks, F. 1884. *Reminiscences of His Public Life*. William Drysdale: Montreal. See also *Debates*, 25 August 1852.

<sup>9</sup> The offices of President of Council and Minister of Agriculture were connected until March 1862. Their separation was at least partly due to the desire to prevent fervent Roman-Catholic and Irish Nationalist, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, then President of Council, away from having control over the Bureau.

<sup>10</sup> Gibbs, E. *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, 29 April 1853.

<sup>11</sup> Jones, R.L. 1946. *History of Agriculture in Ontario, 1613-1880*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 292; *Bytown Packet*, 17 August 1850.

<sup>12</sup> Fowke, V. 1947. *Canadian Agricultural Policy: The Historical Pattern*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 115.

receiving immigrants. While most of the questions were simply factual, asking for instance how far a particular locality was from the province's major urban centers, other questions were primitive forms of social investigation, asking for instance whether prejudicial tendencies existed among the people towards new immigrants or monarchical forms of rule in a given area.<sup>13</sup> While the effort can in no sense be claimed as scientific, it did attest to the recognition that the accumulation of information from various sources could assume the form of fact and therefore possess some authority over the sorts of representations conveyed.

#### *Cameron Exits, Enter Rolph*

Cameron did not last long as Minister of Agriculture, leaving the office at the end of June 1853 having been replaced by fellow Grit, John Rolph.<sup>14</sup> In terms of ideological orientation, there was not much of a shift between the two. Both approved of the state's role in furthering schemes of political subjectification in accordance with the basic thrust of political liberalism; Cameron in his teetotalism and advocacy for temperance and Rolph in his approach to colonization. Though a physician by trade, Rolph had a longstanding interest in matters of emigration and colonization. In the 1820s, during a trip to England, he testified, along with architect Henry Boulton, before Wilmot-Horton's Select Committee on Emigration.<sup>15</sup>

Rolph's position on colonization was laid out most clearly in an address to the House of Assembly arguing for the Public Lands Act 1853. This act, which formed the legislative substrate for the colonization roads program, was for the most part a simple restatement of the early Land Acts; the only significant change being the increase in the size of free grants along leading roads into the wilderness from fifty acres to one hundred. In this peculiarly verbose speech, which was published only in the Grit organ, the *North American*, Rolph lays out a compelling argument for eliminating the fixed social hierarchies which had been allowed to develop through the unsystematic selling of Crown Lands. To Rolph, selling lands without any assurance of actual settlement was folly. It kept entire regions in wilderness. But worse than that it, also obstructed political projects aimed towards the creation of 'civilized' subjects. Since land sales were to comprise a significant portion of the funding for public education, to prevent sale and settlement of land was to obstruct education and keep the bulk of the people in ignorance. Rolph's plan, by contrast, was to view colonial land policy as a means of articulating the relations between population and territory through the medium of colonization roads. Yet such a form of political subjection could only work, claimed Rolph, if it also operated as a means of political subjectification. That is, as a means of instilling within individual colonists certain habits of mind and the capacity for foresight and frugality, upon which forms of ministerial government could depend. Thus Rolph confessed in his plan that "much depends upon the tone of society; upon the cultivation of public opinion in the settlements . . . upon inducing the settlers, as for their common good, to aid in working out actual settlement."<sup>16</sup> Roads and the lots along

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<sup>13</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1491, 28 December 1852.

<sup>14</sup> Cameron's last recorded letter in the Bureau's accounts comes from 30 June 1853, LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1491.

<sup>15</sup> The Cameron papers at the Provincial Archives of Ontario feature many newspaper clippings of various speeches he delivered to temperance societies around the Province. PAO MS 291, see the clippings of the *Toronto Leader* for 4 March 1852.

<sup>16</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1491, 3 June 1853.

them could be laid out to ensure a condensed settlement so the settlers could develop such habits and also learn to recognize the “common good”. Rolph moved to carry out his plan in the fall of that year by petitioning the Executive Council for £30,000 to begin running colonization roads through the backwoods of Upper Canada.<sup>17</sup> These roads were to be an experiment in a larger colonization movement which the new Bureau of Agriculture was to lead using its novel powers of social investigation.

#### *Laying Down the Lines*

Rolph’s petition for funds was approved and in the spring of 1854 an army of surveyors and road-builders were set loose on the Ottawa-Huron Tract. By October, 368 miles of summer road and forty-five miles of good winter road were commissioned to be laid out on the southwestern portion of the Tract under the supervision of David Gibson, a participant in the 1837 rebellions appointed by fellow rebel John Rolph.<sup>18</sup> The roads in the eastern section of the province were to be supervised by A.H. Sims, in part because he already had significant experience laying out backwoods roads having led one of the two road crews which blazed the Ottawa and Opeongo line. Initial reports from the surveyors dispatched into the backwoods were positive. In Hastings County, Robert Bird was sent to carve out a line of road north of the township of Madoc. He went over about forty miles and reported his feeling that the land was so good it “will be settled as fast as the road is made with suitable bridges giving free access to the land.”<sup>19</sup> In Lennox and Addington, Ebenezer Perry began laying out the Addington Road north to cross the Madawaska River and open the fertile lands between that river and the Bonnechere for settlement; lands which to that point had, from the province’s perspective, been the exclusive domain of the lumbermen.

Yet the prospect of carving out a system of roads through the backwoods without any guarantee of settlement taking place was still controversial to many in parliament, particularly to those members with interests in the timber industry. At least partly for this reason, the colonization roads never received a legislative appropriation, meaning the funding for the roads varied year to year. The system of appropriating moneys was at times confusing. There were essentially two funds created by the Public Lands Act 1853: the colonization fund, a parliamentary grant given annually to ensure the continuation of works in both sections of the province; and second, the improvement fund to be generated by appropriating one-fifth of all crown lands sales and one-quarter of all grammar and common school land sales. This system continued until 1855 when the source of the improvement fund was altered slightly being comprised of one-fifth of all crown land sales and one-quarter of all common school land sales only.<sup>20</sup> The two funds were to be used in the construction of different types of works. The colonization fund was to be used exclusively in the making of new roads through the unsettled areas of the province, while the improvement fund was to be administered locally and used to

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<sup>17</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1491, 12 September 1853.

<sup>18</sup> PAO, RG 52-15-3, 31 October 1854, And. Russell to MacNab.

<sup>19</sup> PAO, RG 52-15-3, 27 August 1854, Bird to Rolph.

<sup>20</sup> PAO 52-15-1, (no date) Report on the Improvement Fund by J.W. Bridgland.

repair existing communications. This was hardly if ever clear to the municipal Reeves, who schemed constantly to get money from the colonization fund for the repair of their own local roads.<sup>21</sup> While in theory the distinction between the two funds seems clear, it was not so in practice. David Gibson, charged with administering the colonization fund, did not always distinguish between the two.<sup>22</sup>

For the first few years, annual appropriations of £60,000 were provided for the colonization grant, £30,000 for each section of the province. At least in Upper Canada the new roads were laid out as Rolph intended, in part to run as much as possible through designated school lands to make the maximum contribution to the promotion of education in the province. Slightly more than half the 368 miles (around 205 miles) were to pass through the common school lands and sales of these lands between 1853 and 1854 amounted to nearly £50,000, one-fourth of which (or £12,500) would be appropriated to aid in the construction of roads through the municipalities it was generated.<sup>23</sup> By 1855, orders-in-council had been passed authorizing the construction of 368 miles of road in the western section of Upper Canada and an additional 595 miles in the eastern section consisting mostly of the Opeongo, Addington, and the Hastings. These roads were not to be merely scratched out of the woods. The Bureau of Agriculture wanted the roads in the western section made practicable for wheeled carriages, costing about £100 per mile, while the roads in the east were to be made good winter roads and suitable for sleighs.<sup>24</sup>

### ***The Public Lands Committee***

The alliance of the mainstream reformers and the Clear Grits cost the Reform party dearly in the elections of August 1854. The Grit base's call for Crown Land and agricultural reform had been partially answered by the creation of the Bureau of Agriculture but their signature concern, the existence of the clergy reserves and separate schools, had not been dealt with. Cameron had been repeatedly forced into voting for measures that ran counter to the Grit party line and animosities between he and Rolph began to develop.<sup>25</sup> Many accused the Reform party of slow-playing these issues to secure re-election and to distract from prominent accusations of corruption and embezzlement which dogged the party. However, after a motion of

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<sup>21</sup> There are numerous letters in the Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics' letterbooks where the secretary has to explain the difference between the two funds both to Gibson (and his assistant, William Morrison) and also the various Reeves. See LAC RG 17, A.I.2, 1491, 14 November 1857.

<sup>22</sup> This is clear from the audit commission's report in 1862 which removed the colonization roads program from the Bureau of Agriculture and placed it under the Department of Crown Lands. See, *First Report of the Financial and Departmental Commission*, May 1863. Josiah Blackburn: Quebec.

<sup>23</sup> PAO, RG 52-15-2, (no date), David Gibson Report on Upper Canada Colonization Roads, 1854. The summation given by Andrew Russell in the Crown Lands Department differs slightly from Gibson's, claiming funding had been appropriated for only 323 miles of road. See, PAO RG 52-15-3-, 31 October 1854, Russell to MacNab.

<sup>24</sup> PAO, RG 52-4, 20 February 1855, Andrew Russell circular.

<sup>25</sup> Fellow Grit William McDougall attested to the rift between Cameron and Rolph in a letter to Elora publisher Charles Clarke in February 1853. McDougall does not identify the source of the disagreement but does claim that in many respects Cameron is a "queer fish" and "in many ways difficult to manage". LAC MG 24 B 121, 2 February 1853, McDougall to Clarke.

censure was carried by the House late in the summer an election was called for August. Although the Reformers won a narrow victory – which included Hincks running and winning in two ridings (Renfrew and Oxford) – their administration was defeated shortly thereafter. Its ministers resigned in early September, to be replaced by a Liberal-Conservative coalition government headed by A.N. MacNab and E-P. Taché.

The new administration was eager to curry popular favour by investigating the expenditures of its predecessor. Among its first exploits was the appointment of twelve man select committee on the management of public lands (hereafter the Public Lands Committee) to investigate the expenditure of public money in keeping with the Land Act of 1853 and the progress made in opening the Crown Lands by colonization roads. The 1855 committee was the successor to an abortive committee appointed a decade prior to investigate issues in the Crown Lands Department. It proceeded in the typical manner, soliciting the opinions of government officials and the moneyed interests. Despite its impressive scope of inquiry and breadth of respondents, unfortunately the 1855 committee was no more successful in producing meaningful reforms than its predecessor. While it did produce a modest report with certain minor suggestions, none were particularly important. On the most important issue, how to handle disputes over timber limits between lumbermen and settlers, the committee opted to maintain the status quo. More impressive than the report was its appendix of evidence which took up 200 pages of a large octavo blue book and contained testimony from a wide array of colonial officials. However, and again unfortunately, the equivocation of the committee's report combined with the length of its appendices were enough to dissuade the interested public from engaging with it. The editors of the *Montreal Herald* confessed in an article summarizing the report's conclusions that they had not even finished reading it.<sup>26</sup> While the report was ordered for printing in its entirety with the Journals of the House of Assembly, no one bothered to even take the trouble of numbering the pages or providing a table of contents; omissions which themselves suggest a lack of enthusiasm in the committee's effort.

The contemporary lack of interest in the committee's report should not detract from its value to the social historian. To say its reception was tepid it not to claim it was ignored outright. It is also not to say that the colonization project was conducive to only one sort of political project. Public colonization associations, including the notable Catholic Convention to Promote Colonization, picked up on the Committee's claim that the 50,000 square miles of the Ottawa Huron Tract would offer a suitable field for colonization, which, for non-French Catholics, would offer the amelioration of the "sad condition of our race and creed."<sup>27</sup> The Convention's leaders in the Canadas and the United States had heard of the success of the Owen Sound Road and sought to create thriving Catholic settlements by taking up the free lands being offered. Though the plan was largely opposed by the Catholic gentry who labelled it 'uncatholic and unpatriotic' a convention was nevertheless held in Buffalo on 12 February 1856.<sup>28</sup> The Catholics saw in infrastructural colonization the potential for a large scale governmental project in keeping with the anti-materialist and anti-urban ideologies of Roman Catholicism. To the conventioners,

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<sup>26</sup> *Montreal Herald*, 10 September 1855.

<sup>27</sup> *Quebec Mercury*, 28 February 1856.

<sup>28</sup> *Montreal Herald*, 8 February 1856; *Quebec Mercury*, 24 January 1856, 28 February; Wilson, D. 2008. *Thomas D'Arcy McGee: The Extreme Moderate*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal.

the distance from central government would ensure the unencumbered authority of the clergy thereby protecting their flock from the ideologies of liberal individualism. Yet the Convention was a non-starter. At a meeting in the Temperance Hall in Toronto on 8 February a riot nearly broke out between the Irish Catholics who had gathered to choose delegates to send to Buffalo and Irish Protestants who opposed what they saw as a scheme to flood Canada West under a tide of bigoted Romanists. While the convention's efforts were unsuccessful, certain of its members would be influential on the colonization movement more broadly. One attendee, M.P. Hayes, would be appointed later that year to the post of colonization road agent for the Hastings line. Another was future Minister of Agriculture, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, whose work in that office is a central concern of chapter six.

While the report's findings could be conducive to a host of governmental projects, it remains interesting to social historians, and historians of infrastructure more broadly, for its respondents' discussions of the infrastructure of colonization. Participants offered strong opinions on many topics: how should the lands of the Canadas be configured to ensure effective settlement? What types of settlers were desired? How could communal solidarities be self-replicating? How should the interests of settlers and lumbermen be balanced? Or are they antithetical? From the perspective of a genealogy of the social science such questioning is important for establishing a link between social inquiry and state power. Such questions are in fact simultaneously inquiries into the proper form of authentic facts; who was eligible to serve as a witness? Who could attest to the progress of colonization? In commissions of inquiry like the Public Lands Committee we witness the rise to prominence of the petty bureaucrat who became expertly placed to influence the development of governmental policy and its role in the configuration of social fields. Traditional forms of authority contained in the bodies of the landed aristocrat were gradually supplanted by the bureaucratic knowledge of the government administrator and private citizens. The Public Lands Committee was in this instance guided to a significant extent by the existing infrastructural/administrative network and heard from a disproportionate number of lumbermen and petty bureaucrats involved in the administrative of the lumber trade;<sup>29</sup> men who largely sought to keep the backwoods free of settlers who might lay claim to their trees.

Despite the influence of the lumber trade on the committee's proceedings, their meeting also offered an opportunity for those who wished to direct governmental activity towards more direct governmental projects of political subjectification. One such individual, George Spragge, who began his tenure in the Crown Lands Department in 1828, drew on his decades' long experience in that office to promote the new approach for colonization. Having witnessed the disastrous handling of Crown Lands in the 1830s and the efforts to simply shovel paupers into the Upper Canadian backwoods, Spragge watched as settlers began to "exhibit the melancholy spectacle of responsible beings ignorant of the obligations and duties due from them to God, and to man."<sup>30</sup> Colonization was to be a grand political project, involving not merely settlement via

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<sup>29</sup> For more on the connection between commissions of inquiry and the genealogy of the social science, see Frankel, O. 1999. "Scenes of Commission: Royal Commissions of Inquiry and the Culture of Social Investigation in Early Victorian Britain. *The European Legacy* 4 (6): 20-41; 2006. *States of Inquiry: Investigations and Print Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the United States*. Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore. For something with a Canadian flavour, see Prevost, J-P. 2002. "Espace public, action collective et savoir social: Robert Gourlay et le Statistical Account of Upper Canada". *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 25 (69): 109-139.

<sup>30</sup> *Public Lands Report*, MM, 28 March 1854, Testimony of William Spragge.

the building of roads, but also creating systems of religious and educational instruction, thus ensuring the development of persons of “orderly habits and well-regulated minds.” Ignorance was harmful to settlement because such persons lacked the necessary capacities of foresight and futurity required of the settler. Settling those persons would lead quickly to communities of ghosts; of those who abandoned their lots for greener pastures in the United States since they “cannot value the privileges and advantages which they are not capable of comprehending.” But education was to be practical as well. Settlers ignorant of the land and unaware of best-farming practices needed to be taught the proper systems of draining their fields and, most importantly, of tilling by cross-ploughing, which was the essence of good-cultivation to Spragge. Cross-ploughing and proper systems of drainage led to better yields, deliverance from want and the mastery of momentary impulses thereby helping to develop good moral character.

To the Anglophone advocates of the colonization roads program, improvement in the individual conduct of backwoods farmers would have a tremendous effect on the development of the Canadas. Scientific agricultural practice such as that proposed by Spragge, as well as a systematic manner of clearing lands would lead to widespread climactic change across the entirety of the Canadas. For over a decade, English advocates of colonization had railed against the deleterious effects of the Canadian climate on the ‘English constitution’ and its consequent impact on levels of English emigration. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, for one, during his brief stint as Member of Parliament for Beauharnois claimed in a debate on colonization policy that the Canadian climate more adversely affected English bodies. He cited statistics claiming the English died at a higher rate of disease and claimed the French had a “peculiar physical adaptation to the climate of North America” which allowed them to reproduce at a much greater rate than that of their English counterparts thereby enabling them to depend less on immigration to increase their population.<sup>31</sup> Such a view of the connection between colonization, climate change, and the political dynamics of French-English relations was widespread. In debating the merits of the colonization road approach taken at Owen Sound, the Colonial Office lamented that English emigration was circumscribed by the fact that agricultural labourers could not be sent to “climates unsuitable to the English constitution.” This hampered their efforts to use colonization as a part of a more general anglicizing political project which would “infuse a good and loyal British population and generally promote the tranquility and the prosperity of the two Provinces.”<sup>32</sup>

The roads themselves were held by witnesses before the Public Lands Committee to be instrumental in this process of climactic change. As Spragge continued in his lengthy testimony, the seemingly banal matter of the width of the roads was actually key to establishing communities of hardy English settlers. As he put it “the advantage of opening roads to their full width and thereby fully allowing the action of the sun and the air will be appreciated by all who have visited new settlements where this plan had not been pursued.” Once the backwoods were opened, the climate would become ‘wonderfully ameliorated’ and approach the character of the same latitudes in Europe. While such a position might seem strange today, within the discursive confines of the miasmatic theory of disease prevalent among social reformers in England, most

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<sup>31</sup> *Kingston Chronicle*, 4 November 1843.

<sup>32</sup> LAC CO 42/473(?), 25 April 1840.

notably James Kay Shuttleworth, and to a lesser extent, Friedrich Engels, to claim a house, street, or neighbourhood as ‘dim’ or ‘poorly-ventilated’ was a proto-social scientific judgement about structural causes of social problems; one which strategically removed class relations as a potential cause of lower-class illness and discontent.<sup>33</sup> In the colonial context, it meant that roads could be a means of securitizing colonial space from the causes of social disorder. It could also be of use to proponents of the anglicizing political project as such causes were held to disproportionately affect the English.

Of course this is not to say that the idea of climactic change through colonization could not also be used to bolster theories of French-nationalist colonization. Stanislas Drapeau, ultramontane colonization road agent for the Elgin-Taché road on the south shore of the St. Lawrence at Quebec City, claimed in one of his reports that his largely French-Canadian settlers were themselves bolstered by the knowledge that their prudent colonization would lead to the “amelioration of the climate in direct proportion to the rapid clearing of the forest” and that, in consequence ‘atmospheric accidents’ like drought, or floods which induced moments of scarcity and want, “will become less and less frequent as the forest retreats before the settler’s axe.”<sup>34</sup>

The relative lack of attention given to the productions of the Committee is disheartening. Their inability to have come to more decisive recommendations as to the proper administration of the crown lands is perhaps more so. But whatever its equivocations, what the Public Lands Committee’s report demonstrates more than anything is that agricultural improvement and its necessary relation to the immigration and colonization movements, was the central governmental project carried out from within the state system by the Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics and the Crown Lands Department. During the mid-1850s and up until the colonization roads were transferred from the Bureau to Crown Lands in 1862, the colonial statistical apparatus would be closely tied to the political project of agricultural colonization, specifically to the administrative grid laid out by the colonization roads.

### *Canadian Social Science in Formation*

It is a key contention of this thesis, and its implications for Foucaultian political sociology, that administrative forms of governmental regulation are as important for understanding the development of liberal governmentality as are theories of political sovereignty. Basing the colonization roads in these two departments had important implications on the form of the colonization effort and the role of state actors in crafting politically congenial forms of subjectivity. Placing the colonization effort under the aegis of the leading colonial statistical agency meant colonization was to be ‘scientific’. The leadership of these two departments contained men of such scientific imaginations. At the time, Crown Lands was under the leadership of Joseph-Edouard Cauchon, a *Bleu* representing Montmorency. Cauchon assumed the office of Commissioner of Crown Lands on January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1856. He came from one of the

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<sup>33</sup> For more on this, see Poovey, M. 1995. *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago. See Engels, F. 1993. *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Oxford University Press: Oxford. In his chapter on ‘The Great Towns’, Engels adopts the miasmatic theory in the following passage: “If the totally planless construction is injurious to the health of the workers by preventing ventilation, this method of shutting them up in courts surrounded on all sides by buildings is far more so. The air simply cannot escape...” (68).

<sup>34</sup> JLAC 1861, Appendix 15, *Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands*.

oldest families in the Canadas with his earliest ancestors having arrived in Quebec sometime around 1636. In keeping with his family's social status, he was educated at the Petite Seminaire de Quebec from 1830 to 1839 at which time he began an abortive legal career, before opting instead for a life in journalism and politics. His diverse interests led Cauchon into support of ambitious projects of social and scientific pedagogical projects. In the winter of 1841, while serving as editor of *Le Canadien*'s he published a number of articles in support of, and even served briefly as secretary for 'Project Vattemare.'<sup>35</sup> The project, named after its promoter, Francois Nicolas-Marie-Alexandre Vattemare, was an attempt to create a great social and cultural educational institution comprising many of the existing cultural organizations in Quebec City. While Project Vattemare fizzled out upon the departure of its namesake from the province—the associations it proposed to amalgamate were all mostly Anglophone and thereby lacked necessary French support – Cauchon's involvement and enthusiastic written support in the pages of the *Le Canadien* testifies to his personal faith in the usefulness of social scientific knowledge for the advancement of the French people and social progress overall.

This commitment was on full display on 9 March 1853 in debate with George Brown on an ecclesiastical incorporation bill. Cauchon countered Brown's naïve and dogmatic claim of a direct relation between Roman Catholic institutions and social degeneration by drawing upon statistics generated by the censuses of England, Wales, and Belgium to show there was no necessary and enduring relation between the predominance of the Catholic religion and instances of crime and pauperism. He also cited the works of Smith, Chadwick, and Malthus to support his contention that it could not be simply the presence of the Church which caused the supposed misery of the French people. In both Smith and Malthus the misery of the impoverished and the increase in the expense of the poor rates were themselves both related to the absence of monastic institutions as the absence of charity meant a greater need for support from the parish.

Cauchon's rebuke of Brown in the debate on ecclesiastical institutions is nothing short of a full-scale critique of the epistemological conditions for truthful statements about the Social. In his simplistic reduction of the problems of habitant collective life to the institutions of the Roman Catholic Church, Cauchon argues that Brown has made the "biggest mistake, the greatest defect of judgement" which was also the error common to "almost all writers and travelers." That is, that tendency to judge everything he finds and all he observes in traveling "according to what he saw in his own country, according to his own principles of education, according to the institutions in the midst of which he has aged". Cauchon cited *Democracy in America* and believed de Tocqueville was one of the few travelers to have truly appreciated the people they visited and to have exercised the sort of epistemological vigilance<sup>36</sup> that Cauchon had in mind for those seeking to understand French Canadians, particularly those making such an attempt from an English vantage.

Similarly inclined leadership occupied the offices of Agriculture and Statistics. William Hutton, the secretary of Agriculture and Statistics, had been a gentleman farmer and aspiring bureaucrat. He was also an advocate for social scientific knowledge and its use in social reform

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<sup>35</sup> This following paragraphs draw heavily on Alain Couillard's. 2008. "Joseph Cauchon et le Gout des Sciences". *Cap-Aux-Diamants: La Revue d'Histoire du Quebec*, 92: 21-24.

<sup>36</sup> The term 'epistemological vigilance' is Bourdieu's. See Bourdieu, P. 2004. *The Science of Science and Reflexivity*. Chicago University Press: Chicago, 89.

movements. In his personal life he read several of Harriet Martineau's *Illustrations of Political Economy*, and may even have met with Martineau during a brief stay at the Martineau Estate in 1854. He served as an educational inspector near Belleville for much of the 1840s before using his familial connection with Francis Hincks to receive an appointment to the Board of Registration and Statistics despite initially seeking the secretary position for the Bureau of Agriculture. Hutton eventually received that post after authoring a memo proposing the amalgamation of the two offices. In a lengthy memorandum to council, Hutton claimed in both offices the required duties had been "if not wholly neglected, very imperfectly carried out." He complained although agricultural statistics were as important a branch of statistics as any other in Canada, the information required by the agricultural bureau was lost to the public since it had never been properly compiled, digested, or annually published for the sake of comparison, year over year, province by province, county by county, or between Canada, the United States and other countries.<sup>37</sup>

The new Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics would be charged with presenting to parliament an annual statistical report of truly massive scope. It included the agricultural, manufacturing, commercial sanitary, criminal and educational progress of the country, in tabular form along with the value of assessed and unassessed property of all kinds as provided by the municipalities. It would also take charge of the production of the annual Blue Books and control the vital statistics of the province, the births, deaths, and marriages as provided by the records of the clergy, coroners, and other public officers. It would also provide information on the state of the mines and fisheries, correspond with agricultural boards and societies and encourage the publication of a volume of something in keeping with the *Scottish Journal of Transactions*. For all of this, Hutton received the support of then Minister of Agriculture, Allan Napier MacNab, who also approved of Hutton's petition to increase the staff of the office to five; a secretary, along with two English and two French clerks. For his efforts, Hutton managed to secure himself a raise, earning a tidy £400 per annum, while his clerks got £250, retroactive to January 1<sup>st</sup>.

His memorandum was approved on the 20<sup>th</sup> of February 1855, and Hutton set to work immediately in taking charge of the administration of the colonization roads. He was in regular contact with the regional superintendents, namely David Gibson and A.H. Sims and as soon as the weather would allow it, he took up the cause of settlers north of Renfrew who sought to have the long sought after Pembroke-Mattawan line built.<sup>38</sup> He recognized immediately that the colonization roads program was to be in part supplemented by an extensive European advertising campaign and encouraged the publication of observational accounts of backwoods settlement and dedicated Bureau funds to their distribution. The first of these was Catherine Parr Traill's celebrated *Female Emigrant's Guide*. Hutton had the Bureau purchase 1000 copies and distribute them throughout the colony and abroad. Another such work was his own emigrant guide, *Canada: Its Present Condition, Prospects, and Resources*, which he had been drafting since at least 1852, and eventually a third emigrant guide, this time published by the agent in charge of the Opeongo colonization road, T.P. French. Hutton offered backhanded praise of French's work in a letter to him claiming "all this ground you have so industriously trodden over has been gone over by me in a pamphlet which I published in London and which has had a very large

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<sup>37</sup> LAC RG 1 E1, v.77, 20 February 1855, Hutton to Council.

<sup>38</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1491, 20 April 1855.

circulation.”<sup>39</sup> Hutton regretted however that French had not offered more comprehensive statistics by failing to break the road down into more manageable sections, such as by township or landmark, so that the prospective settler might be able to compare different segments of line.<sup>40</sup> French would eventually propose to do something like this along the Opeongo, but the uniformity of his subsequent monthly and annual reports suggests he never did.

Hutton’s enthusiastic oversight of the scheme, led to advances in the advertising component of the colonization movement, particularly as it concerned emigration statistics. It had been standard practice as early as 1841 for the province to generate statistics on localities’ needs for emigrants.<sup>41</sup> These efforts had been initiated by then Civil Secretary Rawson W. Rawson, who had formerly served as Lord Sydenham’s Secretary at the English Board of Trade in addition to being a member of the London Statistical Society.<sup>42</sup> Rawson had been involved to at least some degree in the advancement of Canadian statistical practice overall. He was in correspondence with Belgian statistician, Adolphe Quetelet as part of an attempt to modernize Canadian census practices.<sup>43</sup> Rawson had Chief Emigration Agent, A.C. Buchanan, dispatch a series of printed circulars to the District Councils. In most cases these were filled out by postmasters and sheriffs as representatives of the different areas within each district.<sup>44</sup> The circulars contained two sets of questionnaires, one for emigrants of capital; the other for those of the labouring classes. The former included questions on the rate of interest for loans and the expected rate of profit from farm holdings. The latter asked more practical questions, such as the location of government agents, the systems of relief afforded to emigrants, the best time to arrive in Quebec, the types and amounts of labourers needed, and other questions likely to be of personal interest, like “is beer the drink of the common labourers? And can it be procured year round?”

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<sup>39</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1491, 7 July 1856, Hutton to French. For Hutton’s guide see, 1855. *Canada: Its Present Condition, Prospects, and Resources, Fully Described for the Information of Intending Emigrants*. London; for Parr Traill’s see, 1855. *The Canadian Settler’s Guide*. Old Countryman’s Office: Toronto.

<sup>40</sup> PAO RG 1 A.I.7, 6 May 1858, French to Sicotte.

<sup>41</sup> LAC CO 42/477(231), 9 February 1841, Sydenham to Russell.

<sup>42</sup> Rawson’s role in the genealogy of the social science as part of his involvement with the LSS is discussed at some length in Osborne, T. and Rose, N. 1997. “In the Name of Society or Three Theses on the History of Social Thought.” *History of the Human Sciences* 10 (3): 87-104.

<sup>43</sup> Quetelet’s concept of the ‘Average Man’ proved instrumental for Durkheim’s conception of ‘social facts’. See Curtis, B. 2001. *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875*. UTP: Toronto; Beaud, J-P. and Prevost, J-G. 1997. “La form est la fond: la structuration des appareils Statistique nationaux (1800-1945).” *Revue de Synthèse*, 118 (4): 419-456; Prevost, J-P. and J-G. Beaud. 2012. *Statistics, Public Debate and the State, 1800-1945: A Social, Political, and Economic History of Numbers*. Pickering & Chatto: London.

<sup>44</sup> Many of these returns survive and are available for viewing at LAC RG 5 B21, v. 3. See the correspondence between emigration agents Buchanan and Hawke, 25 September 1843. See also, Curtis, B. 1997. “Official Documentary Systems and Colonial Government: From Imperial Sovereignty to Colonial Autonomy in the Canadas, 1841-1867.” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 10 (4): 389-417.

These returns were sent annually *en masse* to the Colonial Office from the Office of the Governor General. While there does appear to be some account of the generality of these statistics – as Sydenham wrote that while the statistics “do not perhaps exactly tally with any, they represent, as far as it is possible to do, the general effect of the whole” – it is odd, as Bruce Curtis has previously noted, for a statistical return compiled by a founding member of the Manchester Statistical Society to have no “active conception of average conditions in the colony.”<sup>45</sup> Instead, the conditions of each district or region within each district were known not in keeping with a larger, more encompassing average – of ‘Canadian’ conditions – but existed only in their singularity. With no conception of an average, it was difficult to form a general idea of colonial progress and the relation of each area to a statistical norm. From the perspective of a genealogical of social scientific practice, these 1840s returns were more or less consistent with the paradigmatic approach of the ‘Statistical Account’ which had a long and varied history in the colonies, with notable examples being Robert Gourlay’s 1822 *Statistical Account of Upper Canada* and Joseph Bouchette’s 1815 *Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada*.

From the first days of the Bureau of Agriculture, the Ministers sought to refine these statistics. Among Malcolm Cameron’s first initiatives upon taking office was the distribution of a new circular to be sent to representative individuals throughout the province. This was to be a test run, sent at first to a select twenty-eight persons asking for a systematic overview of their farms as well as the average conditions of agricultural production in their areas. This trial run failed as Cameron received responses from fewer than half the twenty-eight persons selected, many of whom found it impossible to respond to his queries. The failure did not dissuade subsequent ministers from recognizing the importance of general statistics. Rolph heard from prospective emigration agents that an official representation of the Canadas from the perspective of the State was imperative to the success of colonization. People in Europe judged the Canadas based on the perspective of the newspapers – a rather impure source.<sup>46</sup> The fleetingness and uncertainty of newspaper accounts was problematic to Cameron who had earlier recognized the need for the publication of an annual volume of historical and practical facts that would be in a “more enduring form than the newspaper press affords.”<sup>47</sup>

The Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics began to provide more advanced and enduring statistical returns under Hutton. In January 1857 the Bureau distributed a circular of questions presented in tabular form to all the county clerks in the province.<sup>48</sup> The circulars were comprised of a set of fifteen questions asking for the number of farm labourers (male/female) needed, the number of boys and girls (>12, <12), ten columns of trades, a column asking for the increase in population which had occurred over the past year by way of immigration, and a miscellany column headed ‘Observations’.<sup>49</sup> The effort was a marked success, especially in relation to

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<sup>45</sup> Curtis, *Documentary Systems*, 411.

<sup>46</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1491, 29 December 1853, A. Montamis to Rolph.

<sup>47</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1491, 23 August 1853, Cameron to E.W. Thompson.

<sup>48</sup> This paragraph draws on Walsh, J.C. 2001. *Landscapes of Longing: Colonization and the Problem of State Formation in Canada West*. Unpublished Dissertation: University of Guelph.

<sup>49</sup> LAC RG 17 A.III.1, 2392, 22 January 1858.

Cameron's earlier efforts. By April, Hutton's office had received 110 answers asking for 22,000 labourers, mechanics, servant women, boys and girls, etc. and Hutton expected further responses to solicit a demand for at least 10,000 more migrants by the time all the responses were gathered.<sup>50</sup>

The compilation of the returns using the cognitive tool of tabular presentation inscribed the information in a unique comparative space which allowed for a new manner of description and comparison. Tabulation confers a sense of distance and control; a separation between the observing subject and the object observed. More simply, the point of tabulation on a county-by-county basis is not to understand each region in its singularity, as the 1840s circulars had, but to understand the progress of colonization within an abstract comparative space. Each county becomes an abstract entity, comparable to any other on the tabular form. As J-P. Beaud and J.G. Prevost have previously argued, such cognitive tools were in part didactic; they can be connected with the "emergence of an informed public with competence to read and judge numbers ... and can be related to other characteristic developments of liberal democracy."<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, the tremendous potential for this data to inform a coherent governmental project was not recognized by Hutton, who recognized immediately the potential of these returns as advertising materials for the colonization movement but little beyond. He began mailing the results to interested parties in Europe along with maps showing the locations of the free grants along the various colonization roads. He hoped this would be enough to entice migrants from somewhere, anywhere, coming to the Canadas.

#### *The Difficulty of 'Correct' Statistics*

However pleased he was with the advances in the production of emigration statistics, Hutton lamented the comparative dearth of information on agricultural production. This was particularly harmful to the colonization roads program. As he wrote to the Provincial Secretary in May 1857, "the difficulty of collecting correct statistical information with regard to the agricultural produce of the country in a *direct manner from a farming community* for those years when a regular census is not taken has long been felt and deplored even in England and Scotland." Some progress had been made in Ireland, as a correct agricultural census was taken annually by a constabulary obliged to collect the required information by personal enquiry, but nothing like this existed in the Canadas.<sup>52</sup>

The absence of such information in the Canadas was harmful not only to the advertising effort, but to governmental projects of political subjectification, including the overarching anglicizing political project of which agricultural colonization was an important part. Not only did migrants have to be solicited from abroad to clear the forests and increase the population relative to Canada East, the youth of Canada West also had to be trained to see farming as a beneficial and rewarding enterprise. To Hutton, the long-time gentleman farmer, youths were

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<sup>50</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1491, 4 April 1857, Hutton to Wilcocks.

<sup>51</sup> Beaud, J-P. and Prevost, J-G. 1997. "La revolution des nombres: statistique privee et statistique d'état dans le Canada du XIXe siècle." *Scientia Canadensis*, 21: 49-63.

<sup>52</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1491, 5 May 1857, Hutton to Terrill. Emphasis mine. The following two paragraphs also draw on this correspondence.

“too apt to look upon farming as a mere slavish pursuit.” Abandoning their familial lots, they moved to the cities and secured impermanent employment on public works, and, to Hutton’s mind, failed to develop the necessary capacities of foresight, mastery of momentary impulse, and deliverance from want necessary for civilized life. But if more regular and accurate information could be obtained, the Bureau could see that it formed part of the curriculum in common schools, particularly during the winter season’s lectures, and be delivered by competent and experienced persons.

In short, Hutton bemoaned that while the Bureau possessed the statutory authority to acquire the necessary information, the necessary infrastructural machinery for collecting such statistics did not exist. He acknowledged that until some machinery for collecting agricultural statistics of a reliable nature could be provided by the legislature, the Bureau would have to be guided by the best returns it could produce. Where holistic statistics could not be gathered, Hutton proposed to use the returns of the 1852 Census to guide the Bureau in making calculations of likely productions and that via such calculation the accounts might be “considered very nearly correct.” It should be acknowledged that a statistical apparatus to which Hutton had access did exist in the backwoods along the colonization roads; that the ‘machinery’ Hutton complained was missing, had to a not inconsiderable extent been set in place almost twenty years prior.

### ***Road Agents***

The passage of the Land Act of 1838 (7 William IV. Cap. 118) ensured that land administration would be informed by knowledge produced by a new cadre of Crown Land Agents who would provide the Commissioner of Crown Lands with “correct lists and maps of the lands for sale from time to time in his division ... and shall keep regular accounts of sales and make the same distinctly to appear on his plan and map.” Most of their duties were not enumerated in any general way until the publication of the report of the Select Committee on the Crown Lands Department in 1845.<sup>53</sup> The agents were to perform inspections and other special services on behalf of the Department and monthly reports were to be supplemented by annual accounts of their operations. They were also charged with giving advice to prospective settlers as well as valuing the improvements of they made and documenting their progress in completing their settlement conditions. Agents therefore had an important role in shaping the character of the settlements and the settlers themselves.<sup>54</sup> They were not merely bureaucrats of the Crown Lands Department but agents of social space. Their activities and their reporting configured the backwoods as an object of government and restructured the terrain of political space in the Canadas. This was no small feat.

The cadre of Crown Lands and Colonization Road Agents are important from a documentary point of view because these agents were instrumental in carrying out the settlement of the Tract and for ensuring the political subjectification of settlers in a manner largely in

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<sup>53</sup> The agents were of course informed of what was expected of them upon their appointment by the Commissioner of Crown Lands, but their duties were not public knowledge until the 1845 Committee.

<sup>54</sup> The agents were paid on commission. For the first £2000 collected they received 5%, and 2.5% on any amount above that. However, on inspection tours they were given a daily wage of fifteen shillings. See JLAC 1846, Appendix EE: *Report of the Select Committee on the Management of the Crown Lands Department*.

keeping with a liberal governmentality. But they are also important theoretically for attention to their activities fills a gap in sociologies of state formation which neglect the importance of administration, organization, and analysis of institutions. The emergence of a liberal governmentality marked by a series of practices oriented towards the configuration of populations in territory with the end result of establishing a particular ethical relation of self-to-self and self-to-others, did not occur in a vacuum but was mediated by the organizational form of the colonial state; itself the result of a series of social and political struggles, as the origins of the Bureau of Agriculture make clear. This also extends political analysis to the persons within the state system though without reducing changes in political governmentality to an expression of the wills of those individuals. This is a point that though neglected in Foucaultian governmentality studies, was not lost on Marxian political sociology.<sup>55</sup> Attention to the activities of these individual agents can also help to explain why the statistical returns of the agents were never worked up into comprehensive accounts of the agricultural productions of the backwoods.

#### ***‘The Jesuitical Influence of Canada East’***

The appointment of the agents to oversee the colonization of the Upper Canadian backwoods could not be divorced from the context of the political debates of the mid-1850s, particularly the increasingly virulent divide on the issue of representation by population, and French-English relations. Notable in this debate was George Brown, prominent liberal and editor of the *Toronto Globe*. Brown had spent the better part of the 1850s railing against what he saw as the tyranny of the priesthood, and as his debate with Cauchon in 1853 on an ecclesiastical incorporations bill makes clear, the supposed link between the prominence of Roman Catholic institutions and pauperism. Editorials published in *The Globe* make his position clear: “If we are ranged against Romanists as a class, it is because they require public money to support their sectarian schools, because they receive the authority of the Legislature to tax their people, and to accumulate lands in a manner dangerous to the State.”<sup>56</sup> In subsequent articles, the *Globe* claimed “Joseph Cauchon’s priestly connection, and schemes of papal settlement; of having refused just rights of representation to the Western population and of having conspired to destroy ... the heart of every man of liberal and enlightened sentiments.”<sup>57</sup>

Brown weaponized the pages of *The Globe*, alerting its readers to the threat of the colonization movement being transformed into a sectarian and sectional political tool by the Catholics. This was all the more dangerous, claimed Brown, given the presence of Cauchon in

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<sup>55</sup> The reference here is to Lukács. “if it is granted that the right or wrong lines of action pursued by individuals are not without influence on whole complex of events but that over and above this, and while accepting as given that these specific people were occupying these posts, etc., it is legitimate to investigate the objective range of possibilities for action open to them – in that case the problem will once again have entered the realm of organisation.” Lukács, G. 1971. “Towards a Methodology of the Problem of Organization”. In, *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, 295-342. MIT Press: Cambridge, 300; Lukács draws on insights from Weber (‘Bureaucracy’) and Lenin (‘What is to be Done?’) in this piece, both are worth a read for scholars grappling with these questions, see also: Elias, N. 1987. “The Retreat of Sociologists into the Present.” *Theory, Culture, and Society* 4: 223-247.

<sup>56</sup> *The Globe*, 23 January 1854. Cited in Heaman, E. 2017. *Tax, Order and Good Government: A New Political History of Canada, 1867-1917*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston, 28.

<sup>57</sup> *The Globe*, 30 July 1856.

the office of Commissioner of Crown Lands. *The Globe* accused Cauchon of giving preference to Roman Catholic settlers by printing advertisements first in *The Catholic Citizen*, an organ with few Protestant readers. There was also the issue of his choice of colonization road agents. For the Hastings Road, he selected M.P. Hayes, a 31 year old Irish Roman Catholic.<sup>58</sup> Hayes was a controversial appointment given his vocal support for the Buffalo Convention and Catholic colonization schemes for Upper Canada. He was also a noted attendee of lectures given by Irish Catholic nationalist Thomas D'Arcy McGee and involved with the Young Men's Saint Patrick's Association.<sup>59</sup> *The Globe* claimed Hayes was appointed purely because he would be willing to carry out the views of the Buffalo convention. The paper reprinted articles from the radical Orange organ, the *Brockville Recorder*, branding Hayes a 'Romanist Agent' who was concealing the free grants from non-Catholics by attempting to settle Protestants directly along the line and not on the more desirable lots in the rear.<sup>60</sup> A key platform in his sinister Romanist plot, claimed a letter run in *The Globe*, was that his office was to be open "every day in the week between the hours of nine and four." This arrangement offered an extra day of availability for Catholics since, as the exasperated writer to the *Globe* asked: "What Protestant would desecrate the Sabbath by applying at his business office on a Sunday?" These articles often devolved into petty personal squabbles. Hayes's grammar was parsed and ridiculed, thereby seemingly making the connection between Roman Catholic identity, a lack of intelligence, and an unfitness to serve as a government agent.<sup>61</sup>

The agent for the Opeongo Road, T.P. French was similarly attacked in the *Globe* for supposedly carrying out the objectives of the Buffalo Convention. There is better evidence for these claims in French's case than in that of Hayes. Both A.J. Russell and A.C. Buchanan reported to William Hutton that English Protestants were complaining about French's conduct. Buchanan relayed complaints that "Protestants had not been given a fair shake" on the Opeongo.<sup>62</sup> Taking advantage of the unusually wet fall of 1858 and the heavy traffic which carved up the line, it is likely French coordinated an attempt by the Irish Catholics along the Opeongo to get rid of overseer David Bremner<sup>63</sup> and have the road business put entirely under Irish Catholic management.<sup>64</sup> French circulated the Catholics' petition widely and furthered the

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<sup>58</sup> Hayes's personal information was retrieved from the 1861 Census. It was somewhat difficult to find as the enumerator appears to have misspelled his name, giving it as 'Hays'. His occupation is correctly listed as 'Crown Land Agent'.

<sup>59</sup> *The Globe*, 25 November 1857.

<sup>60</sup> *The Globe*, 21 July 1856, 13 September 1856. Hayes was actually not permitted to offer free grants that did not front along the colonization road as the Public Lands Act 1853 made clear.

<sup>61</sup> *The Globe*, 14 June 1856. In his advertisement for lots on the Hastings, Hayes had written "conditions of location are to take possession within a month." The sentence, which makes 'conditions of location' the subject was considered unintelligible, since obviously only settlers could take possession. See! I was serious when I said they parsed his grammar!

<sup>62</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1492, 10 February 1858, Hutton to A.J. Russell.

<sup>63</sup> Bremner had been employed on the road crew which first cut the trail for the Opeongo. See the survey diaries of Hamlet Burritt held at PAO, MS 4834.

<sup>64</sup> PAO RG 52-15-4, 11 November 1858, A.J. Russell to Hutton.

claim that Bremner was disproportionately hiring non-Catholics for well-paying jobs. For his open campaigning on behalf of Catholic settlers the *Globe* claimed French's office was a sinecure, that he should resign, and that his appointment was due entirely to the "Jesuitical influence of Canada East."<sup>65</sup>

#### ***Politics – Inquiry - politics***

The fervour of the debate over the personnel along the colonization roads shows that colonization was both the subject and object of political struggle at this time since administrative questions also affected the character of the settlements as they developed. The agents had tremendous power to influence the types of settlers that took up along the line and in many cases they took it upon themselves to ensure all those who "go into the backwoods can be molded politically."<sup>66</sup> Those who could were to be quickly weeded out. As the moderate reformist position of Hutton makes clear, part of this political molding was to take the form of agricultural education. They guided the settlers in the best practices of clearing land and in how to organize themselves to ensure productive settlement.<sup>67</sup> Sometimes, as in the case of the Opeongo, agents organized working 'bees' for the road's necessary statute labour<sup>68</sup> while in still others had settlers lots reposted so the settlers were less isolated and thereby more amenable to community involvement.<sup>69</sup>

This 'molding' function did not always mean instilling new habits of mind and new relations of self-to-others, but also the forgetting of already instilled ones. M.P. Hayes complained loudly that the government position, as expressed in the report of the Public Lands Committee, to balance the needs of the settlers and lumbermen had created an unworkable situation. Settlers were permitted to cut timber on their lots for the purposes of clearing space for a dwelling and sowing crops, but they were not permitted to sell what trees they felled. Unlike many of the other roads, where lots were taken up largely by German settlers<sup>70</sup>, Hayes experienced some success in contributing to the anglicizing political project of colonization and the settling of English farmers in the backwoods.<sup>71</sup> Yet it was precisely the 'English sense of

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<sup>65</sup> *The Globe*, 5 March 1858.

<sup>66</sup> LAC M 218, 26 March 1855, Perry to Roblin.

<sup>67</sup> French's 1857 *Information for Intending Settlers* is also an example of a road agent acting as a sort of infrastructure of collective life along the line. It contains numerous, if questionable, suggestions for how the settlers should live along the road and engage with other settlers as part of a community.

<sup>68</sup> PAO RG A.1.7, 6 May 1858, French to Sicotte. For more on the historical significance of reciprocal work bees and the development of community in rural settlements, see Wilson, Catherine Anne. 2001. "Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood." *Canadian Historical Review* 82 (3): 1-19.

<sup>69</sup> On settlers' complaints about the shape of their lots, see PAO RG 1 A.I.7, 25 February 1856, French to Cauchon; on French's role in having them reposted, see PAO RG 1 A.I.7, 4 January 1864, French to McDougall.

<sup>70</sup> The Opeongo was settled by mostly Germans. See Lee-Whiting, B. 1985. *Harvest of Stones: The German Settlement in Renfrew County*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto; Blank, J.C. 2016. *Creating Kashubia: History, Memory and Identity in Canada's First Polish Community*. MQUP: Montreal.

<sup>71</sup> PAO RG 1 A.I.7, 11 July 1861.

property' which contributed to settler discontent. As Hayes claimed, it was very difficult to make any illiterate person, but an Englishman in particular, understand that when he has taken ownership of a lot "that some other people should have the right to come in upon it and cut down the timber."<sup>72</sup> This 'English sense of property' also caused problems on the Addington Road. The agent there, Ebenezer Perry, reported settlers blocking up the roads in an attempt to prevent the lumbermen from removing 'their' timber. These efforts were quelled only when a large mob of lumbermen "succeeded in terrifying the settlers" with threats of violence.<sup>73</sup>

In terms of the overall governmental project, the objective was clear, the agents must do what they could to ensure that settlers be monitored/supervised/guided, in such a way as to make them feel as though the hardships they endured were in fact signs of progress and improvement and that such endeavours would eventually pay dividends. As T.P. French claimed in his emigrant guide "with a house ready to receive his family and a few acres ready to crop, the settler need have no fear for the future." Even apparent hardships were to be seen as perspectival. If a bear ate some of the settlers' pumpkin crop, the beast's skin would "amply compensate for the few evening meals he may have stolen."<sup>74</sup> The hard labour of colonization would be the crucible in which new bonds of solidarity would form settlers together as British subjects hostile simultaneously to French nationalism and American republican political forms. That was the theory anyway. The reality was far more complicated. Even the agents themselves could not always be convinced to view the hard realities of backwoods colonization in such inspiring terms. From his office in Mt. St. Patrick, T.P. French wrote to John A. MacDonald (then Attorney General for Upper Canada) requesting a better appointment for himself. He complained that he gave "the country six of the best years of my life." And that "during that period I have worked hard. I have lived in seclusion and positive misery. It has taken also my earnings to build a house and office in the very midst of wilderness."<sup>75</sup> Others masked their disappointment by using the wage from their office to pursue their true passions. R.J. Oliver, agent for the Muskoka line spent most of his time on his newspaper, the *Barrie Advance*.<sup>76</sup>

Clearly, the agents' primary role in the early years of the roads program was paternal, even pastoral, rather than documentary at this time. Colonization policy served as the impetus for the agents' day to day efforts, rather than the agents own investigation into settlement conditions and the social relations among colonists, at least at first. From the perspective of those occupying the offices of the Bureau of Agriculture and the Department of Crown Lands, ideally the relation would be a dialectical one; political capital would drive colonization, which could be subjected

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<sup>72</sup> JLAC 1863, Appendix 8, 5 May 1863, Examination of M.P. Hayes.

<sup>73</sup> PAO RG 1 A.1.7, 12 March 1862, Perry to Andrew Russell.

<sup>74</sup> French, T.P. 1857. *Information for Intending Settlers*. 6, 23.

<sup>75</sup> PAO RG 1 A.1.7, 16 December 1861, French to MacDonald, cited in Walsh, *Landscapes*, 258.

<sup>76</sup> Oliver's most active work as agent seems to have been publishing success stories from his settlers such as the case of Moses Martin, the sixty-six year old settler who grew a freakishly large turnip, weighing in at approximately thirty-three pounds. PAO RG 1 A.1.7, 1 October 1861, Hughes to Crown Lands Department. Oliver was, by all accounts, a diligent if unexceptional agent. He was described in Crown Lands correspondence as "careful and interested in the work" but "wanting in judgement and in management of men." PAO RG 52-4, 29 March 1867, Lee to Campbell.

to observational inquiry, the results of which could inform policy and ensure politico-scientific mastery of the settlements. This never really happened. There was a bevy of reasons why.

For one, and somewhat surprisingly given his complaints about the lack of statistical machinery in the backwoods, William Hutton does not seem to have much bothered with the returns the road agents produced. An overview of his correspondence while Bureau secretary reveals a startling lack of communication with the road agents. T.P. French was his most common correspondent though this owed more to logistical matters relating to the publication and distribution of French's pamphlet, than concern with the progress of colonization. The other agent to whom he wrote occasionally was Hayes, who represented the area nearest to Hutton's family farm. While Hutton was a learned man, having received a grammar school upbringing and was well read in techniques of scientific farming, as well as some social science, his personal interests were comparatively limited. He did believe descriptive statistics could be of use as indicators of social progress as shown by his claim that "nothing shows the prosperity of a county more than the increase of the number of pleasure carriages," but he had no statistical training or connections. When comparing the activities of subsequent secretaries, Hutton's complaints about the lack of statistical machinery in the backwoods appears to stem not so much from an astute awareness of the province's administrative infrastructure as personal ignorance of it. His successor, Dr. Joseph-Charles Taché, who took over the office of secretary on 11 August 1864, wasted little time contacting the colonization road agents. In mid-September, he sent a circular letter to each agent asking for their statistical productions. That such a request would come from Agriculture appeared strange enough that long-time Addington Road agent Ebenezer Perry wrote back asking if he was legally forced to comply. Taché assured him he was.<sup>77</sup>

### ***Investment in Forms***

The lack of interest in the productions of the road agents is not to suggest that had such interest been present, these returns would have been useful as metrics of the progress of the colonization movement or for informing governmental projects. The agents struggled to represent social relations in statistical forms that would enable comparison of the different lines.<sup>78</sup> These agents were quite marginal figures in government administration and my research has not discovered if any had statistical training. The Irish Catholic French was good with numbers. He had been a banker in Galway and Clonmel before moving to Upper Canada sometime in 1853. Hayes was probably a lawyer but in any event styled himself as worthy of an honorific, writing 'Esq.' in his signature. He had connections to Malcolm Cameron through membership in temperance societies. His last post before his appointment as road agent appears to have been as secretary to the Committee for the Toronto and Huron Canal.<sup>79</sup> Ebenezer Perry's professional history is less clear, but he was a member of the Lennox and Addington Perry family which included prominent Reformer, Peter Perry.<sup>80</sup> Ebenezer Perry was active in Reform

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<sup>77</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1494, 28 September 1864, Taché to E. Perry.

<sup>78</sup> Thevenot, L. 1984. "Rules and Implements: Investment in Forms". *Social Science Information*, 23 (1): 1-40; Curtis, B. 2000. "Social Investment in Medical Forms: The 1866 Cholera Scare and Beyond." *The Canadian Historical Review*, 81 (3): 347-379.

<sup>79</sup> *The Globe*, 18 January 1856.

<sup>80</sup> *Le Canadien*, 15 December 1837; *British Whig*, 5 May 1837.

politics, challenging the actions of Lieutenant Governor Bond Head and supporting key players in the Upper Canada Rebellion. His brother, Aylesworth Bowen (A.B.) Perry, was the surveyor who oversaw the sighting and construction of the Addington Road. In March 1854, the *Morning Chronicle* reported someone named A.B. Perry, also a surveyor, as having died of exposure along the line.<sup>81</sup> Richard Hughes was a newspaper publisher whose appointment drew the ire of the *Globe*.

The social historian should keep the diverse backgrounds of the agents firmly in mind when analyzing their reports. A banker, lawyer, political activist/surveyor, newspaper publisher will each look for different measures of settler success and the progress of colonization. Such individual variation is typically accounted for by standardization of reporting forms and/or the establishment of clear observational protocols for state agents. This did not happen. Despite Cauchon demonstrating the usefulness of descriptive statistics for political debate, and his acquaintance with the statistical productions of England and Belgium, the agents he appointed were never given clear, specific instructions for what to report and how to compile the information. Agents often reported whatever they thought made their line look most successful in whatever form they chose so these observations were not consistent between agents, or even between subsequent reports of the same agent. Take the example of the Hastings. In 1858, Hayes reported there were only two deaths on the road; one was a man in his nineties, the other was killed by a tree he was felling. Both are what might be considered ‘normal’ deaths in the backwoods. Yet his report for 1859 contained no observations of the deaths along the line. It is clearly impossible to say with any certainty *why* this information was missing from the 1859 report, but the fact that there was, as the *Montreal Herald* put it, a ‘Shocking Murder on the Hastings’ where a settler named Dickie was shot in the head by a man who worked for him, may be considered a possible explanation.<sup>82</sup>

Neither Hutton, Cauchon, nor any of the three subsequent Commissioners of Crown Lands in the 1850s, would provide any clearly articulated method for constructing generalizable knowledge about health, the progress of settlement over a multi-year period, or even of productive activity. Agents even differed in how they performed the most basic functions such as counting the number of persons on their lines. French complained at times that he could not provide an exact figure, at one point claiming the total population was somewhere between “600 to 800 souls.”<sup>83</sup> However, most of the agents could provide definitive statistics on the number of settlers, that is, the adult landholding male population of each road. French’s annual report for 1858 gave the total number of these persons as 200 and even broke them down by nationality and occupation. Of the 200 settlers, 174 were farmers and 136 were Irish, but there was also a clergyman, four inn keepers, one school teacher, seven British army pensioners, and thirteen tradesmen. After Irish, most settlers were transplants from other areas of Canada West (twenty-four), then English (seventeen), then those from Canada East (thirteen), followed by six Scots and four Americans. These returns were comparatively advanced relative to his colleagues. In his report for 1858, Hayes gave the total population and the number of settlers located *during the*

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<sup>81</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 3 March 1854. This article has to either refer to another member of the family, also named ‘A.B.’ or be mistaken. A.B. Perry, surveyor of the Addington Road, died in 1887.

<sup>82</sup> PAO RG 1 A.I.7, 4 February 1858, Hayes to Russell; *Montreal Herald*, 22 January 1859.

<sup>83</sup> PAO, RG 1 A.I.7, 8 March 1858, French to Sicotte.

year, but did not give the *total number* of settlers, nor did he break them down by nationality or calling. Despite their advantages, French's returns still represent a slight regression from those of the Owen Sound agents in the 1840s. There, in addition to giving the number of settlers and their nationalities (they omitted occupations), the agents also broke the population down into the number of men and women and whether they were over or under sixteen years old. The agents also gave their religions. So we know in 1841 there were 153 Anglicans, 180 Presbyterians, twelve Methodists and 143 Roman Catholics living on the Owen Sound Road.<sup>84</sup>

Even the progress of the settlements was difficult to measure since what counted as 'progress' was never actually defined and what might serve as an indicator of it was not standardized. It was common practice among Anglophone social investigators to measure progress in highly materialistic terms. During a brief trip through the Niagara region on her tour through the United States, Harriet Martineau complained the poor appearance of the province brought shame onto England as a whole by doing "nothing to flatter our national complacency." She particularly cited the quality of the roads, claiming they were "extremely bad" and the bridges the "rudest of the rude."<sup>85</sup> Hutton himself thought the increase in number of pleasure carriages would indicate agricultural prosperity and even added a question about this to the 1861 census.

Some of the road agents measured progress in such materialistic terms. Ebenezer Perry thought the progress of settlement could be measured based on the number of buildings erected along the line. He included this information in his monthly reports giving the number of new buildings as well as their dimensions.<sup>86</sup> Other agents completely ignored the number of buildings and certainly did not provide their dimensions. Yet even Perry did not break down the buildings by type. He did not record the number of schools, churches, barns, shanties, sheds, or outhouses. Were this information recorded it would have been a useful indicator of the social and agricultural progress of the settlement and could have facilitated more sophisticated governmental projects of rule. Shanties were often built by transient settlers who split time between their lots and the lumber camps while larger houses were built by farmers. The number of houses and barns built relative to the number of shanties might indicate the commitment of the settlers to an agricultural existence and offer opportunities for the central government to incentivize agricultural production. Additionally, recording the number of outhouses might have served as a useful indicator of moral improvement. Social historians have long called attention to the compartmentalization of evacuation in the daily life of individuals as signaling the production of new types of 'civilized' subjects, with particular ethical relations of self-to-self. It is a central point in the work of Norbert Elias that segregating eliminatory functions in daily life lead to an increased sense of disgust and abjection and a new way of being in the body. In Elias, the changed relation to our shit was a product of changing State forms. Only one of the agents seems to have recognized the potential importance of outhouses as a metric of improvement.

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<sup>84</sup> PAO RG 52-15-4, 10 January 1859; RG 1 A.I.7, 31 March 1842, Durnford to Davidson.

<sup>85</sup> Martineau, H. 1834. *Retrospect of Western Travels*, 152.

<sup>86</sup> PAO, RG 1 A.I.7, 2 July 1858, Perry to Sicotte.

Muskoka road agent, R.J. Oliver, recorded the number of outhouses in his inspection tours of the roads but did not compile this information into statistical form.<sup>87</sup>

Instead of revealing the actual state of affairs along their respective lines, the annual inspections of the road agents revealed the ethnic, linguistic, and national fissures typical among settlements in the backwoods of Upper Canada. These fissures showcase social scientific investigation's impact on the object and product of its studies. The means used to configure social relations as objects of political-scientific mastery have an effect on the results of investigation. In the case of the settlers along the colonization roads, as objects of the road agents' inspections they were not 'configured' as objects of social scientific study and they did not always react well to prying eyes.

Settlers were at times convinced by those met in town or by fellow settlers that they stood to benefit if they could trick the Crown Lands Agent. Along the Hastings, it was reported the settlers believed that if they gave a good account of their property and their production, they would be more likely to receive the deed to their lot in advance of having fulfilled their settlement conditions. The settlers were reported to have greatly exaggerated the quantity of grain reaped from their harvests in pursuance of such a goal.<sup>88</sup> On the Opeongo, French had suspicions the settlers were giving him false accounts of their progress. In January 1860, we reported to have cautioned them against doing so, and did not think they would attempt to deceive him.<sup>89</sup> That October he confessed to Hutton that the settlers would not provide him with anything like a correct idea of the state of the crops.<sup>90</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Hutton was wrong in his claims that no statistical machinery existed in the backwoods of Upper Canada. The road agents collected statistical data which, if subjected to proper observational protocols and consistent recording practices, could have easily informed sophisticated governmental projects of rule. Yet the reason this was never done is not entirely clear. Proper, social scientifically informed statistical research was performed by the Bureau in their efforts to generate an account of the need for emigrants, but similar efforts were not done with regard to the information gathered along the colonization roads. It appears that neither Hutton nor anyone in the Crown Lands Department had any interest in doing so.

It would not get any easier to compile agricultural statistics along the colonization roads in the 1860s. In December 1861 the agents were informed of an Order-in-Council eliminating the position of road agent as a salaried official as of 1 January 1862. They were now to be paid in fees collected from the settlers. Unfortunately for the agents, the already modest settlement numbers were further reduced by the introduction of extra fees for locating emigrants. These fees meant Hayes's salary was reduced from £386.5.0 per annum to about £75 for 1861 and it would never again exceed £150. R.J. Oliver on the Muskoka complained that he would not be able to

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<sup>87</sup> PAO, RG 1 A.I.7, 31 December 1862, Oliver to MacDougall.

<sup>88</sup> JLAC 1863, Appendix 8, 7 May 1863, Testimony of Ezra Stephens.

<sup>89</sup> PAO RG 1 A.I.7, 7 January 1860, French to Vankoughnet.

<sup>90</sup> PAO RG 52-1, Box #1, (Unnumbered docket), 1 October 1860, French to Hutton.

buy bread for his family and that his commission would be comparatively less than that of his fellow agents since his road was newer than those of his colleagues and therefore had fewer opportunities for settlers.<sup>91</sup> What accounts the agents provided were clearly not valued by the central government.

While the agents' reports failed to garner much attention by their superiors, their activities remain important to social historians for a number of reasons. First, there was a clear recognition on the part of both the agents as well as members of the provincial administration that the colonization effort needed to be simultaneously a project of political and ethical subjectification. They began looking at territorialized populations as objects to be governed by being arranged in desirable configurations so as to lead to a politically congenial end. The laying out the roads was a project of political subjectification and the agents were aware of their role in carrying out this process. Secondly, these reports informed political debates in the 1860s and direct governmental attention to the need for policy reform. Ironically, as I show in chapter six, with the election of the Sandfield-MacDonald Liberals in 1861, these debates would bring the colonization roads under greater scrutiny.

Finally, although their efforts to create workable statistics was a complete failure, they nevertheless did provide useable information for the advertising effort the Bureau was then carrying out. Also, this information was tied to clearly defined spatial arrangements. Each road developed a 'characteristic' which, if subject to compilation and comparison, would have allowed the development of more sophisticated projects of rule. The final two chapters examine the social, political, and technical changes to the spatialization of infrastructural colonization in the Canadas and how this affected the colonization roads program.

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<sup>91</sup> PAO, RG 1 A.I.7, 16 June 1862, Hayes to McDougall; 10 May 1862, Oliver to Sherwood. While both of their annual salaries were reduced, they were not to the extent either feared. According to the returns of the Crown Lands Department for 1864, Hayes's salary was reduced to \$228.69 and Oliver's to \$112.33.

**Chapter Five:*****'Everybody Knows this is Nowhere': Thomas Devine, Social Mapping, and the Space of Infrastructural Colonization***

This chapter follows the course of developments in surveying and map-making from 1855 to 1861. I take as my central objects of analysis two innovations of this time, both attributable to head of the Survey Branch of the Crown Lands Department for Canada West: Thomas Devine. The first of Devine's contributions was his Government Maps, published regularly from 1859 to 1867. In contrast to previous maps, Devine's was a 'living map', each new edition filled in the blank spots on the map as new surveys were conducted. The map was a stunning achievement for its time and was highly valued by proponents of infrastructural colonization. The second contribution was the introduction of a new form of surveyor fieldbook which significantly altered the distribution of information within their overall returns. At the close of each survey, provincial land surveyors submitted returns comprised of a fieldbook, a survey diary, and a rudimentary projection of the area canvassed. Devine's new, or 'split-line', fieldbook replaced the standard ledger form, comprised of narrative descriptions corresponding to distances covered in Gunter's chains, with a completely pictorial variant given from a God's-eye view. As I argue, the new pictorial form altered the distribution of the sensible, striating the surveyors' perspective across a hierarchy of importance corresponding to the social and political context of the time.<sup>1</sup>

During the Period of Union huge sums of money were expended on the production of maps of the Canadas and mapping was a political factor in both the colonial and imperial context. Imperially, map-making was one way for British officials to experiment with new techniques, economies of scale, and standardized practices.<sup>2</sup> In the summer of 1855, then Commissioner of Crown Lands Joseph Cauchon was busy rebuffing the attempts of the megalomaniacal head of the British Ordnance Survey, William James, to impose a common representational scale for all maps of the Canadas despite James's total lack of awareness of

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<sup>1</sup> Devine's contributions to surveying and map-making have been largely ignored by Canadian historians. I was disappointed as I flipped through Adam Shoalts's 2017 book *A History of Canada in Ten Maps: Epic Stories of Charting a Mysterious Land* (Penguin Books: Toronto) to find that not only was Devine's map not included, his name was not even mentioned. I was similarly let-down reading Alison Vosburgh's otherwise excellent PhD thesis, a study of crown lands agents and surveyors in Canada West, as like in Shoalts, Devine's name is absent. Vosburgh's omission is particularly noteworthy given Devine was head of surveying for Canada West for many of the years Vosburgh's study examines. Vosburgh, A. 2004. *Agents of Progress: The Role of Crown Lands Agents and Surveyors in the Distribution of Crown Lands in Upper Canada, 1837-1870*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation: McMaster University; see also, Vosburgh, A. 2002. "Bending the Rules: Inspectors and Surveyors and Upper Canada's Land Policies." *Ontario History*, 94 (2): 148-164.

<sup>2</sup> Gentilcore, R.L. 1969. "Lines on the Land: Crown Surveys and Settlement in Upper Canada." *Ontario History*, 61: 57-73; Thompson, F.M.L. 1968. *Chartered Surveyors: The Growth of a Profession*. Kegan-Paul: London; Thompson, D.W. 1966. *Men and Meridians: The History of Surveying and Mapping in Canada, vol. 1: Prior to 1867*. Queen's Printer: Ottawa; Widdis, R.W. 1982. "Speculation and the Surveyor: An Analysis of the Role Played by Surveyors in the Settlement of Upper Canada." *Histoire-Sociale/Social History*, 15 (30): 443-458.

Canadian mapping practice.<sup>3</sup> Colonially, map-making factored into debates over representation by population which acquired a new fervour after the 1852 census. Despite official returns not being available until October, unofficial numbers were leaked to the press in July. *The Globe* declared a massive swing in population distribution in the Province. Even the *rouge* press struggled to swing them positively for the east, claiming only that the increase in the west was due to immigration, not superior natural fertility. Regardless, English Canadians began calling for the production of high quality maps to lure migrants to the Canadas, most of whom would invariably choose to settle in the west and swing the balance of political power decisively in their favour once representation by population passed.<sup>4</sup>

Each of the previous chapters has examined a shift in the object of governmental practice away from models of static equilibrium and towards a more fluid object: the social. The previous two chapters specifically analyzed the effect of these practices on the institutional organization of the State and the influence the emergent techniques of 'the social science' in furthering infrastructural colonization. The present chapter has two main aims. First, I examine the problem posed by social-thinking on techniques for visualizing the terrain of infrastructural colonization as social space. It is a trite observation that 'representations', even those like mapping which purport to offer a 'realist' depiction, are at least partly constructions manufacturing the object represented. Representation, aesthetics, and politics are intimately connected, particularly in map-making. Yet, attempts to contextualize aesthetic productions like Devine's maps and fieldbook should not be taken as implying a correspondence theory of representation; one where context *determines* representative forms. Instead, I view such forms as emerging out of what Marxist cultural theorists call a 'crisis of narratable experience' towards which numerous provisional solutions are offered. I view Devine's contributions, particularly his fieldbook, as one such provisional form. It was forwarded as a result of the need to represent the space of infrastructural colonization as social space; not the terrain for individual farmers, or for mineralogical efforts, or lumbermen, but for settler communities comprised of their own knowable and regular dynamics.

Second, I view Devine's contributions as aiding in the construction of what Alan Greer has called a settler colonial property formation.<sup>5</sup> In considerations of the politics of the day, Devine's fieldbook was seen as an attack of Lower Canadian survey practice and a means of deriding the authority of the French-Canadian elite. In this sense it was a continuation of an overall political project of Anglicization. Yet Devine's fieldbook also had more encompassing

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<sup>3</sup> For the letter by the head of the Ordnance Survey, see RG 7 G1, 141(8), 10 January 1857 (the original letter is dated 7 May 1855). For Cauchon's reply see RG 7 G1, 139(97), 2 June 1856. A more detailed response can be found, if so desired, in PAO, RG 1-13-2-4, 2 June 1856, Cauchon to Executive Council.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Canadien*, 21 July 1852 (*The Globe* article is reprinted therein); see also Curtis, B. 2001. *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto. The returns showed the population increased in the west by 69.25% (560,000 to 950,530) while there was but a 31% (690,772 to 904,782) increase in the east.

<sup>5</sup> Greer, A. 2017. *Property and Dispossession: Natives, Empires, and Land in Early Modern North America*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

representational effects. It expressly removed undesirable forms of tenure in land from the space of representation. This affected not only squatters, but the indigenous as well. As I argue, in the new 'split-line' fieldbook while the surveyor was to record 'legitimate' features such as settler constructions (i.e. the number of buildings, locations, etc.), and the topographical features of the area observed, 'illegitimate' features like 'squatters', the indigenous, as well as daily variations like the weather, were to be removed to the surveyor's diary. The new fieldbook effected a new political aesthetic, what Jacques Rancière calls the 'distribution of the sensible', where certain objects were seen as transcendental features of the terrain, while others were allowed only an ephemeral existence.<sup>6</sup>

The present chapter is organized as follows: First, I discuss the links between surveying and 'the social science' in the Canadas through a contextualized reading of the works of Lower Canadian Surveyor General, Joseph Bouchette. As I argue, Bouchette's published works were among the first attempts in Canada to provide a visual representation not just of topography, but of settlement space. Next, I discuss the professionalization of Canadian surveying and the various attempts to create new maps of the Canadas to serve as part of the colonization effort. Finally, I analyze the emergence of Thomas Devine's maps and fieldbook and their role in visualizing the domain of infrastructural colonization as social space. I offer a contextualized reading of Devine's contributions, linking the representational form of his maps and fieldbook to the construction of a properly settler colonial property formation.

### ***Surveying and Social Science***

Though seemingly distantly separated, surveying and social science are part of a continuous line of historical development in the Canadas. Among the first efforts to know the Canadas as a whole or singular geographic entity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were simultaneously involved in political debates over the role and place of social enquiry in guiding the initiatives of the colonial State. By the 1820s a nascent social scientific movement among the petit-bourgeois of Lower Canada was already discernable and chief among its vanguard were surveyors. Most prominent among these figures was Lower Canadian Surveyor General Joseph Bouchette whose 1815 *Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada*, was one of the earliest social scientific work published in the Canadas. As previous work by J.P. Beaud and Bruce Curtis has noted, Bouchette's work adopted a conscious inventorial form, taking stock of the resources and the state of the people of each seigneurie in Lower Canada. Each seigneurie is described in terms of its topography, the quality of its soil, its productions, the quality of its buildings (churches, houses, etc.), the character of its people, and quality of its roads. Bouchette proceeds in this way to give an account of each seigneurie in Lower Canada and many of the townships in Upper Canada. Despite its tremendous length and plodding style, the *Topographical Description* was an international success, winning the Gold Medal from the London Society for the Encouragement

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<sup>6</sup> Rancière, Jacques. 2004. *The Politics of Aesthetics*. Continuum: London. See also, Toscano, A. 2012. "Seeing it Whole: Staging Totality in Social Theory and Art." *The Sociological Review*, 60: 64-83; Toscano, A. 2014. "Materialism without Matter: Abstraction, Absence and Social Form." *Textual Practice*, 28 (7): 1221-140.

of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. It also benefitted from great longevity of influence, serving as a foundation for social scientific efforts for the next half-century, including those of at least one colonization road agent.<sup>7</sup>

From the perspective of a genealogy of the social science, Bouchette's work was part of an effort to use the techniques of disciplined social observation as a means to create an inventory which enabled efforts to know the conditions of collective life of the people, revealing regularities and enabling intervention upon them. In this it was also part of a transatlantic network of discourses loosely grouped as 'social economy'.<sup>8</sup> As Beaud notes, though his work should be seen within the paradigmatic of the larger Malthusian moment which demonstrated the inherent limitations of political economic discourse to know 'the people' (Bouchette employed the crude Malthusian logic of 'population doubling' instead of percentile increases), Bouchette's was nevertheless an effort to provide a colonial counter to the Malthusian population principle. *The Topographical Description* as well as Bouchette's later work, was part of a social economic argument intended to demonstrate the population principle's insufficiency in the Canadian context. It is almost certain Bouchette read Malthus, whose texts were available in the provincial capitals. Countering Malthus's a priori/deductive (and fatalist) method, Bouchette stressed that knowledge of such intractable regularities of the people required disciplined social observation and recording. Such techniques would be memorialized in later social science texts, including Harriet Martineau's 1838 *How to Observe Morals and Manners* which codified the inductive observational method Bouchette's work had already employed.<sup>9</sup>

In furtherance of this practice of observation, Bouchette was directly involved in the creation of the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts and Sciences in Canada, even serving as one of its first presidents in 1827 until it was merged with the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1829. Literary associations promoted the arts and sciences as means to encourage the literate classes to recognize the connection between political stability and knowledge of social collectivities, the family and the Church in particular, and the dependence of individuals upon the proper interaction and dynamic between these collectivities. Unlike later social scientific endeavours in England such as the London Statistical Society, the sort of conclusions

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<sup>7</sup> The work of the agent, Stanislas Drapeau, is discussed in the final chapter. He used Bouchette's work as a model for his own inventorial effort which sought to present the rural population of Quebec as especially fecund in accordance with Drapeau's own ultramontanist political objectives. This presentation was used to buttress a powerful argument in support of the colonization roads. It was ultimately unsuccessful.

<sup>8</sup> Procacci, G. 1991. "Social Economy and the Government of Poverty." In, G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, 151-168. Chicago University Press: Chicago; Lemke, T. 2019. *Foucault's Analysis of Modern Governmentality: A Critique of Political Reason*. Verso: New York.

<sup>9</sup> The central argument of Martineau's work is that morals are, as Durkheim would later formulate in his *Rules*, external, coercive and unobservable. Instead, the moralist (her word for sociologist which because of Comte had a slightly different meaning in her time) was to observe and record the manners of the people. The point was not to simply record different manners of various groups but to extrapolate from these to the general moral condition of the people overall. As Martineau claimed: "A traveller who should report of morals exclusively is not only no philosopher, but does not merit the name of observer." Martineau, H. 1838. *How to Observe Morals and Manners*. Harper and Brothers: New York, 187.

reached were not seen as apolitical but as a necessary component of political action.<sup>10</sup> As Bouchette claimed in his *Topographical Description*, his efforts in the work's production stemmed from his desire to "display the nature, and the productions of the country in such a manner as to point out where it is most susceptible of amelioration."

Over 700 pages in length, the *Topographical Description* was unique in its combination of inventorial description and observation/representation, and featured several important maps compiled by Bouchette and his eldest son, Joseph. At this time maps of the province were highly desirable. The Surveyor General of Upper Canada had announced in the spring of 1823 that a large scale map of that province was being produced to ensure those persons desirous of having an authentic map of Upper Canada were not "imposed upon by a surreptitious copy." The government effort was however swiftly mocked by former Upper Canadian surveyor David William Smith who claimed to be in the process of making a large scale map of the province to "prevent those persons desirous of having an authentic map of Upper Canada from being imposed upon by promises which it may take a great length of time to fulfill." Such maps were usually the products of private enterprise. The younger Bouchette had begun compiling a map of Lower Canada in 1823 but had to wait until he had enough pledges from individuals promising to buy it before he could actually begin projection; a process he expected would occupy him for one year or eighteen months.<sup>11</sup> Another of his maps was published in the second edition of *The Topographical Description* (1833) as well as his father's celebrated 1831 work, *The British Dominions in North America*.

Cartography, inventorial statistics, and social enquiry were three interrelated axes of state formation in the Canadas and map-making was a powerful adjunct to the epistemological innovations of inventorial social science. In the case of Bouchette, the accompanying maps became the backdrop for the inventorial statistics of the *Topographical Description* and came to assume the same epistemological character. The maps accompanying Bouchette's narrative were not simple descriptions of abstract space, but visualizations of settlement. Readers could view the maps and then read with ease a complete statistical account of the social and economic life of the area observed. Inventorial practice 'sees' space in a particular and unique way. In analyzing Bouchette's work it is important to note his inventorial effort (in the first edition of the *Topographical Description*) makes no attempt to place the Lower Canadian seigneuries in comparative space. As Curtis notes, no real effort is made in the way of aggregating or

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<sup>10</sup> See Abrams, P. 1968. *The Origins of British Sociology, 1834-1914*. Chicago University Press: Chicago.

<sup>11</sup> *The Scribbler*, 29 May 1823. Each quote in this paragraph comes from this issue. *The Scribbler* was a satirical paper and so its articles are not to be taken at face value. Nevertheless, as Christie and Gauvreau show, it can still be useful source for historical scholars. Christie, N. and Gauvreau, M. 2017. "Freedom of the Fassions': The Politics of the Street in Montreal and the Struggle against the British Fiscal-Military State." *Critical Historical Studies*, Spring: 75-106.

comparing the seigneuries within a more encompassing whole and thus each exists in Bouchette's work in a synchronic line of temporal continuity.<sup>12</sup>

### *Survey Act of 1849*

Whatever homologous relations the Bouchette maps made possible at the level of epistemology, surveying and map-making continued to garner the attention of political elites in the Canadas. The creation of abstract space – synchronic or comparative – was itself dependent on the existence of a political-administrative system which could ensure each surveyor was a disciplined social observer. As Alan Greer has noted, survey standards varied wildly both within and between the Canadas as practices that were supposed to be specialized and professional coexisted alongside traditional or 'vernacular' approaches. Surveyors often considered mensuration a poor substitute for estimation. Moreover, not all of the surveying work which had been done had been performed by representatives of the provincial governments. The Durham Report's Crown Lands Commission found serious issues with surveying in the provinces during the course of its 1838 investigation. In testimony to the Commission, the elder Bouchette acknowledged to Charles Buller<sup>13</sup> that the British American Land Company, whose grant of 600,000 acres had been one of the chief grievances memorialized in Papineau's Nintey-Two Resolutions, had been performing extensive surveying work outside the bounds and beyond the control of the Surveyor General's office.<sup>14</sup> This was in addition to the numerous inaccurate and incomplete township surveys originating in his office that Bouchette reported to the same Commission.<sup>15</sup> In neither section of the Canadas was there the administrative infrastructure to ensure standardized survey practice. Prior to 1840, there had been legislation regulating the examination of the Canadian surveyors (2 Will IV c. 21) but this Act had expired during the suspension of the assembly under Durham. After 1840, there was no method for ensuring the qualification of the province's surveyors.<sup>16</sup>

By the end of the decade, considerable public interest in the agricultural colonization of the province had developed. This was particularly acute in Lower Canada where the seigneuries on the St. Lawrence had experienced widespread emigration of French Canadian youth to the

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<sup>12</sup> Curtis, B. 2012. *Ruling by Schooling Quebec*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 15; Beaud, J-P. and Prevost, J-G. 1997. "La form est la fond: la structuration des appareils Statistique nationaux (1800-1945)." *Revue de Synthèse*, 118 (4): 419-456.

<sup>13</sup> Though this letter is addressed to Charles Buller, it is more than likely the actual recipient was Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Buller was the nominal head of the Crown Lands Commission as Wakefield was too politically toxic. Wakefield led the Commission in the Canadas but travelled to and within the Canadas separately from Durham's retinue. This is why Wakefield is absent from contemporary accounts of the Durham Commission's activities like Jane Ellice's diary. See, Godsell, J. 1975. *The Diary of Jane Ellice*. Oberon Press: Ottawa. Ellice's diary is also available in the Durham Papers at LAC (MG 24 A27).

<sup>14</sup> LAC MG 24 A27, v.22, 26 June 1838.

<sup>15</sup> LAC MG 24 A27, v. 23, 24 August 1838.

<sup>16</sup> LAC RG 7 C2, v. 22, 14 May 1840.

United States. French-Canadian inheritance law, a holdover from the time of New France (*la Coutume de Paris*), gave each legitimate child an equal share of their parents' property. In some cases, seigneurial holdings were subdivided between brothers and sisters leading to small plots of exhausted soil. In most cases, as Alan Greer has argued in countering standard historiographical mythology, this did not happen. The inheritor usually entered into arrangements with their siblings to compensate them for the land they would not receive. This prevented familial lots from being eternally subdivided until no more than a few acres remained. Regardless, it nevertheless generated a landless agricultural class that required new territory to settle.<sup>17</sup>

It was feared the landless young men of Quebec would settle in New England, not return, or return only considerably poorer and less virtuous. This was both a social and a political issue. The young left the province either because they could not afford land in the seigneuries or because they lacked knowledge of the fertile lands in the rear of the existing settlements. To the *rouges*, backwoods settlement had been obstructed for decades by three factors: by absentee landowners, systematic political corruption, and restrictions on settlement owing to the seigneurial system. Prominent in this effort were the efforts of the *Association des Townships* discussed in chapter three. Their position was popular in the colonial press. Lengthy articles ran in the ultramontane organ *Le Journal de Quebec*, while the moderate reform paper, *Le Canadien* published the Association's governing documents and mission statement at length. The former paper specifically linked the problems of outward migration of French youth, and threats to *canadien* culture to problems of ignorance owing to a lack of surveying. It decried the evil of knowing so little of millions of acres of good land in need of clearing. Such land should be developed and used as a repository for the surplus population of the towns and seigneuries.<sup>18</sup> Considerable pressure was put on the Baldwin-Lafontaine government to ensure the opening of the vacant lands.<sup>19</sup> In furthering the colonization effort, the *rouges* aims were simultaneously politically conservative and socially progressive. They largely shared the ultramontane position regarding the morally retarding effects of capitalist industrialization and the need for the salubrious effects of manual agricultural labour but also acknowledged the colonization effort needed to be directed by empirical knowledge produced through systematic organization.

It was in the context of furthering the colonization effort that the 1849 Survey Act was passed. Moved by then Commissioner of Crown Lands James Hervey Price, the new act (12 Vic. cap. 35) was meant to standardize survey practice. Only those surveys performed by duly accredited provincial land surveyors would be recognized as official representations of the territory and violations of this provision were punishable by a fine of ten pounds currency for each offense. The act also set the standard for what knowledge each surveyor should have of his profession. While previous acts had required surveyors be examined to test their capability, there

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<sup>17</sup> Greer, A. 1993. *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 31.

<sup>18</sup> *Le Canadien*, 14 August 1848, 16 April 1849; *Le Journal de Quebec*, 30 March 1848.

<sup>19</sup> Little, J.I. 1981. "Colonization and Municipal Reform in Canada East." *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 14 (27): 93-121.

was little emphasis on the content of that examination. The 1849 Act standardized it. Each surveyor was to be a man no less than twenty-one years of age, have apprenticed for three years under a provincially licensed surveyor, and to have undergone a licensing test before a legislatively appointed Board of Examiners. In an attempt to prevent the province's surveyors from being certified by a political appointee, the Board was to be comprised of the current Commissioner of Crown Lands, as well as six other qualified persons to be appointed by the Governor General, usually those in the senior ranks of the Crown Lands Survey branch.<sup>20</sup> Each prospective surveyor was to be tested in geometry (six books of Euclid), plain trigonometry, mensuration, plotting and map drawing, and should also be 'well-versed' in spherical trigonometry and astronomy. The Board was also empowered to discipline, suspend, or dismiss any surveyor found to be in violation of the Board's standards of practice.

Despite its formalization of the profession, the 1849 Act was not particularly effective in securing its main goals. In both sections of the Province, surveys continued to be run by those not qualified to do so and provincial administrations were often hostile to those who exposed this fact. Furthermore, those who had been certified by the Board of Examiners continued to experience difficulties in the backwoods. Instruments broke and had to be repaired in the field, often by members of the survey party who were little familiar with them. Members of survey teams quit to join lumbering enterprises. Surveyors got dysentery, dehydration, and partial blindness and either manufactured their returns or abandoned their lines. Such physical trials were compounded by the complicated social life on the land. The Survey Branch of the Crown Lands Department had no protocols for describing indigenous holdings. Squatters were treated somewhat better. But when surveyors encountered their farms, the squatters usually wanted their existing holdings simply laid out into farm lots, which complicated the job of the surveyor who was to lay out the township into lots based on a pre-established base line. Surveyors had to balance the costs and benefits to the localities in projecting a general representation of the land.<sup>21</sup> No knowledge of spherical trigonometry or astronomy could teach them to value land or how to mitigate community grievances. In the end, the Act of 1849 was successful not so much in how it configured the actual practice of surveying Canadian land, but how it created a body of professional men who were enabled to speak on its behalf. Throughout the 1850s, these efforts would be crucial to the colonization effort as the Crown Lands Department and the Bureau of Agriculture began to use survey reports and map-making as a valuable adjunct to the colonization of the province.

### ***Maps***

The creation of a professional class of surveyors became important in the early 1850s as competition for European migrants with the United States heated up. Official representations of the landscape were necessary. Of course, those who wanted maps of the Canadas could easily purchase them from private cartographers for reasonable prices (the popular 'Smith's Canadian

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<sup>20</sup> David Gibson served on the Board of Examiners during his time as superintendent of colonization roads. Andrew Russell and Thomas Devine both served during their times as head of the survey branch of Crown Lands.

<sup>21</sup> LAC MG 24 I83, 12 April 1852, Sinclair to Rolph; 18 April 1853, Sinclair to [?].

Gazetteer' with maps could be had for five shillings) but even those maps like Bouchette's which had been projected from government documents were chiefly private undertakings. By the 1850s, new technologies of lithography and photozincography had made the printing of detailed miniature maps cost-effective.<sup>22</sup> The Americans took full advantage of these new technologies by placing emigration agents across the European continent and arming them with high quality maps in order to solicit their own migrants while deterring others from moving to the Canadas. In the summer of 1853, the Reform ministry was growing concerned the American consul at New Brunswick was gathering the most expensive maps of the Canadas he could obtain. Reformers claimed it was only reasonable that given the Annexationist movement in the Canadas the Americans 'had designs upon Canada.' It was necessary, argued then Minister of Agriculture Malcolm Cameron, for the provincial administration to begin the production of maps to send to emigration agents in Europe. To Cameron, new high quality maps could be purchased for an initial cost of sixty or seventy pounds with lithographic reproduction adding only moderately to the expense. These maps were badly needed to counter the American agents in Europe who placed high quality maps of the States in the hands of emigrants and gave them poor quality depictions of the Canadas, showing its topography accurately but erasing all the towns and cities from its surface. The only 'Canadian' city on such maps was Detroit.<sup>23</sup>

Throughout the 1850s the Bureau of Agriculture took full advantage of lithographic technology. Under the day-to-day leadership of its secretary William Hutton, the Bureau essentially became an advertising agency; inserting maps into its various publications and sending them abroad to lure migrants.<sup>24</sup> While some of the Bureau's maps were provincial, many were simply maps of individual colonization roads produced by local surveyors and even by amateurs who did so for their own edification. Hutton made it a conscious practice to gather such maps whenever and from whomever he could; aware of the social value of maps and their use in fostering relations between settlers and their families abroad. He sent his mother a small copy of the geological map from the 1855 Paris Exhibition as well as a draft copy of a new map being prepared by the Crown Lands Department, claiming a good map was a "great treasure to enable us to trace the movements of friends and relations."<sup>25</sup> For a government that sought to facilitate emigration by encouraging familial relations to follow each other to the Canadas, detailed maps

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<sup>22</sup> Thomas Devine attempted to acquire two lithographic presses for his office. At a cost of about \$460 for the presses and an additional cost of \$75 per annum for two good engravers to run it, Devine felt he could produce lithographic copies of government maps for \$5 per hundred or about five cents each. The request was denied. JLAC 1860 – Appendix 4 – *Report of the Select Committee on Emigration*, Thomas Devine testimony, 17 April 1860.

<sup>23</sup> For the ad for Smith's Gazetteer see *Quebec Mercury*, 12 November 1850. For a list of other private maps for sale see, *Montreal Herald*, 30 May 1851. For reports on the American consul, see *Morning Chronicle*, 15 August 1853. For Cameron's discussion in Parliament on the American emigration agents, see *Montreal Herald*, 3 May 1853.

<sup>24</sup> For references made by the Bureau to the maps of the Province for advertising purposes, see: LAC RG 17 A.I.2, v. 1492, 29 August 1857, Hutton to Shaw; 12 October 1857, Hutton to Fisher; 24 December 1857, Hutton to Butler; 27 February 1858, Hutton to Wilson; 22 June 1858, Hutton to Andrew Russell; 10 July 1858, Hutton to Christie; RG 17 A.I.2, v. 1493; 14 January 1861, Hutton to Hope; 22 January 1862, Evelyn Campbell to Gibson. There are numerous other examples which could be given.

<sup>25</sup> LAC MG 40, R55, 29 March 1856, Hutton to his mother.

were invaluable. Even though much of present day Ontario remained unsurveyed, these blank spots on the map were themselves objects of libidinal investment; sources of opportunity for the willing settler. In this sense, the maps of the province did not merely show the territory of the province as it was but the promise of development to come. Migrants were not meant to look at the map of the Canadas and see the territory for what it was, but for what it would be.

To this end, the newest maps of the Canadas were usually put on display at the Industrial Exhibitions in Paris (1855), London (1862), and Dublin (1865). Chief among them was Logan's geological survey map, the result of fifteen years spent surveying the entirety of the Canadas. Up to the point of the Paris Exhibition, Logan's was the most detailed picture of the province yet produced, covering the entirety of the Canadas' mineralogical resources from the Gaspé to the north shore of Lake Huron. Showing the considerable mineralogical resources of the province was not merely a representational effort; his depiction was overdetermined as it were by their political context since the map was intended to present a vision of the Canadas as a potentially formidable economic power. As much was admitted by Canada's commissioner to the Exhibition, who, in his report on the Exhibition titled *A Sketch of Canada, its Industrial Condition and Resources*, argued that the considerable economic potential depicted in Logan's map, combined with the Canadas' sparse population, offered a fertile field for European labourers. In the end, Logan's map would go on to win the Exhibition's Grand Medal of Honour. The Canadas, which had entered the Exhibition with the hope of advertising the province to the enterprising surplus populations of Europe, found map-making to be a promising branch of the colonization effort.<sup>26</sup>

Yet for all its international acclaim, Logan's map suffered from a key flaw: it was a mineralogical, not a settlement map. Colonization was a political project that attempted to wed populations to agricultural spaces. For this, new maps were required. After the Paris Exhibition, considerable resources were devoted to the production of maps which would show the 'big picture' of Canadian social development. It is in no small sense poetic that such representational practice was accomplished by literally producing 'big pictures'. By the end of the summer of 1858, two new maps of the Canadas hung in the Crown Lands Department. These maps, commissioned in 1854 but given extra funding after the success at Paris, were the product of Oliver Wells, surveyor in charge of the St. Maurice Territory in the Eastern Townships. Wells's was an enormous undertaking. His final productions showed all the surveyed townships in the province as well as the location of the major cities and towns. Railroads were depicted as well as the major thoroughfares and other major topographical features. Wells's first map, made on a scale of two miles to the inch, was sixty-nine feet long by thirteen feet wide. The second was a more manageable twelve by five feet at a scale of twelve miles to the inch. Wells finished his maps in 1858, a full four years after his commission and at a total cost of around \$11,000.<sup>27</sup>

As Curtis notes, the maps Wells produced were testimony to the existence of a major state formation project underway. It was becoming not simply possible but also increasingly

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<sup>26</sup> See Taché, J-C. 1855. *A Sketch of Canada, its Industrial Condition and Resources*.

<sup>27</sup> LAC RG 1 E8, v.66, 22 June 1858.

desirable from a governmental perspective to envision the Canadas on a totalized scale which showed the major geographic, mineralogical, *and* social features of the territory. More broadly, the production of such large-scale maps facilitated efforts at political subjectification: high quality representations of the Province on such a scale fostered the development of individual subjective identifications with lands and territories they would most likely never experience firsthand. These representations thus served to bolster the political sovereignty of the administration which produced them.<sup>28</sup> By producing a legitimate view of the Canadas, Wells's maps were a manifestation of the 'moral dimension of state activity'; the imposition of common forms of representation and thereby channel the ethical self-identification of subjects within the frame of political-territorial divisions over which administrative power is exercised.<sup>29</sup>

Yet for all their splendour, Wells's maps were not intended to serve as a settlement maps but originated out of a felt need for maps of all the timber territories in the province.<sup>30</sup> In the mid-1850s, the colonization effort was still piggybacking on existing administrative infrastructures and extensive maps of timber limits were kept in the Woods and Forests Branch of the Crown Lands Department. However, these did not provide a useful view of agricultural settlement spaces. The lack of a way of representing settlement spaces had hampered the colonization effort in the late 1850s to such a degree that chief among the recommendations of the 1859 Select Committee on Emigration was the production of a new 'Emigrant's Map of Canada' which would show not simply the timber limits but the settled, partly settled, and wholly unsettled portions of the country.<sup>31</sup> It fell to Thomas Devine, head of the Survey Branch of the Crown Lands Department for Canada West to produce a settlement map that would adequately show all the available lands in the Province.

### *Devine's Wisdom*

Devine was not the obvious choice to head the Survey Branch. Though he was by all accounts well-trained, having learned his craft on the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain, he was woefully inexperienced in backwoods surveying and seemingly several years out of practice in the craft by the late-1850s. Devine likely arrived in Canada in 1839 but was not appointed to the Survey Branch until July 1846.<sup>32</sup> It was not until the following winter that he performed his only

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<sup>28</sup> Curtis, *Population*, 191. See also, Gilstrap, S. 2013. "Charting Culture: Cartography and National Identity in Matthew Arnold's 'Ordnance Maps'." *Victorian Review*, 39 (1); for more on the subjectifying effects of colonial representations see Jameson, F. 2007. "Modernism and Imperialism". In, *The Modernist Papers*. Verso: New York.

<sup>29</sup> Durkheim, E. 1957. *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*. Palgrave: New York; Corrigan, P. and Sayer, D. 1985. *The Great Arch: State formation as Cultural Revolution*. Blackwell: London; Bourdieu, P. 2014. *On the State: Lectures at the College de France*. Verso: New York.

<sup>30</sup> LAC RG 1 E8, v. 66, 22 June 1858.

<sup>31</sup> JLAC 1863 – Appendix 3 – *Second Report of the Select Committee on Emigration and Colonization*. The introduction to this report contains a detailed accounting of the recommendations of each committee since 1859. The 1859 entry is quite sparse and refers only to the need for new maps.

<sup>32</sup> PAO RG 1-3-2, v. 49, 3 September 1852.

field survey; an account of the York branch of the Madawaska River<sup>33</sup> which he never completed.<sup>34</sup> After that survey, he took up the position of draftsman in the Department's central office. From there Devine seems to have had a productive if unremarkable career as a senior draftsman<sup>35</sup>. He must have been highly respected because in 1852 he was given the task of mapping timber limits near Kamouraska in Lower Canada. His work would resolve a dispute with New Brunswick as to who had rights to what timber. It is unknown why that task fell to Devine since by rights it should have been handled by the head of the Survey Branch for Lower Canada, the younger Joseph Bouchette.<sup>36</sup>

Devine began his map-making activities in 1856 at least in part by his having been inspired by the press coverage of the Paris Exhibition and the popularity of the Logan map. His first map was of the North West Part of Upper Canada as well as the First Nations lands and the holdings of the Hudson Bay Company (Figure 1). An amateur effort, this compilation was produced largely on Devine's own time during the evenings after the close of the Crown Lands Department. Despite its 'unofficial' status, this map became widely celebrated and was included in the appendix to Joseph Cauchon's celebrated Report on the Crown Lands for 1856. Mention of it was also included in the third edition of Francois-Xavier Garneau's *Histoire du Canada* though authorship of the map was mistakenly attributed to a French-Canadian surveyor.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> The survey return can be found at PAO RG 1 CB-1, Box 40. This occupied Devine from 29 January until 11 April, 1847. The work is notable chiefly for being an early example, in fact likely the first, of the use of the split-line method of fieldbook which would become the departmental standard in 1859.

<sup>34</sup> PAO RG 1-3-2, 23 April 1847, Bouthillier to Devine. By the records contained in RG 1 CB-1, Devine ended his survey on the 11<sup>th</sup> of April. This letter is advising Devine that he is to "hold himself in readiness to complete the survey of the York River as soon as it is frozen over next winter." If Devine did in fact return to the work, no record of it survives. It is also interesting that Devine's recorded observations are not entirely based upon his own personal reconnaissance of the terrain. He mentions in his final report that his account of the trees which grew on the land and the quality of the soil was based on information provided to him by lumbermen in the area. Nevertheless, he seems to have earned the tidy sum of £100 for what work he did perform. See PAO RG 1 CB-1, Box 40, 27 April 1847, Devine to D.B. Papineau.

<sup>35</sup> Records of Devine's correspondence with field surveyors can be found at Archives Ontario, RG 1-3-2, v. 49, "Outgoing Correspondence from the Surveyor General's Office."

<sup>36</sup> *The Quebec Mercury*, 16 November 1852. Devine found Bouchette totally incompetent and fumed that his salary was £400 less per year than his Lower Canadian counterpart.

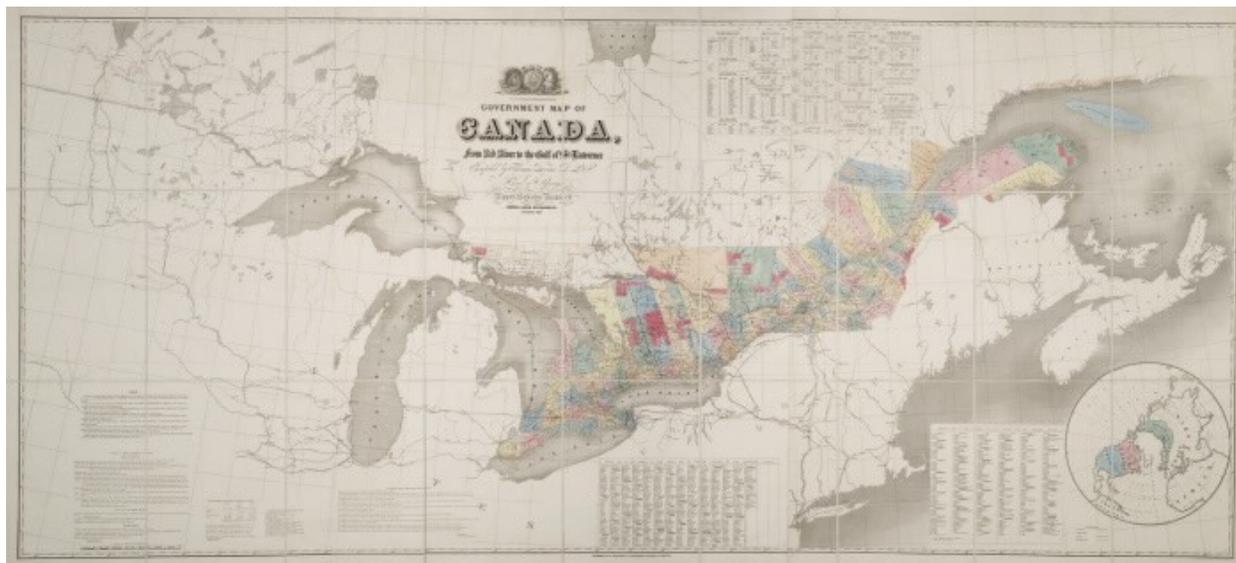
<sup>37</sup> Devine took umbrage at the misattribution and penned an open letter to Garneau in *Le Journal de Quebec* on 17 September 1859. For a genealogy of the social science, Garneau is an important figure. As Robert Leroux has argued, Garneau's project, much like the fiction writings of P-J-O. Chauveau and Antoine Gérin-Lajoie discussed in chapter three, was an attempt at creating a sort of national memory for French-Canadians which would provide them with a unique collective identity. Garneau's histories provided a way for the French to define themselves and therefore articulate the French population in accordance with features and relations peculiar to them as a collective. It should not be surprising then, that Garneau attributed authorship of the map to a French surveyor despite Devine's name being printed on it. See Leroux, Robert. 2001. "'La Nation' and the Quebec Sociological Tradition." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 26 (3): 349-373.

**Figure 5.1.** Devine's Map of the North-West

Though Devine's map was celebrated for its breadth and clarity of representation, it was not particularly useful from a settlement perspective in the Canadas. Its publication did little to quiet the voices that claimed the Crown Lands Department was doing little to nothing to aid in the colonization effort. For this, Devine was set to work producing another map, to be completed on a scale of thirty miles to the inch and to be no more than five feet six inches long by two feet six inches wide. Officially titled *The Government Map of Canada from the Red River to the Gulf of St. Lawrence*, though usually referred to as the 'Government Map', it was published late in 1859 to great acclaim (see Figure 2). The government actively sought to promote this map and gave sneak peaks of the work in progress to various newspapers as early as the summer of 1858.<sup>38</sup> *The Montreal Herald* was highly complimentary no doubt in part because it saw the potential offered for increasing English emigration during a time fraught with debate over representation by population. Yet certain French papers covered its publication as well and were no less flattering. *Le Journal de Quebec* praised its composition claiming "elle est très belle, et parfait pour l'objet auquel elle est destinée". It was particularly useful because "L'on y voit distinctement les terres destinées à la colonisation et les chemins qui y conduisent."<sup>39</sup> Unlike the previous efforts of the Crown Lands Department, the Government Map was first and foremost a settlement map. From it observers could see all the post-offices in both sections of the province as well their position. It depicted all the counties, townships and parishes, the railroads in operation as well as the location of their stations and also the distances between them in miles. Most importantly, as *Le Journal* noted, it depicted all the common and colonization roads in both sections of the province while also representing the newly surveyed townships these routes opened in both sections of the province, from Lake Huron to the Gaspé.

<sup>38</sup> *Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, 14 July 1858.

<sup>39</sup> *Le Journal de Quebec*, 3 March 1860.

**Figure 5.2.** Devine's 1859 'Government Map'

The Government Map was expressly concerned with enticing settlers and, in many versions of it, Devine published an accompanying booklet which contained extracts from the surveyors' field diary.<sup>40</sup> In a way similar to Bouchette's *Topographical Description*, this enabled any literate reader to identify a spot on the map and then read the description of it provided by its surveyor. A settler interested in locating along the Opeongo Road might read of the Townships of Jones and Lyell that from the surveyor's "own observations, and also information obtained from reliable men who have explored through the township from Bark Lake to the Hastings road line, [he was] of opinion that a good road available for settlement can be made through the township of Lyell to the Hastings line by locating it about two miles south of the line of the proposed road." Or they could learn that a "portion of such a road, connecting it with the Opeongo Road through the township of Jones, would be unfit for settlement."<sup>41</sup>

But the true innovation of Devine's Government Map was less his representation of the Canadas, than it was the fact that Devine had created a living map<sup>42</sup>; one that would change year to year and gradually expand and encompass new terrain. From 1859 through the mid-1860s the bulk of the surveying activity in Upper Canada was being undertaken in the Ottawa-Huron Tract

<sup>40</sup> This section relies heavily on Walsh, J.C. 2011. "Upper Canada and the Mapping of Settler Space." Unpublished paper presented to the 2011 Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association. Cited with permission. Versions of the Devine map with a curated collection of extracts were published in throughout the 1860s. See Devine, T. 1867. *Remarks on Upper Canada Surveys and Extracts from the Surveyor's Reports*. Ottawa: Hunter, Rose and Co.

<sup>41</sup> Devine, *Extracts*, 25.

<sup>42</sup> The term 'living map' comes from Walsh's discussion of the Devine Map but he does not develop the concept. Walsh, *Mapping Settler Space*, 5.

and the blank spots on previous editions of the map were gradually filled in. To Devine, a useful settlement map had to depict *actual* settlement, which invariably changed the territory represented. On these grounds Devine rejected a proposed military map of the Province claiming, "No map of Canada however accurately constructed can be relied upon for any great length of time owing to the rapid changes which take place year to year in the feature of the country caused by the settlement of the wild lands."<sup>43</sup> From Devine's maps, it could be seen which roads were macadamized, sand or mud roads and what portions thereof were capable of bearing heavy trains or wagons. Such features changed yearly. Devine had created a living map suitable for depicting the new social spaces which had opened up and the new avenues for emigration that needed visualizing.

### ***Fieldbook Forms***

Although the Government Map received widespread praise in both sections of the Province, Devine's most consequential innovation during his time as head of the Survey Branch did not escape notice either. In 1857, Devine proposed a new form of fieldbook – the 'split line' method (see Figure 3) - for surveyors working in Upper Canada which considerably simplified the final survey reports while also making the character of the lands intelligible to all, even those without knowledge of survey practice or close personal connection to the land.<sup>44</sup> After some delay, it was finally accepted as the Department standard on 2 April 1859. The Crown Lands Department had copies of both the new and old fieldbooks sent to various papers which thanked them with favourable coverage. The *Morning Chronicle* praised the simplicity of the new design and although the editors made no pretension to having a scientific understanding of survey practice, felt it was a considerable improvement on the old form.<sup>45</sup> The *Toronto Leader* praised the simplicity of the new book. *Le Journal de Quebec* was highly complimentary and even ran two pictures of the new fieldbook on the front page above the fold.<sup>46</sup> Most papers covering the new design agreed that Devine's fieldbook would impose a much needed change on the previous practice.

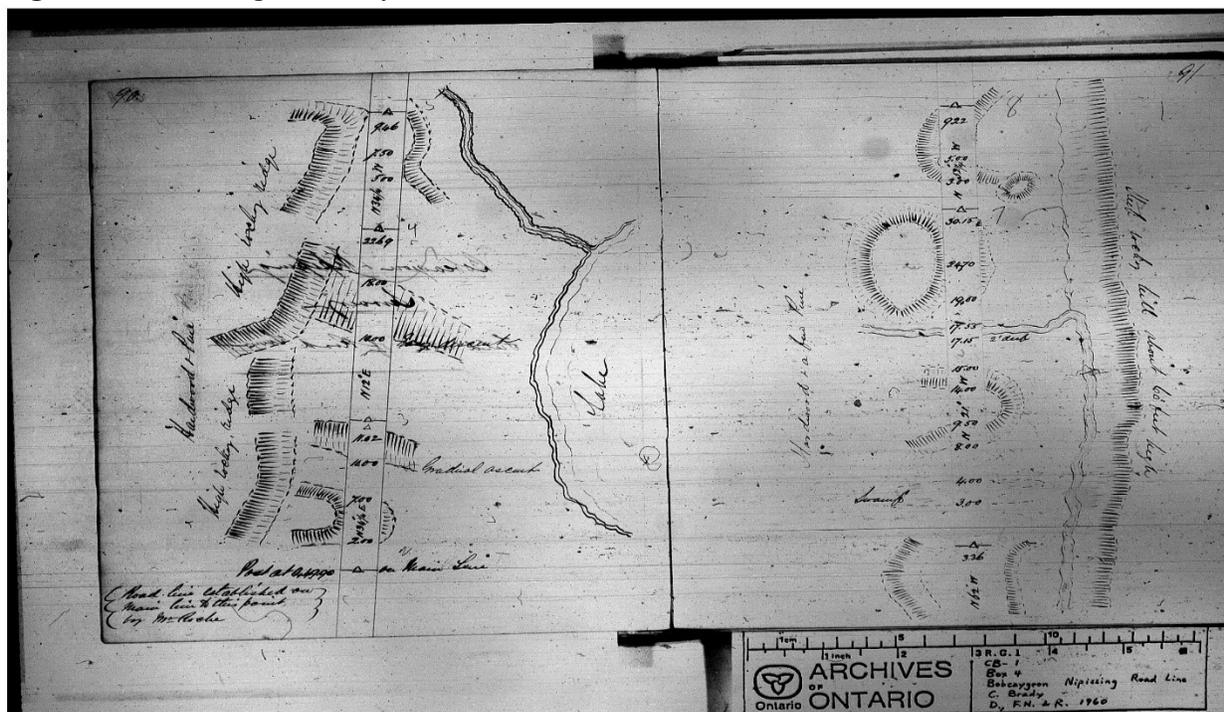
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<sup>43</sup> PAO, RG 1-61-0-24, 13 December 1866, Devine to Campbell. See Devine's surviving correspondence at LAC, MG 29 B15, v.17, 5 February 1873, Devine to Bell. Devine's fond is very small, in part because he was in the habit of regularly burning his correspondence, 21 February 1873, Devine to Bell.

<sup>44</sup> While the Crown Lands Department was under the control of a single Commissioner, various branches of it were administered by autonomous departments in the two sections of the Province. Devine was the head of Canada West surveying, while Joseph Bouchette was in charge for Canada East. There is no reason the head of one branch could not institute reforms proposed by the other, but there is equally no reason they would do this automatically. For reasons discussed below, for the time, the split-line method was used only in Canada West.

<sup>45</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 22 July 1859. The *Toronto Leader* piece was reprinted in its entirety in the *Chronicle* article.

<sup>46</sup> *Le Journal de Quebec*, 25 February 1860.

Figure 5.3.<sup>47</sup> The 'Split-Line' fieldbook

Other papers were somewhat less flattering. While *Le Journal* claimed the design as one of Devine's own invention, the split-line fieldbook was actually an adaptation of a design already widely used on the British Ordnance Survey where Devine received his early training.<sup>48</sup> Both the *Toronto Leader* and Montreal's *Morning Chronicle* identified the form as originating in England. To some extent, Devine seems to have acknowledged its provenance. He had copies sent for approval to William James of the Ordnance Survey who in return sanctioned its use and gave Devine twenty volumes of the Ordnance Maps of England, Ireland and Scotland for his records. Whatever its origins, the split-line method was instantly approved not only by significant segments of the colonial press, but also the Province's Board of Examiners in charge of qualifying provincial surveyors. David Gibson, at the time both Superintendent of the Colonization Roads and one of the province's examiners gave the Board's approval unequivocally, calling it a real improvement upon the old system.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> PAO RG 1 CB1, Box 4, Survey of the Bobcaygeon-Nipissing Road Line.

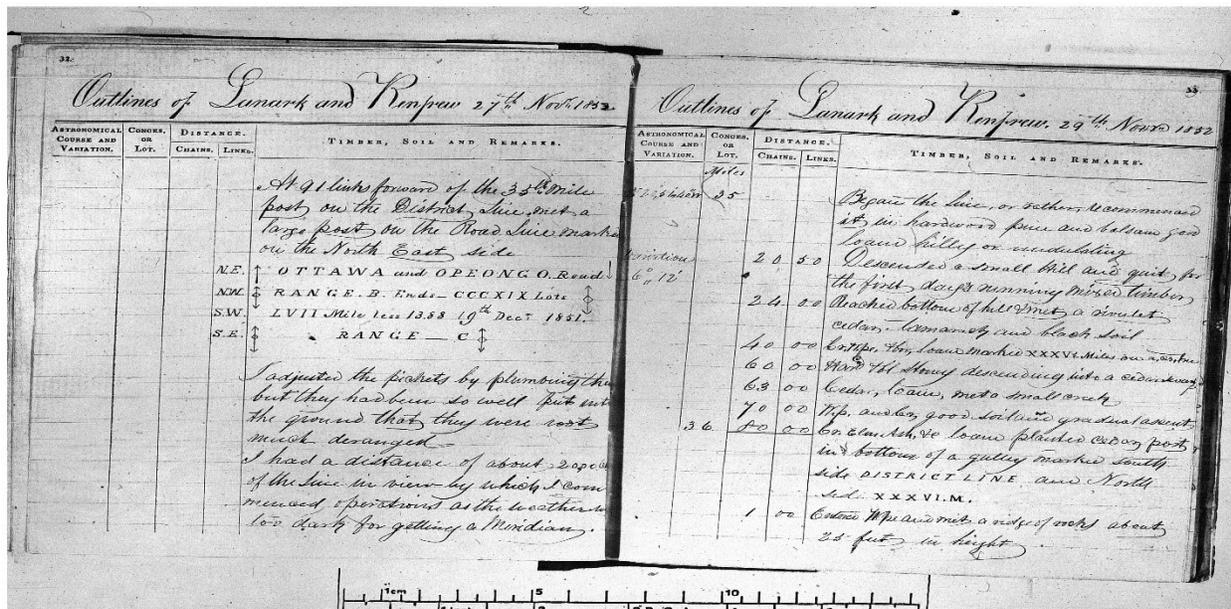
<sup>48</sup> *The Morning Chronicle*, 22 July 1859; 1 November 1860; *Toronto Leader*, 20 July 1859. For more on the Ordnance Survey and its megalomaniacal head, see Hewitt, Rachel. 2010. *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey*. Granta Press: London. Devine's only field survey in the Canadas appears to use a primitive version of the split line method already in 1847; a full ten years before he first proposed its adoption by the Department and a full twelve years before its approval. PAO RG 1 CB-1, Box 40.

<sup>49</sup> *Le Journal de Quebec*, 25 February 1860. The Board can hardly be said to have been impartial in this matter though since Devine himself was a member. He replaced Andrew Russell when the latter was promoted to Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands in 1857. For the notice of Devine's appointment to the Board, see PAO RG 1-13-2-4, Crown Lands Department General Report Book, 1856-57.

'Tell Me Everything'

The principal innovation of Devine's field-book was its pictographic form. Whereas the old form (see Figure 4) had been styled after an accounting ledger and provided entirely written depictions, the new fieldbook provided a representative account of the territory from a 'God's eye view' that provided an instantly holistic account of much larger swaths of land. The old form of fieldbook simply recorded the distances measured in Gunter's chains and the surveyor noted what they saw in the corresponding space in the ledger. Depending on the precociousness of the surveyor, this could result in fieldbooks of unwieldy length. The return for Duncan Sinclair's survey of the counties of Lanark and Renfrew near the Opeongo line (from which Figure 4 is taken) ended up filling 170 pages even though he was, he claimed, restricted by the amount of space provided for him to record his observations.<sup>50</sup> The split-line, by contrast, put the chain measures in the middle of the page and had the surveyor depict the land pictorially giving a more 'realist' accounting of the terrain. As a result less time was needed for producing returns and considerable savings were achieved while simultaneously providing a clearer picture of the land.

Figure 5.4. The 'old form' fieldbook.



The savings provided were key in the positive reception of the method as hundreds of column inches were taken up in the colonial press detailing the 'jobbery' occurring daily in the Crown Lands Department. English papers seized on Devine's innovation particularly firmly as a way to challenge the position of the Canada East head of surveys, Joseph Bouchette. By the 1850s, the younger Bouchette was suffering both from allegations of corruption and from the reputation of his family. His youngest brother, Robert-Shore-Milnes Bouchette, broke with his

<sup>50</sup> Like so much of the archival material for this thesis, the records of this survey are split between LAC in Ottawa and PAO in Toronto. For Sinclair's fieldbook, see PAO RG 1 CB-1, Box 5, Sinclair Field Notes, 1853. For Sinclair's correspondence with the Crown Lands Department regarding it as well as his complaint about the fieldbook given to him, see LAC MG 24 I83, 10 May 1853, Sinclair to Russell.

family's generally conservative, loyalist attitude and became an ardent *patriote* who took up arms in the Rebellions. He was one of eight men Lord Durham banished to Bermuda.<sup>51</sup> But Bouchette was also dogged by accusations of his own including patronage and corruption. *Le Journal de Quebec* charged him with awarding a survey contract on the eastern shores of the Ottawa River to his brother, a Mgr. C. Bouchette (but who was more likely a cousin<sup>52</sup>) and then of overpaying him to the tune of nearly £1500. To the editors of the province's English papers, Devine's methods would help to prevent such corruption. The surveyor's work would require no expertise to decipher, in fact, it was so simple to see what the surveyor was doing that even a child could understand it.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, to the English press (and select French papers<sup>54</sup>) the new fieldbook showed not only the land, but also the lack of scientific progress men like the Bouchettes had made. The *Morning Chronicle* and *Toronto Leader* noted how little progress had been made in the fifty years previous to Devine's time at Crown Lands.<sup>55</sup> In such accounts it was the old form of fieldbook – which had changed little since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century - that was partly to blame for the bad reputation of Canadian surveyors.

But what was the specific innovation of the fieldbook? Devine was clear that the change in depicting the land needed to be accompanied by changes in the information recorded. Whereas the previous surveys had left what to record largely up to the whims of the individual surveyor (with certain exceptions), the split-line fieldbook was to be systematic so the purchasers of lands could see at a glance “all the features of the land he wished to purchase.”<sup>56</sup> The colonial press was thrilled with the detail given. As the *Leader* advertised, the surveyor's depictions were to include: the kind and description of timber, rivers, creeks, ponds, marshes, hills, the character of the soil, the natural features given lot by lot in every township. In cases of backwoods re-survey or in accounts of settlers already on the land, surveyors recorded the number of buildings erected, whether there was a post-office and where it was, how many stores and what they sold, the type and number of mills, blacksmiths, etc. Finally surveyors were basically to record “every

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<sup>51</sup> Tessier, Yves. “Robert-Shore-Milnes Bouchette”, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. See also, Henderson, J. 2013. “Banishment to Bermuda: Gender, Race, Empire, Independence, and the Struggle to Abolish Irresponsible Government in Lower Canada.” *Histoire-Sociale/Social History*, 46 (92): 321-348.

<sup>52</sup> *Le Journal*, 27 August 1857. Joseph Bouchette (1774-1841) and his wife Adelaide Chaboillez (1781-1847) had six children, two daughters and four sons, five of whom survived infancy: Marguerite-Adelaide Bouchette (d. 1803), Joseph Bouchette (1800-1881), Samuel Louis Bouchette (d. 1873), Lt. Jean-Francois Bouchette, Robert-Shore-Milnes Bouchette (1805-1879) and Louisa Bouchette. I do not know to whom *Le Journal* could be referring as Mgr. C. Bouchette.

<sup>53</sup> *Le Journal*, 25 February 1860.

<sup>54</sup> *Le Journal* of 25 February 1860 claimed to have in their possession three fieldbooks, one from 1793, one from 1858, and a split-line fieldbook from 1859. The comparison of the three was held to show no scientific progress in surveyor practice over the sixty-five years between 1793 and 1858.

<sup>55</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 22 July 1859.

<sup>56</sup> *Toronto Leader*, 20 July 1859.

remarkable object” whether natural or man-made.<sup>57</sup> In this way, the split-line fieldbook has to be seen as a calculative device in no insignificant way and ‘territory’, understood as the basis of settlement space, was being produced less as a natural entity and more as a statistical or representational artefact which could be configured in various ways. As an artefact, the result of the surveyor’s inventories, the provincial backwoods were configured by tying human and natural resources to the abstract spaces of the township survey. Through the reconnaissance of the surveyors, it would be possible to note the number of schools, churches, post-offices, stores, barns, houses, per township and make comparisons to other sections of the province. It would be possible to chart the number of people in each township so as to produce a ratio of persons to resources. It would also be possible to do this year over year to see the progress of colonization as a whole on a supra-individual timescale. Such an endeavour was seen as crucial to the success of the roads program. Colonization was to work by the tying of political subjects to predetermined virtual spaces within the domain of political sovereignty. The townships with their qualities could be depicted and configured in such a way as to be politically useful for infrastructural colonization.<sup>58</sup>

Clearly, at the time of its adoption by the Crown Lands Department in the spring of 1859, the split-line fieldbook was being widely praised. Yet this fieldbook was important in another sense which largely escaped notice and which had little to do with the change in its presentation of the land. The pictorial representation of the land meant there was a displacement of some of the information which had been in the old form of notebook. Some of this would be seen as largely unimportant. For instance, a common note was whether or not and on what days it rained or snowed. What types of animals did they see? How did they behave? What did the surveyor feel about what they saw? To whom did they speak? It was common on mid-century survey returns for the surveyor to include some narrative of their work. Though literary flair was not common, neither was it unusual for surveyors to be gifted in rhetoric and persuasion and to employ these skills in their reports. James W. Bridgland’s survey of the Muskoka road featured such expository flair. Bridgland honed these skills while working as a draughtsman under Devine at the Crown Lands office in Quebec, when he became a member of a prominent Wesleyan Methodist Biblical and Literary Association. With the new form of fieldbook, the potential for such literary flair was removed from the fieldbook altogether.

The new form of fieldbook denigrated such personal characteristics and constructed the topography of the Province in line with an economy of sameness and difference. Each surveyors’ observations were to be fundamentally the same no matter what their expository flair. This is not to say there was no place for it in the larger survey return, which included the fieldbook, survey diary, squatter log, and map, but it did create a classificatory principle and a hierarchy within the return which structured its interpretation in terms of a general ordering principle,

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<sup>57</sup> Devine, *Extracts*.

<sup>58</sup> For more on territory and the politics of calculation which render it an artefact of human practice, see Elden, Stuart. 2013. “How Should We Do the History of Territory?” *Territory, Politics, and Governance* 1 (1): 5-20.

offering a particular 'distribution of the sensible'<sup>59</sup> more favourable to calculation and generalization. The production of the Tract as an artefact, as abstract political space and the foundation for communities of political subjects, was effected by separating the elements of the survey which were connected to the individual surveyor and which could be said to be transcendental or 'timeless' aspects of the terrain. The surveyor's narrative, his personal observations and his opinions were to be systematically rooted out of the fieldbook which was now to be the official representation of the territory. Such information was still recorded, but it was entirely confined to the survey diary. The split between the two components of the return formed the basis of a transcendental vision of the land and the marginalization of the surveyor's perspective is clear enough from the aesthetic form of the new fieldbook. The replacement of a written narrative (Figure 4) for the God's eye, aperspectival depiction rendered by the new fieldbook (Figure 3), can be seen as an aesthetic response to the more encompassing problem of how to effect a transcendental vision of political space on the basis of empirical observations.<sup>60</sup> The split-line became a tentative solution to this general problem by marginalizing the surveyor's perspective at the same time as it became, in altered form, the basis for official representations.

The official or legitimate elements of the Tract are best shown by acknowledging what elements were to be removed from the Tract's official geography. In other words, what blind spots were introduced into the surveyor's perspective under the new survey return?<sup>61</sup> For one, surveyors were no longer to record the presence of squatters on their maps. Devine's instructions to field surveyors was that they should "ascertain the names of the squatters on the lands you survey and the position, extent and value of their improvements." It was important to know who was on what land and what improvements they might have made to the terrain. However, this information was "to be transmitted apart from the fieldbook." While squatters would undoubtedly be present and known to astute surveyors, they were not to be a part of the official representation of the land.<sup>62</sup> The Tract was to be comprised of forms of legitimate land tenure and qualities that were 'official' while its representation was to be rid of transitory or ephemeral elements like squatters and First Nations.

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<sup>59</sup> Rancière, J. 2004. *The Politics of Aesthetics*. Continuum, UK: London.

<sup>60</sup> This becomes less of a problem when trigonometric forms of projecting survey lines onto territory become possible. As Mitchell shows in his *Rule of Experts*, such methods allowed for the map to become the basis of political calculation and performed a complete end run around of the need for individual observation. Mitchell, T. 2002. *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

<sup>61</sup> For more on this approach, see Paglen, T. 2010. *Blank Spots on the Map: The Dark Geography of the Pentagon's Secret World*. New American Library: New York; See also, Buck-Morss, S. 1995. "Envisioning Capital: Political Economy on Display." *Critical Inquiry*, 21 (2); Toscano, A. and Kinkle, J. 2015. *Cartographies of the Absolute*. Zero Books: Winchester, UK; Jameson, F. 2016. "War and Representation". In, *Antinomies of Realism*. Verso: New York.

<sup>62</sup> Devine, *Remarks*, 3.

To surveyors in Canada East, the remarkableness of Devine's innovation appeared considerably overblown. Moreover, the suggestion that French-Canadian surveyors, specifically Bouchette, were ignorant for not having officially adopted it was insulting. Just days after *Le Journal de Quebec* ran its story praising the new fieldbook, letters to the editor began coming in from surveyors who resented the implication that not having adopted a new form of filing their notes meant the French had advanced little in scientific terms.<sup>63</sup> Was the public supposed to be so naïve as to believe a change in the form of the representation of the Crown Lands would necessarily lead to an accompanying change in actual survey practice? To French-Canadian surveyors, who nevertheless appreciated the importation of the split-line Ordnance survey method, it was difficult to see why the press was so enamoured with Devine. Of course, there were reasons to be hopeful such a change in the fieldbook would lead to necessary changes in practice. By the account of one surveyor identifying himself only as 'G.V' there were numerous surveyors who engaged in practices that were inconceivably negligent. This was the result of sons having taken up the trades of their fathers who passed on their ignorance.<sup>64</sup> Was it therefore fair to blame Bouchette for hesitating to adopt the method without addressing the underlying problems of surveyor training? Adopting a new form of representing lands without addressing such underlying issues was sure to contribute to, rather than remedy, the problems of surveying. Part of the issue was environmental as well. Surveyors were granted unusual autonomy in their works by virtue of their duties being conducted in the backwoods far from colonial centres. The allure of the backwoods and the autonomy it provided overcame the better angels of many surveyors who were enticed to shirk their duties in favour of finishing the works early.<sup>65</sup>

### *Seeing without Knowing*

Whatever the significance of Devine's innovation<sup>66</sup> and irrespective of whether or not it was successful in changing actual survey practice the new method is important for the broader shift in colonial governmentality it marks. Above all, Devine's fieldbook was a way of presenting the Tract so as to conceive of its geography in terms of an essential sameness. It 'invested' the representation of the Province with a governmental and administrative form which presented it as a field of social and political development. The idea of investment in forms is deceptively simple. Broadly, it refers to the manner by which social relations are represented in such a way as to allow desirable aspects of them to be communicated. Investment has three distinct meanings. First, there is the economic sense. Investment involves expending resources

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<sup>63</sup> *Le Journal de Quebec*, 28 February 1860.

<sup>64</sup> *Le Journal de Quebec*, 1 March 1860.

<sup>65</sup> Then Chief Superintendent of Colonization Roads J.W. Bridgland identified this as a troublesome issue. PAO, RG 52-15-6a, 22 August 1861, Bridgland to Vankoughnet.

<sup>66</sup> The split-line fieldbook became the basis for surveying efforts in the prairies and is still in use to a limited degree today. See, Larmour, Judy. 2005. *Laying Down the Lines: A History of Land Surveying in Alberta*. Brindle and Glass Publishing: Toronto. See also, Lambert, Richard, and Paul Pross. 1967. *Renewing Nature's Wealth: A Centennial History of the Public Management of Lands, Forests, and Wildlife in Ontario, 1763-1967*. Ontario Department of Lands and Forests: Toronto.

towards certain kinds of bureaucratic development including the creation of standardized representational forms, codes of conduct, standards of practice, etc. Second, investment refers to the violence of 'laying hold of' or 'seizing' as an army invests enemy terrain. Third, it refers to the idea of investiture; the symbolic garbing of information in representational forms imbuing it with particular capacities. State documents transmit information more quickly by removing the doubt of the inquiring subject as to the legitimacy of the representational form.<sup>67</sup>

First, Devine's fieldbook was not simply a blank canvas upon which surveyors drew just what they saw. There were rules and limitations developed by Devine himself. These rules were published by the Crown Lands Department as Devine wanted the public to know what information the surveyors' notes contained. Second, this fieldbook was seen at the time, not only in the pages of the press, but also in the halls of parliament as administratively useful. The 1860 select committee on emigration wanted lithographed maps only of surveys made using the split-line method published as soon as they were finished so they could be sent abroad to entice migrants.<sup>68</sup> Emigration agents in the various townships specifically requested copies of the surveyor's field notes if taken in the new form.<sup>69</sup> The split-line method laid hold of the land as an official space of settlement, each area of which located in comparative space marked by an economy of sameness and difference. Finally, the Devine Map, praised as it was for its realism in the press, was first and foremost a way of presenting the province abstractly to facilitate the development of social groups which could serve productively as the foundations for desirable forms of political authority/domination. Desirable forms of subjectivity, property holders and not squatters or the indigenous, were to be tied to the abstract space of the map. Clearly, Devine's 'living map' favoured some forms of life over others.

### **Conclusion**

Devine's surveying and mapping innovations offers potential for productive speculation on the relationship between the representational and infrastructural in contemporary scholarship. Much of the 'new materialist' scholarship stressing the agential capacities of the material/infrastructural imposes a fairly strict delimitation between its purview and that of the formal or representational. As Brian Larkin has argued, in such figurations, the relation between the infrastructural and formal is linear and unidirectional; infrastructures create the conditions of possibility for social, political, and representational forms which are laid atop the infrastructural.<sup>70</sup> However, as I argue throughout, infrastructures work not just by structuring the

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<sup>67</sup> On investment in this context see, Thevenot, L. 1984. "Rules and Implements: Investment in Forms". *Social Science Information* 23 (1): 1-40; Curtis, 2000. "Social Investment in Medical Forms: The 1866 Cholera Scare and Beyond." *The Canadian Historical Review*, 81 (3): 347-379.

<sup>68</sup> JLAC 1860, Appendix 4, *Report of the Select Committee on Emigration*, 23 April 1860.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 April 1860, Testimony of Francis Clemow.

<sup>70</sup> To my mind, the new materialist literature's assertion of the in-inertness of matter contributes little beyond the idea that because material and infrastructural systems have a certain 'vibrancy', they are always liable to failure and/or unintended consequences. Methodologically, the conceptual split between the representational and infrastructural is maintained since, if infrastructures are to succeed at all this 'vibrant matter' has to be contained by

conditions of possibility for action by formal innovation, but by inducing cognitive dispositions among those caught within their scope. The spatialization of the roads, their design, orientation, and administration were all employed as technologies of subjectification extending considerably beyond a concern with mere 'enlightenment'. By altering the distribution of the sensible and structuring the perspective of the viewer, representational forms do likewise. Further, they work to shape the interpretation of the distribution of the sensible in accordance with political projects of rule. Devine's maps did this not only for prospective migrants but for members of parliament as well. As I detail at greater length in the next chapter, his maps informed the political debate around infrastructural colonization for much of the next decade. Both sides of the debate regarding the future of the roads drew on Devine's maps to bolster their arguments.

No strict separation of the formal and infrastructural is possible or desirable. Instead we should strive to see the relation between infrastructure and form as reflexive, even dialectical. By the end of the 1850s, the colonization project itself was seen to depend on formal innovations in representation that made it possible to see the backwoods of the Canadas not simply as territory, nor as a timber or mineral repository, but as settlement space. Devine's maps were to induce cognitive dispositions in those who viewed them and as living maps, they depicted progress and potential as much as the actual. Instead of depicting the state of the Canadas at present they also did considerable work towards presenting what it could be; the future was on display.

Devine's formal innovations to the surveyor's field-book in particular call attention to the role of representational form in political aesthetics. His formal innovations, in part by delimiting a hierarchy of the senses via the new informational divide between the field-book and the survey diary worked to construct a distribution, not just of the sensible, as Rancière would have it, but a distribution of the *legitimately* sensible. What were the obdurate and everlasting features of the backwoods? What characteristics were permanent? Roads were clearly one. The buildings erected by settlers another. These were to be counted as legitimate representations of the territory and recorded in the fieldbook. Those aspects of the terrain relegated to the survey diary were the ephemeral, fleeting, or (potentially) illegitimate characteristics. They were the potentially illegitimate aspects of the land which incoming migrants were not predisposed to recognize as 'official'. After all, they were not on the map. Devine's fieldbook recorded only those characteristics of the sort desirable for the type of property formation underway. One that targeted 'illegitimate' forms of tenure.

In the next chapter, I continue to explore the links between representational forms of political developments around the process of infrastructural colonization. Placing developments in the colonization movement in their social and political context, I examine how forms of social scientific representation became used to depict the promise of the colonization roads project.

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formal constraints at least to some degree. Larkin, B. 2018. "Promising Forms: The Political Aesthetics of Infrastructure." In, *The Promise of Infrastructure*, N. Anand, A. Gupta, and H. Appel (Eds.), 175-202. Duke University Press: Durham. On matter's 'vibrancy', see Bennett, J. 2010. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Duke University Press; Durham; see also, Barad, K. 2007. *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. Duke University Press: Durham, NC;

Further, I examine how the types of spatialization used in creating a representation of the social progress of backwoods colonization facilitated new political projects linking infrastructure and colonization. By the end of the 1860s, the colonization movement would separate from the physical and administrative infrastructure of the roads, and adhere to new infrastructural systems.

*Chapter Six:**'They Canna' be Fashed': Colonization, Confederation, and the End of the Roads*

By the mid-1860s, political support for the colonization roads had largely evaporated as a decline in the numbers of incoming migrants made it difficult to justify passing new orders-in-council funding it. Since the first experiment at Owen Sound, the roads had been intended to turn incoming migrants into political subjects possessing political congenial ethical relations of self-to-self and self-to-others, but in the absence of large numbers of settlers, the expense of building and maintaining the roads was difficult to justify. Moreover, the primary field of colonization, the Ottawa-Huron Tract, was increasingly seen as the domain of the lumbermen rather than as a fertile field of agricultural colonization. The limitations imposed on the timber industry by considerations of settlement were experienced as increasingly taxing politically; particularly as the Crown Lands Department, which regained control over the roads in 1861, came under the management of MPs from lumber districts. Negative accounts of life on the lines published in the colonial press did little to help the matter. Stories of young ladies being attacked by bears and wolves depicted the roads as a dangerous wilderness rather than as the site of civilized society.<sup>1</sup> By the end of the decade, accounts from the settlers themselves lamenting the state of the roads began to circulate more widely in the press. In declaring the uselessness of the roads, the *Montreal Herald* appealed to the authority of a "slovenly old Scotchwoman" named Mrs. McLarty, who declared unequivocally that the lines through the backcountry 'Canna' be fashed'.<sup>2</sup> The didactic effect advocates of infrastructural colonization had propounded in the late-1830s, which held once settlers experienced the ease of rural life afforded by good communications they would be induced to take a more active role in the production of thriving settlements, had not materialized.

This final chapter describes the end of infrastructural colonization as initially envisioned by the proponents of the colonization roads. Gradually, the administrative infrastructure of colonization began to separate from the material infrastructure of the colonization roads and state-led projects of political subjectification began to be informed by social scientific knowledge corresponding to more abstract configurations of territorialized populations than that offered by the road system. The chapter is laid out as follows: First, I discuss two prominent overviews of the State system. The first, by an appointed Financial and Departmental Audit Commission, was to assess the ability of the various government departments to carry out the functions under their remits. It came down particularly hard on the departments responsible for carrying out the colonization effort. The second review was carried out by then President of Council and future Minister of Agriculture, Thomas D'Arcy McGee. Particularly concerned with the Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics, McGee sought to align the Bureau's social scientific knowledge production with developments occurring overseas. I next proceed to a discussion of the reforms suggested by McGee to the administrative apparatus of colonization and similar reforms

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<sup>1</sup> *Montreal Herald*, 14 November 1863. The article describes an event on the Hastings Road near Marmora in which two young women on their way to church were met by "a powerful wolf only six to eight feet in front of them."

<sup>2</sup> *Montreal Herald*, 24 November 1869.

proposed by colonization road agent Stanislas Drapeau. Both McGee and Drapeau were motivated by ultramontanist sympathies and anti-industrial, pro-agrarian conceptions of social order. Both sought to demonstrate the progress of agricultural colonization by creating novel territorial configurations upon which the techniques of the social science could be applied and used to inform state policy. In both, the colonization roads were but a minor component of a broader process of agricultural colonization. State knowledge of life in the backwoods corresponded to their new configurations, not the administrative infrastructure set up along the roads.

Finally, I offer a contextualized reading of the activities of two 1864 select committees convened to determine the progress and prospects of the colonization effort as well as brief accounts of the post-Confederation colonization developments in the new provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Ontario separated the granting of land from the administrative infrastructure of the colonization roads in 1868 as part of a conscious attempt to mimic American homesteading legislation passed in 1862. In Quebec, a commitment to Drapeau's colonization scheme lingered until the mid-1870s but the results of the 1871 census and continued outmigration to New England resulted in the abandonment of infrastructural colonization as it had been initially envisioned.

### *Administrative Overhauls*

The colonization roads program was not immune to the social and political struggles of the early 1860s. Crop failures along many of the lines and an overall decline in the number of emigrants coming to Canadian shores compounded the sectional jealousies, factional political struggles, and ethno-national prejudices within the assembly which had already blocked the government from dealing with many of the day's most pressing issues. The imperial government urged the Province to take more responsibility for its own administration and defence but rapid changes in provincial administration made any sort of continuous policy development difficult. At the same time, expanding economic projects for railway and canal construction, as well as the ongoing project of infrastructural colonization made the need for a strong, centralized, bureaucratic state apparent. However, the legislative union which had been set in place by the Act of Union, was rapidly falling apart. The 1861 census returns had revealed a massive population swing in favour of Canada West. Calls began to be made anew by Upper Canadian representatives for debate over representation by population; this in spite of the fact many of these same representatives were against the measure when Canada East had been in the majority. Political deadlock remained until 1864 when at conferences held at Charlottetown and Quebec, members of the Reform party of Canada West joined with the *bleus* in Canada East in favour of confederation. The idea of a federal union allowed for factional disputes to be remedied to a degree. The Lower Canadians who now opposed 'rep by pop' in an administrative union, claimed the principle benign in a federal one. Upper Canadian Francophobes saw in confederation the means to finally abandon concerns with 'civilizing' French Canadians and

leave them to enjoy their "bad laws, bad roads, bad sleighs, bad food, and ignorant legislation in peace and quietness."<sup>3</sup>

In the interim between the 1861 census and the political realignment, the administrative apparatus of the provincial government underwent several exhaustive reviews to ensure it could serve in the rational bureaucratic management of colonial affairs. Such oversight was explicitly concerned with determining how best the administrative state should be organized to oversee the configuration of elements of population in such a way as to ensure the possibility of a democratic mode of political representation. Matters of infrastructural colonization were central to this effort. If the Canadian backwoods were to continue to serve a machine of ethical subjectification, such accounting was necessary to ensure the colonial state was not only adequate to the task but economic in it as well. Prior to the 1860s no attempt had been made to assess the capacities of the state system since the time of Lord Durham.

In November 1862, Governor General Monck, in response to what he called 'serious charges of malversation in the Public Departments'<sup>4</sup>, appointed a three man financial and departmental audit commission to enquire into the manner by which provincial affairs were administered. Three men were charged with the task: Thomas Storrow Brown, William Bristow, and George Sheppard. All three had been at one time or another involved in Reform politics and had some experience in governmental oversight. Brown had been a main player in the events leading up to Lower Canadian Rebellions in 1837 and commanded *patriote* forces at the battle of Saint Charles. He also authored the manifesto of the *Fils de la Liberté* in which he argued for the complete secession of the Canadas from the British crown and for the autonomy of the colonies of North America as a sovereign state. He was seriously wounded in one eye during the Rebellion when members of the Doric Club attacked the offices of the *Vindicator*, a paper to which he had contributed numerous revolutionary articles. His youthful revolutionary tendencies appear to have been checked in subsequent years as he spent time working in a Montreal hardware store before opening a business of his own in 1854.<sup>5</sup>

Bristow had been secretary of the Quebec Constitutional Association in 1837 which had formed to prevent the re-election of the *Parti Patriote* in 1834 and their platform based on the Ninety-Two Resolutions. It had favoured the model of social order based on the 1791 Constitution and their productions were highly influential on Lord Durham during his time in the

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<sup>3</sup> Upper Canadian Tories argued against the Union in part because they would have to modernize French practices and preferred to leave them to themselves. The quote comes from Commissioner of Crown Lands R.B. Sullivan. He appears to have had a change of heart in the late 1840s, perhaps after reading Benjamin Disraeli's 1845 novel *Sybil, or 'The Two Nations'* which addressed itself to the 'working class problem' and the issues relating to leaving it unaddressed. For the quote, 1 June 1840, Sullivan to Lieutenant Governor Arthur, "Report on the State of the Two Provinces". In, Sanderson, C.R. 1957. *The Arthur Papers: Being the Canadian Papers Mainly Confidential, Private and Demi-Official*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 185. For Sullivan's change of heart and mention of his fondness for Disraeli's novel, see Sullivan, R.B. 1847. *Address on Emigration and Colonization delivered in the Mechanics' Institute Hall*. Brown's Printer: Toronto.

<sup>4</sup> *First Report of the Financial and Departmental Commission, May 1863*. Josiah Blackburn: Quebec, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Ouellet, F. 1982. "Brown, Thomas Storrow." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XII.

colonies.<sup>6</sup> In 1848, alongside *Toronto Globe* editor George Brown, Bristow worked on the commission to investigate conditions at the Kingston Penitentiary. He took control of the *Montreal Pilot* after its offices were wrecked in the Rebellion Losses Riot and continued in that post until his appointment to the commission.

The third member of the triumvirate after Brown and Bristow was prominent Clear Grit and newspaper publisher, George Sheppard. By any modern standard Sheppard was a detestable man. He split time between Canada and the United States and sought to bring vitriolic American style politics north. Among his more detestable views was an open advocacy for slavery and 'States' rights' arguments about political sovereignty formed from his readings of Jefferson and Calhoun. Sheppard chastised fellow Reformers in the Canadas whom he felt were partial for the "nigger-worshipping, foreigner hating Republicans." Unlike most Reformers, he was a strong supporter of the Catholic Church though claimed the weakness of the priesthood prevented them from enacting the 'profoundest philosophy' of the Church in the political arena. In March 1850 he was involved in developing schemes of organized emigration. In two nearly two hour lectures delivered at Hull, he advocated Lower Canadians moving to Iowa and Illinois where they would have free reign to practice their religion. He admitted that the salubrious climates of Australia and New Zealand would be better for the development of civilized French society, but these were too far away and expensive to reach. His lectures were informed by his reading of Malthus and calculated to stoke fear of French-Canadian pauperization.<sup>7</sup>

By the time of their adjournment, the committee published two reports of about 270 pages each. While the commissioners examined the activities of all the government departments they came down particularly hard on the two responsible for overseeing the colonization effort: the Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics and the Department of Crown Lands. At the time of the commissioners' enquiry, the Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics possessed quite likely the largest remit of any government department. The census and all matters relating to colonization were under its aegis in addition to the handling of emigration, all provincial statistical productions, the patent office, and the board of arts and manufactures. The rapid turnover of provincial administrations and the mostly nominal role of the Minister of Agriculture meant all these interests were overseen almost singlehandedly by Bureau secretary William Hutton who had been out of the office since May 1861 and dead since July. His subordinate, Evelyn Campbell, was a capable man but he found himself completely over his head trying to keep up with the work. He had previously assumed the duties of secretary for a brief time in 1857 after Hutton took a leave of absence after the death of his son, but Campbell was otherwise little

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<sup>6</sup> Waterston, E. 1976. "Bristow, William." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, IX; Ducharme, M. 2014. *The Idea of Liberty in Canada during the Age of Atlantic Revolutions, 1776-1838*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston; Curtis, B. 2012. *Ruling by Schooling Quebec: Conquest to Liberal Governmentality – A Historical Sociology*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto. See also, Muzzo, J. 1990. "Les Mouvements Réformiste et Constitutionnel à Montréal, 1834-1837." Unpublished MA Thesis: Université de Québec a Montreal.

<sup>7</sup> LAC MG 24 B-121 "Charles Clarke Papers, 1841-1940", Sheppard to Clarke, 5 November 1860; 7, 28 March 1850, Sheppard to Clarke. The lectures were published in the *Eastern Counties Herald*, copies of which were sent to Clarke, likely with the hope he would publish them in his own paper, the *Elora Backwoodsman*.

prepared to take over the position. He complained after only a few weeks in the role he was “really too much harassed at present to read up much of the correspondence”<sup>8</sup> let alone take any proactive measures or deal with legislative oversight. Oversight was about to come at Agriculture and Statistics fast and furious.

The Bureau’s responsibility for the census and the colonization effort made it a prominent target for the commissioners. If ‘rep by pop’ were to be implemented, the census would assume greater importance than it had previously maintained under Hutton’s administration. Like his handling of colonization, Hutton viewed the census as an advertising instrument, not as the crux upon which the political structure of the country would depend. The commissioners excoriated Hutton’s handling of the 1861 census. They found no rules had been laid down by the Bureau “as to the commencement, duration, or conclusion of the [census] commissioners’ term of office, and the answers made by the secretary, Mr. Hutton, to those who made enquiry are a mass of contradiction.” The commissioners claimed Hutton instructed census commissioners five or six different ways. This cast doubt on the accuracy of the numbers the commissioners produced, or, as they put it, “a looseness of calculation in the arrangements for the publication of the entire work corresponds with what is found elsewhere.”<sup>9</sup> They also called attention to the shocking administration of the Board of Registration and Statistics more generally. The commissioners were astounded to find that acting secretary Evelyn Campbell was not aware of any minutes having been taken of the Board’s meetings. He believed they communicated verbally with Hutton, who was expected to remember the events of their proceedings. Astoundingly, if there were minutes of the meetings of the province’s main statistical agency, after a year at his post the Board’s acting secretary did not know how to find them.

The Bureau’s handling of the colonization roads fared little better in the commissioners’ reports than had the census. As with all Bureau matters, Evelyn Campbell had struggled to keep up with the workload after Hutton’s death and by October 1861, oversight of the roads was transferred from the Bureau to Crown Lands. The transfer did not go smoothly. Former Muskoka Road surveyor and Devine’s junior draftsman, J.W. Bridgland, took over administration from David Gibson and informed the commissioners of the shocking state of the records. He had not been able to get any books showing the state of the several road accounts. He claimed to have been told by Evelyn Campbell no accounts were kept by the Bureau relating to the roads and he would need to appeal to the road agents individually. Upon doing so, Bridgland received only very incomplete information. He got accounts for the years 1858-59 for the Mississippi Road, for 1856-58 on the Opeongo, and a few pay lists and vouchers for the Addington road from 1855 including some accounts relating to the rebuilding of the Madawaska Bridge in 1858. Only the records for the Mississippi and the 1858 returns for the Opeongo could be said to be complete. Eventually, Bridgland found massive under-expenditures on the roads. The program had never received a legislative appropriation and always relied on orders-in-council for funding;

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<sup>8</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1493, 31 May 1861, Campbell to Gibson.

<sup>9</sup> *Second Report Financial Commission*, 31.

appropriations which varied year-to-year depending on the political state of the Province. To 1862, grants amounting to \$595,000 had been ordered while expenditures were said to be \$437,827.08. However, the government auditor found that the various appropriations made out of the grants to the Bureau amounted to only \$282,300.00, meaning \$155,527.08 could not be accounted for at all.

Despite the shocking state of the accounts, the reports of the Commission do not appear to have made much difference in terms of the administration of the government departments. While the commissioners lambasted the Bureau's handling of much of its remit, they did not have much to say when it came to the Bureau's handling of emigration. Perhaps this is because emigration was not officially part of its portfolio, though it was considered by the province's chief emigration agents to be the department in charge of their activities after the Canadas were given total responsibility for handling immigration in 1855.<sup>10</sup> While the Bureau lost control over the colonization roads in October of 1861, and despite its 'shockingly' poor handling of its responsibilities, the Bureau was given complete charge over matters of emigration and colonization in 1862. At the same time, its Minister, Francois Evanturel, was claiming "the organization and internal discipline of this department has been left in a condition so little efficient that the public has begun to doubt the necessity of keeping it up."<sup>11</sup> Despite these claims, Evanturel nevertheless viewed the Bureau as one of the most important public departments as it included in its organization those subjects which "more than any other, form the basis of good government." Evanturel included among these, agriculture, statistics, arts and inventions, emigration and, finally, colonization. It is highly telling that at the very moment the Bureau was losing control over the colonization roads its minister was claiming to exercise even greater control over colonization in general.

### ***D'Arcy McGee***

Meaningful change in the Bureau's handling of the responsibilities under its remit would not come until the appointment of Thomas D'Arcy McGee to serve as its new minister in 1864. Since his arrival in the Canadas in the spring of 1857, he had been a controversial figure in Reform politics. An Irish nationalist journalist, poet, and author, McGee left his homeland for the United States in 1842. He settled in Boston and worked off-and-on as a reporter for the *Boston Pilot* but mostly as a travelling accounts agent, collecting fees from overdue subscribers around New England. His position afforded him the time to develop an interest in Canadian affairs, writing in support of the Baldwin-LaFontaine administration and, after reading of the Americans' conquest of Texas, advocating the repeal of the Act of Union in favour of Annexation. His political positions were derived to a significant extent from his religious fundamentalism. In the winter of 1850-51, prompted by Lord John Russell's Ecclesiastical Titles

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<sup>10</sup> JLAC 1859, Appendix 19, *Report of the Select Committee on Emigration*. 28 April 1859, Testimony of A.B. Hawke.

<sup>11</sup> JLAC 1863, Sessional Paper 4, *Report of the Minister of Agriculture*.

Bill, McGee began to adopt the more extreme ultramontane form of Roman Catholicism.<sup>12</sup> He began to espouse Burkean principles on political reform, branded republicans as modern-day Jacobins, and stressed the best means of preventing political republicanism was the spread of Roman Catholicism.

McGee's ultramontane positions did not preclude him from seeing social enquiry as a useful means of demonstrating the progress of political reform. Like other prominent Catholics in Quebec, Joseph Cauchon for example, McGee believed in the ability of descriptive statistics to guide government policy. He advocated a form of social organization premised on anti-industrialism, localized agrarian settlements, and the moral and social authority of the priesthood. He had expressed such commitments in his poetry, notably 'The Army of the West' and the 'The Shanty' but these youthful dalliances grew more refined as he witnessed the mistreatment of the Irish in American cities. His experiences of such abuse in Boston were the motivation behind his growing interest in colonization as social policy. He became a driving force behind the Irish Catholic colonization movement, and an organizer of the Buffalo Convention in 1856.<sup>13</sup> To McGee, agricultural colonization was a form of political subjectification. It was only at a far remove from urban centers that Roman Catholics could be "inoculated against the contamination of Protestantism and revolutionary republicanism."<sup>14</sup> These ideas won him the praise of Canadian Catholics, including colonization road agent M.P. Hayes, and the reprobation of English Protestants.

After his arrival in Montreal, McGee was nominated by the St. Patrick's Society to serve as one of the city's three representatives in the assembly. After assuming office, he immediately began attempts to exert control over the province's handling of emigration and colonization. He served as chair of the 1859 select committee on emigration. It met late in April and called for Emigration Agent A.B. Hawke, Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands Andrew Russell, and

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<sup>12</sup> Russell's bill outlawed the diocesan organization of the Catholic Church in both England and Ireland. This led Irish Roman Catholics to brand him the 'New Cromwell'. 'Ultramontanism' – literally 'the man beyond the mountains' – was a Roman Catholic political doctrine that stressed the centrality of the Pope and his supreme authority over all matters of empirical life. In Lower Canada, ultramontanism was a way for *canadiens* to dissociate themselves from tenets of the French Revolution which separated Church and State and placed primacy on the temporal over the spiritual in political affairs, operating on the principle of *l'art social*. Ultramontanism proposed the union of throne and altar, gave primacy to heaven over earth and the soul over the body. In short, it was a decidedly anti-liberal discourse. See Head, B.W. 1982. The Origins of 'La Science Sociale' in France, 1770-1800. *Australia Journal of French Studies*. 115-132; Heaman, E. 2009. "Rights Talk and the Liberal Order Framework." In, *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, ed. J-F. Constant, M. Ducharme, 147-175. University of Toronto Press: Toronto; Fecteau, J-M. 2017. *The Pauper's Freedom: Crime and Poverty in Nineteenth Century Quebec*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston; Monet, J. 1966. "The Challenge of Ultramontanism." *The Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* 1 (1): 41-55; Wilson, D. 2008. *Thomas D'Arcy McGee: The Extreme Moderate*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston.

<sup>13</sup> Discussed at some length in chapter four, the Buffalo Convention was an attempt by McGee to take advantage of the free grants along colonization roads by channeling a large Catholic migration from the United States. The agent for the Hastings, M.P. Hayes, was also a participant.

<sup>14</sup> Wilson, *McGee*, 342.

Bureau Secretary William Hutton, among others as witnesses. However, as the emigration season was fast approaching, the lateness of their enquiry meant the committee heard from barely any of them. Russell met with McGee but was angry and claimed he was wasting his time. Hutton and Hawke also came but left after little more than an hour when the committee failed to reach a quorum. Neither would return.

Undeterred, McGee went on to serve on several additional emigration committees throughout the early 1860s. He moved for nothing short of a new order of things in the emigration service. As responsibilities and labour had been divided haphazardly between the Bureau of Agriculture and Crown Lands, McGee proposed the creation of a new agency: the Department of Agriculture and Emigration. When organized, the new department would divide the province into inland offices with agencies covering portions of the country rather than confining them purely to points of entry. The agents would serve as periodic inspectors, be subject to special examination, and “personally familiar with what has been done and what may be further undertaken with advantage.” Additionally, the new department would take over supervision of the colonization roads in both sections of the province. As his activities with the Buffalo Convention make clear, McGee had long been drawn to the program. He claimed it was gratifying to see mixed communities of Canadians and old countrymen, “drawn together by the construction of such means of intercourse”, form such tightly-knit communities. He drew on the reports of the colonization road agents and cited T.P. French’s claim that at a logging bee on the Opeongo, French had heard six different languages spoken and that despite such a mixed population, there rarely occurred a breach of “the social charities of life.” The road was producing commonalities and solidarities premised on the shared labour of agricultural settlement. This fit well with McGee’s Catholic political ideology.<sup>15</sup>

McGee’s new department never materialized and not only did the Bureau of Agriculture not gain control over the Lower Canadian colonization roads, it did not even maintain its authority over the Upper Canadian ones. However, real opportunities for administrative change came in 1862. McGee began the year by delivering a lecture titled *Emigration and Colonization in Canada* to the assembly.<sup>16</sup> He claimed that if the Canadas were to compete on the global stage with Australia, New Zealand, and the United States in the emigration trade, they would have to modernize practices. As he put it, while the chief material attraction of the Canadas lay in cheap or free land, the chief moral attraction must be their anti-republican institutions. McGee’s rhetoric found a receptive audience among those Upper Canadians adhering to a loyalist and anti-American tradition<sup>17</sup> and he bolstered his message with attempts to garner French-Canadian support by denouncing the landed monopolies of the past

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<sup>15</sup> JLAC 1861, Appendix 1, *First and Second Report of the Select Committee on Emigration*.

<sup>16</sup> McGee, T.D. 1862. *Emigration and Colonization in Canada: A Speech Delivered in the House of Assembly, Quebec, 25<sup>th</sup> April, 1862*. Hunter, Rose and Lemieux: Quebec.

<sup>17</sup> See Bannister, J. 2019. “Liberty, Loyalty, and Sentiment in Canada’s Founding Debates, 1864-1873.” In, *Violence, Order, and Unrest: A History of British North America, 1749-1876*, eds. E. Mancke, J. Bannister, D. McKim, and S. See, 78-92. University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

like the British American Land Company whose chartering had been a key complaint of the *patriotes* and their Ninety-Two Resolutions. But his lecture was mostly a way to garner non-partisan political support for his ultramontanist Catholicism and his pro-agricultural and anti-industrial ideology. He selectively cited the reports of provincial surveyors whom he claimed had “exploded one fallacy – that the granite country between the Ottawa and Lake Huron could never sustain a numerous population.”<sup>18</sup> Not wanting to present colonization as something exclusively of benefit to Canada West, he continued by claiming “this is precisely the same country, geologically, which we find open to settlement in Lower Canada.” To McGee, the Canadian backwoods was capable of sustaining an additional three to four million souls, not the quarter of a million presently there. Greater commitment to opening such lands would give these millions immediate employment and subject them to the morally salubrious labour of clearing land while simultaneously defending them from the vagaries of urban life. Additionally, these millions would create a sizable bulwark to the encroachment of American-style republicanism and an influx of the sort of populism so often hostile to McGee’s Roman Catholics.<sup>19</sup>

A little more than a month after McGee’s address to the assembly, the Cartier-MacDonald government was replaced by the ministry of John Sandfield-MacDonald and Louis-Victor Sicotte. The elections returned McGee for Montreal West and he assumed the office of the Presidency of Council, which the previous administration had removed from the aegis of the Bureau of Agriculture in March. The separation of the Presidency from Agriculture left McGee free to motion to have control over all emigration matters transferred to his office. His motion was partially approved that June. McGee was to be charged with the official superintendence and management of all European migration matters for the Canadas and with the management of all colonization matters in Upper Canada only.<sup>20</sup> The new administration was sensitive to the objections of the conservative French-Canadians who claimed among other things, the move was

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<sup>18</sup> This part of the speech is used, bizarrely, in Joshua Blank’s *Creating Kashubia* as evidence of McGee’s supposed opposition to backwoods colonization. Blank claims by 1862 “McGee declared that it became evident that ‘the granite country between the Ottawa and Lake Huron could never sustain a numerous population.’” Blank clearly and deliberately omits the first part of the quote which shows McGee held the exact opposite position. The passage is reproduced in full in John Walsh’s PhD dissertation (2001, p.84) which Blank cites *extensively* (in the space of forty-five pages, Walsh is cited eighteen times). In fact, the entire paragraph of Blank’s is problematic. He precedes his deliberate misquoting by drawing on Helen Parson’s study of the Hastings Road settlement. Blank claims McGee’s lack of faith in the program was influenced by negative reports from the Hastings agent. Yet Parson’s claim that enthusiasm in the roads program was short-lived cites the crop failures of 1862 as the reason. As the reports of M.P. Hayes make clear, these occurred in the fall (PAO RG 1 A.I.7, 2 January 1863, Hayes to McDougall). McGee’s speech was given in April. Even were we to accept Blank’s deliberate mischaracterization of McGee’s position, it’s hard to imagine how a crop failure which hadn’t happened yet could have influenced McGee’s thinking on colonization. Blank, J. 2017. *Creating Kashubia: History, Memory, and Identity in Canada’s First Polish Community*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston; Parson, H. 1987. “The Colonization of the Southern Canadian Shield in Ontario: The Hastings Road Settlement. *Ontario History* 79 (3): 15-28; Walsh, J.C. 2001. “Landscapes of Longing: Colonization and State Formation in Canada West.” Unpublished PhD Diss.: University of Guelph; Wynn, G. 1979. “Notes on Society and Environment in Old Ontario.” *Journal of Social History* 13 (1): 49-65.

<sup>19</sup> McGee’s speech was reprinted nearly in full by the *Globe*, 30 April 1862.

<sup>20</sup> LAC RG 1 E7, v. 71, 9 June 1862.

a slight to the Minister of Agriculture, Francois Evanturel. Anglophone conservatives approved the move,<sup>21</sup> claiming this was no slight to a Minister whom they already deemed overburdened. A more impassioned position was taken by *Le Courrier du Canada* which expressed the French objections clearly; McGee would unite Lower Canada in an “almost general opposition” since “the colonization of Lower Canada must be directed by a French Canadian.” While *Le Courrier* did not deny McGee’s capacity as an administrator, he was denounced as “no friend to the French” and, bizarrely, the staunchly Irish Catholic McGee was accused of trying to “drown Lower Canada under Orange and Protestant emigration.”<sup>22</sup>

McGee’s time as President of Council would be short-lived, lasting a little less than a calendar year. It was time spent productively. In 1863, he produced an exhaustive overview of the provincial administrative apparatus, one of considerably greater sophistication than that of the Financial and Departmental Audit Commission. With particular emphasis on matters of the census, agriculture, colonization, and immigration, McGee’s eight-two page “Report on the Origin and Organization of the Public Departments” made significant recommendations for restructuring the operations of the provincial government in keeping with the tenets of social scientific knowledge production. Like the commission of the previous year, McGee directed his attention disproportionately at the Bureau of Agriculture and Crown Lands. The organization of Crown Lands was his main target, writing that subdividing any governmental office into thirteen different branches made it wholly unworkable.<sup>23</sup> He also restated his conviction from his time on the select committee on emigration for transferring the colonization roads in both sections of the province to the Bureau of Agriculture. They were “branches of domestic economy akin to, and inseparably connected with the agriculture and settlement of the country East and West” and therefore out of place in Crown Lands. By assigning the colonization roads to the Bureau, McGee proposed to give that department in all “seven branches, including the chief subjects of our internal economy and social science, which classify naturally together.” In McGee’s vision the work of colonization was to be guided by the strictures of social scientific knowledge production. The colonization roads could not succeed otherwise. In the section of his report dealing with the Bureau, McGee cited as an example of his proposed changes the statistical apparatus of the Netherlands whose design had been influenced in part by the work of Belgian statistician (and influence on Emile Durkheim), Adolphe Quetelet. It was to be regretted, wrote McGee, the statistical efforts of the Bureau had been confined almost entirely to the census and that matters of social economy like emigration and colonization had yet to be guided by social scientific knowledge as they had elsewhere.

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<sup>21</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 25 June 1862.

<sup>22</sup> *Le Courrier du Canada*, 11 July 1862.

<sup>23</sup> LAC RG 1 E7, v. 77, *Report on the Origins and Organization of the Public Departments*. McGee’s wording: Whether “one political chief however energetic or any deputy head however indefatigable and systematic can judiciously direct and control this extensive accumulation of offices is ... a fair subject of discussion.” This section of the report is also cited by Hodgetts, J. 1957. *Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of the United Canadas, 1841-1867*. University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

### *Colonization and the Social Science*

Within McGee's Montreal constituency, there was a growing recognition among the educated of the social science's potential for informing social policy. Among this cohort, there was a real interest in European developments and their potential applicability to life in the Canadas. The 1857 inaugural meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (NAPSS) in Birmingham garnered the awareness (and some mockery) of the Montreal upper class. In December 1858, a 'Ladies Lecture on the Social Science' was published in the *Montreal Herald* criticizing the NAPSS for failing to account for matters of domestic economy in their novel science. Why did the management of the nursery not serve as a metric of social progress? Why were not the relative prices of domestic articles not taken as a sign of moral improvement or decline? But the NAPSS was of import to urban elites not least because it claimed knowledge produced by the social science was inherently political. By making the intractable regularities of the social knowable, the Association could establish natural laws of social order and fix the boundaries at which the State's interference in civic life should stop.<sup>24</sup> In the winter of 1861, the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec held general meetings dedicated to advancing the prominence of the social science. Lectures were delivered by E.A. Meredith then assistant Provincial Secretary and member of the Board of inspectors of Prisons, Asylums, and Public Charities, on the topic of 'An Important but Neglected Branch of Social Science.'<sup>25</sup> Through such connections, links between the social science and state power were gradually strengthened.

Montreal's culture of enquiry was a welcoming environment in which McGee could apply the methods of the social science to matters of emigration and colonization. McGee saw the social science as offering reflexive knowledge of the State. The knowledge produced was dependent upon existing administrative apparatuses; apparatuses which, to that point, were critically underdeveloped in the Canadas. To McGee, this was nowhere more harmful than in the Bureau's statistical productions relating to colonization. Hutton's central efforts had been the production of a statistical account of the various municipalities. Distributing questionnaires to the reeves of every municipality in the province gave Hutton a depiction of the needs of the different sections of the province and he could use this information to guide emigration agents

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<sup>24</sup> The inaugural address of Lord Brougham in 1857 makes these points repeatedly. Brougham had a long history of engagement with the methods of the social science, having served as a founding member of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, an organization which also included Harriet Martineau. Of course, the members of the Association were utterly unreflexive in their analysis of the relation between social knowledge and state power. They failed to realize at any point in their early years that the manners by which they constructed 'the Social' determined its character. Further, they reified the State as the sole organ of political domination and failed to develop any ethical criteria for state intervention in social life. Nevertheless, the social science was viewed in a characteristically liberal manner. In a Foucaultian sense, the social science was seen as offering an answer to the question posed by Foucault's imaginary liberal. In fixing the point at which the State's interference should stop, it in effect answered the question "Am I governing the border between the too much and too little." Foucault, M. 2008. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978-79*. Picador: New York, 19.

<sup>25</sup> *Montreal Herald*, 16 December 1858; *Le Journal de Quebec*, 6 December 1860; *Le Franco-Canadien*, 7 December 1860; *Morning Chronicle*, 6 November 1861.

abroad. Yet relying on the knowledge of the reeves left a problematic gap between state knowledge of population and the realities of social life; one that was particularly troublesome to McGee's Roman Catholic, anti-urban, social and political imaginary.

McGee's Catholicism and ultramontane political sympathies were marked by an anti-industrial and pro-agricultural vision of social harmony. He paid far greater attention than had his predecessors to the administrative apparatuses involved in the collection of social knowledge and it was in this area that his principal reforms were carried out. McGee sought to collect knowledge of the progress of colonization in the backwoods apart from the knowledge of the reeves and the townships. He created six new administrative grids, each with its own responsible emigration agent. Instead of confining the administrative duties of the agents to the principal port cities, the agents' duties were to extend over large swaths of country and transcend urban-rural divides. The districts could be quite large. The Hamilton agent, William Gillespy (occasionally spelled 'Gillespie'), was responsible for townships significantly removed from that city. In April 1862, he attempted to move his office some seventy kilometers west to Berlin (present-day Kitchener) perhaps to be more centrally located within his district, though he was ordered to return to Hamilton shortly thereafter.<sup>26</sup> While it appears he did return he was nevertheless fired shortly thereafter when anonymously published articles criticizing government policy in the *Hamilton Spectator* were traced back to his pen.<sup>27</sup> W.J. Wills, the Ottawa agent, was responsible for all the townships between there and Renfrew County to the west – a distance of over 100 kilometers - and also those townships at least forty kilometres south. Interestingly, given that the line began approximately fifteen kilometers east of Renfrew County, Willis appears also to have been responsible for a significant section of the Opeongo road as well. Each agent was responsible for producing quarterly reports enclosing descriptive statistics on the demand for labour and rates of wages by calling, as well as the cost of provisions. They were also responsible for keeping statistics on the number of emigrants by nationality that arrived in their districts as well as their condition, general appearance and health, and their stated destinations.<sup>28</sup> Finally, the agents were each to keep a diary of their travels detailing the places visited, the persons consulted, and their general observations and opinion on what they saw: how were the people? What were their impressions of the localities? etc.<sup>29</sup> For all this they were to be paid five dollars per day in travelling expenses in addition to an annual salary of \$600.

McGee's actions met with the approval of the conservative press in Montreal. The *Morning Chronicle* endorsed the changes to the handling of emigration and pledged their "cordial cooperation to whatever may tend to remove local and traditional distinctions, destroy

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<sup>26</sup> Gillespy moved to Berlin without the approval of the Bureau. Acting secretary Evelyn Campbell acknowledged and initially allowed the move, but that decision was overruled by the Minister (Belleau) six days later. For Campbell's letter see LAC RG 17 A.III.3, v. 2398, 22 April 1862; For Belleau's rejection see, 28 April 1862.

<sup>27</sup> LAC RG 17 A.III.3, 2398, 9 December 1862, Evanturel to Governor General.

<sup>28</sup> LAC RG 17 A.III.3, 2398, 5 May 1863, Campbell Circular to Agents.

<sup>29</sup> JLAC 1861, Appendix 1, *First and Second Report of the Select Committee on Emigration and Colonization*.

prejudices arising from national origin, do away with sectional jealousies and render the inhabitants of Canada a homogeneous and united people."<sup>30</sup> These administrative grids served McGee's social and religious political ideology and mobilized the statistical apparatus of the provincial government in service of his pro-agricultural, anti-urban imaginary. By creating administrative grids that encompassed the distinct realities of urban and rural existence, government knowledge and the configuration of the social would be based on abstract territorial domains corresponding neither to the country nor the city. Animating these grids with statistical figures allowed for the Bureau to obfuscate the colonization movements' lack of progress by spreading urban population growth over a wider area which included agricultural lands.

### *Down to a Science*

From the perspective of a genealogy of the social science, these agencies are interesting less for how they explicitly avow sociological reasoning than for how their administrative structure creates a domain upon which sociological reasoning could be applied. McGee's agencies are part of the work that Thomas Osborne and Nikolas Rose have called 'spatial phenomenotechnics'. That is, such techniques of spatialization and observation work to "conjure up in reality that which has already been conjured up in thought."<sup>31</sup> Admittedly, such a statement runs the risk of being unnecessarily idealist or purposive, as though forms of thought are in some sense determinative of social realities irrespective of their social conditions of possibility. Adopting a more explicitly sociological approach, it is perhaps better to suggest that the administrative grids – or 'forms of thought' – are part and parcel of certain political commitments and help in 'conjuring up a reality' that is congenial towards political ends in the struggle for social hegemony.

The creation of the new administrative grids helped turn the Bureau into a key site of social scientific experimentation. But these were not the only changes. Recording empirical accounts of social conditions (however they are configured territorially), and the imposition of observational protocols were each central components of rigorous social knowledge. Some of these observational protocols were class and gender based: the agents were to be white men of a particular social standing and to have been vetted by representatives of the Bureau. It was important to the overall success of the initiative that the agents have personal connections in the area. By the time of their 1864 inspection, no agent was younger than forty-three (the oldest, R.H. Rae at Montreal was fifty-three) and most had moderate to large families. The Toronto agent, John A. Donaldson, was an Anglican Irishman from the west end of the city who had six children. W.J. Wills, the agent at Ottawa, was forty-five and had four. Familial stability was important given the wide amount of discretion afforded these agents. They needed to be men of character as their reports were in part impressionistic and thus their representations could not be

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<sup>30</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 24 April 1862.

<sup>31</sup> Osborne, T. and Rose, N. 2004. "Spatial Phenomenotechnics: Making Space with Charles Booth and Patrick Geddes." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 22: 213. See also, Osborne, T. and Rose, N. 1999. "Governing Cities: Notes on the Spatialization of Virtue." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 17: 737-760.

entirely divorced from their social standing.<sup>32</sup> While the common social backgrounds of the agents likely helped in the performance of their duties, most still struggled to some degree. Donaldson complained that he found it frustratingly common to get opposite opinions on particular areas within the same village or town and thus was forced to draw his own conclusions about them.<sup>33</sup> Much of the information about the different localities that had accumulated in Buchanan's office, which would presumably include the surveyors reports and information from the Crown Lands Department, was consumed in a January 1864 fire.<sup>34</sup> Agents reported having trouble getting information from the Crown Lands Agents and some reported having trouble even finding backwoods settlers since without field-notes from the Crown Lands Department, it was difficult to locate their homes.

The agents' quarterly inspections were placed under strict time limits. In a circular letter to the agents for their first quarter 1865 inspection, then Bureau secretary J.C. Taché warned them not to exceed the mandated time limit of twenty days for completing their tours. Their travelling expenses would remain at five dollars per day, but they would receive no funding for any days after the twentieth.<sup>35</sup> For their observations to meet the rigorous standards of the Bureau, their observations had to be taken at the same time. It did little good to compare the state of two districts at different times since the character of each varied throughout the year. This was something to which Hutton had been comparatively lax. As he emphasized the advertising potential of descriptive statistics, when the municipal circulars were returned, he immediately sent them off to agents at home and abroad.<sup>36</sup> It was of no importance to him that municipalities were often months in getting around to returning his questionnaires. Enforcing 'time discipline' by placing set limits on the inquiry, was one way of ensuring the observations of different agents were comparable with one another.<sup>37</sup>

Another manner by which the observations of agents were made scientific was by the use of standardized forms. Unlike the colonization roads agents, who largely reported on whatever each felt was an important metric of development or the progress of colonization (as described in chapter four), the emigration agents were given standardized forms on which to record their

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<sup>32</sup> In the genealogy of the social science, impressionistic surveys are typically exemplified by Charles Booth's 1880's poverty surveys. However this was clearly a form of inspection which preceded Booth. See Abrams, P. 1968. *The Origins of British Sociology, 1834-1914*. Chicago University Press: Chicago; Stedman-Jones. G. 1971. *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society*. Penguin Books: New York; Walters, W. 2000. *Unemployment and Government: Genealogies of the Social*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

<sup>33</sup> LAC RG 17, A.III.3, 2398, 27 April 1865, Donaldson to Buchanan

<sup>34</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1494, 16 January 1864, Campbell to Retallack.

<sup>35</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1495, 25 February 1865, Taché to Agents.

<sup>36</sup> LAC RG 17 A.I.2, 1492, 27 February 1858, Hutton to Whatmouth; 3 March 1858, Hutton to CP Roney; 3 May 1858, Hutton to Gray; 14 May 1858, Hutton to Christie.

<sup>37</sup> The term 'time discipline' comes from E.P. Thompson. 1967. "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism." *Past and Present*, 38: 56-97.

findings. They were to record the prices of twenty-five different provisions which the Bureau deemed important for new settlers. To this they were to add the prices in their district of nine different articles of clothing and the average wages of thirty-one male and five female professions. Such information could be a useful metric of social progress and the overall state of population in each district. When information was collected from rigidly defined administrative grids, in standardized forms, and under strict time constraints, such information could be used for guiding social policy. The early work of the Manchester Statistical Society made use of exactly these sorts of studies to determine the degree of pauperization in that city. Prior to his time as Governor General Sydenham, Charles Poulett Thompson, then representative for Manchester, had made valuable suggestions to the Manchester Society about the sorts of statistics amateurs could gather in the absence of a sustained governmental effort. He proposed gathering information as to the prices of clothes and provisions so, via comparative analysis, the mental and moral state of the people could be inferred. Thompson proposed comparing the prices of butchers' meats to that of ardent spirits. Such a comparison would reveal how the wages of the people were expended and therefore form a metric of the degree to which the faculties of frugality and foresight prevails among them.<sup>38</sup> The returns of the different agents could be used in just such an endeavour. A glance at the returns would show that in Montreal beer could be had for five cents per quart while beef sold for eight to twelve cents per pound. In Kingston, beer was considerably more expensive at eight cents per quart while beef was much cheaper at seven cents per pound.<sup>39</sup>

Although the Bureau sophisticated its statistical productions, there was comparatively little emphasis placed on articulating social scientific knowledge alongside a practical scheme of subjectification. The design of settlements, the personnel to oversee them, the metrics of progress, none of these were systematized by the Bureau at this time. Yet the Bureau's abdication of this responsibility left the field open for amateurs to develop their own approaches. One such effort was that of Stanislas Drapeau, who since 1859 served as the colonization agent for the Elgin-Taché road on the south shore of the St. Lawrence near Quebec City. He continued in this role until 1865 when he was appointed by Bureau secretary J.C. Taché to work for the Bureau of Agriculture in preparation for the 1871 census.

### *A Practical Scheme of Subjectification*

Born at Quebec, the first child of parents of modest means, Stanislas Drapeau was first schooled at l'École Britannique in Saint Roch before moving on to the Séminaire du Québec at age fourteen. There he developed a keen mind for many subjects but withdrew in 1838 after just three years to begin a lifelong career as a typographer. He began work during the turbulent years of the Rebellions, finding his earliest employment at *Le Canadien* and *Le Fantasque* where he worked a short time until the papers' respective owners, Étienne Parent and Napoleon Aubin,

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<sup>38</sup> Ashton, T. 1977. *Economic and Social Investigations in Manchester, 1833-1933: A Centenary History of the Manchester Statistical Society*. The Harvester Press: Manchester.

<sup>39</sup> JLAC 1865, Sessional Paper 6, *Report of the Minister of Agriculture*.

were arrested in January 1839 for their role in the Rebellions.<sup>40</sup> Despite their imprisonment, Drapeau continued to fight for the *patriote* cause by sneaking draft newspaper articles for correction to Parent hidden in faux baked tarts.

Drapeau is a curious figure in Canadian histories of state formation, which so often focus on the genealogy of liberalism, for his particular effectiveness in harmonizing, at a practical level, the feudal with the modern.<sup>41</sup> He was indisputably a member of the 'progressive' or 'scientific' wing of the ultramontanist movement as it developed after 1848. While in many ways men of Drapeau's generation clashed with the Church on matters of public education and social reform, on matters of colonization the two found common cause in the need to prevent rural French outmigration.<sup>42</sup>

Drapeau sought to combat outmigration through schemes of agricultural colonization and subject formation informed by knowledge informed by the social science. He was clearly influenced by the 1849 select committee report on emigration which had placed so much of the blame for emigration on the ignorance of French farmers and the insidious effects of a creeping liberal individualism. By contrast, Drapeau's model of French Canadian agricultural colonization would target body and mind not by appealing to a fractious individualism – which he termed 'egoism' – but by reasserting the communal importance of agricultural French Catholicism. To serve the bodies of the settlers, he made plans to open a shop in Quebec catering expressly to the needs of the countryside in part by selling a type of 'household flour' specifically milled for their unique needs. Besides tasting better than regular flour, he claimed it was highly nutritious and made bread that rose well even in poor ovens.<sup>43</sup> To stimulate the mind, he planned the publication of an annual 150 page almanac dedicated to the 'intellectual and moral recovery' of the people of the French countryside. The resulting publication, the *Petit almanach de Quebec pour l'année bissextile de 1852, religieux, historique, littéraire, agricole, et de connaissances utiles*, coming in just over his projection at 160 pages, was to be modestly priced, fifteen sous each or five shillings for a dozen and was to include articles in the fields of education, morality, religion, sciences, agriculture, useful knowledge, savings banks, and the archaeological

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<sup>40</sup> Thibault, C. 1891. *Biographe de Stanislas Drapeau, auteur des 'Etudes sur les développements de la colonisation du Bas-Canada' et promoteur des 'sociétés de secours' pour venir en aide aux colons défricheurs*. Ottawa.

<sup>41</sup> Young, B. 2008. 'Revisiting Feudal Vestiges in Urban Quebec.' In, *Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions, and Social Experience in Post-Revolutionary British North America*, ed. Nancy Christie, 133-156. University of Toronto Press: Toronto; Fecteau's *The Pauper's Freedom* is perhaps the standard reference on this point.

<sup>42</sup> Little, J.I. 1989. *Nationalism, Capitalism and Colonization in Nineteenth Century Quebec: The Upper St. Francis District*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston. See especially chapter 4. See also the discussion in Lamonde's *History of Bishop Bourget's criticism of the newspaper reading room at the Institut Canadien de Montreal*. One of the movement's main proponents, Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, saw in the development of reading rooms a chance to make "an institution for all classes of society" one that would "erase as much as possible the myths that we imagine between the various occupations of life." These statements, published in the progressive *La Minerve* drew the ire of Bourget in how it challenged the fixed social hierarchies inherent to Catholic ideology. *La Minerve*, 14 May 1847.

<sup>43</sup> *Le Journal de Quebec*, 7 August 1851.

monuments of Canada. It would also provide an overview of all the government offices, their purviews, and a large number of statistical tables on navigation, trade, revenues, and the expenditures of the provincial government.<sup>44</sup>

### *'National Character'*

Drapeau's interest in matters of agricultural colonization was not a personal idiosyncrasy. Since 1834, when Ludger Duvernay, editor of the *patriote* organ *La Minerve*, and founder of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste coined his slogan "emparons-nous du sol" ('let us seize hold of the soil'), ideas of French nationalism had been wedded to the imagery of noble rural life. Concern with the efficacy of the colonization movement was becoming more deeply rooted in the social, political and religious lives of intellectual French-Canadians as the Lower Canadian press continued to sound the alarm over outmigration to New England and the need for agricultural colonization. In 1859, the prominent Le Playsian scholar Edmé Rameau de Saint-Pere delivered lectures on his recently published *La France aux Colonies*. Speaking to a rapt audience in the Great Room of the Parish Cabinet of Montreal, Rameau sought to "provide observers with the real data of social science" and to "descend from the clouds of metaphysics." Alongside a growing number of French nationalists, Rameau argued it was clear, when considered scientifically, that "it does not seem to us that it is Canada's destiny to be an industrial or commercial nation." Accordingly, Canadiens should reject "anything that smells of Americanism" and take to the soil.<sup>45</sup>

The colonization debate offered the potential for French nationalists to construct their own histories of the French-Canadian people. Debating the manner of colonization was one means of countering a defeatist spirit among *canadiens* and the fear that French culture would be lost as the youth of the seigneuries left their homeland for greener pastures in New England. Colonization offered the petit-bourgeois an opportunity to craft a distinctly *canadien* cultural memory; it was one way to remind French-Canadians they had a glorious past which they ought to seek to animate in the present. It was not hard to find such diatribes on the 'holy cause of colonization' in the pages of *Le Courrier du Canada*; of which Drapeau was business manager and his friend Taché editor.<sup>46</sup> *L'Écho du Cabinet* also contributed to this cause, publishing lectures given by then law student Pierre de Boucher de la Bruère, whose father would go on to be the director of colonization for Quebec until 1868 when he was replaced by Drapeau. To Boucher de la Bruère, French-Canadians had a duty to see the French-Canadian nationality survive and thrive. Much damage had been done by the early provincial administrations which had carried out Lord Durham's anglicizing project and sought to make the French race disappear. But to Boucher de la Bruère the *canadiens* were the noble descendants of the earliest North

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<sup>44</sup> *Le Journal de Quebec*, 28 October 1851.

<sup>45</sup> Rameau de Saint Pere, E. 1859. *La France aux Colonies*; *La Franco-Canadien*, 7 December 1860; Lamonde, *Social History*, 335.

<sup>46</sup> *Le Courrier du Canada*, 30 October 1857.

American colonizers like Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain. Their lineage must survive.<sup>47</sup>

French Canadians were of hardier stock, naturally more fertile and therefore less reliant on the need for foreign immigration to swell their numbers than were the effete urban Upper Canadians. As Drapeau wrote in *Le Courrier*, in industry and in perseverance, the *canadien* farmer had no rivals. Nor was it the case that colonization was retarded by the lack of suitable land or an inhospitable climate. No, the *canadiens* were at least the equal of any other people in strength and fortitude. So why did colonization efforts not meet with more immediate success? To those like Drapeau within the pro-science wing of the ultramontanist movement, the problem was a lack of information. The natural hardiness of the French people and the salubrious agricultural environment they had inherited from their ancestors (who had 'earned' it by fending off the First Nations<sup>48</sup>) resulted in a lack of progress in agricultural science and education. The natural fertility of the soil meant there was no need to develop sophisticated agricultural practice which had led to poor habits and collective malaise. Simply, the *canadiens* had been spoiled by circumstance.

If to Drapeau the problems afflicting the French-Canadian colonization effort could not be explained via the proto-sociological discourse of 'national character' (or what J.S. Mill called 'ethology'<sup>49</sup>), neither could national character be the basis for any successful scheme of colonization. Protracted debates played out in the pages of *Le Courrier* and its liberal counterpart, *Le Canadien*, in 1857-58 between advocates of different schemes of French colonization. With Taché as editor, *Le Courrier* published Drapeau's colonization scheme in full, occupying the front pages of six issues of the paper between 30 October and 11 November 1857. In addition to laying out his own scheme of colonization, Drapeau was also responding to a series of articles in *Le Canadien*, published between 11 and 15 August 1857 by a French national named Amouroux.<sup>50</sup>

Amouroux's scheme was motivated by the success of the Canadas at the Universal Exhibition at Paris in 1855. The province ought to take advantage of the awareness it had generated and begin soliciting foreign immigration from European countries, particularly France. This, alongside concerted efforts to retain the French-Canadian youth on the soil of their ancestors were the two main points of Amouroux's plan. To accomplish the object, Amouroux proposed the creation of a joint-stock company under the title of *Société générale de défrichement et de colonisation* to be funded by foreign and domestic capital. The *Société* would purchase land from the province and be responsible for clearing a certain amount per year. Upon

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<sup>47</sup> *L'Écho du Cabinet*, 5 June 1860.

<sup>48</sup> *Le Courrier du Canada*, 30 October 1857.

<sup>49</sup> For an overview, see White, M. 2005. "The Liberal Character of Ethological Governance." *Economy and Society*, 34 (3): 474-494.

<sup>50</sup> *Le Canadien*, 11 – 15 August 1857. I have not been able to find any personal information on M. Amouroux. It is mentioned in the 11 August issue he was a recent transplant from France.

the clearing of each 500 acres, the company would divide the lands into farms upon which they would build houses, barns, stables and other necessary buildings. Once there was a considerable number of colonists to form a parish, the company would be responsible for the erecting of a Church. Once construction was finished, the farms would be conceded, preferably to the shareholders of the corporation and afterwards to the workers who during the clearing had shown the greatest zeal for the work. The settler would be responsible for repaying the costs of clearing and construction either through a percentage of their annual yields or ten, fifteen, or twenty annual monetary payments. Giving the colonists such an opportunity would, to Amouroux, stimulate a natural taste for luxury. Settlers would, as their successes and resources increased, make a more comfortable home, more suitable furniture, and a more prosperous existence overall. But moreover, as the successes of the company became better known, this would stimulate the development of competing associations which would develop their own lands on a similar model. It would not be long before the backwoods replaced with thriving civilizations.

The plan, claimed Drapeau, was beautiful but not sustainable. To his eyes, it relied excessively on ideas of individual patriotism and national character. His critique was scathing yet sympathetic. Drapeau too claimed to have at one time believed that "individual patriotism alone could be enough to support and bring to fruition any conception having national character as its basis; but the blindfold that covered our eyes fell."<sup>51</sup> Why, after all, should young *canadiens* choose to settle the lands of large proprietors instead of seeking a comparatively easy existence in the United States? To Drapeau, Amouroux proposed no answer other than an innate love of country and a specious individualism. What protections or guarantees would the settlers have? How would they not be subject to the same sort of abuses inflicted by the British American Land Company? What forms of agricultural education would be put in place to show the colonists best farming practices? Without such means, would not these settlements find themselves abandoned in short order as the same ruinous agricultural practices were carried out there as elsewhere? In short, for Drapeau, agricultural colonization was a means of moral and social improvement but it needed to be supplemented by practical schemes of subjectification anchored in the administrative form of the State.

### ***'La colonisation du Canada au point de vue nationale'***

These articles would be compiled the following year and published as *La Colonisation au Canada Envisage au Point de Vue Nationale*. At the heart of the plan was a critique of the idea that individual efforts like that proposed by Amouroux could ever succeed. Drapeau's was a plan of colonization by the state. It proposed a number of changes to the provincial administration. First, all matters relating to colonization were to be put under the control of the Minister of Agriculture who would be responsible for naming two government officers to be styled 'Colonisation Stewards'. The stewards would provide quarterly reports to the province on the progress of clearing and settlement crown lands as well as on the expenditure of an annual £100,000 grant to be made for each of the following ten years. The stewards would be responsible for keeping a register of all purchasers of crown lands including their names, origins, where settled, and their religious denominations. The stewards would strive, as far as possible to

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<sup>51</sup> *Le Courrier du Canada*, 6 November 1857.

classify colonists by their origins and religious beliefs and attempt to settle them together. This was with the hope both of facilitating the interests of worship as well as preventing sectional conflicts between religious and national groups. The Minister of Agriculture would see to the publication of an annual volume entitled 'The Colonizers Guide to Canada' featuring maps of the principal areas open for settlement, their topography, the rivers, lakes, and canals, the quality of the soil and anything else that may be deemed noteworthy. This was to be distributed all throughout Canada and into New England so that those who had left Lower Canada might see fit to return. Finally, the stewards would be responsible for performing annual tours of the settlements and monitoring the progress of colonization.

Drapeau's plan met with immediate acclaim. In March 1858, *Le Courrier* ran a piece heaping praise on it. It was to be the duty of the government not to abandon the farmers to the whims of land corporations, but to educate and enlighten them. Most of all, the farmers needed to be protected against their own tendencies. Agriculture was no different than any other endeavour in this regard. As *Le Courrier* noted "in agriculture, as in all other positions of the social state, people must be enlightened about their duties and needs, and demand from them what they do not have the energy or good will to undertake on their own."<sup>52</sup> Drapeau's administrative framework would be very useful for schemes of colonization guided by social scientific knowledge production. Agricultural colonization could not succeed unless it became scientific which required knowledge of facts which needed to be "collected wherever they occur." Farmers required 'methodical training' for only that could produce serious and complete knowledge. The publication of annual volume of statistics would replace the instruction that farmers were at present drawing from newspapers and writers from different countries which had proven detrimental. While working as a colonization road agent Drapeau began to collect the information which would show the material wealth of Lower Canada and the potential for success with colonization. In 1863 he published the results as *Études sur les développements de colonisation du Canada depuis dix ans (1851 à 1861)*.

### *L'études*

Drapeau's study was very well-received at a time where enthusiasm for the colonization roads program overall was waning. In the Assembly, then Commissioner of Crown Lands McDougall rebutted calls for more funding for the colonization roads: a program run by his department. Some called for a more prudent strategy in laying out the roads (why was \$10,000 spent last year scratching out a road from the rocks at Parry Sound?) but McDougall was having none of it. He invited anyone calling for continued funding to go into the Crown Lands Department and read the reports made by the colonization road agents and by the provincial land surveyors. Read the representations made by intelligent settlers and of the hardships born by the residents of the Opeongo or Hastings Roads or in any other part of the Huron Territory. McDougall claimed to have heard accounts describing the "greatest privation, amounting even to starvation". Settlers had died from "the want of necessaries of life."<sup>53</sup> Nor was this limited to the

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<sup>52</sup> *Le Courrier du Canada*, 8 March 1858.

<sup>53</sup> *Quebec Mercury*, 22 August 1863.

Upper Canadian roads. In Lower Canada accounts were published in the press of families that went up to three days without eating. Moreover, the roads were said to be in such poor shape settlers were forced to walk ten leagues carrying potash salt on their backs. The alkaline material quickly burned through bags and seared into flesh, disabling many.<sup>54</sup>

Coming in at 593 pages and selling for \$1.50 or \$2.00 with fold-out maps, Drapeau's *Études* was an exhaustive inventory of the population growth and material production of the lower province.<sup>55</sup> The book was a mix of compilations from the census data for each of those years alongside his own personal observations of the countryside. His accounts of population growth were presented with anecdotal references to what he felt were interesting material such as the size of the chapels in each locale. He was glad to see most were at least forty by twenty feet, but more impressed by the townships which had constructed them as large as 100 by forty feet. This sort of 'travel modality' of knowledge production, which had been advocated by pioneering social scientists like Martineau, represented a transitional moment in the production of 'authentic' fact, between the sort of canvassing of elite opinion (which had marked earlier emigration inquiries, see chapter four) and objective statistical representation. Drapeau combines the two to promote his system of colonization and advocate reform of the state system. At a basic level, his study was a modernization of the early proto-social scientific work of Lower Canadian Surveyor General Joseph Bouchette.<sup>56</sup> Where necessary, Drapeau quoted Bouchette's work to supplement his own accounts. In the 1815 work, Bouchette proceeded by taking the seigneurie as the basic unit of analysis and providing exhaustive descriptions of each before moving on to the next. As Curtis has argued, such inventory-making is an important precursor to social-scientific thinking.<sup>57</sup> Such practices facilitate a sense of security and control over the dynamics of collective life. Despite appearances, inventory making is not simple empiricism. Taking stock requires the classification of objects and the modeling of social relations (conscious or otherwise). Such modeling may be congenial or detrimental to political calculations of various types. For example, Bouchette's use of the seigneurie as the unit of analysis configures social relations and collective life more broadly within the feudal model of lords and vassals and favours a political ontology characterized by a stable equilibrium of kings, lords, and commons. By Drapeau's time, the relation between inventory making and political security was consciously acknowledged. His *Études* was praised in *L'Écho du Cabinet* for providing systematic

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<sup>54</sup> *L'Écho du Cabinet*, 5 June 1860.

<sup>55</sup> *Le Courrier du Canada*, 12 October 1864.

<sup>56</sup> Bouchette's grandson, Errol, was a founding Canadian sociologist. Alongside his friend Leon Gérin, he was a founding member of the sociology department of the Royal Society of Canada. Both sought to ground the practice of sociology in Canada upon the model of the works by Le Play and Rameau de Saint-Pere, and to a lesser extent on the observational accounts Bouchette's grandfather had employed, rather than on the philosophical Comteanism with which the term 'sociology' was then associated. See, Falardeau, J-C. 1967. *The Rise of the Social Sciences in Canada*. Department of Cultural Affairs: Quebec; Gérin, L. 1913. "La Sociologie: Le Mot et la Chose". *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada*.

<sup>57</sup> Curtis, B. 2013. "Joseph-Charles Taché et la science de l'inventaire social au Québec". In, J. Goyette, C. La Charité and C. Broué, ed. *Joseph-Charles Taché: Polygraphe*, 263-292. Presses de L'Université de Laval: Laval.

knowledge of the resources of the province and contributing to collective peace. After all claimed *L'Écho*, the French Revolution stemmed in part from a lack of knowledge of the resources of the country. The French people, seeing it as impossible to repay the immense national debt, took instead to arms. When the immense resources it has at hand are known, the people tend to seek "other more peaceful interests to pursue."<sup>58</sup>

The efforts of Drapeau and Bouchette were both linked to furthering ideologies of French-Canadian national superiority. In his 1815 and subsequent works, Bouchette sought to demonstrate French-Canadian exceptionalism to the Malthusian laws of population growth. The superior fecundity of the *canadiens* and the immense territory available for colonization meant Lower Canada would soon become a global economic power, untainted by the evils of pauperism. Drapeau's *Études* mobilized social inventory science for similar ends but his classification and modelling were designed to further his ultramontanist politics. He concentrated exclusively on statistical information related "exclusively to that which relates to the exploitation of the ground, the forests, and the waters". He was not interested in industrial or commercial production and focussed instead on the pure and noble labour of agricultural colonization.

While Drapeau engaged in systematic inventory of Lower Canadian townships, he also organized these descriptions into seven administrative districts whose agricultural production and population growth could be compared to one another. By not limiting his inquiry to the townships and by situating his analysis at the level of district, Drapeau was able to show the tremendous amount of land outside the old seigneuries available for colonization; lands which had been unenumerated by the 1861 census. Strategic classification was also present in his accounts of population growth. Drapeau sought to demonstrate not just the population growth of his administrative districts but the superiority of French-Catholics relative to their English protestant neighbours. He classified the people into those of French origin and those of British origin but these were not simple empirical categories. He classified as British all those foreign to the French language "whether they were born in the country or not."<sup>59</sup> In Drapeau's classification, only French speakers were the natural occupants of the soil. By confining all English population growth (from immigration or natural) to a single category, any increases could be easily explained away as the result of immigration alone, rather than natural fecundity. Ultimately, the *Études* filled its purpose of providing the social scientific ammunition to counter the anecdotal accounts of those like Commissioner of Crown Lands McDougall who desperately wanted an end to government led schemes of colonization. In light of the new information, Drapeau modified his colonization scheme.<sup>60</sup>

### *District Space*

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<sup>58</sup> *L'Écho du Cabinet*, 1 February 1864.

<sup>59</sup> Drapeau, S. 1863. *Études sur la développements de colonisation du Canada depuis dix ans* (1851 à 1861).

<sup>60</sup> The modified scheme was published in an 1864 pamphlet, Drapeau, S. 1864. *Coup d'oeil sur les ressources productive et la richesse du Canada: Suivi d'un plan d'organisation complet et détaillé relatif à la colonisation*. Leger Brousseau: Quebec.

Drapeau published the modification of his colonization scheme in 1864. Entitled *Coup d'Oeil sur les Ressources Productive et la Richesse du Canada: Suivi d'un Plan d'Organisation Complet et Detaille Relatif a la Colonisation*, the work was a summary of the *Etudes* and a restatement of sectional political talking points. He repeated factional claims about the superior fecundity of the French people and the need for the English to reproduce through foreign immigration. Yet it also featured new arguments. The new work was informed by Drapeau's continued reading of social scientific literature. Since the publication of *Etudes*, he had read the annual report of the Social Economy Society of Paris and, despite his obvious political influences, approved of the stated need for informing government policy through a dispassionate collection of facts.<sup>61</sup> Citing members of the Clergy, Drapeau claimed the first step in reformed governmental policy was the act of studying the character and real needs of the *canadiens*. As he'd already done this, the time was right for reforming the colonization project. Like his *Etudes*, the pamphlet was influential among political elites and sold reasonably well, going for 12.5 cents per copy at Leger Brousseau's bookshop in Quebec.<sup>62</sup>

The new book was essentially a summary of the *Etudes* coming in at thirty-six pages rather than 563. Providing a summation was important to Drapeau and helps to demonstrate his understanding of the link between social scientific knowledge and social and political subjectification. Most French-Canadians were completely unaware of the tremendous size and resources of the province as a whole. Even those who sought such knowledge and drew upon governmental statistical production could be easily led astray as Drapeau acknowledged that even though his studies employed census data, it was out of a lack of anything better. Drapeau would be counted among those who saw in the 1861 census an instrument of English political domination through the production of figures that were 'hopelessly inaccurate' as well as by paying for information contributing to English immigration but not extending this privilege to the French. By contrast, Drapeau's self-proclaimed 'deeply encouraging inventory' could work to educate and enlighten the *canadiens* as to their true state and standing in the province. If this knowledge were more widely spread, we "would not see people of French origin ignoring so many useful things about our country's resources". The effect would be particularly transformative upon *canadien* youth, who being "inspired by the reading of such works, would not leave the country for foreign soil." Yet the *Etudes* still had to be presented in a readable form. Drapeau acknowledged throughout that work that it was a dry, ponderous tome. Ever the typographer, Drapeau felt the brevity of his *Coup d'Oeil* would remedy this.

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<sup>61</sup> Here is the translation of the speech of Armand the Viscount of Melun whom Drapeau quotes: What is lacking today in political and social constructions are neither entrepreneurs nor architects; each undertakes to build a new society, and has one or two plans for general reconstruction, but who is thinking of collecting the elements on which the future must rest? We have the modest ambition of being the workers who dig the quarry, detach the materials and put them within the reach and at the disposal of all; in a work of this kind, we make no noise, we do not attach its name to the glory of the monument, but we have prepared everything so that it rises and lasts. Let us therefore continue with courage and perseverance our task; once the elements have been gathered and the materials collected, it will be time to call the architect!" Drapeau, *Coup d'Oeil*, 22.

<sup>62</sup> *Le Courrier du Canada*, 5 October 1864.

While appearing largely similar, Drapeau's new scheme was considerably more advanced than his previous one. It continued to stress the need for a hierarchically organized state apparatus manned by career (not political) appointees. It again insisted on the need to divide Canada along French and English lines with regards to colonization. Ensuring the separation of Anglophone colonial interests and *canadien* ones would ensure the operation of the colonization scheme without any threat of racial jealousy introducing unnecessary factional divides. Colonization would be returned to the aegis of the Minister of Agriculture to whom would answer the two Colonization Stewards, just as in the previous plan. As in the previous plan they would submit an annual report of progress made during the year with a complete set of statistics relating to the agricultural production of the province. In theory, as agents of the Minister of Agriculture these stewards would be able to compel answers from the provinces various agricultural societies and land agents. Those who did not comply being subject to a fine or imprisonment. The stewards would in effect produce a miniature census for each section of the province. In Lower Canada alone they would be able to compel information from at least 183 different sources (100 colonization road overseers, eleven colonization agents, and seventy-two agricultural secretaries). To the stewards would be responsible a new corps of eleven colonization agents who would be each responsible for a colonization region. The eleven regions would 'embrace all the counties' of the province and include roughly sixty colonization routes each. These regions were a new detail to Drapeau's scheme. Drapeau's regions were to be roughly equal geographically "so that all sections are equally favored". Perhaps it was because of the unreliability of the census data but the physical size of these regions was to be privileged instead of existing population distribution in the district.

The appointing of colonization agents was important because it could make the system progressive. Minimum standards for the agents' duties were set but they were also free and encouraged to take any measures which might exceed these standards. Unlike the colonization road agents of Upper Canada<sup>63</sup>, whose remuneration was fixed but were free to pursue other ventures, Drapeau felt it important to design into the system a way to 'activate the agents' zeal'. Salaries would be arranged hierarchically according to among other things, the progress of the agent in colonizing their district. He was not explicit about it, but it is fairly clear Drapeau intended each of his colonization agents to be Catholic. He was fairly confident and frankly expected the Lower Canadian bishops to grant each agent a letter of recommendation to ease their efforts within their dioceses and confer esteem upon them in the eyes of their parishioners. Part of the job would be to visit the existing townships and develop relationships with existing settlers, convincing their sons to warm up to the idea of backwoods colonization when they came of age. This process could be expedited by forming partnerships with local priests who would allow them to speak at the end of mass in promoting colonization. The agents might also give the list of available lands to the priests who were effectively turned into *de facto* colonization agents themselves. Coercive checks were built into the system. Though he expected the agents to align themselves with local priests (thereby implicitly drawing on local power hierarchies) Drapeau

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<sup>63</sup> This was discussed in chapter four. The lack of incentives forced some of the agents to take up other ventures and use their offices as a way to finance other vocations.

appears to have been sensitive to the risk of corruption. The central authority needed to exercise “useful and necessary control” over each agent. They were to keep a daily journal recording each day’s operations, the persons who made requests of them, the answers given, of their tours and inspections, etc. These were to be transmitted the first of every month alongside an overall account of the progress of their district and were to be in the same rigorous and standardized form as those designed by J-C. Taché for the Board of Inspectors of Asylums and Prisons.<sup>64</sup>

The segmenting of populations into territorial units, observing social conditions and reflection of the ends and organizing of government were hallmarks of the discourse known as the social science or ‘social economy’ at mid-century. At its heart, Drapeau’s scheme was a reflexive critique of government which based its proposals for the organization of the state system upon the need to produce particular types of subjects. Like McGee’s immigration agents, the scheme segmented the people into abstract territorial categories, subjected them to strict(er) observational protocols, and to the discipline and training of a centralized state bureaucracy. It would remedy issues stemming from the ignorance plaguing the agricultural class, who, to an extent had succumbed to the desires of luxury – the “hideous and deep wound of societies”. Lacking proper training, the habitant fell victim to their ignorance: “Before the farmer has paid for the egrets and pink hats, the crinolines and the cloths and the boys’ horse harnesses and the line and the rest, he usually does not have enough grain in the spring to sow his land; then he has to go back to the merchants to buy the grain he sold in the fall at 30 percent to pay the costs of pride.” Self-image, that is, the ethical relation of the subject to itself, would be the target of this new centralized bureaucratic apparatus. It was clearly a governmental project in the Foucaultian sense though not a straightforwardly liberal one for the entity being regulated was not an ‘individual’ in the sense of a possessive individualism, but a moral whole, a soul belonging to God.

Despite favourable coverage in the press, Drapeau’s scheme would not be taken up until after Confederation. The cries of retrenchment coming from the Sandfield-MacDonald reformers and particularly Commissioner of Crown Lands McDougall made it unlikely there would be any expenditure on colonization. He attempted a call to arms among French-Canadians, wondering aloud why the provincial government should spend \$46,000 maintaining A.C. Buchanan’s office when he was concerned only with the interests of British immigration,<sup>65</sup> or why \$107,000 should be spent on lighthouses. Clearly, cries of austerity were a tool of English domination, sounded only when matters of concern to *canadiens* were at issue. Despite his pleas and his factional rhetoric, Drapeau’s scheme would not be immediately taken up. In the intervening years, the colonization roads for Lower Canada were removed from the Department of Crown Lands and handed over to J.C. Chapais at Public Works, who wanted nothing to do with matters of colonization until after Confederation.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Cf. Taché, J-C. 1864. *The Board of Inspectors of Asylums, Prisons and Hospitals and its Accusers, re-printed from the Morning Chronicle*: Quebec.

<sup>65</sup> Here again is Drapeau’s capacious definition of ‘British’.

<sup>66</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 6 September 1865.

### *The 1864 Committees*

The positive assessment of colonization provided by Drapeau clashed with the largely negative accounts of the roads project coming from his superiors at the Department of Crown Lands. McDougall was under the impression that all the best lands for settlement were taken up. This was not a popular claim in the Assembly but McDougall felt he could back it up. He had Thomas Devine produce a map showing the division between lands believed good for settlement and those to be exclusively timber lands. He ordered all the Crown Lands Agents to perform personal inspections of their districts and report which lands therein might be useful for settlement and which should be removed from sale.<sup>67</sup> Yet still, in the *Quebec Morning Chronicle*, McDougall was accused of underselling the agricultural potential of the Tract because he was a member for Northern Ontario and was therefore currying favour with the lumber interests there.<sup>68</sup> McGee piled on, accusing him of misrepresenting the quality of the farmland on Devine's map which he claimed actually showed a full two-thirds of the land was fit for settlement. These critiques were followed by a third and particularly damaging criticism. McDougall's Grit cries of retrenchment were actually "only calculated to dry up the life-springs of the body politic." He was not in favour of colonization roads, nor of surveying, and he had a quite limited idea of what land could be productively farmed.<sup>69</sup> To get to the bottom of the situation, two select committees were appointed to work in tandem and determine the prospects of agricultural colonization. The first was convened to study the progress of immigration and colonization and was called in part because of the "contradictory statements respecting the situation of the public lands"<sup>70</sup> to which Drapeau's work must have been seen as contributing. The second was to determine if the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Territory (the Ottawa-Huron Tract) could ever be a successful site for colonization.

The committees show the decline of political support for the roads program. The members of the committee on the Tract refused to openly support continuation of the colonization roads program, arguing that further explorations of the region needed to be conducted to determine which lands would be suitable for settlement and which were to be given over to the lumbermen. Drawing on the testimony of a host of witnesses including Hastings Road agent M.P. Hayes, the committee's report bemoaned the lack of any rigorous system of supervision or inspection. As a result there was no way "the comparative progress of settlements may be ascertained" and no way by which "the efficiency of the system may be tested and sustained."<sup>71</sup> As far as whether or not agricultural colonization of the lands was possible at all, the committee saw no reason why not. After all, the fact that only pine trees grew on the land did

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<sup>67</sup> PAO RG 1-13-2-4, 12 September 1863, Devine to Alexander.

<sup>68</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 11 May 1864.

<sup>69</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 3 March 1864. McDougall was replaced as Commissioner on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March.

<sup>70</sup> *Montreal Herald*, 8 September 1864.

<sup>71</sup> JLAC 1864, Appendix 8, *Report of the Committee on the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Territory*.

not mean it was unsuitable for agricultural colonization, only that the settlers had not figured out a way to make it grow anything else. Ultimately, the committee fell back on a racist sociology of national character arguing a scientific system of agriculture would make the land workable. After all, "that which is now produced under the rude husbandry of the half-civilized savage, could be profitably grown by those accustomed to tilling the soil."

The Committee on Immigration and Colonization was authorized to consider the best means for colonizing the backwoods of the Canadas but were specifically instructed to consider whether or not the colonization roads system was the best means of doing so. They were encouraged to determine whether the establishment of other modes of transport might be more effective. The Committee's witnesses testified that sufficient settlement was not occurring along the roads to justify the expenditure. There were calls in the Tory press to download the responsibility for these roads on the municipalities.<sup>72</sup> The 1864 immigration season saw no more than seventeen settlers located along the colonization roads in both sections of the province.<sup>73</sup> The committee had a point. There were also critiques of the overall infrastructural system. The roads were said to connect with each other but nowhere else and there were not enough crossroads to make transportation of crops economically viable. Overall the report was largely negative and the committee proposed the building of a railroad or a canal to connect the Ottawa to Georgian Bay. The roads had simply not gotten the job done.<sup>74</sup>

### 1867

Confederation altered the political terrain of the colonization debate and deeply affected the structure of the colonization project. Federalization had placed the governmental administration responsible for immigration and colonization on different scales. Agriculture was federalized and Taché, continuing on as secretary was tasked with, among other things, fashioning a system of immigration that would serve the Dominion as a whole and not any one particular province. On the other hand, matters of colonization and settlement were deemed matters of provincial concern. The provincial system of administration shifted political alliances and the tactics used and left each province free to pursue sectional interests.

In Ontario this meant the passage of a Homestead Act on the model of that passed in the United States in 1862. The 1868 Free Grants and Homestead Act was pushed by new Commissioner of Crown Lands Stephen Richards. The Act was a response to growing political pressure to segregate agricultural interests from those of the lumbermen. Grits had been calling for a more liberal policy on the free grants since the passage of the American bill. Accordingly the size of the free grants would be increased from the fifty acres set in 1853 to 100 acres but only on lands deemed not fit for lumbering. The grants were also to be separated from the infrastructure of the colonization roads. Grants could, in theory, be had anywhere in the Ottawa-

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<sup>72</sup> *Quebec Mercury*, 26 February 1864.

<sup>73</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 31 August 1865.

<sup>74</sup> JLAC 1864, Appendix 7, *Report of the Select Committee on Immigration and Colonization*.

Huron Tract, with the stipulation it not be valuable for timber or mines. This allowed the free grant program to be dissociated from the spatial matrix of the roads and, upon the construction of a railroad or canal through the Tract, settlers could take up along it. Additionally, the grants were to be exempted from some of the existing settlement conditions. The obligation to maintain continuous residence upon their lot was effectively eliminated. Settlers could be absent for six months out of the year essentially acknowledging that it was impossible to maintain an existence on the tract from agricultural pursuits alone. Richards also eliminated some of the key personnel in his department responsible for the administration of the colonization project. Andrew Russell who since Sir James Kempt appointed him township agent for Inverness and authorized him to build roads to enable prospective settlers to inspect the lands, was unceremoniously and unexpectedly fired on 20 August 1869.<sup>75</sup> The colonization road agents were rendered all but useless. To the extent they continued submitting them, their annual reports stopped being included in the annual reports of the Commissioner of Crown Lands after Confederation.<sup>76</sup>

The roads died a slower death in Quebec. Under the administration of P.J.O. Chauveau, who had been advocating backwoods colonization at least since the publication of his 1848 novel, *Charles Guerin*, the Legislative Assembly passed the Colonization Societies Act in 1869.<sup>77</sup> Chauveau explicitly counterpoised the measure to Ontario's Homestead Act. The former would be "concerned with the improvement and construction of colonization and the other for the protection of settlers."<sup>78</sup> Unlike in Ontario, the act would promote agricultural colonization throughout the Province but would reduce the settlers' obligations to keep the roads in repair. In certain respects the act was a reworking of Drapeau's scheme from his *Coup d'Oeil*. Drapeau saw it that way. He took advantage of his clout with *Le Courrier du Canada* to attack those who opposed the system or took away his credit for developing it. The province did not adopt the eleven districts Drapeau had proposed and chose instead to use the existing seventeen electoral districts as their framework but they did appoint a colonization agent to be responsible for each as Drapeau had proposed.<sup>79</sup> In reality, the Act would be decidedly less authoritative than Drapeau had envisioned. Each electoral district would be allowed to form a colonization society with the aim of establishing settlers on crown lands. It would also remove the responsibility for

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<sup>75</sup> *The Globe*, 21 August 1869; see also Little, J.I. 2013. "A.C. Buchanan and the Megantic Experiment: Promoting British Colonization in Lower Canada". *Histoire Sociale/ Social History* 46 (92): 295-319; Watson, A. 2017. "Pioneering a Rural Identity on the Canadian Shield: Tourism, Household Economies, and Poor Soils in Muskoka, Ontario, 1870-1900. *Canadian Historical Review* 98 (2): 261-293; Wood, D.J. 2000. *Making Ontario: Agricultural Colonization and Landscape Re-Creation before the Railway*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston.

<sup>76</sup> Vosburgh, A. 2004. *Agents of Progress*. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation: McMaster University.

<sup>77</sup> For a brief overview of this time period in Quebec with regards to colonization, see Little J.I. 1977. "La Patrie: Quebec's Repatriation Colony, 1875-1880." *Historical Papers/Communications Historiques* 12 (1): 66-85.

<sup>78</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 12 February 1868.

<sup>79</sup> *Le Courrier du Canada*, 27 August 1869.

building the colonization roads from the province, effectively re-introducing the problems of a lack of standardization which had plagued the province in the years prior to Union.

As J.I. Little has argued, this measure would not prove long for this world. There was an 'initial outburst of enthusiasm' for the measure – at least thirteen societies had been formed by December 1870<sup>80</sup> - but this fervour quickly died. The 1871 census revealed the complete and abject failure of the infrastructural colonization project. Legislators worried about the effectiveness of the colonization agents. There was a fear the inhabitants of the townships were not being "enlightened to the necessity of their active co-operation and of unified and energetic action". By 1875 it had become clear that not only had the measure not resulted in the settlement of new agriculturalists, it had not even managed to stem the tide of the outmigration to New England. Even the conservative organ *La Minerve* had mobilized against the plan claiming the colonization roads would never be enough to restrain the spirit of emigration among the French Canadian people. The paper chastised Chauveau for lavish expenditures on the colonization societies, claiming the achievements of the Chauveau policy of colonization are in inverse relation to the money expended."<sup>81</sup> More effective schemes of colonization would adhere to different administrative infrastructures. *La Minerve* suggested reform to the teaching of agricultural pursuits in the common schools: "Agriculture should be taught in an interesting way as a regular branch of instruction and thus the strong tendency to go into other trades and emigrate would be overcome."

### **Conclusion**

The slow death the colonization roads had been undergoing was brought to a finish by the 1871 census, particularly for Quebec where the population totals revealed a growth of fewer than 100,000 people. In reality, their decline began a decade prior with the administrative reorganization of the provincial colonization apparatus. The reorganization of the Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics to be more in step with matters of social economy in the colonization movement combined with the Bureau's loss of control over the Upper Canadian roads program signalled a propitious shift in the handling of colonization. New, more consciously scientific administrative infrastructures, were developed to record the progress of colonization and these infrastructures marginalized the roads. The influence of Catholic political administrators including Thomas D'Arcy McGee and Stanislas Drapeau resulted in new spatial abstractions which spread the process of colonization across wider geographic areas and separated the progress of colonization from the progress of the roads.

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<sup>80</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 9 December 1870.

<sup>81</sup> *La Minerve* reprinted in the *Quebec Mercury*, 8 January 1870.

*Chapter Seven:**Conclusion*

By confederation, the apparatus of infrastructural colonization envisioned by reformers in the early 1840s had fractured. The idea that configured settlements in the backwoods along leading lines of road would exert a formative influence on individual subjectivities had been tried and found wanting. Settlers simply refused to take up lots along the roads in sufficient numbers to justify their expense. There were a number of logical reasons. First and foremost was the unsuitability of much of the available land for crops. The experience of life along the roads gave the lie to the popular assumption that where trees grew crops would also. Government agents who had mocked the small plots of the First Nations, convinced they could do better with intensive agricultural practices, came to see the reality of backwoods life as significantly more complicated than their racist beliefs had permitted. Particularly in the Ottawa-Huron Tract, settlers found the thin topsoil was exhausted after a few seasons. Fires were common which not only reduced the soil to its rocky substrate but denuded the land of its valuable timber. Farmers were set upon by lumbermen who tore down the bridges they needed to take their crops to market to make way for lumber slides. When the settlers fought back they were subjected to mob violence. Over time, political elites grew tired of attempting to mediate disputes between settlers and lumbermen when there were so few of the former and so many of the latter.

With confederation, infrastructural colonization as it developed under the union lost most of its political import. The granting of land in free and common soccage had been rationalized as part of a general political project of anglicization. Opening up the backwoods of Upper Canada, and continuing the development of the Eastern Townships and the Saguenay region of Lower Canada, by granting lands in non-seigneurial tenure would, it was hoped, quickly increase the numbers of fixed English settlers and rob the French of their political power.<sup>1</sup> This made sense under an administrative union. It was for this reason Lord Durham had opposed a federal system for the British North American provinces. If the French were to be ‘anglicized’ they could not be left to govern themselves. The need to drown the French under a tide of English settlers was less important in a federal system where the provinces administered their own affairs.

I have argued that the failure of the colonization roads was not simply a result of settlers being beaten back by the Laurentian Shield.<sup>2</sup> The issue is far more complex. The Canadian backwoods stopped being viewed as the primary field for colonization as westward expansion opened up new agricultural spaces in the 1870s. The need to combat French cultural institutions shifted west as well with the Dominion government planning to resurvey the Red River and

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<sup>1</sup> LAC CO 42/475(?), 26 December 1840, Arthur to Sydenham.

<sup>2</sup> The histories of the roads written in the early-to-mid twentieth century often made this argument, partly under the influence of an Innisian staple theory. See Lower, A.R.M. 1929. “The Assault on the Laurentian Barrier, 1850-1870.” *The Canadian Historical Review*, 10 (4): 294-307; Spragge, G.W. 1957. “Colonization Roads in Canada West, 1850-1867. *Ontario History*, 49: 1-18.

Assiniboine River settlements which had been configured under the seigneurial system during the time of New France. It was clear that westward expansion was a more viable option for homesteaders after the Red River Rebellion. Increasing urban and industrialization in the former Canadas, along with the creation of a tax-supported school system gradually began to draw attention away from backwoods colonization as a means of political subjectification. Allies in the press like *La Minerve*, began to stress the importance of teaching agricultural practice in common schools while the 'great normal training school' of the Canadian backwoods became comparatively marginalized. Scottish educational reformers had long advocated attention to infrastructural matters in the construction of schools. Its architecture and playground structure would develop the moral character of students and the school itself would civilize the working-class street, not vice versa. Infrastructure was becoming more localized. Settlers could not be sent to the backwoods and expected to stay there unless they were first subjected to such subjectification.

Whatever its failures, the colonization roads marked the emergence of a new moment in the twin processes of settler colonialism and liberal state formation in the Canadas. The colonization roads were not a continuation of the usual settlement strategies. Mercantile notions of population as populousness were displaced as the colonization movement was marked by a tendency to think population in relation to territory, climate, and social structure. While mercantile thought saw population as populousness as an absolute good, the new liberal colonizers saw it as relative and dependent on circumstance. Population density, the size and orientation of lots along the road, their distance from existing settlements, but also technical matters such as a line's width, each was reasoned according to the aims of social engineering. Order could be ensured through infrastructural design.

Questions of social order, political equity, and good government came to be thought through quite distinct mechanisms as successive provincial administrations continued the experiment of 'ruling the routes'. Social order was not to be ensured through the creation of a landed aristocracy, responsible for the social and political control of 'the people', it was to be ensured by designing the conditions of possibility for amenable political subjectification into the very fabric of daily life in the backwoods. Authority figures in the shape of colonization and Crown Land Agents were present, but they saw themselves involved in the work of political moulding, not social control. Instead, social order would be ensured through a combination of congenial institutional forms, social structures, and new forms of self. Such concerns were infrastructural matters. Road signage would foster within the illiterate man a desire for education through a practical demonstration of the use of literacy. From there he would gain a sense of his political interests. In Lower Canada/Canada East, since women were often seen through English eyes as better educated than the men, such a desire would also serve to 'correct' problematic rural gender dynamics which saw canny wives controlling their husbands.

### ***Beyond the 'Two Solitudes'***

Throughout this thesis I have examined infrastructural development in the Canadas as part of a concerted effort to bring the histories of English Canadian and Quebec history out of their self-imposed isolation. What novelist Hugh MacLennan labelled in 1945 as the 'two

solitudes' remains a pernicious issue in contemporary scholarship as a national/nationalist lens continues to be the default setting for Canadian scholars. As Michel Ducharme has noted recently, the two Canadian historiographies have largely ignored one another, as if the histories of English and French Canada were not mutually interconnected. The history of the colonization roads makes it abundantly clear that infrastructural developments in one of the Canadas cannot be viewed as separate from concerns over social and political developments in the other.<sup>3</sup>

Abandoning the 'nationalist' lens in Canadian history should be accompanied by an accompanying abandonment of a nationalist approach to infrastructure development; that pernicious tendency to see infrastructures as something the State does. As I have shown throughout, the administrative form of the Canadian state altered and changed in part due to concerns over the handling of the colonization effort. This opened up new affordances for political action and new avenues for interested political actors to seek to further specific political imaginaries. Furthermore, I have argued that we should view common subordination to administrative forms of regulation as key processes in the production of social solidarities, particularly, in the case of the colonization roads, ones predicated on English-Protestantism. Beginning in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the design and layout of roadways was believed to be one means by which certain habits of mind and patterns of ethical conduct associated with English rule could be engrained into the psyches and bodily dispositions of individuals, making them amenable to particular forms of political domination; what I have referred to throughout as ruling through routes.

While my particular case study is rather specific and parochial, such an approach remains useful to contemporary 'roads scholars' in a wide variety of fields. Viewing road building and political administration as processes for instilling habits of mind and desirable affective economies can help us make sense of contemporary campaigns for increased driver safety. Moral panics over impaired or distracted driving are in effect ways of governing bodily comportment. Increasing efforts by municipal governments to turn the roadways into 'shared spaces' with bicycles can be seen as part of an attempt to encourage cycling while encouraging cyclists to adopt the behavioural conduct of a driver, thereby preventing a decline into the sort of anarchic mobility cyclists would likely revert to otherwise.<sup>4</sup>

### ***Infrastructures and Ethnic Divides***

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<sup>3</sup> Ducharme, M. 2014. *The Idea of Liberty in Canada During the Age of Atlantic Revolutions, 1776-1838*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston; see also, Létourneau, J. 2000. "L'avenir du Canada: Par rapport a quelle histoire?" *Canadian Historical Review*, 82 (2): 230-59.

<sup>4</sup> I say this as a cyclist. For example, there seems to be a code among cyclists here in Ottawa that it is unnecessary to obey normal patterns of driving behaviour on bike paths (e.g. stopping at the stop signs) or cycling on the right; offences which would be grievous breaches of conduct if on the road. A useful source for contemporary issues of mobility on the road is Packer, J. 2008. *Mobility without Mayhem: Safety, Cars, and Citizenship*. Duke University Press: Durham, NC.

In keeping with Alan Greer's understanding of property formation, I have striven throughout to reveal the social forces at play in matters of infrastructural colonization.<sup>5</sup> Wedding notions of political subjection to techniques of ethical subjectification produced by articulating populations in territorial space required the legitimization of specific property forms. Greer's work contributes significantly to the current settler colonial studies literature, which productively revives the 19<sup>th</sup> century distinction between 'settler' and 'plantation' colonies, by seeing property not as a thing, but as a social relation which could be used to target settlers and First Nations alike. Infrastructural colonization was involved in creating a particular settler colonial property formation. The Crown Land Protection Act of 1840 made all indigenous lands subject to Crown jurisdiction but did not enforce the commutation of communal property forms. As the act's name attests, there was a lingering Tory logic of 'protection' which, as Elsbeth Heaman notes, was far more interested in parsing the limits of the State than in parsing matters of race.<sup>6</sup> Indigenous communal property forms could exist at the limit of settler societies where they would inevitably be subject to the petty predations of incoming settlers; the colonization roads can be seen as a way to mark the line of delineation.

Settler colonial property formations have to be examined in context to prevent sociologists from reifying property as a thing instead of a social relation. Infrastructural colonization in the Canadas at mid-century present something of an issue to settler colonial studies. It fits uneasily within models such as that of Jennifer Pitts, who sees in settler colonialism the imposition of regimes of elimination and inequality in terms of a binary between European settlers and the First Nations they excluded. Yet as Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau argue, drawing on the work of C.A. Bayly, such a polarity fits uneasily within the ethno-political reality of the Canadas at mid-century when political reform and ethnic divides were conceived in terms of a need to anglicize the French population.<sup>7</sup> Infrastructural colonization targeted the non-Protestant and non-English. The colonization roads were much more an attempt to colonize other colonizers than to colonize indigenous populations.

Yet as I have shown, infrastructural colonization was not a unidirectional process, imposed by the English upon the French and indigenous. It could be coopted by the groups it sought to marginalize. In theory, the colonization roads did not discriminate. Anyone could take up a lot along the lines as long as they were content to live their lives upon the conditions of the

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<sup>5</sup> Greer, A. 2017. *Property and Dispossession: Natives, Empires, and Land in Early Modern North America*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge; see also Greer, A. 2012. "Commons and Enclosure in the Colonization of North America." *American Historical Review*, 117 (2): 365-86.

<sup>6</sup> Heaman, E.A. 2019. "Space, Race, and Violence: The Beginnings of 'Civilization' in Canada". In, E. Mancke, J. Bannister, D. McKim, S. See, (Eds.), *Violence, Order, and Unrest: A History of British North America, 1749-1876*, 150-173. University of Toronto Press: Toronto. For an account helping to contextualize Heaman's piece, see Carpenter, D. and Brossard, D. 2019. "L'éruption patriote: The Revolt against Dalhousie and the Petitioning Explosion in Nineteenth-Century French Canada." *Social Science History*, 43: 453-485.

<sup>7</sup> Christie, N. and Gauvreau, M. 2017. "'Freedom of the Fassions': The Politics of the Street in Montreal and the Struggle against the British Fiscal-Military State." *Critical Historical Studies*, Spring: 75-106; Bayly, C.A. 1989. *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830*. Longman: London.

grant. Of course, such conditions were calculated to dissuade indigenous peoples from taking them. As I show in chapters three, the roads could be and were taken up by those aiming to further the cause of French nationalism. Former *patriote* rebels like J-O. Arcand saw in the program an attempt to re-establish the *canadien* connection to the soil and establish settlements under the watchful eyes of the clergy. English elites were content to ignore such developments when they occurred on the far side of the Ottawa River, much more worrisome was the idea that such Catholic settler communities might develop in Canada West. Protestants like Toronto MP George Brown saw in the appointment of Catholic road agents like T.P. French and M.P. Hayes a surreptitious Catholic conspiracy. As I show in chapter four, Hayes's involvement in 1856's Buffalo Convention to turn the Ottawa-Huron Tract into a thriving Catholic settlement did little to quell these concerns.

### ***Governmentality, Infrastructural Colonization, and 'the Social Science'***

Studies of state formation cannot be separated from questions of subjectification. Analyses of governmental practice, particularly those inspired by the later works of Michel Foucault, must pay vigilant attention to the ways in which forms of rule and modes of government are implicated in the production of subjects amenable to modes of rule. Advocates of infrastructural colonization sought to turn the Canadian backwoods into a site of experimentation with techniques of social engineering which were already well-established in England. Schemes facilitating the ongoing colonization of Ireland were proposed as early as 1812 for reclaiming 'waste lands' and constructing settlement roads through them. Lord Sydenham's brother, George Poulett Scrope, proposed the creation of an Irish Board of Works to quell social discontent through infrastructure development. The systematization of road construction known as 'macadamization' called attention to the ability of roads themselves to turn rural spaces into machines of political subjectification. Macadamization would remove local variance in road construction and quality, thereby standardizing travel times. The organizational structure required for building them would professionalize road making and disempower local elites. While adoption of MacAdam's technique was sporadic at best in the Canadas prior to confederation, the link MacAdam helped to forge between infrastructures and political subjectification was firmly established in the minds of colonial administrators. Roads themselves came to be seen as exerting a didactic effect. Select committees in the 1830s advocated road building for 'developing the faculties of the human mind'. The State could construct leading roads which would give the people a taste for them and a desire to contribute to their own self-government. But infrastructural matters were also themselves politically congenial. To colonial elites, a focus on infrastructure would help to reorient political debate away from abstract theoretical arguments such as those the *patriotes* had spouted in the lead up to the rebellions. Directing attention towards banal infrastructural matters insulated the central government from constitutional questions it sought to avoid.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Radforth, I. 1992. "Sydenham and Utilitarian Political Reform. In, I. Radforth and A. Greer (Eds.), *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada*, 62-102. University of Toronto Press: Toronto. See also, McNairn, J. Forthcoming. "Incorporating Contributory Democracy: Self-Taxation and Self-Government in Upper Canada."

Infrastructural colonization points to concerns in a liberal mode of government with the practical engineering of class structures and social engineering which have been under-examined by governmentality scholars. These scholars have usually found in liberalism a series of homologous practices oriented around a desire to govern collective life by drawing on its own regularities as it exists. A liberal mode of government harnesses such energies and bases itself on mastery of them. Yet my analysis of infrastructural colonization reveals colonial elites' strong commitment to social engineering. In the debates leading up to the passage of the Land Act of 1841 and the greenlighting of the Owen Sound Road, advocates of Wakefieldian systematic colonization in the Canadas sought to transform the backwoods as a means of primitive capitalist accumulation by manufacturing a British capitalist social structure. Wakefield's approach to colonization challenges traditional liberal assumptions about the nature of political subjectivity since he did not view settlers in keeping with a theory of 'possessive individualism'. Settlers were marked by a fundamental ignorance bequeathed unto them by the civilizing social structures of the old world to which they were necessarily blind. Simply, Wakefield did not view settlers as carrying 'civilization' with them.<sup>9</sup> Historians usually note that systematic colonization was a theory of settlement and colonial economic development, but less noticed is that it was also a theory of character formation. Settlements were not organic communities with fixed social equilibrium but dynamic objects sensitive to changes in their composition. Settlements comprised of fundamentally ignorant beings would fail if administrators paid no attention to the actual conditions of settlement as well as to racial, gender, and class dynamics. Colonists would regress to a state of primitive 'newness' and the colony would become a dependency, not a valuable member of the empire. While the granting of free lots along leading lines of road might appear at first glance as a liberal democratic measure (since only (white male) landowners could vote) or even as evidence of political republicanism, such grants were rationalized by prominent conservatives as a necessary evil for the creation of a desirable social order. Civil Secretary S.B. Harrison explicitly claimed grants were necessary to enable the appropriation of the surplus labour of agriculturalists. In new settlements, claimed Harrison, a social structure marked by the relation between capitalist and labourer could not exist. It would take time for it to develop. Free grants would encourage settlers to locate on the land and establish such a hierarchy.<sup>10</sup>

I contribute to governmentality studies more broadly by weaving my narrative of the colonization roads through shifts in the institutional administration of infrastructural colonization. Governmentality studies has tended to ignore the role of institutions and the persons within them in favour of a focus on the development of homologous practices and the emergence of a particular mode of government which can be inferred from such descriptions.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Harrington, J. 2015. "Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the Liberal Political Subject and the Settler State." *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 20 (3): 333-351.

<sup>10</sup> LAC CO 42/475 (214), 14 January 1841, Sydenham to Russell.

<sup>11</sup> One of my favourite governmentality studies of an infrastructure project is Thomas Osborne's study of drains and sewers in 19<sup>th</sup> century England. Here Osborne describes an emerging 'vital conscience' discernible in the handling of urban infrastructure and a characteristically liberal approach to administering matters of elimination on a mass scale. Yet we are still treated to certain typical rhetorical moves such as the claim that urban sanitation was part "of a concern to map the dynamics and characteristics of populations." But we are never told who or which groups were

But focussing on shifts in institutional administration can itself reveal changes in governmentality that have yet to materialize in practice. It is highly telling that the Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics lost control over the colonization roads in Upper Canada at the same time that it claimed to be exercising greater control over colonization as a whole. Clearly, colonization was becoming a state project considerably more expansive than a focus on rural infrastructure. But it also matters who is in charge of such institutions. Governmentality studies still need to link structure and biography in studies of governmental practice. The prominence of ultramontanist thought within conservative circles informed state action. As discussed in chapter six, Thomas D'Arcy McGee and Stanislas Drapeau segmented settler populations within territorial abstractions that enabled statistical representations of social dynamics amenable to their anti-industrial, pro-agricultural, ultramontane ideology. Further, Drapeau saw his analysis of colonization as implicated in a nationalist project, one aiming to show the natural superiority of the French race. Ignoring the place of individuals in empirical sociopolitical dynamics leads governmentality scholars to occlude the manners by which state agents mobilize institutional resources in a struggle for social hegemony. Practice is always informed by politics. It's pointless to think otherwise.

I have also focussed throughout on the role of 'the social science' in facilitating the process of infrastructural colonization. The social science emerged out of political economy, not so much as a subdivision within it, but as an attempt to bring moral and social considerations to bear upon it. Community dynamics and their formative influence on individuals had to be understood and the 'dismal science' of political economy was ill suited to this task. By linking the social science and infrastructural development I show how efforts to know and administer settler populations in the Canadas can ground a genealogy of the social science in administrative practices. As I show in chapter three, the need to understand community dynamics was particularly acute in Canada East, where large outmigrations were depopulating the countryside. Lacking anything like correct statistical information, state agents interviewed knowledgeable individuals, created standardized investigative categories, and used statistical calculation to estimate population decline. But the influence of the social science extended further into the colonization roads program. As I show in chapter four, individual colonization road agents undertook regular inspections of life along the road and created their own metrics for evaluating social progress. As I argue in that chapter, had their observations been worked up, they could have easily facilitated more sophisticated state-led schemes of ethical subjectification.

As I have shown, such an approach locates the roots of Canadian social science considerably earlier in the 19<sup>th</sup> century than historians typically claim. The extant research on the history of sociology in Canada almost universally ignores the pre-Confederation period. In most accounts, sociology was brought to Canada from France by Leon Gérin in the 1880s after his encounter with the Le Play school there. So the story goes, concerns with poverty and

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'concerned' or what their institutional location might be or even how institutional remit might affect the shape of the resulting 'vital conscience'. These are sociological questions governmentality studies would do well to engage with. Osborne, T. 1996. "Security and Vitality: drains, liberalism, and power in the nineteenth century." In, A. Barry, T. Osborne, and N. Rose (Eds.), *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism and Rationalities of Government*. 99-121. Chicago University Press: Chicago.

immorality generated opportunities for social observers to refine their craft on an amateur basis. Herbert Ames's 'slum tour' of Montreal's south side is viewed as the Canadian equivalent of Charles Booth's poverty surveys.<sup>12</sup> Such amateur observations continued until they were formalized and adopted into the university system and sociology was born as a named discipline. Of course, there have been studies which challenge this narrative.<sup>13</sup> Bruce Curtis's *Ruling by Schooling* has been the greatest influence on my own work. Paul Sabourin has also sought to locate the roots of the social science in Canada in the 1850s with the novelistic writings of Gérin's father, Antoine Gérin-Lajoie. Sabourin sees Gérin-Lajoie as a Le Playsian social engineer *avant la lettre*; the amateur inquirer who 'mined' social regularities from the material provided through observation of everyday life. Novelistic pursuits like Gérin-Lajoie's *Jean Rivard* are interpreted as creating a social representation of and for *canadiens* which could be fleshed out by empirical observation. Yet Sabourin does not link such work to state practice. Perhaps a more useful case would have been that of P-J-O Chauveau who chaired 1849's select committee on emigration (and was thus personally involved in the colonization movement) and whose *Charles Guerin* was published a decade prior to *Jean Rivard* and which included appendices of statistics as evidence of his narrative's truth.<sup>14</sup>

### *Finding our Memories*

Ways of thinking and estimating a changing social world and attempts to taper and control its development were central factors in the development of social policy during the pre-confederation period. I have used the process of what I call infrastructural colonization to illuminate the links between the social science, infrastructure development, and state power. In so doing, this thesis contributes to filling in what Curtis has identified as the 'missing memory' of Canadian sociology.<sup>15</sup> Although throughout I have sought to highlight links between key actors in the process of infrastructural colonization and proponents of the social science, I have not been content to limit my examination to the prosopographical. Canadian advocates of the social science were generally not interested in questions of speculative or moral philosophy. While many had read Harriet Martineau, it is unlikely any read her translations of Comte. Instead, they sought to develop and to formalize observational practices, metrics of social progress, representational forms, and the characteristics of populations. Such practices were not usually the result of idle curiosities or personal idiosyncrasies (although they could be) but

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<sup>12</sup> J-M Fecteau makes this point. See, 2017. *The Pauper's Freedom: Crime and Poverty in Nineteenth Century Quebec*. McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal and Kingston, 244. For an example of the 'standard approach' to the history of Canadian sociology, see: Hillier, H.H. 1980. "Paradigmatic Shifts, Indigenization, and the Development of Sociology in Canada." *Journal of the History of Behavioural Sciences*, 16: 263-274.

<sup>13</sup> See for instance, Helmes-Hayes, R. 2016. "Building the New Jerusalem in Canada's Green and Pleasant Land: The Social Gospel and the Roots of Canadian Academic Sociology, 1889-1921." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 41 (1): 1-52.

<sup>14</sup> Sabourin, P. 2010. "La contribution leplaysienne à la naissance d'une science économique hétérodoxe' au Québec." *Société d'économie et de science sociales* 151: 53-82.

<sup>15</sup> Curtis, B. 2016. "The Missing Memory of Canadian Sociology: Reflexive Government and 'the Social Science.'" *Canadian Review of Sociology*, 53 (2): 203-225.

informed by the social and political struggles of the day. William Chisholm adapted Gourlayite methods to measure the social progress of the settlement at Owen Sound so his superiors could counter narratives claiming American republican institutions were inherently superior to mixed monarchical rule. With his fieldbook and maps, Devine sought to depict social space as though free of squatters and the indigenous. Drapeau and McGee used practices of social inventory science to depict colonization in such a way as to further their ultramontanist social imaginary.

By shifting attention away from the history of sociology as a named discipline and toward an examination of the place of the social science in pre-confederation Canada, historical sociologists can mark the breadth of the impact the ‘encounter with the social’ had on the administrative form of the Canadian state and on the types of communal solidarities it fostered. Attempts by State and non-State actors to objectivize the social, to invest it in forms, and to demonstrate mastery over it through knowledge of its regularities, were simultaneously attempts at political and ethical subjectification. Questions like: What is a settler? What is a family? What are its characteristics? These were formalized to one degree or another through experiments with the social science at mid-century. Rule of the routes meant fixing limits on liberal freedom. It meant instilling habits and desires amenable to political domination. It meant basing state power on knowledge of the social made thinkable through the practices of the social science. Reflexive historical sociology can help to unpack the sociological toolbox and reveal to ourselves the social and historical provenance of our craft. Doing so through an examination of a mundane infrastructure project reveals the depth of the social science’s penetration into daily life and the folly of sociologists claiming all we need do to effect change is to take our findings to ‘the public’.<sup>16</sup> Hopefully, more consciously reflexive projects will help limber up our sociological imaginations.

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<sup>16</sup> Steckle, R.E., Johnston, M. and Sanscartier, M. 2019. “Flying through the Cuckoo’s Nest: Countering the politics of agency in public criminology.” *Crime, Media, Culture* (online edition): 1-20.

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