

PARROTS, PICNICS AND PSYCHIC PHENOMENA:

**The Feminism, Nationalism and Social Reform of Eva Circé-Côté
in LE MONDE OUVRIER'S Montreal, 1900-1940**

BY
JENNE MacLEAN

A thesis submitted to the Department of History in conformity with the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario, Canada
August 2000

copyright © Jenne MacLean, August 2000



**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

**395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

**395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-53008-6

Canada

ABSTRACT

Eva Circé-Côté, masked by a male pseudonym, wrote over fifty editorials per year for *Le Monde Ouvrier Labor World* from 1916-1943 (with a break from 1922 to 1925 inclusive). This newspaper was brought into being by the *Fédération des travailleurs du Québec (FTQ)*. Critics of the pioneer labour papers argue that they had little influence on social affairs -- *Le Monde Ouvrier Labor World's* circulation figures are 8,000 in 1916, 5000 in 1940. And yet, however small their circulations, the pioneer labour newspapers provided a forum for debate of popular ideas for social change and were sounding boards for a little-explored radical tradition in Canadian history. Writing in "literary drag," Circé-Côté combined political concerns with an incisive assortment of ethno-cultural urban opinions. Concentrating on Eva Circé-Côté's role in the foundation of Montreal's first public library and on her work as one of *Le Monde Ouvrier's* chief francophone journalists, this thesis explores ethnic identification in relation to class and gender in Montreal 1900-1940.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to offer heartfelt thanks to:

Ian McKay, who changed the way I would choose to contribute to my community, Bob Shenton, who changed the way I now view social change, and to Bryan Palmer and Karen Dubinsky, who didn't try to change me at all – offering encouragement and support.

Annette Hayward and Lucie Robert from the French Department at Queen's University who blew in fresh inspiration in the form of passionate dialogue, generously giving me hours of their time, and Jamey Carson, who gave me my first overhead of North America and said — teach!

Isabelle Reny, and the Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec, Lucie Pelletier from L'Archive de la Ville de Montréal, Michael Eamon from the National Archives of Canada, and all the librarians and archivists in Kingston and Montreal who patiently fielded my questions and allowed me to take out more than 50 books at a time.

Yvonne Place, Norma St. John, and Judy Vanhooser, who put the “human heart” into Queen's History department,

Amy Bell, Karen Cheong, Joy Firth, Helen Harrison, Catherine Harvey, Bránwyn Holroyd, Julie Johnson, Krista Kesselring, Jenn Marotta, Zoë Morrison, Julie O'Reilly, Jenn Strahl, and Sandra Szahun, all of whom I love and admire,

Most of all to my family: Jamie, Sara, Mom, Dad, and Grand-parents Geraldine and Ronald Kitchen.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my grand-mother, Isobel MacLean, who died while I was furiously researching – who showed me how to roll up my sleeves and meet all challenges with a trick and a grin.

You must sit with an air of placid politeness whilst your neighbours, by way of talking politics, denounce the people they do not like as Socialists, Bolsheviks, Syndicalists, Anarchists, and Communists on the one side, and Capitalists, Imperialists, Fascists, Reactionaries, and Bourgeois on the other, none of them having an idea of the meaning of these words clear enough to be called without flattery the ghost of a notion. They had much better call each other Asses and Bitches (they sometimes do, by the way), because everyone knows that a man is not an ass nor a woman a bitch, and that calling them so is only a coarse way of insulting them; whereas most people do not know what the words Bolshevik, Anarchist, Communist, and so forth mean, and are too easily frightened into believing that they denote every imaginable extremity of violence and theft, rapine and murder...

Bernard Shaw

An Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism, Capitalism, Sovietism and Fascism (1928)

Il n'y a pas de situation plus pénible au monde que celle d'un homme dont le développement intellectuel et moral est cause de sa séparation avec ceux de sa caste ou de son groupe, par exemple d'un conservateur gagné aux idées libérales, d'un catholique devenu protestant ou libre-penseur. Il ne peut plus partager les idées des siens. Il vit aussi isolé parmi ses frères que s'il habitait le Sahara. Cette situation ne semble pas avoir été celle de Papineau.

Eva Circé-Côté

Papineau: Son influence sur la pensée canadienne (1924)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: i

CHAPTER ONE: 1
THE PARADOXES OF *ROUGE* LIBERALISM. Eva Circé-Côté and Her Milieu

CHAPTER TWO: 28
EGYPTIAN MUMMIES AND MAGIC WANDS: Eva Circé-Côté and Montreal's first public library

CHAPTER THREE: 77
FROM *FEMME DE LETTRES* TO *FEMME DU PEUPLE*: Eva Circé-Côté's Feminism (1900-1940)

CONCLUSION: 149

Appendix A: 155

Appendix B: 156

Appendix C: 157

Bibliography: 187

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1 - Photo of Eva Circé-Côté, located in her book <u>Bleu, Blanc, Rouge: Poésies, Paysages, Causeries</u> (circa 1903).	18
2 - Photo of Eva Circé-Côté, identifying her as Montreal's first public librarian, found in <i>La Patrie</i> 12 août, 1903.	28
3 - Photo of Eva Circé-Côté, found in two newspapers: <i>Le Monde Illustré</i> (1901) and in the <i>Album Universel</i> (1903).	156

INTRODUCTION

Eva Circé-Côté, masked by a male pseudonym, wrote prolifically for *Le Monde Ouvrier Labor World* from 1916 to 1942.¹ Writing in “literary drag,” Circé-Côté combined political concerns with an incisive assortment of ethno-cultural urban opinions.² In addition to her work for *Le Monde Ouvrier*, between 1884 and 1943, Circé-Côté wrote regularly for *Le Monde illustré*, *Les Débats*, *L'Étincelle*, *L'Action Le Combat*, *Le Petit Canadien*, *Le Nationaliste*, *Le Devoir*, and *Le Pays*. Concentrating on Circé-Côté’s role in the foundation of Montreal’s first public library and on her work as one of *Le Monde Ouvrier*’s chief francophone journalists, this thesis explores ethnic identification in relation to class and feminism in Montreal 1900-1940.³

Montreal had a large working class at the turn-of-the-century, among the largest in

¹In 1916, Montreal workers welcomed the first edition of *Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World*. This newspaper was brought into being by the *Fédération des travailleurs du Québec* [subsequently the *Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec*]. For a complete listing of Circé-Côté’s 688 editorials published in *Le Monde Ouvrier*, see Appendix B.

²The use of the pseudonym was not uncommon during this time period for Montreal’s men and women journalists alike. Bernard Vinet explains: “Le pseudonyme est un nom fictif utilisé par une personne, auteur ou artiste, qui désire communiquer avec ses semblables... Bref, il est paradoxal d’utiliser un pseudonyme, et ce n’est qu’en insistant sur cette contradiction qu’il devient possible de dégager la signification sociale d’un geste qui paraît anodin. Si la “pudeur littéraire” est un phénomène généralisé, il existe par contre d’autres craintes susceptibles de varier en intensité d’une région à l’autre et d’une époque à l’autre, ainsi en est-il de la crainte des représailles pour celui qui se compromet en s’attaquant aux détenteurs du pouvoir. L’histoire est remplie d’anecdotes dans lesquelles les puissants de l’heure se font signifier certaines vérités par des auteurs anonymes. Le Québec n’est pas une terre où l’on risque sa vie ou sa liberté en s’opposant par écrit à plus puissant que soit. Toutefois, ici comme ailleurs, il fut des moments où critiquer la politique du gouvernement et s’attaquer au clergé étaient des activités compromettantes pour la carrière et la réputation de l’audacieux.” *Pseudonymes Québécois* (Québec: Éditions Garneau, 1970), xi-xii.

³Circé-Côté was uncovered by Andrée Lévesque in her article “Éva Circé-Côté (1871-1949) Fondatrice de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Montréal.” *Ces femmes qui ont bâti Montréal* (Montréal: Les éditions du remue-ménage, 1994), 148-9. As her title indicates, Lévesque highlights Côté’s contributions as founder of one of the first libraries in Montreal to open its doors to the working-class public.

Canada. Yet there remains a curious lack of focussed scholarship about it: polyethnic working-class Montreal seems to have fallen between the schools of francophone historiography, often preoccupied with the “national question,” and an Anglo-Canadian social history that takes “English Canada” as its context. As one of numerous possible examples, despite her illustrious career, Circé-Côté is not present in Marjory Lang’s 1999 publication, Women Who Made the News - Female Journalists in Canada.⁴ Similarly, French-Canadian feminists are conspicuously absent from other important national monographs in women’s history, including Janice Newton’s The Feminist Challenge to the Canadian Left, 1900-1918 and Linda Kealey’s Enlisting Women for the Cause: Women, Labour and the Left in Canada, 1890-1920.⁵

In 1916, Montreal workers saw the first edition of *Le Monde Ouvrier Labor World* which was one of few bilingual labour newspapers in Canada.⁶ Launched during the First World War, and continuing throughout the Great Depression, the labour weekly was hard pressed to interpret the economic transformations and the social upheaval that was “urban life” for its working-class readership. As Ron Verzuh has chronicled, most pioneer labour

⁴Marjory Lang, Women Who Made the News: Female Journalists in Canada, 1880-1945 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill Queen’s Press, 1999).

⁵Janice Newton, The Feminist Challenge to the Canadian Left, 1900-1918 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University, 1995) and Linda Kealey Enlisting Women for the Cause: Women, Labour and the Left in Canada, 1890-1920 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

⁶Le Monde Ouvrier was brought into being by the Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec (FTQ). Its founder was Gustav Francq, who has been described as follows in L’histoire de la FTQ (Montréal: Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec, 1988), 61: “Il était un polémiste infatigable au service des plus démunis de la société et un adversaire féroce des bolchéviques qui avaient des visées sur le Parti Ouvrier. Francq a aussi fait lutte aux syndicats catholiques, mais il n’a pas été chauvin au point de ne pas reconnaître un certain mérite...”

newspapers in Canada went beyond pure union concerns to scrutinize society as a whole.⁷

Critics of the pioneer labour papers argue that they had little influence on social affairs — *Le Monde Ouvrier*'s circulation figures were 8,500 in 1916, 5000 in 1940.⁸ And yet, not to be overlooked is the fact that politicians, church leaders, and labour critics combed the labour press looking for a shift in political attitudes or cultural trends.⁹ However small their circulations, the labour newspapers provided a forum for debate of popular ideas for social change. More importantly, they were the sounding boards for a little-explored radical tradition in Canadian history. In their pages, labour commentators drafted the blueprint for a new society, tested their ideas for change, debated the social issues and discussed solutions to society's problems.¹⁰

One of *Le Monde Ouvrier*'s key journalists, Eva Circé-Côté, wrote under the pseudonym "Julien Saint-Michel." Unwilling to have her voice relegated to the "female"

⁷Ron Verzuh, Radical Rag: The Pioneer Labour Press in Canada (Ottawa: Steel Rail Publishing, 1988), 121-132. Verzuh argues: "Crying out for better education, healthier and safer workplaces, an end to child labour, the establishment of old age security and equal pay for female factory labourers, the newspapers pleaded for full employment, improved housing, more job security, and a major assault on poverty. They advocated shorter working hours, temperance, co-operatives, political representation, unionization and even all-out revolution as ways to bring about social reforms. And yet, editors often lined up to cast racist aspersions in the direction of Chinese and Japanese immigrant labourers. They often failed to provide a truly progressive view in the ongoing debate over the rights of women and children."

⁸Andrée Beaulieu et Jean Hamelin, Les Journaux du Québec de 1764 à 1964 (Québec: Les Presses de l'université Laval, 1965), 188.

⁹The influence of Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World far outweighed its limited distribution. Premier Alexandre Taschereau of Quebec, the Right Honorable G.D. Robertson, Minister of Labor under Borden, and Mayor Médéric Martin of Montreal figured amongst its subscribers.

¹⁰In mid-1919, copies of Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World were confiscated by Montreal police who were targeting radical centers in the city. André E. Leblanc, "The Labor Movement Seen Through the Pages of Montreal's Le Monde Ouvrier/ The Labor World (1916-1926)," Master's Thesis, University of Montreal, 1971, 16.

page of the weekly,¹¹ and making use of the masculine *nom de plume*, she drew on the authority available to male journalists to defend suffrage and to champion the rights of workers and their children. Given her bourgeois background, Circé-Côté's feminist preoccupations mingled and competed with her efforts to assume the identity of a working-class man.¹² Illuminating the dialectic that existed between the problems of the working class and the concerns of the middle and upper classes, Circé-Côté's controversial editorials included examinations of such topics as "the mentality of the Chinese," "masculine dignity," "the question of Jewish schools," "the necessity of holidays," "charity that hurts," "the right to view movies on Sunday," and "feminine vengeance."

Employing *Le Monde Ouvrier* as a bilingual viewfinder trained on ethno-cultural relations, I have studied Circé-Côté's opinions - on such subjects as cultural preservation, female suffrage, racism, and the rights of workers - which carried well beyond the readership of the labour press. *Le Monde Ouvrier* has left us with a particularly rich record of the under-explored realities of French-Canadian gender, ethnic, and class relations.¹³ A woman who

¹¹ As Jean de Bonville points out in his study *La Presse Québécoise 1884-1914* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988), with the massification of printed press audiences, newspapers at the turn of the century in Quebec began to modify their papers to reach a larger audience. Specific pages, geared at women readers, began to appear as part and parcel of the larger trend of diversification that included pages which targeted children, sports fans, and so on. The first women journalists, he argues, were often hired to work on these designated "feminine interest" pages

¹² As Yolande Pinard points out in her article "Les débuts du mouvement des femmes à Montréal, 1893-1902," *Travailleuses et féministes: Les femmes dans la société québécoise* ed. M. Lavigne and Y. Pinard (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1983), 404, footnote 16, "Au tournant du 20^e siècle, le journalisme féminin s'affirme dans la province. À Montréal, des femmes, issues pour la plupart de la bourgeoisie ou de la petite bourgeoisie, s'essayent au métier de "chroniqueuse" et la "page littéraire féminine" devient ainsi de plus en plus à la mode. Outre ce rare débouché, celles qui sont intéressées à faire carrière en ce domaine n'ont guère d'autre choix que de fonder leur revue."

¹³ While *Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World* had a purportedly bilingual mandate, articles written for the French side of the paper were only on rare occasion translated for the English side and vice versa. Consistent with this format, I have kept that which was written in by Circé-Côté in French, hence avoiding

had an engaging and influential voice in several conflicting worlds, Circé-Côté also published a treatise on Papineau's legacy, four plays, and a collection of editorials, stories and poems.¹⁴

In an attempt to avoid a "bias towards elites" often found in general histories of journalists and newspapers, this thesis combines a whole realm of sources which shed light on how Circé-Côté's personal experiences in Montreal as a social reformer, activist and a librarian informed her journalism. In addition, I approach her editorials and the print sources from the perspective of a thematic study, which gives attention to the overall political and economic patterns in Montreal within a distinct forty-year time-frame.

Studying Circé-Côté's life and work has led me down many intriguing channels of historical inquiry. This thesis begins by describing in semi-biographical detail Circé-Côté's experiences as a founder and librarian of Montreal's first public library. In addition, this preliminary study serves to underscore what might have motivated Circé-Côté to abandon her enormously successful career as a *femme de lettres* and sustain an anonymous "working-class" male identity in *Le Monde Ouvrier*.¹⁵ This thesis ends with an attempt to show how

what would by necessity be a heavy-handed English translation. While this may make the thesis jarring reading for those who do not read French, it serves to underscore the complexity of Canadian scholarship's French/English divide.

¹⁴Eva Circe-Côté, Papineau: Son influence sur la pensée canadienne (Montréal: R. A. Regnault & Cie., 1924). Her book of poetry is entitled Bleu, Blanc, Rouge: Poésies, paysages, causeries (Montréal: Deom Frères, Éditeurs, 1903).

¹⁵Marie Lavigne and Jennifer Stoddart contend that at the turn of the twentieth century "journalism" was considered an acceptable occupation for women, and that women journalists did have a certain influence, so long as they confined themselves to the feminine pages of the newspapers. They also point out that women, as a rule, were very poorly paid. "Ouvrières et travailleuses montréalaises, 1900-1940," in M. Lavigne et Y. Pinard eds., Travailleuses et féministes: Les femmes dans la société québécoise (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1983), 99-113.

Circé-Côté's theoretical ideas about feminism and the working class converged with her practical efforts towards social change.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PARADOXES OF ROUGE LIBERALISM: Eva Circé-Côté and her milieu

In a liberal order, as classically theorized, each “individual” gives his free-standing consent to the law and to a state which upholds it. A nineteenth-century liberal order excluded women from the franchise in order to perpetuate a “public/private” divide -- wherein atomized individuals (in this case propertied men) represented women and children to the public world. To perpetuate liberalism’s rising ideal of individualism, essentialist ideas arose to explain the exclusion of women from “individual rights.” Theories to define what might constitute legitimate limitations for the female “gender” were developed in order to secure the rights of certain men. Most obviously, the classical liberal order shaped property rights and relations, and in so doing influenced the manner in which women were excluded from a direct role in such activity. Most first-wave feminists, such as Eva Circé-Côté, were members of the middle class and challenged their exclusion from the category of “individual” in a classically liberal manner. And yet, in a mode that reflected a post-liberal consciousness, Circé-Côté’s feminism oscillated between a “classical” liberal outlook and a “new liberal” world view -- one which privileged “society as an evolving organism” *above* the rights of individuals. In so doing Circé-Côté’s feminist thought forced a re-examination of individual and property rights, re-constructing gender through social reform initiatives. Circé-Côté demanded individualist *equality* while defending female *difference*. She challenged Montreal’s classical liberal models while confirming the parameters of new liberal gender ideals. This seeming contradiction of intentions was not a sign of Circé-Côté’s puzzlement, but, rather, signalled the extraordinarily complex and paradoxical effect

both the classical and new liberal frameworks caused when applied to women's lives.

Feminism, as Nancy Cott points out in The Grounding of Modern Feminism, is hard to define. Our understanding of feminism often suffers from an over-generalized ahistorical application -- to everything and anything having to do with the history of women's rights. This popular, but misleading comprehension of the word, obscures the fact that the birth of feminism in North America marked a modern agenda for the women's movement. Cott elaborates:

My current working definition of feminism...has three core components, none of them highly exact; each might admit contest within it. First is a belief in what is usually referred to as sex equality but which might be more clearly expressed in the negative, as opposition to sex hierarchy...Second, feminism in my working definition presupposes that women's condition is socially constructed, that is, historically shaped by human social usage rather than simply predestined by God or nature...My third point, tied to the second, is about gender group identity...The conviction that women's socially constructed position situates us on shared ground enables the consciousness and the community of action among women to impel change.¹

While some have argued that feminism should be seen as a demand to extend to women the individualistic "premises of the political theory of liberalism," feminism can not be dismissed as the mere assertion of the "female individual." Pure individualism, Cott explains, negates feminism in that it renders women's collective action impossible.

The existence of feminism (or of labour or socialist or anti-racist movements) can no longer be explained as resistance to a timeless masculinism (or capitalism or racism). Joan Wallach Scott's paradigm regarding the birth of feminism (and of labour and socialist movements) opens up a particularly provocative channel through which to analyse the work

¹Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 3-5.

of Circé-Côté. Scott argues in Only Paradoxes to Offer that the praxis of feminist politics is the subversive “undecidability” of sexual difference. As feminists challenged the practice of excluding women from citizenship, Scott contends, they argued that sexual difference was not an indicator of social, intellectual, or political capacity. And yet, while acting on behalf of “women,” they were forced to invoke the difference they denied: “This simultaneous avowal and refusal exposed the contradictions and omissions in the definition of gender – that were offered in the name of nature and imposed through law.”² Although feminism emerged to protest women’s exclusion from political participation and to eliminate “sexual difference” from politics, it still had to make claims by/for “women.” This created a paradoxical imperative simultaneously to accept and refuse “sexual difference.” In Scott’s efforts to define a new approach to the study of feminist history, she calls for something *other* than a chronicle of:

...feminists’ heroic struggles, undeserved betrayals, and strategic mistakes... something other than an internal history of the women’s movement treated as tangential to the “larger” political scene, but also something other than an explanation that depends either on social or economic factors that precede or are external to politics, or on the reasons given for their actions by politicians themselves. Instead, the answer requires reading the repetitions and conflicts of feminism as symptoms of contradictions in the political discourses that produced feminism and that it appealed to and challenged at the same time.³

When politicians offered theories (scientific, religious and philosophical) to explain the limits placed on women’s “individual rights,” feminism emerged to underline the inconsistencies. Paradoxically, feminists often refused “to be the women their societies

²Joan Wallach Scott, Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), xi.

³Scott, Only Paradoxes to Offer, 3.

dictated” while speaking out in the name of “women.”

Feminists, Scott argues, were (are) subversively positioned *in* and *as* contradiction. However, she adds, their claims to difference and/or equality were (are) formulated in terms of different epistemologies “not as evidence of a transcendent or continuous Woman’s consciousness or woman’s experience.” She elaborates:

Although the notion of a repeated pattern of paradox carries with it an aura of timelessness, the concepts feminists used were rooted in their times and can finally be understood only in their specificity. History accounts not only for the variety of positions one finds in feminist writing, but also for the different ways in which the social and individual identity of “woman” was conceived.⁴

The common experience of being excluded from the public sphere should not be mistaken for a shared vision.

Circé-Côté straddled and conflated gender, class and ethnic divisions in assuming a new identity in *Le Monde Ouvrier*. Circé-Côté was not a “typical” woman for her times – throughout the first half of the twentieth century her views were held by an unexplored/understudied minority of Montrealers. And yet, while she was neither typical nor unique, an investigation of her ideas and actions provides tremendous insight into the processes that produce politics and “make” agency in a liberal society. A particular challenge of this thesis is to determine which political discourses might have had a hand in both producing and being challenged by Circé-Côté’s feminism.

In order to avoid decontextualized judgements about Circé-Côté’s ideology, it is crucial we come to grips with the context within which she was living. What were the political discourses which surrounded Circé-Côté in turn-of-the-century Montreal? This

⁴Scott, Only Paradoxes to Offer, 13.

time period has long been characterized by historians as the era of Quebec's "grande noirceur."⁵ Quebec nationalist historiography has long emphasized the collective and "distinct" ideology, mentality and culture of French Canadians. An inherent aspect of this approach has been an insistence that "French Canada" could be understood historically as a community without distinct classes or groups.

Parmi les écrits influents de l'époque, se détache celui de Maurice Tremblay qui étudie la "pensée sociale" (au singulier) du Canada français, pensée dont l'Église catholique, après 1760, définit les coordonnées: une "chrétienté essentiellement paysanne", solidaire et isolée. L'Église transforme en "vocation" et en moyen idéal de survivance le repliement forcé des Canadiens français sur la terre: ce credo nationaliste et ruraliste est unanimement repris par les élites et tout ce qui le menace ou le contredit est rejeté, dévalorisé, condamné. Ainsi en ira-t-il, entre autres, des carrières d'affaires et du développement économique en général, qu'on laissera aux Canadiens anglais. L'idéologie, la culture et les mentalités interviennent alors pour expliquer ce phénomène...le caractère français, plus individualiste et idéaliste, la philosophie catholique de la vie, moins propice au capitalisme que le protestantisme, et enfin les frustrations collectives d'un peuple conquis.⁶

However, at the turn of the century, as Fernande Roy points out in her study of liberalism in Montreal, the "conservative" and "clerico-nationalist" ideology (long thought to be the only ideology prevalent in Quebec right up until after the Second World War) was not an all-mighty cultural-juggernaut that successfully levelled everything in its path. New material gathered by historians on the subject of Montreal's politics, business, unions and

⁵As Fernande Roy has observed: "Pour ceux qui atteignaient l'âge adulte à l'époque de la Révolution tranquille, le Québec de la "grande noirceur" était à la fois fascinant et incompréhensible. Les lieux communs sur le traditionalisme, le ruralisme et le clérico-nationalisme des Canadiens français paraissaient à ce point incompatibles avec la société moderne, urbaine et laïque dans laquelle on vivait alors que, sans supposer que l'histoire doive se dérouler de façon continue, sans heurts et sans coupures, l'écart trop grand entre le présent et la description d'un passé somme toute pas si lointain semblait inexplicable." Progrès, harmonie, liberté: Le libéralisme des milieux d'affaires francophones à Montréal au tournant du siècle (Montréal: Boréal, 1988), 7.

⁶Roy, Progrès, harmonie, liberté, 12.

newspapers. Roy argues, suggest that there was an ideological and political pluralism in Montreal during this time period.⁷ Was Circé-Côté's Montreal, at the turn of the century, dominated by the Catholic church? Did Catholicism "retard" Quebec's evolution towards "a more sophisticated modernity"? Did French Canada manage to successfully resist being turned into a liberal economy? Roy stands boldly against the simplistic dualisms and long-held truisms regarding French Canada's ideological specificity and uniformity. Having studied the ideology espoused by French-speaking businessmen between 1881 and 1914, Roy concludes that liberalism had a significant presence in francophone Montreal: "À travers tout le discours idéologique des hommes d'affaires francophones revient avec assurance, mais aussi de façon incantatoire, le même triptyque: progrès, harmonie, liberté."⁸

Similarly, Patrice Dutil's study of liberal progressivism in Quebec goes to great lengths to demonstrate Montreal's ideological diversity at the turn-of-the-century. Radical *rougisme*, Dutil's study demonstrates, had not disappeared at Confederation, as some have argued, nor was it "hushed out" of the Liberal party by Laurier. In fact, Dutil argues that Godfroy Langlois and the "progressive-liberal rouges" in Montreal, contemporaries of Circé-Côté, were a vibrant radical force in defining a new liberalism, one which spawned the social reform movements at the turn-of-the-century. He characterizes these *new rouges*

⁷ Roy explains: "...une historiographie plus récente a proposé une autre lecture du dernier siècle de l'histoire du Québec. Celui-ci n'était plus une société arriérée, tournée vers la terre, rejetant les valeurs matérielles au profit des valeurs spirituelles, mais une société "moderne", approuvant le progrès et le développement industriel et urbain et où s'imposait une idéologie libérale devenue dominante au tournant du XXe siècle. Mais là, le bâton semblait tordu dans l'autre sens. la modernité retrouvée était aussi devenue instrument de valorisation..." Roy, Progrès, Harmonie, Liberté, 7.

⁸ Roy, Progrès, Harmonie, Liberté, 10.

as follows:

Most were vehemently devoted to the idea that the state should involve itself in economic life so as to give French Canadians a chance in the struggle for life and thus reach parity with the anglophone majority in an industrial world. They were adverse to the concepts of monopoly, be it a monopoly of ideas, of educational control, or of the distribution of electricity, and they fought any hegemony that in any way imperiled the perceived liberties of individuals. They gave new, broader meaning to the concept of democracy. That meaning now had to go beyond mere political freedoms and extend to social and economic realities. This ideological impulse distinguished them from their party confreres who remained wedded to a classic liberalism that favoured unbridled, *laissez-faire* liberalism.⁹

Liberal progressives, Dutil elaborates, were distinct from their nineteenth-century *rouge* predecessors in three ways: they were sensitive to the alienation of the masses, they were committed to social reform, and they rejected the clerical-conservative nationalism of their day. Such *rouges* were a prominent part of our subject's milieu.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Catholic church dominated social services in Montreal – guaranteeing religious hegemony in the social and educational sphere. However, by the turn-of-the-century, lay women, such as Circé-Côté, had begun to voice their discontent with their imposed gender roles. Feminists began to give speeches to audiences of lay and religious women demanding that women's social and political status be improved. Donning "professional cloaks," Montreal's earliest feminists championed the cause of women's emancipation -- welcoming any changes believed to improve the condition of women. Marta Danylewycz explores this negotiation in her fascinating study of the relationship between nuns and feminists in Montreal:

The overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, disease, unemployment and poverty that

⁹Patrice Dutil, Devil's Advocate: Godfroy Langlois and the politics of Liberal Progressivism in Laurier's Quebec (Montreal and Toronto: Robert Davies Publishing, 1994), 334.

accompanied the transformation of Montreal from a commercial centre to a sprawling, industrial metropolis in the last decades of the nineteenth century threatened to tear apart the fragile social fabric. The prospect of urban decay and growing incidents of labour unrest alerted the middle and upper classes to social reform, forcing them to institute more extensive and effective methods of alleviating social distress. As changing material conditions led to new forms of public assistance, they opened avenues of action for women who felt constricted by their assigned sphere.¹⁰

Montreal's first feminists seized the power vacuum created by this urban industrial unrest to voice complaints about their prescribed roles. Popularizing the plight of working-class women, they called for protective legislation and improved working conditions. Simultaneously, they demanded greater political rights for themselves -- in the name of helping the poor and exploited. Social change, they argued, was possible only if women had the legal and political means to reform society. As Danylewycz points out, the politicization of Montreal's privileged few feminists provoked a re-evaluation of the nun-lay relationship. When feminists began to argue that *all* women were naturally predisposed to charitable work, this challenged the primacy of sisterhoods in their charitable ministering to the poor.¹¹ Early feminists in Montreal, Danylewycz reports, monitored the strides that women were making in the United States, Europe and neighbouring provinces, which they then compared

¹⁰Marta Danylewycz, "Changing Relationships: Nuns and Feminists in Montreal, 1890-1925" *Histoire sociale — Social History* 14, no.28 (November 1981), 417.

¹¹Danylewycz explains: "This notion of a united women's front had significant implications. Not only did it strengthen the lay woman's self-esteem and confidence in her ability as a social guardian, it also gave her a sense of identity, a history, and a feeling of belonging to a long tradition of activism...defining women's work along "vocational lines" deprived French-Canadian women of a collective past and dulled their perception of their strengths and potentialities. Treating lay and religious women as separate entities, speaking of nuns and of their accomplishments in exclusively religious terms, negated the feminist impulse, that distinct concern for, and identification with, the destitute and the needy, that united women and led them to work for the betterment of humanity." Danylewycz, "Changing Relationships," 8.

to the lack of progress in Quebec. Assuming that most of their contemporaries associated education with progress, they argued that sexual discrimination in education would hurt French Canada's prestige internationally.

Between 1909 and 1925, feminist study circles in Montreal stimulated research and discussion about poverty, the working-class and trade unionism. Danylewycz outlines their strategy:

To combat the ills of capitalism and to help those most affected by them, the study circles outlined a threefold approach: promotion of popular education in the form of literacy courses, home visits and preaching of Catholic social doctrine from the pulpit and the press; the organization of working women into trade unions and professional organizations and the creation of mutual aid societies; and, in the last resort, state intervention to curb "les vices de notre organisation économique". In other words, the study circles proposed a combination of social reform, moral regeneration and self-help.¹²

These study circles, through their involvement in popular education, women's associations, and unions, helped constitute the ideology of feminist Catholic social doctrine. A recognition that charity alone would not solve the manifold problems of Montreal's poor was met with the adoption of a scientific approach to social problems. This would eventually lead to an alteration in the nature of social service in Quebec, transforming it from voluntary to professional work.

The time has come to move beyond the trend in North American historiography of simply listing "pioneer women journalists" and pointing to their significant links within a nascent feminist movement.¹³ As William J. Buxton and Catherine McKercher have argued:

¹²Danylewycz, "Changing Relationships," 431.

¹³Line Gosselin points this out in her recent study, Les Journalistes québécoises, 1880-1930, (Collection RCHTQ Études et Documents Numéro 7, 1995), 5 + 9: "...les historiens de la presse n'ont pas

Such general histories or surveys are of some value, particularly in identifying and cataloguing an impressive range of publications that appeared, many of them very briefly, in this country. They are also useful in identifying some of the key figures in the history of Canadian journalism. But these books tell us little about the political, social and cultural contexts in which the publications were embedded. And they tell us even less of the impact they might have had on the people who read them.¹⁴

As Line Gosselin argues in her recent survey of Québécois journalists (1880-1930), a great deal of work needs to be done to explain what opening the doors of this “liberal” profession of journalism to women meant to the history of women and to define the particularities of Montreal’s feminist movement.¹⁵ There were few women journalists at the turn of the century, and even fewer who were permitted to write outside the confines of the “feminine

développé davantage l’histoire des journalistes féminines et se sont bien souvent intéressés aux seules têtes d’affiche...Mais l’essentiel de la production relative aux femmes journalistes demeure formé par les études biographiques. Celles-ci visent principalement à faire l’histoire des “têtes d’affiche” du journalisme féminin. Parmi les plus connues, la journaliste québécoise Robertine Barry (ou Françoise) a suscité l’intérêt de plusieurs chercheurs. Présentée plus d’une fois comme l’instigatrice du journalisme féminin québécois, Françoise fait figure de référence pour les historiennes et historiens du journalisme et son nom se trouve en tête de file des journalistes québécoises étudiées...D’autres journalistes québécoises, dont Anne-Marie Gleason, Joséphine Dandurand et Marie-Georgina Bélanger, ont aussi fait l’objet d’articles et de monographies. L’apport des biographies est incontestable, d’abord comme sources premières, ensuite comme études minutieuses de la vie et de l’œuvre d’individus. Dans le cas des journalistes, ces biographies permettent de mieux connaître quelques femmes, qui sont souvent aussi des leaders du mouvement féministe.”

¹⁴William J. Buxton and Catherine McKercher, “Newspapers, Magazines and Journalism in Canada: Towards a Critical Historiography,” *Acadiensis*, 28 no 1 (Autumn 1998), 104.

¹⁵Line Gosselin reports: “Tout en formulant des idées intéressantes, les travaux des historiennes québécoises ont peu approfondi la connaissance des femmes journalistes. Ce n’était pas, du reste, leur propos. Ils ont cependant inauguré l’étude des femmes journalistes et présenté ce métier à la fois comme un lieu privilégié où des femmes peuvent faire entendre leurs voix et s’exprimer, et comme une voie d’accès au marché du travail pour les Québécoises du tournant du XXe siècle.” Gosselin, *Les Journalistes québécoises*, 8.

pages” of Montreal’s newspapers.¹⁶ Circé-Côté’s work for *Le Monde Ouvrier Labor World* was not confined to a feminine section of the newspaper (The Woman’s Forum). Hidden as she was behind a male pseudonym, her weekly editorials, for over twenty-years, sat squarely in the top-centre of the French side.¹⁷

Accompanying a rapid growth and expansion of unionization in Montreal during the First World War, *Le Monde Ouvrier Labor World* was founded in 1916 to help address the need for an independent, labour-sponsored public voice.¹⁸ In its first issue, the Board of Directors of the newspaper set its mandate:

*Le Monde Ouvrier n’est pas un organe révolutionnaire, mais il est et restera partisan d’une évolution constante en rapport avec la marche du progrès social et économique. Il prêchera les idées nouvelles, cherchant à relever le niveau moral de la masse par l’éducation et non par la coercition, qui n’a jamais engendré que l’hypocrisie et la dissimulation.*¹⁹

Its status as a bilingual labour newspaper was an effort to breach the “racial” divide between the “races” principally composing Montreal’s working class. As André LeBlanc has

¹⁶Gosselin’s statistics reflect these realities: “Au Québec, dix femmes font partie du groupe des 182 journalistes dénombrés en 1891, formant ainsi 5,5% des effectifs. En 1911, 325 hommes et 18 femmes se trouvent dans la catégorie “journalistes, éditeurs et rapporteurs”. La représentation féminine se maintient alors à un taux peu élevé de 5,2%, qui atteint presque 10% en 1921. Le recensement de 1931 montre toutefois une baisse de la représentation féminine. Soixante-trois femmes font partie du group des 788 journalistes, formant ainsi 8% de l’ensemble.” Gosselin, *Les Journalistes québécoises*, 29.

¹⁷Her articles were not translated for the English side. Most contributions were prepared and presented according to the linguistic competencies of the writers. The paper also published articles by Agnes Macphail, Lucy Woodsworth, and Rose Henderson periodically.

¹⁸*Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World* operated as the authoritative, though independent, organ of the Montreal Trades and Labour Council until 1941 when it became the official journal of the Quebec Provincial Federation of Labor. When Gustave Francq retired in the 1940s, he gave the *Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World* to the Quebec Provincial Federation of Labor and to this day continues to be the official means of communication for the organized workers of Quebec and the Canadian Labour Congress

¹⁹Editorial Staff, “Our Mission,” *Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World* (1 avril 1916).

outlined in his thesis on *Le Monde Ouvrier*,

...with each edition the worker was presented not with an eclectic and jaundiced picture of his place within society, but rather with a wide-ranging overall report that highlighted the importance and dignity of the worker no matter what his station or occupation. [*Le Monde Ouvrier*] considered worker organization as the sine qua non to industrial peace and social progress. Consequently the journal did not miss an opportunity to drum into its public the message "in the union there is strength."²⁰

Stemming from a belief in evolutionary change, LeBlanc reports, *Le Monde Ouvrier* showed a deep concern for all areas of social reform. In addition, educational reform was a particular field of editorial interest, which testifies to labour's interest in a controversial stance on the issue of educational reform in Quebec. The paper was chiefly interested in compulsory school attendance, but starting in 1921 *Le Monde Ouvrier*'s masthead carried the slogan "instruire et améliorer."²¹ Gustave Francq, the chief editor and owner of *Le Monde Ouvrier*, while opposed to revolution, believed that unreformed capitalism led to social unrest.²² Francq supported free and compulsory education as a particularly important aspect of social

²⁰ André E. LeBlanc, "The Labor Movement Seen Through the Pages of Montreal's *Le Monde Ouvrier/The Labor World* (1916-1926)," Master's Thesis, University of Montreal, 1971, 30

²¹ LeBlanc explains, "...the paper also presented its formulae for guaranteeing the preservation and growth of French Canadian culture. For one thing it felt that a thorough reform of the elementary school system was necessary in Quebec. As it existed it placed the French Canadian youth at a disadvantage vis-à-vis their English Canadian counterpart. In later life this provided the competitive edge that often placed the French Canadian worker in second rank." LeBlanc, "The Labor Movement," 71.

²² As Geoffrey Ewen points out: "Although he opposed revolution, Francq believed that substantial reform was necessary. The major agent in the achievement of this aim was to be the 'force constructive, ...le grand mouvement "trade unionist" international...' The mission of the labor movement was to do away with the absolute rule of capital and thus alleviate the necessity of a bolshevik style revolution; it would achieve these goals by inducing capital to provide security and comfort for workers and in this way bring in a better social order ... By improving the condition of the working class the International unions became a stabilizing force in society because they reduced the severity of the class struggle. Once the workers were "satisfaits et heureux" they would become supporters of the existing social order." "The Ideas of Gustave Francq on Trade Unionism and Social Reform as Expressed in *Le Monde Ouvrier/ The Labor World*, 1916-1921." Master's Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1981, 12 and 59.

reform; and argued that opponents of education wanted to restrain liberty and prevent progress.

Perhaps it is important to emphasize that the growth of industrialization in Canada had brought about the development of a vibrant urban bourgeoisie.²³ A constituent portion of this class was composed of an urban, middle/upper sub-class of professionals and charity workers who began to initiate philanthropic projects to “reform” certain “corrupted” aspects of society. Working from a wide range of “professional” perspectives, these social reformers began to reinvigorate and redefine bourgeois culture and politics. For example, Circé-Côté, besides her work as a journalist, became a librarian. As Juliette Chabot’s study of Montreal’s libraries confirms, it was argued by some of the proponents of Montreal’s first public library that it could serve as one of the principal institutions through which the education level of a working-class population could be “enhanced.”²⁴ Circé-Côté herself was concerned with many of the themes identified in Mariana Valverde’s study of moral reform in turn-of-the-century English Canada, The Age of Light, Soap, and Water. Just as Anglo-Saxon reformers in North America imported and adapted ideas and practices of class formation from Britain and the United States, so too did the French-Canadian political and social reform groups of Montreal.²⁵ Efforts to “regenerate” society surfaced in Montreal’s

²³This “bourgeoisie” encompasses the middle as well a portion of the upper class whom I have been referring to as “elites.” Mariana Valverde’s study The Age of Light Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885–1925 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991) sheds much needed light on the movements towards moral/social reform in Canada.

²⁴Juliette Chabot, Montréal et le rayonnement des bibliothèques publiques (Montréal: Fides, 1963), 189.

²⁵As Valverde points out in her study (p.16), “It is very difficult if not impossible to make any general statements about the specificity of Canadian social reform movements; all that can be said is that the

liberal/reformist circles and constituted the central themes of many of Circé-Côté's editorials in *Le Monde Ouvrier*.²⁶ What did Montreal's bourgeois French-speaking feminist movement have to offer efforts to create a working-class culture? The answer to this question illuminates not only the history of Montreal's working-class and feminist movements, but adds a new dimension to our understanding of the complexity of ideological and political contest during this period.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF THE FEMINIST IN QUESTION

Marie Arzélie Eva Circé was born in Montreal in 1871 and baptized in Notre-Dame cathedral. Her parents were Narcisse Circé (a French merchant) and Exilda Décarie (French-Canadian born).²⁷ Circé-Côté studied at the convent school of the Soeurs de Saint-

well-educated urban English Canadians who led these movements were definitely learning from English and, increasingly, American sources. Then as now, however, there was a constant tension between the temptation to copy or import and the equally strong temptation to claim that Canada was different - less corrupt, healthier - and that social remedies ought not to be imported for non-existent social ills." In Montreal, as evidenced in Eva's editorials for *Le Monde Ouvrier*, tenets of social reformist thought filtered through and were transformed to serve a variety of Eva's specifically feminist and nationalist purposes.

²⁶The social reformist tendencies of Circé-Côté's writings will be examined in greater detail in the following chapters. Despite what have been assumed to be Circé-Côté's "anti-clerical" struggles with the Catholic clergy over the library (and her controversial opinions concerning the rights/roles of women), she too would voice concerns about the moral and racial degeneration of Montreal's specifically urban, French-Canadian, working-class community.

²⁷It would seem that Circé-Côté's maternal grand-mother was also a writer and an artist. As a review of Circé-Côté's first book took the time to explain: "Sa grand-mère maternelle, Madame Descarries, (sic), était écrivain, peintre et même sculpteur... Celle-là travaillait dans l'ombre, pour son plaisir et celui des siens avec cette timidité qui empêchait nos mères de mettre certains de leurs talents en lumière. Qui sait si les mœurs du temps l'avait permis, toutes les jolies choses qu'auraient entassées dans les bibliothèques, les musées et les galeries, les femmes des autres générations; et cela nous aurait fait un trésor où puiser." "Nos Canadiennes françaises," *La Patrie*, (Montréal, 16 mai 1903), 22.

Anne in Lachine (*Pensionnat de Lachine*) until 1888, where she distinguished herself for both literary and artistic talent.²⁸ She was awarded a bronze Governor-General's award for literature.²⁹

With the encouragement of Louvigny De Montigny, the editor of *Les Débats*, she threw herself into journalism in 1901. In 1902, she co-founded a literary journal called *l'Étincelle* with Charles Gill and Arsène Bessette.³⁰ During this time she contributed poems and editorials to several other newspapers, including *Le Pionnier*, *Le Nationaliste*, *L'Avenir*, *Le Monde illustré* and *L'Avenir du Nord*. For some issues she wrote almost all of the articles -- publishing each one under a different pseudonym.³¹ In most of her early writing (pre-1916) she appears to have used the pen-name *Colombine*; however, she did surface sporadically as *Jean Ney*, *Paul Bédard*, *Fantaisie*, *Arthur Maheu* and *Musette*. For the duration of her time spent working for *Le Monde Ouvrier* (1916-1943) she assumed a distinctive pen name:

²⁸Madeleine Gleason-Huguenin, *Portraits de femmes* (Canada: Éditions La Patrie, 1938), 75.

²⁹Raphael Ouimet, *Biographies canadiennes-françaises*. (Montréal: Publiées par Raphael Ouimet. Journaliste-Publiciste, 1921-25), 331.

³⁰*L'Étincelle* was a Montreal liberal weekly which was founded in 1902 and folded in 1909. Hector Garneau was one of its collaborators. In it, Circé-Côté wrote under the pseudonym "Musette." André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin describe the newspaper's mandate as follows: "Elle n'entend pas éviter la polémique, mais la contenir dans des limites de la dignité et de respectabilité. 'La seule ambition de l'Étincelle est d'allumer le feu sacré de l'Art dans notre jeune pays, afin de lui assurer l'Immortalité.' Les déclarations pompeuses des pages liminaires ne rendent pas justice à la revue qui produira d'intéressantes chroniques sur la cinématographie et les activités des théâtres montréalais..." *La presse québécoise des origines à nos jours (1896-1910)* Tome quatre (Québec: Les Presses de l'université Laval, 1979), 158.

³¹See Andrée Lévesque, "Éva Circé-Côté: Fondatrice de la Bibliothèque municipale de Montréal," in *Ces femmes qui ont bâti Montréal* (Montréal: Les éditions remue-ménage, 1989), 149. Refer to Appendix A for a complete listing of all the newspapers in which Circé-Côté was published.

Julien Saint-Michel.³²

In 1902, she became a founding member of *Les dames patronnesses de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste*.³³ During this time she also wrote an article for Montreal's Philanthropic Club called "Étude sur les causes de l'infériorité de la femme" in which she described the socialization and education of young girls.³⁴ She helped found *La Société des auteurs canadiens* and was appointed its first vice-president for the French section.³⁵ She also took a well publicized road trip to Lac-Saint-Jean in the company of two other well-known female journalists, which was the subject of a presentation.³⁶

Circé-Côté published a collection of her early journalistic work in 1903, calling the compilation Bleu, Blanc, Rouge: Poésies, paysages, causeries.³⁷ This book contains sixty-

³² Bernard Vinet, Pseudonymes québécois [Édition basée sur l'oeuvre de Audet et Malchelosse intitulée: Pseudonymes Canadiens] (Québec: Éditions Garneau, 1970).

³³ Colombine (pseud.) Bleu, Blanc, Rouge: Poésies, paysages, causeries (Montreal: Deom Frères, Éditeurs, 1903), 338.

³⁴ Lévesque, "Circé-Côté: Fondatrice," 149.

³⁵ Raphaël Ouimet, Biographies canadiennes-françaises (Montréal: Garden City Press, 1925), 510.

³⁶ Georges Bellerive, Brèves apologies de nos auteurs féminins (Québec: Librairie Garneau, 1920), 77-9.

³⁷ Lucie Robert describes the context in which this publication emerged: "De 1925 à 1928, Jovette Bernier, Alice Lemieux, Éva Senécal et Simone Routier publient chacune leur premier recueil de poèmes. Jusque-là, au Québec, les femmes n'avaient écrit que peu de poésie et encore cette poésie n'était-elle constituée que de bluettes, de vers champêtres et de poésie du terroir.... Sous le pseudonyme de "Colombine", Éva Circé-Côté a publié en 1903 le premier recueil de poésie écrit par une femme au Québec, *Bleu, Blanc, Rouge*. "D'Angéline de Montbrun à La Chair décevante: la naissance d'une parole féminine autonome dans la littérature québécoise," in Lori Saint-Martin, ed., L'autre lecture: La critique au féminin et les textes québécois Tome I (Montréal: XYZ éditeur, 1992), 46.

four distinct texts in a variety of genres, including anecdotes, stories, poems, and editorials.³⁸ Much of her early writing takes the shape of urban and rural tales. In addition, she writes descriptively of Montreal, offering diverse reflections on the human condition. In her early work she seems to be searching for manifestations of what might legitimately constitute an essential French-Canadian identity. As the title suggests, the collection is arranged so that it highlights her editorials on the subject of French-Canadian nationalism. Circé-Côté presents various inquiries to her readers about the nature of their identity as French Canadians. While she does not present an ideological platform as such, she does imply that her allegiance was first and foremost to the French flag. "O tricolore," she exclaimed in her opening editorial, "Dans les plis rayonnants flotte tout un passé de gloire, les fières traditions de la mère-patrie, dont le *hoc signo vinces* s'écrit ainsi: Liberté, égalité, fraternité."³⁹ Patriotism, she controversially asserted, has no religion.

A photo of Circé-Côté is included as an insert of Bleu, Blanc, Rouge. As if to signal her participation in the new order of modernity and urban sophistication, Circé-Côté sports a brightly hued cloverleaf dress.⁴⁰

³⁸For a complete listing of the newspapers in which the texts ultimately printed in Bleu, Blanc, Rouge initially appeared, see Kenneth Landry's synopsis, "Bleu, Blanc, Rouge, chroniques et poèmes de Colombine," in Maurice Lemire, ed., Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec. Tome II. 1900-1939 (Montréal: Fides, 1975), 149.

³⁹Eva Circé-Côté. Bleu, Blanc, Rouge, 12.

⁴⁰These were the waning years of the Victorian moral order; by the turn of the century the bustle was gone from women's dresses and it was up to the corset alone to emphasize the fragility of woman. The corset pushed Circé-Côté's chest up and out while flattening her thorax. What seems at a glance as an unidentifiable lump, protrudes from the crown of Circé-Côté's thick curly hair. The Victorian woman's hair was her crowning glory; curly hair was said to indicate a sweeter temperament, while straight-haired girls were considered diffident or awkward. False hair was used copiously (along with back-combing) as a means



The years just before the First World War saw the development of a radically new style of women's dress, which has been called "the beginning of modern fashion"¹¹. Fashion, once dominated by the S-shaped corset and dresses in pastel shades, evolved so that women

¹¹ Teagowns -- once only deemed suitable to be worn in the privacy one's home -- were beginning to be worn as a genuine fashion item -- which was called *deshabille*. Liberty of London was to pick up on this trend for "robes" as they were disparagingly called at first, describing them as a dress with a "modern twist". Valerie Steele, Paris Fashion: A Cultural History (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press 1988), 219.

increasingly wore straight high-waisted frocks in bright, “barbaric” colors.⁴² Of particular interest is that, despite the modern style of her dress, a large cross hangs around her neck. Her implication within the pages of her book that church and state should be separated, should obviously not be confused (at this juncture) with skepticism regarding the Catholic faith.

The public reviews which followed the publication of Bleu, Blanc, Rouge provide a record of how the public reacted to Circé-Côté’s ideas. Given that no such “reviews” exist for her later work in *Le Monde Ouvrier*, these initial reviews provide an insight into why she might have chosen to broach certain themes.⁴³ Reviews to Circé-Côté’s book can be found in a number of turn-of-the-century French-Canadian newspapers.⁴⁴ One of the first seems to have set the precedent, both in its form and content. Written by Louvigny De Montigny, editor of *Les Débats*, it takes the shape of a rather ingratiating letter to the editor.⁴⁵

⁴²Valerie Steele explains: “A Mrs. Gordon, who wrote the *Gentlewoman’s Book of Dress*, 1895, spoke for many when she declared about the aesthetic movement, that a dress for them was ‘a sack tied around the waist with string, with string and two smaller sacks for sleeves.’ Yet these were now the height of fashion for everyone.” Steele, *Paris Fashion*, 219.

⁴³In all the years she wrote for Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World there was only one “letter to Julien Saint-Michel” published. It responded positively to an editorial by Circé-Côté. In 1923, a general letter from Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World asked: “Why Don’t Labor Men Write ‘Letters to the Editor’? Why are labor men and women so neglectful of the opportunity to state Labor’s case and correct false statements about Labor in the ‘Letters to the Editor’ columns of the daily newspapers?... Why let every Tom, Dick and Harry get away with careless or malicious work in the news and editorial columns of the daily papers of the land? Why don’t the labor men, including labor officials, come to life and show a little energy instead of merely howling about the ‘lying newspapers?’” (20 January 1923).

⁴⁴They include Le Monde illustré (1901), La Patrie (1903), Le Soleil (1903), Le Journal de Francoise (1903) and La Revue canadienne (1903).

⁴⁵The letter was addressed to the “directeur” of Le Monde Illustré. De Montigny, who took intense pride in being one of the earliest of Circé-Côté’s fans, was later credited for giving her room in his paper to promote her “public debut” as a writer.

Providing a “silhouette” of the young “Mlle Circé,” De Montigny unmask[s] Circé-Côté as the woman behind the pseudonym Colombine:

Une immense bonté d’impression, une extraordinaire distinction d’expression, une profonde horreur du lieu-commun et du banal, un verbe mathématiquement parisien, un jugement pas du tout féminin, une émotion peut-être exagérée, une philosophie consolante, une franchise audacieuse, enfin une étonnante érudition: c’est Colombine.⁴⁶

Circé-Côté, in this no-holds-barred eulogy, was deemed a credit to the world of French-Canadian journalism. Her various pseudonyms, argued De Montigny, could not possibly serve to hide Circé-Côté’s distinctive style of writing. Equal or superior to any of De Montigny’s male journalist compatriots, Mlle Circé as *chroniqueuse* could be both politically strident and morally intransigent. Most importantly, she had demonstrated “appropriate” reverence for the French language and despite the inherent limitations of her sex, she had earned her colours as a legitimate French-Canadian patriot. As if to add a visual (along with the literal) unveiling, almost every one of the early reviews is accompanied by a photo of Eva in a variety of triumphant poses.⁴⁷

In April 1903 a review in *La Patrie* provided another definitional moment in the promising career of Circé-Côté. Authored by *Madeleine*, this eulogy to *Colombine* applauds the patriotic candour of her contributions to the “French Canadian literary cause.”⁴⁸

⁴⁶Louvigny De Montigny. “Silhouette; Mlle Eva Circé,” *Le Monde Illustré* (7 septembre, 1901), 289.

⁴⁷Two years later, three small French-Canadian newspapers followed suit — flattering and anointing Mlle Circé as a worthy *Canadienne française* and *Femme de lettres*. See Appendix B for an example of the photos which accompanied these early reviews.

⁴⁸Madeleine, “Chronique,” *La Patrie*. (20 avril, 1903), 4. This is the pseudonym of Anne-Marie Gleason. She later married and became Madame Wilfred-A. Huguenin. Madeleine, like Circé-Côté, also wrote for *le Monde illustré* and for nineteen years authored much of what was found in the feminine pages

Madeleine used the occasion to ally herself with Circé-Côté's political views, claiming to be passionately in favour of Circé-Côté's efforts to demonstrate French Canada's spiritual proximity with the French tricolor (which is featured prominently on the front cover of Bleu, Blanc, Rouge.)⁴⁹ Madeleine agreed with Circé-Côté that the French flag should remain "à jamais le drapeau canadien."⁵⁰ And so, Circé-Côté's patriotism, her skill as a particularly subtle and "gentle" demagogue, were the themes which accented Madeleine's review. Circé-Côté's journalism at this early stage in her career was vaunted for its patriotic contribution to a Franco-Canadian culture and language. Simultaneously, Madeleine referred to Circé-Côté as a "consoeur" who deserved to be praised for a specifically female brand of humanism:

Elle possède le don de faire naître dans l'Âme de ceux qui la lisent des impressions très douces...Elle ne veut pas des larmes des mères et des petits, elle ne veut pas que le pauvre ait faim, que l'infirme soit sans gîte; elle ne veut pas que la corde fatale dénoue des existences criminelles...Tout ce qui est une souffrance la révolte...⁵¹

Madeleine's comments suggest that it would be wrong to try to separate Circé-Côté's sense of French patriotism from her moral and humanist writing. What becomes evident in the

(*La Royaume des femmes*) of La Patrie. She also founded a newspaper and published a number of books. See Georges Bellerive, Brèves apologies de nos auteurs féminins (Québec: Librairie Garneau, 1920), 75-6. For more concerning Madeleine, see Juliette Plante's memoir "Madeleine, journaliste," mémoire de maîtrise, Ottawa, Université d'Ottawa, 1962; Aurélien Boivin and Kenneth Landry, "Françoise et Madeleine, pionnières du journalisme féminin au Québec" Voix et images, 4, 2 (décembre 1978), and Réginald Hamel's Gaétane de Montreuil: Journaliste québécoise (1867-1951), (Montréal: L'Aurore, 1976).

⁴⁹It was not until 1948 that the Quebec flag that we know today (bleu celeste, a cross between four fleurs-de-lis argent) came into being following a provincial order in council. Conrad Swan, Canada: Symbols of Sovereignty (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 116

⁵⁰However, Madeleine believed that a maple leaf should be superimposed on the tricolore, whereas Circé-Côté argued in Blue, Blanc, Rouge that the tricolor should remain unadulterated by new symbols.

⁵¹Madeleine, "Chronique," La Patrie, (20 avril, 1903), 4.

majority of these reviews is the sense that Circé-Côté's work was being commended for its imagination and sound judgment, but more important, for its moral lessons.⁵² Moreover, the "tenderness" exuded by the work and its efforts to advocate generalized notions of human justice were what made Circé-Côté's work seem especially worthy.⁵³

In addition to her work as a journalist, Circé-Côté helped found La Bibliothèque municipale de Montréal, occupying the position of assistant librarian until 1932. In 1905 she married Doctor Pierre-Salomon Côté – who was born in 1876 at Ste-Luce de Rimouski. Dr. Côté went to school at St-Joseph College in Memramcook N.B., and was awarded a diploma in medicine in 1902 from Université Laval.⁵⁴ Dr. Côté was well-known for his Freemason sympathies.⁵⁵ Because of his failing health, he abandoned his medical profession and began work at the editorial offices of *Le Canada* in 1909, but died in December of the

⁵² An anonymous review echoed this sentiment in *L'Album universel*: "Une femme de lettres: Colombine, auteur de 'Bleu, Blanc, Rouge.'" *L'Album universel* (Montréal, 2 mai 1903), 5. Similarly, Circé-Côté would be later commended for having a "saine morale" in a review found in *Le Soleil*: Marcelle "Bleu-Blanc-Rouge," *Le Soleil* (Québec: 2 mai 1930), 7.

⁵³ Perhaps the most interesting review – but exceptional because it engages with Colombine's writing rather than simply applying a friendly stamp of approval – is authored by Louis Tytgat. As part of a series entitled "Esquisses littéraires canadiennes - Colombine (Mlle Eva Circé)" Tytgat offers a critical and engaging review of *Bleu, Blanc, Rouge*. He describes Circé-Côté's mandate as one which uses the feminine influence "in the name" of contributing to the intellectual evolution of the French-Canadian race. Tytgat examines Circé-Côté's arguments critically, taking exception to her efforts to "romanticize" French Canada's connections to a contemporary France. *Le Soleil* (Québec: 21 décembre 1903), 5. Eva's preoccupation with a post-1789 France (and the radical politics she associates with the Revolution) will be further explored in the following chapter.

⁵⁴ Adam Mizare, "Les Disparus," *Le Bulletin des Recherches historiques*, 31, 4 (avril 1925), 124.

⁵⁵ Roger Le Moine, *Deux loges montréalaises du Grand Orient de France* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1991), 53-61.

same year.⁵⁶ While they were married they had a child together and named her Eve. In the last months of Dr. Côté's life he was in the process of completing a work he entitled *l'Histoire biologique des Canadiens-Français*. When he died (only four years after their marriage), Circé-Côté invited notoriety by holding a civic funeral and having his body cremated.⁵⁷

Around 1908-1910, Circé-Côté was the principal of a secondary school for girls on Saint-Denis Street.⁵⁸ It was a nondenominational high-school -- which caused much

⁵⁶Le Canada was a liberal organ in Montreal. Godfroy Langlois (a Freemason) was appointed editor in 1903.

⁵⁷Polignac, "Un incident," Le Pays (Montréal, 15 janvier 1910). This journalist reports that despite the manner in which the funeral was reported in La Vérité, L'Action sociale and La Croix, Dr. Côté's funeral procession was in fact quite modest and caused no public disturbance. He asks: "Pourquoi alors tout ce bruit autour de cette chose si simple, la mort? Pourquoi ce débordement d'injures à l'adresse de cette pauvre chair...que ne traversent plus ni le frisson de la joie ni celui de la souffrance. La joie! pauvre docteur, il n'a goûté dans cette misérable vie que celle que donne l'intimité d'une brave femme à laquelle il fut fidèle, comme l'époux de l'Evangile. Mais voilà; il a commis le crime que l'on ne pardonne pas, dans cette province, de mourir en paix avec sa conscience."

⁵⁸Raymond Hebert, *Notes Bio-bibliographiques sur Eva Circé-Côté, Bibliothécaire et chroniqueuse* (Montréal: École de Bibliothécaires, 1952), 4. Marta Danylewycz in "Changing Relationships: Nuns and Feminists in Montreal, 1890-1925," explains the reaction the clergy had to her efforts to open the school. "In April 1908 La Patrie announced that two Montreal journalists, Eva Circé Côté and Gaétane de Montreuil (Marie-Georgina Bélanger's pseudonym), were opening a *lycée* for girls on St. Denis Street. The "audacity" of these women did not sit well with the clergy. Not only did it show that some women had the courage to take matters into their own hands, but it also drove a wedge into the clerical monopoly of secondary and higher education in the province. It created an alternative to the collegiate system of higher education in Quebec and opened the possibility of graduating women into English and American universities. Intending to sabotage the *lycée*, Mgr Bruchési hastily approved Sister St Anne Marie's long-standing proposal...Given the circumstances under which approval was granted, the right to equal educational opportunity and access to professions still had to be won." *Histoire Sociale — Social History* XIV (28 November 1981), 426. See also Danylewycz's book, Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920.

concern amongst Catholics in Montreal.⁵⁹ *L'Émancipation*, the Freemason lodge, also founded a school for girls around 1909-10 and Eva was likely to have been involved.⁶⁰

From 1903 to 1921 Circé-Côté wrote four plays. *Hindelang et Delormier* was first performed in 1903 and recalls a “patriotic moment” in 1838.⁶¹ This play helped anchor Circé-Côté’s place as a part of the “forward march” of French Canada’s literary progress. In *La Revue canadienne*, Marie-Louise Milhau argued that Circé-Côté’s first play put her in a “new school of French-Canadian writers,” who would, she prophesized, have a tendency to gain support from a wide cross-section of people.⁶² What marked *Hindelang et Delormier*

⁵⁹As the Clio Collective notes: “On 25 April 1908, *La Patrie* announced the opening of a girls’ high school with compulsory Greek and Latin. The institution was nondenominational, which caused some concern amongst Catholics. Mother Saint-Anne-Marie urged her superiors to take action. They were not enthusiastic, but sent her to see Monseigneur Bruchési....Members of the clergy were divided: some approved of the project; many more declared it to be outrageous modernism. Priests thought it dangerous to make scholars of women - they might refuse to marry and have a family when they finished their studies. The Sulpicians refused their written approval, and the public seemed to think that classical education for girls was extravagant and irrelevant.” *Quebec Women: A History*, trans. Roger Gannon and Rosalind Gill (Toronto: The Women’s Press, 1987), 246-47.

⁶⁰Roger Le Moine, in “Le Grand Orient de France dans le contexte québécois (1896-1923),” describes this foundation of the school: “Initiative plus importante, la loge, qui n’admet pas que nulle école ne dispense aux jeunes filles la formation leur permettant d’être admises à l’université, fonde un lycée de jeunes filles sur lequel rien ne nous est parvenue à part quelques renseignements révélateurs de problèmes financiers. En décembre 1909, un concert-bénéfice et une souscription sont organisés. Un appel à la générosité des maçons est lancé en 1910. La même année, on redoute que l’institution ne ferme ses portes. Quand a-t-elle été fondée? Combien de temps a-t-elle fonctionné? Quel était son programme? Quels ont été ses effectifs? On ne sait. Faute de documents, son histoire est plutôt faite d’interrogations. Une seule chose est sûre, le lycée a existé en 1909 et en 1910.” In Yvan Lamonde, ed., *Combats libéraux au tournant du XXe siècle* (Montréal: Fides, 1995), 150-51.

⁶¹Circé-Côté’s first play was enthusiastically promoted in an anonymous review for *La Patrie*: “L’auteur y fait vibrer à la fois la corde patriotique et sentimentale, sans pourtant négliger d’amuser...on y voit bruler les idées du temps avec tout le reflet que l’idée de l’indépendance...on y revit une page d’histoire, la page la plus animée, la plus vive et la plus passionnante de l’histoire canadienne.” “Nos Theatres,” *La Patrie* (Montréal, 19 mai 1903), 22.

⁶²Marie-Louise Milhau, a professor at McGill University, was from France.

as belonging to a new and more popular school of art, Milhau suggested, was its preoccupation with the naked truths of local French-Canadian life.⁶³ In addition, this new school wanted to be “canadien” and therefore took its inspiration in the history and customs of the country. *Le fumeur endiable* was produced in 1904 and won second prize at the *Concours du Théâtre National*.⁶⁴ On the third of April 1921, Circé-Côté’s play *Maisonnette* was performed at His Majesty’s Theatre. *Maisonnette* is a fictionalized recounting of the experiences of Canada’s famous explorer who in this version falls in love with “Fleur de Bois” -- the daughter of an Iroquois chief. Tragically, *Maisonnette* is dissuaded from marrying her by a concerned priest, and returns to France (single) a triumphant hero. Fleur de Bois, so the story goes, had betrayed her people and died of a broken heart.⁶⁵ The last of

⁶³On the 16th of May, 1903 another photograph and tribute was published on behalf of Circé-Côté, this time in *La Patrie*. On the page glamorously entitled “Le Royaume des femmes” and amidst sketches of roses and cherubs is a diamond-shaped photo of Colombine, who this time looks straight into the camera. The review announces her upcoming play - *Hindelang et Delormier* - to be performed in the Théâtre National Français. An anonymous review in *La Patrie* on the 19 mai 1903 commends the play for its “patriotic effervescence,” and remarks: “L’auteur y fait vibrer à la fois la corde patriotique et sentimentale... on y voit bruler les idées du temps avec tout le reflet que l’idée de l’indépendance... on y revit une page d’histoire, la page la plus vive et la plus passionnante de l’histoire canadienne.” Milhau justifies her support of *Hindelang et Delormier* and Circé-Côté’s injection of “local flavour” in the name of “notre époque de décentralisation (qui) encourage ces réformes de l’art.” Milhau draws her review to a close with a word of concern about Colombine’s treatment of the English: “Certes les Canadiens ont le droit et le devoir de revendiquer leur autonomie (?), [question mark in the text] mais il ne leur est pas permis de tourner en dérision ou d’insulter l’ancien adversaire qui est devenu leur compatriote, souvent leur parent, et fait preuve, en somme, d’une largeur d’esprit plus grande que chez la plupart des nations européennes.” M.L. Milhau, “Chronique theatrale,” *La Revue canadienne*, Tome 44 (1903), 389 + 395

⁶⁴This play, along with the other four, is recorded officially in Georges Bellerive’s *Nos auteurs dramatiques anciens et contemporains: Répertoire analytique* (Montréal: Librairie Garneau, 1933), 136.

⁶⁵Eva Circé-Côté, *Maisonnette*. Evidently the only copy in North America is housed in the archives at the University of Alberta. This is the only one of her plays that was catalogued in North America’s library systems. None of the four was ever published. [UA Rutherford SPCOL, Call # PS9505 I65M23 - <http://dra.library.ualberta.ca/db/marion/titles.html>]

the four plays was *Anglomanie* which appeared in 1922 and won the “Prix de l’Action Française.” *Anglomanie* is a moral comedy about an uncompromising young French Canadian who is a “martyr to his own moral and political convictions.”⁶⁶

In 1924 Circé-Côté published a treatise on the legacy of Louis-Joseph Papineau.⁶⁷ Entitled *Papineau: Son influence sur la pensée canadienne*, the book is framed as an “essai de psychologie historique.” In chapters on such subjects as “Papineau’s soul,” “Women and the Revolution,” “French-Canadian values” and “the Guibord Affair,” Circé-Côté argued that Papineau was a hero for French Canadians. While it was not uncommon for French Canada’s first women writers to write historical novels which romanticized French Canada’s “traditions,” Circé-Côté’s portrayal of Papineau as a heroic liberal and an open-minded “free-thinker” was a direct affront to the types of “traditions” emphasized by the Catholic Church.⁶⁸

⁶⁶This play was reviewed in *La Patrie*: “La comédie de mœurs semble être dans le tempérament de l’auteur. L’âme canadienne est pleine de spontanéité. La vie intérieure souvent déborde du cadre étroit de notre littérature, plutôt même l’a circonvenue... Dans *Anglomanie*, le sérieux alterne avec le bouffe. On se fait dire de dures vérités entre deux éclats de rire, chacun, Anglais et Canadiens, en attrape à son tour mais s’en tire en bon enfant et la moralité perce dans l’humoriste” (18 mars 1922), 20.

⁶⁷Circé-Côté’s book on Papineau is reviewed in 1956 by Bernard Dufévre: “Un chef-d’oeuvre inconnu: Le “Papineau” de Mme Circé-Côté” *La Revue de L’Université Laval*, 10, 9 (mai 1956), 791-799. Dufévre quotes from her text at length in the review, and seems genuinely shocked that a woman such as Circé-Côté would have been capable of such a patriotic project: “Et l’on se demande, après avoir lu ce qui précède, comment il se fait qu’on ne soit point encore d’accord sur cet homme (Papineau), quand il aurait suffi à ces deux écrivains (L.-O. David and M. Groulx), pour s’entendre, de lire le livre de Mme Circé-Côté, paru treize ans plus tôt!”

⁶⁸See Katherine Ann Robert’s Ph.D. Thesis “Le Roman national des femmes du Québec,” Queen’s University, 1999, for a fascinating discussion of how women used concepts of “tradition” and “nation” in their turn-of-the-century fiction. Circé-Côté’s book on Papineau stands boldly against the overriding trends of women’s writing in the 1920’s. Quebec’s female literary output for this period is characterized as follows: “une tendance majeure... dominera la production romanesque des femmes entre les deux guerres: le roman sentimental. Candides, intimistes, écrits souvent à la première personne, ces textes évoquent un milieu mondain, celui de la grande bourgeoisie canadienne-française d’où sont généralement absentes les références

Circé-Côté wrote for *Le Monde Ouvrier Labor World* from 1916-1943 with a gap from 1922 to 1925 inclusive. This bilingual newspaper was published under the auspices of the *Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec* (FTQ), the official voice for international unions in Quebec. *Le Monde Ouvrier* was directed by trade unionist and freemason Gustav Francq.⁶⁹ Within her columns Circé-Côté critiques the municipal administration, promotes education of girls and boys, observes urban life and the modernization of Montreal, denounces economic and social injustice and promotes the female condition. She counters clerico-nationalism with socialist sympathies and anti-clerical opinions.⁷⁰

Circé-Côté died on the fourth of May in 1949.⁷¹ Her funeral service was held at Saint John's United Church and she was buried in a Protestant cemetery.⁷² Her obituaries make no acknowledgment of her work for *Le Monde Ouvrier*. She was recognized for her role in the foundation of Montreal's first public library, and for being the "épouse de feu" Dr. Côté but there is not a word which unmask her as the "Julien Saint-Michel" of *Le Monde Ouvrier*.⁷³

aux événements marquant de la période telles la crise économique et la Première Guerre mondiale." (96)

⁶⁹Geoffrey Ewen, "The Ideas of Gustave Francq on Trade Unionism and Social Reform as Expressed in *Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World*, 1916-1921" (M.A. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1981)

⁷⁰Lévesque, "Circé-Côté: Fondatrice," 149.

⁷¹*La Presse* (Montréal: 5 mai 1949).

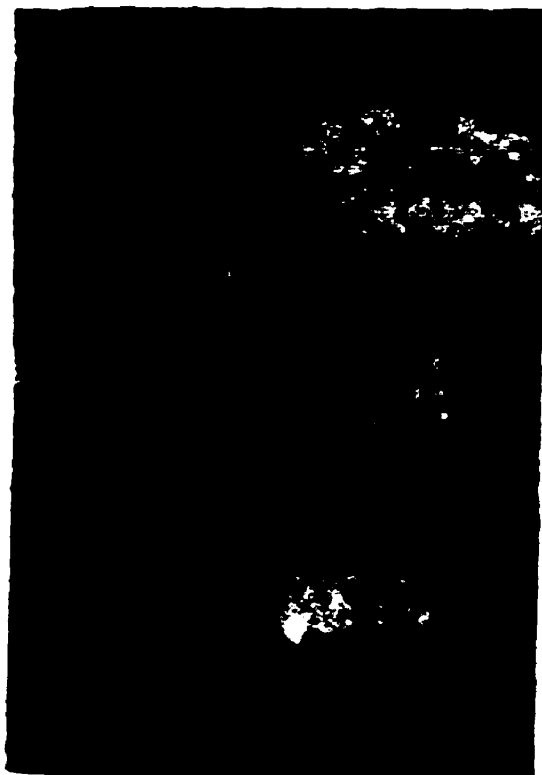
⁷²Hébert, *Notes Bio-bibliographiques*, 8.

⁷³"Décès d'une ancienne collaboratrice du 'Nationalist,'" *Le Devoir*. (Montréal: 7 mai 1949), 2.

CHAPTER TWO

EGYPTIAN MUMMIES AND MAGIC WANDS:

Eva Circé-Côté and Montreal's first public library



When *La Patrie*¹ trumpeted the opening of Montreal's first public library, it included this photo of Eva Circé, identifying her as the library's *conservateur*.² Given the foggy quality of the image, readers might easily have mistaken the feather balanced precariously

¹*La Patrie* was the Liberal Party's French daily for Montreal. The paper was founded in 1879 and defined its mission as follows: "*La Patrie* paraît aujourd'hui pour remplacer *le National* comme organe du parti réformiste dans le district de Montréal. Libéral en politique, le nouveau journal continuera la tradition du parti qui combat le gouvernement de sir John A. Macdonald à Ottawa et qui supporte l'administration Joly à Québec." *La Patrie*, (24 février 1879). *La Patrie* was one of only a few newspapers in favour of mandatory primary education and public libraries for Quebec.

²While "conservatrice" might be a more accurate and modern designation, "conservateur" is how she is referred to in all the early municipal documentation.

upon Circé-Côté's head for a hovering thundercloud, casting an inauspicious shadow upon the face of the newly-appointed librarian. In retrospect, the newspaper's imagery seems subtly suggestive, if only because it inadvertently foreshadows the practical/theoretical turmoil encouraged by Circé-Côté's induction into Montreal's professional world. She wears a "shirt waist" (a style patterned after men's shirts) which was the badge of the "New Woman."³ Not unlike the eerie quiet before the rupture of an electrical storm, Eva's polite inauguration preceded the collision of conflicting forces.

Sometimes the modest questions are those that afford the most complex answers. One relatively uncomplicated query rests at the heart of the following discussion: What role did "Mademoiselle Eva Circé" play in the foundation of Montreal's first public library?⁴ On the surface, one might suppose that this research strategy – an examination of the history surrounding the career of one librarian – could offer only an oblique approach to Montreal's

³Her lacy cotton voile or silk shirt (known as a shirtwaist) was commonly worn by working-class and middle-class women on the shop floor – usually coupled with a dark tailored skirt. Hats were more than an accessory, they were an essential component of the feminine toilette: ladies never appeared in public without one. Barbara A. Schreier, Becoming American Women: Clothing and the Jewish Immigrant Experience, 1880-1920 (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1995), 69.

⁴The "public" mandate (associated with plans for a library) was defined by the elites during this period as one which would target the French-speaking working class. A "public" library, therefore, was one that included a majority of French books and newspapers as opposed to English ones. It would certainly be worthy of study to determine how those who were described in municipal records in 1915 as Montreal's "foreign element" (i.e. those who composed Montreal's Black, Jewish, Russian, Polish, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Ruthenian, Greek and Syrian populations) were understood within this conceptualisation of Montreal's "public." Although I found no formal segregation in the early library records I examined, those involved in establishing the plans were unequivocally targeting a French-speaking, working-class community. There seem to be no traces of the contemporaneous American trend to use libraries to 'indigenize' immigrants. See John Higham's Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955) for a discussion of the intent to use libraries in order to dispel thoughts of rebellion and disloyalty in the minds of newly arrived immigrants. To read more concerning the history of the exclusion of Blacks from the American public library service, see Eliza Atkins, The Government and Administration of Public Library Service to Negroes in the South, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).

turn-of-the-century history. This history, one would presume, would unearth the story of a woman who (for one reason or another) was deemed unusually “worthy” of professional status. In fact, thanks to Circé-Côté’s involvement in the debates surrounding the opening of the library, a study of her participation in this particular municipal project supplies us with a provocative and complex picture of twentieth-century Montreal. In an effort to explain and adjust *La Patrie*’s visual rendering of Montreal’s female *conservateur*, I will attempt to pull Circé-Côté out of this cloudy frame and bring her experiences into focus.

By studying Circé-Côté’s involvement in the library project, we are suddenly outfitted with a viewfinder through which to frame and identify the links between understudied moments of Montreal’s history.⁵ What is quickly identified “within the frame” are diverse elite groups competing to redefine key components of French-Canadian patriotism/nationalism to suit a variety of political ends.⁶ Many of the opposing interest groups were working both to understand and address the nature of Montreal’s quickly solidifying “class-identified” movements and alliances. Simultaneously, they were struggling both to foster and/or arrest the gradual secularization and mobilization of Montreal’s working-class population. In plainer terms, examining Circé-Côté’s experiences has helped to reveal how groups of Montreal’s clashing elites, jostling within the ever-modifying urban political culture, tried to construct municipal policies which would affect the working class.

In his study on the role of the public library in American life, Michael Harris points

⁵There is room for much more work on labour thought, Utopian socialism, and trade union struggle in turn-of-the-century Montreal; see Ian McKay, *For a Working-Class Culture in Canada*. (Newfoundland: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1996), xviii, n. 15.

⁶Circé-Côté managed to sit astride the dividing lines of several (competing) interest groups.

out that historians of the public library movement have badly confused the purpose of the institution with its actual function. Their works, generally written in the liberal progressive tradition, interpret the library's purpose as inherently humanitarian. On the contrary: North American public libraries have tended to be elitist institutions from the very beginning.⁷ Historically, only a small percentage of eligible users have ever crossed the threshold into the public library. The education, colour, religion, social stature, and wealth of those selected to run the libraries often reflected the aristocratic and elitist nature of the libraries. Few studies have bothered to analyse why people wanted to establish libraries; it has simply been assumed that it was a largely liberal and democratic venture.

Historical records confirm, without a doubt, that Circé-Côté was appointed the library's first *conservateur*⁸ and that her reputation as a renowned *femme de lettres* had *something* to do with why she was deemed an appropriate candidate for the position.⁹ And yet, despite the number of studies which detail the history of Montreal's first public library (a number of which have dubiously claimed that Circé-Côté was its solitary "fondatrice"), only ambiguous hypotheses have been presented as to *why* she was initially appointed to the

⁷Michael H. Harris, "The Role of the Public Library in American Life: A Speculative Essay." (Illinois: University of Illinois, 1975), 3.

⁸"La bibliothèque technique. Elle sera montée dans quinze jours - Melle Eva Circé nommée bibliothécaire." La Patrie. (12 août 1903).

⁹Ibid As the journalist for La Patrie announced: "Mademoiselle Eva Circé (Colombine), la chroniqueuse bien connue, a été nommée bibliothécaire avec un traitement annuel de \$400.00." (12 août 1903). Documentation regarding Eva's salary for the twenty-nine years she worked at the Bibliothèque de Montréal (her firing and re-hiring, a daily ledger where her signature marked her attendance, a variety of letters she wrote to the board of directors requesting books, etc...), and documentation regarding her retirement and pension allotment in 1932, can all be located at Les Archives de la Ville de Montreal in the Collection de la Bibliothèque de Montréal - BM60DI (D2, D3, D4, D6, D7, D43, D49, D59, D61, D75).

position in 1903 only to be demoted in 1906.¹⁰ Her demotion has been deemed especially significant (by some historians) because of what it *might* suggest about Circé-Côté's feminist or anti-clerical inclinations.¹¹ Others have submitted that her untimely marriage to a renowned Freemason was the missing piece of the puzzle. I will argue that the demotion was not as suggestive as these historians and chroniclers have implied, but was related to the more mundane realities of municipal employment.

In recent scholarship, accounts have centred on Circé-Côté's disagreement with Montreal's clergy – particularly over which books constituted “appropriate” reading for the designated patrons of the new public library.¹² And yet, all of the conjecture concerning Circé-Côté's so-called “fall from grace”¹³ continues to be excruciatingly vague, and for all

¹⁰ Ambiguous and conflicting suggestions have been made with regards to what seems to have been Circé-Côté's public “falling from grace” from Montreal's literary community. To confirm or deflect any or all of these allegations, it would take further research into newspapers of the era to determine what Circé-Côté might have done to offend certain of Montreal's elites. Georges Bellerive's Brèves apologies de nos auteurs féminins (Québec: Librairie Garneau, 1920), 77-79, includes Circé-Côté amongst Montreal's worthy women writers with a mysterious caveat. He states: “Au cours de sa carrière littéraire, que de tristes événements ont malheureusement abrégé, Colombine a cueilli de beaux lauriers... Comment ne pas regretter après cela que certaines circonstances déplorables soient venues terminer en 1908 une carrière aussi brillamment commencée?” Bellerive provides no explanation as to what these “deplorables circumstances” might have been.

¹¹ Some recent sources have claimed that Circé-Côté was fired. This would be only partially true because she was reinstated as the “assistant” librarian shortly thereafter.

¹² In Marcel Lajeunesse, Les Sulpiciens et la vie culturelle à Montréal au XIXe siècle (Montréal: Fides, 1982) and in Lisette Girouard, “Éva, Colombine et Julien,” *Arcade* 23 (hiver 1992), 63, one finds similar claims that Circé-Côté's clash with Bruchési led to her demotion. Andrée Lévesque advances no theories as to why Eva lost her position as “conservateur” but does seem to support the notion that Circé-Côté's marriage to a doctor, renowned for his freemason sympathies, might have played a role in her difficulties. “Fondatrice de la bibliothèque municipale de Montréal,” Ces femmes qui ont bâti Montréal (Montréal: Les Éditions du Remue-Ménage, 1994).

¹³ In the 1950s, Raymond Hébert and Bernard Dufebvre both advanced theories with regards to why Circé-Côté might have “been shunned” by her contemporaries. Both authors identify her marriage to a Freemason as being the heart of the controversy. In Hébert's bio-bibliographical study for the University of Montreal, he argues that Circé-Côté abandoned the Catholic religion and turned towards the Freemasons, thereby making her an unsuitable candidate. Hébert notes: “Ce fut vers cette époque, malheureuse entre

intents and purposes, is wholly unsubstantiated. Perhaps this is because, to date, Circé-Côté's own views concerning the library have been left unexamined.

What I hope to offer in this chapter is a demystification of Circé-Côté's ideological positions in relation to the debates which accompanied the opening of Montreal's first public library. I will attempt to locate Circé-Côté's ideas in the larger arenas of public discussion and contestation in Montreal at the turn of the twentieth century, with regard to changing articulations of French-Canadian radicalism. Thankfully, because Circé-Côté's output of writing (as a journalist) was relatively consistent and surfaced in a wide variety of local sources, her ideological development can be traced throughout three definitional decades of Montreal's history.

As Patrice Dutil is at pains to point out in his study of liberal progressivism in Quebec, the tendency to dismiss the importance of "politics" and "ideologies" during this period (which has influenced the more popular subject of "nationalism" in the history of Quebec) has had a marked impact on the study of the politics of radicalism and reform.¹⁴ This study of Circé-Côté's ideas will confirm Dutil's finding that early-twentieth-century Quebec cannot be interpreted as an ideologically homogeneous society, purged of its early

toutes, que Eva Circé-Côté se laissa entraîner à des erreurs déplorables qui abrégèrent sa carrière de chroniqueuse si brillamment commencée." To make matters worse, he notes, when her husband died, she had him incinerated in the manner of freemasons. "Notes Bio-Bibliographiques sur Eva Circé-Côté. Bibliothécaire et chroniqueuse." (Diplôme de l'Ecole de Bibliothécaires de l'Université de Montréal. Montréal, Ecole de Bibliothécaires, 1952), 4. Bernard Dufebvre echoes Hébert's claim in a footnote. "Lors de la mort de son mari elle le fit incinérer, ce qui fut cause d'un beau scandale à l'époque." "Un chef-d'oeuvre inconnu: Le "Papineau" de Mme Circé-Côté," *La Revue de l'Université Laval*. (Publication de l'Université Laval et de la Société du Parler Français au Canada.) 10, 9 (mai 1956), 799.

¹⁴Patrice Dutil. *Devil's Advocate*. (Montreal and Toronto: Robert Davies Publishing, 1994), 19. Dutil charges: "Students of Quebec history were therefore left to imagine the evolution of Quebec's politics, particularly those of the Liberal Party in Quebec (which was dominant in that period) in an ideological vacuum."

factionalism and radicalism. The currents of radicalism in Circé-Côté's writing defy any such simplistic readings. The following selections of her brand of radical thought will be extracted from her collection of early journalistic work entitled Bleu, Blanc, Rouge,¹⁵ from her articles for *Le Monde Ouvrier*, and from a number of essays included in Papineau: son influence sur la pensée Canadienne.¹⁶

EGYPTIAN MUMMIES AND THE EFFEMINIZATION OF MONTREAL'S LITERATI

It is time for a "reconnaissance" of early twentieth-century women writers, states Lisette Girouard in her 1992 feminist study "Éva, Colombine et Julien."¹⁷ Girouard's not only rediscovers Circé-Côté (and enters her on a historical ledger of Montreal's "important" women), but also demonstrates that even a superficial study of Circé-Côté's involvement with Montreal's first public library can offer an intriguing glimpse into the city's early twentieth-century public life.¹⁸ A library, or any municipal institution which would open its doors and resources to "anyone" in Montreal (regardless of race, religion or class), boldly challenged

¹⁵Colombine (pseud.) Bleu, Blanc, Rouge (Montréal: Deom Frères, 1903).

¹⁶Eva Circé-Côté, Papineau (Montréal: R.A. Regnault & Cie., 1924)

¹⁷Lisette Girouard, "Reconnaissances. Éva, Colombine et Julien" Arcade 23 (hiver 1992), 60-65. Eva Circé-Côté, Girouard argues, is only one of *many* ignored "audacious" French-Canadian women writers.

¹⁸The municipally operated library that provided sources in the French language to the general public was the Bibliothèque municipale de Montréal. While there were 40 libraries in Quebec in 1900, very few were open to the public as such. The Montreal Mechanics' Institute, the Young Men's Christian Association and the Fraser Institute are examples of some of the public libraries open to English speakers in Montreal, in addition to the public library in Westmount which was founded in 1885. Ontario had, at this point 439, the majority of which were public libraries.

the “timeless” legitimacy of Montreal’s clerical and conservative leadership.¹⁹

At the time of Circé-Côté’s involvement with the library, the hierarchical structures within Montreal’s Catholic organizations – to which the conservative (and some liberal) elites held tightly – were being openly contested and eroded. As Marcel Lajeunesse notes in his study of religious and cultural life in Montreal in the nineteenth century, impassioned debates surrounded the opening of Montreal’s first French-Canadian “secular” library:

Le débat sur la bibliothèque à Montréal, dans les années 1900, est en fait une confrontation entre la conception nord-américaine de la lecture publique et la formule cléricale pour protéger ses fidèles des idées du siècle.²⁰

Montreal’s clergy contended that municipal institutions (such as libraries, hospitals and schools which functioned independently of religious associations) would cause Montreal’s public life and culture to degenerate. Pointedly, clerics worried that Montreal’s culture would be divested of its moral (read Catholic) qualities.

These concerns were not specific to Montreal. Unleashed in many of North America’s rapidly growing industrial centres were debates focussed on the “seductive” powers of material progress which, when twinned with the rapid changes taking place in urban centres,

¹⁹Roger Le Moine, in his study of the period, argues that Quebec’s clergy, after the Rebellions of 1837-38, were on an active mission to “catholicize” their opponents: “On comprend alors qu’en 1837 le clergé ait condamné le recours aux armes et excommunié ceux qui y prennent part. En sorte que, une fois la paix revenue, les Britanniques le perçoivent non plus comme ils l’avaient fait depuis 1763, mais comme un allié sur qui ils peuvent compter et dont ils doivent favoriser les entreprises. Ainsi agréé, le clergé est libre de se lancer dans cette vaste entreprise de “catholicisation” de la population francophone, opération dont il rêve et qui va réduire tous les opposants.” Deux loges montréalaises du Grand Orient de France. (Ottawa: Les Presses de l’Université d’Ottawa, 1991), 5.

²⁰Marcel Lajeunesse, Les Sulpiciens et la vie culturelle à Montréal au XIXe siècle (Montreal: Fides, 1982), 206 and 218. Lajeunesse points out that by the late 1800s there were some priests who were proponents of the public library cause. They favoured the founding of a secular library if only because it relieved the church of the financial burden of maintaining tiny underfunded parish collections. It was also argued that the public library would nurture a population’s sense of morality, rather than abandoning the working class to “degenerate” in such urban recreational venues as clubs and movie theatres.

would engender an urban “moral decay.”²¹ In Montreal, these “moral concerns” were voiced first and foremost (but not exclusively) by the Catholic clergy. Michèle Dagenais’s provocative study of the development of Montreal’s public institutions untangles the clergy’s predicament:

...au-delà de son souci de préserver la paix sociale, l’épiscopat montréalais craint le vent de laïcisation qui souffle sur la société montréalaise, tout comme dans le monde occidental de l’époque, dans cette période d’industrialisation, de valorisation du progrès matériel et de déploiement des valeurs marchandes. La laïcité est menaçante non seulement en ce qu’elle propose de nouveaux modèles d’organisation sociale où sont mises au second plan les références aux croyances religieuses, mais aussi parce qu’elle s’exprime souvent contre l’Église catholique elle-même. La laïcité est également menaçante car elle présuppose une implication plus grande des pouvoirs publics dans la gestion des questions sociales, au détriment de l’Église bien entendu.²²

In the eyes of much of Montreal’s clergy, even the possibility that a public library might facilitate a “democratization of knowledge” made the project potentially subversive and dangerous.²³ Ultimately, the library question was both posed and understood as an unequivocal challenge to the existing order.²⁴ For those on the conservative and clerical

²¹Valverde, *The Age of Light Soap and Water*. See also Paul Rutherford, “Tomorrow’s Metropolis: the Urban Reform Movement in Canada 1880-1920,” (Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers*, 1971), 203, and J.J. Kelso, “Can slums be abolished or must we continue to pay the penalty?” reprinted in P. Rutherford, ed., *Saving the Canadian City: the first phase 1880-1920* (Toronto University Press, 1974), 167.

²²Michèle Dagenais, “Vie culturelle et pouvoirs publics locaux. La fondation de la bibliothèque municipale de Montréal” *Urban History Review Revue d’histoire urbaine* 24, 2 (mars 1996), 42.

²³Dagenais explains: “Dans ce contexte d’émergence de la démocratie bourgeoise, la promotion de la lecture publique, tout comme celle de l’éducation, vise la formation de citoyens responsables et instruits. Tel est du moins l’objectif poursuivi par les réformistes et les philanthropes aussi bien en Grande-Bretagne qu’aux États-Unis, au Canada ou au Québec. Dans ce dernier cas, toutefois, c’est l’éducation confessionnelle plutôt que laïque qui va remporter la bataille.” Dagenais, “La Vie culturelle,” 41.

²⁴The Sulpician clergy of Montreal were not unanimous in their opinions regarding the foundation of a public library. However, as Marcel Lajeunesse points out, they were quite anti-liberal in their overall tendencies: “Les Sulpiciens montréalais sont en pleine mutation au milieu du XIXe siècle. Antilibéraux, ils deviennent ultramontains bon teint... Les Sulpiciens de Montreal n’ont pas, en revanche, claironné leur ultramontanisme, à l’instar de certains Jésuites et de Tardivel.” Lajeunesse, *Les Sulpiciens*, 15.

“side” of the proverbial fence, most attempts to address urban illiteracy seemed like attempts to limit the sway of the Catholic church.

Montreal’s first public library was many years in the making. The initial seeds of the idea were planted in the 1840s, when cultural questions concerning French-Canadian “ethnic identity” seemed to be supplanting political ones. The question of public libraries was intimately connected to the issue of public education – debates on the subject emerged in the 1830s in Quebec. By the mid 1800s, the issue of “public instruction” had become a hot topic amongst the upper classes. Liberal elites tackled the issue of education in Montreal with missionary zeal; it was time, they estimated, to begin to address the city’s “cultural poverty.” Circé-Côté explores this preoccupation:

Espérons que cette bibliothèque ne vient pas trop tard, que de beaux talents, des génies peut-être, ne sont pas venus à maturité par-ce qu’ils se sont ignorés eux-mêmes, le rayon leur ayant manqué pour développer les germes latents qui gisaient en eux, semblables à ces grains de blé qu’on retrouve dans les mains des momies d’Egypte presque pulvérisés et qui, faute de terre et de rosée, n’ont jamais réalisé les vertes promesses écloses en leur semence.²⁵

It may require a leap of the imagination to consider that “an unfertilized French-Canadian literary talent” might be likened to a grain of wheat stuck amidst the pickled layers of an expired Egyptian. Circé-Côté’s “progressive” and “patriotic” aspirations for the library’s new patrons were categorical. Many of those who favoured the creation of a public library, focussed on raising “les canadiens” up socially, economically, and politically to a position of equality vis-à-vis Anglo-Saxon Canada.²⁶

²⁵ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.). “La Bibliothèque Municipale. L’ouvrier est appelé à en bénéficier dans un avenir peu lointain,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World, (24 juin 1916)

²⁶ Lajeunesse, Les Sulpiciens, 219.

Circé-Côté deplored Montreal's "progress" on the public library issue as "shamefully slow" when compared to other major North American cities:

L'exemple des Etats-Unis est là pour confirmer nos avancés. Il est d'usage pour excuser bien des choses chez nous de dire: Nous sommes un jeune pays!...Le pays de Franklin a moins d'âge que le Canada et déjà il affirme sa virilité...Il a déjà une littérature et des artistes et des hommes d'État dignes de figurer avec les plénipotentiaires de la vieille Europe. A quoi est due cette précoce maturité? A l'école obligatoire et aux bibliothèques publiques les plus belles, les plus spacieuses, les plus à la portée du peuple, qui existent.²⁷

Circé-Côté disputes Montreal's very "virility" by comparing and contrasting the "size" of its literary yield to that which was being generated in the United States and in Europe. Trying to shame her opponents into action, she voices her concern that Montreal's "effeminized" literary output might be judged poorly when placed side by side with the potent talent emerging in other "more progressive" states. In the later part of the nineteenth century, she pointed out, there were movements in cities all across North America in favour of the establishment of public libraries.²⁸ Circé-Côté's efforts to shame her fellow citizens into action would not have been dismissed as a harmless "tongue-and-cheek" indictment. When Sarah Bernhardt's earlier words, echoing a similar disparagement of local masculinity, were published in *Le Canada* in 1905, three hundred angered Laval University students held a demonstration in front of the editor's house -- which had to be dispersed by mounted police. Thirty students were injured and one arrested.²⁹

²⁷Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.) "La Bibliothèque Municipale."

²⁸Dagenais. "La Vie culturelle."

²⁹Sarah Bernhardt's malediction went as follows: "Québec! ah oui, c'est une belle ville, très belle et le Canada aussi est un beau pays...Mais je ne comprends rien à votre population. Vous avez des canadiens-anglais, des canadiens-irlandais, des canadiens-français, des canadiens-iroquois! Mais voulez-vous me dire pourquoi vous vous appelez des canadiens-français? Des français, vous autres? Mais pourquoi? Vous avez à

What made Montreal's discussions on the subject of a public library different from general North American trends was the question of French Canada's survival. The debate focussed on the dire need for a library to function as a tool to withstand the menace of French-Canadian assimilation. Members of both the liberal elite and the clergy had been campaigning for higher literacy rates for French Canadians and had worked to entrench legislation that would support explicitly "French" educational institutions.³⁰ Consistent with this theme was the general concern that the French-speaking population in Montreal did not have an institution from which to borrow books or newspapers in the French language. Ultimately, for all of those immediately involved in the plans (Circé-Côté was certainly one such enthusiastic advocate) the very existence of a public library and its projected collection remained a tremendously contentious project -- an urban site of contested rights and intellectual property.

In "Le Grand-Orient dans le contexte québécois (1896-1923)," Roger Le Moine notes that the masonic lodge in Montreal shared the following association and mandate with the *Ligue de l'enseignement*:

Afin de réaliser ses objectifs premiers qui visent à la transformation de toute la société, la loge elle-même va s'attacher à la question de l'éducation qu'elle situe dans une perspective de laïcité. C'est ainsi qu'elle participe à la fondation et favorise le

peine une goutte de sang français dans les veines.. Vous avez un beau pays, mais c'est tout. Depuis vingt-cinq ans l'agriculture peut-être a prospéré, mais le reste? Vous n'avez pas de peintres, vous n'avez pas de littérateurs. Vous n'avez pas de sculpteurs, vous n'avez pas de poètes... Mais sacristi, vous n'avez pas d'hommes, vous n'avez pas d'hommes. C'est à vous les journalistes et à la jeunesse étudiante à préparer l'avenir et à former le goût et les moeurs d'un pays... Ah! Mais comment entendez-vous donc le progrès? Vous avez progressé depuis vingt-cinq ans mais en arrière." Cited in Georgette Weiler, Sarah Bernhardt et le Canada (Québec: Éditions Athéna, 1973), 37-38.

³⁰ Lajeunesse, Les Sulpiciens, 2. See also Mason Wade, Les Canadiens français de 1760 à nos jours (Montréal: Cercle du livre de France, 1963), Tome I, 246.

développement d'une Ligue de l'enseignement montréalaise...Trois francs-maçons parmi les huit qui en sont membres font partie du bureau de direction. Ce sont Godfroy Langlois, Arthur Beauchesne et Louis Laberge qui sont fort capables de faire valoir et d'imposer leurs idées.³¹

And so, in the minds of many of Montreal's French-speaking liberals, intellectuals, concerned union representatives, members of the *Ligue de l'enseignement*, and the masonic lodge, the public library project was both a matter of "winning" public space which would be beyond the reach of the Catholic church, and one of creating an institution which would serve to "improve" the minds and quality of life of the French-Canadian working-class.³² The *Ligue de l'enseignement* was an organization which proclaimed an interest in promoting discussion on basic questions such as teachers' salaries, medical inspection of school children, uniform school tests and compulsory education.³³

However, the views and activities which propelled Circé-Côté into the spotlight (and thereby lent her the credibility she needed to occupy the prestigious position of *conservateur* in the controversial new library) do not place her neatly within this "social-reformist" paradigm. By examining her interactions with the library's contributing organizations, it

³¹ Roger Le Moine, "Le Grand Orient de France dans le contexte québécois (1896-1923)," dir. Yvan Lamonde, ed., *Combats libéraux au tournant du XXe siècle* (Québec: Fides, 1995), 151.

³² Discussions regarding the public library were often coupled with plans to promote night schools for working-class men, women and children.

³³ As Terry Copp observes: "The chief critic of the province's education system in the early years of the twentieth century was Godfroy Langlois, a self-styled vieux rouge. Langlois became the spokesman for the *Ligue de l'Enseignement*...Langlois was a man of remarkable energy and vision, but his anti-clerical views, his support for the creation of a Ministry of Education, and his personal commitment to a compulsory attendance law meant that the *Ligue* would be regarded as a pressure group campaigning for an end to church controlled education rather than as a forum for the discussion of educational reform. The very choice of the name *Ligue de l'Enseignement* was deliberately provocative. The identical name had been adopted in France for an organization which was popularly understood to have been responsible for banishing religion from the schools of France." *The Anatomy of Poverty* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), 59.

becomes evident that Circé-Côté was developing an ideology of reform that was equal parts social and political reform. The elements of her reform ideology have a marked affinity to what Patrice Dutil has dubbed "Liberal progressivism":

...an ideology of reform, blended from an essence of traditional Quebec *rouge* attitudes, a reaction against the excesses of capitalism, a strong sense of national pride mixed with an equally strong distrust of nationalists, and a remarkable interpretation of the radical ideologies that raged in the Third French Republic.³⁴

Circé-Côté's most "subversive" ideas and experiences show remarkable similarity to those identified in Dutil's study of Godfroy Langlois.³⁵ Like Circé-Côté, Langlois described himself as a spiritual heir of Louis-Joseph Papineau and of the famous anti-clerical *Institute canadien*. A survey of the ideas of Circé-Côté and Langlois' ideology shows that historians have erred in asserting that the manifestations of radical political reform disappeared long before the turn of the twentieth century; in fact, the church and the conservative leadership of Laurier and his liberals did not squelch the often radical impulses of the *rouges*.³⁶

³⁴Dutil, *Devil's Advocate*, 18.

³⁵Godfroy Langlois was a key player in the Liberal Party of Quebec, mainly as chief editor of its major newspapers in Montreal from 1895 to 1910. He was a founding member of the Montreal lodge of the Grand-Orient de France in April 1896. Patrice Dutil argues that Langlois defined "Liberal progressivism" — choosing its symbols, elaborating its argumentation and giving the system of thought credibility. Dutil notes: "Liberal progressivism evolved, sometimes winning political battles, sometimes losing support. Langlois constituted a common thread to the many campaigns...He is a point of entry that leads to a more comprehensive understanding of many historical problems...and on the rise of a distinctly French-Quebec form of progressivism." Dutil, *Devil's Advocate*, 20.

³⁶Some works — such as Jean-Paul Bernard in his *Les Rouges: libéralisme, nationalisme et anticléricalisme au milieu du XIXe siècle* (Montreal: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1971) — have argued that *rouge politics* had all but disappeared by Confederation in 1867. Others, like Yves-François Zoltvany, argue that radical thought had been extinguished in 1878 when the Liberals gained power, "Les libéraux du Québec, leur parti et leur pensée, 1867-1875" (M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1961), see also Marcel Caya in his "La formation du parti libéral au Québec, 1867-1887" (Ph.D. Thesis, York University, 1981), and Fernand Dumont's (ed.) *Idéologies au Canada français, 1850-1900*, (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1971, 9).

IRON LUNGS AND SEED PACKED SUNFLOWERS - *L'Institut canadien de Montréal*

In 1880, the plans for Montreal's public library were pushed closer to realization when the defunct *Institut canadien* offered to donate their collection of over 10,000 volumes to Montreal's municipal authorities.³⁷ Never had a donation of books (no strings attached!) engendered so much controversy. Circé-Côté, as it turns out, was and would long remain a passionate champion of this radical legacy.³⁸

Founded in 1844, *L'Institut canadien de Montréal* [hereafter the Institute] had helped to foster literary associations in Lower Canada.³⁹ Its genesis was part and parcel of a larger trend in Lower Canada of association-forming. It was one of several "Institutes" evolved by groups of clergy and/or intellectuals with the aim of "cultural and patriotic enrichment" of French Canadians. Initially, Montreal's Sulpician clergy had welcomed the growth and popularity of the Institute along with its attendant newspaper, *L'Avenir*. In its early years it

³⁷The collection was deemed too "dangerous," as one journalist for *La Presse* pointed out: "l'ancienne bibliothèque de l'Institut Canadien n'était, pourtant, pas considérable; cependant, quel malaise, quel bouleversement n'a-t-elle pas produit dans notre état social!" "À propos de bibliothèques" *La Presse* (13 novembre 1908), 4.

³⁸In 1924, if anyone in Montreal had been unsure of her position vis-à-vis the Institute's controversial history, they were duly advised: "Si nos chroniqueurs ignoraient l'existence de cette société de beaux esprits qui exerça une influence prépondérante sur la politique et les lettres, durant la seconde moitié du dix-neuvième siècle, ces scribes peu renseignés ne méritent pas d'être pris au sérieux; s'ils la connaissaient, rien ne justifie ce silence coupable, d'un nihilisme audacieux, qui tend à rayer de nos annales les noms des personnages les plus marquants de l'époque.... C'est dans ce cénacle, que Papineau prêcha son évangile de libération morale, après l'échec de la révolution." Eva Circé-Côté, *Papineau*, 117.

³⁹These associations were funded in part by government grants after 1856. By 1860, l'Institut canadien was one of two large cultural institutions directed at the French-speaking population in Montreal. The Institute's "competitor" was initially a twin parish organization called le Cabinet de lecture paroissial – supervised by Montreal's Sulpician order. The Cabinet de lecture's mandate was to contribute to Montreal's cultural life and stimulate a specifically French-Canadian literary output. In 1852, hoping to draw members away from l'Institut canadien, Montreal's Bishop Mgr Bourget encouraged the foundation of l'Institut national.

had managed to avoid partisan politics. In 1854, eleven members were elected to parliament. However, the Institute grew rapidly into a powerful political and cultural force in Lower Canada, and came to challenge the authority of the church.

Although initially politically neutral, throughout the turmoil of 1848-1849 the Institute became progressively more radical. Eventually a schism resulted between *les rouges* in Lower Canada and the Ultramontane Clergy.⁴⁰ In the eyes of Montreal's Sulpicians (joined in angry denunciation by the Liberal-Conservative party), the Institute had become nothing more than a "crib for nascent revolutionaries" and other "ungodly" types.⁴¹

To make matters worse, the Institute harbored many books on "the Index" and resisted clerical censorship. It went so far as to call for a separation between church and state and even a neutral education system.⁴² While the Institute had certainly enjoyed a great deal of

⁴⁰The schism especially affected those who were associated with the Institute and a newspaper called L'Avenir.

⁴¹Lajeunesse clarifies this perception: "La Révolution de février 1848 en France donna aux thèses libérales et au principe des nationalités une diffusion considérable. La Révolution romaine (1848-1849) mit directement aux prises les libéraux et les ultramontains. Le journal L'Avenir se radicalisa: il s'attaqua violemment à l'administration temporelle de Pie IX. En août 1849, il ajoutait à son programme quatre articles nouveaux: L'annexion aux États-Unis, l'abolition des réserves du clergé protestant, l'abolition du système des dîmes et de la tenure seigneuriale." Lajeunesse, Les Sulpiciens, 58.

⁴²In 1837, the clergy had condemned any recourse to arms and threatened to excommunicate any of those who took part in the Rebellions. It came as no surprise when in 1868 Mgr Bourget (the bishop of Montreal at the time) had Rome "condemn" the Institute -- placing its 1868 yearbook on the Index of forbidden books. This eventually led to the Guibord Affair. Circé-Côté provides a discussion of the Guibord Affair in her book on Papineau. A synopsis of the affair goes as follows: In 1869 Mgr Bourget (with the support of Rome) placed the Institute under an interdict. That same year, Joseph Guibord (who had refused to renounce his membership in the Institute) died and Mgr Bourget refused to allow his wife to bury him in consecrated ground. In 1874, after a series of appeals, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ordered Mgr Bourget to reverse his decision. Because of the level of outrage felt by Montreal Catholics, the interment had to be accompanied by armed military escort. After the burial, Mgr Bourget deconsecrated the plot of land where Guibord lay. The episode offers a fascinating glimpse into the conflicts between Catholicism and liberalism in Quebec. One would think, given the scandal that surrounded her husband's funeral, that the Guibord Affair would resonate loudly with Circé-Côté. Circé-Côté's examination of the Guibord Affair in her book on Papineau, while seeming both "objective" and "even handed" in its portrayal of the events, centres on one important conclusion: "Avec Guibord fut enterré l'ultramontanisme... Ses

popularity, the Sulpicians established a number of their own copy-cat literary associations and public lecture organizations.⁴³ In an effort to compete with those associations emerging from Protestant and French-Canadian liberal alliances, the “institutes” founded by the Catholic church slowly but surely drew large numbers away from the *Institut canadien*.⁴⁴

As if to put the final nail in the radical Institute’s coffin, Laurier did his best to rid French-Canadian liberalism of any traces of radicalism. In an effort to have the Church “accept” his party’s liberal politics, Laurier argued in a speech (which he gave in Quebec City in 1877) that French-Canadian liberalism was diametrically opposed to its “revolution bound” European counterparts.⁴⁵ And so, although the Institute had sponsored the most “liberal” and “progressive” discussions of the period, and possessed a substantial library of major scientific, legal and literary works, its decline was all but complete in 1885.

When the defunct Institute offered up its collection of books for the foundation of a

successeurs, dont le plus illustre fut Tardivel, ne réussirent pas à faire admettre ici la suprématie de l’Eglise...”(Papineau 136) Circé-Côté surprisingly claimed that Catholic ultramontanism, the doctrine that the Church had the right to interfere on behalf of Catholics in the affairs of any state, was now, concretely, part of a bygone era. The Roman Church would not be restored to the position it had held before the 1789 Revolution.

⁴³Right from the moment of its inception, the merchant class in Montreal supported the Institute. The Institute was popular enough with Montreal’s class of merchants that the Sulpicians felt it necessary to point an accusing finger at the: “marchands intelligents et respectables de la cité de Montréal ...de la classe nombreuse industrielle de cette ville peu favorisée de fortune” whom they reprimanded for showing moral laxity when it came to choosing reading material for themselves and their families. *La Minerve* (11 janvier 1847).

⁴⁴As Lajeunesse points out in his study: “Vers 1867, le Cabinet de lecture et les autres associations littéraires catholiques qui étaient nées dans son sillage, l’Institut canadien-français et l’Union catholique, étaient en décadence. Le déclin de l’Institut canadien avait atténué leur vigueur. De plus, la formule des conférences publiques - dont on avait abusé pendant la décennie 1857-1867 - semblait désuète. De nouveaux intérêts pour la musique et les sports captaient l’attention du public et tenaient lieu de nouveaux loisirs.” Lajeunesse, *Les Sulpiciens*, 222.

⁴⁵Rainer Knopff, “The Triumph of Liberalism in Canada: Laurier on Representation and Party Government” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 26, no.2 (Summer, 1991) 72-87.

municipal library in 1880, the Clergy was less than enthusiastic. The Institute's legendary links to Freemasonry, controversial public conferences, literary associations, and subversive literature made the clergy balk at the prospect of facilitating public access to such a collection. As far as the Sulpicians were concerned, a library (if it must exist at all) should collect only "good" books i.e., those not on the Index. The religious and philosophical orthodoxy of the Catholic church went against the very "raison d'être" of the Institute. As one member of the Institute expressed: "Une bibliothèque [est] une collection des oeuvres de l'esprit humain; on n'[a] pas plus le droit d'exclure un ouvrage mauvais que le naturaliste n'[a] le droit de rejeter de son casier une plante sous le prétexte qu'elle [est] vénéneuse."⁴⁶ It should perhaps not be surprising, then, that in 1880, Montreal's municipal council cautiously refused the suspect collection.

Plans stymied, those who favoured the founding of a public library pointed an accusing finger at what they considered to be the source of the problem -- an "unprogressive" clericalism specific to Montreal.⁴⁷ Notwithstanding her resolute support of the Institute as an adult, Circé-Côté was only a nine-year-old girl in 1880 and would not likely have been pointing such a finger.⁴⁸ However, Circé-Côté's willingness to associate herself with such

⁴⁶Philippe Sylvain, "Libéralisme et ultramontanisme au Canada français: affrontement idéologique et doctrinal (1840-1865)," in W.L. Morton, The Shield of Achilles/Le Bouclier d'Achille (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1968), 222. As cited by Lajeunesse, Les Sulpiciens, 221.

⁴⁷They pointed to those libraries already in operation in Ontario and the United States. However, debates over appropriate reading matter for a new library were in no way a specific preoccupation of Montreal. The inclusion of light fiction in the collection of libraries sparked a lively debate in various cities in the United States during the nineteenth century. For a comprehensive description of the controversy see Esther J. Carr, Fiction in Public Libraries, 1876-1900. (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1965).

⁴⁸As Dagenais points out: "La crainte de prendre en charge un tel projet, alors complètement inédit en regard des attributions régulières de la Ville, proposé de surcroît par un organisme désavoué par l'Église catholique et dont la bibliothèque renferme plusieurs titres mis à l'index, rebute les membres de la

an unpopular “radical group” in her adult years speaks volumes, and partially explains her interest and devotion to Montreal’s public library project. Circé-Côté wrote lovingly of the Institute:

Tous se portaient là, comme le sang d’un coeur immense aux poumons, pour se régénérer; se pénétrer d’un nouvel oxygène et revivifier leur patriotisme...Il fut formé dans un but d’étude et de travail associés, de perfectionnement moral et intellectuel: son motto a été: Le travail triomphe de tout...Le travail, c’est le moyen, mais le progrès c’est le but.⁴⁹

This “hard work as the means to progress” motto had not managed to get the Institute’s large regenerative heart pumping “new trends” of moral and intellectual thought into the minds and souls of the French-Canadian unwashed. If “exchange of ideas” was indeed needed like oxygen, then those who counted on the Institute for the functioning of their sponge-like respiratory organs were in desperate need of an iron lung. So why, in her book on Papineau published in 1924, did Circé-Côté dredge the history of French Canada and choose to immortalize the likes of the Institute -- which was more or less (by 1880) a dead fish?

Circé-Côté’s championing of the Institute is significant for a variety of reasons. First, because it links her decisively to France’s more radical, sometimes anti-clerical thinkers.⁵⁰ This was not simply a matter of salvaging and immortalizing the Institute -- Circé-Côté was challenging the status quo by attempting to better understand and define the role of French Canada within Confederation.

The Institute did not enjoy a solid constituency; it had suffered huge losses in

conseil municipal qui déclinent finalement l’offre.” Dagenais, “La Vie culturelle,” 44.

⁴⁹Eva Circé-Côté, Papineau, 119.

⁵⁰N.S.Robertson, “The Institut canadien: An essay in Cultural History” (M.A.Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1965).

membership throughout the late 1840s and 1850s and by 1860 claimed a paltry 300 members. The Institute disintegrated primarily because its members were unsuccessful in their lobby to have their association “re-endorsed” by the Catholic church. Given this, it would seem that the new conditions of the 1880s (or for that matter of the 1920s when Circé-Côté’s book on Papineau was published) would have demanded more modern solutions than those proposed by the Institute back in the 1840s and 1850s. Why then, did Circé-Côté assume that Montreal’s (or Laurier’s) phlegmatic liberals would draw inspiration from the languishing sigh of a nearly extinct Institute? Perhaps because Circé-Côté’s radicalism went beyond what might be called the “sterile” boundaries of simple political categories, and she actively sought a new political culture -- a system of values and habits as well as a code of political ideas.⁵¹ And in this respect the Institute stood as an inspirational example.

The Institute, Circé-Côté argued, had once been a constitutional force in both the “refining” and “defining” of French-Canadian culture. In her mind, the intellectual leadership provided by the Institute had helped to foster a distinctly French-Canadian urbanity: “C’est dans ce creuset que les pionniers d’hier, les paysans, se dégrossirent, se désincrustèrent de leur rugosité.”⁵² It would be an act of “audacious nihilism,” cried Circé-Côté, if French-Canadians were to ignore and forget the critical efforts of the Institute to “upgrade” the heritage of French-speaking Canada. Circé-Côté’s strategic casting of the Institute as a site where a “miraculous transformation” of the French-Canadian race had been

⁵¹Jean-Thomas Nordman, writing on the history of radicalism in France, explains that radicalism in France was filled with debate, romance and controversy and formed a system of values and habits as well as a code of political ideas. *La France radicale* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), 16-18

⁵²Eva Circé-Côté. *Papineau*, 118-19.

bravely undertaken can only be appreciated if placed within the context of the Institute's controversial history.⁵³

Circé-Côté had, in much of her early writing, attempted to "capture the imaginations" of her compatriots by glorifying symbols such as the French flag -- and in doing so had been met with some resistance. One reviewer of Bleu, Blanc, Rouge objected wholeheartedly to her assertion that she was "Français d'abord." Dismissing Circé-Côté's confusion with regards to her "true" identity, the reviewer asserted:

Votre âme est canadienne, mais cette âme n'est pas un savant 'combiné' de Français et de Canadien, elle est 'simple' et donne la reproduction exacte de 'l'âme française' du XVII^e siècle. L'âme d'un peuple n'évolue pas, elle se change parfois mais par des sauts brusques, 'extrêmes'; elle occupe le haut ou le bas de l'échelle morale. Pas de milieu.⁵⁴

What should be apparent is that the reviewer did not object to Circé-Côté's preoccupation with her French "progenitors." Rather, he was concerned with her project to transplant ideas from France which would pose a radical challenge to conservative powers in Quebec. The reviewer took exception to Circé-Côté's romanticization of French tradition:

La lumière en France est l'éteignoir franc-maçonique; la liberté se manifeste par les expulsions, l'idéal par le ravalement de la littérature et de la peinture; le libre accord n'existe qu'entre les canailles; la vérité est devenue un mythe... Vous aimez à tourner vos regards vers la France, qu'y voyez-vous? Le foyer désert, la dépopulation menaçante, la femme ravalée...!⁵⁵

⁵³Circé-Côté describes this transformation at length: "Cette éclosion de jeunes talents sur un sol ingrat était de nature à raviver leurs espérances patriotiques, car ceux qui étaient frottés de lettres savaient parfaitement que des peuples sans idéal artistique et sans littérature sont destinés à devenir les manoeuvres des peuples instruits." Eva Circé-Côté, Papineau, 120.

⁵⁴Louis Tytgat, "Esquisses littéraires canadiennes - Colombine (Mlle Eva Circé)" Le Soleil (Québec: 21 décembre, 1903), 5.

⁵⁵Louis Tytgat, "Esquisses Littéraires Canadiennes," 5.

Given France's state of moral devolution, the reviewer asserted, French Canadians would be better served if they remembered the pre-1789 monarchy and not the post-revolutionary France whose memory Circé-Côté was at pains to reinvigorate and restore.

There is an undeniable dose of romanticism in Circé-Côté's writings on France, the *Institut canadien*, and the *rouge* tradition. In an effort to curry national pride, she evokes a saint-like image of Papineau and of the Rebellions of 1837 against British imperialism. In so doing, she manifests her sympathy for a nationalism which by necessity draws its inspiration from "earlier" days.

Envoûtés par leur nationalisme, ils avaient oublié la France, peut-être parce qu'elle ne se souvenait pas d'eux. Mais à mesure qu'ils deviennent plus cultivés, leur patriotisme prend de l'envergure. L'image oubliée, comme sous l'action d'un réactif puissant, se détache de l'ombre. L'âme de la race, comme la fleur du tournesol, se dresse vers la France et implore la lumière nécessaire à sa vie.⁵⁶

Hoping to turn the large "seed-packed soul" of the French-Canadian people towards France for its essential nutrients, Circé-Côté's radicalism looked longingly across the Atlantic for inspiration. Part of Eva's "radical" objective, along with an effort to recall the heroism of those involved with the Rebellions, was a bid to re-couple any/all of the severed links between Quebec and a modern French politics:⁵⁷

D'où vient que des esprits chagrins prirent ombrage de ce cercle émancipateur d'où sont sortis les plus vaillants défenseurs de nos droits, nos meilleurs écrivains et les types les plus représentatifs de notre race? C'est de la fondation de l'Institut que date la transformation de notre patriotisme. Jusque-là, les Canadiens-français s'étaient confinés dans le domaine étroit du provincialisme. En dehors de Québec, de son sol et de ses traditions, rien n'existait pour eux. Cet exclusivisme fut nécessaire, car il

⁵⁶Eva Circé-Côté, Papineau, 121.

⁵⁷That is, a radical French politics and the principles of the 1789 Revolution.

concentra toutes leurs forces pour la conquête et la possession de leur territoire.⁵⁸

Those involved in the Institute, Circé-Côté argued, were on a mission actively to rescue French Canadians from their rustic surroundings – helping the unwashed to better themselves via the literature and ideas of a more evolved France. To take over the spiritual and moral leadership of the continent, French Canadians would have to re-connect with their roots – to “personify the French idea.” Circé-Côté counterpoised these thoughts with what she felt the “English idea” represented: “La monarchie, une liberté qui lui semblait bonne pour elle-même, et le protestantisme. Rien pour activer les battements du coeur d’un peuple jeune et ardent.”⁵⁹ More specifically, to preserve French traditions and “reclaim” North America it would be necessary to promote a French system of government, French school system, and French libraries, among other institutions.

On the issue of the Institute’s “subversive” collection of books, Circé-Côté agreed with the philosophy of the Institute. The only bad books were books badly written.⁶⁰ She did not mince words when it came to the repression of a population’s will to learn:

On semblait alors sous l’impression qu’une population instruite est plus difficile à gouverner qu’un peuple d’ignorants. Cela se peut, mais quand le désir de savoir est éveillé chez les masses, il est imprudent de ne pas le satisfaire. Quand un torrent est déchaîné, il vaut mieux lui creuser un lit que de lui opposer des digues qu’il brisera,

⁵⁸Eva Circé-Côté, Papineau, 120-21.

⁵⁹Eva Circé-Côté, Papineau, 121, 123-4. She elaborates further: “Les membres de l’Institut, tout en sympathisant avec les Anglais, se gardaient de leurs entreprises assimilatrices. Ils subissaient la domination anglaise comme une période de transition, mais non pas comme un état définitif, avec l’audacieux espoir de leur libération future. Tout en se défendant d’être absorbés par cette race soi-disant supérieure qui a su s’identifier avec tous les autres peuples, ils étaient disposés à tirer le meilleur parti possible d’une situation difficile. Les Anglais bien nés, qui s’intéressaient au développement intellectuel, étaient traités en alliés. Libéraux, anglais, protestants français, se rencontraient sur le terrain neutre de l’Institut pour aviser au moyen de tirer du marasme notre province extenuée et appauvrie.”

⁶⁰Eva Circé-Côté, Papineau, 125.

emportant tout sur son passage, si l'on tente de lui résister...l'intelligence humaine est comme l'air, sa force d'expansion croit en raison de la compression qu'on lui fait subir. Vous pouvez la refouler, essayer de l'écraser, la triturer, pour la pétrir de nouveau, mais elle vous échappe des mains comme une balle de caoutchouc, pour rebondir au dessus de votre tête.⁶¹

Not only is this type of intolerance anachronistic, Circé-Côté argued, but any attempt to quash a population's will to change and learn is like trying to take the bounce out of a rubber ball. Circé-Côté seems to suggest that the French-Canadian working class was "chomping at the bit" to obtain an opportunity to read and learn so that they might render themselves worthy of such a valorous heritage. Circé-Côté went to great lengths to underscore Montreal's early *rouge* radical traditions, which she connected directly to the liberal fraternising and education fostered by the Institute. This elitism, it would seem, was inalterably linked to the foundation of Montreal's public library. Given Circé-Côté's thoughts on the Institute, which afford us a sense of what she might have been leaning towards in 1903 when she was appointed the head *conservateur*, and given the church's resistance to the Institute's donation of books in 1880, one is left to wonder how she could ever have been deemed an appropriate candidate for the job!

MAGNETIC FLUID AND MAGIC WANDS - *Andrew Carnegie vs Saint-Jean-Baptiste*

In 1900 the plans to create a public library were discussed again by Montreal's municipal aldermen, and on February 12th a Commission de la bibliothèque publique was formed. One of the eight members of the committee was Raymond Préfontaine, who had

⁶¹Eva Circé-Côté, Papineau, 125.

been Montreal's mayor since 1898.⁶² In 1901, Préfontaine, an advocate of the public library plans, solicited the financial aid of Andrew Carnegie.⁶³ Influenced by the social thought of Herbert Spencer, Carnegie was engaged in furnishing municipalities all across North America with huge lump sums of money to jump start library building projects.⁶⁴ Carnegie offered Préfontaine and the city of Montreal \$150,000 for their library on the condition that the city contribute \$15,000 annually to sustain and extend the collection. In 1901, the municipal government's finance committee recommended acceptance of the offer, provided that a commission be established to oversee the choice of books. The majority of municipal counsellors approved this plan.⁶⁵

And so, the contingents in favour of the public library project in Montreal got their

⁶²Liberal power in Montreal was, in the 1890s, held mainly by Raymond Préfontaine. An experienced lawyer and politician, Préfontaine considered himself a *rouge*. Dutil characterizes Préfontaine's control of the local "Liberal machine" as follows: "Préfontaine had no difficulty in reconciling his self-imposed rouge label with his notorious actions in favour of the interests of the big gas, tramway and electricity companies..." Dutil, *Devil's Advocate*, 136.

⁶³Andrew Carnegie, an industrialist from Pittsburgh, and other philanthropists like him considered the library a sound investment in order, stability, and sound economic growth. By 1917 Carnegie had given over 41 million dollars for the erection of 1,679 public library buildings throughout North America. In an address he delivered in 1894, Carnegie explained his motivation for funding the libraries: "the result of knowledge [gleaned in libraries] is to make men not violent revolutionists, but cautious evolutionists; not destroyers, but careful improvers." Quoted in Joseph Wall, *Andrew Carnegie*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 821

⁶⁴Carnegie once noted that Herbert Spencer's works had had a profound impact on his life. Michael H. Harris has noted: "The Spencerian influence is readily seen in Carnegie's insistence that those communities which received his libraries commit themselves to their continued support...the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves and to provide of the means by which 'those who desire to improve may do so'" The idea was to give the "best and aspiring poor" the opportunity to improve; the not so good and less aspiring be damned." Harris, "The Role of the Public Library in American Life: A Speculative Essay" (University of Illinois Graduate School of Library Science, 1975), 15

⁶⁵*La Patrie*. "Montréal aura donc une bibliothèque. Par un vote 28 à 5, le Conseil de ville décidé de construire la bibiothèque fondée par M. Carnegie...A PLUS TARD L'EPINEUSE QUESTION DE LA CENSURE." (4 novembre 1902).

hopes up -- only to see the Church, once again, thwart the project.” As Lajeunesse points out, the anti-library groups adamantly opposed the grant, dubbing the Carnegie proposal a “menace” which could produce an unlicensed public “house of infection” of the worse sort.⁶⁷ The Archbishop of Montreal, Mgr Bruchési, expressed his indignation to the Library Commission. Jules-Paul Tardivel, a journalist from the anti-library camp, thundered: “La franc-maçonnerie triomphe encore une fois à Montréal.”⁶⁸ While negative reactions to the proposed Carnegie donations were common, the radical reaction of the Church in Montreal was uniquely focussed on Freemasonry.⁶⁹

The Freemasons in Montreal, deemed capable of unimaginable evils, were often used as a scapegoat by a defensive Catholic church. Roger Le Moine notes in his discussion of the history of Freemasonry in Montreal that two new lodges came into being at the turn of the century: *l'Émancipation* (1896) and *Force et Courage* (1910).⁷⁰ In a manner that was in no way clandestine, both had made the issue of social progress and “l'affranchissement

⁶⁶Back in 1893 the members of the “Société d’Archéologie de Montréal” went to great lengths to establish a new library/museum in the Château Ramesay. They presented a petition with over 2000 signatures to the municipal government. That year Montreal became the proprietor of the building. However, the project was stalled because of the issues surrounding acceptance of the Carnegie grant.

⁶⁷Jules-Paul Tardivel in *La Vérité*, (21 juin 1902), as cited by Lajeunesse, *Les Sulpiciens*, 202.

⁶⁸*La Vérité*, 18 Octobre 1902, as cited by Lajeunesse *Les Sulpiciens*. For a more complete discussion of the reaction to Carnegie’s offer, see the chapter “Vers la bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice.”

⁶⁹George Bobinsky, “Reaction to Carnegie Library Donations” in *Carnegie Libraries: Their History and Impact on American Public Library Development* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1969), 91, discusses the many reasons Americans found to object to the proposed projects. Labour opposition tended to be immediate. In Detroit, C.H. Johnson, secretary of the Street Railway Employees stated that: “Carnegie ought to have distributed his money among his employees while he was making it. No man can accumulate such wealth honourably. It may be legally honest, but its not morally honest.”

⁷⁰*L'Émancipation* founded a school for girls around 1909/1910 and I believe Eva was likely to have been the principal. *Force et Courage* had strong links to two newspapers for which Eva wrote: *Le Pays* and *Le Monde Ouvrier*.

intellectuel” of French Canadians the focus of their activities.⁷¹ The *Ligue d'enseignement* and *l'Émancipation*⁷² shared a very similar mission:

Afin de réaliser ses objectifs premiers qui visent à la transformation de toute la société, la loge elle-même va s'attacher à la question de l'éducation qu'elle situe dans une perspective de laïcité. C'est ainsi qu'elle participe à la fondation et favorise le développement d'une Ligue de l'enseignement montréalaise...La ligue s'occupe surtout de l'enseignement élémentaire qui doit être accessible à tous, aux pauvres comme aux riches...Pour réaliser ses objectifs, la loge croit que l'enseignement devra se libérer de l'emprise du clergé et, en outre, s'adapter au contexte.⁷³

The mission of the Freemasons, it seems unnecessary to point out, was not particularly popular with the church. In the minds of many clerics, the issue at stake was that the Carnegie project would be controlled by men, such as the Freemasons, who had abandoned moral sense along with religion.⁷⁴

Ultimately, Mgr. Bruschési argued, the Carnegie proposal was a question of the survival of the French-Canadian race.⁷⁵ As a journalist for *La Presse* remarked, “Ils sont nombreux ceux qui croient qu'une bibliothèque établie dans de telles conditions serait un sujet de discorde entre les différentes races et croyances qui peuplent notre ville.”⁷⁶ With

⁷¹Roger Le Moine. “Le Grand-Orient dans le contexte québécois,” 147.

⁷²The members of *Force et Courage* developed broader objectives (than *l'Émancipation*) which would attempt to address social questions relating to the health and well-being of Montreal's working-class.

⁷³Le Moine, “Le Grand-Orient dans le contexte québécois,” 151.

⁷⁴Lajeunesse, *Les Sulpiciens*, 203 (note 17). Now, at this particular juncture in the public library's history, Circé-Côté's connections to these Freemason lodges would not necessarily have been apparent to those concerned. She was not yet married to her husband (a man renowned for his Freemason sympathies); their wedding took place in the spring of 1905. However, it is certainly worth bearing in mind that Circé-Côté herself was indubitably aware of the lodge's fierce unpopularity in clerical/conservative circles. Her choice to marry into such associations would not have been made naively.

⁷⁵*La Presse* (18 novembre 1902)

⁷⁶*La Presse*, “Le coup de mort à la Bibliothèque Carnegie” (5 mai 1903)

what seemed like a turn of public opinion in mind, the library commission of aldermen voted once again in 1903, and a majority came out *against* accepting the Carnegie offer. One alderman went so far as to say that the Carnegie money would be better spent on “hiring more police” and on “improving Montreal’s roads!”⁷⁷ And yet, despite the aldermen’s change of heart vis-a-vis the Carnegie proposal, all was not lost. Although the Carnegie project was vetoed, room for concession was established and plans for a simpler “industrial” library were tentatively explored.

It was in 1903 that the library commission finally recommended that the city accept an offer to open a technical library in the Monument National made by the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society. This French Canadian patriotic association was founded in 1834 by journalist Ludger Duvernay. The aim of the society was to stimulate a nationalist spirit and defend French-Canadian linguistic and cultural heritage. Jacques-Pierre Mathieu describes the society’s mandate vis-à-vis the church:

Mais à quel motif attribuer l’organisation même?...l’attachement à notre caractère propre. Pour sauvegarder ce caractère propre, surtout en face de la menace d’américanisation et des changements sociaux inhérents au développement industriel, il faut que les Canadiens français s’unissent entre eux, au-dessus des luttes partisans, qu’ils demeurent fidèles à leur Mère l’Église, au clergé catholique et qu’ils respectent les engagements ancestraux. En résumé, il faut que rien ne change!⁷⁸

The Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society’s connections to the Catholic church offered Circé-Côté a

⁷⁷Le Canada, “La bibliothèque se meurt” (7 avril 1903). L’échevin Chaussé is quoted to have said: “Nous voulons avoir une bibliothèque alors que que la police de Montréal est insuffisante! Alors que nous sommes volés, assommés, assassinés; alors que les domiciles ne sont pas suffisamment protégés!...Ce n’est pas tout,...nos rues sont dans un état déplorable, notre population mixte ne s’accordera jamais au sujet du choix des livres. ”

⁷⁸Jacques-Pierre Mathieu. “L’Idéologie des *Annales* de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Québec 1880-1902” in Fernand Dumont, Jean-Paul Montminy and Jean Hamelin. Idéologies au Canada Français 1850-1900. (Québec: Les Presses de l’Université Laval, 1971), 295.

politic alliance. Circé-Côté had proudly registered her close association with the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society in an article she published in *le Pionnier* in 1902 called "Les dames patronnesses de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste."⁷⁹ This organization was founded initially to support and raise funds for the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society and brought together many well-known women of Montreal's bourgeois literary circles.⁸⁰ Cognizant of the patriotic role they felt women needed to play, the female members hoped to enkindle and re-define French-Canadian nationalism they thought had lapsed.⁸¹ Having had a definitional role in this all-female sub-group of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society, Circé-Côté had made it clear to all concerned that she was a friend and proud founding member of *Les dames patronnesses de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste*.⁸² In the mind of Circé-Côté the *Dames patronnesses* formed more than a peripheral ladies auxiliary. She announced in 1902:

⁷⁹"Les dames patronnesses de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste" is also found in Blue Blanc Rouge: Poésies, Paysages, Causeries (Montréal: Deom Frères, Éditeurs, 1903), 338.

⁸⁰Line Gosselin, in Les Journalistes québécoises, 1880-1930 (Collection RCHTQ, Études et Documents, Numéro 7) points out that the FNSJB had several of Montreal's leading women journalists as founding members and played a principal role in defining the group's feminist preoccupations (7).

⁸¹See Marie Lavigne, Yolande Pinard et Jennifer Stoddart, "La Fédération nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste et les revendications féministes au début du 20^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 29 (3 décembre 1975), 354-355. As the authors point out, this organization grew out of the Montreal Council of Women (MLCW) and eventually evolved into La Fédération nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste (FNSJB). As the authors remark: "Issue de la section des dames patronnesses de l'ASJB, la Fédération nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste, fondée en 1907, groupe un bon nombre de membres qui ont déjà à leur actif une expérience... influencera pendant les premières années le style de travail et les interventions de la FNSJB... Acquisée principalement au MLCW, cette expérience d'intervention sociale et politique... La fondation d'une organisation catholique et canadienne-française, indépendante du MLCW, fait suite à la prise de conscience de la nécessité d'un encadrement qui respecte leurs croyances religieuses, surtout en matière d'éducation, et qui sauvegarde leur ethnie. L'idéologie cléricale et nationaliste inspire donc la FNSJB et la différencie du MLCW, organisation non confessionnelle et anglophone."

⁸²Unfortunately, due to the limitations of this project, it is not possible to study in depth the function and activities of the *dames patronnesses* of Saint-Jean-Baptiste association. As it was the first French-Canadian group of its kind, it would most certainly be a fascinating line of inquiry. No doubt it would require extensive research in the archives of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society in Montreal and the private papers of the women involved.

Bientôt, comme sous la baguette d'une fée bien faisante, notre métropole sera dotée d'un institut qui deviendra sa gloire en même temps que le salut moral de nos femmes du peuple. Toutes auront droit de venir rompre le pain de la science dans le temple érigé par la nation canadienne.⁸³

Women, Circé-Côté was at pains to point out, were the ones best equipped to instill "progressive values" in their children, furthering the cause of "science and progress." This task could be performed adequately only by those with the most invested in the "evolution" of the French-Canadian race: mothers. Creating a niche that only she and others of her sex could occupy, Circé-Côté publically commended the distinguished male members of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste organization for having the "sense to recognize" that women were uniquely equipped for such a task. She seems to have deftly taken the "give-them-an-inch-and-they-take-a-mile" reproach and used it as a political stratagem:

...l'influence féminine est le grand levier de toute oeuvre sociale, aussi ont-ils résolu de mettre à profit ce fluide magnétique, insinuant, intangible, mais tout-puissant que dégage le coeur de la Canadienne, afin de pénétrer de chaleur la plus belle oeuvre qui soit au monde: l'évolution intellectuelle de notre race.⁸⁴

If the evolution and survival of the French-Canadian race could be claimed and reclaimed like so much currency, Circé-Côté asserted that women, and women exclusively, had an undeniable monopoly.⁸⁵ Hers was a kind of maternal nationalism.

And so, Montreal's first "public" library -- its mandate circumscribed as a

⁸³Colombine. (pseud.) "Les dames patronnesses de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste" Bleu, Blanc, Rouge: Poésies, Paysages, Causeries. (Montréal: Deom Frères, 1903), 338-9.

⁸⁴Colombine. (pseud.) "Les dames patronnesses de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste," 338.

⁸⁵Circé-Côté argued skilfully, working God and Progress into the same utterances: "Les plus timides se troublent et se demandent comment ce grand mystère s'opérera, comment le souffle progressiste, passant par leur bouche rose, pénétrera les énergies endormies des masses? Ce que la femme veut, Dieu le veut." Colombine (pseud.) "Les dames patronnesses de la St-Jean-Baptiste," 338.

scientific/technical/industrial repository – was opened under the authority of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society. It was claimed that such a library would serve well enough to enable members of the working class to “improve themselves.” It went without saying that an “education of the disenfranchised” was linked inextricably to such a project. And so, Circé-Côté used the door opened to women to voice a particular brand of patriotism which would by cautious association be condoned by the clergy. Using the issue of working-class education as opening gambit, Circé-Côté introduced the cause of mandatory education for young girls. Without women, neatly inserted as a lynch-pin in all things regenerative and progressive, the French-Canadian race would not survive:

La matière première, chez nous, est d’une richesse inouïe. Que de trésors inexploités dorment dans l’obscurité! La race canadienne est ardente, généreuse, impressionnable, elle a de merveilleuses aptitudes pour les sciences et les arts. Son jugement est solide, son esprit brillant, que lui manque-t-il pour arriver à devenir la plus grande nation du monde? – Vous l’avez pressenti: Une pépinière où la jeune fille recevra l’alimentation intellectuelle que, plus tard, devenue mère, elle réchauffera dans son cœur avant de la donner en becquée aux petits.⁸⁶

By both endorsing and forcing concessions towards this “undeniably progressive” cause, Circé-Côté cleared an influential spot within the Church’s sanctified space as a “dame patronness de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste.” This, combined with her reputation as a treasured *femme de lettres*, made her an acceptable candidate for the post of *conservateur*.⁸⁷

FRIVOLOUS SPIRITS FACING INDUSTRIAL ORDER

⁸⁶Colombine (pseud). “Les dames patronnesses de la St-Jean-Baptiste,” 343.

⁸⁷The broader significance of Circé-Côté’s feminist and nationalist ideas will be discussed in the following chapter.

Mademoiselle Eva Circé was appointed the first *conservateur* of Montreal's much maligned and embattled public library. And so, a woman was appointed by Montreal's municipal government to occupy the role of "public" librarian. However, although Circé-Côté was appointed the first "head conservateur" of the technical library, those doing the hiring made it clear that they intended eventually to replace her by a man "lorsque les besoins de service l'exigeront...."⁸⁸ This information in hand, it no longer seems so "mysterious" why Circé-Côté might have been demoted in favour of a male candidate once the library became a more formidable institution. What remains indeterminable, is what role she had in all the controversies that ensued.

Within the first year of Circé-Côté's appointment by the *Commission de la bibliothèque publique*, the new library acquired a number of books which were deemed to be "controversial." Under the influence of l'Ecole littéraire de Montréal, the library's collection of scientific and industrial texts was soon complemented with historical, literary, and arts sources.⁸⁹ Gonzalve Désaulniers (who was a Montreal lawyer at the time), through the auspices of l'École littéraire de Montréal, attempted to allocate \$75,000 towards the construction of a public library. Eva dedicated her book Papineau: Son influence sur la pensée canadienne to Désaulniers, thereby publically cementing what seems to have been an intimate friendship between the two. The dedication went as follows: "A la beauté de votre âme, à l'intelligence de votre bonté, je dédie ces pages. Mon esprit, comme un miroir, a reçu

⁸⁸-"La Bibliothèque industrielle," La Presse, (12 juillet 1903), 5.

⁸⁹Dagenais argues: "Ce glissement dans la vocation de la Bibliothèque s'explique aussi fort probablement par la présence de la bibliothécaire Eva Circé: une femme proche des milieux francs-maçons et qui se fera le défenseur de l'éducation, de la démocratie et du féminisme comme journaliste écrivant sous un pseudonyme masculin, notamment dans Le Monde Ouvrier/ Labor World." Dagenais, "Vie culturelle," 47.

la lumière de votre pensée et la reflète. Il faut au voyageur du temps une étoile fixe dans l'horizon pour soutenir son courage, dissiper les ténèbres accumulés sur sa tête et arracher sa barque désemparée des crocs des récifs. Vous avez été cet astre tutélaire. Votre claire intervention a fait crouler les sombres entreprises de la haine. Grâce à votre mansuétude, un peu de justice et de pitié a pénétré les cœurs et la somme des humaines tristesses s'est allégée. Poète, vous avez vaincu par l'arme des dieux, le rayon."⁹⁰ Those concerned that only "appropriate" technical readings be made available to the working class met these additions with intense resistance.⁹¹ A *La Presse* reporter explained:

Il y a là une question qui intéresse au plus haut point notre vie nationale. Nous ne voyons pas vraiment ce que nos populations d'ouvriers, nos jeunes gens, nos femmes et nos jeunes filles ont à faire avec des mauvais livres, comme ceux de Rousseau, et de Voltaire, par exemple. Nous étions heureux, ces mois derniers, d'applaudir à l'action du gouvernement et des pouvoirs publics, lorsqu'on réglait les précautions à prendre contre les "conserves" et les "alimentations" frelatées.... Tout ce que nous voulons dire, c'est que notre peuple d'ouvriers à Montréal n'a pas besoin de mauvais livres, pas plus que de journaux immoraux et de "conserves frelatées."⁹²

Much to the consternation of Mgr Bruchési,⁹³ the library had quickly acquired a number of

⁹⁰Eva Circé-Côté, Papineau. Son influence sur la pensée Canadienne (Montréal: R.A. Regnault & Cie., imprimeurs, 1924).

⁹¹As Girouard points out: "Rappelons d'abord que l'établissement d'une bibliothèque municipale à Montréal a été le sujet de longs affrontements entre quelques progressistes et certains politiciens dominés par le clergé. Mgr Bruchési, évêque de Montréal, ne voulait pas d'une bibliothèque publique (source de mauvais livres) qui puisse supplanter les bibliothèques paroissiales (source de bons livres)," Girouard, "Reconnaisances," 62

⁹²La Presse. "La bibliothèque technique et les mauvais livres." (8 mars 1907). This journalist thanks Mgr Bruchési for his vigilance and active role in the protection of the national faith and good morals of French Canadians. As far as who might be to blame for the acquisition of questionable material, the following was included: "Nous ne savons pas sur qui retombe la responsabilité du choix des listes d'ouvrages dont il est question...."

⁹³Monseigneur Paul Bruchési, Archbishop of Montreal, recommended that great vigilance be extended to those books chosen to circulate among the masses.

books which were banned by the Index.⁹⁴ In a letter addressed to the members of the committee of the library in 1907, Mgr Bruchési argued:

Lors de l'établissement de la bibliothèque civique au Monument National, il y a quelques années, il avait été entendu, si je ne me trompe, qu'on n'y mettrait que des ouvrages techniques, pouvant être utiles à la classe laborieuse en particulier. ...Et j'apprends que l'on veut encore y installer des ouvrages qui n'ont aucun caractère technique et qui de plus seraient dangereux pour la foi et la morale. Je sais que dans la liste de ces livres il y en ait qui sont absolument condamnables et condamnés... Je vous signale entr'autres ouvrages ceux de Voltaire, de J.-J. Rousseau, de Balzac et George Sand, qui n'ont certainement pas leur raison d'être dans une bibliothèque comme la bibliothèque civique.⁹⁵

Lajeunesse argues that it might have been the attention that was brought to this issue of "bad books," that led to Circé-Côté being labelled as "radical" and to her eventual demotion from the post of head *conservateur* in 1909.⁹⁶ And yet, if her association with Freemasons or her "inadequate" supervision of the library's "good books only" policy was the cause of her demotion – as others have suggested – why was she kept on as the assistant librarian?

Fortunately, Circé-Côté did leave some suggestive hints about the demotion in an editorial written for *Le Monde Ouvrier* in 1921. Interestingly, they had little to do with

⁹⁴Cited by Juliette Chabot in *Montréal et le rayonnement des bibliothèques publiques*. (Montréal: Fides, 1963), 189. Here are some of the Index's sub-clauses which could easily have been applied by Mgr Bruchési to Eva's choice of titles: "Lois de l'Index...Les livres de n'importe quels écrivains prenant la défense de l'hérésie ou du schisme ou s'efforçant en quelque façon de renverser les fondements mêmes de la religion;...Les livres qui attaquent de parti pris la religion ou les bonnes mœurs;... Les livres de n'importe quels non-catholiques, qui traitent de façon notable de la religion, à moins d'avoir la certitude qu'ils ne contiennent rien de contraire à la foi catholique;...Les livres qui attaquent ou tourment en ridicule l'un des dogmes catholiques;...Les livres qui enseignent ou recommandent n'importe quelle espèce de superstition, sortilège, divination, magie, évocation d'esprits, et choses du même genre;... Les livres qui prétendent établir la licéité du duel, du suicide ou du divorce, qui, traitant des sectes maçonniques ou d'autres sociétés du même genre, soutiennent qu'elles sont utiles et non pernicieuses à l'Eglise et à la société civile..." *Index librorum prohibitorum*, (Rome: Imprimerie Vaticane, 1948).

⁹⁵"La Bibliothèque industrielle," *La Presse*, (12 juillet 1903), 5.

⁹⁶There is nothing in Eva's employee file that suggests why she was demoted.

acceptable/unacceptable readings for the working class, nor did they openly express support for the Freemasons. In the context of an editorial entitled “Ostracisme du sexe féminin” she addressed the subject of women being deemed “inherently” unsuitable and incapable for public life and professional vocations. Without divulging that “the women” she described might have any relation to herself or her alias “Julien Saint-Michel,” she argued:

Une bibliothèque s'avisa un jour de remplacer les assistantes bibliothécaires par des hommes. Elle ne fut pas lente à le regretter. Le temple des livres, faute de ces infatigables sacristines, qui rangent tout et mettent de la lumière où elles passent eut un aspect poussiéreux et désordonné. De la cendre et des allumettes brûlées, il en traînait dans tous les coins. Les revues qui s'alignaient dans les cartons attachés avec des faveurs roses traînaient sur les tables. Le pied glissait sur des matières visqueuses comme lorsqu'on marche au bord de la mer...⁹⁷

In addition, Circé-Côté noted that library books were thrown carelessly in stacks in a manner not pleasing to a browsing eye. She also contended that women made much more approachable and attractive hosts, more than willing to put books and all pertinent information at a reader's disposal. Men, she claimed, were more likely to view a patron's inquiry with a snobbish air of having “been disturbed from more important works.”⁹⁸ Given this, those of the working class who came in search of information might easily be intimidated and leave the library without borrowing a single book! This type of work, Circé-Côté proclaimed, is essentially more suitable for women because their spirit is infinitely more methodical, precise, ordered and direct. Similarly, women's sober habits serve them well

⁹⁷Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.) “Ostracisme du sexe féminin.” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World. (8 octobre 1921).

⁹⁸It would seem that Eva was not the only one to notice the library's lack of organization. “Des plaintes nombreuses ayant été faites par le public qui fréquente la Bibliothèque, au sujet de l'insuffisance et du mauvais aménagement de la Bibliothèque municipale du Monument national...” Gazette municipale de Montréal (7, 46, 19 décembre 1910), 751, as cited in Dagenais, “La Vie culturelle,” 49.

when they need to count and spend money. The library's administration, she points out, was more than happy to reinstate the female assistants – and the women were returned triumphantly to their positions – much to the relief of all concerned.⁹⁹ It is important to note that in the context of Circé-Côté's editorial, she makes no attempt to argue that women should be put "in charge" of the library. One can only assume that she felt that the inference that women should be placed second in command in a municipal institution was radical enough reading for her target audience.

Circé-Côté's preoccupation with outlining a librarian's job description, within which "creating a welcoming atmosphere for the patrons" was axiomatic, should not be dismissed for its essentialist component with regards to the roles of women and men. Although a contemporary mind might object to her efforts to prove that women were "inherently" more suited to perform a librarian's work (and fundamentally more pleasing to the eye), this was not Circé-Côté's sole concern. She was critiquing the emerging culture within libraries which fostered and condoned an authoritarian attitude toward the common man or woman. This was not specific to Montreal's first public library; rigid inflexibility and arrogant authoritarianism characterized public libraries all over North America.¹⁰⁰

And so, while Circé-Côté was suffering her demotion from chief *conservateur* and petitioning the municipal council to be appointed the "assistant-librarian," Mgr Bruchési was arguing that he simply needed a *guarantee* that books would not be loaned to library patrons

⁹⁹Julien Saint-Michel. (pseud.) "Ostracisme du sexe féminin." Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World. (8 octobre 1921).

¹⁰⁰Harris, "The Role of the Public Library" 4-9. For an extensive discussion on this subject see the section "Everett, Ticknor and the Common Man."

petitioning the municipal council to be appointed the “assistant-librarian,” Mgr Bruchési was arguing that he simply needed a *guarantee* that books would not be loaned to library patrons that would “poison the soul.”¹⁰¹ He proposed that a censorship committee be established, by which each book acquired would be reviewed. Mgr. Bruchési’s proposal was met with all kinds of opposition, the most comprehensive of which seems to have been expressed by a journalist for *La Presse*:

Il est certain que l’on n’arrivera jamais à une opinion commune sur la formation d’une bibliothèque municipale. Notre société se compose de catholiques et de protestants, d’Anglais et de Français, de croyants et de libre-penseurs, de fervents et d’indifférents, de gens studieux et d’esprits frivoles, de lecteurs mêlés où les uns trouvent déplacé et immoral ce que les autres jugent tout simplement récréatif et instructif. Quel est le critérium qui devra former la conscience publique?¹⁰²

Mgr Bruchési took the opportunity to write to the municipal library commission and accused them of not adhering to the mandate of a purportedly “technical” library. The *Commission de la bibliothèque* responded immediately, begging the Archbishop to meet with its members and promising to hold an inquiry regarding the library’s collection. An alderman solicited a report from a number of municipal lawyers to help the Council define how, indeed, the mandate of the library was to be defined. The lawyers’ reports, published in the *Gazette municipale de Montréal*, stated that although the municipal administration had a “right” to open a municipal library, fiction did not really belong in a “technical” library.” This, the library’s supporters complained, set the whole project back to the precarious stage it had occupied in 1903. And yet, as Dagenais points out, “Trop de gens et trop de groupes et

¹⁰¹ *Le Canada* (6 mai 1908).

¹⁰² “Bibliothèque publique” *La Presse* (25 juillet 1908), 4.

d'associations réclament depuis trop longtemps une bibliothèque digne de Montréal, pour que les choses en restent ainsi."¹⁰³

Despite all the havoc caused by Mgr Bruchési's accusations, when the opportunity arose to purchase a huge collection assembled by Philéas Gagnon (who at the time was the archivist for the Palais de Justice in Quebec City), proponents of enlarging the collection at the technical library voted in favour of purchasing the collection.¹⁰⁴ It would seem that public interest in storing documents pertaining to French-Canadian history trumped the church's interest in upholding a uniquely French-Canadian spirituality. And so, through many strange abridgements in policy and circumstance, the library had lost its designation as a merely "technical" library. The upheaval caused by Mgr Bruchési's accusations did spur the municipal council into demoting Circé-Côté from her position as head *conservateur*, but it did not amount to her "being dismissed" as some historians have mistakenly argued. It would seem that city counsellors simply demoted Circé-Côté as they had promised to do when they hired her in 1903, "lorsque les besoins de service l'exigeront....".

Circé-Côté continued to work at the new library, but by 1917, her writings reflected exasperation with its fate at the hands of the city bureaucracy. The city wasted undue money and time, she argued, in determining who most deserved the new jobs associated with the

¹⁰³Dagenais, "La Vie culturelle," 48.

¹⁰⁴The Montreal Herald (3 December 1909) had some reservations regarding the collection: "It need hardly be said that this involves a somewhat different conception of the civic library from that embodied in the institution that now exists. Those who desire to see the civic library run as a sort of annex to the night schools and technical classes can hardly be expected to hail the proposal to spend a large sum of money on a collection that would make it a resort of historiographers and specialist students from the world over. But there is a strong movement, which will be greatly accelerated when the city government enjoys more public confidence..."

new library, when the library had so few actual books to offer its targeted population:

Toutes les voix les plus autorisées se sont élevées pour réclamer ce sans quoi une bibliothèque n'a pas sa raison d'être, mais en vain. Les enchanteurs ne veulent pas lever le charme. Les gens par centaines s'engouffrent dans les portes d'or du palais des livres. Ils se jettent affamés sur le noyau qu'il s'y trouve, mais c'est insuffisant pour calmer leur fringale. On est obligé d'en renvoyer une grande partie inapaisés. Au lieu de nous donner des livres sans retard et d'assurer dans le grand corps, qui existe d'une vie chétive faite de lumière, de va-et-vient et d'émerveillement, la source féconde dont nous avons besoin pour triompher de l'aridité du sol, on essaie de faire mousser des candidatures inopportunes et de créer des sinécures, quand le trésor est vide comme les rayons de la Bibliothèque.¹⁰⁵

Similarly, she seemed concerned that an administrative shuffle might push Hector Garneau, and perhaps herself, out of a job. It was dishonest, Circé-Côté argued, to even consider removing those who have worked so hard to establish the library in favour of those whom some might consider to be "superior civil servants."¹⁰⁶ Instead of wasting energy in picayune administrative shuffling, city bureaucrats must channel their energy towards encouraging members of the working class to frequent the library.

Nous attirons l'attention des dirigeants ouvriers sur le fait que la Bibliothèque n'est pas assez fréquentée par la classe laborieuse... Les ouvriers se doivent à eux-mêmes de fréquenter les salles de lectures spacieuses, aérées, où la lumière est distribuée avec profusion. Ils ont le devoir d'y envoyer leur fils, leurs filles et d'agir en sorte qu'ils bénéficient les premiers, de la générosité avisées des commissaires.¹⁰⁷

Circé-Côté argued that, if indeed the intention of the public library project was to elevate the level of education of the working class, then all involved must not lose focus of this paramount objective.

¹⁰⁵ Julien Saint Michel. (pseud.) "La Bibliothèque Municipale. Qu'on la dote de livres immédiatement au lieu de perdre son temps à faire mousser des candidatures à des postes inutiles." Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (29 septembre 1917).

¹⁰⁶ Julien Saint Michel. (pseud.) "La Bibliothèque Municipale."

¹⁰⁷ Julien Saint Michel. (pseud.) "La Bibliothèque Municipale."

opposition of conservative interest groups, the municipal authorities gave a green light to the library project, it is necessary to scrutinize the specific moment of the project's inception. Why was there a push to open such a public space? Was this public library and all the rabid concern over non-secular education intended to resist "the forces which had been threatening the boundaries of social order since the beginning of the industrial order?"¹⁰⁸ Dagenais argues that by examining the role municipal interventions played in the development of public spaces in Montreal, one discovers that at the turn of the 20th century, the cultural life of the city was in the process of complete redefinition.¹⁰⁹ And yet, if Dagenais' thesis is valid, then Eva's trials and tribulations as the library's first *conservateur* are simply an interesting addendum to this "crucial moment" in the development of the city's public culture. However, before accepting Dagenais' claims concerning the importance of "public spaces," it seems important to determine what impact, if any, the library and other such "public space" had on the working class -- towards whom its services had been directed.

THE NINTH WONDER OF THE WORLD

The founding of a "public" library was a particularly wrenching question in Montreal because of the threat it posed to the Catholic church and to fundamental questions concerning the survival of the French-Canadian "race." This supposed secularization process was

¹⁰⁸Phillip H. Ennis. "The Library Consumer: Patterns and Trends," Library Quarterly, (43:176, 1964)

¹⁰⁹Not unlike, Dagenais claims, the radical changes taking place in many North American cities.

furiously contested by the church; in fact, the legitimacy of any interventions by municipal authorities regarding the library was critiqued acrimoniously.¹¹⁰ The Gagnon collection, it would seem, was considered too valuable to refuse – due to its exceptional archive of documents on the pre-1850 French-Canadian heritage.¹¹¹ And so, Montreal's fragile first public library moved out of the realm of imminent dissolution.¹¹² Plans for a public library were linked to the larger questions of public (i.e. non-denominational) education for a French-speaking working-class and more generally to the secularization of Montreal's French-speaking population. It was not until 1917 that the library developed into the truly "public" cultural centre – dreamed up by the students of the University of Laval in Montreal, the members of the defunct *Institut canadien*, those of *la Société d'Archéologie et de Numismatique*, *la Ligue de l'enseignement*, *l'École littéraire de Montréal*, les journalistes de *La Patrie* and others.¹¹³ Dagenais argues: "La brèche ainsi créée ouvre la voie à l'expression d'une culture publique permettant la formulation d'une pensée critique, dirigée notamment contre l'Église catholique; une culture publique définie aussi en référence à la diversité, au

¹¹⁰ Although there had been a law in place since 1890, which accorded power to municipalities to establish libraries in their jurisdictions, the laws themselves were not sufficient (in and of themselves) to incite a movement towards their creation.

¹¹¹ For a more exhaustive play-by-play of the events surrounding the purchase of the collection see Michèle Dagenais: "Vie culturelle."

¹¹² Dagenais surmises: "Dans un premier temps, seuls les syndicats, les partis ouvriers et certains milieux intellectuels tels la Ligue de l'enseignement, se prononcent en faveur d'une bibliothèque réellement publique, c'est-à-dire ouverte à tous. Plusieurs autres, en effet, favorisent plutôt l'érection d'une bibliothèque d'étude, destinée aux élites... À Montréal, en effet, ce n'est qu'après quelque trente ans de débats, que la ville parvient enfin à se doter, elle aussi, d'une bibliothèque publique: une institution déjà présente dans plusieurs villes canadiennes et américaines depuis longtemps." Michèle Dagenais: "Vie culturelle," 52.

¹¹³ Michèle Dagenais: "Vie culturelle," 41.

pluralisme, à l'ouverture."¹¹⁴ The financing of the new library by municipal authorities had the effect of surrendering unto "municipal control" that which for years had been simply the initiative of individuals or distinct interest groups. What these groups all seemed to have in common was the concern that Montreal's working class needed to be funnelled through municipal services which would provide them with the tools they needed to transform their situation. Educational reform (of which this library was deemed an important part) promised to equip "the individual" with tools to fight with in his/her struggle for survival. Capital "P" progress, it would seem, could only be achieved if education was made mandatory, free and secular -- and progress was the only means for the French-Canadian "race" to survive and thrive. Was not Circé-Côté's project one of defining a new nationalist liberalism in a political culture steeped in conservative and nationalist rhetoric?

As Dutil has pointed out, while Laurier was in power, many French Canadian thinkers were re-evaluating Quebec's role in confederation. The notion of cultural survival was on the tips of everyone's tongues. In conservative circles, the key to "survival" lay in the redefinition of nationalism -- so that it would retain its Catholic dimensions and the "distinctness" of French language on North American soil. To that end, French Canada's survival depended on countering the effects of urbanization and industrialization with what were conceived as the fundamental "traditional" catholic and agricultural mores. This conservative nationalistic movement was one to which Circé-Côté -- with her patently *rouge* anti-clerical affiliations -- could not have allied herself. Circé-Côté's sense of nationhood attempted to divest French Canadian "tradition" of its "unprogressive" Catholic components.

¹¹⁴ Michèle Dagenais: "Vie culturelle," 53.

Her ideas straddled geographical boundaries, as she pushed for a “class-conscious” social change and for “radical” ideological transformations.

Circé-Côté’s writings establish that the “progressive forces” behind the plans for this public library were pointed at “wrenching” the French-speaking members of the working class from the “anachronistic clutches” of Montreal’s clergy. For Circé-Côté there was also an undeniable component of the plan that aimed at “enabling” the working class. Circé-Côté barely contained her enthusiasm in 1916:

Le monument a vraiment grand air, sa gravité quasi austère tranche bien sur le riant décor de la nature à cet endroit. Avec sa lourdeur massive, il semble jeté là comme une digue pour enrayer l’ignorance dont le flot en se heurtant sur ce granit s’éparpillera en fine poussière d’eau. Chaque jour il abandonne du terrain et c’est la grève par une revanche des choses qui mange un peu la lame...¹¹⁵

Circé-Côté’s sense of what such a public institution had to offer is rendered almost unintelligible by her emotion-laden prose. It seems that she felt that “words themselves” barely communicated the colossal importance of such a resource. Here she pitches the project like an evangelical preacher, calling upon the trinity of earth, sky, and water to inaugurate this temple of knowledge for the soon-to-be emancipated minds of the working class. Do Circé-Côté’s preoccupations about the working class indicate a significant turn in radical liberal rhetoric – which perceived and acknowledged the differences in class interests and a departure from the traditional class-disregarding rhetoric of radical thought in francophone Quebec?

Eva seemed to harbour no ill feelings in relation to the appointment of Hector

¹¹⁵ Julien Saint-Michel. (pseud.) “La Bibliothèque Municipale. L’ouvrier est appelé à en bénéficier dans un avenir peu lointain.” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World. (24 juin 1916).

Garneau in 1916 to what had once been her own post as head *conservateur*. She writes glowingly of him in *Le Monde Ouvrier*:

M.Garneau, on le dirait, fut presque "choisi de toute éternité" pour être le conservateur de la bibliothèque de Montréal...Libéral, averti, esprit large, il ne barrera pas la route au talent en refusant à tout cerveau chercheur les matériaux nécessaires à l'élaboration d'une oeuvre de vie, il ne contrariera pas l'idéal des âmes généreuses et saura donner à tous avec un dosage savant les éléments nécessaires à leur formation intellectuelle.¹¹⁶

The grandson of François-Xavier Garneau, who was often lauded as the greatest writer of 19th Century French Canada and its most important historian, Hector Garneau was by necessity associated with documents that "brought pride" to the French Canadian race. Circé-Côté argued that he was both erudite and well educated in all the relevant branches of human knowledge. But most importantly, Garneau understood the fundamental principles at stake: he was of the opinion that knowledge needed to be democratized so that a working-class people could have information at their disposal. As Circé-Côté pointed out: "il est d'avis que le peuple qui règnera un jour doit comme tout héritier présomptif se préparer au pouvoir en s'instruisant à fond. Autrement, nous ne ferions que changer de tyrannie."¹¹⁷ Circé-Côté was certainly perceiving differences in class interests -- acknowledging that some classes were exploited by others. Her activities and editorials suggest that she was concerned with the economic and social effects of industrialization. But what was the extent of this concern?

Whereas Dagenais has argued that this municipal and thereby "public" emergence of the library is all-important, and (even in hindsight) Circé-Côté's unmitigated enthusiasm for

¹¹⁶ Julien Saint-Michel. (pseud.) "La Bibliothèque Municipale."

¹¹⁷ Julien Saint-Michel. (pseud.) "La Bibliothèque Municipale."

the project is certainly contagious, one is still left to wonder what such a library *really meant* to Montreal's working-class population. In a study of the condition of the working class in Montreal from 1897 to 1929, Terry Copp argues that the working class was unmoved and relatively unaffected by the arguments between the clergy and Montreal's elite liberals regarding plebeian levels of literacy, education, and "lack of culture."¹¹⁸ Copp disputes the efforts of various historians to hold the Catholic church "responsible" for the "backwardness or retardation" of Quebec's educational system and more generally for a monolithic and reactionary stance against Montreal's educational development:

Throughout the first two decades of the century and intermittently thereafter, an acrimonious debate between supporters of church controlled and state controlled schools did poison the atmosphere of French Canadian society. This debate, however, was largely concocted out of the ideological preoccupations of French Canadian intellectuals, not from an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the school system....¹¹⁹

As Copp points out rather baldly, the important "point" is to determine *what actually happened* to the working class, rather than *why intellectuals fought about education*.¹²⁰

Whereas it seems puerile to assume that anything thought by the upper classes would simply be misguided and thereby have haphazard or insignificant consequences for the working class, Copp's question is a pregnant one. As it turns out, despite the acrimonious debates between the Sulpicians and those who fell into anti-clerical camps, any problems associated with Montreal's Catholic school system had more to do with under-funding and the basic

¹¹⁸Terry Copp, The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal 1897-1929 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974)

¹¹⁹Copp, The Anatomy of Poverty, 59.

¹²⁰Copp, The Anatomy of Poverty, 60.

problem of school finances than with the unprogressive tendencies of the Catholic church. Uninterested in the debates which addressed the Church's "unprogressive" teaching methods (shutting out any detailed encounter with Enlightenment thought) Copp goes so far as to argue that the *real* problem with respect to Catholic education in Montreal was its sharp division along class lines. The Catholic upper classes, he points out with an accusing finger, did not tend to send their children to public schools and thereby had little interest in the quality of public education.

While Copp's point is certainly provocative, it needs to be coupled with a subtler examination of those who pushed for change in education, in order to determine what was imagined and learned about the working class (which in turn shaped the way the bourgeoisie thought about themselves and vice versa.) Why did certain preoccupations arise and develop into movements and policies which were aimed at the working class at the turn of the century? Who developed and led them? As Valverde has soundly explained, there is very little secondary literature on the constitution of the English-Canadian bourgeoisie at the social and cultural levels (as opposed to the economic formations traced in business history).¹²¹ This statement applies to French Canada as well.

Circé-Côté shared some ground with a "reformist" school of thought. She certainly patronized the working class, claiming that it was in dire need of acculturation and general "improvement." Her involvement with the municipal library was Circé-Côté's first concerted effort (besides her work as a journalist) to trigger such a process of reform.

...c'est un peu parce que nous n'avons pas de bibliothèque plus tôt, que nous avons

¹²¹Valverde, The Age of Light. Soap and Water, 15.

eu des hommes incompetents qui ont mal administré les affaires publiques. L'ignorance a autant de part que l'improbité dans le désarroi de nos finances et l'on ne peut pas s'attendre à améliorer l'état de choses avec un électorat illettré... Tout rentier ou capitaliste peut se payer le luxe d'une bibliothèque quand cela lui plaît, mais il n'est pas à la portée du prolétaire de dépenser plusieurs dollars par mois pour alimenter son cerveau.¹²²

There is a sense of immediacy in all her statements about the library, which suggests that Circé-Côté thought that Montreal had fallen behind other "more progressive" regions in North America. Circé-Côté focussed her energies on a "jump-starting" of educational reform that would "inevitably" shake the region out of political inactivity and apathy and allow French Canada to "catch-up" with English-speaking North America. But as Dutil has pointed out in his study of Godfroy Langlois, the slogan "we have fallen behind" was hardly a patriotic call to "pride and courage."¹²³ Was Circé-Côté, not unlike Langlois, having difficulty adapting old radical ideas to new times?

In many ways it would seem that the foundation of this library can be located within other efforts of top-down social reform. The library might have been considered to have the potential to restrain the "dangerous working-class" inhibiting the chances of unscrupulous politicians who might lead the unlearned astray. Circé-Côté seems to have thought that the library would provide a stabilizing agent in a society that assumed that the common "man" (if given the right motivation and conditions) would develop an interest in cultural matters. Was Circé-Côté hoping to induce working-class people to pull themselves upward – morally and intellectually – by their bootstraps? Was her library envisioned as a civilizing and

¹²²Julien Saint-Michel. (pseud.) "La Bibliothèque municipale."

¹²³Dutil, Devil's Advocate, 71.

stabilizing agent for Montreal? Can we accept that Circé-Côté's involvement in this project was simply an effort to have the underclass read and understand questions of social order? Did Circé-Côté hope that "education" would be the panacea for all of French Canada's ills? As the previous quote suggests, the library was to serve to "improve and enable" the working class by arming them with "legitimate" tools with which to challenge Montreal's corrupt political order. And simultaneously, in an editorial she penned for *Le Monde Ouvrier* in 1917, she wrote: "On a célébré à l'envie les beautés de notre bibliothèque qui deviendra sous peu la neuvième merveille du monde. Toutes les fées furent invitées à son baptême pour la doter des dons les plus précieux..."¹²⁴ Could she have anticipated that there would perhaps be more fairies at the library than an overworked and underpaid working-class folk?

On some levels, because of Circé-Côté's liberal tendencies, it seems like she would have concurred with William Churchill that "To a very great extent, the librarian is custodian of public morals and the moulder of public men."¹²⁵ However, as time went by, librarians all across North America were forced to acknowledge that the libraries, in most cases, had an invisible public and that their "uplift theory" had proved inoperative. The exalted claims for libraries as cultural laboratories did not pan out. As years went by, one would assume that (given her high expectations) Circé-Côté might have become beaten and demoralized -- forced to retreat into a municipal employee's bureaucratic shell. Her editorials on the subject in 1917 signal a level of disillusionment with how the municipal government was handling

¹²⁴ Julien Saint Michel. (pseud.) "La Bibliothèque Municipale. Qu'on la dote de livres immédiatement au lieu de perdre son temps à faire mousser des candidatures à des postes inutiles." *Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World* (29 septembre 1917).

¹²⁵ Chalmers Hadley, *Why Do We Need a Public Library?* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1910), 18.

such a “progressive accomplishment.” Was Circé-Côté forced to recognize that her ambitious liberal plans to educate the working class via a public library could not be sustained in Montreal’s troubled economy? There is certainly an ambiguity at this stage, in that Circé-Côté has not defined in clear terms what workers will do with all their new found knowledge.

It would seem that in many ways, as Dutil has also suggested, it was in the furious debates concerning municipal politics in Montreal that radical politics were being redefined. What we see in Circé-Côté’s writings are connections linking radical ideals in the nineteenth century – a *rouge* glorification of the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity – with the social concerns of the twentieth, in particular those relating to women and workers. Was Circé-Côté trying to construct a new liberal ideology by attempting to address and include the needs of the working class? The anti-clericalism that surfaces in the vigorous debates with regards to a secular education system indicates that Laurier’s pronouncement of the “death” of the *rouge* politics associated with the *Institut canadien* might have been premature. So, too, does the apparent attempt by Circé-Côté to link French-Canadian nationalism to working-class cultural life.

To answer only a few of these questions, further examination of Circé-Côté’s thought with regards to the working class is crucial. Thankfully, it was at this juncture in Montreal’s history that Circé-Côté decided to take a new approach to social reform which required a voyage into the world of the working class – one which must have both complemented and conflicted with her role as an assistant librarian. In 1916 Circé-Côté donned a new identity as “Julien Saint-Michel” and began to write weekly for *Le Monde Ouvrier*.

CHAPTER THREE

FROM FEMME DE LETTRES TO FEMME DU PEUPLE: Eva Circé-Côté's Feminism (1900-1940)

From 1900 - 1940 the subject of this study wrote about feminism as though it would induce a tidal movement in the *natural evolution* of male/female relations. Eva Circé-Côté, as a woman journalist, chose to defy all of the known female/feminist categorisations of her time.¹ Donning a cloak intended to mask her identity, she became an unclassifiable hybrid, a working-class man and distinguished society lady all in one. Throwing identity politics into embarrassing disarray, while entrenching certain precepts of gender/class/race ideologies in a newly constructed space, this feminist journalist confronted the public/private divide with more than a pen and paper.

When "Eva Circé" first burst onto the literary scene in Montreal in 1901, her maternal-feminist writing was hoisted aloft by her contemporaries.² She was lauded for

¹ As Marie Lavigne and Yolande Pinard have asserted, (in "Travail et mouvement des femmes: une histoire visible," Travailleuses et féministes Les femmes dans la société québécoise (Montreal: Boreál Express, 1983), 35), feminist "victories" in Quebec should not be attributed to a small number of the female bourgeoisie. In studying Circé-Côté's feminist ideas for *Le Monde Ouvrier*, I make no effort to glorify or "heroize" her contributions to the feminist movement as such. Rather, it is by examining her writing *critically*, in terms of its relation to themes like race and class, that we can begin to understand feminist "victories" in Montreal while simultaneously addressing its "failures."

² Maternal feminism is a term used in feminist scholarship to outline some of the movement's "early" strategies/ideologies. It can best be described as a conviction (and thereby a praxis for action) that women, in their capacity as mothers, have "innate" qualities which make them better educators/social workers than men. Because of these "inherent qualities," those women located within the categorization of "maternal-feminist," have tended to argue that *women* are best endowed to "reform" society. Karine Hébert elaborates: "Le maternalisme peut être brièvement défini comme une catégorie d'analyse utilisée pour qualifier certains mouvements féminins du début du siècle, à savoir ceux qui, justement, se caractérisaient par la place fondamentale de la maternité dans leur vision du monde et par l'utilisation de la maternité dans leur argumentation. Les femmes engagées dans ces mouvements souhaitaient élargir le champ des responsabilités qu'elles détenaient déjà dans la famille à l'ensemble de la société. En fait, le maternalisme permet de distinguer les groupes de femmes pour qui la maternité constituait une priorité idéologique, de ceux qui niaient ou ignoraient cette réalité physique des femmes pour plutôt mettre l'accent sur une recherche de l'égalité. "Une organisation maternaliste au Québec, la fédération nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste et la bataille

having set a “high standard” as writer and moralist, providing “an example” for other bourgeois French-Canadian women whose voices were slowly, in many cases grudgingly, being accepted into the public sphere. And yet, ten years into a successful career as a professional woman librarian and *Femme de lettres*, she was propelled out of the spotlight. Abandoning her middle/upper class public and all the attendant accolades, she hid her identity under the blanket of shadow. Re-inventing herself as a “dis-empowered” working-class male, she spent the rest of her life writing in literary drag for Montreal’s bilingual labour journal.

Circé-Côté provides us with a glimpse into four definitional decades in Montreal’s history of feminism. Provocatively, this journalist felt that the progress and *evolution* of the feminist component of her activity would be met with more success if she appropriated the voice of a working-class man. Can we take it for granted that Circé-Côté’s class and gender, the trappings of what became a (secret) private life, had hindered her ability to exercise her public will? Or was her decision motivated by a new political strategy which combined patronizing doses of missionary zeal with didactic social and cultural reform of the working class? This chapter is an effort to track and contextualize feminist themes in her writing for *Le Monde Ouvrier* and to determine whether her choice to write for this working-class newspaper speaks to the issue of her feminism or whether it is more likely to be related to her ambitions as a social reformer/socialist.³ In so doing, I will put forth some tentative

pour le vote des femmes,” *Revue d’histoire de l’amérique française* 52, 3 (Winter 1999), 316

³One out of every six of her editorials addressed issues that specifically pertained to the rights of women or the conditions of working women. See Appendix C for complete listing.

conclusions with regards to Circé-Côté's motives for assuming this working-class identity and demonstrate the ramifications it had on her role as an advocate of feminist ideals. This chapter touches on Circé-Côté's early feminist writing published in her compilation Bleu, Blanc, Rouge (1903) and then delves into her feminist thought as it was developed for *Le Monde Ouvrier* (1916-1943). I will attempt to step back from Circé-Côté's "progressive" evolutionary feminist framework and try to understand her feminist politics.

Historians of the feminist movement often brandish moments in "women's struggle for equality" like placards at a rally. Unfortunately, this leaves readers with a series of "historical" studies which twin the unrelenting "continuity" of feminist struggle with its study, as though they might be one and the same: sisters in arms! Conclusions are sometimes predetermined: we become guilty of an ahistorical championing of that which we have prejudged to be "the progressive cause of feminism."⁴ Joan Scott, in her especially provocative study Only Paradoxes to Offer, compares this trend in scholarship with what she describes as an outmoded "19th Century" approach:

...feminists constructed a history to parallel the great evolutionary histories of their day. They wrote a teleological story of cumulative progress toward an ever-elusive goal; a story in which women inevitably found the means within themselves to struggle against their exclusion from democratic politics; a story in which the imaginative identification of feminists with the disparate and discontinuous actions of women in the past became an orderly and continuous historical tradition.⁵

This type of scholarship establishes an evolutionary/positivist/progressivist "moral" lesson

⁴This problem persists despite efforts to acknowledge the different relationships women had with the feminist movement in North America which were defined by a woman's race and her class (and combinations of the two).

⁵Scott, Only Paradoxes to Offer (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1996), 1.

which in some respects mimics, but does not necessarily do justice to, the early struggles and ideas of past “feminist” men/women. As Scott points out, this approach can prevent us from seeing the contradictions and repetitions which in some cases doom our political goals.⁶

Micheline Dumont broaches the issue from another angle. In her article, “The Origins of the Women’s Movement in Quebec,” she compares the history of French-Canadian feminism to that of English-Canadian feminism and highlights some very important disjunctures.⁷ Dumont argues that the conventional periodization of the women’s movement in North America has created a barrier to placing or understanding the experiences of Quebec feminists. Traditional feminist historiography, as such, has argued that feminism developed “late” in Quebec -- a perspective that Dumont emphatically critiques:

Two concepts are frequently put forward to explain and situate Quebec feminism: its lateness in appearing, in comparison to Canadian feminism, and its close, often privileged, ties with Catholicism and nationalism...This concept of tardiness, however, has obscured too many analyses and explanations....Often feminism is even presented as a shoot from some foreign root badly planted in Quebec soil.⁸

Dumont brings up an important question: where do feminist ideas come from? Who can take credit/blame for their initial articulation/origination? Why were they brought into the fore *at a particular historical juncture?*

⁶Despite the success of suffragists in securing the vote for women, our inability to secure equal representation in our political institutions is perhaps one of many examples of inherent problems -- both in feminist ideological conceptualization and strategy.

⁷Micheline Dumont, “The Origins of the Women’s Movement in Quebec,” in Constance Backhouse and David H. Flaherty, eds., Challenging Times: The Women’s Movement in Canada and the United States, trans. Carol Cochrane (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992), 395–422.

⁸Dumont, “Origins,” 77–78.

Andrée Lévesque was the first historian to “out” Eva Circé-Côté (the controversial librarian) as Julien Saint-Michel (the feminist labour journalist). Lévesque’s two articles, which focus on Circé-Côté’s writing for *Le Monde Ouvrier*, painstakingly address a number of interesting themes and must be considered invaluable texts for anyone interested in this topic.⁹ She characterizes Circé-Côté’s writing for *Le Monde Ouvrier* in the following manner:

Critique de l’administration municipale, apôtre de la formation professionnelle des filles et des garçons, observatrice de la vie urbaine et de la modernisation de Montréal, elle ne manque jamais une occasion de dénoncer les injustices économiques et sociales et de promouvoir la condition féminine. Son pseudonyme masculin, Julien Saint-Michel, autorise-t-il l’audace de ses propos, lui permet-il d’être la seule journaliste à ne pas être reléguée à la page féminine?¹⁰

Lévesque argues that Circé-Côté, a tireless champion of Montreal’s disenfranchised and uneducated poor, used her “male identity” to fight against racism, defend the rights of workers, and promote the cause of suffrage for women in Quebec. Lévesque suggests that Circé-Côté embodies all that is urbane, modern, and progressive about early twentieth-century Montreal.¹¹ In a Quebec long represented as “traditional,” Lévesque argues that

⁹Lévesque puts it eloquently: “Éva Circé-Côté. Fondatrice,” (148). “Pour avoir multiplié ses combats, pour s’être effacée derrière des noms d’emprunt, Éva Circé-Côté est presque tombée dans l’oubli.” The other article has been published twice: the first time it was entitled “Les Québécoises et leur citoyenneté. La citoyenneté selon Eva Circé-Côté,” in Hans Ulrich Jost, Monique Pavillon and François Vallotton, eds., *La politique des droits. Citoyenneté et construction des genres aux 19e et 20e siècles*. (Paris: Éditions Kimé, 1994), and, the second time it was published in her book *Résistance et Transgression: Études en histoire des femmes au Québec*. (Montréal: les éditions du remue-ménage, 1995)

¹⁰Lévesque, “Éva Circé-Côté: Fondatrice,” 149.

¹¹In “Revisionism and the Search for a Normal Society: A Critique of Recent Quebec Historical Writing,” Ronald Rudin argues that between 1970-1990, while political initiatives from Quebec had the effect of accentuating the distinctiveness of the province, Quebec’s historians were going to enormous lengths to show that Quebec was a ‘normal society.’ This school of historians had begun to reject a model of Quebec history that had dominated since the middle of the nineteenth century. He states: “It is perhaps understandable at a time when Quebecers are trying to build a modern, pluralistic society that Quebec

Circé-Côté stands out as an example of all that was modern -- a crusader against Quebec's religious and rural values and traditions. Lévesque's general portrait of Circé-Côté's work for *Le Monde Ouvrier* takes the form of a triumphalist narrative.¹² By embracing all that was deemed to be "modern" in the period under question, Circé-Côté as reconstructed by Lévesque was by necessity at odds with all that might be deemed traditional. From 1916-1938, Lévesque argues, Circé-Côté's work can be understood as being loosely under four rubrics: modernity, education, democracy and feminism.¹³ In this chapter, I will focus on two of the four themes: Circé-Côté's feminism and her sense of modernity.

Despite all of her efforts to use Circé-Côté as an indisputable sign of twentieth-century Montreal's urbanity and modernity, Lévesque's most provocative point concerns the perplexing "evolution" of Circé-Côté's feminist ideology. Lévesque explains that throughout her years of writing about feminism for *Le Monde Ouvrier*, Circé-Côté sat squarely on the dividing line between two patently contradictory schools of thought:

historians would be attracted to a view of the past in which there was conflict between the classes, but not between linguistic or ethnic groups " Perhaps in her efforts to portray how "modern and normal" Circé-Côté was as a feminist foremother, Lévesque has underplayed a more critical, site-specific examination of Circé-Côté's ideas -- even in relation to the very themes she outlines, including "modernity" and "feminism " Rudin elaborates: "The revisionist historians deeply resented the(se) various depictions of Quebec's rural past, which were tainted with defeat and inferiority. These individuals had come to age in the 1960s in the midst of the modernization of a wide range of institutions during the Quiet Revolution. They naturally looked to the past for the roots of a vibrant society, but since all things rural had been stigmatized as somehow backward they were forced to turn their sights to a past that was profoundly urban." *Canadian Historical Review*, 71, 1 (March, 1992), 30, 43 and 44.

¹²Lévesque admittedly concedes the eugenic strains of Circé-Côté feminist and French-Canadian cultural thought: "Pour les chômeurs, elle préconisera le contrôle des naissances et même l'abstinence... Ses prises de position matérialistes et même parfois eugénistes, partagées par plusieurs esprits avancés de l'époque, la situent nettement en marge du discours dominant dans une société qui se vantait de maintenir le taux de natalité le plus élevé du monde occidental." Lévesque, *Résistance et Transgression*, 52. Lévesque argues that overall, Circé-Côté was an "anti-racist." This, I will counter, is an oversimplification which understates some of the important contradictions in Circé-Côté's work.

¹³Lévesque, "Éva Circé-Côté: Fondatrice," 88.

On a habituellement rangé les arguments pour les droits des femmes sous une des deux étiquettes: égalité ou différence. Dans toute action collective en faveur de l'égalité, soit dans le Code civil, soit dans les organisations ouvrières, soit enfin dans les mouvements politiques, il faudra démêler l'écheveau de l'égalité des droits et de la différence des rôles. Or il se trouve fort peu de féministes qui adhèrent de façon exclusive à une seule de ces catégories...Il était une époque où l'on pouvait tout à la fois être égalitaire et essentialiste.¹⁴

Lévesque here makes an incisive point: Circé-Côté, while insisting on the interchangeability of sexual roles, would also invoke characteristics of what she considered to be an "essential feminine nature," without any concern that there might be a contradiction between the two strategies. Lévesque poses the question: How can one gauge whether there has been an "evolution" in Circé-Côté's feminist thought over the decades in question, if she seemed to be using the same combination of (seemingly irreconcilable) strategies in 1900 as she was in the late 1930s? I would argue that Lévesque's valuable point begs a more important question: Why would we presume that there would *need* to be a progressive "evolution" to her feminist politics and tactics?

Definitions of the word "feminism" have tended to presuppose both broad universals and infinite particularities. One of multiple contemporary definitions of the term "feminist" was penned by Francine Descarries-Bélanger in a publication by the *Institut Canadien de Recherches sur les femmes*: "[a] new vision of society, feminism, in its broadest sense, is essentially a social movement aimed at putting an end to oppression of women in our societies, while the point of consensus of women's studies is a desire to produce renewed and integrated learning apt to contribute both to eliminating the androcentric

¹⁴Lévesque, "Les Québécoises et leur citoyenneté," 95.

perspective...and to redefining new male-female relationships.”¹⁵ The word feminism has too often been misused to embody a certain, progressive, and “incontestable” moral logic with an unstoppable evolutionary momentum.¹⁶ Are we confident that we have understood its ideological “parturition” (its juncture in all its complexity) with its liberal and capitalist underpinnings?

Marie Lavigne and Yolande Pinard have charged that the feminist movement in Quebec has been studied in such a way as to rob its history of all “global” and “complex” social ramifications. The history, they argue, offers only a superficial recounting of changes taking place from “top-down” political terrain:

Le mouvement des femmes n'est pas homogène: de multiples tendances s'y expriment, et le féminisme n'en est qu'une parmi d'autres, avec son éventail d'approches théoriques et de solutions pratiques. Organisé, il revêt une dimension politique susceptible de modifier le statut des femmes dans la société. Il peut tout aussi bien, dans ses diverses fractions, se réclamer du statu quo, adopter une voie réformiste ou s'aligner sur une position plus radicale de remise en question de la société capitaliste et patriarcale...Les luttes menées par les ouvrières contre leur exploitation économique sont considérées comme des luttes politiques et elles s'inscrivent au même titre que les luttes féministes dans le mouvement des femmes.¹⁷

¹⁵Francine Descarries-Bélanger, “Assessment and Challenges of Women’s Studies in Quebec,” in Francine Descarries-Bélanger et Micheline de Sève, eds., feminist perspectives féministes: Bilan et perspectives de recherches féministes 3 (1985), 33

¹⁶Marie Lavigne and Yolande Pinard point to a long history of female “movement forming” in Quebec. However, these movements did not have “feminist” mandates. They explain: “Les associations féministes qui surgissent à partir des années 1890 ne constituent pas en soi la première expression d’un mouvement organisé de femmes au Québec. Rappelons les manifestations des “ménagères” contre la cherté du pain sous le régime français, la participation des femmes aux événements de 1837 et 1838, les œuvres de charité laïques ou intégrées dans les communautés religieuses qui reflètent le potentiel d’organisation des femmes. Autant d’éléments essentiels à la compréhension de l’expérience de groupes de femmes. En ce sens, la naissance du mouvement féministe à l’aube du 20e siècle s’enracine dans une tradition d’intervention collective qui a souvent revêtu une forme organisée.” Lavigne and Pinard “Travail et mouvement.” 34.

¹⁷Lavigne and Pinard, “Travail et mouvement,” 37.

It is because of these ambiguities and questions that we need to go back to "the beginning" to determine how definitions of feminism were initially structured and understood. Most importantly, we need to look at our feminist foremothers as whole, complex beings conditioned by their times. While it has often been argued that the biographical approach to the study of history is elitist, I hope to demonstrate that when it is combined with ad hoc newspaper editorials written by an auto-didactic journalist, it can offer insight into the times and themes in question. These editorials address day-to-day problems of communal concern.

As was outlined in the introduction, throughout her life-time, Circé-Côté received a number of substantial public accolades -- for *some* of her writings. It was as a young *woman* that she received praise from the nuns at the Lachine convent who described her school work in such glowing terms that she gained public notoriety.¹⁸ It was as a young single *woman* that she received acclamations in several newspapers for her published book of essays and poetry. In addition to this, as a *woman*, she won prizes for three of her plays -- in a variety of play-writing competitions. In later years, she was inducted into various "hall of fame" anthologies, where her role, as a *woman*, in the foundation of Montreal's first public library, is more than proudly underlined. These laurels, however, did not follow Circé-Côté everywhere she went. Rather, in the mid 1900s she had begun to shed this safe cocoon in favour of a journey into uncharted territory. Julien Saint-Michel, the working-class "man," received no such recognition or awards for her/his writing for the working-class underworld of *Le Monde Ouvrier*. Re-constructing the turn-of-the-century feminist past is

¹⁸As mentioned in the introduction, she received the Governor General's prize for French-language literature.

a difficult project. Eva Circé-Côté was a feminist who sat awkwardly on the precipice of the public/private divide. A historian is forced to integrate tiny fragments of information and “dead spaces” in the chronology -- where absolutely no information can be found. In studying a member of the “working-class,” these problems are compounded tenfold.

FROM LANGUISHING LOTUS EATERS TO HARD WORKING PATRIOTS: Circé-Côté's turn of the century feminism

Although at the time she was in her early thirties, single and childless, in Circé-Côté's earliest editorial on the subject of feminism, she assumes the tone of an overprotective grand-mother.¹⁹ If anti-feminist sentiment was to be an integral component of French-Canada's conservative clerico-nationalism, Circé-Côté seems to have argued, it would create a climate that was inhospitable to the “healthy” evolution of the French-Canadian race. French-Canadian men, who argue that women should not be allowed into the public sphere, are simply not “well” and need to be “cured” of what might have caused their “delusions.” Circé-Côté concludes her diagnosis: “a simple case of atavism” is the cause of the “painful physical distress” afflicting Montreal's anti-feminists. In a tone that seems best described as “matronizing,” she indicates that she has “little patience” for men who believe that women should be confined to the private sphere. She elaborated:

Je n'y crois pas, aux dangereux paradoxes que vous émettez en faveur de l'ignorance féminine, paradoxes dont j'hésite à sonder la subversive profondeur....A l'homme moderne, il faut le type de la femme fin-de-siècle, fouillé par le ciseau d'un artiste progressif: le temps, instruite toujours, philosophe un tantinet, artiste, musicienne,

¹⁹Colombine (pseud.) “Les Femmes de Lettres.” Bleu, Blanc, Rouge, 72-75.

si l'on veut, ce qui n'exclut pas la sensibilité, la bonté, le dévouement et la fidélité, au contraire.²⁰

If anti-feminism was indeed a “sickness,” Circé-Côté had devised a metaphorical home remedy. At the turn-of-the-century she was taking the “science” of gender differentiation into her own hands. This editorial, published in her collection Bleu, Blanc, Rouge marks a definitional moment in her feminist thought.²¹ For the next forty years, Circé-Côté continued to package her feminist ideology as “scientific” and “modern.” As a necessary consequence, those who opposed her views were “unhealthy” or stuck in the “middle ages.”

Gender roles had been divided and categorized by Victorian and Edwardian science at the turn of the twentieth century. Emotional commitment to women’s place in the home had been substantiated by scientific research into sex differences. Science had provided justification for refusing women’s rights – on the grounds that women and men had different physical and psychological capacities.²² Jane Lewis discusses this scientific trend:

²⁰Colombine (pseud.) “Les Femmes de Lettres.” Bleu, Blanc, Rouge, 74.

²¹In this same editorial, Colombine (pseud.) points out that women have abilities to communicate a whole realm of activity ignored by men. This on its own, she argues, should be enough to make women “worthy” of public participation. “Tandis que son pied mignon agite le berceau où dort, les poings fermés, un beau chérubin rose, la main peut courir sur le papier, pour y jeter le trop plein d’un cœur, que le mari, souvent léger et indifférent, néglige de recueillir. Ah! ces jouissances sont sans remords! Et le champ de la pensée est si vaste à explorer.” Colombine (pseud.) “Les Femmes de Lettres.” Bleu, Blanc, Rouge, 75.

²²Andrée Lévesque has described the manner in which medicine and then psychoanalysis appropriated gender and sexuality in Quebec during this time period: “Since the nineteenth century, the doctor had shared with the priest the secrets of the most intimate activities. No less than the priests, the physicians were aware of their power. Articles published in the medical journals were directed toward a limited audience, to be sure, but they extended beyond the pages of scientific publications. The editor-in-chief of *L’Union médicale*, Dr. Albert Le Sage, reprinted a lecture he gave in Venice in 1936, in which he explained fully “the social influence of the medical press.” It “spreads culture, shapes and directs opinion,” and accomplishes a “hygienic and moral” task...Skilled medical advice would often be called upon in social and economic areas. A naive faith in medical training rendered doctors qualified to give their verdicts on the art of child-rearing, good housekeeping, education, work, and the political role of women...Elevated to the status of experts in a number of areas, doctors at times held important public offices at City Hall or in the Legislative Assembly, where they made about 10 percent of the members...many doctors came from

Perhaps the most influential work on sex differences on both sides of the Atlantic during the late nineteenth century was that of Herbert Spencer, whose analysis neatly justified the position of the middle-class Victorian woman as he found it. He argued that sex roles were a product of mankind's successful adaptation to social survival. Thus the division of labour was the hallmark of social progress and a reflection of organic law.²³

While it is not my intention to "blame" Herbert Spencer for championing inequality between the sexes, and while Jane Lewis' interpretation of Spencer's position on sexual differences is somewhat over-simplified, I am affirming that Spencer's work had a role in defining the "evolutionary" parameters within which the sexes were "divided" and their "evolutionary potential" assessed.²⁴ Spencer's critique of Victorian woman's subordinate place in marriage is articulated in the first edition of his Social Statics (1850), but not in the revised version published in 1894. In Social Statics Spencer reveals his support of women's political and social emancipation, imagining a society where women would be free to define for themselves the proper sphere of their activities. However, after a nervous breakdown in 1853, Spencer made a substantial retreat from these feminist principles. He began to argue women's natural inferiority, substantiating his analysis by using "the doctrine" of evolution

prominent Quebec families and were allied to the upper economic classes, something that added only more weight to what they had to say." Making and Breaking the Rules: Women in Quebec, 1919-1939 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994), 13-14.

²³Jane Lewis. "'Motherhood issues' in the late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" in Katherine Arnup, Andr  e L  vesque and Ruth Roach Pierson, eds., Delivering Motherhood: Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the 19th and 20th Centuries (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 3-4.

²⁴Nancy L. Paxton's study of George Eliot and Herbert Spencer's relationship provides fascinating insight into the complexity of Spencer's efforts to define a sexual division of labour in relation to the evolution of the race. She explains: "As early as 1854, we can observe -- with the advantage of hindsight -- how evolutionary theory prompted Spencer to redefine the meaning of gender by reassessing women's place in nature...In Spencer's analysis of human sexuality, then, we can see his unexamined belief that humans are compelled by the same evolutionary forces which operate "among all lower forms of life, uncontrolled by commands, traditions, or creeds..." George Eliot and Herbert Spencer: Feminism, Evolutionism, and the Reconstruction of Gender (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 31-33.

to justify women's inferior physical, moral, and intellectual capacities.

In her articulation of what she perceived to be "natural" gender divisions at the turn-of-the-century, Circé-Côté's ideas show signs of having turned away from this scientifically "supported" sexual differentiation (and male domination) in favour of the necessary *complementarity* of sex roles. Womanly qualities of nurturance and domesticity, Circé-Côté argued, were important not only within the confines of the home, but to society as a whole. It was only with men and women working in harmonious co-operation, she opined, that the French-Canadian race had the potential for cultural domination not only in Canada, but over the whole continent. It is interesting to note that while she seemed to be challenging the scientific logic of sexual differentiation, she was promoting the soundness of the science of racial differentiation.

Like gender differences, racial differences at the turn-of-the-century were believed to be grounded in biology. Gordon Dueck's study of the Anglo-Jewish press in Montreal, 1897-1914, offers insight into how the discourse of racial *evolutionism* would have been informing Circé-Côté's thoughts on nationalism, social reform, and feminism.²⁵ At the turn of the century, races were not understood as "social constructions" but as biological and psychological realities. *Evolutionism* explained their "essence, origin, and destiny." As Dueck remarks:

In the period under review, mutability -- whether physically or psychologically

²⁵ However, as Gordon Dueck points out: "The acceptance of evolutionary doctrines by itself does not point to the rise of a secular point of view, just as liberalism by itself did not necessarily de-privilege religion, especially if the religion in question was of the dissenting variety...secularization cannot be said to have been merely a process set into motion by the collision of natural and/or social scientific ideas upon religious ones." Dueck, "The Salamander and the Chameleon: Religion, Race, and Evolutionism in the Anglo-Jewish Press, Montreal, 1897-1914" (Ph. D. Thesis, Queen's University, 1999), 30.

manifested – was both prized and feared, since evolution was deemed both progressive and conservative. It was the tale of how certain collective forms of life adapt and survive, survival being defined as the retention of an essential group identity, and adaptation as the capacity (fitness) to maintain it. Extinction was not necessarily absolute; instead, it connoted the right abdicated (through lack of fitness) to exist as an identifiable *group*, a nation, a race, even a religion. Extinction could refer to physical extermination, but, more frequently, it was equated with assimilation.²⁶

Dueck argues that race science (the notion that races existed and were physically and/or psychologically different from each other) which he describes as *racialism*, was central to *fin-de-siècle* Western intellectual tradition.²⁷ Human society, he points out, was often depicted as an ecosystem, rather than a political system, and individuals as organisms rather than citizens.²⁸ Angus McLaren, in his book Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945 explains that “the term ‘race’ was casually employed by social commentators of every stripe and most assumed that race could and should be ‘improved.’” He elaborates:

... cursory investigation reveals that Canada was not immune to eugenic preoccupations, which in the first half of the twentieth century coloured the discussion of a vast variety of topics ranging from sex instruction, intelligence testing, and special education to social welfare, immigration, and birth control.

²⁶“Social Darwinism, then, cannot be defined as the inappropriate employment of natural ideas to social situations...Historians cannot buy into the idolatry that “hard” science is impervious to the sociology of knowledge (above and beyond mere discourse), or presume that Darwinism, now accepted as orthodoxy, is indivisible and beyond distortion....If one’s aim is to study what historical subjects thought, rather than to decide what they ought to have been thinking, these contemporary disagreements can be instructive.” Dueck, “The Salamander and the Chameleon,” 7-8.

²⁷Dueck uses the term *evolutionism*. Liberal Judaic authorities in Montreal would co-opt discourse – regarding what is more commonly understood as “social darwinism” but should more accurately be referred to as “evolutionism” – to argue that Jews in Montreal were able to “adapt” and yet still “succeed” as a race. He elaborates: “What should be added by way of qualification, however, is that limiting one’s study to the racist aspects of evolutionism clouds the issue somewhat. Doctrines of evolutionism (and there were several floating around independently at the time, even if contemporary observers, either out of ignorance or for the sake of polemics, tacked each with the designation of Darwinism) could be employed to underwrite religious as well as racial identities.” Dueck, “The Salamander and the Chameleon,” 3-4.

²⁸Dueck, “The Salamander and the Chameleon,” 8-9.

Indeed, English Canadians' fear of French-Canadian fertility gave the hereditarian debate in Canada a particular resonance.²⁹

McLaren discusses racism and eugenic theory from a top-down analysis -- What, he asks, did the doctors, the scientists and government officials have to say about eugenics? What is lacking in his study of such concepts, as Dueck points out, is an analysis of how they were interpreted and utilized by subaltern groups.

French-Canadian cultural dominance in North America, Circé-Côté asserted, would only be achieved if French-Canadians attained "moral and intellectual superiority" over all other races. *Evolutionism* gave Circé-Côté hope to believe that feminist change was possible:

Je crois qu'il s'opère dans le domaine économique comme dans le domaine psychologique une sélection naturelle: les races inférieures tendent à disparaître, de par la force de la justice, de par la loi de l'équilibre...Est-ce qu'une poignée des nôtres n'a pas tenu en échec la puissante et orgueilleuse Angleterre? Je le répète, nous serons les maîtres, si nous méritons de l'être. Rien ici-bas n'est la résultante du hasard et du caprice. De même que le printemps a raison de l'hiver, que la lumière l'emporte sur l'ombre, la marche de la vérité glorification du bien.³⁰

No longer would French Canadians be circumscribed by "la fatalité aveugle et brutale" (which in Circé-Côté's mind had blinded them to the virtues offered by modernity). French Canadians could instead be authors of their own destiny.

By the turn-of-the-century, many French-Canadian thinkers were wondering about what Quebec's future would be, surrounded as it was by an English-speaking North America. Some were pessimistic about French Canada's chances for survival. Many

²⁹The term "eugenics," McLaren explains, was coined in 1883 by Francis Galton (the founder of anthropometry, population genetics and eugenics) to describe "the study of the agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally." McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, 14-15; 7-9.

³⁰Eva Circé-Côté, "Les dames patronnesses de la St-Jean-Baptiste," found on page 338 of *Bleu, Blanc Rouge* was initially entitled "Pour vous mesdames," published in *le Pionnier*, (4 mai 1902), 1-2.

conservative thinkers were aligning their thoughts on nationalism, borrowing from Catholic doctrine and re-affirming their efforts to ensure the survival of the French language on North American soil. For many clerics and conservatives, this meant shielding French Canadians from the effects of urbanization and industrialization. All of French Canada's "modernization," conservatives argued, needed to be anchored in what was being defined as French Canada's "traditional" customs.³¹ In contrast, the secular nationalist view was marked by disillusionment with Catholicism as a constituent part of its identity, and saw secularization not as a problem but as a solution to the contradictions wrought by nineteenth-century laissez-faire liberalism, industrialization, and urbanization.

A woman could be accused of egoism, Circé-Côté argued, if she confined her talents to the home, when instead, she could be making herself *useful* to her country and compatriots!³² Attacking anti-feminists from the position of a "patriot" and thereby (in her mind), an "equal," Circé-Côté offered what she described as a modern "feminist cure" to those with longstanding concerns about the "weakened" and "ailing condition" of the French-Canadian identity/race. Circé-Côté's patriotism, her loyalty to France, and her "republican values" were all enthusiastically appropriated and integrated as part and parcel of her French-Canadian feminist identity. This "nationalist/cultural" radicalism, which was introduced in the previous chapter, is in many ways the key to her turn-of-the-century

³¹ Dutil, *Devil's Advocate* for a fascinating journey into currents of what Dutil has dubbed as "Liberal Progressivism" in Quebec during this period.

³² In "Les dames patronnesses de la St-Jean-Baptiste," *Bleu, Blanc Rouge*, 338, Circé-Côté poses a question to her readers: Surely, men had nothing against women making public use of their skills - as musicians for example? If women could work with "respectable" success in the public sphere as musicians, she inquires, then why should they be restricted from any other number of professions?

feminist consciousness.

Circé-Côté's radical thoughts on Quebec's "traditional connectedness" to France would not have been met with open arms by Montreal's conservatives, nor even -- according to Patrice Dutil -- by all its liberals. When Godfroy Langlois (a liberal Freemason) described the debt he felt to France's "love of democracy and liberty" -- "that nation whose brain is in activity rather than those whose brains are anaemic" -- the conservative *La Vérité* reacted violently. Its response went as follows:

You insist a great deal, Mr.Langlois, on the state of *liberty* in France...is it ignorance or meanness?...The *liberty* only exists there for those who do wrong, the Freemasons have freedom of action, the Jews too; the catholics, do they have it? Is it the *Ligue de l'Enseignement* and other organizations who work to dechristianize the church's eldest daughter?...Mr.Langlois is only expressing his personal views and those of a handful of *francissons* who have nothing in common with French Canadians.³³

Mr. Langlois was a contemporary of Circé-Côté and attended her husband's funeral. There can be no doubt that Circé-Côté's association with this radical-Freemason-liberal-progressive politician and journalist would have influenced the manner in which she negotiated her own radical course. Circé-Côté called for a renewed sense of French-Canadian civic duty/participation that would be true to "French traditions." Her brand of "French" nationalism would fuel her feminism, and the success of this feminism would in turn help orient and organize social and political reform movements quite different from the ones supported by clerico-nationalists.

Standing against general trends in public opinion in Quebec that saw the degeneration of urban life as the source of French Canada's problems, Circé-Côté

³³Translation provided by Patrice Dutil, *Devil's Advocate*, 258.

emphasized that the Quebec countryside was not immune to general moral and racial degradation, because the source of the problem lay within individual families/homes. The ideal of motherhood, she elaborated, was to form good citizens and provide men of honour for the country. In a growing boy's soul, Circé-Côté argued, it is the unique responsibility of mothers to inculcate the principles of integrity, loyalty, respect of women, admiration of heroes, love of one's country, liberty, charity and universal kindness. She concluded: "A nous donc, femmes canadiennes, de déposer dans ces jeunes cœurs confiés à notre amour la semence divine que la rosée du ciel fécondera ensuite."³⁴ What we have evidence of here, is that Circé-Côté's feminism was, in part, an effort to redefine/realign private/public values by examining them in new a light. In so doing, she attempted to pull women's private role as mother out of the periphery, revealing it as being *central* to the public, patriotic good.

In the only other editorial published in her compilation Bleu, Blanc, Rouge which makes mention of feminism as an ideology, Circé-Côté had begun to assemble a progressive "history" of French-Canadian feminism. Or perhaps, if we were to look at it from a different angle, Circé-Côté's construction of a feminist "heritage" and its broad claim to identity *prescribed* that she stress its history's inevitable *evolution*. It would seem that in order to prove that women were "worthy" of citizenship, Circé-Côté felt at pains to demonstrate that women had long shown signs of being biologically "capable" of civil-oriented action. She points with a sense of pride to the "Marguerite Bourgeoises, the Jeanne Mances, the Madame d'Youvilles," all figures in a distinguished line of "undeniably noteworthy" French and French-Canadian women.

³⁴Dutil, Devil's Advocate, 186.

Now, whether these women were indeed “feminist” was not the issue: her point was that there was something about their body/spirit/psychology that certified their innate identity as foremother feminists. These women, Circé-Côté explained, were fine examples of people who, as a result of their patriotism, or charity, had become instruments of “les plus hauts desseins de l’Eternel.” Discussed briefly in the previous chapter, these words have been exhumed from an editorial she wrote announcing the foundation of “*Les dames patronnesses de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste*.”³⁵

Staking their position, she felt, at the end of a long line of great women patriots of French and French-Canadian history, were the *Dames patronnesses* of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society. Inventing feminist heritage/tradition, however clumsy and “essentialist” it may seem to a modern reader, Circé-Côté was both cultivating and harvesting tradition for “the modern French-Canadian feminist.” Contrary to readings of Circé-Côté as essentially modernizing, the “modern” and the “traditional” both incubate in her early feminist ideology. She was emphasizing the necessity for *change* while simultaneously struggling to preserve — and in a sense invent — a heritage that might be unique to French Canada.

As Marie Lavigne, Yolande Pinard, and Jennifer Stoddart point out in their history of the Fédération nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste, at the turn of the century numerous bourgeois women in Montreal were beginning to concern themselves with their city’s social problems:

...de nombreuses Montréalaises deviennent conscientes des problèmes sociaux engendrés par la croissance rapide du capitalisme et sur lesquels se penchent les réformistes: santé publique, assainissement de la vie politique, travail des femmes

³⁵Circé-Côté, “Les dames patronnesses de la St-Jean-Baptiste.” *Bleu, Blanc Rouge*, 338.

et des enfants, éducation, délinquance juvénile, tempérance, etc. Elles joignent les rangs du mouvement de réforme et mettent sur pied divers organismes d'action sociale. Ce faisant, elles se heurtent quotidiennement aux limites que leur impose leur propre incapacité juridique et politique.³⁶

Because of these social conditions, these historians argue, many bourgeois women were naturally predisposed to "militer en faveur des droits des femmes."³⁷ The social and political action thought necessary to resuscitate Montreal's degenerating urban core, these authors assert, was "by necessity" linked to early articulations of feminist reform. *Les dames patronnesses de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, thus characterized, united many well-known names of Montreal's bourgeoisie. Lavigne, Pinard, and Stoddart describe the group's initial objective as follows: "Conscientes du rôle patriotique que les femmes doivent jouer, elles espèrent aviver le nationalisme canadien-français."³⁸

The French-speaking elite of Montreal have "generously listened to our call," Circé-Côté boasted, "and soon our city will be endowed with an institute which will foster the glory and moral well being of such "*femmes du peuple*."³⁹ She stated with pride:

Toutes, auront droit de venir rompre le pain de la science dans le temple érigé par la nation canadienne. Assises au même banc, l'ouvrière, la grande dame, la servante, l'élégante, pour quelques heures du moins, oublieront les distinctions sociales qui les séparent depuis tant de siècles: ce sera réveil des agapes chrétiennes.⁴⁰

³⁶Marie Lavigne, Yolande Pinard et Jennifer Stoddart. "La Fédération Saint-Jean-Baptiste et les revendications féministes au début du 20e siècle" in Marie Lavigne et Yolande Pinard, eds., *Travailleuses et féministes: Les femmes dans la société québécoise* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1983), 200

³⁷Lavigne, Pinard et Stoddart, "La Fédération Saint-Jean-Baptiste."

³⁸Lavigne, Pinard et Stoddart, "La Fédération Saint-Jean-Baptiste."

³⁹Italics mine. Circé-Côté. "Les dames patronnesses de la St-Jean-Baptiste." *Bleu, Blanc Rouge*, 339

⁴⁰Circé-Côté. "Les dames patronnesses de la St-Jean-Baptiste." *Bleu, Blanc Rouge*, 339.

It is interesting to note that Circé-Côté envisions “chairs” for women of the working class, around this table of bourgeois French-Canadian feminists. For those who believe that this committee is simply a “feminist utopia,” Circé-Côté responded with a phrase she would use dozens of times in the next thirty years, “Au temps!...Au temps!...”⁴¹

Lavigne, Pinard, and Stoddart argue that Montreal’s early feminists were surrounded on all sides by anti-feminist conservatives and clergy -- who rejected any and all changes proposed by “feminists.” Because of this, the feminist organization which grew out of the *dames patronnesses* of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society (in 1907 it became the *Fédération national Saint-Jean-Baptiste* (FNSJB)) was forced to propose a “good” feminism which would differentiate its mandate from that identified by the Church as “bad” feminism. Their “good” feminism, these historians argue, had to be framed as “celui qui saura respecter les valeurs nationalistes et la pensée sociale catholique.”⁴² This explains, they assert, why the “prudent” ideology of Montreal’s early feminist organizations was *purposefully* ambiguous. As Karine Hébert points out, “bad” feminism came to be defined and understood by the feminists of the FNSJB as “liberal feminism.” Liberal feminism was determined to be a feminism which promoted women’s right to divorce, to the use of birth control, and to the “individualist” approach to life. Liberal feminism, it was argued, had no sense of womanly “duty.”⁴³

Circé-Côté could not imagine “what might be found lacking” in French-Canadian

⁴¹Circé-Côté, “Les dames patronnesses de la St-Jean-Baptiste,” *Bleu, Blanc Rouge*, 340.

⁴²Lavigne, Pinard et Stoddart, “La Fédération Saint-Jean-Baptiste,” 202.

⁴³Hébert, “Une organisation maternaliste,” 323.

countrywomen, whom she saw as “taking it upon themselves to defend the poor, educate the young, fight against injustice,” and who with delicate pen “celebrate all that in nature is superb” and “all that in science gives hope to humanity.” All this, she added, was done without expectation of ephemeral glory, but rather with the simple hope that they had made themselves useful to their countrymen. With this regenerative mission in mind, Circé-Côté’s feminist ideology asserted that women, in fact, made as good *if not better* French-Canadian “patriots” than did men. Women were “innately moral beings” who “already work for the public good in all that they do.”⁴⁴ This was not a strategy that fellow feminists would have found particularly strange or original; women all across turn-of-the-century North America were arguing that their roles as mothers and “moral caregivers” made them uniquely suited for the regeneration of their cities/countries.⁴⁵

In her study of maternal-feminism in Montreal, Karine Hébert argues that Montreal’s feminists identified with the traditional model of “woman,” which identified “woman” with “mother.” They did not conceive of maternity as a limited function, but rather as a subversive opening of the private sphere *onto* the public one. While many of Montreal’s “early feminists” were redefining the frontiers between public and private spheres, they were

⁴⁴Circé-Côté introduced *les dames patronnesses de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste* with pride and flourish. Those who are timid, Circé-Côté stated, have asked her how this “grand project” will come into being; how the wings of progress passing through the pink lips of such ladies will inspire the energies of the sleeping French Canadian masses?! To which she answered, “that which woman wants, God wants.” Circé-Côté, “Les dames patronnesses de la St-Jean-Baptiste,” *Bleu, Blanc Rouge*, 338

⁴⁵Hébert, “Une organisation maternaliste,” 317.

ensuring that society could benefit from “women’s maternal influence.”⁴⁶

This analysis seemed particularly appropriate in this case. Circé-Côté maintained that “the times were gone, when women sat at home, dutifully weaving the fabric that would later constitute the proud flags of their countries.”⁴⁷ The unification of women’s energies, Circé-Côté elaborated, was a “patriotic event” and as a result, women’s ideas would soon penetrate to the heart of the French-Canadian race with a sublime force. It was women who would succeed in driving French Canada along the paths made by “honour” and “science.”⁴⁸ Today’s *modern feminism*, she argued, is destined to provide light to the unenlightened -- who “by some cruel fate” had been left in the shadows.⁴⁹ Being “left behind” in the

⁴⁶She goes on to explain: “En effet, on a constaté que les groupes de femmes qui militaient au début du XXe siècle le faisaient souvent au nom de leur maternité potentielle et qu’elles revendiquaient des droits sociaux et politiques pour l’accomplissement du rôle que leur conférait cette potentialité.” Hébert, “Une organisation maternaliste,” 317.

⁴⁷Circé-Côté waxes poetic in her whimsical description of the “dawn of modern feminism:” “D’abord, le torrent du féminisme surgissant des siècles de barbarie a effrayé l’univers par son fracas. Le flot tumultueux déracinait les jeunes pousses, jaunissait l’herbe veloutée, faisait s’enfuir les craintives hirondelles! Mais plus bas, il s’élargit, se calme gentiment, jase avec les nénuphars; il devient le grand fleuve régénérateur qui porte la fertilisation dans les champs... La femme révoltée de l’infériorité moral dont on la flétrissait a voulu prouver sa personnalité dans la littérature, dans les arts; elle y a réussi. Une noble fierté illumine ses traits; elle peut dire à son compagnon de vie: “Vois, je suis ton égale. Tu peux m’aimer, je suis une âme et non pas une poupée automatique, comme tu disais.” Men, Circé-Côté concludes, should seek partners who are their legitimate equals -- not simply “clothes conscious ninnies” who talk only of “scandal” and of “problems with their maids!” Here, despite her assertion that the new feminist association of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society would have a cross-class application, I think it would be fair to say that her feminist praxis at this early stage would not have offered much that would apply to the working-class women sitting at the table. Circé-Côté, “Les dames patronnesses de la St-Jean-Baptiste,” *Bleu, Blanc Rouge*, 341.

⁴⁸Circé-Côté, “Les dames patronnesses de la St-Jean-Baptiste,” *Bleu, Blanc Rouge*, 343.

⁴⁹Constrained, Lavigne, Pinard and Stoddart claim, by the overtly “patriotic” mandate of the *dames patronesses de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, the organization had, by 1907, blossomed into the *Fédération National Saint-Jean-Baptiste*: “La fondation d’une organisation catholique et canadienne française,...fait suite à la prise de conscience de la nécessité d’un encadrement qui respecte leurs croyances religieuses, surtout en matière d’éducation, et qui sauvegarde leur ethnie. L’idéologie cléricale et nationaliste inspire donc la FNSJB et la différencie du MLCW (Montreal Council of Women), organisation non confessionnelle et anglophone.” Lavigne, Pinard et Stoddart, “La Fédération Saint-Jean-Baptiste,” 201.

“shadows” was, in Circé-Côté’s mind, a fate worse than death. The enlightenment that Circé-Côté had in mind, however ambiguous her bourgeois class alignment might seem at this juncture, was multi-pronged and most certainly avoided any neat “social-reform” categorization.

The last example of Circé-Côté’s writing that I will offer to help represent her feminist thought for the first decade of the twentieth century provides a synopsis of her “stance” on feminism and women’s rights. In 1905 *Le Nationaliste* chose to profile six *Femmes de Lettres* in a series entitled “L’avenir des Canadiens-Français.”⁵⁰ Each of the authors selected was asked to compose a short statement on “the future of French Canadians.” Circé-Côté offered a short narrative. It would seem, at first glance, that Circé-Côté had ignored the nationalist mandate of the program, describing instead, in great detail, “all the anticipation that parents feel when a new baby is born.” But Circé-Côté had done no such thing. Using her maternal concepts, she bit down hard politically. She asked her readers: What role should French Canadians play in the lives of newborn children? To which she answers:

Penchons-nous donc sur le berceau de notre race naissante, et interrogeons le destin à travers cette petite chose rouge informe, qui dort les poings fermés dans sa sereine inconscience...Mais il vient une heure où les mythes de la radieuse enfance doivent faire face aux réalités scientifiques...La nationalité canadienne-française dominera non seulement au Canada, mais sur le continent, en dépit de tous les calculs mathématiques, si elle acquiert sur les autres races une supériorité morale et intellectuelle. Ce n’est plus le règne de la force mais le règne de la raison. Je crois qu’il s’opère dans le domaine économique comme dans le domaine psychologique une sélection naturelle: les races inférieures tendent à disparaître, de par la force de la justice, de par la loi de l’équilibre...Je le répète, nous serons les maîtres, si nous méritons de l’être.

⁵⁰“Madame P.S.Côté (née Circé), Colombine,” *Le Nationaliste* (19 Novembre, 1905).

Men, Circé-Côté argued, need to take it upon themselves to provide French-Canadian youth with an adequate school system, and *women* need to prepare the young souls of children so that they will be prepared to receive this “noble heritage and culture of letters and reason.”⁵¹

Circé-Côté’s opinions are all the more interesting when viewed in contrast to those of the five other women included in Le Nationaliste’s survey. Madame Eliza Bourbeau-Rainville (known under the pen name of Lisette) expressed a similar concern that her children be armed “morally and physically” which she claimed would force them to respect three principles which made heroes of men: “Dieu, Famille, Patrie!” And yet, unlike Circé-Côté, she was not inclined to support any cultural, ideological, or practical movement toward French-Canadian independence. She ended her opinion piece unequivocally: “Dieu protège le Roi!”⁵²

None of the other four surveyed women stressed the role of their gender in shaping the future of French Canada. Françoise, another well-known *Femme de lettres* whose opinions were featured in this survey, argued that the future of French-Canada lay in an adaptation of the Swiss model. The national model of Canada, she explained, could have several languages and cultures which could coexist happily. Conversely, Mlle Marguerite De Montigny (whose pseudonym was Margot) noted that, *should* she be put in charge of the Quebec government, she would close the door to all future immigrants -- in fact, she would “declare war on all immigrants.” She stated:

⁵¹Colombine (pseud.) “L’Avenir des canadiens-français,” Le Nationaliste (19 novembre, 1905).

⁵²Eliza Bourbeau-Rainville, “L’Avenir des canadiens-français,” Le Nationaliste (19 novembre 1905).

Le Canada est-il aux Canadiens, oui ou non? Alors, pourquoi ces Chinois, ces Juifs, ces Italiens, ces Russes, ces Polonais, ces Grecs qui vivent à nos dépens et nous apportent des épidémies et des grèves, sans compter les coups de poignard et la mauvaise crème à la glace. Les Chinois ont pris la place de nos blanchisseuses. Qu'ils s'en aillent!...Les Juifs prêtent de l'argent sur les objets volés. Qu'ils s'en aillent aussi!⁵³

Whereas De Montigny and Circé-Côté both shared a preoccupation with the “fate of the French-Canadian race,” Circé-Côté’s combination of nationalist and feminist ideology avoided such bald nativism in favour of strengthening the French Canadian race through moral nurturing, education, and general self-improvement.

While much of her writing on feminism seems to suggest that she fell into the category of “maternal-feminist” outlined by Karine Hébert, it would be inaccurate to characterize Circé-Côté’s earliest feminism by emphasizing its necessary “hyphenation” with other currents in her thought. She was not simply a “social-feminist” and even less a “christian-feminist.” Nor would Circé-Côté be situated neatly into the pre-1920s triad of allegiances developed by Molly Ladd-Taylor for the United States: feminism, progressive maternalism, and sentimental maternalism.⁵⁴ More important, Circé-Côté’s understanding of motherhood should not be dismissed as cementing “essentialist” notions about women and their primary “function” as mothers. Circé-Côté suggested that women had a regenerative mission to change French-Canadian society which could complement and in some cases outdo the efforts taken by men. The burden of analysis, therefore, is one of

⁵³Marguerite DeMontigny, “L’Avenir des canadiens-français,” Le Nationaliste (19 novembre 1905).

⁵⁴Molly Ladd-Taylor, Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 104-105.

greatly complicating the notion of maternal feminism.

But this assertion begs the question: What was the primary force that led Circé-Côté to make decisions -- was it her feminism, her radical nationalism, or her nascent class consciousness? Striking at the heart of what she identified as a public/private divide, she went to great lengths to explain why women *deserved* the right to enter the public sphere. Can it be immediately inferred that she was confining/constricting parameters of action for her gender? Did this mean, necessarily, that her feminism was co-opted by compromises with the church? Was she "selling out" the working class in the name of delivering a radical nationalism that would ensure the survival/superiority of the French Canadian race? Should we be concerned that her feminist ideology showed signs of being accommodationist?

Perhaps the answers to these questions can only be sorted out if we are given a chance to examine what she would have said *if she were not a woman* from the Montreal bourgeoisie. Her feminist ideology, as articulated in *Le Monde Ouvrier* in the voice of a working-class male, offers this extraordinary possibility. Elaborating and incorporating new ideas to adapt to the demands of each successive decade, throughout the next thirty years, Circé-Côté's feminist tactics (as a man) both contradict and support the initial exegesis of her "feminism." Which components of this early feminism did she feel necessary to sever and which would she maintain?

FEMINIST FRUIT AND CELESTIAL KITTENS – Feminism and the First World War (1916-1919)

A single mother working at Montreal's newly founded municipal library, in the midst of the Great War, Circé-Côté donned a new pen-name. Ostracized for her association with Montreal's hated and feared Freemason community (brought to a head by her husband's civic funeral and cremation), Circé-Côté began to exhibit a drastic anti-clerical re-orientation, especially in her writings on feminism.⁵⁵ As *Julien Saint-Michel*, she began to write every week for Montreal's bilingual working-class newspaper, *Le Monde Ouvrier Labor World*. Posing as a working-class male, as Andrée Lévesque has pointed out, Circé-Côté over-wrote her identity as an accomplished lady journalist, well-known in Montreal's literary circles.⁵⁶ Lévesque argues that in so doing, she became a "porte parole d'une opinion masculine éclairée." Circé-Côté, Lévesque points out, included herself in her articles as "we, working-class men."⁵⁷ As a result, she distanced herself from her identity as a member of Montreal's bourgeois community and as a distinguished *femme de lettres*.

⁵⁵While she still was permitted to work at the library, which indicates that the Church did not see fit to blame her for her husband's freemason associations, her move to write secretly for *Le Monde Ouvrier* can be interpreted as an unequivocal change in political orientation. A case in point: her anti-clerical sentiments are registered in this newspaper. Patrice Dutil describes the impact had by Dr. P. S. Côté's funeral: "a certain Dr. P. S. Côté was buried in a civic ceremony in Montréal. (Dec. 9th, 1909) Côté, apparently though not an official member of the Loge l'Émancipation, was considered a fellow-traveller. The unprecedented display of a parade of 400 friends and family escorting a civic funeral ceremony apparently caused quite a stir." Dutil, *Devil's Advocate*, 286.

⁵⁶Lévesque, "Journaliste au masculin: Éva Circé-Côté (1871-1949)," *Les Bâtisseuses de la Cité* (Montréal: association canadien-française pour l'avancement des sciences, 1992).

⁵⁷Lévesque, "Journaliste au masculin," 88.

by claiming to have suddenly inherited "les doigts crasseux d'un scribe public."⁵⁸ Circé-Côté located a new audience for her feminist ideas by assuming the persona of an individual who shared neither her sex nor her class.

The initial writings of this "enlightened male" on the subject of feminism for *Le Monde Ouvrier* described a woman's life modified by two strange bedfellows: "progress" and war.⁵⁹ With fewer men around as a result of the war, Circé-Côté (as Julien Saint-Michel) pointed out that women had taken on all sorts of new jobs -- such as tramway conductors. World War One had brought a sudden (if temporary) increase in the number of women workers and some occupational changes for women. Unmarried women occupied most of these new jobs which signalled that it had become "acceptable" for women to work before marriage.⁶⁰ With women engaged publicly and visibly in war work, Circé-Côté explained that *Le Monde Ouvrier* had accepted a new mandate: to be a newspaper that made a special effort to support working-class women.⁶¹

The majority of feminists in Montreal during this period continued to argue the notion of "given" differences between men and women, and superiority of the latter in the

⁵⁸Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.) "Noblesse Oblige. La part que la femme doit prendre dans le choix des représentants," *Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World* (1 avril 1916).

⁵⁹ With women engaged publically and visibly with war work, the Canadian Parliament debated and then promptly passed a suffrage bill that extended suffrage in federal elections to women (1918)

⁶⁰Clio Collective, *Quebec Women: A History* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987), 195.

⁶¹It seems important to point out at this juncture that Circé-Côté was a proponent of women's work - but not at the expense of the health of young children, as she argues in "Sauvons les enfants et leurs mamans. Les bébés sont privés de lait parce qu'il coûte trop cher. -- Le sort des femmes travaillant à l'usine et l'avenir de la race." Circé-Côté picks up a common theme in her writings about women and work. She argues, "Tant que les profiteurs n'ont tiré que sur nous, nous les avons supportés, mais les laisserons-nous exploiter l'enfance? On le voit, le lait manque." *Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World*. (20 octobre 1917).

realms of “care giving.” As Karine Hébert has emphasized:

Justifiée, entre autres, par ce qu’elles croyaient être le sens moral supérieur des femmes, leur intervention visait à protéger la moralité de la société canadienne-française et ainsi à compléter le rôle social des organisations religieuses et de l’État...une vision plutôt fonctionnaliste prévalait à propos des femmes dans le Québec de la première moitié du XXe siècle. La femme, telle que définie par la société canadienne-française et par la FNSJB, était socialement perçue comme le fondement moral de la famille, unité de base de la société. Mère, éducatrice, épouse, ménagère, patriote, régénératrice sociale et chrétienne, voilà les principales fonctions et même les missions, des Canadiennes françaises.⁶²

As explained in the previous section, Circé-Côté had helped articulate this maternal-feminism in her editorials at the turn of the century, and gained notoriety as a distinguished *femme de lettres* for doing so. While the feminist groups with which she had initially identified maintained their Christian orientation during the war years, Circé-Côté, in contrast, developed a marked animosity towards the church. This anti-clerical sentiment shaped her portrayal of “feminism” for *Le Monde Ouvrier*’s working-class readership. In 1930, in an article entitled “Les phénomènes psychiques,” she outlined what was left of her spirituality: “Nous sentons bien qu’il y a en nous outre la vie matérielle, une âme immatérielle, fonctionnant au sommet de l’être...Ne condamnons pas le spiritisme, mais n’ajoutons pas foi aveuglément à tout ce qui s’imprime sur ce sujet...Je crois à l’âme que nous nous sommes faite par l’étude, la réflexion, l’idéal philosophique, la pratique de la vertu.”⁶³

In her first contribution to the working-class newspaper, as Julien Saint-Michel,

⁶²Hébert, “Une organisation maternaliste,” 331.

⁶³Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Les phénomènes psychiques,” *Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World* (9 août 1930).

Circé-Côté was at pains to point out that “feminism” was not simply a women’s issue, and most certainly not one that might be resolved politically by pinning a “little purple rosette” on one’s blouse to suggest one’s sympathies. Rather, it was a movement that penetrated to the heart of the economic order.⁶⁴ Calling for state intervention, Circé-Côté argued that the Church was neither a sufficiently modern nor prepared to take care of all of Montreal’s poor. In particular, she argued, the state needed to intervene to ensure that the children of such destitute women did not become “missing links.” Circé-Côté pointed out that the Church was not equipped to deal with “all the orphans left on their church steps.” Every effort should be made to keep destitute mothers with their children.⁶⁵

However, her writings on the subject of “feminism” do not reveal any effort towards fleshing-out a working-class perspective on the issue. If illiterate men were allowed to vote like members of the bourgeoisie, Circé-Côté charged, it went without saying that women should also be granted the vote.⁶⁶ This would seem to have been a curious stance to take, given *Le Monde Ouvrier*’s working-class audience. However, as McLaren has pointed out in his study of eugenic thought during this period:

To those like John Stuart Mill who defended “voluntary motherhood” and woman’s right to advance as far as her individual capacities admitted, the eugenicists replied that sex differences were based on biological facts that could not be overridden by appeals to justice. Woman’s role was determined by her reproductive function.

⁶⁴ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Un Beau Jour Naît Pour les Femmes. La guerre ouvre un nouveau chemin que la jeune fille moderne doit frayer ” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World. (25 mars 1916)

⁶⁵ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Les Pensions Maternelles. Les veuves et les orphelins des victimes du travail ne devrait pas être séparées. Laissons les petits à leur ‘nid.’ ” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World. (29 avril 1916).

⁶⁶ Julien Saint-Michel. (pseud.), “Le Suffrage Feminin ” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World. (14 juillet 1917).

Biology, not politics, subjected her to man... 'We have first to settle what is the physical capacity of woman, what would be the effect of her emancipation on her race production, before we can talk about her 'rights,' which are, after all, only a vague description of what may be the fittest position for her, the sphere of her maximum usefulness in the developed society of the future.' Of course, no such demonstrations had been required before working men were given the vote in 1867 and 1884, but woman's emancipation, insisted the eugenicists, had to be judged on the grounds of its social and physiological utility.⁶⁷

Circé-Côté felt that women's "maximum usefulness" was being constrained by their inability to work and act in the public sphere. Perhaps we should assume that Circé-Côté felt that suffrage had "obvious" cross-class application? By 1916, "feminism" was not necessarily a "new" subject, and any Québécois newspaper reader would have been aware of it.⁶⁸ Circé-Côté could, in many cases, introduce feminist issues and debates with the expectation that her audience already knew the particulars.

Many of the women's pages in newspapers in Montreal during the First World War propagated the image of the "homey, introspective, emotional, light hearted (and light headed), devoted mother and wife."⁶⁹ As Susan Mann Trofimenkoff points out in her discussion of the anti-feminist climate in Quebec during this period, feminism was often

⁶⁷ McLaren, Our Own Master Race, 20-21.

⁶⁸ As Trofimenkoff points out, feminism was "in the air" internationally: "Of course, militant feminism received the most publicity for this was the heyday of British suffragettes' use of 'violence' and subjection to it, and Québécois press readers were not spared any of the grisly details. Indeed some of the leading British suffragettes had visited Montreal, making speeches and urging on the more hesitant colonials. 'Don't be submissive. Don't be docile. Don't be ladylike. Don't dread being conspicuous...' they shouted." Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, "Henri Bourassa and the 'Woman Question,'" in Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice eds., The Neglected Majority (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1977), 105

⁶⁹ Trofimenkoff describes the cultural context: "Fadette in *Le Devoir* warned women against the feminist dream of being the rival of men; Colette in *La Presse* sanctioned a division of womankind into femmes (the real women, devoted to their maternal mission, the ornament of their families), *suffragettes* (the moderate ones, mistaken but permitted to express their views) and *furies* (the violent suffragettes who had simply ceased being women). Even letters to the editor expressed the view that the political emancipation of women would bring about a total disruption of society." Trofimenkoff, "Henri Bourassa," 106.

portrayed as a foreign import, which would spell danger and disorder for French Canada. During this time period, Henri Bourassa,⁷⁰ the “anti-feminist” subject of Trofimenkoff’s study, was particularly vitriolic in his condemnation of all that “modern” society had the potential to do to French-Canadian women:

He...traced feminism to its Protestant roots, lumped it with socialism, and condemned it roundly as a danger to the French-Canadian family and thus to French-Canadian civilization. Just look at those countries where feminism is rampant: there, Bourassa contended, you will find female drunks, unmarried mothers, divorcées, and angel makers. Of course there are no such vile creatures in Quebec!...This “official ideology” had made Quebec a cultural haven in a materialist sea, an exemplar of superior virtues, religious, moral, educational, familial. And the guardian of it all was woman.⁷¹

The views held by Henri Bourassa on the subject of feminism also applied (even more vigorously) to the issue of women’s suffrage:

Like its forebearer feminism, the suffrage was another foreign import. It was the logical result of the Reformation and the Anglo-Saxon break with tradition, with true Christianity, with the family and with society. From then on, rampant individualism held sway; once one had accepted the notion of “every man for himself,” there was no reason for objecting to “every woman for herself.”...But of course none of this applied to French-Canadian women who had maintained the true traditions, the true

⁷⁰Henri Bourassa was the grand-son of Louis-Joseph Papineau. In 1910 he founded *Le Devoir* and remained its editor until 1932. Joseph Levitt Henri Bourassa and the Golden Calf: The Social Program of the Nationalists of Quebec (1900-1914) (Ottawa: Les Editions de l’Université d’Ottawa, 1969), 137-8, remarks: “The Nationalists have been widely regarded as having a wholly negative attitude towards industrialism. It is said that Bourassa was hostile to the establishment of industry and that the whole Nationalist movement ‘was designed to slow the pace of industrial change.’...The case of Bourassa was more complicated. It has been suggested that he began his diagnosis ‘not with the acceptance of an industrial order, but with an idealized agrarian society rapidly passing away’. Yet he appreciated the benefits to be derived from the coming of big industry. He thought that manufacturing industries did immense good for the life of the country and that electricity might be used to ease the life of the poor...In his mind, however, these material gains were more than counterbalanced by the bad moral consequences which stemmed from the intense development of materialism amongst his people in the urban centres: many women became vain and acquired a love of luxury; classes were concerned with their own interests and not those of society as a whole; and most serious of all, there was an increasing lack of integrity in public life ”

⁷¹Trofimenkoff, “Henri Bourassa,” 105.

faith, the true sense of the family...hence their proper sphere of influence.⁷²

Bourassa's views on the subject of suffrage had wide support. As Trofimenkoff suggests, there was so much interest expressed in his ideas that *Le Devoir* put them together in the form of a pamphlet which sold extremely well. Circé-Côté met Bourassa's anti-feminist tactics with a war cry of her own. Ladies, she directed -- polish your weapons:

Vous vous demandez ce que le jupon lui a bien fait, pour qu'il dresse le pantalon contre lui et qu'il les mette ainsi en présence l'un de l'autre, pour se déchirer mutuellement, joute aussi ridicule que celle de Punch et Judée simulée par des marionnettes et qui nous faisait tant rire quand nous étions petits.

M. Bourassa, Circé-Côté explained, had invoked the priests, the bible, and theology to prove that the "skirts" cannot be accorded more civil rights without it having an negative inverse effect on men. To which Circé-Côté responded:

Si le jupon est pour nous un éteignoir, une sorte de robe de Nessus qui a adhéré à notre peau et entravé notre évolution, permettez alors que nous endossions le pantalon, afin que par sa vertu magique nous devenions semblables à vous!

The feminist movement, stated Circé-Côté, must carry on despite all of this "anti-feminist foolishness."⁷³

In Quebec, during this time period, suffragists and feminists were thought of as one and the same.⁷⁴ As Karine Hébert points out, "...tout le débat entourant l'accèsion des femmes aux franchises électorales, en raison de son caractère public, ayant souvent été décrit comme l'élément représentatif de l'ensemble du mouvement féministe: qui était

⁷²Trofimenkoff, "Henri Bourassa," 108.

⁷³Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.) "Questions sociales et féministes," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World. (24 janvier, 1920).

⁷⁴In 1913 the Local Council of Women in Montreal organized a two-week Montreal Suffrage Exhibition, and that same year the Montreal Suffrage Association was formed.

suffragiste était féministe."⁷⁵ Circé-Côté's views on the subject of suffrage during this period are doubly fascinating if one keeps in mind that they were geared towards a working-class readership. Most markedly, her anti-clerical alignment distinguished the feminism she was describing to the working-class from that propelled by the *dames patronnesses* of the Saint-Jean Baptiste-Society and the FNSJB.

However, consistent with the feminist praxis she developed as a *femme de lettres* in the previous decade, in almost all of Circé-Côté's articles on the subject of female suffrage, she charged those who did not support the feminist cause with being atavistic -- "stuck in the mouldy middle ages."⁷⁶ She expanded this rather general accusation, during her work for *Le Monde Ouvrier*, to include other dramatic comparisons. Interestingly, in her arguments (especially those on the subject of suffrage) she often compared the state of the suffrage campaign in Quebec to the progress of the feminist movement in the United States and in English Canada.⁷⁷ Openly comparing Quebec's status on the issue of suffrage to the rest of North America, Circé-Côté was standing boldly against the nationalist conservatives who were arguing that French-Canada's "unprogressive" and "anti-modern" stance towards

⁷⁵Hébert, "Une organisation maternaliste," 332.

⁷⁶Feminist strategy, Circé-Côté argued, "s'agit de réduire à néant tous les arguments moyenageurs..." The vote, she pointed out, if it is indeed a "right", should be a "right" for everyone -- regardless of their class. "Le Vote des Femmes. Les femmes doivent-elles se prévaloir du droit qui leur a été donné? — Le devoir de la nouvelle citoyenne." *Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World*, (8 décembre 1917).

⁷⁷In an editorial on the subject of women's stagnant wages, Circé-Côté tells her readers to make alliances with their "sisters over the border" and to send delegates to international congresses studying social questions. "Il y aurait un moyen pour les demoiselles de magasin d'améliorer leur sort, comme les femmes des Etats-Unis, elles devraient chercher dans l'association la solution de ce problème qui intéresse leur sexe... qu'elles étudient les questions sociales et se mettent en relations avec ceux qui peuvent les renseigner sur les devoirs des patrons et jusqu'à quel point il leur est permis d'abuser de leurs employés..." Julien Saint-Michel, (pseud.) "Ayez pitié d'elles! La situation des employées de magasins n'est guère enviable. — Patrons et clients s'appliquent à leur rendre la vie misérable," *Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World* (1 septembre 1917).

suffrage made it all the more virtuous.

It would seem that Circé-Côté had become unwilling to view anglophone North America as a cultural menace (as described by the clerico-nationalists) but rather as a region that had a great deal to “teach” Quebec. This is an interesting change of tactics for someone who was simultaneously emphasizing the specificity of the French-Canadian “race”. She used unflattering comparisons between Quebec and English-speaking North America as a confrontational tactic. She drew on notions of *evolutionism* (i.e. the argument that Quebec was falling behind) to demonstrate her point. This juxtaposition signals a certain level of bitterness in her arguments for feminist reform. She swings back and forth -- asserting on one hand that the French-Canadian race had the “potential for change,” and, on the other hand, suggesting that its evolution at this juncture might be hopeless.

In a piece Circé-Côté entitled “*L’émancipation de la femme*,” she broadened her early efforts to establish a “history” of feminism.⁷⁸ Feminism, she detailed, was like a secretly germinated fruit ripened quite suddenly by rays of sunlight; it had for a long time been simply an “underground movement” of opinions. However, Circé-Côté pointed out that feminism, having now “arrived,” had brought about great changes in the overall dignity, liberty and rights of women.⁷⁹

Her feminism had developed an angry anti-clerical component: she charged her

⁷⁸Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.) “L’émancipation de la femme. Pourquoi refuse-t-on le droit de vote aux Canadiens de la Province de Québec? Serons-nous toujours en arrière des provinces soeurs? On n’est jamais si bien servi que par soi-même,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (10 mars 1917).

⁷⁹It is interesting to note that as early as feminism “was born” in Montreal, feminists like Circé-Côté were intent on writing up its “undeniably progressive” history. The need to understand and support the movement in both present-day and historical terms seems to have been part and parcel of early feminist consciousness.

opponents (especially the Catholic church, as evidenced by the doctrine of anti-feminism found in the epistles of Saint Paul) with treating women like slaves.⁸⁰ Keeping in mind that at this point an emphasis on male/female complementarity was axiomatic to Montreal's feminist movement, this was a rather startling theoretical reorientation. In contrast to the stance taken by many maternal-feminists, Circé-Côté had become convinced that the Church opposed any true complementarity of gender roles. She argued, in fact, that in Québec, Catholicism rested at the heart of the problems facing women. Seemingly in tandem with her thoughts on suffrage, feminism, and the education of young girls were Circé-Côté's ideas on the social responsibility of women. Aside from those women who suffer daily from a double workload – "lourd fardeau - double tâche" -- Circé-Côté calls upon all women with free hands to begin campaigns of moralization and assistance to take over from the religious communities. Clerics, she argued, were ill-equipped to deal with the social problems associated with women and children. Circé-Côté called upon philanthropists and professionals to form a reform movement which would provide public education, workplace inspection, protection of children, and of young girls. Circé-Côté asked them to look into issues such as unhealthy homes, decoration of public spaces, creation of museums and others.

Following the example of their sisters in the United States, Canadian women should form associations to prevent child mortality, to survey the manner in which children are being treated, to determine whether they are being given adequate nourishment, and to

⁸⁰Circé-Côté uses this "slave throwing off chains" imagery quite often to shock her readers. See "Le Vote des Femmes" Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World, (8 décembre 1917) and "Le Rôle de la femme en politique" Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World, (11 mai 1918), for examples.

ensure that they are not being abused. Commissions should be formed to monitor schools, asylums, hospitals, refuges for street children, and nurseries. Women should form crusades against drunkenness! Religious associations, Circé-Côté argued, have been outmoded in their capacity to care for the weak:

Les religieuses, malgré leur dévouement, ne suffisent pas et ne suffiront pas à la tâche de demain, leur action est trop circonscrite, trop fermée. Le mal est au milieu du monde, dans la rue, dans les ruelles infectes, au fond des bouges...Je crois que nous aurons fait un grand pas vers le progrès quand nous aurons organisé l'assistance de la femme et de l'enfant par la femme.⁸¹

It is necessary to measure our morals to the march of time, Circé-Côté claimed; it is up to women to mitigate the inhumanity of the state. In front of the spectacle of our social decomposition, Circé-Côté cried, women should embrace their regenerative mission! It is up to women to save the situation!

Asking her readers to consider the origin of women's "slave" status -- as a child to her father, then as a student in the convent schools, culminating in her absolute subordination to her husband -- Circé-Côté pointed an accusing finger at the "hypnotic powers" of the church. She described this hypnosis in imaginative detail:

L'autel a revêtu sa plus belle parure, les mélodies de l'orgue comme une pluie chaude d'été, s'épandent en son âme, la pénètrent, l'amollissent et font éclore en cette terre neuve, toute une germination de pensées tendres. A la chaleur du sanctuaire braséant comme un coeur, au milieu des nuages de l'encens, les cierges fondent et ploient ainsi que les ressorts de la volonté. Parée comme une vierge chrétienne qu'on destinait à la roue ou aux lions, couronnée de fleurs, elle vole au martyre hypnotisée, à demi consciente, comme une somnambule marche en rêve.⁸²

⁸¹Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Action sociale de la femme." Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (2 septembre 1916).

⁸²Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Incapacité intellectuelle et civile de la femme." Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (15 avril, 1916).

Circé-Côté argued that marriages, as sanctified by the church, forced women to assume the role of the cloistered martyr. If one would not go so far as to insist on a radical abolition of marriage altogether, she argued, then at least, if a husband is abusive and uses his “droits au préjudice,” he should lose his “right” to rule the family.

And yet, despite her revolutionary stance on marriage, it is clear that Circé-Côté believed that women’s work in the public sphere should in no way compromise the “future of the race.” The war, she argued, should not be used as an excuse to allow the degeneration of children:

Ce sera un des plus grand maux de cette guerre que les privations imposées aux enfants et dont les conséquences seront l’affaiblissement de la jeune génération, et un retard dans notre évolution...nous réclamons l’intervention de l’Etat en faveur de la femme et de l’enfant que les rigueurs de l’hiver présent vouent à un destin si triste. Obligée de faire un travail d’homme avec un organisme si fragile, si délicat, il faut l’entourer d’un surcoût de protection.⁸³

Circé-Côté did not approve of women working, simply to make money for “toilettes, bijoux, and parures.” Circé-Côté – whose arguments coincided with those of many male trade unionists – worried that women’s work in the munitions factories was unsanitary, that the woman were being worked too hard, and that they should not be forced to work at night:

C’est ainsi que notre civilisation a fait de la plus douce, de la meilleure moitié de l’humanité un être de douleurs, de macérations, de privations et d’oppression, dont le calvaire se fait plus rocailleux à mesure que le monde vieillit. Sa vie comme notre fleuve devient de plus en plus aride et désolée à mesure qu’elle s’approche de l’océan anonyme où va s’engloutir sa personnalité.⁸⁴

⁸³ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Sauvons les enfants et leurs mamans!” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World. (20 octobre 1917).

⁸⁴ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Les Dangers du travail de nuit pour les femmes.” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World. (3 août 1918).

Government intervention was needed, Circé-Côté argued, to ensure that the women who do occupy jobs are “women of substance.” In fact, she believed that in some cases, women *should* be sent back into the home -- because work should be reserved for those who genuinely needed the work.⁸⁵ Chacun à sa place.

In 1918 the federal government sponsored a bill to extend the suffrage to women. This put women in Quebec in the paradoxical situation of being able to vote in federal elections but not in provincial ones -- a situation they would endure until 1940. It was not just that the “sister provinces” were more prepared than Quebec to receive such liberties. Circé-Côté exclaimed; their overall levels of education and “la tendance de leur esprit” had reached a higher plane. Ultimately, she conceded, in Quebec an *entire mentality* needed to be overhauled -- women’s included. Circé-Côté charged:

Chez les Canadiennes-françaises, le féminisme git dans leur esprit dans un état latent, obscur, flou, comme une sorte de bouée flottante où l’on distingue à peine la forme de l’idéal. Elles en ont une sorte de frayeur, c’est pour elles le fruit défendu, elles voudraient bien y mordre, mais elles n’osent y toucher.

In the United States, Circé-Côté pointed out, women had forced the issue of mandatory secular schooling and built both libraries and museums -- important institutions for populations trying to *evolve* intellectually and socially. If women in Quebec failed to become authors of their own destiny and reclaim their right to vote, they would forever trail after the other provinces. She goads her male readers: “Mais ne les mettons pas sur un plan d’infériorité vis-à-vis de leurs soeurs du Dominion, exigeons la reconnaissance de nos

⁸⁵ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Chacun à sa Place,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World, (21 juin 1919).

droits."⁸⁶

Education in Quebec, Circé-Côté often argued, needed to be more modern and more practical if the French-Canadian race was ever to be "armed" to compete with anglophone North America from a position of "strength." Another site for comparison which reappears as a leitmotif in her efforts to define feminism for her working-class readership is her assertion that the achievement of "women's rights" was a progressive and modern phenomenon. She illustrated this point by counterpoising women's status in Quebec with the "primitive" treatment of women by men of the "Orient." The issue of working-class and female education was a particularly important one for Circé-Côté, as it hit at the core of her efforts to encourage French Canada's capacity for "self-improvement."⁸⁷ There was no other way, she often argued, to ensure the intellectual, moral, and material advancement of the French-Canadian masses. In an effort to explain the detrimental impact that years of prejudicial treatment of girl children might have on a "race," she contrasted the status of French-Canadian female education with what she imagined to be the anti-feminist traditions of the Chinese:

Jamais peuple n'a traduit si énergiquement son sentiment anti-féministe que les Chinois, s'il faut en croire la légende de la saint Enfance qui veut que tant de petites demoiselles Chrysanthèmes et Fleur-de-Lotus aient été noyées si-tôt après leur naissance, comme des chatons, par leurs parents inhumains, qui ne voyaient en elles

⁸⁶ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.). "L'émancipation de la femme: Pourquoi refuse-t-on le droit de vote aux Canadiennes de la Province de Québec? Serons-nous toujours en arrière des provinces soeurs? — On n'est jamais si bien servi que par soi-même," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (10 mars 1917). Some women in Quebec, she exclaims, are worried that voting will "masculinize" them. In fact, Circé-Côté argues, should women gain the right to vote, it is the electorate that will become more gentle. The tobacco and whisky associated with election nights might even be replaced with flowers and tickets to the theatre!

⁸⁷ Education stood as a central theme for the Freemasons with whom she was associated. It is noteworthy that Le Monde Ouvrier's editor Gustav Francq was also a Freemason.

que des bouches inutiles à nourrir, des objets de luxe que les riches seuls pouvaient se payer!⁸⁸

She went on to explain that while people in countries like Canada may not go to the barbaric extremes of “les célestes,” they continued to receive news of the birth of a daughter with disappointment. Now that many Canadian men were being taken away to fight in the war, she pointed out, women were deservedly being sought out and cherished for their potential and actual accomplishments.

Her comments on the Chinese merit further contextualization. Laurier’s Liberal government had launched an aggressive immigration campaign. Many, about 800,000 immigrants, of those who arrived in the first decade of the twentieth century, had come from the non-Anglo-Saxon world.⁸⁹ The Chinese were deemed unable to evolve as a race or to assimilate (rapidly enough) the North American values of liberal capitalism. Asians and blacks occupied the bottom of the race ladder in Canada. By using the Chinese “race” as a point of contrast, it would seem that Circé-Côté was attempting to force feminist change in Montreal – by threatening that the French-Canadian race in Montreal would lose the little primacy it had over lower-ranked races if women did not get the vote. She was suggesting

⁸⁸ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Autres Temps, Autres Mœurs: Le nouveau rôle de la femme — Les maris despotes et la communauté de biens,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World, (28 octobre 1916).

⁸⁹ As Angus McLaren notes, “British and Americans were viewed as the most desirable, next northern and western Europeans, after central and eastern Europeans (including the Jews), and last of all the Asians and blacks. Thus one found in an eminently respectable history such as Sir G. Arthur Doughty and Adam Shortt’s *Canada and its Provinces* (1914–1917) the Galicians presented as mentally slow; the Italians as devoid of shame; the Turks, Armenians, and Syrians as undesirable; the Greeks, Macedonians, and Bulgarians as liars; the Chinese as addicted to opium and gambling; and the arrival of Jews and Negroes as ‘entirely unsolicited.’ James S Woodsworth, the Social Gospeller and future founder of the CCF, followed a similar line of categorization (based on his reading of eugenics) when describing his mission work among the immigrants of pre-World War One Winnipeg. He contrasted the Scandinavians and Icelanders (‘clean-bodied’ and ‘serious-minded race’) to the Slavs and Galicians (‘addicted to drunken sprees’ and ‘animalized’).” McLaren, Our Own Master Race, 47.

that without rapid evolution in gender relations, French Canada could easily devolve into a state of “celestial” primitiveness.

Circé-Côté defined French-Canadian “whiteness” as an ability to evolve and this, by necessity, excluded Montrealers of Chinese decent. Circé-Côté’s efforts to compare the French-Canadian race to the Chinese race was a tactic she often took to embarrass French-Canadian gender conservatives into action. There is ample evidence of the use of this strategy among anglophone first-wave feminists. Mariana Valverde describes:

With respect to Asians, the terms “Chinese” and “Oriental,” which were used interchangeably, did not refer so much to geography or physical appearance as to the mythical image of the “Oriental” derived from European and American views of China. Central to this myth was the view that the Orientals were not savages (since Marco Polo, Europeans had had a certain awe of China) but were, on the contrary, so civilized that they had degenerated...the Canadian Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese immigration of 1902 took it for granted that immigrants from [China and Japan] could not possibly ever be granted citizenship status because of the vices inherent in “an ancient and effete civilization.”⁹⁰

By contrast, for Circé-Côté, the French-Canadian mentality had the potential to evolve, but only with the help of feminism. The Chinese mentality, as “everyone” was aware, would forever be restrained by its traditions. Madge Pon has asserted:

...the language, imagery, and metaphors used to create, and express, anti-Chinese racism were loaded with cultural values that hinged upon intersecting notions of race, class, and gender. The Myth of the Yellow Peril was distinctly tailored to fit the western construction of Oriental Chinamen...white Canadians’ racism was fuelled by a belief that (within) the Chinaman lurked an evil so deep and so incomprehensible that assimilation was impossible.⁹¹

⁹⁰Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*, 111.

⁹¹ Pon elaborates: “In the Canadian historical literature on anti-Chinese racism, the emasculation and feminization of Chinese men, as a form of racial and gender oppression, have either been ignored or glossed over. Most scholars have focused upon the racist stereotypes of Chinese men as sojourners, cheap labourers, opium fiends, and bachelor immigrants. By looking at Chinese men as gendered, as well as racialized and class-defined subjects, we can better understand the complexity of racist myths and

By comparing the French-Canadian race to the Chinese race, Circé-Côté was showing her commitment to racialism⁹² – which needs to be analytically distinguished from Pon's assertion that racism was a simply "cultural value" of white Canadians. (Of course, Circé-Côté, was also being 'racist' in the sense of seeing the Chinese as inferior, but this was part and parcel of her ideology of evolutionism.) Circé-Côté was mounting her feminist resistance, playing upon fears of French Canada's faltering "evolution" on a world stage.

VIRGIN-EATING MINOTAURS – Feminism's self-authored soul for the 1920s

Nothing is more odd than a woman, posing as a man, telling her audiences that "women" need to be the authors of their own emancipation. And yet, at the end of the war, with many women in Montreal facing unemployment as a result of reduced war production and the return of male workers, Circé-Côté was doing just that. In an editorial titled "Emancipation de la Femme," published in January 1920, Circé-Côté first went to great lengths to explain why, for years, women had seemingly "accepted" their state of "enslavement:"

On lui a pourtant assez prêché son abjection, son infériorité, qu'elle avait failli y croire...Elle n'a pas protesté. L'habitude de porter le joug l'ayant rendue apparemment soumise. Mais elle s'est dit: "Si je n'ai pas d'âme, si l'on a oublié de m'insuffler en même temps que la vie cette petite chose impalpable, immatérielle,

discourses" "Like a Chinese Puzzle: The Construction of Chinese Masculinity in Jack Canuck," in Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld, eds., Gender and History in Canada (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd, 1996), 89

⁹²Dueck points out that racialism, that is, the widely-held belief that races were real, must be distinguished from "racism" during this period. He argues "The extent of the era's obsession with race and purity requires of the historian both a wide-angle lens and an ability to zoom on the real differences between racists and racialists." Dueck, "The Salamander and the Chameleon," 203.

aérienne, subtile, qui distingue en somme si peu l'homme de la brute, je vais m'en fabriquer une."⁹³

Because of this enslavement, Circé-Côté explained, women had been forced to create their own souls. And they were more perfect than any ones that they might have acquired from God. In its anti-essentialism, this may seem an arrestingly sophisticated insight.

In the 1920s, antifeminist attacks in Montreal lost none of their virulence. Antifeminists – arguing that feminists and suffragettes wanted to destroy the “woman-mother” and the “feminine” woman -- continued to oppose the vote for women.⁹⁴ In her book on the reconstruction of gender in interwar Britain, Susan Kingsley Kent argues that just as nineteenth-century physicians and scientists had created sexual discourses that upheld individuals’ political identities on the basis of their sexuality, twentieth-century psychiatrists, social reformers, and others built up a vast literature about male and female sexuality that served to restore “order” in the face of the Great War’s upheavals:

...after the horrific events of the Great War, the specter of conflict between men and women could hardly be tolerated; postwar society sought above all to reestablish a sense of peace and security in an unfamiliar and insecure world. The most fundamental step in that direction appears to have been an insistence upon gender peace: a relationship of male-female complementarity in which women did not compete with men in the public sphere...⁹⁵

⁹³Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “L’Emancipation de la femme,” Le Monde Ouvrier/ Labor World (10 janvier 1920).

⁹⁴As the Clio Collective points out, some women organized a counter campaign against women’s suffrage. Many women opposed suffrage because they believed that if women voted they would lose the power associated with their noble mission as “mothers of the race” and “guardians of the language and the faith.” Clio Collective, Quebec Women, 264.

⁹⁵Susan Kingsley Kent explains: “A gender system of separate spheres for men and women based upon scientific theories of sexual difference, a new emphasis upon motherhood...was to be carried out and a return to normalcy effected. Most feminists, no less interested in the establishment of peace and order, adopted these discourses as they articulated their demands.” Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 140.

Despite this general reactionary trend in the early twenties, Circé-Côté presented a “hopeful” feminism to her working-class readers. Feminism, she explained in a manner that was boldly anti-clerical, was “self-authorized.” And yet curiously, consistent with her early maternalist-feminist orientation, Circé-Côté was quick to maintain that the soul that these feminists had “authored” for themselves contained maternal love, marital tenderness, devotion, and the “endurance of a martyr.” With the help of psychologists, she joked, the feminist’s “self-authored soul,” in its delicacy, finesse, prescience, intuition, and divination, was thereby *superior* to that of a Catholic. Such a woman’s essence was superior, she emphasized, because she had drawn it from within her own mind and heart:

...laissons dormir bible et mythes dans leur poussière séculaire: on en a depuis longtemps extrait tout ce qu’ils contenaient de substantiel. On ne gagnerait rien à pressurer cette pulpe desséchée. Pourquoi citer le mysogyne Salomon, à qui la sagesse fut échue, probablement parce qu’il posséda sept cent femmes et trois cents concubines, ou les Pères de l’Eglise, qui se demandèrent longtemps si la femme avait une âme, parce qu’on ne serait guère fixé sur la question du féminisme en les invoquant.⁹⁶

Eventually, explained Circé-Côté, it was the woman who was suddenly prepared to burst forth – to animate her own “nothingness” with no help from man. Refusing to privilege the philosophy of the Catholic religion, Circé-Côté asserted an individual’s “self-authorized” identity -- even against the mandate of a collective spirituality. With Promethean energy, enthused Circé-Côté, women have named their own emancipation:

Aujourd’hui, les émancipateurs de la femme ressemblent à Chanteclerc qui chante après le lever du soleil. C’est l’astre lui-même qui a dissipé les ténèbres où les sombres mains de la nuit l’avaient roulé comme dans un linceul. Le proverbe a raison: on n’est jamais si bien servi que par soi-même. Il faut être soi-même l’artisan

⁹⁶Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Le véritable aspect du problème féministe.” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World. (4 avril 1925).

de son évolution.⁹⁷

Circé-Côté pointed out that if women sat around and waited for men who like Christ, would be heaven-sent to pull their underutilised intelligence out of limbo, they would wait in obscurity for a very long time. But, Circé-Côté asserted, women had made a hole in their "cocoon;" and although many women in Quebec were not yet emancipated, a precedent had been established for far-reaching change.

In 1922, a group of feminists from Montreal made a well-publicized pilgrimage to Quebec City to meet with Premier Taschereau, and to press for the right to vote. Taschereau announced that he opposed women's suffrage on the basis that women needed to be "freed" from political duties in order to carry out their proper mission in life. He declared: "It is precisely because men want women to carry out their mission in life that they want to keep them out of politics; women have a ministry of love and charity to fulfill and this role is totally inappropriate for men."⁹⁸ Because of the enormous resistance generated by this meeting in Quebec, the campaign for suffrage temporarily died down. The political struggle of Montreal's feminists seemed to have all but disappeared until 1927, when the *Alliance canadienne pour le vote des femmes du Québec* was founded.

By 1927, Circé-Côté made no effort to contain her sense of exasperation with the pace of change. She asked her readers: When will women get the vote in Quebec? This needless waiting, she cried, placed women in Quebec in a humiliating posture vis-à-vis

⁹⁷Julien Saint-Michel (pseud), "L'émancipation de la femme," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (10 January 1920).

⁹⁸Translated in the Clio Collective, Quebec Women, 263.

their “more favoured” sisters in the other provinces:

Les femmes sortent-elles de leur torpeur? Ont-elles fini par comprendre qu'elles ne peuvent se désintéresser plus longtemps de leurs droits sociaux sans abdiquer leur dignité, voire même leur orgueil, en se tenant sur un pied d'infériorité dans la Confédération canadienne qui les appelle toutes à participer aux affaires du pays et dont elles ne veulent pas entendre la voix libératrice?⁹⁹

Women in Quebec might not know this, Circé-Côté stated, but women's suffrage had existed long before the letter of the law in Canada. Our mothers, she pointed out, had been comfortably practising this most controversial act until 1835! Quebec had in fact taken *the initiative* in this enlightened measure.¹⁰⁰

Mais nos ancêtres possédaient cette belle simplicité d'esprit qui est une lumière. Les castors n'avaient pas encore troublé cette eau limpide qui reflétait le ciel. Comme l'aigle va droit au ciel, leur raison d'un coup d'aile hardi s'élevait aux sommets de la pensée. Parce qu'ils avaient le cœur pur, ils voyaient Dieu, c'est-à-dire la vérité.¹⁰¹

French Canadians had “inherited” a natural advantage in view of the modern changes taking place in male/female relations, but the Catholic Church was standing in the way of French Canada's *natural* evolution.

⁹⁹ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Le suffrage féminin,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (6 avril 1929).

¹⁰⁰ Andrée Lévesque also often points this out in her writings on the history of suffrage in Quebec. She elaborates: “Pourtant, un siècle et demi plus tôt, certaines femmes avaient déjà voté. Ainsi, de 1792 à 1849, des femmes, surtout des veuves, mais aussi des célibataires ou des épouses mariées en séparation de biens, ont voté au Québec. Ces femmes, propriétaires ou locataires urbaines ont été exclues entre 1834 et 1836, puis ont très peu voté entre 1836 et 1849. Les années 1830 marquent un tournant dans la définition du cens électoral, qui ne sera plus désormais uniquement fondé sur la propriété mais aussi sur le sexe. Ainsi, lors de l'incorporation de la cité de Montréal en 1831, le sexe féminin fut spécifiquement exclu du suffrage. Cette perte de droits civils témoigne d'un changement social dans la perception de la femme: son exclusion paraît liée non pas tant à des considérations politiques qu'à des changements accompagnés d'un durcissement dans l'attribution des rôles sexuels.” Résistance et Transgression: Études en histoire des femmes au Québec (Montréal: Les éditions du remue-ménage, 1995), 20.

¹⁰¹ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Le Suffrage féminin,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (6 avril 1929).

And so, Circé-Côté lamented, women in Quebec suffered humiliations but did not protest. She despaired: "Tant mieux! il faut que quelqu'un donne une impulsion à la grande roue du progrès. Comme d'habitude, nous suivrons."¹⁰² It was regrettable. Circé-Côté argued, that it seemed to be something essentially "French-Canadian" never to be "in the lead" as far as the great progressive movements were concerned. This had not always been the case. Circé-Côté elaborated:

Il y a cent ans, nous avons le courage d'imposer nos idées à nos maîtres. Nos pères innovaient dans notre pays une forme de gouvernement qui allait à l'encontre des vues du vainqueur. La révolution canadienne-française du Québec a mis le Canada en branle. Le Haut-Canada s'est mis à la remorque du Bas-Canada. Ce n'est pas M. Mackenzie qui inspirait la politique de Papineau.¹⁰³

And now, Circé-Côté cried, here we are in Quebec "parlementing" on a question that is already an accomplished fact in the other provinces! Here we see how Circé-Côté linked her personal ties with nineteenth-century radicalism to developing a feminist component to her *new rouge* ideology. Devoted to the idea that French Canada would evolve to reach parity with the anglophone majority in the industrial world, she modernized the loose doctrines and revolutionary ideals of 1789 in France and 1837/38 in Quebec to create space for her feminist project.¹⁰⁴

Nous avons le plus grand respect pour les monuments du passé...ceux surtout qui sont en pierre. Les lois françaises, dans la patrie de Hugo et d'Anatole France, évoluent constamment, les nôtres restent cristallisées dans le respect que nous avons pour la mère-patrie. Ce sentiment nous honore, mais c'est le jugement et non le

¹⁰²Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Le Sénat fermé aux femmes," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World, (25 août 1928).

¹⁰³Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "À propos du vote des femmes," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World, (3 mars 1928)

¹⁰⁴Dutil, Devil's Advocate, 334.

sentiment qui doit prévaloir dans l'exercice de la justice. Une loi rigide qui ne se plie pas aux exigences de l'heure est appelée à disparaître. Il lui faut tous les cent ans au moins faire peau neuve pour s'adapter aux nouveaux besoins de la société. Or donc, si nous voulons conserver nos lois françaises, il faut les assouplir, leur ôter leur caractère moyenageux et tyrannique.¹⁰⁵

When, Circé-Côté asked, will we stop resorting to word games or invoking old treaties and defunct texts to justify tyranny?¹⁰⁶ In her impatience to see change, Circé-Côté sometimes placed on an ideological back burner her confidence in French Canadians' "progressive psychological essence" and the hopeful signs of French Canada's early progressive traditions she had unearthed. Was Circé-Côté losing hope that the French-Canadian race had the potential to *evolve*?

In her editorial "Qui donnera le vote aux femmes," she argued that women at this juncture were called upon to ally themselves with *whomever* would work towards the cause of suffrage:

La fin justifie les moyens. Si Paris vaut bien une messe, le suffrage féminin vaut bien un "God save the King." Disons avec Musset 'Qu'importe le flacon, pourvu qu'il me donne l'ivresse.' S'il y en a qui ne tiennent qu'au flacon, s'ils le veulent en verre coupé, bouché à l'émeri avec des facettes comme un diamant, d'autres au contraire

¹⁰⁵ Circé-Côté continues: "Si l'on s'en était jadis tenu au texte de la Reine Vierge, la religion catholique aurait été bannie des colonies anglaises et particulièrement du Canada. Le traité de Paris stipulait bien que l'exercice de la religion catholique serait autorisé dans la Nouvelle-France — mais avec cette restriction en tant que permis par les statuts d'Elizabeth. Si les hommes d'État anglais avaient suivi rigoureusement les articles de leur loi, ils auraient contraint les habitants de ce pays à s'exiler ou à embrasser l'Anglicanisme, ils ont bien su faire plier la lettre au profit de l'esprit libéral qui les animait et de l'intérêt de leur politique pour pas heurter le sentiment public et s'aliéner le cœur et l'âme d'un peuple qu'ils tenaient à conserver. Pourquoi s'autoriser d'un passé moyenageux afin de barrer l'avenir aux femmes?" Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.) "Autre temps, autres mœurs," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World, (30 novembre, 1929)

¹⁰⁶ During the 1920s, the Canadian government decided that although certain women could vote and run for a seat in the House of Commons they would be denied entrance to the Senate. Circé-Côté was outraged by this decision. The constitution, she points out, states that "all people" who are "qualified" should be eligible. To deny women a seat in the Senate, she argued, was tantamount to excluding women from the category "person." Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Le Suffrage féminin," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World, (5 novembre 1927).

ne voient que la liqueur couleur de sang au bouquet subtile qui monte au cerveau. fait battre le coeur et active la poussée des mouvements généreux.¹⁰⁷

The principle of suffrage, Circé-Côté argued, is far more important than any form of political partisanship or racial identification.¹⁰⁸ And yet simultaneously, when questions of morality, education, and hygiene are brought into play, Circé-Côté contended that women should be ready to act because the future of the “French-Canadian race” depended on it. To make her argument more emphatic, Circé-Côté used the analogy of uniting positive and negative currents – explaining that unless these two “contrary” elements are reunited, the French-Canadian governmental “machine” will continue to malfunction:

Parce que l’un des courants essentiels à la production du fluide magnétique a manqué l’étincelle électrique d’où nous viendra la lumière – les anti-féministes disent l’éclair et le tonnerre - n’a pas jailli.¹⁰⁹

French-Canadian men cannot *evolve*, she charged, unless women are able to vote. Science, she reminded her readers, has proven that there is no difference between the intelligence of the man and the woman. The success of suffrage in Quebec, Circé-Côté asserted, is inevitable -- and women in Quebec cannot be deprived of the vote without ensuring the

¹⁰⁷ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Qui donnera le vote aux femmes,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (22 octobre 1927).

¹⁰⁸ Time and time again it has been proven that women can vote without prejudice -- women have dedicated themselves to understanding social problems -- and have provided indispensable contributions. In elections where women have been granted the vote, Circé-Côté argues, the candidates have been forced to “clean up their acts.” And, she asserts, there is no reason why this should be any different in Quebec. Women have a special objective when it comes to voting in elections: their children. Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Le droit de vote aux femmes,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (5 février 1927). In an editorial entitled “Les droits des mères,” she argues that although the Americans have taken the initiative in terms of a “pacifist movement” it is logical that women should want to put an end to war. War, she points out, makes giving birth useless! Universal peace, therefore, is at the heart of every woman’s agenda. Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (14 février 1925).

¹⁰⁹ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Le droit de vote aux femmes,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (5 février 1927).

humiliation of their entire race.

Circé-Côté went so far as to accuse women in Quebec of being passive and indifferent. Yet, if women had not revolted in the name of their liberation, it was because they had been abused and broken for so long. If this was the case, she contended (à la Rousseau) women in Quebec would need to have their liberty imposed upon them:

Quand même les femmes ne voudraient pas le droit de vote, raison de plus pour le leur imposer, car il est urgent de les sortir de leur coquille où elles vivent une vie purement végétative...Si les femmes ne comprennent pas aujourd'hui le don de Dieu, il viendra un temps où leurs yeux s'ouvriront à la lumière.¹¹⁰

It is the responsibility of those "who are enlightened," she stated, to come to the rescue of their inferior sisters, to raise them out of the prejudice and ignorance that had kept them at the "bottom of the ladder." With so many women in the workforce, the clergy pointed out, women were neglecting their "mission providentielle, la maternité."¹¹¹ While Circé-Côté agreed that motherhood was the most important part of a working woman's "responsibilities," her rationale differed from that of the Church. Her insistence upon the importance of motherhood derived not from traditional Christians ideals, but from her concern for the cultural evolution of the French-Canadian race.

Circé-Côté's earliest writing on the subject of feminism emphasized women's superiority in the field of "care-giving" and "nurturing." During the nineteen-twenties much of her energy went towards reminding working women of their responsibilities towards their children. Circé-Côté warned women that they still "needed" to get married, which was –

¹¹⁰Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Qui donnera le vote aux femmes." Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (22 octobre 1927).

¹¹¹Marchand, Rouges à lèvres et pantalon, 83.

notwithstanding all the imperfections of the state of marriage – a girl's "duty." Women should, Circé-Côté asserted, enter into marriage willingly, rather than wait for the day when the state had to intervene and force them to re-enter "the family" in order to save humanity.¹¹² However, a woman can no longer be expected to be an unthinking partner in such a marriage:

Elle n'est pas la satellite qui gravite autour de lui [her husband], sans rayon qui lui soit propre, mais l'amie de toutes les heures, en qui il trouve la récompense de ses efforts, le repos dû à son travail. C'est ainsi que le malentendu entre les sexes est appelé à disparaître.¹¹³

Similarly, women needed to be held responsible for the health and safety of their children: women who leave their children unattended while they go to the cinema or socialize with their friends should be punished.¹¹⁴ Unless mothers are held accountable, Circé-Côté warned, the French-Canadian race will have to abandon all hope of surviving in Canada.¹¹⁵

¹¹²Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "La Sainte-Catherine," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (27 novembre 1926).

¹¹³Julien Saint-Michel. (pseud.), "La femme de demain" Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (3 septembre 1927)

¹¹⁴As Dueck has argued, child rearing had a special place in racist and eugenic theory during this time period: "*Entraînement*, went the spoken assumption, began in infancy and parenthood. In the pre-WWI period, when the eugenics movement began to make major inroads into Canada and other Western nations, the mother's relationship to her child became increasingly a matter of public concern." Dueck, "The Salamander and the Chameleon," 265.

¹¹⁵Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Les mères imprévoyantes," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (13 octobre 1928).

SEDITIONOUS SOFAS and SEDUCTIVE SKIRTS - Montreal's Modern Girls (1920-1930)

The sofa, Circé-Côté reported to her readers with a laugh, has been denounced by a parish priest in Ireland, for being a pernicious piece of furniture! Apparently, the Irishman believed that if young girls “lost their reputations” at an early age it was because of these cosy seats with their suggestive rounded edges:

Il semble doué d'une sorte de vertu aphrodisiaque, car à peine les amoureux se sont-ils assis dans la tiédeur des coussins que leur cœur se met à faire Toc! Toc! des mots tendres montent à leurs lèvres, ils se tournent des yeux langoureux. Au rythme de la bourrure souple que font sauter les ressorts, beaucoup de fillettes ont pris le mal de mer!¹¹⁶

If the feminist praxis of her writing in the 1920's can be characterized in simple terms, Circé-Côté's imperative was to prove that the church's “ancient” and thereby “mouldy” opinions had no (or at the very least problematic application) to Montreal's natural evolution towards “modernity.” They were as simplistic and out-of-touch as the sofa-phobic Irish cleric.

As Carolyn Strange points out in her study of single wage-earning women during the nineteen-twenties in Toronto, the rise of the single woman as an economic and social actor was often interpreted as a troubling side-effect of industrial capitalism. As she remarks:

Her vulnerability to exploitation, her attraction to the material temptations of the city, and her imperilled journey towards marriage were all scrutinized and eventually elevated to the level of public debates...this closely observed sector of the workforce...came to be understood as a moral problem and an inspiration for the

¹¹⁶Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Precoc Emancipation,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World. (20 mars 1920).

deployment of new regulatory, reformatory, managerial, and medical techniques....¹¹⁷

In Circé-Côté's Montreal, it was the Catholic clergy who expressed the most concern vis-à-vis the "travail des apparences" of working women. As Suzanne Marchand points out, "Les parures excessives, les exhibitions scandaleuses, de même que la futilité des artifices et des fards, ont fait l'objet de multiples condamnations...la période 1920-1939 a peut-être été l'une des plus prolifiques en sermons, en décrets et en directives de toutes sortes dénonçant les abus de la mode féminine."¹¹⁸ Exploring the appearance of the single wage-earning woman -- as a clue to the moral consequences of her public presence -- preoccupied Montreal's clergy, social reformers, journalists and medical experts (who often emphasized the working girls' "violation of behavioural norms.") Conversely, Circé-Côté argued that the changes in women's appearance were part of a natural evolution towards modernity. The modern girl was not as complicated as she seems, Circé-Côté countered. She had an infinitely simple soul, even "quasi primitive."¹¹⁹

By the time they reach the age of thirteen, Circé-Côté informed her readers, many of these modern girls had been in the workforce. Rather than worrying about "sofas" (i.e., what the young girls would do during their leisure time), Montrealers were told to scrutinize

¹¹⁷ Carolyn Strange, Toronto's Girl Problem The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 3.

¹¹⁸ Suzanne Marchand goes on to explain: "Soucieux de se prémunir contre les abus de la mode féminine, les évêques de France, de Belgique, d'Allemagne, d'Italie, d'Espagne et du Canada entreprenaient, dès 1920, une campagne contre cette "funeste aberration" dans leurs pays respectifs. Ponctué par la publication de nombreuses lettres pastorales, cette campagne devait faire couler beaucoup d'encre. *La Semaine Religieuse de Québec* et *La Semaine Religieuse de Montréal* ont, par exemple, consacré pas moins de 140 articles à ce sujet au cours de la période étudiée, certains reproduisant des textes publiés outre-mer, d'autres provenant de membres du clergé québécois." Marchand, Rouge à Lèvres et Pantalon, 81-82.

¹¹⁹ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Precoce Emancipation," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World. (20 mars 1920).

the bosses under whom these young girls were forced to work. Asking youth to sit on austere wood benches, which recalled the severe virtues of traditional mothers, was a “thing of the past” and would not be understood by young girls who had been drawn out of their protective shells into the world of work and sexual enticement.¹²⁰

In 1920, Mgr Louis-Adolphe Paquet (vicar-general of the Action Sociale Catholique à Québec) was arguing that women’s inherent modesty was “under serious assault” in Montreal. Such an attack could lead to the “dissolution of the family” and “the abasement of public morality.” This, he exclaimed, would lead to the “poisoning of Montreal’s collective soul.”¹²¹ Circé-Côté, on the other hand, was celebrating something she felt was “undeniably modern” and therefore “healthy.” Modern girls, Circé-Côté argued, had discovered independence during these *années folles* because they have found the secret of rejuvenation, modernization and replenishment! With her customary panache, she developed the idea: “La beauté du diable dure indéfiniment depuis les cheveux coupés, les cosmétiques, les massages et les tissus flous qui n’accusent aucun contour et ne soulignent pas l’altération des lignes et la fatigue des chairs”.¹²² These days, she joked, with the new refrigeration techniques, fish that had been around for several months could still make a delicious meal.

¹²⁰ Carolyn Strange points out that one of the main complaints concerning “working girls” was that they were free to do as they pleased outside their work hours: “This obsession with working girls’ time off, rather than their wages or their time on the job, was inspired primarily by the minority of single women who lived on their own, apart from families. This version of the wage-earning woman, the most compelling illustration of urban industrialization’s impact on family cohesion, was nevertheless considered the archetypal working girl. As an icon of unsettling change, the working girl was a figure freighted with meaning that wage-earning women themselves scarcely imagined...” Strange, *Toronto’s Girl Problem*, 5. There was clearly a parallel with the discourses on this issue in francophone Montreal.

¹²¹ Marchand, *Rouge à Lèvres et Pantalon*, 85.

¹²² Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “La Sainte-Catherine” *Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World* (27 novembre 1926).

In that same way, thanks to hygiene and medications, girls could hold onto their youth indefinitely. Who would have known, Circé-Côté asks with a mock innocence, that the short skirts young ladies were wearing could exercise such a nefarious influence on the destiny of our planet? “Eve’s daughters” who were now sporting skirts which ended above the knee, were being charged with causing as many problems as the Communists and the Freemasons:

Pauvre jupe! Comme elle aura provoqué d’émotion dans l’univers...Ce qu’on lui attribue de maléfices! Non seulement elle excite les vieux marcheurs de la rue Saint-Laurent, mais elle agit sur le mercure des thermomètres, dérange l’ordre de l’univers. C’est peut-être elle qui a refroidi la lune. C’est quand la satellite de la terre aperçut notre première mère avec son cotillon en feuilles de rhubarbe que d’horreur son foyer s’est subitement éteint... ¹²³

If the skirts got any shorter, then perhaps would the sun be too mortified to rise? One would think, she scoffed, that if the creator had wanted women to be enveloped in long tunics he would have built women to look more like onions!

The clergy, in their many indictments against the new “naturalist/pagan” styles for women, were bringing attention to an aspect of modern fashion that particularly appealed to Circé-Côté. The times had changed. Circé-Côté relentlessly repeated her manifesto: women were not going to wait for others to give them permission to “enjoy” their lives. Many now had salaries, which allowed them to buy and wear what they liked, eat what they liked, and to travel:

Nos mœurs changent, mais c’est pour le mieux. Les hommes et les femmes retombent dans la vérité de leur être...Les femmes, c’est un signe sensible de leur

¹²³Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “L’influence des jupes courtes,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (9 mars 1929).

évolution, ont reconquis avec leur dignité la disposition de leur personne...¹²⁴

In a provocative study of how consumer culture affected feminists' efforts to "sell the cause of suffrage," Margaret Finnegan argues that the cultural expression of the suffrage movement was a complicated affair. Faced with limits determined by the parameters of "respectable access" to the public sphere, feminists found that the culture of consumer capitalism began to define the very manner in which suffrage was defined:

Consumer capitalism refers to a mode of capitalist organization based on the sale of primarily mass-produced and mass-marketed goods. Its culture, variously labelled consumer culture, commercial culture, and the culture of abundance, reflects competing values, world views, and social structures of that system...the principal characteristics of this culture included 'acquisition and consumption as the means of achieving happiness; the cult of the new; the democratization of desire (the belief that individuals had the right to desire the same goods); and money value as the predominant measure of all value in society.'¹²⁵

Debates over the nature of "modern identity," Finnegan argues, accompanied these developments. As commercial and noncommercial calls for self-actualization gained salience, concerns over "inherent" virtue and character were replaced by commodity-defined lifestyles. However, as Nan Enstad points out in her study of working-women and popular culture, to assert that consumerism is "serious and material business, is not to claim it as an arena of freedom, nor to claim that it made women radical."¹²⁶

¹²⁴Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Nos filles s'émancipent," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (24 août 1929).

¹²⁵Finnegan, Selling Suffrage, 8.

¹²⁶Nan Enstad, Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics of the Twentieth Century (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). As Enstad points out, "Women's labor historians have not tended to view women's popular culture as potential political resources. Rather, like the labor leaders of the time, they have been suspicious of consumerism's trivializing effects. In an effort to defend the legitimacy of women as *workers*, most women's labor historians writing about this time marginalize evidence about the centrality of popular culture to working-class women...When historians have interrogated the use of consumer culture in the lives of historical actors, however, they have found

In the past, Circé-Côté noted, women had subjected their bodies to deformation--compressing them, for example, with corsets and chastity belts.¹²⁷ The reform of dress, she asserted, simply needed to be understood as part and parcel of women's "emancipation:"

Si les femmes d'Orient portent encore le voile en cagoule, avec juste assez de jour pour qu'on distingue la couleur de leurs yeux, les femmes d'Occident ont secoué le joug des robes à traîne qui ramassaient avec la poussière et les ordures de la route les microbes de toutes les maladies pour les inoculer à leur sang.¹²⁸

The more "feminist" a culture, Circé-Côté asserted over and over again, the more evolved.¹²⁹ The reforms in women's fashion were, precisely, indications of evolution, signs of progress. Bobbed heads were more hygienic; uniformity in dress (although quite boring) would bring about equality between the sexes. Someday soon, Circé-Côté prophesized, the fashion industry will be obsolete and a woman's body would no longer be looked upon as a "fantasy" or a "symbol."¹³⁰ Despite Circé-Côté's insistence that short skirts and hair translated directly into "freedom" for women, the situation was much more complex and

people using it to gain identity, dignity, resources, and justice" (6).

¹²⁷ In a particularly amusing editorial, Circé-Côté mocked a recent announcement of a college program developed for women "who do not want to lose their husbands." Why is it, she asks, that women must do all the work to keep a marriage healthy? Why is it, that after a day of hard work, raising children and housekeeping, a woman is then supposed to be transformed, "fraîche et parfumée comme un bouquet et sentir sous ses lèvres une peau douce, veloutée, comme celle d'une pêche, grâce à ces poudres imperceptibles qui donnent au baiser le goût d'un bonbon ou d'un fruit." Rather than trying to live up to the standards of romance novels, she argues, why not open up a school for husbands? Men should also have a concern for "la culture physique et la beauté plastique." Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "École pour Épouses," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (6 août 1921).

¹²⁸ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Les Martyrs de la mode," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World, (4 juillet 1925).

¹²⁹ Mike Hawkins, Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860-1945 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 249-271.

¹³⁰ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Dernières Convulsions," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (22 août, 1925).

contradictory. In some respects, the social emancipation associated with short skirts and "hygienic" hair cuts served as a substitute for more solid economic freedoms.¹³¹

Those who cried out that women's short hair and skirts were "indecent" were urged to study the history of the early exploration and colonization of New France.

...à la fin du dix-huitième siècle...les Canadiennes étaient très accortes dans leurs jupes courtes qui leur allaient à mi-jambe. Duncan venu plus tard dit également que les femmes de la Nouvelle-France portaient des corsages rouges et bleus sans manches et décolletés. Et personne ne se signait en les voyant si court vêtues, en ces heureux temps où, comme dit Ferland, la Nouvelle-France ressemblait à un immense monastère.¹³²

Provocatively combining her interests in national "tradition" and twentieth-century modernity, Circé-Côté was also challenging the church's interpretation of the French-Canadian "essence." Maybe women seem less attractive in their new garments and accoutrements, she conceded, but they cannot be charged with trying to abuse the body that the creator has designed for them. Similarly, they cannot be accused of false advertising because, under the bright light of the city's electric lightbulbs, what you see is what you get!

In an effort to bring the girl children up to par with their male counterparts, Circé-Côté advocated the mandatory education of girls. In her editorial "L'éducation de nos filles. Elles doivent être protégées pour les luttes de la vie," Circé-Côté argued that young girls deserved to be educated, not only because they were reasoning creatures who had morals and aspirations but also because they were being called upon to work for a living and therefore

¹³¹As Valerie Steele has remarked of a similar movement in the previous century: "Looking back on the nineteenth century, many historians have concluded that dress reform went hand in hand with the advance of women's rights. Yet such was not the case. The dress reform movement was a failure." Steele, *Paris Fashion*, 162 and 187.

¹³²Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Les Martyrs de la Mode," *Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World* (4 juillet 1925).

needed an education that would give them the appropriate skills. The schooling girls received from religious organizations did not provide young girls with job-oriented skills, she explained:

Le pensionnat, le couvent, l'académie sont des serres chaudes où l'on élève des plantes de prix...l'idée de derrière la tête d'en faire une demoiselle, c'est-à-dire une fainéante, liseuse de romans insipides pianoteuse à ses heures...¹³³

The time had come to prepare women for the working world, not merely as frivolous luxury objects who could waste away their hours in an artificial environment.

Circé-Côté argued that young girls needed to be taught about the realities of the modern world so that they are not left naïve and vulnerable. Books about "the hapless perversion of country girls" who came to the city, Circé-Côté cautioned, were not an accurate portrayal of the young Canadian girl. In such books:

...dans lesquels on la peint comme une créature d'une lassivité facile qui se laisse prendre sur le divan d'un salon ou le canapé d'une étude d'avocat, mais on ne dit pas pourquoi elle tombe si facilement dans les bras du premier venu, c'est qu'elle ne l'a pas vu venir, qu'on ne l'a pas mis en garde contre la tentation et qu'on ne lui a pas dit ce qu'elle devrait savoir pour rester une honnête femme et ne pas déshonorer le nom qu'elle porte.¹³⁴

Girls, Circé-Côté pointed out facetiously, need more than white rocks in their pockets to avoid being eaten by dragons!

¹³³ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "L'éducation de nos filles. Elles doivent être protégées pour les luttes de la vie," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labour World. (22 avril 1916).

¹³⁴ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Que Doit-on apprendre à nos jeunes filles," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World. (25 janvier 1919).

MASCULINE DIGNITY AND HUMILIATING POSTURES:

Circé-Côté's Gender Alignment for the 1930s

When Montreal was plunged into the Depression, attitudes towards women regressed. This economic crisis caused staggering levels of unemployment and was accompanied by a crisis of social relations: "a 'gender crisis,' signified especially by the revival of broad-based anti-feminism aimed at reinforcing the family wage ideal."¹³⁵ As the Clio Collective have chronicled:

In spite of attempts at the turn of the century to redefine the role of women in Quebec society, attitudes regressed during the postwar period and the Depression. Demands by the labour movement to protect working women - a guaranteed minimum wage, mother's allowances, regular working hours and increased security were resolutions passed at annual meetings of union centrals -- were rejected...Instead women workers were denounced for taking jobs away from "poor fathers with families to feed."¹³⁶

In the worst years of the Depression, over one quarter of the non-agricultural labour force was known to be unemployed, and one in five Canadians was dependent on public assistance. And while poverty and government aid became the norm, "relief" was a disorganized mess of private and public offerings. For decades, the Canadian and Quebec government had clung to the dictum of classical economics -- that work was the solution to poverty, and destitution was the fault of the individual who was either too lazy for work or holding out for unreasonably high wages. In Quebec, any aid to the destitute had primarily

¹³⁵Margaret Helen Hobbs, "Gendering Work and Welfare: Women's Relationship to Wage-Work and Social Policy in Canada during the Great Depression," Ph.D. Thesis., University of Toronto, 1994, 1

¹³⁶Clio Collective, Quebec Women: A History, 196.

been handled by religious orders following a charity-based, rather than a rights-based, model.¹³⁷

Feminist scholarship in this time period has shown that working-class women did not suffer silently. Women took to the streets to denounce low relief rates, evictions, and high food prices.¹³⁸ In particular, tensions erupted surrounding women's shifting relation to the labour force. In the 1930s, Margaret Helen Hobbs remarks, hostility to wage-earning women in popular discourse played out in the form of two controversies:

One concerned the well-worn question of men's superiority and women's inferiority, or, conversely, women's superiority and men's inferiority. Marked by familiar anatomical, biblical and pseudo-historical arguments as well as by sarcastic personal jibes, the debate immediately polarized into two fiercely opposed camps, which despite the frequent use of pseudonyms to veil identities, seem to have divided primarily along gender lines...Alongside this debate appeared...another explosive issue: women's right to paid employment.¹³⁹

Neither of these controversies was new, but they erupted with tremendous force as Canada descended into the deepest economic depression the nation had ever experienced. As Hobbs points out, the social impact of the Depression sparked panic in many quarters, pitting individuals against each other as often as it bound them together.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Hobbs, "Gendering Work and Welfare," 23.

¹³⁸ Hobbs, "Gendering Work and Welfare," 7.

¹³⁹ Hobbs explains: "Unlike the superiority/inferiority controversy, this one cut across gender lines. While there were certainly more females than males articulating the legitimacy of female employment, the attacks came equally from both sexes and unquestionably some of the most vehement crossfire occurred between women." Hobbs, "Gendering Work and Welfare," 33-34.

¹⁴⁰ Hobbs elaborates: "Bitter racial divisions surfaced: individuals suffering or merely observing hardships sought scapegoats in the immigrant population, many municipalities found ways to deny relief to certain groups, restrictive immigration policies were enforced, and in the early 1930s the federal government collaborated with local officials in a massive deportation campaign." Hobbs, "Gendering Work and Welfare," 35.

In some respects, Circé-Côté's feminist arguments were in line with those she had developed in the previous decades. Circé-Côté was willing to throw what she saw as the "retarded" development of Quebec's feminism "into the ring" with the superior (more rapid) evolution of feminism in the rest of North America and in Europe. Nowhere, Circé-Côté asserted, was feminism as vivacious and as "forward" as in England. Similarly, when women in France obtained the right to vote, they gained their independence, their equality to men, and most importantly, the liberty to collaborate in the governance of their country and to push the wheel of progress:

C'est une belle victoire sur le préjugé séculaire. C'est une réfutation péremptoire à cet argument faux invoqué contre nous, à savoir que le suffrage féminin est contraire à l'esprit latin, à la tradition française, comme si tout ce qui contribue à l'évolution de l'humanité ne constituait pas essentiellement l'idéal français.¹⁴¹

Quebec's antifeminists could no longer point to France in support of their arguments against women's rights. Women in France had been granted the right to vote because it was understood that they were being kept in a *humiliating posture* vis-à-vis women of other countries. It was, Circé-Côté argued, a question of national pride.

Meanwhile in Quebec, Circé-Côté complained, one still wondered whether it was right for women to become professionals. Americans were in the process of honouring their women professionals -- "leur doctoresses, conquêtes du féminisme." These distinguished women, she continued, were in enviable positions and brought honour upon their country. Furthermore, these new professionals were not afraid to get their hands dirty and penetrate to the heart of various social problems:

¹⁴¹Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Le suffrage féminin," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (27 février 1932).

Elles n'ont pas craint de prendre contact avec leurs patients, de pénétrer dans leur milieu, de vivre de la vie du peuple pour mieux le comprendre et diagnostiquer plus sûrement leurs maladies... C'est pour cela qu'elles ont voulu mettre le doigt dans la plaie, pour en sonder la profondeur et s'efforcer de guérir...celles-ci ne craignent pas de descendre dans les mines pour en étudier les conditions hygiéniques, de passer des journées entières en des ateliers mal ventilés afin de constater les améliorations qu'il faut apporter à leur sort.¹⁴²

Because of their special care-giving nature, women professionals were making a mark for themselves. Modern women, Circé-Côté continued to emphasize, had a special role to play in regenerating this world:

La conscience humaine est devenue un volcan où les larves en effervescence cherchent à s'ouvrir un cratère pour déverser leur trop plein. Elle interroge les autorités, les pouvoirs pour savoir le pourquoi d'une situation sans issue. Elle souhaite une autre forme à la politique. Après avoir imploré le ciel qui reste sourd à ses supplications, elle se replie sur elle-même, fait son propre procès comme celui des autres, médite sur ses fins dernières, sur la manière d'organiser son salut dès ici-bas, de créer dès maintenant son paradis.¹⁴³

The modern woman shed a ray of light on the dark night with her honesty and incorruptible resources.

In a fascinating discussion of gender roles and the rearing of young boys, Circé-Côté – writing, of course, as Julien Saint-Michel – invites her working-class readers to consider the subject of masculine dignity. French-Canadian men, Circé-Côté pointed out, treat the women in their families like drudges who perform all the labour, like chattels that are

¹⁴²Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Le rôle moderne de la femme," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (19 septembre 1931).

¹⁴³Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "L'émancipation de la femme," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (19 novembre 1932).

purchased and sold.¹⁴⁴ After a discussion of the problems associated with “spoiled mama’s boys,” Circé-Côté pointed out that these men have “very little sense” of all that their mothers have done for them:

On dirait que l’hérédité indienne survit en lui. Il les laisserait abattre le bois des forêts, semer le maïs et couper le foin, s’il possédait les champs et les montagnes de ses lointains ancêtres...Il abandonne à ses squaws les plus pénibles des travaux de la maison, comme de sasser le charbon, de porter les poubelles à la ruelle, de poser les doubles fenêtres, de laver les plafonds, de tourner la manivelle de l’essoreuse, de rentrer la glace, etc.¹⁴⁵

Circé-Côté asked her readers: When did it become such an affront to masculine dignity to help women with the housework? Why is it, she questioned, that men who help with housework are ridiculed by other men? She pointed out: “Ceux qui les croient déçus de leur virilité, parce qu’ils ont mis un tablier sur leurs pantalons pour vaquer aux soins du ménage ont une fausse idée de la dignité masculine.”¹⁴⁶ Now that women had proven themselves capable of working in the place of men in the public sphere, men must be prepared do the same in the private one. There is no inherent shame, she argued, in men learning how to knit mittens or cook.

In an article on the subject of female victims of various types of abuse, Circé-Côté

¹⁴⁴Sarah Carter, Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada’s Prairie West. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997). Playing upon a common assumption that Native women were victimized and subordinated in their society, Circé-Côté attacked anti-feminists from a racist standpoint. As Sarah Carter remarks: “[Native women] were [assumed to be] drudges who performed all the labour, chattels that were purchased and sold, and at the mercy of their owners or husbands, who felt free to cast them aside when old or unwanted in order to make room for a new wife... The central message the missionaries conveyed was that the lives of women were dramatically transformed for the better with the advent of “civilization” and Christianity. Women were being offered liberation from centuries of oppression,” (162-63).

¹⁴⁵Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “La dignité masculine,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (17 mai 1930).

¹⁴⁶Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “La dignité masculine,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World.

described the role of the institution of marriage and its part in confining women to the position of "minor." Power in any such relationship, she countered as a good evolutionist, should be conceded to the most intelligent individual in the union.¹⁴⁷ In an editorial entitled "Les privilégiées de la nature," Circé-Côté pointed out that it was no longer acceptable to hit or whip one's wife to render her submissive. She gave, once again, the example of an "irascible Chinois" who beat his wife for cutting her hair "à la garçon." Such "brutality," she argued, is unjustifiable:

Chinois, mon frère, toi qui portes en tes veines le sang d'une race vieille de plusieurs millions d'années, tu n'as pas toute la sagesse, tu ne sais pas qu'il n'y a rien de nouveau sous le soleil. Sur tes plus anciens monuments, il y a des femmes à la tête rasée avec des robes qui n'atteignent pas les genoux. Leurs époux d'alors leur flanquaient-ils des tripotées pour tout cela?¹⁴⁸

Perhaps it is safe to argue that while Circé-Côté does refer to the Chinese in this case as "brother," she was generally perpetuating a mythical understanding of Chinese (and First Nation) cultures and gender relations to organize and substantiate her feminist take on *evolutionism*.

William Leach has argued that feminist writers in the United States rarely cited American experience alone to prove their case, often comparing their condition in America with the condition of women in other countries:

Such cultural cosmopolitanism, such an interest in the general character of women's experience, contributed to the de-mystification of social life and to the gradual erasure of social differences within the reformist class. It can also be seen as a spur

¹⁴⁷ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Les perpétuelles victimes," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (27 septembre 1930).

¹⁴⁸ Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Les privilégiées de la nature," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (4 octobre 1930).

to the emergence of the social and cosmopolitan sciences – the science of comparative religions and mythologies, anthropology, sociology – that seek to investigate the inner life of other cultures and to understand, in particular, their marriage customs, their family patterns, and their sexual behaviour...Feminism encouraged, even demanded, a secular, humanitarian, internationalist spirit in order to develop as a viable ideology. Religious and political authoritarianism as well as cultural parochialism blocked such a development.¹⁴⁹

Would it be fair to charge the cosmopolitan Circé-Côté with parochialism? Or more appropriate to say that she thought her evolutionist and racist arguments offered secondary support for the feminist cause? If nothing else, Circé-Côté's writing on the subject of feminism during the Great Depression indicates that the "Anglo-Saxon elite" were not alone in their efforts to hierarchize race. Rather, Circé-Côté's propensity to manipulate theories of evolutionism and racialism for her own purposes underlines what must be appreciated as an extraordinarily complex era of feminism in Montreal. As William Leach underlines:

Modern feminist historiography has tended to depict Social Darwinism (and nineteenth-century science in general) as broadly supportive of patriarchal values and as reinforcing traditional gender stereotypes. Even feminist appropriations of Social Darwinism are perceived as succumbing to these stereotypes in that their promotion of women's causes was premised on notions of distinctive but complementary sexual difference. These interpretations are certainly correct; evolutionary science was enlisted in the cause of patriarchy. But this is not the whole story...¹⁵⁰

Throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century, Circé-Côté supported the notion that the sexes had evolved distinctive but complementary mental and physical traits. Women, Circé-Côté explained to her readers, had a number of psychological proclivities which endowed them with moral ascendancy -- their presence in the public sphere

¹⁴⁹William Leach, True Love and Perfect Union: The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 13.

¹⁵⁰Hawkins, Social Darwinism, 250 and chapter ten.

complemented and refined the more aggressive and egoistical traits of men. The “new” woman, Circé-Côté argued, was no longer held back by defunct traditions that would interrupt or retard the *natural evolution* of the French-Canadian race. Whereas the church persistently argued that a woman should be defined by her sense of obedience and modesty, Circé-Côté advanced the notion that women could only be understood in terms of their “modernity.” Women were modern because they had been “emancipated” from “outdated” ideas that gave them a false conception of their duties and morals. Most importantly, “modern women” were those best equipped to keep the French-Canadian race healthy and “competitive” on a rapidly modernizing international stage.

However, in Circé-Côté’s modern world, things were never as simple as she tried to make them seem. Quebec historians have generally characterized the dominant values and state policies of Quebec between 1900 and 1940 as traditional, conservative and “clerico-nationalist.” They oversimplify a more complicated reality. In an editorial piece called “La femme instruite est une valeur” published in 1927, Circé-Côté argued that nothing contributed to the evolution of the French-Canadian race more than the higher education of girl children -- which at the moment was reserved for the upper classes alone. Let’s hope, Circé-Côté urged, that all women “who have talent” would be given the opportunity to work for a good wage. In so doing, the different classes in French Canadian society would be fused together:

Les rivalités entre bourgeoises et filles d’ouvriers, ces dissolvants si énergiques de nos énergies nationales, disparaîtront et s’atténueront devant la solidarité qu’entraîne une

éducation commune, une instruction égale.¹⁵¹

That which put fear in the hearts of our economists, she asserted, was the backlash of an educated proletariat -- one that could bring about complete upheaval in the order of things. This nightmare, Circé-Côté charged, would largely disappear if girls were to be educated uniformly - and the knowledge they gained dissipated through the ranks of the French-Canadian populace. Women should be equipped to bring new resources and ideas to the table. Circé-Côté was attempting to enlighten the working class to the superior logic of feminist principles -- in a manner inspired by the tenets of Victorian liberalism and feminist social reform ideology. This ideology dictated that training and education could overcome all obstacles.¹⁵² Yet, as this chapter has demonstrated, Circé-Côté's feminism in this period characteristically juxtaposed that which was "modern" and "progressive" against that which was characterized as anti-modern and anti-clerical.

As Andrée Lévesque has argued, in many respects Circé-Côté might well have been a "woman ahead of her time" and her feminism a "sign of things to come." Circé-Côté was using the discourse of evolutionism and in some cases racial hygienic or eugenicist principles to both anchor and buttress her feminist logic, and in so doing often appealed to very traditional conceptions of race, essence and "woman."¹⁵³ What this maternal-evolutionist-

¹⁵¹Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "La femme instruite est une valeur," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (17 septembre 1927).

¹⁵²McLaren, Our Own Master Race, 14.

¹⁵³This can only be asserted if one takes into account McLaren's argument: "The growing success of eugenics in popularizing fears of degeneration was a symptom of a decline of faith in nineteenth-century liberalism. Under the aegis of Herbert Spencer, who coined the term "survival of the fittest," mid-century liberals held that competition was the key in an age of greater specialization, differentiation, and interdependence. Those who were poor and unsuccessful had, the theory went, proven themselves unfit for

anti-clerical-feminism would have meant to her working-class readership is difficult to assess, and a definitive evaluation is certainly beyond the limits of this project. In his study of Colin McKay, Ian McKay has argued that ideas of Spencerian evolutionism were combined with socialism to create a program for a working-class culture in Canada: evolutionism, racialism, and eugenic theory were similarly used by Circé-Côté in her efforts to define “modernity” and “feminism” for her working-class readers.

McLaren has asserted that despite the presence at Montreal’s McGill University of prominent defenders of eugenics, the science did not find much favour among French Canadians. Quebec nationalists, when they referred to “race” and “blood,” were simply talking about cultural attributes of a common language and religion. He claims:

They could not help but see that Francophones would necessarily do poorly when judged according to eugenic measurements. Their early indifference to eugenics could also be attributed in part to the declared hostility of the Catholic Church to all schemes aimed at interfering with reproduction...Moreover, in France itself even anticlerical intellectuals were never as drawn to pessimistic eugenic theories as were their English, American, and German counterparts.¹⁵⁴

Circé-Côté’s ideas, while admittedly not the “norm” for Quebec during this time period, refute McLaren’s general assertion. And, as was pointed out earlier, a general flaw in McLaren’s portrayal of the history of eugenics in Canada is its “top-down” perspective, which pays little heed to the manner in which these ideas were more generally received by the Canadian population.

the struggle and would, by the free working of natural laws, be removed from the contest. Spencer’s doctrine was - for the fit - basically optimistic, for he assured them that they would continue to prosper and had no need to seek assistance from the state.” McLaren, Our Own Master Race, 17

¹⁵⁴ McLaren, Our Own Master Race, 25-26.

In her desperation to convince those around her that feminist change was “inevitable” and that the Catholic clergy’s world view was “anachronistic,” Circé-Côté used a tactic which was either completely unthinking *or* one that she felt had the most cross-class currency. It would seem that only in evolutionism could Circé-Côté reconcile the competing claims of the French-Canadian collectivity and the woman as *individual*. Circé-Côté was hardly alone in thinking so: the early Canadian women’s movement was frequently preoccupied by the issue of race regeneration. Ideas of evolutionism and racialism were, more often than not, coupled with assertions that the divisions between the sexes had arisen through evolution rather than through a “divine sanction” or by human agency. As Hawkins has pointed out, “Such claims savour of male prejudice and a vested interest in the maintenance of patriarchal relations, but these models of sexual difference were deeply ingrained in Western thought and were capable of structuring the thought of women as well as men, and the theories of equality as well as inequality.”¹⁵⁵

In searching for Circé-Côté’s definition of “feminism” throughout the pages of *Le Monde Ouvrier*, what is especially striking is the bitterness and frustration she felt in the face of a Quebec that was “falling behind” on an international stage or -- worse -- behind her “sister provinces” in Canada. It was not simply a matter of French Canadians being “unprogressive” and thereby untrue to their authentic “French” heritage (an argument which had little or no salience in conservative circles of the time.) Rather, French Canada, she argued, was *falling behind* in the competitive “race” towards progress - devolving in a manner that could only end in racial humiliation and possibly extinction.

¹⁵⁵Hawkins, Social Darwinism, 253.

CONCLUSION

“C’est l’hygiène morale d’abord qu’il faut mettre en vigueur dans le monde ouvrier, parce que c’est essentielle.”¹

Just how many variant ideologies can one bourgeois woman integrate into a cohesive world view? Circé-Côté argued that women had a political, intellectual and moral role of pedagogic leadership that was just waiting for a chance to assert itself. Her articulating principle was the logic of feminist *evolutionism* which, in the name of the working class, she combined with a commitment to social and educational reform. Circé-Côté’s feminism was not a “specialist” conceptual apparatus, but was present in all fields of her living actualization. To advance what became a radical anti-clerical feminist project, Circé-Côté approached her audiences from every possible angle: cultural, political, national, spiritual, and ideological.

In an effort to counter clerico-nationalist and anti-feminist sentiment, Circé-Côté used a strange and wondrous arsenal of classical liberal ideals and divergent subaltern concepts – which she juxtaposed to challenge and compete with the world views of her opponents. Approaching most subjects from a moral and evolutionary “high ground” (available only to those who are trying to convince others of the inevitable success of their cause and struggle), she twinned thoughts on the “blind faith” of Catholics with ideas concerning psychic phenomena; she coupled the “history of picnics” with the ideology of racial hygiene, and defined *radical rouge* nationalism with the help of a parrot owned by

¹Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Les femmes dans l’industrie,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (31 janvier 1920).

King George V.² Circé-Côté's feminist pastiche *should* leave the twenty-first-century reader feeling both confused and amazed.³

As was mentioned in the introduction, feminist politics *by necessity* oscillate between *defending* difference and *demanding* equality. This contradiction is not the result of flawed feminist logic, but stems from the logic of liberalism – within which feminism is counterpoised and elaborated. As Joan Scott has pointed out:

The paradoxes feminists offered were not wholly of their own making, and we do the history of feminism a disservice to ignore this fact. By writing the history of feminism as if it were simply a matter of choosing the right strategy -- equality or difference -- we imply that one or another of these options was actually available, that closure or resolution was and is ultimately attainable. But the history of feminism is not the history of available options or of the unconstrained choice of a winning plan. It is rather the history of women (and some men) grappling repeatedly with the radical difficulty of resolving the dilemmas they confronted (however successful they were in achieving specific reforms).⁴

As Scott has emphasized, historians are accustomed to looking for “the clash of oppositions” in the writings of first-wave feminists (such as feminists *versus* liberal politicians) and in so doing often overlook the internal incompatibilities within feminism, and within liberal individualism. Feminist histories, as a result, have in most cases been written in an attempt to establish the “inevitability” of their views by eliminating accounts of conflict and power

²Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), “Les phénomènes psychiques,” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (9 août 1930); “Pique-niques d'autrefois” Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (22 juin 1935); “Histoire de perroquet” (2 février 1929) Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World.

³I should add that trying to assemble her ideas to reflect any sort of comprehensible (never mind an evolutionary or linear) unity -- itself has been problematic. Bits and pieces have been thrown together to compile a history of Circé-Côté's life. Drawing out a linear narrative from what are only fragments of her public and private experience has forced me, as a historian of feminism, to perform all sorts of chronological twists and jumps.

⁴Scott, Only Paradoxes to Offer, 17.

within them. These feminist “clashes,” however, need to be understood as both the symptom *and* the cause.

However, feminist ideological and political struggle should not be construed as “a game in which the identity of the opposing forces is constituted from the start.” As Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe point out:

This means that any politics with hegemonic aspirations can never consider itself as *repetition*, as taking place in a space delimiting a pure internality, but must always mobilize itself on a plurality of planes. If the meaning of each struggle is not given from the start, this means that it is fixed – partially – only to the extent that the struggle moves outside itself and, through chains of equivalence, links itself structurally to other struggles. Every antagonism, left free to itself, is a floating signifier, a ‘wild’ antagonism which does not predetermine the form in which it can be articulated to other elements in a social formation.⁵

There is not, Laclau and Mouffe argue, any *necessary* link between anti-sexism and anti-capitalism, and so, any unity between the two must be ideologically constructed. This ideological “bridging” was part of Circé-Côté’s project.

Gender politics at the turn-of-the century *demand*ed that Circé-Côté develop post-liberal concepts – which would entitle her to agency as “an individual” in social reform projects. The new-liberal framework she helped to formulate (in the language of evolutionary theory) -- her struggles towards suffrage, and the various pieces of social

⁵Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics (London: Verso, 1985), 170-1 The word hegemony refers to the Gramscian formulation of political, moral and intellectual leadership over allied groups. As Mouffe describes: It is by means of this formulation that Gramsci articulated the level of analysis of the mode of production with that of the social formation in the notion of the ‘historic bloc.’ This hegemony, which always has its basis, for Gramsci, in ‘the decisive function exercised by the leading group in the decisive nucleus of economic activity, operates principally in civil society via the articulation of the interests of the fundamental class to those of its allies in order to form a collective will, a unified political subject. . . . But if hegemony is related to the state then it is only in so far as the latter is defined as ‘the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance but manages to win the active consensus over those whom it rules’.” Chantal Mouffe, Gramsci and Marxist Theory (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 10.

legislation she worked to modify – were never intended to overthrow the classical liberal order. Her resistance, while re-inventing gender roles for men and women, held fast to core classical liberal ideas. In liberal thought, civil society is presented as an autonomous sphere which has no relation to class interest. In fact, this is the place where the hegemony of the bourgeoisie is articulated and exercised. Circé-Côté was, in some respects, nothing more than a harbinger of the emergence of modern women-dominated professions such as teaching, social work, and nursing. But this is not the whole picture.

Circé-Côté's commitment to *evolutionism* and race regeneration was an important constitutional force which held together the multiple components of her feminist world view. Circé-Côté's commitment to race regeneration was tied inextricably to her crusade for social change. Her commitment to her sex was not her sole allegiance; on many occasions her allegiance to race, creed and class superceded her commitment to her feminism. The idea of evolution suggested to Circé-Côté that a race could and would "move forward." Her commitment to educational reform (as evidenced in her role in Montreal's public library project and in her writing for *Le Monde Ouvrier*) is testimony to her belief that a modification of an individual's environment produced physical and mental changes which were transmittable to the next generation. This environmental *evolutionism* was combined with eugenic principles which placed an emphasis on heredity (and the inherent racial superiority of certain races and groups.) In her mind, educational reform of the working class was the "logical" solution to the living and working problems of underprivileged groups. Defending the need for social legislation and educational reform, Circé-Côté argued that French Canada needed to "build for the future." As Carol Bacchi has pointed out:

Most reforms in the suffrage platform (factory legislation, compulsory education, city planning, health and hygiene, temperance, prison reform, pure food laws) were...aimed at improving the living and working conditions of the poor."

While it has often been argued that Social Darwinism was enlisted "in the defence of patriarchy," Circé-Côté's *evolutionism* was used in the service of her feminism. As Mike Hawkins has argued: "evidence suggests that at least some women experienced Darwinism as an enlightening and emancipatory intellectual current containing the potential for alternative ...evolutionary histories."⁷

Using this evolutionary framework, Circé-Côté defined a feminism that was different from that of most feminists of her period. The majority of Montreal's early feminists were working to unite the charity and philanthropic work of the Catholic clergy (and its sisterhoods) within their conceptualization of "good" feminism. Meanwhile, Circé-Côté was writing for a controversial labour journal (which was often accused of being anti-Catholic and socialist). Subversively she had, in some respects, freed herself from her "femaleness" which enabled her to move into a realm where she could begin to pose a critique to classical liberal property relations. In her writing for *Le Monde Ouvrier* she analysed relations between property, women's position in the family, and the state with a proto-socialist candour. This brings up a question that would be a fascinating intersection for future research (especially with regards to Circé-Côté's writing for *Le Monde Ouvrier*): Where did Montreal's first-wave feminist social reform "end" and its feminist socialism "begin?"

⁶Carol Bacchi, "Race Regeneration and Social Purity: A Study of the Social Attitudes of Canada's English-Speaking Suffragists," *Social History* 11, no. 22 (1978), 463

⁷Hawkins, *Social Darwinism*, 269.

Perhaps Circé-Côté deserves the last word:

...je ne vois pas beaucoup d'hommes qui se préoccupent de la formation de leur âme. La masse court au plaisir, à la satisfaction de vulgaires ambitions: les épicuriens, les jouisseurs, ceux qui font la vie et s'efforcent d'exaspérer leurs appétits, pour mieux sentir l'intensité de la vie animale, qui doutent de l'existence de la joie intérieure, le premier des biens, parce qu'il est le seul qui nous appartienne réellement. Je voudrais les connaître, s'ils existent, les gens qui cherchent sincèrement à se rendre meilleurs, sans prétendre à un paradis quelconque en acceptant dans l'éternel avenir toutes les éventualités que l'inconnu nous réserve peut-être... La plupart ont une âme rudimentaire parce qu'ils n'ont pas eu le temps de la cultiver, ni l'occasion. On ne leur a pas dit, quand on leur a montré leur petit catéchisme, que nous héritons de nos parents une âme informe, sorte d'ébauche que nous avons le devoir de perfectionner. L'ouvrier se doit de travailler cette substance mystérieuse, comme il travaille le fer, l'acier, le bois pour en faire surgir parfois un chef d'oeuvre. S'il se demandait, chaque soir: "Ai-je été meilleur aujourd'hui qu'hier? Ai-je été plus honnête, plus serviable à mes compagnons? Ai-je eu pour le patron la considération qu'il mérite? Sais-je ce que c'est que la conscience professionnelle? Ce que je dois aux autres, ce que je me dois à moi-même?" Si vous pouvez répondre dans l'affirmative, vous avez tiré de votre argile l'immortelle flamme.⁸

⁸Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.), "Les phénomènes psychiques," Le Monde Ouvrier/Labor World (9 août 1930).

APPENDIX A

Eva Circé-Côté's writings can be found on the pages of:

L'Action/Le Combat (1903-1904)

L'Avenir (1900-1901)

Le Monde illustré (1883-1902)

Les Débats (1899-1903)

Le Pionnier

La Patrie

L'Album universel

Le Journal de Françoise (1903)

Le Soleil

L'Avenir du Nord

L'Étincelle (1902)

Le Pays (1910-1921)

Le Nationaliste (1904-1922)

Le Petit canadien (1904-1918)

Le Devoir (1910)

APPENDIX B

The sense of heightened and mature sexuality projected by society women and popular actresses in turn-of-the-century newspaper photographs and advertising material contrasted with the tailored severity of Victorian style. Circé-Côté, in both photographs, is presented in the "flattering, theatrical style" popular in the last decade of the century, modeled by actresses and society figures, newly accessible to a wider public through the pages of newspapers and magazines.¹



This photo appeared twice: once in Le Monde Illustré on September 7th 1901 and once in the Album Universel on the 2nd of May 1903. Le Monde Illustré, in provided her first "silhouette," described her as follows: "Dans les simples faits-divers de nos quotidiens, dans la condamnation d'un prévenu elle montrera un abus de la force; dans un crime bourgeoisement vengé, elle verra un bonheur estropié, un idéal décapité et elle aura des mots consolateurs pour les victimes, pour ceux dont le coeur a de réelles souffrances." The Album Universel emphasized the same traits of her writing: "Doué d'une imagination puissante, d'un jugement supérieure et d'un coeur aussi tendre que généreux, Colombine sait tirer parti de ses précieuses facultés, et tout ce qu'elle écrit porte l'empreinte d'un vigoureux talent."

¹Christopher Breward explains: "Prior to the war, fashionable style tended towards a statuesque, heavy-chested grandeur, hips thrown back and accentuated with flared gored skirts, or the alternative pencil-slim 'hobble' skirt associated with the designer Paul Poiret's 'Directoire' line of 1908." The culture of fashion: A new history of fashionable dress (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 185.

APPENDIX C

A Complete List of Julien Saint-Michel's (Eva Circé-Côté's) Articles, 1916-1943

*All titles in this list appear as they do in the original: Le Monde Ouvrier/Labour World. The placement of accents was not consistent in this journal's titles.

1916

1 - UN BEAU JOUR NAÎT POUR LES FEMMES - 25 MARS 1916

La guerre ouvre un nouveau chemin que la jeune fille moderne doit frayer

2 - NOBLESSE OBLIGE - 1er AVRIL 1916

La part que la femme doit prendre dans le choix des représentants

3 - LENDEMAIN D'ÉLECTIONS - 8 AVRIL 1916

Avons-nous les hommes que nous devons élire? Combats de coqs et guerres de parlotte
"Quartiers de Terrine"

4 - INCAPACITÉ INTELLECTUELLE ET CIVILE DE LA FEMME - 15 AVRIL 1916

5 - L'ÉDUCATION DE NOS FILLES - 22 AVRIL 1916

Elles doivent être protégées pour les luttes de la vie.

6 - LES PENSIONS MATERNELLES - 29 AVRIL 1916

Les veuves et les orphelins des victimes du travail ne devraient pas être séparées
Laissons les petits à leur "nid"

7 - LES SALAIRES MUNICIPAUX - 13 MAI 1916

Une augmentation automatique serait la mesure la plus équitable et la plus juste
Comment Certains Sont Parvenus

8 - LES ACCIDENTS DU TRAVAIL - 20 Mai 1916

Comment on procède dans les pays où l'en veut améliorer le sort du proletaire

9 - LES ACCIDENTS DU TRAVAIL - 27 Mai 1916

Le taux de la réparation devrait être uniforme et basé sur des données mathématiques

10 - RÉSULTATS DES ENQUÊTES ROYALES - 3 JUIN 1916

A quoi sert de trouver des coupables si on ne peut les punir
Faisons-les arrêter plutôt.

11 - LA DESTITUTION DES EMPLOYÉS MUNICIPAUX - 10 JUIN 1916

Drole de système que de faire maison nette pour atteindre un employé infidèle ou incompétent

12 - LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE - 24 JUNE 1916

L'ouvrier est appelé à bénéficier dans un avenir peu lointain

13 - L'EXPOSITION DE L'ÉCOLE TECHNIQUE - 1er JUILLET 1916

Le mécanisme est destiné à accomplir des merveilles, il représente l'avenir et la prospérité du pays

14 - LES BIENFAITS DE L'ÉCONOMIE - 8 JUILLET 1916

15 - NOTRE FÊTE NATIONAL - 15 JUILLET 1916

16 - LA BELGIQUE GLORIEUSE - 29 Juillet 1916

17 - L'INSTRUCTION OBLIGATOIRE - 22 Juillet 1916

Il faut préparer nos enfants pour les luttes de demain si nous voulons maintenir notre position

18 - UNE LOI DE L'ÉPARGNE - 5 AOÛT 1916

19 - EMPARONS-NOUS DE L'INDUSTRIE - 12 AOÛT 1916

20 - LA QUESTION DE L'IMPÔT - 19 AOÛT 1916

21 - LA VIE CHÈRE - 26 AOÛT 1916

22 - ACTION SOCIALE DE LA FEMME - 2 SEPTEMBRE 1916

23 - LA CRISE DES CHEMINEAUX - 9 SEPTEMBRE 1916

24 - L'EFFRONDEMENT DU PONT DE QUEBEC - 16 SEPTEMBRE 1916

Le nombre des victimes aurait été moindre si des mesures préventives avaient été prises

25 - DE LA LECTURE POUR TOUS - 23 September 1916

Projet qui contribuera à l'éducation de notre peuple

26 - L'ENQUÊTE EST FINIE?... - 30 Septembre 1916

27 - MISÈRES D'APPRENTISSAGE - 7 OCTOBRE 1916

28 - THANKSGIVING - 14 OCTOBRE 1916

29 - L'INFLUENCE INDUE - 21 OCTOBRE 1916

Les positions municipales tant convoitées ne sont pas un stimulant pour l'activité d'une jeune race
Le mérite trop souvent méconnu

30 - AUTRE TEMPS, AUTRES MOEURS - 28 OCTOBRE 1916

Le nouveau rôle de la femme - Les maris despotes et la communauté de biens

31 - VERS UN AUTRE IDÉAL - 4 NOVEMBRE 1916

L'attrait des villes — L'abandon de la terre

32 - POURQUOI SE HÂTER? - 11 NOVEMBRE 1916

Les jeunes gens pressés de se marier réfléchissent-ils aux responsabilités que leur impose le mariage

33 - LA CO-ÉDUCATION DES SEXES - 18 NOVEMBRE 1916

Les écoles mixtes tendent à adoucir la brutalité des garçons et à viriliser les filles

34 - LE SENTIMENT NATIONAL - 25 NOVEMBRE 1916

L'attachement au sol ne doit pas nous détourner de l'entente internationale.

35 - VISION D'ENFER - 2 DÉCEMBRE 1916

Hommes et femmes se tuent pour récolter la manne qui passe -- La vie dans les usines -- Les profits des trustards

36 - PAR UN JOUR DE PLUIE - 9 DÉCEMBRE 1916

Etude de mœurs

37 - AYONS SOINS DES PETITS - 16 DÉCEMBRE 1916

Les parents dont la coupable négligence cause la mort de leurs enfants devraient être punis sévèrement -- Le rôle de la mère de famille et ses devoirs envers la société.

38 - LES ROSES DE NOËL - 23 DÉCEMBRE 1916

Conte inédit

39 - LE DERNIER CHIC - 30 DÉCEMBRE 1916

L'épithète de voleur devient à la mode et les honnêtes gens sont relégués dans l'ombre. -- Les enquêtes et les résultats que l'on en obtient. -- Que résultera-t-il de celle sur le coût de la vie?

1917

40 - LE PRIX DU SANG - 6 JANVIER 1917

L'oeuvre du Fonds Patriotique n'est pas une oeuvre de charité, elle ne fait que payer aux familles des soldats ce qui leur est dû. -- La façon de donner vaut souvent mieux que ce que l'on donne. -- Pas d'Inquisition, s'il vous plaît, mesdames les visiteuses.

41 - LES MAUVAIS PROPHÈTES - 20 JANVIER 1917

Les propriétaires annoncent une hausse dans le prix des loyers. -- Les agents d'immeubles qui veulent devenir philanthropes. -- Comment se loger à bon marché.

42 - LES ÉCOLES PROFESSIONNELLES - 27 JANVIER 1917

Comment apprendre à gagner sa vie. -- Le dessin et les travaux manuels. -- Un problème "d'après guerre" qu'il est urgent de solutionner de suite.

43 - LES DROITS DES RICHES - 3 FÉVRIER 1917

Les pauvres n'ont pas le droit de voler, mais les riches peuvent exploiter leurs concitoyens à loisir. -- Ce qu'il faut de nos jours pour être à l'honneur.

44 - LE LION SE FAIT MOUTON - 17 FÉVRIER 1917

Le peuple souffre de plus en plus pendant que les profiteurs de guerre remplissent leurs goussets. -- Qui osera pénétrer dans les entrepôts pour voir ce qu'on y cache?

45 - LES DROITS DU FABLE - 24 FÉVRIER 1917

Les ouvriers n'ont qu'un seul moyen de se protéger contre la cupidité des patrons, c'est de s'unir et personne ne pourra les en empêcher. -- Les moutons ne sont plus si faciles à tondre.

46 - DU ROMAN D'AMOUR AUX THÈSES SOCIALISTES - 3 MARS 1917

La conversion de M. Paul Bourget, de l'Académie Française. -- Ses idées sur le syndicalisme exposées au théâtre et les impressions qu'elles laissent au public. -- La réalité.

47 - L'EMANCIPATION DE LA FEMME - 10 MARS 1917

Pourquoi refuse-t-on le droit de vote aux Canadiennes de la Province de Québec? Serons-nous toujours en arrière des provinces soeurs? -- On n'est jamais si bien servi que par soi-même

48 - LES RONDS DE CUIR MUNICIPAUX - 17 MARS 1917

L'Hotel de Ville est-il un hospice pour les vieillards? — Pourquoi ne pas mettre à la retraite les employés trop vieux pour une besogne efficace? La proposition du Commissaire Villeneuve

49 - LA TERREUR DE NOS VILLES - 24 MARS 1917

Que des victimes ont fait les automobiles à Montréal depuis quelques années — Des avenues changées en champs de courses — Les règlements doivent être appliqués avec la plus grande sévérité, pour éviter de déplorables accidents. — Les chauffeurs sans expérience et les randonnées de nuit

50 - LES ENFANTS SAVANTS - 31 MARS 1917

Ne forçons pas l'étude dans les cerveaux trop jeunes sous prétexte d'avoir des enfants prodiges — Le magnétisme et l'instruction par inoculation. — Chaque chose doit avoir son temps.

51 - POUR FAIRE DE BONS CITOYENS - 7 AVRIL 1917

Les devoirs civiques, les devoirs sociaux doivent être mis à l'école en pleine lumière — Apprenons aux enfants à être respectueux des lois. — Une lacune dans notre enseignement que les professeurs se doivent de combler

52 - UN COUP DE BALAI, S.V.P. - 14 AVRIL 1917

Montréal va regagner sa réputation de ville malpropre. — L'état de nos rues et l'indifférence des administrateurs municipaux — Le moyen de trouver de nouveaux revenus

53 - Pendant que les Heureux, Les Riches et les Grands... - 21 AVRIL 1917

L'exploitation systématique du pauvre est encore tolérée par les lois. — Comment on peut voler les économies des ouvriers sans encourir de peine.

54 - LE DEVOIR DES PARENTS ENVERS LEURS ENFANTS - 28 AVRIL 1917

C'est de les faire instruire et l'Etat devrait les obliger s'ils ne font de bon gré. — L'instruction obligatoire est le remède suprême dont notre population a besoin. — L'ouvrier est le premier intéressé.

55 - POUR SAUVER LA BARQUE MUNICIPALE - 5 MAI 1917

L'incurie de nos administrateurs n'est pas la seule cause du déficit municipal — Imposons les propriétés de ceux qui jusqu'ici ont eu le privilège de ne rien verser au trésor. — Qui aura le courage de proposer la réforme qui sauvera la ville de la faillite?

56 - VERS L'ÉVOLUTION SOCIALE - 12 MAI 1917

L'exemple de la Russie sera-t-il salubre et réussira-t-il à sortir de leur torpeur les peuples encore esclaves? — Dressons nous devant la tyrannie et essayons de la terrasser

57 - LES COMMISSAIRES D'ÉCOLES - 19 Mai 1917

Il faut que les ouvriers soient représentés. — L'uniformité et la gratuité des livres s'imposent, dans l'intérêt même de la grande classe des travailleurs, qui souffrent le plus des méthodes actuelles.

58 - C'EST NOTRE FAUTE, NOTRE PROPRE FAUTE... - 2 JUIN 1917

Pourquoi n'élisons-nous pas des ouvriers pour nous représenter dans les corps législatifs? — Les avocats et les capitalistes n'ont pas les mêmes aspirations que les travailleurs et ne peuvent pas parler en leur nom.

59 - LA ROUTINE ENNEMIE DU TALENT ET DE L'INITIATIVE - 16 JUIN 1917

La promotion dans les services municipaux. — L'incompétence de certains chefs de départements nuit à l'avancement des employés dont les qualités sont méconnues

60 - LA MONARCHIE AGONIZE - 23 JUIN 1917

La guerre actuelle a originé des pays autocratiques, quoi qu'en puisse dire le chef nationaliste Instruisons le

peuple pour qu'il puisse s'affranchir du jong qui l'opprime.

61 - LA MORTALITÉ INFANTILE - 30 JUIN 1917

Ce n'est pas tout que d'avoir des enfants, il faut les élever. - Combien de petits êtres disparaissent par la seule négligence de ceux qui leur ont donné la vie?

62 - LE CHEPTTEL NATIONAL - 7 JUILLET 1917

Le gouvernement devrait prêcher l'élevage intensif en même temps que la culture généralisée — Les règlements municipaux pourraient être amendés pendant la durée de la guerre.

63 - LE SUFFRAGE FEMININ - 14 JUILLET 1917

Nos députés partiront-ils en vacances avant de régler cette importante question? La part prise par les femmes dans la présente querre exige qu'on leur donne des droits égaux à ceux dont jouissent les représentants du sexe fort.

64 - CEUX QUE L'ON DÉCORE- 21 JUILLET 1917

La richesse remplace maintenant le courage et la vertu. — Comment on peut devenir baron en vendant du cochon. - La noblesse du Xxe siècle.

65 - LES DEUX MARTYRES - 28 JUILLET 1917

Les Canadiens n'ont point oublié la malheureuse Belgique. - La patrie du roi Albert et sa soeur la France sont les deux sacrifiées de la guerre.

66 -LES ÉLECTIONS APPROCHENT Les Elections Approchent - 4 AOÛT 1917

Que les ouvriers ne se laissent pas séduire par les belles paroles des professionnels de la politique - Méfions-nous des "gens à chicane" -- L'avenir dépend du choix sera fait.

67 - LES ÉTERNELLES VICTIMES - 11 AOÛT 1917

Les propriétaires auraient-ils l'intention de faire payer par les salariés la taxe que le gouvernement vient d'imposer le pauvre contre la voracité des riches.

68 - DES OUVRIERS MAL PAYÉS - 18 AOÛT 1917

Quand nos gouvernants prendront-ils des mesures pour protéger les travailleurs?

69 - TRAVAIL ÉGAL, SALAIRE ÉGAL - 25 AOÛT 1917

Pourquoi les femmes qui font un travail aussi pénible que les hommes ne seraient-elles pas aussi bien rémunérées?

70 - AYEZ PITIÉ D'ELLES! - 1er SEPTEMBRE 1917

La situation des employées de magasins n'est guère enviable. Patrons et clients s'appliquent à leur rendre la vie misérable

71 - PRÉVENONS LE DANGER - 8 SEPTEMBRE 1917

72 - LE CONTRÔLE DES VIVRES - 15 SEPTEMBER 1917

Les prix augmentent de plus en plus tandis que les agents du gouvernement font des recherches futiles. - Le trust du lait suit celui du lard.

73 - COMMENT S'EMPLOIE LE GÉNIE DE L'HOMME - 22 SEPTEMBRE 1917

L'oeuvre créatrice qui a érigé le pont de Québec, nouvelle merveille du monde, comparée à l'oeuvre de destruction qui ravage les plaines jadis fertiles de l'Europe.

74 - LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE - 29 SEPTEMBRE 1917

Qu'on la dote de livres immédiatement au lieu de perdre son temps à faire mousser des candidatures à des postes inutiles.

75 - NE MANGER PAS, VOUS DÉPENSEREZ MOINS - 6 OCTOBRE 1917

Tel est le conseil que donne l'ineffable dictateur Hanna, sur la recommandation des profiteurs - La comédie continue.

76 - À PROPOS DE BILINGUALISME - 13 OCTOBRE 1917

Les plus grands ennemis de la langue française ne sont-ils pas les Canadiens-français qui s'anglisent?

77 - SAUVONS LES ENFANTS ET LEURS MAMANS! - 20 OCTOBRE 1917

Les bébés sont privés de lait parce qu'il coûte trop cher. - Le sort des femmes travaillant à l'usine et l'avenir de la race.

78 - LA CRISE DES VIVRES - 27 OCTOBRE 1917

A propos des petits enfants qui s'en vont à l'école le ventre creux.

79 - LES FINANCES MUNICIPALES - 10 NOVEMBRE 1917

C'est le système financier de la ville qu'il importe avant tout de modifier, si l'on veut éviter la banqueroute qui nous guette. -- Gardons les bons hommes et chassons les mauvais

80 - LE COUVRE-FEU - 17 NOVEMBRE 1917

Est-ce que ce retour aux coutumes moyennageuses assainira notre métropole? Sachons plutôt retenir nos enfants à la maison. - Simple question d'éducation.

81 - LES "QUÊTEUX" - 24 NOVEMBRE 1917

Les autorités municipales, on ne sait pour quel mobile, rétablissent la mendicité dans la métropole.

82 - LE VOTE DES FEMMES - 8 DÉCEMBRE 1917

Les femmes doivent-elles se prévaloir du droit qui leur a été donné? -- Le devoir de la nouvelle citoyenne.

83 - À PROPOS DE RACES - 15 DÉCEMBRE 1917

La lignée héroïque dont nous descendons permet de nous engorgueillir du sang qui coule dans nos veines

84 - CES DAMES AUX "POLLS" - 22 DÉCEMBRE 1917

A propos du vote des femmes dans la dernière élection générale.

85 - PENSÉES DE FIN D'ANNÉE - 29 DÉCEMBRE 1917

1918

86 - LES INCENDIES AUGMENTENT - 5 JANVIER 1918

La vie de nos pompiers et les responsabilités du public. - Que l'on poursuive les incendiaires.

87 - LE PARJURE - 12 JANVIER 1918

Incluquons à nos enfants le sentiment de la droiture et l'amour de la vérité.

88 - PROPRIOS ET LOCATAIRES - 19 JANVIER 1918

Tous deux se font plumer sans s'en rendre compte - Les éternels tondus

89 - LES VIEUX GARÇONS - 26 JANVIER 1918

L'impôt sur les célibataires aura-t-il pour effet d'augmenter la population

90 - MONTRÉAL EN TUTELLE - 2 FÉVRIER 1918

Les bons et les mauvais côtés du projet de réforme municipale

91 - LA DISETTE DE CHARBON - 9 FÉVRIER 1918

On pense à économiser le combustible lorsque l'on n'en a plus -- Ne pourrait-on pas employer des substituts?

92 - DES "RAFLES" DE MARIS - 16 FÉVRIER 1918

C'est le moyen que vont adopter les jeunes filles pour ne pas payer l'impôt municipal en coiffant Saint-Catherine

93 - QUE FAIT-ON DU RAPPORT DES EXPERTS? - 23 FÉVRIER 1918

Le public demande d'en connaître le texte complet et exact et non des parcelles seulement

94 - LE SORT DU SEXE FÉMININ - 9 MARS 1918**95 - LA PROSTITUTION À MONTRÉAL - 16 MARS 1918****96 - EN ATTENDANT LE DÉMÉNAGEMENT - 23 MARS 1918****97 - PAS BESOIN DE REPOUSOIR - 30 MARS 1918**

Ainey parit naturellement franc et honnête.

98 - LE "BARDA" A L'HÔTEL-DE-VILLE - 20 AVRIL 1918**99 - LA FEMME A L'ATELIER - 27 AVRIL 1918****100 - LE RÔLE DE LA FEMME EN POLITIQUE - 11 MAI 1918****101 - L'ENFANCE À L'USINE - 18 MAI 1918**

On ne pourra jamais trop faire pour protéger la jeunesse dans les manufactures. La plaie du patronage politique. - Le rôle des inspecteurs de manufactures.

102 - LE CINÉMA ET LES ENFANTS - 25 MAI 1918

Pourquoi la ville de Montréal n'en construirait-elle pas un pour les enfants au Parc Lafontaine?

103 - RÉFORME DE L'ÉDUCATION DANS QUÉBEC - 1er JUIN 1918

Les protestants veulent s'unir aux catholiques pour améliorer le système d'instruction. - Dans l'intérêt des deux dénominations.

104 - LAISSONS LES HÔPITAUX POUR LES PAUVRES - 8 JUIN 1918**105 - UN COIN DE LA VIE DES DEMOISELLES DE MAGASINS - 15 JUIN 1918**

Etude de Mœurs

106 - AUTOUR DE L'ENREGISTREMENT - 22 JUIN 1918**107 - LE SORT DES VIEUX COMMIS DE MAGASINS - 29 JUIN 1918****108 - CANSCANS ET POTINS - 6 JUILLET 1918****109 - PROTÈGEONS L'ENFANCE - 20 JUILLET 1918****110 - LES ACCIDENTS DU TRAVAIL ET LE SURMÉNAGE - 27 JUILLET 1918**

- 111 - LES DANGERS DU TRAVAIL DE NUIT POUR LES FEMMES - 3 AOÛT 1918
- 112 - LA MORTALITÉ. — COMMENT L'ENRAYER? - 10 AOÛT 1918
- 113 - LA LUTTE POUR L'EXISTENCE - 17 AOÛT 1918
- 114 - OÙ VONT NOS LÉGUMES? - 24 AOÛT 1918
- 115 - PUNISSEMENT DES VRAIS COUPABLES - 31 AOÛT 1918
- 116 - RÉFLEXIONS SUR LA FÊTE DU TRAVAIL - 7 SEPTEMBRE 1918
- 117 - À QUAND LA GRATUITÉ DES LIVRES? - 14 SEPTEMBRE 1918
- 118 - LES SALAIRES MUNICIPAUX - 21 SEPTEMBRE 1918
Etablira-t-on enfin un système graduant les salaires selon le mérite et les états de service des employées?
- 119 - QUE VONT DEVENIR LES HOMMES? - 28 SEPTEMBRE 1918
- 120 - LA DÉPOPULATION RURALE - 5 OCTOBRE 1918
- 121 - LA MALADIE À LA MODE - 12 OCTOBRE 1918
Ses bons et ses mauvais effets. — Les malades imaginaires. - La fermeture des lieux d'amusements - Les salaires qui ne seront pas payés.
- 122 - DES BAINS DE SOLEIL - 19 OCTOBRE 1918
- 123 - LES COMMÈRES - 26 OCTOBRE 1918
- 124 - POURQUOI NE PAS PRÉVENIR PLUTÔT QUE DE GUÉRIR - 2 NOVEMBRE 1918
- 125 - QUE SERA DEMAIN? - 9 NOVEMBRE 1918
- 126 - APRÈS LA GUERRE! - 16 NOVEMBRE 1918
- 127 - PAUVRES CÉLIBATAIRES! - 23 NOVEMBRE 1918
- 128 - LA FEMME ET LA POLITIQUE - 30 NOVEMBRE 1918
- 129 - POUR ENRAYER LE VICE - 7 DÉCEMBRE 1918
- 130 - LES MARIS MERCHANTS - 14 DÉCEMBRE 1918
- 131 - DÉMOCRATIE FACTICE - 28 DÉCEMBRE 1918
- 1919**
- 132 - LE BAISER DU JOUR DE L'AN - 04 JANUARY 1919
- 133 - L'INSTRUCTION OBLIGATOIRE - 11 JANUARY 1919
- 134 - LES MAGASINS À RAYONS - 18 JANVIER 1919

- 135 - QUE DOIT-ON APPRENDRE À NOS JEUNES FILLES - 25 JANVIER 1919
- 136 - LES ACCIDENTS DU TRAVAIL - 1 FÉVRIER 1919
- 137 - À PROPOS DE L'INSTRUCTION OBLIGATOIRE - 15 FÉVRIER 1919
- 138 - LES SANS TRAVAIL - 22 FÉVRIER 1919
- 139 - LA VEILLÉE DES MORTS - 1 MARS 1919
- 140 - PATRONS LA CRISE ÉCONOMIQUE - 8 MARS 1919
- 141 - ENSEIGNONS L'ÉCONOMIE - 15 MARS 1919
- 142 - POURQUOI DÉMÉNAGER - 22 MARS 1919
- 143 - POISSON D'AVRIL - 5 AVRIL 1919
- 144 - LE NÉGOCE CONJUGAL - 12 AVRIL 1919
- 145 - RESPECT À NOS HEROS - 19 AVRIL 1919
- 146 - LE RÉSULTAT DE L'EXPLOITATION DU PEUPLE - 26 AVRIL 1919
- 147 - LA CAUSE DE NOS MAUX - 3 MAI 1919
- 148 - LE CHAMARDEMENT ANNUEL - 10 MAI 1919
- 149 - LES UNIONS INTERNATIONALES - 17 MAI 1919
- 150 - LE GRAND MÉNAGE ANNUEL - 31 MAI 1919
- 151 - UN JUSTE MILIEU - 7 JUIN 1919
- 152 - L'INSTINCT DES ENFANTS - 14 JUIN 1919
- 153 - CHACUN A SA PLACE - 21 JUIN 1919
- 154 - PAR LA VOIX DES CANONS - 28 JUIN 1919
- 155 - LES AVOCATS - 5 JUILLET 1919
- 156 - LA GRÈVE DES FEMMES - 12 JUILLET 1919
- 157 - DONNONS DE L'AIR AUX ENFANTS - 19 JUILLET 1919
- 158 - UN SYSTÈME RUINEUX - 26 JUILLET 1919
- 159 - LES ENFANTS À L'USINE - 2 AOÛT 1919
- 160 - VOLONS LES GENS DE LA VILLE - 9 AOÛT 1919

161 - LE TRAVAIL DE LA FEMME - 16 AOÛT 1919

Tribune Libre

162 - L'ENNEMI DU PETIT, C'EST LE PARVENU - 16 AOÛT 1919

163 - UN COMMISSAIRE DU SERVICE CIVIL - 23 AOÛT 1919

164 - LES PROFITEURS - 30 AOÛT 1919

165 - LA FÊTE DU TRAVAIL - 6 SEPTEMBRE 1919

166 - LA VISITE DU PRINCE DE GALLES - 13 SEPTEMBRE 1919

167 - ON NE CONTRAINT PAS LES GENS PAR LA VERGE - 20 SEPTEMBER 1919

168 - PATRONS ET CAISSES DE RETRAITE - 11 OCTOBRE 1919

169 - LES JÉRÉMIADES DE "L'ACTION CATHOLIQUE" - 18 OCTOBRE 1919

170 - LA DÉGRINGOLADE EST-ELLE COMMENCÉE? - 25 OCTOBRE 1919

171 - LA PRISON COMME REFUGE - 1er NOVEMBRE 1919

172 - L'ESPRIT DES BÊTES - 8 NOVEMBRE 1919

173 - PENSONS AUX DISPARUS - 15 NOVEMBRE 1919

174 - AU TOUR DES DOMESTIQUES - 22 NOVEMBER 1919

175 - LA SAINT-CATHERINE DATAN - 29 NOVEMBRE 1919

176 - LE SOCIALISME EST-IL ANTI-CHRÉTIEN? - 6 DÉCEMBRE 1919

177 - MON PÈRE, JE M'ACCUSE!... - 13 DÉCEMBRE 1919

(Parodie sur l'"Action Catholique" de Québec)

178 - COMME QUOI, IL EST DANGEREUX DE POLÉMIQUER!... - 20 DÉCEMBRE 1919

179 - SOUVENIR DU JOUR DE L'AN - 27 DÉCEMBRE 1919

1920

180 - LE SUFFRAGE FÉMININ - 3 JANVIER 1920

181 - NOS INSTITUTIONS DE CHARITÉ - 17 JANVIER 1920

182 - QUESTIONS SOCIALES ET FÉMINISTES - 24 JANVIER 1920

183 - LES FEMMES DANS L'INDUSTRIE - 31 JANVIER 1920

184 - POURQUOI CETTE AUGMENTATION? - 7 FÉVRIER 1920

- 185 - LA GUERRE AUX TRUSTS - 14 FÉVRIER 1920
- 186 - OÙ NOUS MÈNE NOTRE HYPOCRISIE - 21 FÉVRIER 1920
- 187 - QUI DOIT GOUVERNER? - 28 FÉVRIER 1920
- 188 - LA BALEINE... AVALÉE PAR JONAS - 6 MARS 1920
- 189 - PROFITEURS DE GUERRE - 13 MARS 1920
- 190 - PRÉCOCE ÉMANCIPATION - 20 MARS 1920
- 200 - LA SCIENCE N'A PAS DE PATRIE - 27 MARS 1920
- 201 - CRAIGNONS LES GRECS ET LEURS PRESENTS - 3 AVRIL 1920
- 202 - LES PROPRIÉTAIRES ET LES ENFANTS - 10 AVRIL 1920
- 203 - CONSCIENCE ÉLASTIQUE - 17 AVRIL 1920
- 204 - DE SALUTAIRES LEÇONS - 1er MAI 1920
- 205 - LE CERCLE VICIEUX - 8 MAI 1920
- 206 - SAUVONS L'ENFANCE - 15 MAI 1920
- 207 - LE SALAIRE N'EST PAS TOUT...! - 22 MAI 1920
- 208 - TROP DE LUXE - 29 MAI 1920
- 209 - LA DIGNITÉ DU TRAVAIL - 5 JUIN 1920
- 210 - PROTÈGEONS NOS APPRENTIS - 12 JUIN 1920
- 211 - LE SORT DE L'IRLANDE - 19 JUIN 1920
- 212 - LE DROIT DE GRÈVE - 26 JUIN 1920
- 213 - AMENDONS LA LOI POUR PUNIR LES AFFAMEURS - 3 JUILLET 1920
- 214 - LES ÉCONOMISTES DE LA "SEMAINE SOCIALE" - 10 JUILLET 1920
- 215 - LA TAXE DES CÉLIBATAIRES - 17 JUILLET 1920
- 216 - SACHONS NOUS EXPRIMER - 24 JUILLET 1920
- 217 - L'APPRENTISSAGE FORCÉE - 31 JUILLET 1920
- 218 - UNE QUESTION QUE RIEN N'ETOUFFE - 7 AOÛT 1920
- 219 - LES FEMMES DE PEINE - 14 AOÛT 1920

- 220 - HISTOIRE DE PIQUE-NIQUE - 21 AOÛT 1920
- 221 - APPRENONS L'ANGLAIS - 2 OCTOBRE 1920
- 222 - PARTICIPATION AUX BÉNÉFICES - 9 OCTOBRE 1920
- 223 - LE BIEN-ÊTRE FUTUR DES TRAVAILLEURS - 16 OCTOBRE 1920
- 224 - POURQUOI NOUS LES COMBATTONS - 23 OCTOBRE 1920
- 225 - L'HOSPICE OU LA GÉOLE - OCTOBRE 30 1920
- 226 - FAUSSE CONCEPTION - 6 NOVEMBRE 1920
- 227 - LA NECESSITÉ DE L'ASSOCIATION - 20 NOVEMBRE 1920
- 228 - LES FAUX AMIS DE L'OUVRIER - 27 NOVEMBRE 1920
- 229 - MERCI, J'EN PRENDS JAMAIS - 4 DÉCEMBRE 1920
- 230 - MERCI, J'EN PRENDS JAMAIS - 11 DÉCEMBRE 1920
- 231 - LES VOLEURS D'INVENTIONS - 18 DÉCEMBRE 1920

1921

- 232 - LE CHOIX DES ÉTRENNES - 1er JANVIER 1921
- 233 - LA LIGUE DES NATIONS - 8 JANVIER 1921
- 234 - POURQUOI SE PLAIGNENT-ILS? - 15 JANVIER 1921
- 235 - L'ÉGOÏSME DES RICHES - 22 JANVIER 1921
- 236 - LA SÉCURITÉ DANS LE TRAVAIL - 5 FÉVRIER 1921
- 237 - LA MARCHÉ DU DESTIN - 12 FÉVRIER 1921
- 238 - IL FAUT S'ENTR'AIDER - 19 FÉVRIER 1921
- 239 - LA MAISON DES DACTYLOS - 26 FÉVRIER 1921
- 240 - OÙ VA TOUT CET ARGENT - 5 MARS 1921
- 241 - ASSURANCE ET CHOMAGE - 12 MARS 1921
- 242 - LES PROJETS D'AVENIR - 19 MARS 1921
- 243 - LES PRINCIPES DU "DROIT" - 26 MARS 1921
- 244 - LES LUBIES DE LA BONNE PRESSE - 2 AVRIL 1921

- 245 - QU'EN RÉSULTERA-T-IL? - 16 AVRIL 1921
- 246 - LE SALUT EST DANS L'ÉPARGNE - 23 AVRIL 1921
- 247 - DÉCENCE ET HYPOCRISIE - 30 AVRIL 1921
- 248 - LA MORT INFANTILE - 7 MAI 1921
- 249 - LES DOLEANCES D'UNE MIDINETTE - 21 MAI 1921
- 250 - REMÉDIATIONS À CET ÉTAT DE CHOSES - 28 MAI 1921
- 251 - QUE FAIT-ON DE CET ARGENT? - 4 JUIN 1921
- 252 - LA GENT RAISONNABLE - 11 JUIN 1921
- 253 - LE TRAVAIL DES FEMMES - 18 JUIN 1921
- 254 - LES THÉÂTRES DE VUES ANIMÉES - 25 JUIN 1921
- 255 - EN TOUT IL FAUT DE LA MESURE - 9 JUILLET 1921
- 256 - LA NÉCESSITÉ DES VACANCES - 16 JUILLET 1921
- 257 - LA BAISSÉ DES SALAIRES - 23 JUILLET 1921
- 258 - RÉFLEXIONS PRÉPATOIRES - 30 JUILLET 1921
- 259 - ÉCOLE POUR ÉPOUSES - 6 AOÛT 1921
- 260 - FONDS DE SECOURS - 13 AOÛT 1921
- 261 - LE COUVRE-FEU - 20 AOÛT 1921
- 262 - LE PROBLÈME DE L'HEURE - 27 AOÛT 1921
- 263 - SA MAJESTÉ L'ARGENT - 3 SEPTEMBRE 1921
- 264 - LES COEURS SENSIBLES! - 10 SEPTEMBRE 1921
- 265 - NOUVELLES FORMES DE LA TYRANNIE - 17 SEPTEMBRE 1921
- 266 - LE PROBLÈME DU CHÔMAGE - 24 SEPTEMBRE 1921
- 267 - LE DROIT AU TRAVAIL ET A LA VIE - 1er OCTOBRE 1921
- 268 - OSTRACISME DU SEXE FÉMININ - 8 OCTOBRE 1921
- 269 - LES ENFANTS MAL ÉLEVÉS - 22 OCTOBRE 1921
- 270 - L'ÉDUCATION DES ENFANTS - 29 OCTOBRE 1921

271 - PROJETS D'AVENIR - 13 NOVEMBRE 1921

1926

272 - SOUHAITS DU JOUR DE L'AN - JANVIER 1926

273 - UN AUTRE ROI QUI S'EN VA - 16 JANVIER 1926

274 - UNE FUMISTERIE - 23 JANVIER 1926

275 - UNE FAUSSE DIRECTIVE - 30 JANVIER 1926

276 - MENTALITÉ DE CHINOIS - 6 FÉVRIER 1926

277 - VENGEANCE FÉMININE - 13 FÉVRIER 1926

278 - LA FOI QUI SAUVE - 27 FÉVRIER 1926

279 - LES "BARGAIN DAYS" - 6 MARS 1926

280 - DEUX POIDS, DEUX MESURES, DEUX LANGAGES - 13 MARS 1926

281 - PROPOS DE CHIENS SUR LA RAGE - 20 MARS 1926

282 - CRIME ET VENGEANCE FÉMININE - 27 MARS 1926

283 - LES PENSIONS DU VIEIL ÂGE - 10 AVRIL 1926

284 - L'IDÉE EST EN MARCHÉ - 17 AVRIL 1926

285 - CATHOLIQUES vs PROTESTANTS

286 - LE SALAIRE MINIMUM DES FEMMES - 1er MAI 1926

287 - LA COMMISSION D'ENQUÊTE SCOLAIRE - 29 MAI 1926

288 - LES RESPONSABILITÉS PATRONALES - 5 JUIN 1926

289 - SOYONS DIGNES DE NOTRE RACE - 26 JUIN 1926

290 - NOS PROGRAMMES SCOLAIRES - 8 JUILLET 1926

291 - LA CONSCIENCE D'UN PEUPLE - 10 JUILLET 1926

292 - LE RÉVEIL DU MOUTON ET DU LION - 17 JUILLET 1926

293 - IL NOUS FAUT BEAUCOUP PLUS D'ÉCOLES - 24 JULY 1926

294 - AU PAYS DE L'HONNEUR - 31 JULY 1926

295 - ENTREPRISES PUBLIQUES VS BOUTIQUE FERMÉE - 7 AOÛT 1926

- 296 - NOS CHERS ET INTELLIGENTS ÉLECTEURS - 21 AOÛT 1926
- 297 - QUESTION DE MIRAGE - 4 SEPTEMBRE 1926
- 298 - LES "VESPASIENNES" - 11 SEPTEMBRE 1926
- 299 - RÉMINISCENCES ÉLECTORALES - 18 SEPTEMBRE 1926
- 300 - L'INSTRUCTION GRATUITE ET OBLIGATOIRE - 25 SEPTEMBRE 1926
- 301 - LA FRÉQUENTATION SCOLAIRE HÂTIVE - 23 OCTOBRE 1926
- 302 - LA GRANDE "TUEUSE" - 30 OCTOBRE 1926
- 303 - LES MAISONS DE SANTÉ - 6 NOVEMBRE 1926
- 304 - LA ROYAUTÉ SE BALADE - 20 NOVEMBRE 1926
- 305 - LA SAINTE-CATHERINE - 27 NOVEMBRE 1926
- 306 - LES CLOISONS BRANLENT - 4 DÉCEMBRE 1926
- 307 - LE VRAI REMÈDE AU PAUPÉRISME - 18 DÉCEMBRE 1926

1927

- 308 - LES FÊTES DU JOUR DE L'AN - 1 JANVIER 1927
- 309 - MÉNAGEONS NOS ÉNERGIES - 15 JANVIER 1927
- 310 - QUELS SONT LES COUPABLES?... - 28 JANVIER 1927
- 311 - L'ENQUÊTE - BOUFFE - 29 JANVIER 1927
- 312 - LE DROIT DE VOTE AUX FEMMES - 5 FÉVRIER 1927
- 313 - LA "ROYAUTÉ PAR TERRE" - 12 FÉVRIER 1927
- 314 - PROTÉGEONS LA JEUNESSE - 19 FÉVRIER 1927
- 315 - AVARICE N'EST PAS ÉCONOMIE - 5 MARS 1927
- 316 - COMMENT COMPRENDRE L'ÉCONOMIE - 12 MARS 1927
- 317 - L'IMMIGRATION INTENSE - 19 MARS 1927
- 318 - LA VIVISECTION - 26 MARS 1927
- 319 - PROPOS DE CARÊME - 2 AVRIL 1927
- 320 - LE PROBLÈME DES HOSPITAUX - 9 AVRIL 1927

- 321 - LE RENOUVEAU DU PRINTEMPS - 16 AVRIL 1927
- 322 - PROPOS À TIRE D'AILES - 23 AVRIL 1927
- 323 - ÇA NE VAUT PAS LA PEINE DE CHANGER... - 30 AVRIL 1927
- 324 - NE PRENONS PAS NOS DÉSIRS POUR LA RÉALITÉ - 7 MAI 1927
- 325 - Y A-T-IL UNE OPINION PUBLIQUE? - 14 MAI 1927
- 326 - SOYONS PROGRESSIFS AU LIEU D'ÊTRE DES RETARDAIRES - 21 MAI 1927
- 327 - CHINOISERIES DE LÀ-BAS ET D'ICI - 28 MAI 1927
- 328 - "OEIL POUR OEIL, DENT POUR DENT" - 4 JUNE 1927
- 329 - PROTÉGEONS NOS POLICIERS ET NOS POMPIERS - 11 JUIN 1927
- 328 - QUI PAIE SES DETTES S'ENRICHIT - 18 JUIN 1927
- 329 - NOTRE FÊTE NATIONAL - JUNE 25 1927
- 330 - POURQUOI NOUS SOMMES DE LOYAUX SUJETS - 2 JUILLET 1927
- 331 - À FARCEUR, FARCEUR ET DEMI - 9 JUILLET 1927
- 332 - DU GRAND AIR POUR LES PETITS - 16 JUILLET 1927
- 333 - LA MORTALITÉ INFANTILE - 23 JUILLET 1927
- 334 - RÉFORMONS AU LIEU DE DÉTRUIRE - 30 JUILLET 1927
- 335 - LES OEUVRES SERVILES - 6 AOÛT 1927
- 336 - LA SÉCURITÉ DES PEUPLES - 18 AOÛT 1927
- 337 - LA RENTRÉE DES CLASSES - 27 AOÛT 1927
- 338 - LA PEINE DE MORT - 27 AOÛT 1927
- 339 - LA FEMME DE DEMAIN - 3 SEPTEMBRE 1927
- 340 - NE SOYONS PAS DES "GRIPPE-SOUS" - 10 SEPTEMBRE 1927
- 341 - LA FEMME INSTRUITE EST UNE VALEUR - 17 SEPTEMBRE 1927
- 342 - LA FEMME INSTRUITE EST UNE VALEUR - 17 SEPTEMBRE 1927
- 343 - L'AMBITION PERD SON MAÎTRE - 24 SEPTEMBRE 1927
- 344 - QUE FAUT-IL EN DÉDUIRE? - 1er OCTOBRE 1927

345 - L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA FEMME - 8 OCTOBRE 1927

346 - AUTRE TEMPS! AUTRES MOEURS! - 15 OCTOBRE 1927

347 - QUI DONNERA LE VOTE AUX FEMMES - 22 OCTOBRE 1927

348 - LES VOYAGES AU PAYS DES "MERVEILLES" - 29 OCTOBRE 1927
La situation misérable des travailleurs russes.

349 - LE SUFFRAGE FÉMININ - 5 NOVEMBRE 1927

350 - IL FAUT DES PREUVES SUBSTANTIELLES - 12 NOVEMBRE 1927

351 - LUTTONS POUR LA VIE, NON POUR LA MORT - 19 NOVEMBRE 1927

352 - LA JOURNÉE INDIVISÉE - 26 NOVEMBRE 1927

353 - LA LUTTE POUR LE VOTE DES FEMMES - 3 DÉCEMBRE 1927

354 - POURQUOI S'OPPOSER AUX PENSIONS DE VIEILLESSE - 10 DÉCEMBRE 1927

355 - "BÂTONS FORTS" ET SUCRERIES - 17 DÉCEMBRE 1927

356 - CONTE DE NOËL - 17 DÉCEMBRE 1927
Histoire de chien et chat.

357 - SAUVEGARDONS LES PETITES EXISTENCES - 31 DÉCEMBRE 1927

1928

358 - À PROPOS DU BAL HISTORIQUE - 7 JANVIER 1928

359 - NOUS D'ABORD, LES AUTRES ENSUITE - 14 JANVIER 1928

360 - L'HOSPICE OBLIGATOIRE - 21 JANVIER 1928

361 - "INDUSTRIE ET HUMANITÉ" - 28 JANVIER 1928
Réflexions sur ce livre de l'hon. Mackenzie King.

362 - IL FAUT FAIRE LEUR ÉDUCATION - 4 FÉVRIER 1928

363 - TOUT VIENT À SON HEURE - 11 FÉVRIER 1928

364 - LISEZ VOTRE BAIL AVANT DE LE SGNER - 18 FÉVRIER 1928

365 - LA PRISON POUR LES VIEUX - 25 FÉVRIER 1928

366 - À PROPOS DU VOTE DES FEMMES - 3 MARS 1928

367 - DÉFENDONS NOS LIBERTÉS - 10 MARS 1928

368 - LE DROIT DE CHACUN À LA VIE - 17 MARS 1928

- 369 - LE SUFFRAGE FÉMININ - 24 MARS 1928
- 370 - LE MAUX DE L'HUMANITÉ - 31 MARS 1928
- 371 - UNE LOI DE PHARISIENS - 14 AVRIL 1928
- 372 - LE MARCHÉ MATRIMONIAL - 21 AVRIL 1928
- 373 - L'EXPLOITATION DE L'ENFANCE - 5 MAI 1928
- 374 - LA SÉCURITÉ AVANT TOUT - 12 MAI 1928
- 375 - CINÉMAS ET JOURNAUX DÉNONCÉS - 19 MAI 1928
- 376 - EXCLUSION DES FEMMES DU SÉNAT - 28 AVRIL 1928
- 377 - SE TAIRE OU FAIRE SON DEVOIR - 26 MAI 1928
- 378 - DU GRAND AIR POUR LES PETITS - 2 JUIN 1928
- 379 - LES EXAMENS DE FIN D'ANNÉE - 9 JUIN 1928
- 380 - SOTTE LEÇON DE MORALE - 16 JUIN 1928
- 381 - TRÊVE DE CES JOURS DE FÊTE - 23 JUIN 1928
- 382 - POLITIQUE D'ANTAN ET D'AUJOURD'HUI - 30 JUIN 1928
- 383 - LES AFFRES DU CHÔMAGE - 7 JUILLET 1928
- 384 - L'INCONSCIENCE DES AUTOMOBILISTES - 14 JUILLET 1928
- 385 - ÉPARGNONS POUR LES MAUVAIS JOURS - 21 JUILLET 1928
- 386 - LA RÉALISATION DE NOS ASPIRATIONS - 28 JUILLET 1928
- 387 - CES CHEFS DE FAMILLE IMPROVISÉS - 4 AOÛT 1928
- 388 - UN GRAND HOMME D'ÉTAT - 11 AOÛT 1928
- 389 - LES PENSIONS DE VIEILLESSE - 18 AOÛT 1928
- 390 - LE SÉNAT FERMÉ AUX FEMMES - 25 AOUT 1928
- 391 - SOUVENIRS DE "BY-TOWN" - 1er SEPTEMBRE 1928
- 392 - C'EST LA RENTRÉE DES CLASSES, HÉLAS! - 8 SEPTEMBRE 1928
- 393 - AUX VIVANTS LA LIBERTÉ - 15 SEPTEMBRE 1928
- 394 - UN INCIDENT MELO-DRAMATIQUE - 22 SEPTEMBRE 1928

- 395 - LE CHOIX D'UNE VOCATION - 29 SEPTEMBRE 1928
- 396 - RÉFLEXIONS CONJUGALES - 6 OCTOBRE 1928
- 397 - LES MÈRES IMPRÉVOYANTES - 13 OCTOBRE 1928
- 398 - UNE ERREUR JUDICIAIRE - 20 OCTOBRE 1928
- 399 - CORRESPONDANCES INTERPLANÉTAIRES - 27 OCTOBRE 1928
- 400 - LES TRÉPASSÉS - 3 NOVEMBRE 1928
- 401 - LES PUNITIONS CORPORELLES AVILISSENT - 10 NOVEMBRE 1928
- 402 - EN MARGE DES ÉLECTIONS AUX ÉTATS-UNIS - 17 NOVEMBRE 1928
- 403 - SOYONS NOUS-MÊMES - 24 NOVEMBRE 1928
- 404 - UN SAGE CONSEIL À MÉDITER - 1 DÉCEMBRE 1928
- 405 - LA PRISON POUR LES GUEUX - 8 DÉCEMBRE 1928
- 406 - Y A-T-IL RAISON DE S'ALARMER - 15 DÉCEMBRE 1928
- 407 - JE VOUS LA SOUHAITE...! - 29 DÉCEMBRE 1928
- 408 - DU TRAVAIL AU LIEU D'AUMÔNES - 5 JANVIER 1929
- 409 - NOTRE SOCIÉTÉ SE TRANSFORME - 13 JANVIER 1929
- 410 - AYONS SOIN DE NOS VIEUX - 19 JANVIER 1929
- 411 - LA MANIE DE FUMER - 25 JANVIER 1929
- 412 - HISTOIRE DE PERROQUET - 2 FÉVRIER 1929
- 413 - LA MORTALITÉ INFANTILE - 16 FÉVRIER 1929
- 414 - LA PENSION DE VIEILLESSE - 23 FÉVRIER 1929
- 415 - FAISONS NOTRE EXAMEN DE CONSCIENCE - 2 MARS 1929
- 416 - LA HAINE EST STUPIDE - 9 MARS 1929
- 417 - L'INFLUENCE DES JUPES COURTES - 11 MARS 1929
- 418 - LA COURSE À LA FORTUNE - 16 MARS 1929
- 419 - SOYONS MISÉRICORDIEUX - 30 MARS 1929
- 420 - LE SUFFRAGE FÉMININ - 6 AVRIL 1929

- 421 - DU CHAMPAGNE À L'ÉGOUT - 13 AVRIL 1929
- 422 - SUPPRIMERAIT-ON LE LUNCH - 20 AVRIL 1929
- 423 - "TU NE TUERAS POINT" - 4 MAI 1929
- 424 - ÉPURONS NOS MOEURS - 11 MAI 1929
- 425 - UNE NOUVELLE DÉFAITE - 18 MAI 1929
- 426 - IL FAUT COMBATTRE LA GUIGNE - 25 MAI 1929
- 427 - LA JOURNÉE CONTINUE - 1 JUIN 1929
- 428 - L'ENTRAÎNEMENT MILITAIRE EN CHAMBRE - 8, JUNE 1929
- 429 - VEILLONS SUR L'ENFANCE - 15 JUNE 1929
- 430 - DEVENONS PROPRIÉTAIRES - 22 JUIN 1929
- 431 - HISTOIRE DE SINGE - 29 JUIN 1929
- 432 - LA RACE DE L'AVENIR - 6 JUILLET 1929
- 433 - UN AUTRE SACRIFICE INUTILE - 13 JUILLET 1929
- 434 - L'EXPLOITATION DE NOS PROPRES ENFANTS - 20 JUILLET 1929
- 435 - UN PRINCE BRASSEUR DE BIÈRE - 27 JUILLET 1929
- 436 - L'OBLIGATION SCOLAIRE - 10 AOÛT 1929
- 437 - LA FAUSSE ÉCONOMIE - 17 AOÛT 1929
- 438 - NOS FILLES S'ÉMANCIPENT - 24 AOÛT 1929
- 439 - CEUX QUE L'ON IGNORE - 7 SEPTEMBRE 1929
- 440 - UNE INJUSTICE SOCIALE - 14 SEPTEMBRE 1929
- 441 - LA VIE PRIMITIVE - 21 SEPTEMBRE 1929
- 442 - RENTRONS UN PEU EN NOUS-MÊMES - 28 SEPTEMBRE 1929
- 443 - LA VALIDITÉ DU MARIAGE - 5 OCTOBRE 1929
- 444 - NOTRE... HOMME PRIMITIF - 12 OCTOBRE 1929
- 445 - L'ÉCOLE DE CAMPAGNE - 19 OCTOBRE 1929
- 446 - UN CINÉMA EN PLEIN AIR - 26 OCTOBRE 1929

447 - GARE AUX BELLES-MÈRES - 9 NOVEMBRE 1929

448 - CONTE D'ANTAN - 16 NOVEMBRE 1929

449 - AUTOUR D'UNE CONFÉRENCE - 23 NOVEMBRE 1929

450 - AUTRES TEMPS, AUTRES MOEURS - 30 NOVEMBRE 1929

451 - SACHONS CONTRÔLER NOS NERFS - 14 DÉCEMBRE 1929

452 - LA NOËL D'UN DÉRACINÉ - 21 DÉCEMBRE 1929

1930

453 - LES ROIS MAGES - 4 JANVIER 1929

454 - LA LUTTE POUR L'EXISTENCE - 14 JANVIER 1930

455 - LA SÉCURITÉ DES ENFANTS - 18 JANVIER 1930

456 - LA FRÉQUENTATION SCOLAIRE OBLIGATOIRE - 25 JANVIER 1930

457 - L'HARMONIE UNIVERSELLE - 1er FÉVRIER 1930

458 - LES NAISSANCES ILLÉGITIMES - 8 FÉVRIER 1930

459 - LA MINORITÉ FRANÇAISE D'ONTARIO - 15 FÉVRIER 1930

460 - NOS POLITICIENS D'ANTAN ET D'AUJOURD'HUI - 1er MARS 1930

461 - BÊTISES BÊTES - 15 MARS 1930

462 - UNE VOIE DANGEREUSE - 29 MARS 1930

463 - SILHOUETTES POLITIQUES - 5 AVRIL 1930

464 - LE "FAIR PLAY" BRITANNIQUE - 12 AVRIL 1930

465 - A LA MÉMOIRE DE PAPINEAU - 19 AVRIL 1930

466 - DES ÉCOLES JUIVES - 26 AVRIL 1930

467 - LE COMMUNISME RUSSE - 3 MAI 1930

468 - DES BAINS À L'EAU CLAIRE - 10 MAI 1930

469 - LA DIGNITÉ MASCULINE - 17 MAI 1930

470 - UNE SUGGESTION OPPORTUNE - 24 MAI 1930

471 - MANGEONS BIEN, NOUS VIVRONS VIEUX! - 31 MAI 1930

- 472 - LES DROITS ACQUIS - 7TH JUIN 1930
- 473 - LE CULTE DU SOUVENIR - 14 JUIN 1930
- 474 - LA MORTALITÉ INFANTILE - 21 JUIN 1930
- 475 - POURQUOI CETTE RECONSTITUTION? - 28 JUNE 1930
- 476 - LE RÔLE DE LA PRESSE - 5 JULY 1930
- 477 - L'HYPOCRISIE DE NOS MOEURS - 12 JUILLET 1930
- 478 - LE FÉMINISME INTÉGRAL - 19 JUILLET 1930
- 479 - L'ESPRIT DE LA MASSE - 26 JUILLET 1930
- 480 - L'ESPRIT DE MASSE - 26 JUILLET 1930
- 481 - LE CHÔMAGE: LE PROBLÈME DU JOUR - 2 AOÛT 1930
Extraits d'un discours prononcé par le camarade Léon Jouhaux, secrétaire de la Confédération Générale du Travail de France, au cours d'une assemblée de la Conférence international du Travail, tenue récemment à Genève.
- 482 - LES PHÉNOMÈNES PSYCHIQUES - 9 AOÛT 1930
- 483 - LE SOLEIL LUIT POUR TOUS - 16 AOÛT 1930
- 484 - LA CONSCIENCE PROFESSIONNELLE - 23 AOÛT 1930
- 485 - LA GLORIFICATION DU TRAVAIL - 6 SEPTEMBRE 1930
- 486 - LA RENTRÉE EN CLASSE - 13 SEPTEMBRE 1930
- 487 - LE BOURRAGE DES CRÂNES - 30 SEPTEMBRE 1930
- 488 - LES PERPÉTUELLES VICTIMES - 27 SEPTEMBRE 1930
- 489 - LES PRIVILÉGIÉES DE LA NATURE - 4 OCTOBRE 1930
- 490 - L'ENFANCE MALHEUREUSE - 11 OCTOBRE 1930
- 491 - LA JUSTICE EST-ELLE AVEUGLÉE? - 18 OCTOBRE 1930
- 492 - LA TRANQUILLITÉ DE L'HUMANITÉ - 25 OCTOBRE 1930
- 493 - LE GOÛT DE LA LECTURE - 1er NOVEMBRE 1930
- 494 - UNE LEÇON DE BEAU LANGAGE - 8 NOVEMBRE 1930
- 495 - CONTENTEMENT PASSE RICHESSE - 15 NOVEMBRE 1930
- 496 - LE MOIS DES MORTS - 28 NOVEMBRE 1930

497 - LA POLITIQUE D'ANTAN - 29 NOVEMBRE 1930

498 - LA CHARITÉ QUI FAIT MAL - 6 DÉCEMBRE 1930

499 - SAUVONS NOS SAPINS - 13 DÉCEMBRE 1930

500 - LA JUSTICE IMMANENTE DES CHOSES - 20 DÉCEMBRE 1930

1931

501 - CADEAUX DU JOUR DE L'AN - 3 JANVIER 1931

502 - LA COURSE AU PLAISIR - 10 JANVIER 1931

503 - UN DÉFAUT À CORRIGER - 17 JANVIER 1931

504 - CHARITÉ... QUI PAIE - 24 JANVIER 1931

506 - LE TRAVAIL EST NOBLE - 7 FÉVRIER 1931

507 - GLORIFIONS NOS HÉROS OBSCURS - 14 FÉVRIER 1931

508 - SACHONS ÉLEVER NOS ENFANTS - 21 FÉVRIER 1931

509 - PROTÉGEONS NOS MÈRES DE FAMILLE - 28 FÉVRIER 1931

510 - VENGEANCE INFÂME - 14 MARS 1931

511 - CHOISSONS NOS MANDATAIRES - 21 MARS 1931

512 - VERS LES SOMMETS - 28 MARS 1931

513 - ALLELUIA! ALLELUIA! - 4 AVRIL 1931

514 - COMMENT ON CHOISIT UN JURY - 18 AVRIL 1931

514 - PÉRIODE DE DÉMÉNAGEMENT - 25 AVRIL 1931

515 - UN HÉROS OBSCUR - 2 MAI 1931

516 - COMMENT REMÉDIER AU CHÔMAGE? - 9 MAI 1931

517 - UN TRIBUNAL MATRIMONIAL - 16 MAI 1931

518 - FAUSSE CHARITÉ ORGUEILLEUSE - 13 JUIN 1931

519 - TITRES ET DÉCORATIONS - 20 JUIN 1931

520 - VÉRITABLE SNOBISME - 27 JUIN 1931

521 - RÉMINISCENCES DE LA ST-JEAN-BAPTISTE - 4 JUILLET 1931

- 522 - LA CLASSE OUVRIÈRE - 18 JUILLET 1931
- 523 - L'ÉDUCATION DES ENFANTS - 25 JUILLET 1931
- 524 - LE PROGRÈS ÉMANCIPATEUR - 1^{er} AOÛT 1931
- 525 - L'INFLUENCE INVISIBLE DE LA FEMME - 8 AOÛT 1931
- 526 - QUE FAIRE DE NOS ENFANTS? - 15 AOÛT 1931
- 527 - UN ANACHRONISME - 29 AOÛT 1931
- 528 - COMMENT ON AIME L'HUMANITÉ - 5 SEPTEMBRE 1931
- 529 - POUR REMÉDIER À LA CRISE - 12 SEPTEMBRE 1931
- 530 - LE RÔLE MODERNE DE LA FEMME - 19 SEPTEMBRE 1931
- 531 - LE VRAI REMÈDE AU MAL SOCIAL - 26 SEPTEMBRE 1931
- 532 - LE STIGMATE QUI SUIV - 3 OCTOBRE 1931
- 533 - TANT VA LA CRUCHE À L'EAU - 10 OCTOBRE 1931
- 534 - "SAUVEZ LA FRANCE" ... C'EST FAIT - 17 OCTOBRE 1931
- 535 - "CUIQUE SUUM" - 24 OCTOBRE 1931
- 536 - LE SUCCÈS DES SUFFRAGETTES - 31 OCTOBRE 1931
- 537 - "AIDE-TOI, LE CIEL T'AIDERA" - 7 NOVEMBRE 1931
- 538 - LE RESPECT AU PRÉTOIRE - 14 NOVEMBRE 1931
- 539 - LA SAINT-CATHERINE - 21 NOVEMBRE 1931
- 540 - "DÉBARQUONS DE SUR LE POULIN" - 28 NOVEMBRE 1931
- 541 - N'OSTRACISONS PAS LES FEMMES - 5 DÉCEMBRE 1931
- 542 - CONSCIENCE NATIONALE ET OPINION PUBLIQUE - 12 DÉCEMBRE 1931
- 543 - À LA VEILLE DES FÊTES - 19 DÉCEMBRE 1931
- 544 - UN NOËL D'ENFANT - 26 DÉCEMBRE 1931

1932

- 545 - DES RENTES PRÉLEVÉES SUR LA MISÈRE - 2 JANVIER 1932
- 546 - QUI CASSE LES POTS DEVRAIT LES PAYER - 16 JANVIER 1932

- 547 - LES PROMESSES ÉLECTORALES - 23 JANVIER 1932
- 548 - LE VOTE DES FEMMES - 30 JANVIER 1932
- 549 - L'UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTRÉAL - 6 FÉVRIER 1932
- 550 - DÉVOTION MAL PLACÉE - 13 FÉVRIER 1932
- 551 - LA VISITE DES LOGEMENTS - 20 FÉVRIER 1932
- 552 - LA SUFFRAGE FÉMININ - 27 FÉVRIER 1932
- 553 - UNE MENTALITÉ FAUSSÉE - 12 MARS 1932
- 554 - L'ENLÈVEMENT D'UN ENFANT - 19 MARS 1932
- 555 - LE TRAVAIL RÉGÉNÉRATEUR - 9 AVRIL 1932
- 556 - LES VÊTEMENTS MASCULINS - 16 AVRIL 1932
- 557 - UN ANGOISSANT PROBLÈME - 23 AVRIL 1932
- 558 - MENTALITÉ DE BOURGEOIS - 30 AVRIL 1932
- 559 - POTINS DE DÉMÉNAGEMENT - 7 MAI 1932
- 560 - LE BIEN D'AUTRUI - 14 MAI 1932
- 561 - LA DÉsertION DES FOYERS - 21 MAI 1932
- 562 - RETOURNONS À LA TERRE
- 563 - LE TRAVAIL DE LA FEMME - 4 JUIN 1932
- 564 - UN PROBLÈME ANGOISSANT - 11 JUIN 1932
- 565 - LE RESPECT DE LA VIE D'AUTRUI - 18 JUIN 1932
- 566 - NOS HÉROS DÉMODÉS - 25 JUNE 1932
- 567 - L'AIDE AUX SANS-TRAVAIL - 2 JUILLET 1932
- 568 - LE PROBLÈME DE LA CRIMINALITÉ - 16 JUILLET 1932
- 569 - LES ANIMAUX MALFAISANTS - 9 JUILLET 1932
- 570 - LA CONFÉRENCE IMPÉRIALE - 23 JUILLET 1932
- 571 - L'AMOUR SANS PAIN EST ÉPHÉMÈRE - 30 JUILLET 1932
- 572 - PROTÉGEONS LES FOYERS PAR UN MORATORIUM - 6 AOÛT 1932

- 573 - LES CÉLÉBRATIONS OFFICIELLES - 13 AOÛT 1932
- 574 - OÙ EST DONC L'ARGENT? - 20 AOÛT 1932
- 575 - LA VIE MODERNE - 27 AOÛT 1932
- 576 - "LA RECHERCHE DE LA PATERNITÉ" - 10 SEPTEMBRE 1932
- 577 - PHILANTROPIE DE MAUVAIS ALOI - 24 SEPTEMBRE 1932
- 578 - LE COMBATTANT MYSTIQUE - 1er OCTOBRE 1932
- 579 - LA SOCIÉTÉ SE TRANSFORME-T-ELLE? - 8 OCTOBRE 1932
- 580 - LES PAUVRES HONTEUX - 15 OCTOBRE 1932
- 581 - L'ÉVOLUTION FÉMININE - 22 OCTOBRE 1932
- 582 - LA MISÈRE HUMAINE - 29 OCTOBRE 1932
- 583 - LE VOTE DE LA FEMME À L'AVENIR - 5 NOVEMBRE 1932
- 584 - LE RETOUR AU FOYER - 12 NOVEMBRE 1932
- 585 - L'ÉMANCIPATION DE LA FEMME - 19 NOVEMBRE 1932
- 586 - AUTRE TEMPS, AUTRES MOEURS - 26 NOVEMBRE 1932
- 587 - UN TRAIT D'HÉROÏSME - 3 DÉCEMBRE 1932
- 588 - SOYONS LOGIQUES EN TOUT - 10 DÉCEMBRE 1932
- 589 - LE SECRET PROFESSIONNEL DU MÉDECIN - 17 DÉCEMBRE 1932
- 1933**
- 590 - POURQUOI DES PAUVRES? - 20 MAI 1933
- 591 - L'ATTITUDE DE L'ALLEMAGNE - 27 MAI 1933
- 592 - L'INTOLÉRANCE DISPARAÎT - 3 JUIN 1933
- 593 - L'ÉTERNEL VEAU D'OR - 17 JUIN 1933
- 594 - HISTOIRES DE NUDISTES - 1er JUILLET 1933
- 595 - LA NOBLESSE DE LA TERRE - 8 JUILLET 1933
- 596 - LA PROSPÉRITÉ REVIENT-ELLE? - 15 JUILLET 1933
- 597 - LA FOI AUX CHARLATANS - 22 JUILLET 1933

- 598 - UN MARCHÉ MACABRE - 29 JUILLET 1933
- 599 - LE PAUVRE OUVRIER - 26 AOÛT 1933
- 600 - S'ABITUE-T-ON À AVOIR FAIM? - 9 SEPTEMBRE 1933
- 601 - CELA AURAIT PU ÊTRE PIS - 23 SEPTEMBRE 1933
- 602 - L'ENTR'AIDE EST DE RIGEUR - 30 SEPTEMBRE 1933
- 603 - LA RESPONSABILITÉ DES PARENTS - 7 OCTOBRE 1933

1934

- 604 - PROFITONS DE L'AVENIR - 6 JANVIER 1934
- 605 - SERAIT-CE UN AUTRE "FRANKENSTEIN"? - 13 JANVIER 1934
- 606 - LA FOI AVEUGLE - 20 JANVIER 1934
- 607 - TROP DE CONFIANCE NUIT - 27 JANVIER 1934
- 608 - LE TRAVAIL FÉMININ EST-IL PRÉFÉRÉ? - 17 FÉVRIER 1934
- 609 - AMÉLIORER PLUTÔT QUE PUNIR - 24 FÉVRIER 1934
- 610 - LA PAIX PAR LA VOLONTÉ DU PEUPLE - 3 MARS 1934
- 611 - PROPOS MACABRES - 10 MARS 1934
- 612 - LE CHOIX DES ADMINISTRATEURS - 17 MARS 1934
- 613 - LE TRAVAIL DES ENFANTS - 24 MARS 1934
- 614 - LES DOLEANCES DE PÂTEMOLLE - 14 AVRIL 1934
- 615 - RÉPONSE A M. PÂTEMOLLE - 21 AVRIL 1934
- 616 - NOS ADMINISTRATEURS MUNICIPAUX - 28 AVRIL 1934
- 617 - C'EST LE PRINTEMPS! - 5 MAI 1934
- 618 - LE TRAVAIL DES FEMMES - 12 MAI 1934
- 619 - LA JUSTICE MISÉRICORDIEUSE - 19 MAI 1934
- 620 - L'UTILITÉ DE LA GENT FÉMININE - 23 JUIN 1934
- 621 - QUESTION DE RACE? - 7 JUILLET 1934
- 622 - IL FAUT DE LA MORALE... - 14 JUILLET 1934

- 623 - QUELQUES "À CÔTÉS" DE LA CRISE - 21 JUILLET 1934
- 624 - LE RETOUR À LA TERRE - 11 AOÛT 1934
- 625 - LES PROFITEURS DE GUERRES - 6 OCTOBRE 1934
- 626 - À PROPOS DE DÉCORATIONS - 13 OCTOBRE 1934
- 627 - LE SENS-PRATIQUE NOUS MANQUE - 20 OCTOBRE 1934
- 628 - UNE ÉCOLE NATIONALE VRAIMENT FRANÇAISE - 3 NOVEMBRE 1934
- 629 - L'ENQUÊTE PARLEMENTAIRE - 17 NOVEMBRE 1934
- 630 - RENVOYER LA FEMME AU FOYER, EST-CE POSSIBLE? - 1er DÉCEMBRE 1934
- 631 - MARIAGE PRINCIER ET PARADE RIDICULE - 8 DÉCEMBRE 1934
- 632 - LA NOËL DE PÉCOT - 22 DÉCEMBRE 1934

1935

- 633 - LES SOUHAITS DE JULIEN SAINT-MICHEL - 5 JANVIER 1935
- 634 - POUR SAUVER CONCORDIA - 12 JANVIER 1935
- 635 - LE FLÉCHISSEMENT DES CONSCIENCES - 26 JANVIER 1935
- 636 - CONCORDIA A BESOIN D'ARGENT, QU'ELLE LE PRENNE OÙ IL SE TROUVE - 9 MARS 1935 -
Une revision du mode d'évaluation s'impose.
- 637 - ODIEUX INFANTICIDE - 16 FÉVRIER 1935
- 638 - L'HUMBLE MÉDECIN DE CAMPAGNE - 2 MARS 1935
- 639 - RENDEZ À CÉSAR CE QUI APPARTIENT CÉSAR - 30 MARS 1935
- 640 - CURIOSITÉS ANODINES! - 13 AVRIL 1935
- 641 - UNE ORAISON FUNÉBRE - 4 MAI 1935
- 642 - LA CHARITÉ N'APPAUVRIT PAS... - 8 JUIN 1935
- 643 - PIQUE-NIQUES D'AUTREFOIS - 22 JUIN 1935
- 644 - L'ÉDUCATION QUI COMPTE - 7 SEPTEMBRE 1935
- 645 - LE CONCEPT DE LA GLOIRE - 21 SEPTEMBRE 1935
- 646 - LE RESPECT DE LA CHOSE PUBLIQUE - 28 SEPTEMBRE 1935
- 647 - LES DANGERS DES DICTATURES - 12 OCTOBRE 1935

648 - LE CONFLIT ITALO-ÉTHIOPIEN - 19 OCTOBRE 1935

649 - IL FAUT FAIRE RÉGNER LA PAIX - 2 NOVEMBRE 1935

650 - LA SAINTETÉ DU MARIAGE - 23 NOVEMBRE 1935

651 - UN CONFLIT DÉSASTREUX - 7 DÉCEMBRE 1935

652 - "JE NE SAIS PAS LIRE..." - 21 DÉCEMBRE 1935

1936

653 - LE RAISONNEMENT DES ÉGOÏSTES - 18 JANVIER 1936

654 - LE PASSÉ ET L'AVENIR - 25 JANVIER 1936

655 - QU'ARRIVERA-T-IL DE DEMAIN? - 8 FÉVRIER 1936

656 - TANT VA LA CRUCHE À L'EAU... - 15 FÉVRIER 1936

657 - LES DEUX FLÉAUX DE L'HUMANITÉ - 28 MARS 1936

658 - UNE TRAGÉDIE HUMAINE - 4 AVRIL 1936

659 - UN RAFFINEMENT DE CRUAUTÉS - 26 AVRIL 1936

660 - L'INFÉRIORITÉ ÉCONOMIQUE - 9 MAI 1936

661 - LES EXAMENS SCOLAIRES - 30 MAI 1936

662 - LE VOTE DES FEMMES - 20 JUIN 1936

663 - LES FRÈRES SIAMOIS ET LA DÉSUNION - 11 JUILLET 1936

664 - LE NOUVEAU RÉGIME - 22 AVRIL 1936

665 - REMETTRE DE L'ORDRE DANS L'ÉTAT SOCIAL - 31 OCTOBRE 1936

1937

666 - LES ROIS... S'EN VONT - 9 JANVIER 1937

667 - LE RÉGNE DU DOLLAR - 16 JANVIER 1937

668 - SECOURS DIRECTS vs SECOURS MUTUELS - 30 JANVIER 1937

669 - HOMICIDES PAR...IGNORANCE - 6 FÉVRIER 1937

670 - L'HISTOIRE EN CONTE DE FÉE - 6 MARS 1937

671 - LA ROSE QUI NE MEURT PAS - 27 MARS 1937

672 - OÙ MÈNE L'HONNÊTETÉ - 24 AVRIL 1937

673 - IGNORANT OU MALHONNÊTE...LEQUEL? 8 MAI 1937

674 - COMMENT SORTIR DE L'ORNIÈRE - 3 JUILLET 1937

675 - LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE - 17 JUILLET 1937

676 - QUI SÈME LE VENT, RÉCOLTE LA TEMPÊTE - 31 JUILLET 1937

677 - LES SECRETS DE LA NATURE - 14 AOÛT 1937

678 - RENDONS HOMMAGE À NOS PATRIOTES - 28 AOÛT 1937

679 - LES ACHATS À PAIEMENTS DIFFERES DOIVENT-ILS ETRE IMPITOYABLEMENT
CONDAMNÉS? - 23 OCTOBRE 1937

680 - LA PERSECUTION N'A JAMAIS TUÉ L'IDÉE - 30 OCTOBRE 1937

681 - BOURASSA EST TOUJOURS DEBOUT - 11 DÉCEMBRE 1937

682 - UN RÉVEILLON TRAGI-COMIQUE - 25 DÉCEMBRE 1937

1938

683 - LE RÔLE DES UNIONS INTERNATIONALES - 8 JANVIER 1938

684 - AUTOUR D'UNE GRÈVE - 29 JANVIER 1938

685 - LA BLANCHEUR DES LYS - **DEMAIN** - 2 MARS 1938

686 - UN RÊVE RÉALISÉ - 24 DECEMBRE 1938

1939

687 - LE MOUTON NOIR - 23 DECEMBRE 1939

1942

688 - UN RÊVE D'UNE NUIT DE NOËL - 26 DECEMBRE 1942

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. PRIMARY WORKS

Archival

L'Archives de la Ville de Montréal
Collection de la Bibliothèque de Montréal
BM60DI (D2, D3, D4, D6, D7, D43, D59, D61, D75).

Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec
545, boulevard Crémazie Est, 17 étage
Montréal (Québec)
Documents.

L'Université de Québec à Montréal
FTQ (Fonds) 84 P5 / 8A11

Fiction/Poetry/Editorials

Colombine (pseud. Eva Circé-Côté). Bleu. Blanc. Rouge: Poésies, Paysages, Causeries.
Montréal: Déom Frères, 1903.

Drama

Circé-Côté, Eva. *Maisonnette*. [UA Rutherford SPCOL Call # PS9505 I65M23
<http://dra.library.ualberta.ca/db/marion/titles.html>]

Historical

Eve (Éva Circé-Côté). Papineau, son influence sur la pensée canadienne, essai de psychologie historique. Montréal: Regnault, 1924.

Journalism

Le Monde Ouvrier/The Labor World. Julien Saint-Michel (pseud.) (1916-1942) - See appendix C for complete listing of Circé-Côté's journalism in this publication.

Album Universel (Montréal). "Une Femme de Lettres: Colombine, auteur de 'Blue,

Blanc Rouge." 2 mai, 1930.

Le Canada. 7 avril 1903 "La bibliothèque se meurt." 6 mai 1908:

Le Devoir. (Montréal), Mai 7, 1949. "Décès d'une ancienne collaboratrice du 'Nationaliste.'

La Minerve. 11 janvier 1847.

Montreal Herald. 3 december 1909.

Le Nationaliste 19 novembre 1905. "Madame P.S. Côté (née Circé), Colombine."

La Patrie. (Montréal) 24, février 1879; 20 avril, 1903. Madeleine (pseud.) "Chronique:" 4, novembre 1902 "Montréal aura donc une bibliothèque fondée par M. Carnegie...A PLUS TARD L'EPINEUSE QUESTION DE LA CENSURE:" 16 mai, 1903. "Nos Canadiennes Françaises;" 12 Août 1903, "La bibliothèque technique. Elle sera montée dans quinze jours - Mlle Eva Circé nommée bibliothécaire."

Le Pays. (Montréal) 15 janvier 1910. Vol. 1, 1. Polignac. "Un Incident"

La Presse. (Montreal). 18 novembre 1902; 5 mai 1903 "À propos de bibliothèque;" 12 juillet 1903, "La bibliothèque industrielle;" 8 mars 1907 "La bibliothèque technique et les mauvais livres;" 25 juillet 1908, "Bibliothèque publique;" 13 novembre 1908; 5 mai, 1949.

Le Soleil. (Québec) 21 décembre, 1903. Tytgat, Louis. "Esquisses Littéraires Canadiennes - Colombine (Mlle Eva Circé)."

La Vérité. 18 Octobre 1902.

Le Monde Illustré. 7 septembre 1901. De Montigny, Louvigny. "Silhouette: Mlle Eva Circé."

Journals

Mizare, Adam. "Les Disparus - Pierre-Salomon Cote." *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* 31,4 (avril 1925).

11. SECONDARY WORKS

- Ajzenstat, Janet & Peter J. Smith. Canada's Origins: Liberal, Tory, or Republican? Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995.
- Arnup, Katherine, Lévesque, Andrée and Pierson, Ruth Roach. Delivering Motherhood: Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the 19th and 20th Centuries. London and New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Atkins, Eliza. The Government and Administration of Public Library Service to Negroes in the South. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.
- Bacchi, Carol. "Race Regeneration and Social Purity, A Study of the Social Attitudes of Canada's English-Speaking Suffragists." *Social History* (Canada) 11(22) 1978. pp.460-474.
- Baillargeon, Denyse. Ménagères au Temps de la Crise. Montréal: les éditions du remue-ménage, 1991.
- Beaulieu, André et Jean Hamelin. Les Journaux du Québec de 1764 à 1964. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988.
- Bellerive, Georges. Brève Apologies de Nos Auteurs Féminins. Québec: Librairie Garneau, 1920.
- Bellerive, Georges. Nos auteurs dramatiques: Anciens et Contemporains Librairie Garneau: Montréal, 1933.
- Berger, Carl, ed. Imperialism and Nationalism, 1884-1914: A Conflict in Canadian Thought. Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1969.
- Berger, Carl. The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.
- Bernard, Jean-Paul. Les Rouges: libéralisme, nationalisme et anticléricalisme au milieu du XIX^e siècle. Montréal: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1971.
- Bobinsky, George. Carnegie Libraries: Their History and Impact on American Public Library Development. Chicago: American Library Association, 1969.
- Boivin, Aurélien et Kenneth Landry. "Françoise et Madeleine, pionnières du journalisme féminin au Québec." *Voix et images* 4,2 (décembre 1978) pp.63-74.

- Bourque, Gilles et Jules Duchastel. Restons traditionnels et progressifs: Pour une nouvelle analyse du discours politique Le cas du régime Duplessis au Québec. Montréal: Les Éditions du Boréal, 1988.
- Bradbury, Bettina. Working Families. Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993.
- Breward, Christopher. The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Brossard, Nicole et Girouard, Lisette. Anthologie de la poésie des femmes au Québec. Montréal: Les éditions du remue-ménage, 1991.
- Brown, Michael. Jew or Juif? Jews, French Canadians, and Anglo-Canadians, 1759-1914. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1986.
- Brunet, Manon. "Faire l'histoire de la littérature française du XIXe siècle Québécois." *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française* 38,4 (printemps 1985), pp. 523-547.
- Butler, Judith. Bodies That Matter. On the Discursive Limits of "Sex". New York and London: Routledge, 1993.
- Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. New York and London: Routledge, 1990.
- Buxton, William J and Catherine McKercher. "Newspapers, Magazines and Journalism in Canada: Towards a Critical Historiography." *Acadiensis*. 28, 1 (Autumn 1988). pp. 103-126.
- Campbell, Peter. Canadian Marxists and the Search for a Third Way. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University, 1999.
- Carter, Sarah. Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.
- Caya, Marcel. "La formation du parti libéral au Québec, 1867-1887." Ph.D. Thesis, York University, 1981.
- Chabot, Juliette. Montréal et le rayonnement des bibliothèques publiques. Montréal: Fides, 1963.
- Clio Collective. Quebec Women: A History Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987.

- Cook, Ramsay. The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.
- Copp, Terry. The Anatomy of Poverty. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974.
- Cott, Nancy F. The Grounding of Modern Feminism. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987.
- ."Marriage and Women's Citizenship in the United States, 1830-1934." *The American Historical Review* 103, 5 (December 1998). pp.1440-1474.
- ."Two Beards: Coauthorship and the Concept of Civilization." *American Quarterly* 42,2 (June 1990). pp. 274-300.
- .A Woman Making History: Mary Ritter Beard Through Her Letters. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Cowen, M.P. and Shenton, R.W. Doctrines of Development. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Dagenais, Michèle. "Une bureaucratie en voie de formation: L'administration municipale de Montréal dans la première moitié du Xxe siècle." *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française* 46, 1 (été 1992). pp. 177-205.
- ."Vie culturelle et pouvoirs publics locaux. La fondation de la bibliothèque municipale de Montréal." *Urban History Revue Revue d'histoire urbaine*, 24, 2 (mars, 1996). pp. 40-57.
- Danylewycz, Marta. Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.
- ."Changing Relationships: Nuns and Feminists in Montréal, 1890-1925" *Histoire sociale -- Social History* 14, 28 (novembre 1981). pp. 413-434.
- de Bonville, Jean. La Presse Québécoise 1884-1914. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1965.
- Francine Descarries-Bélanger. "Assessment and Challenges of Women's Studies in Quebec," feminist perspectives féministes: Bilan et perspectives de recherches féministes. 3 (1984): 3, 32-45.
- Dueck, Gordon. "The Salamander and the Chameleon: Religion, Race, and Evolutionism in the Anglo Jewish Press, Montreal, 1897-1914. Ph.D. Thesis, Queen's University

1999.

Dufebvre, Bernard. "Un chef-d'oeuvre inconnu: Le "Papineau" de Mme Circé-Côté." *La Revue de l'université Laval* 10,9 (mai 1956). pp.791-799.

Dumont, Fernand, Jean-Paul Montminy and Jean Hamelin. Idéologies au Canada français, 1850-1900. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1971.

-----Idéologies au Canada français, 1850-1900. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974.

-----Idéologies au Canada français, 1900-1929. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1978.

Dumont, Micheline. "The Origins of the Women's Movement in Quebec." In Constance Backhouse and David H. Flaherty, eds., Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

Dutil, Patrice. Devil's Advocate. Montreal and Toronto: Robert Davies Publishing, 1994.

Enstad, Nan. Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labour Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Ennis, Phillip H. "The Library Consumer: Patterns and Trends." *Library Quarterly*. 43: 176, 1964. pp. 163-178.

Evans, Sarah. Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement & The New Left. New York: Random House, 1979.

Ewen, Geoffrey. "The Ideas of Gustave Francq on Trade Unionism and Social Reform as Expressed in *Le Monde Ouvrier* *The Labor World*, 1916- 1921." Master's Thesis University of Ottawa, 1981.

Fahmy-Eid, Nadia et Micheline Dumont. "Éducation et classes sociales: Analyse de l'idéologie conservatrice -- cléricale et petite-bourgeoise -- au Québec au milieu du 19e siècle." *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française* 32, 2 (septembre 1978). pp. 159-179.

-----Maîtresses de maison, maîtresses d'école: Femmes, famille et éducation dans l'histoire du Québec Montréal: Boréal, 1983.

- . "Ultramontanisme, idéologie et classes sociales." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 29,1 (juin 1975). pp. 49-68.
- Fecteau, Jean-Marie. "État et associationnisme au XIXe siècle québécois: éléments pour une problématique des rapports État/ société dans la transition au capitalisme." In Allan Greer and Ian Radforth, eds., Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- Fecteau, Jean-Marie, Breton, Gilles et Létourneau, Jocelyn. La Condition québécoise: Enjeux et horizons d'une société en devenir. Montréal: vlb éditeur, 1994.
- Fetherling, Douglas. The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Finnegan, Margaret. Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture & Votes for Women. New York: Columbia Press, 1999.
- Germain, Annick. "L'émergence d'une scène politique: Mouvement ouvrier et mouvements de réforme urbaine à Montréal au tournant du siècle – Essai d'interprétation." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 37,2 (septembre 1983). pp. 185-199.
- Girouard, Lisette. "Reconnaissances. Éva, Colombine et Julien." *Arcade*, 23 (hiver, 1992). pp. 61-65.
- Gleason-Huguenin, Madeliene. Portraits de Femmes. Montréal: Éditions La Patrie, 1938.
- Godin, Pierre. L'information-Opium: Une histoire politique de La Presse. Montréal: Parti Pris, 1973.
- Gosselin, Line. Les Journalistes Québécoises, 1880-1930. Collection RCHTQ. Études et Documents. Numéro 7. Montréal: L'Université de Montréal et l'Université du Québec à Montréal, 1995.
- Greer, Allan. "La république des hommes: les patriotes de 1837 face aux femmes." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 44,4 (printemps 1991). pp. 507-528.
- Hadley, Chalmers. Why Do We Need a Public Library? Chicago: ALA, 1910.
- Hamel, Réginald. Gaétane de Montreuil: Journaliste québécoise (1867-1951) Montréal: L'Aurore, 1976.
- Hamelin, Jean. Les Journaux du Québec de 1764 à 1964. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1965.

- Harris, Michael H. The Role of the Public Library in American Life: A Speculative Essay. University of Illinois: Illinois, 1975.
- Hathorn, Ramon. Our Lady of the Snows: Sarah Bernhardt in Canada. New York: Peter Lang, 1996.
- Hawkins, Mike. Social Darwinism in European and American Thought 1860-1945: Nature as model and nature as threat. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Heap, Ruby. "La ligue de l'enseignement (1902-1904): Héritage du passé et nouveau défis." *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française*, 36,3 (décembre 1982). pp. 339-373.
- , "Un chapitre dans l'histoire de l'éducation des adultes au Québec: Les écoles du soir, 1889-1892." *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française*, 34,4 (mars 1981). pp. 597-625.
- Hébert, Karine. "Une organisation maternaliste au Québec: La fédération national Saint-Jean-Baptiste et la bataille pour le vote des femmes." *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française* 52,3 (Winter 1999). pp.315-344.
- Hébert, Raymonde. Notes bio-bibliographiques sur Éva Circé-Côté. Montréal: École de Bibliothéconomie de l'Université de Montréal, 1952.
- Higham, John. Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955.
- Hobbs, Margaret Helen. "Gendering Work and Welfare: Women's Relationship to Wage-Work and Social Policy in Canada during the Great Depression." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1994.
- Jaumain, Serge. "Paris devant l'opinion canadienne-française: Les récits de voyages entre 1820 et 1914." *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française* 38,4 (printemps 1985). pp. 549-568.
- Kealey, Linda. Enlisting Women for the Cause: Women, Labour, and the Left in Canada, 1890-1920. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- , A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1979.
- Kelso, J.J. "Can slums be abolished or must we continue to pay the penalty?" In P.Rutherford, ed., Saving the Canadian City: the first phase 1880-1920. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

- Kerr, Rose Netzgorg. 100 years of Costumes in America. Worcester: Davis Press, 1951.
- Kingsley Kent, Susan. Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Knopff, Rainer. "The Triumph of Liberalism in Canada: Laurier on Representation and Party Government." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 26, 2 (Summer, 1991). pp. 72-86.
- Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe. Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics. London: Verso, 1985.
- Laclau, Ernesto. Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory: Capitalism - Fascism - Populism. London: NLB, 1977.
- Lajeunesse, Marcel. Les Sulpiciens et la vie culturelle à Montréal au XIX^e siècle. Montréal: Fides, 1982.
- Lamonde, Yvan. Combats Libéraux au tournant du Xxe siècle. Québec: Fides, 1995.
- . "La bibliothèque de l'institute canadien de montréal (1852-1876): Pour une analyse multidimensionnelle." *Revue d'histoire amérique française* 41,3 (hiver, 1988). pp.335-361.
- Lamoureux, Diane. Citoyennes? Femmes, Droit de Vote et Démocratie. Montréal: Les éditions du renue-ménage, 1989.
- Lang, Marjory. Women Who Made the News - Female Journalists in Canada, 1880-1945. Montreal & Kingston: McGill Queen's Press, 1999.
- Landry, Kenneth. "Blue, Blanc, Rouge, chroniques et poèmes de Colombine." In Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec, 1900-1939, ed. Maurice Lemire, Tome II., Montréal: Fides. pp. 149-151.
- Lavigne, Marie, Yolande Pinard et Jennifer Stoddart, eds., Travailleuses et féministes dans la société québécoise. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1983.
- Leach, William. True Love and Perfect Union: The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society. New York: Basic Books, 1980.
- LeBlanc, André. "The Labour Movement seen through the Pages of Montreal's Le Monde Ouvrier/The Labor World(1916-1926)." Thèse présentée à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Montréal en vue de l'obtention du D.E.S. (Histoire) Montréal. 1971.

- Lefebvre, Jean-Jacques. "La vie sociale du grand Papineau." *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française* 11, 4 (mars 1958) pp. 463-516.
- Lemieux, Denise and Lucie Mercier. Les Femmes au Tournant du Siècle 1880-1940. Ville Saint-Laurent: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1989.
- Le Moine, Roger. "Le Grand-Orient dans le contexte Québécois." In Combats Libéraux au tournant du Xxe siècle, Yvan Lamonde, ed., Montréal: Fides, 1995.
- . Deux loges montréalaises du Grand Orient de France Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1991.
- Lévesque, Andrée. "Journaliste au masculin: Éva Circé-Côté (1871-1949)." Les Bâtisseuses de la Cité. Montréal: Association canadienne-française pour l'avancement des sciences, 1993. pp. 87-96.
- . "Éva Circé-Côté - Fondatrice de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Montreal." eds. Maryse Darsigny et al, Ces Femmes qui ont bâti Montréal. Montreal: Les Éditions du Remue-Ménage, 1994. pp. 148-49.
- . Making and Breaking the Rules: Women in Quebec, 1919-1939. trans. Yvonne M. Klein, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994.
- . "Réflexions sur l'histoire des femmes dans L'histoire du Quebec." *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française*, 51,2 (automne 1997). pp.271-284.
- . Résistance et Transgression: Études en Histoire des Femmes au Québec. Montréal: Les éditions du remue-ménage, 1995.
- . Scènes de la vie en rouge. L'époque de Jeanne Corbin 1906-1944. Montréal: Les éditions du remue-ménage, 1999.
- . Virage à Gauche Interdit: Les communistes, les socialistes et leurs ennemis au Québec 1929-1939. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1984.
- Levitt, Joseph. Henri Bourassa and the Golden Calf: The Social Program of the Nationalists of Quebec. Ottawa: Les Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1969.
- Lewis, Jane. "'Motherhood issues in the late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.'" Delivering Motherhood: Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the 19th and 20th Centuries. London and New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Linteau, Paul-André, Durocher, Réne, and Robert, Jean-Claude. Quebec: A History 1867-

1929. Translated by Robert Chodos. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1983.
- Linteau, Paul-André. Maisonnette: Comment des promoteurs fabriquent une ville 1883-1918. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1981.
- . "Le personnel politique de Montréal 1880-1914. Évolution d'une élite municipale." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 52,2 (automne 1998). pp. 189-215.
- . "Quelques Réflexions autour de la bourgeoisie Québécoise, 1850-1914." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 30, 1 (juin 1976). pp. 55-66.
- Marchand, Suzanne. Rouge à lèvres et pantalon: Des pratiques esthétiques féminines controversées au Québec 1920-1939. Montréal: Cahiers du Québec - Collection Ethnologie, 1997.
- McCallum, Margaret E. "Keeping Women in Their Place: The Minimum Wage in Canada, 1910-1925." *Labour le Travail*, (Spring 1986). pp. 29-56.
- McKay, Ian ed., For a Working-Class Culture In Canada: A Selection of Colin McKay's Writings on Sociology and Political Economy 1897-1939. St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1996.
- McLaren, Angus. Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945. Toronto, Oxford, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Mouffe, Chantal. Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community. London and New York: Verso, 1992.
- . Gramsci and Marxist Theory. London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.
- Nelles, H.V. The Art of Nation-Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Newton, Janice. The Feminist Challenge to the Canadian Left 1900-1918. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.
- Nordman, Jean-Thomas. La France radical. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1976.
- Norton, Mary Beth and Ruth M. Alexander. Major Problems in American Women's History. (Second Edition). Lexington and Toronto: D.C. Heath Company, 1996.
- Oliver, Michael Kelway. "The Social and Political Ideas of French Canadian Nationalists

- 1920-1945." Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, 1956.
- Ouimet, Raphael. Biographies canadiennes-françaises, 5^e année. Gardenvale: Garden City Press, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925.
- Ouellet, Fernand. Lower Canada - 1791-1840: Social Change and Nationalism. Translated and adapted by Patricia Claxton. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980.
- Palmer, Bryan D. Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.
- Parr, Joy and Rosenfeld, Mark, eds., Gender and History in Canada. Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1996.
- Paxton, Nancy L. George Eliot and Herbert Spencer: Feminism Evolutionism, and the Reconstruction of Gender. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Pinard, Yolande. "Les débuts du mouvement des femmes à Montréal, 1893-1902." In M.Lavigne and Y.Pinard, eds., Travailleuses et féministes: Les femmes dans la société québécoise. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1983.
- Plante, Juliette. "Madeleine, journaliste." Mémoire de maîtrise, Université d'Ottawa, 1962.
- Pon, Madge. "Like a Chinese Puzzle: The Construction of Chinese Masculinity in Jack Canuck." In Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld, eds., Gender and History in Canada. Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd, 1996.
- Pouliot, Léon. "L'institut canadien de Montréal et L'institut national." *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française*, 14, 4 (mars 1961). pp. 481-486.
- Rajotte, Pierre. "Les Associations littéraires au québec de la dépendance à québec de la dépendance à l'autonomie." *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française*, 50,3 (hiver 1997). pp. 375-400.
- Ridley, Jasper. The Freemasons. London: Constable and Co., 1999.
- Riley, Denise. "Am I That Name?": Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1988.
- Roback, Léo, Dumas, Evelyn, Boudreau, Émile, et al. FTQ: Des milliers d'histoires qui façonnent l'Histoire. Montréal: Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec, 1988.

- Roberts, K.A. "Le Roman national des femmes du Québec." Ph.D. Thesis, Queen's University, 1999.
- Robertson, N.S. "The Institut canadien: An essay in Cultural History." M.A. Thesis. University of Western Ontario, 1965.
- Rouillard, Jacques. Histoire du Syndicalisme Québécois. Montréal: Boréal, 1989.
- . "Le Militantisme des travailleurs au Québec et en Ontario: Niveau de syndicalisation et mouvement de grèves (1900-1980)." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 37.2 (septembre 1983). pp. 201-225.
- Roy, Fernande. Progrès, Harmonie, Liberté. Le libéralisme des milieux d'affaires francophones à Montréal au tournant du siècle. Montréal: Boréal, 1988.
- Rudin, Ronald. "Revisionism and the Search for a Normal Society: A Critique of Recent Quebec Historical Writing." *Canadian Historical Review*, 73.1 (March, 1992). pp. 30-61.
- Rutherford, Paul. "Making the News." *Acadiensis*, 12, 1 (Autumn, 1982). pp. 136-144.
- . The Making of the Canadian Media. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1978.
- . "Tomorrow's Metropolis: the Urban Reform Movement in Canada," Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers*, 1971.
- . Victorian Authority: the daily press in late nineteenth-century Canada. Toronto Buffalo London: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Ryerson, Stanley B. Unequal Union: Confederation and the Roots of Conflict in the Canadas, 1815-1873. Canada: Progress Books, 1968.
- Sangster, J. Dreams of Equality: Women on the Canadian Left, 1920-1950. Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1989.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. Gender and the Politics of History. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- . Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Silver, A.I. The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation 1864-1900. Second Edition. Toronto Buffalo London: University of Toronto, 1982.

- Simard, Sylvain. "Les Français et le Canada, 1850-1914: Identité et Perception." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 29,2 (septembre 1975). pp. 209-239.
- Steele, Valerie. Paris Fashion: A Cultural History. New York Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Stoddart, Jennifer, Marie Lavigne, et Yolande Pinnard. "La Fédération nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste et les revendications féministes au début du 20^e siècle." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 29,3 (décembre 1975). pp. 353-373.
- Strange, Carolyn. Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930. Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Strong-Boag, Veronica and Fellman, Anita Clair. Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History. Third Edition. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Sylvain, Philippe. "Libéralisme et ultramontanisme au Canada français: idéologique et doctrinal (1840-1865)," In W.L.Morton, ed., The Shield of Achilles: Le Bouclier d'Achille. Toronto, 1968.
- , "Libéralisme et ultramontanisme au XIX^e siècle: Quelques aspects de l'ultramontanisme Canadien-Français." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 25, 2 (septembre 1971). pp. 239-251.
- Tardy, Évelyne. Militer au féminin. Montréal: Les éditions du remue-ménage, 1995.
- Trifiro, Luigi. "Une intervention à Rome dans la lutte pour le suffrage féminin au Québec." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 32,1 (juin 1978). pp. 3-18.
- Trofimenkoff, Susan Mann. "Henri Bourassa and the 'Woman Question.'" In The Neglected Majority, ed. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto, 1977.
- , The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec. Toronto: Gage, 1983.
- Trudel, Marcel. L'influence de Voltaire au Canada. Tome II. De 1850 à 1900. Montréal: Fides, 1945.
- Valverde, Mariana. The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1991.
- Verzuh, Ron. Radical Rag: The Pioneer Labour Press in Canada. Ottawa: Steel Rail

Publishing, 1988.

Vinet, Bernard. Pseudonymes Québécois. Édition basée sur l'œuvre de Audet et Malchelosse intitulée: Pseudonymes Canadiens. Québec: Éditions Garneau, 1974.

Wade, Mason. Les Canadiens français de 1760 à nos jours. Montréal: Cercle du livre de France, 1963.

Wall, Joseph. Andrew Carnegie. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Wheeler, Majorie Spruill. New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Weiler, Georgette. Sarah Bernhardt et le Canada. Quebec: Éditions Athéna, 1973.

Zoltvany, Yves-François. "Les libéraux du Québec, leur parti et leur pensée, 1867-1875," M.A. Thesis, Université de Montréal, 1961.