(Re)presentions of the Anglophone Other: Dramaturgical Strategies of
Resistance and Revisioning on the French-Canadian Stage 1910-1929

Alison Jane Bowie

A Thesis in the
Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies in Society and Culture

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Humanities – Arts & Science)

at Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

March 2022

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Alison Jane Bowie

Entitled: (Re)presentions of the Anglophone Other: Dramaturgical Strategies of Resistance and Revisioning on the French-Canadian Stage 1910-1929

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (Humanities – Arts & Science)

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the final examining committee:

_____ Chair
Dr. Jean-Philippe Warren

_____ External Examiner
Dr. Jane Koustas

_____ External to Program
Dr. Mark Sussman

_____ Examiner
Dr. Erin Hurley

_____ Examiner
Dr. Hervé Guay

_____ Thesis Supervisor
Dr. Louis Patrick Leroux

Approved by

_____
             Dr. David Morris, Humanities PhD Program Director
February 21, 2022

_____
             Dr. Pascale Sicotte, Dean, Faculty of Arts & Science

ABSTRACT

(Re)presentions of the Anglophone Other: Dramaturgical Strategies of Resistance and Revisioning on the French-Canadian Stage 1910-1929

Alison Jane Bowie, Ph.D.
Concordia University, 2022

This study explores the history, contexts, and dramaturgies of French-Canadian theatre from 1910 to 1929. The study opens with a survey of the beginnings of French-Canadian theatre history and an exploration of the historical, sociopolitical, and cultural ideas and movements that came about in early 20th century Canada. Through extensive archival research, this study provides an in-depth analysis of the theatrical landscape of these two decades situated within the established sociopolitical and cultural contexts, identifying trends in theme, genre, format, and playwright positionality. Furthermore, this research project delves deeper into a particular corpus of plays, exploring the ways in which French-Canadian playwrights represented and *re*presented Anglophone culture and the power dynamics between French- and English Canadians in their works. This study uses a post-colonial lens to examine the dramaturgical strategies used by playwrights to undermine and subvert the dominant cultural and historical narratives through creative choices relating to character, language, time, and space. The study concludes with a consideration of the *possibility* or *potentiality* of the subversive act of revisioning of Anglophone culture and (re)writing of cultural and historical narratives on stage to contribute to the understanding of and creation of French-Canadian national identity in the early 20th century.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I must thank my primary supervisor, Professor Louis Patrick Leroux, for all of his support, guidance, encouragement, advice, nudges, questions, comments – the list goes on. Without him, I would not have completely this dissertation. Whether it was to bounce ideas around or just to have someone listen, I knew that I could count on Patrick to be there.

I am humbled and grateful to have had the support of my thesis committee over the course of my doctoral studies and dissertation work. In particular, Professor Sherry Simon asked me hard questions and encouraged me to go in the direction I needed to in order to produce the best work. Professor Hervé Guay challenged me keep digging and getting to the meat of the work. And Professor Erin Hurley motivated me to thinking bigger by looking smaller and really honing in my ideas and analyses. I am incredibly lucky to have had all of these individuals in my corner.

Doctoral studies can be a very lonely experience, but in my case, it was a made a lot less so through my friendship with my HUMA colleague, Kelly Grant. Throughout our time at Concordia we have bonded, shared our struggles, and helped pick each other back up. She has been there for me as a colleague and as a friend, and I am grateful for her support.

Beyond my academic community, I have an incredible support system of friends, tennis teammates, and curling partners that have affectionately continued to ask, "How's the dissertation coming?" and made sure I did something more than just work over these past seven years. I need to specifically mention Sara Johnson, whose friendship and support in my work and my personal life is priceless. From sharing cat photos to having long chats about the meaning of life and everything in between, she has always been there for me.

My husband, Zac, deserves a sincere thank you and a big round of applause for putting up with bizarre schedules, mad dashes and frantic requests for pens to write down thoughts and ideas, sleepless nights, stress and anxiety, seclusion, and just plain frustration. I appreciate all of the meals, the endless cups of tea, and the "it's going to be okay" hugs I have received over the years. Being the partner of someone going through a doctoral program is no easy feat!

And last, but most definitely not least, I must thank my parents. I am incredibly lucky to have known love and support throughout my life. My parents have always pushed me to do the best that *I* can do, to make good choices, to ask questions, to learn more, to give back. There is no way that without that lifetime of support that I would be here where I am today. My strength and my courage to get through this program – and through life – I owe to them.

> *~ This above all, to thine own self be true.*
> Hamlet, Act 1, Scene iii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures

List of Tables

Introduction

A Prologue

This research project weaves together dramaturgical practice and theoretical rigour in an exploration into the history, contexts, and artistic practices of French-Canadian theatre from 1910 to 1929, a period of self-definition and uncertainty in French-Canadian and Québec history. This study examines the historical, sociopolitical, and contextual ideologies and movements that came about in these two decades of intense social and political change. Extensive archival research and in-depth analysis have culminated in the identification in trends of theme, genre, format, and playwright positionality, providing greater insight into the theatrical landscape and dramaturgical discourse of the early 20th century. Within the corpus of plays discovered, this project hones in on plays containing Anglophone cultural representation, exploring the dramaturgical strategies used by playwrights to both represent and *re*present the Other, to create figures of the Other and to undermine or subvert the dominant Anglophone culture and prevailing historical narrative through character, language, time, and space. This study then reflects on the *potentiality* of the subversive rewriting of Anglophone culture on stage to reframe power dynamics, redistribute agency, and contribute to the understanding and writing of early 20th century French-Canadian national identity.

B How did we get here?

In the fall of 2012, a friend of mine in the MFA program at the University of Massachusetts Amherst asked me for some Canadian short plays that she could use for the foreign theatre unit in the directing class she had that semester. Two days later, she came back to

me, dejected, eyes downcast, almost embarrassed, saying she could not use any of the plays I had given her. The directing professor had told her that Canadian theatre was <u>not foreign</u>; it was the same as American theatre. I could not believe what I was hearing. As the first Canadian in the MFA program, I was determined to change that perspective. In truly Canadian fashion, however, rather than confronting the directing professor, I decided that I would instead simply find ways of inserting Canadian theatre into all of my work to demonstrate how different it actually was. First, I signed up for a directing class with the same professor. Every chance I had to choose my own content, I chose Canadian scenes and plays to work with. For my final project, I directed Greg Nelson's one-act play *The File*, which centres on a woman researching the Supreme Court of Canada and discovering things about her own family history that she did not know. But that still just didn't seem enough to move the meter on this viewpoint that Canadian theatre was nothing more than an extension of American work.

The next semester, I took a translation course with Professor Harley Erdman. I decided I would translate a French-Canadian play for that course. Canadian theatre in general – English and French – is unique and has a multiplicity of distinct identities. French-Canadian theatre, however, can more easily be identified as being "foreign" – at least to Americans – because it is in a different language and a different socio-historical context and different cultural references. So, I set about finding a French-Canadian play to work with. We were tasked with choosing plays that we would be able to get the rights to translate and perform, meaning either plays by authors we could contact or plays that were outside of copyright. I chose to look for older plays, which was not an easy task given that I was still in the US at the time. I headed over to the W.E.B. Du Bois library located in the centre of the UMass Amherst campus to go through each and every book that they had that could contain something about French-Canadian theatre. While

2

there weren't very many, I hit paydirt with the first three of Edouard Rinfret's four volumes *Le théâtre canadien d'expression française*.[1] It appeared that only one person had ever taken these books out of the library, and that had been back in the 1970s shortly after they were written. The tomes contained listings and summaries of hundreds of French-Canadian plays from the beginnings of French-Canadian theatre right up to the 1970s. Even now, after all of the research that I have completed, these volumes seem somewhat old fashioned and out of place in terms of the theatrical criticism and analysis that was taking place in 1970s Québec. At a time when the French theatrical community was looking forward and was reinventing itself as "nouveau" and "Québécois", Judge Rinfret spent eight years looking back on French-Canadian theatre's past. As I began reading though the descriptions of the plays I, like Rinfret, realized how rich and historically and socio-politically valuable an exploration into early French-Canadian theatre could be. And so, I set about trying to track down copies of the play texts. For much the same reasons as we will discuss in Chapter 3, this was no easy task. I needed to find something available in print that I could get through interlibrary loan in Massachusetts or something available as a PDF.

I came to the descriptions of Joseph Armand Leclaire's plays and I was immediately hooked. In particular, I was intrigued by the description of *Le petit maître d'école*. After some research, I realized that the play, written in 1916, was based on the real events of the Battle of the Hatpins in Ontario following the institution of Regulation XVII which sought to eliminate French in the Ontario education system. What struck me about this subject is that I grew up in Ontario and attended a French immersion school and I had never heard of either of these events. To my surprise, the play was available as a PDF through the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales

---

[1] The last volume includes listings of film, televised theatre productions, which only begins in 1952.

du Québec. The translation of the play for one course was just the beginning of the journey. Leclaire's play became the basis of my MFA thesis project, which was to develop a bilingual adaptation of the play. That research project also led me to return to Québec to continue my studies into early 20th century French-Canadian theatre, and, thus, is why you are reading this dissertation now. But researching this period of theatre history in French Canada has not come without its challenges and unexpected complexities. Understanding the multifaceted French-Canadian positionality as both a settler-colonizer and a colonized or conquered people required a deep dive into French-Canadian nationalism and a general understanding of the history of French-English relationship in Canada since the Conquest in 1760. It was also necessary to explore the distinction between French Canadian and Québécois in order to properly situate the corpus into its place in theatre history. And finding and accessing the play texts even within Québec was a struggle, as many were not published or no copy has been kept (or survived), the records and listings of the plays were not standardized making searches more difficult, and many of the archives and collections that may contain plays do not have complete listings of their contents – and searching through meters and meters of archival material takes time, lots of time.

C Existing Research and Literature on Early 20th Century French-Canadian Theatre

The dates chosen for the study were initially based around the period in which Joseph Armand Leclaire was active, as I discovered in my MFA thesis work. However, as I delved deeper into my research, I noticed that while there is a great deal of scholarship around the history of Québec and French-Canadian theatre, however, most of it focuses on the 1930s onward – in other words, beginning with Gratien Gélinas and his contemporaries. This supported and emboldened my decision to work on the two decades from 1910 to 1929, which

encompassed the period when there was a significant shift in French-Canadian theatre and the establishment of a truly professional theatre scene, particularly in Montréal. There is also a significant body of scholarship that discussed French-Canadian theatre in the 19th century and earlier, including Lauren Mailhot and Jean-Cléo Godin's *Théâtre québécois Tome 1* (1989), Beaudouin Burger's *L'activité théâtrale au Québec (1765-1825)* (1991), and Thérèse Ouellet's *Bibliographie du théâtre canadien-français avant 1900* (1949), as well as Jean Bérard's *350 ans de théâtre au Canada français* (1958), which I also used as a reference for this study. However, the period from 1910 to 1929 was a missing piece in the history of French-Canadian theatre. Not only did this focussed periodization allow me to find and analyze emerging trends, it also allowed me to add new information and bridge the gap from the earlier scholarship to that of the later 20th century. There are some scholars who have explored theatre in the earlier part of the 20th century, and their work has been the springboard for my studies. In particular, the work of Edouard Rinfret (1975-78), Étienne Duval (1983), Lucie Robert (1989 and 2012), Denis Saint-Jacques (2005 and 2010), Maurice Lemire (1987) Jean-Marc Larrue (1981 and 1987), and Hervé Guay (2010 and 2016) informed the work that is presented in this study. In 2012, as mentioned above, Édouard Rinfret's *Le théâtre canadien d'expression française* alphabetized volumes (1975-78) were foundational to my MFA studies and continued to be essential in my doctoral studies as well. Rinfret's volumes are a compilation of hundreds of listings of play texts from the very beginnings of French-Canadian theatre up to the 1970s. Many of the listings include summaries, as well as information about the first production and publication. This was truly the starting point for developing the corpus of plays that I used in this study. Rinfret's collection at the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec was also vital to my work as it contains the largest collection of French-Canadian plays spanning the whole of the 20th century. Étienne

Duval's text *Le jeu de l'histoire et de la société dans le théâtre Québécois 1900-1950* (1983)

formed the starting point for the thematic and genre analysis for this study. Duval's thematic

approach centres on nationalism and patriotism, and his methodological approach breaks down

the plays into two main categories: national history and Québec society. His book also provides

listings and summaries of plays from the first half of the 20th century. These two texts

contributed to the development of the corpus and the methodology that I used in this study.

There are several books that informed my understanding of the period I am studying and the

framework that I chose to use for the analysis. Lucie Robert published *Apprivoiser la modernité*

théâtrale. La pièce en un acte de la Belle Époque à la Crise – Anthologie (2012)*,* which contains

twelve one-act plays written between 1902 and 1931. The introduction to the book provides an

overview of theatre in la Belle Époque, illuminating discussions on the historical drama and

short-form (one-act) theatre, as well as a brief overview of the sociopolitical situation over the

first three decades of the 20th century. Additionally, Robert includes biographical information for

each playwright. Denis Saint-Jacques, Maurice Lemire, and Lucie Robert collaborated on two

tomes *La vie littéraire au Québec Tome V 1885-1918* (2005) and *Tome VI 1919-1933* (2010),

which provide an overview of the intellectual, cultural, and artistic life in Québec in the late 19th

and early 20th centuries. The tomes also include appendices that list the names of several

playwrights, including their professions and education or training and the plays that they wrote.

Maurice Lemire also collaborated with Gilles Dorion, André Gaulin, and Alonzo Le Blanc to

publish *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec Tome II 1900-1939* (1987), which also

includes substantial information about plays and playwrights from the period that I am studying.

Jean-Marc Larrue's chapter "Entrée en scene des professionels 1825-1930" in *Le théâtre au*

Québec 1825-1980. Repères et perspectives (1988) provides an in-depth study of the very

6

beginnings of theatre in French Canada in the 19th century and an overview of the professionalization of theatre in the early 20th century. Finally, the work of Hervé Guay, notably his contribution to Marie-Thérèse Lefebvre's book *Chroniques des arts de la scene: À Montréal Durant l'entre-deux-guerres – Danse, Théâtre, Musique* (2016) and his seminal text *L'eveil culturel: Théâtre et presse à Montréal, 1898-1914* (2010), provided foundational knowledge of the theatrical world in French-Canada leading up to and including the period studied in this research project. Guay's work not only contextualizes the beginnings of the professionalization French-Canadian theatre, but also explores the politicized nature of theatre during this era, as well as the positionality and agendas of the press and media covering theatre at that time.

D Guiding Principles and Research Questions

Though there is scholarship that includes early 20th century French-Canadian theatre, there is no focused study that explicitly and exclusively looks at the period from 1910 to 1929. Additionally, there is no deep dive into the plays, playwrights, and artistic choices and trends from that period. In other words, there are no *dramaturgical* studies aiming to better understand the theatrical landscape of early 20th century French-Canadian theatre. This really struck me as a missing piece of the contextual puzzle, something that I felt was essential to explore. Outside of academia, I work as a production dramaturg, and my artistic process as a dramaturg affects and influences the way I approach theory and practice in an academic setting, including the framework of this project.

Eleonora Fabião believes the work of the dramaturg is to "emphasize a connection between artistic practice and theoretical thinking; through the dramaturge's viewpoint, practice and theory are emphatically experienced as complementary references, as different appearances

of a unique matter. However, it is important to stress that the dramaturge is alchemically combining these references to make the scene richer in terms of dynamics and meaning…"[2] As a production dramaturg, my role is to research a play's contexts, its inspirations, the world it was created in, and the world that it creates. Gotthold Lessing (1729-1781), who is considered by many to be the father of modern dramaturgy, asserted in *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* [*Hamburg Dramaturgy*] (1767-69) that theatre is not created in isolation but rather is influenced or informed by and has an impact on society.[3] The goal of this contextual research is to discover those influences and impacts in order to tease out a play's meanings and possible intentions. This is particularly important in my professional work as a dramaturg as I focus almost exclusively on historical works as the authors are no longer available for consultation, much like those included in this study.

Production dramaturgs, however, are not just researchers or 'contextualizers'; they are not simply the experts sitting (and judging) at the back of the room, as they are so often portrayed in media – and even by their own colleagues. As I have previously written, "Dramaturgy is invested not only in the creative choices that are made in a production process or theatrical text, but also in the *context[s]* in which – or through which – those choices are made".[4] Dramaturgs, like me, are also a part of the *artistic practice*; they are involved in rehearsals as artists, working with the creative team to clarify the message of play and bring the text to life. Dramaturgs work with actors to explore character wants and needs. We do close readings of texts looking for patterns in language and theme. We consider the plot to find hidden meanings (or

[2] Cathy Turner and Synne K. Behrndt, *Dramaturgy and Performance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 149.
[3] Gothhold Lessing, *The Hamburg Dramaturgy: A New and Complete Annotated English Translation,* trans. Wendy Arons and Sara Figal (New York: Routledge, 2018).
[4] Alison Bowie and Gene Gibbons, "Chapter 2: History of Dramaturgy," in *Towards a New Dramaturgy* (Toronto: TopHat, 2018).

suggest cuts!) and develop spatial analyses to inform set design choices. Dr. Williams similarly explains that, "Perhaps above all, the dramaturg asks how to be a *juggler of paradoxes* in an uncertain, unpredictable, and ultimately unmasterable terrain. For the dramaturg sits astride the hyphen between both-and…in intimate proximity (in close-up) and at a distance (in long shot)."[5] What is unique about the dramaturgical perspective is that it has the capacity to not only maintain focus on the big picture or the contexts of the play, but also to situate or locate the artistic choices made in the text within those contexts allowing us as dramaturgs to better inform the decisions made by the production team.

It is this dramaturgical perspective and framework that I have applied to this research project. Through the alchemy of context and close reading, I sought to develop a clearer understanding of French-Canadian theatre from 1910 to 1929 and contribute to the dramaturgical and historical bodies of knowledge of both my academic and artistic communities. Similarly, my research goal was to discover something new and unique about this time period, something that not been explored before in the literature mentioned above. My previous academic work during my MFA thesis focused on post-colonial practices and the representation of the Other in theatre and I saw value in continuing that line of questioning in this research study, though at times I felt like or was seen as the Other looking into a relatively closed historical context. There are two main research questions that have guided the trajectory of this project:

1) What dramaturgical strategies were used by French-Canadian playwrights in the early 20th century to represent Anglophone culture in their plays?

---

[5] David Williams, "Geographies of Requiredness: Notes on the Dramaturg in Collaborative Devising," *Contemporary Theatre Review* Vol 20, No. 2 (2010): 202.

2) Were post-colonial dramaturgical strategies employed by French-Canadian playwrights in the early 20th century to *re*present Anglophone culture and rewrite the dominant narrative and French-English power dynamics? If so, what strategies were used?

It is necessary when presenting these questions to address the metaphorical elephant in the room: Is French-Canadian theatre at the beginning of the 20th century in fact post-colonial? Many scholars, including Simon Harel (*L'Étranger dans tous ses états: enjeux culturels et littéraires,* 1992 and *Les figures du siège au Québec: concertation et conflits en context minoritaire* with Isabelle St-Amand, 2012), Marie Vautier (*New World Myth: Postmodernism & Postcolonialism in Canadian Fiction*, 1998), Pierre Nepveu (*L'écologie du réel: mort et naissance de la littérature québécoise contemporaine,* 1999), Rosemary Chapman (*What is Québécois Literature: Reflections on the Literary History of Francophone Writing in Canada,* 2013), Jennifer Drouin (*Shakespeare in Québec: nation, gender, and adaptation,* 2014), have explored notions of post-colonialism in Québec literature. Yet while the application of post-colonial theory to Québec and French-Canadian theatre and literature is nothing new, the designation and use of "post-colonial" is limited almost exclusively to the 1960s onward.

So, the question remains as to whether or not it is possible to term French-Canadian theatre in the early 20th century as post-colonial. In *The Empire Writes Back,* Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin explain that:

> [t]he very idea of a boundary between the post-colonial and the not-really-post-colonial is a notion that has arisen as a consequence of the controversy surrounding the term… In the end the debate over the *validity* of the post-colonial may well come down to the question of its *efficacy* as an historical context, an analytical tool or a theory of cultural relations.[6]

---

[6] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures 2nd edition* (Routledge: New York, 2010), 200-201.

They propose that 'post-colonial' can be employed as a *framework* or a *lens* through which to analyze a culture's literatures, including theatre, rather than a *designation* for that culture and its literatures. The question of 'at what moment in time did Québec or French Canada became post-colonial' thus becomes moot. The post-colonial lens acts as a revelatory device in which, as Amaryll Chanady articulates, "a series of problematics linked to the issue of power structures and discursive constructions of identity and alterity serves as a starting point for studying society's literature in a broader context and from a variety of perspectives that are increasingly interdisciplinary".[7] The post-colonial lens paired with a dramaturgical analysis applied to early 20th century French-Canadian theatre allows us to explore the complex identity of French Canadians as both a settler-colonizer and colonized or conquered people, as the plays included in this study clearly and directly deal with the violent colonization actions and further colonizing attempts by the English, from the Conquest to Lord Durham's report to the Act of Québec to Regulation XVII. Additionally, this paired theoretical approach allows us to explore the relationships and power dynamics between French Canadians and the Anglophone Other, and the notion of *agency* in storytelling and the construction or writing of cultural and national identity both on and off stage, in the *world of the playwrights* and the *world of the plays*.

E Chapter Breakdown

In Chapter 1, I lay out the theoretical frameworks and the methodology used in this research project. In particular, I contextualize and explain the theory drawn from the fields of dramaturgy and performance, French-Canadian theatre history, cultural performance and

---

[7] Amaryll Chanady, "Rereading Québecois literature in a postcolonial context," *Quebec Studies* Vol 35, (Spring-Summer 2003).

national identity, collective memory, and post-colonial theory focussing on the subaltern or minority voice writing against the dominant narrative.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the major sociopolitical movements and ideas that shaped French Canada from 1910 to 1929. These contexts allow for an exploration of playwright discourse and positionality in Chapter 3 and are thematically connected to many of the plays, as we will see in Chapters 4 and 5. The second half of Chapter 2 explores cultural life in French Canada and provides an overview of the history of French-Canadian theatre during the period under investigation, particularly the amateur theatre scene and the beginnings of the professional French-Canadian theatre.

In Chapter 3 I present a discussion of all the plays and trends discovered from this era through the archival research performed during this study. I lay out the methods used for finding the plays and discuss the challenges faced. Chapter 3 also explores the overall trends of the corpus of 300+ plays, particularly focusing on Duval's genre and thematic studies. Furthermore, I explore additional trends found through an analysis of the plays focused on cultural representation. This latter exploration is centred on the 117 plays texts that were discovered and read.

Chapter 4 transitions into the focused study and textual analysis phase of the research project by exploring the plays that were found to contain Anglophone cultural representation. In this chapter, I clarify the methods used to determine the inclusion of Anglophone cultural representation, the nature of cultural representation in plays, and introduce the plays, playwrights, and major trends discovered.

Chapter 5 presents a dramaturgical close reading of the plays with Anglophone cultural representation. Through the close reading and textual analysis, I illustrate the dramaturgical

choices used by playwrights to include the Anglophone on stage in various forms: as a figure or symbol, an ever-present cultural Other, and an oppressor or adversary. Then, I explore the post-colonial dramaturgical strategies used to *re*present or rewrite Anglophone culture and dominance.

In the conclusion of this study, I consider the effect of these dramaturgical strategies on French-Canadian national identity. I postulate on the ways that French-Canadian culture and the notion of Self is articulated through these plays and the *potentiality* for theatre to contribute to the development or writing of French-Canadian national identity in the early 20th century.

Chapter 1 Fields, Definitions, and Methodology

1.1 Introduction: Dramaturgy as Field and Framework

This study uses dramaturgy as the framework through which to explore and analyse early

20th century French-Canadian theatre, its contexts, and its possibilities. When looking at a play,

or a corpus of plays, it is necessary to look not only at the world *in* the play, but also the world

around the play. Rosa Maria Bollettieri Bosinelli and Ira Torresi explain that:

> the message in a bottle metaphor leads us to reflect upon what is around the text
> that accompanies it along its perilous journey. If the text itself can be equated to the
> verbal message written on the paper inside the bottle, then when it is translated and
> thrown into the ocean to reach other polysystems it becomes a vessel of memories,
> a bottle that contains more than one message.[1]

In order to understand the significance and impact of a text and the choices made by playwrights,

it is necessary to look at both the plays themselves and the contexts in which they were written.

In keeping with the role of a production dramaturg, this project, therefore, has two main

components: a) archival research and contextual analysis (the bottle); and b) textual analysis or

close reading (the message). The research component of the study is further broken down into

two parts: a) historical research; and b) archival research. The goal of the historical research is to

develop a clear understanding of the period in which the plays were created in order to

understand and analyse the thematic and creative choices made by playwrights. The second goal

of the historical research is to develop a sound understanding of the French-Canadian theatrical

landscape in the early 20th century. The archival research aims to discover as many French-

Canadian plays as possible created between 1910 and 1929, and to discover information about

the playwrights who wrote them.

---

[1] Bosinelli, Rosa Maria Bollettieri & Ira Torresi, "Message(s) in a bottle: translating memory, the memory of translation" in *InTRAlinea: Online Translation Journal Vol. 18* (2016), http://intralinea/org/archive/article/2213

The second part of this study examines the dramaturgical strategies used by French-Canadian playwrights to present and *re*present Anglophone culture and the French-English relationship and power dynamics within the contexts established through the historical research. But what is a dramaturgical strategy? Michel De Certeau defines a strategy as:

> the calculus (or the manipulation) of relations of force which becomes possible whenever a subject of will and power (a business enterprise, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. Strategy postulates *a place* susceptible of being circumscribed as… the base from where relations can be administered with *an exteriority* of targets or threats… As in management, all 'strategic' rationalization begins by distinguishing its 'appropriate' place from an 'environment,' that is, the place of its own power and will. A Cartesian gesture, if you will, to circumscribe one's own in a world bewitched by the invisible powers of the Other.[2]

A strategy has power, or in other words a sphere of influence, and is visible; it takes up space. It also occupies temporal and theoretical space. Strategies are planned out and have a specific vision. A dramaturgical strategy, therefore, is a planned, precise orientation or assemblage of contexts (historical, sociopolitical, linguistic) formed through the playwright's creative choices. As we will see in Chapters 4 and 5, these strategies can be used to write or confirm culture and identity, or they can be used to deconstruct, subvert, or *re*present narrative and identity. This study first looks at the dramaturgical strategies used by French-Canadian playwrights in the early 20th century to represent Anglophone culture in their plays. Secondly, the study will explore the post-colonial dramaturgical strategies used by playwrights to *re*write or *re*write Anglophone culture and undermine Anglophone power and authority.

Much like a dramaturg contextualizes a play, it is necessary for a scholar to contextualize and define their research. In this chapter I will lay out the theory I am drawing from, as well as its contexts, define the terms that I will be using throughout this dissertation, and outline the

---

[2] Michel De Certeau, Frederic Jameson and Carl Lovitt, "On the Oppositional Practices of Everyday Life," *Social Text No. 3* (Autumn 1980): 5.

methodology used for the research and analyses conducted in this study. In particular, I will present the major theories and theorists in the fields of dramaturgy and performance, French Canadian theatre history, cultural representation, intercultural engagement, post-colonial and minority literatures, and national identity that make up the foundations for the work that has been done.

1.2 Exploring the Archive: Research and Contexts

1.2.1 Archival Research: Plays and Playwrights

In order to develop the corpus of plays from 1910 to 1929 for this project, it was necessary to explore physical and digital collections to find both published and unpublished manuscripts and play texts. Archival research was primarily conducted in the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BAnQ) archives in Vieux-Montréal and Québec City as well as some work in Gatineau, looking at many collections with varying degrees of success, including: Fonds Janou Saint-Denis (1927-2003), Fonds Fred Barry et Bella Ouellette (around 1893-1964), Fonds G. Edouard Rinfret (around 1904 – 1972), Collections Gilles Latulippe (around 1822-2013), and Fonds La Presse (1909, 1913-1988), as well as the BAnQ library's Collection Nationale. The search for primary source documents also involved the digital and microfiche collections, as well as print media, at BAnQ, Concordia Library Services and Inter-Library searches and loans, the National Theatre School Library, and the Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa. As many of the theatrical texts were printed solely in journals and reviews rather than as monographs, the research also focused heavily on the digital Patrimoine Québécoise collection at the BAnQ in order to access content in publications including *Le Devoir, Le Canada, Le Passe-*

Temps, La Tribune, and *La Soleil.* The results of the archival research will be explored in detail in Chapter 3 and the full list of plays discovered can be found in Appendix A.

The archival research conducted also focused on the playwrights of the works included in the corpus. Scholar in English Canadian theatre history Alan Filewod explains that, "The relation of theatre and dissent was a major preoccupation in the twentieth century, when on the one hand mass political movements exploited theatre for propaganda, and on the other engaged artists sought ways to use their art for their activism".[3] When looking at the representation of culture and cultural memory in theatrical works, it is important to understand the positionality of the authors of the source materials, in this case the selected 20th century playwrights of French-Canadian plays, in order to critically analyse the choices made in their works.

As D. Soyini Madison explains, whether an individual is part of a culture or not, the choices made by those presenting a particular society say as much about themselves as they do about the subject of their work. Madison believes that there is an ethical responsibility in presenting culture and identity that requires a critical awareness of both the self and the *subject*. Madison calls this *positionality*, noting "Positionality is vital because it forces us to acknowledge our own power, privilege, and biases just as we are denouncing the power structures that surround our subjects."[4] This is an echo of Bourdieu's earlier definition of positionality that hinges on the notion of capital; in other words, for Bourdieu, positionality is self-reflexive and requires an acknowledgement of power (often in the form of resources) and privilege.[5] But it is not simply enough to recognize one's positionality; there must be a continuing dialogue between

---

[3] Alan Filewod, "6 Unruly and Unremarked: Theatrical Spectatorship from Below in Nineteenth-century Canada," in *Contested spaces, counter-narratives, and culture from below in Canada and Quebec,* eds. Roxanne Rimstead and Domenic Beneventi (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 128.
[4] D. Soyini Madison, *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics & Performance* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), 8.
[5] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984).

the presenter and the represented in order for each to fully understand the other. In part, my goal

in this research is to establish a renewed gaze upon both the French-Canadian theatre from the

early 20th century as well as its own ludic and political play on positionality within French-

Canadian plays.

Theatre and performance, too, which require a continuing dialogue between the

performer and their character or characters and between the performers (or performance) and the

audience. Roland Barthes explains that,

> Dans son mouvement premier, la mise en scène ne peut être fondée que sur la pluralité et
> la littéralité des objets. Baudelaire, lui, ne conçoit les choses du théâtre qu'accompagnées
> de leur double rêvé, douées d'une spiritualité suffisamment vaporeuse pour mieux les
> unifier et mieux les éloigner. Or, il n'y a rien de plus contraire à la dramaturgie que le
> rêve, les germes du théâtre veritable étant toujours des mouvements élémentaires du
> préhension ou d'éloignement: le surréel des objets de théâtre est d'ordre sensoriel, non
> onirique.[6]

The real – the existing sociopolitical contexts, the cultural hierarchies, the actors' bodies, the

physical theatre space, the passage of time, etc. – and the imagined – the represented culture and

cultural exchange, the characters, the represented social hierarchies, the play's time period, etc. –

exist in a dialogical relationship with one another that requires both performer and audience to

have a doubling of awareness and vision. Fernand Dumont calls this confrontation or collision

between two worlds, which he terms the real (*réalité*) and the imaginary (*interpréter*),

dédoublement.[7] These dialogical relationships between real and imagined and audience and

performer define the dialogical nature of theatre: the performance does not happen on stage or in

the audience, but rather in the space *between* the two. Thus, the in-between space, to use Homi

Bhabha's term, which we will discuss in more detail shortly, becomes in its idealisation a place

of intercultural exchange or engagement through the performative act. It is important to note here

---

[6] Roland Barthes, *Essais critiques* (Paris: Seuil, 1991), 42.
[7] Fernand Dumont, *Genèse de la société Québécoise: essai* (Montréal: Editions Boréal, 1997), 349.

that as we move through this study, the object of study – the plays and their contexts – is steeped

in a very different sociohistorical reality which predates much of the theory that I am using to

frame this analysis and discussion.

The plays that are the main focus of this study contain both French culture and characters

and Anglophone cultural representations or figures, so it is necessary to look at the relationships

between the presenters or authors and the represented cultures in the plays. Research was

conducted to find out about the playwrights' training and professions in order to discover overall

trends from the period. Additionally, for those that included Anglophone cultural representation

in their works, biographical research was conducted to discover their social, economic, and

cultural backgrounds – or positions – in order to establish their relationship to Anglophone

culture and how their positionality may have influenced the dramaturgical choices made in their

plays.

1.2.2 Contextual Research: History and Collective Cultural Memory

The contextual research component of two areas of study: a) social, political, and cultural

contexts in early 20th century French Canada; and b) the history of French-English relations in

Canada. In order to understand and situate the plays and playwrights into their cultural moment,

it was necessary to do historical research into the major social, political, and cultural movements

and ideas that were prominent between 1910 and 1929, as these could have contributed to or

affected the creative and thematic choices made by the playwrights. Governmental policies, such

as Regulation XVII and conscription, cultural advancements such as the expansion of radio and

the development of the national archives of Québec, and ideological movements, such as the

clerical and civil nationalist movements, were researched and their connections to the plays and

playwrights will be demonstrated in later chapters. As the period spans two decades, it was

broken up into three distinct segments: Pre-War (1910-1913), Wartime (1914-1918), and Post-

War (1919-1929). In Chapter 2 we will discuss in more detail the function of this periodization.

In brief, over the course of these two decades, a great deal changed not only in Québec, but

globally. As we will see in Chapter 2, the needs, desires, and concentrations of French-Canadian

society were not the same in 1910 and 1929. Thus, in order to properly situate and contextualize

the plays, analyze the corpus, and develop meaningful trends and patterns, it was necessary to

look at both the period as a whole and the period separated into these three segments.

Additionally, contextual research was done focussing on the history of French-English

relations in Canada. Not only does this historical research allow for a more complete

understanding of early 20th century French-Canadian culture and attitudes towards Anglophones,

but it also allows for the exploration of cultural memory within the play texts. Cultural and

national identities are developed not simply by the playing out of historical events, but also

through the cultural memory of these events that is passed down from generation to generation

and continually adjusts to new social, political, and cultural contexts. Barry Schwartz defines

collective memory as a means to preserve culture, saying that it is simultaneously a model *of*

society and a model *for* society. Schwartz states:

> However, the adjective 'collective' does not mean that a 'group memory' exists
> independently of its constituents. Nor does it mean that everyone perceives the past
> in the same way. Collective remembering refers to variant individual expressions of
> culturally induced beliefs, feelings, and moral judgments about the past.[8]

He goes on to explain that the focus is on creating boundaries between cultures and the macro-

narrative (or national narrative) of each individual culture, rather than the micro-narratives of

---

[8] Barry Schwartz, "Cultural and Collective Memory: Comparative perspectives" in *Handbook of Cultural Sociology* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 620.

those individuals who make up the collective cultural memory. Maurice Halbwachs, on the other hand, explains that collective memory is formed through collaborative retrieval of individual memories by a particular society or culture, creating a unified – although possibly incomplete – cultural history and identity.[9] This process is what allows entire societies to remember events collectively that each individual did not necessarily experience first-hand, for example the Jewish memory of the Holocaust. Or, in the case of French Canadians, the memory of the political and cultural displacement by the English. Gérard Bouchard explains that the Québécois or French-Canadian collective memory is marked by *mythes dépresseurs*, stories or memories of trauma and political repression and French-Canadians "de leur fragilité – accentuée par les menaces répétées d'assimilation par les nouveaux maîtres."[10] There is a collective memory and a group consciousness that exist beyond, or outside of, the individuals that are included in the French-Canadian community that allow them to remember the dominance of their people by Anglophones.

The history of the schism between French and English Canadians is a long and arduous account and this section does not aim to do more than provide a brief contextual overview for the discussion of cultural memory.[11] After one hundred and fifty years of settlement in Nouvelle France, the English began their reign following the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759 and the Conquest of Québec in 1760. While the French population maintained their rights to use

---

[9] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory,* translated and edited by Lewis A. Coser, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[10] Gérard Bouchard, *Genèse des nations et cultures du Nouveau Monde: Essai d'histoire comparé* (Montréal: Editions Boréal, 2001), 116.

[11] It is important to note here that this study is not dealing with Acadian or First Nations identities and situations. They are also minorities with prolonged minority literatures, and studies have been – and continue to be – done about their persecution by the British throughout Canadian history. This study does not mean to diminish the effects of British rule over these other peoples, nor does it aim to privilege the French culture and language over that of the Acadian or First Nations peoples. Simply, the focus of this research is specifically investigating the relationships – cultural, linguistic, historical, and memorial – between French and English Canadians through the lens of French-Canadian theatrical works in the early 20th century.

French Civil Law and the seigneurial system for land dispensation and retained their rights to practice their religion without persecution, they were subjects of English colonial rule and eventually lost the right to control their own land, society, and culture. With the Constitutional Act of 1791, the British Colony of Québec was divided into Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Québec), each with their own separate governing bodies. In essence, the British government created a French Catholic province and an English Protestant province – with a clearly defined geographic boundary separating the two. And yet, even as their own entity the French Canadians did not have control over their own government. The Executive branch in Lower Canada was controlled primarily by English-speaking families, and in fact required the knowledge and use of English to participate in law-making and governance.

The resentment that this caused led to the Rebellion of 1837-38, led by the Patriotes, which quickly ended in disaster as nearly all of the casualties were French. The rebellion only made matters worse as it led to the infamous Durham Report and the 1840 Act of Union, reuniting Upper and Lower Canada into a single state. This unity also brought with it a social and linguistic hierarchy designating English and Anglophones as those at the top and French and French Canadians as those at the bottom – or at least below the English. Over the course of the next seventy-five years, the English government of Canada attempted to limit the rights of French Canadians to self-governance and their own language. The goal of policies such as Regulation XVII in Ontario and the Thornton Act in Manitoba were clear: assimilate French Canadians and eliminate the French language.

Collective memory and memorial spaces exist in theatrical texts and also in the representation of culture, as we will see in Chapters 4 and 5. Bouchard writes that the collective memory of the French-Canadian people "ancrait aussi en eux la détermination d'une résistance

nourrie par des mythes dépresseurs sans cesse relancés par les nouveaux échecs et reculs du fait

francophone à l'échelle canadienne. C'est le premier versant de la mémoire, sa face tragique,

celle d'un destin collectif sacrifié, brisé deux fois en plein élan par la force des armes."[12] This

determination and many of the events and conflicts, or *mythes dépresseurs,* described above can

be found in the plays included in this study, such as Adolphe-Basile Routhier's *Montcalm et*

Lévis, Aimé Plamondon's *Âmes françaises,* and Joseph Armand Leclaire's *Le petit maître*

d'école. Judith Schlanger, Susannah Radstone, and Pierre Nora all discussed the locatedness of

cultural and collective memory, although in very different ways. Schlanger takes a traditionalist

approach with her concept of *la mémoire des oeuvres*, a space in which the memory of the arts

exists in "une existence parallèle, un peu secrète, en retrait".[13] This concept of art and culture

existing in two separate memory spaces seems contradictory as theatrical texts and performances

are not only a part of culture, as experiences and artefacts, but they also draw their inspiration

from culture. However, Schlanger's text allows for critical distance by separating art from its

social contexts. In contrast to Schlanger, cultural and memory studies theorist Susannah

Radstone does not place memory in a specific place; rather, she discusses the fixed-unfixed

nature of memory. She proposes that the 'locatedness' created through experiences of

disorientation and dislocation caused by migration (among other things) is essential in

understanding memory from transcultural and displaced peoples, which she calls nostalgia.[14] The

French-Canadian population could be viewed in this manner, as they immigrated to Canada and

were then displaced sometimes literally (particularly in Montréal) and also displaced in terms of

political and social authority. Pierre Nepveu addresses this notion of displacement of the French-

---

[12] Bouchard, 116.

[13] Judith Schlanger, *La mémoire des oeuvres* (Rieux-en-Val: Éditions Verdier, 2008), 147.

[14] Susannah Radstone, "What Place is This? Transcultural Memory and the Locations of Memory Studies" in
Parallax 17:4 (2011): 109-123.

Canadian, specifically the Québecois as he is theorizing on the 1960s and 1970s, people in

relation to their literature, explaining that:

> L'expérience concrète de l'étrangeté y implique une pratique de l'ici sans cesse
> renouvelée, se construisant sous le signe d'une éthique de la mémoire et de la présence
> aux formes, et d'une herméneutique jamais achevée. Dans cette optique, l'écriture
> migrante ou transculturelle constitue un cas particulier, mais exemplaire: elle ritualise les
> signes à la fois à travers l'expérience de leur profond désordre et la tentative jamais
> achevée de leur reconfiguration.[15]

The displacement or, as Homi Bhabha would describe it, *unhoming*, of the French-Canadian

people began the cyclical process of trying to find order in chaos, to construct a new 'here'

through memory by creating symbols and figures; in other words, French-Canadian literature

attempts to *locate* memory through *ritualization* or meaning-making in order to establish a new

(or alternative) present. As we will see shortly, this process is particularly important for post-

colonial and minority cultures and literatures.

Unlike Radstone and Nepveu, who define memory as unstable and movable, Pierre Nora

states that memory is placed in specific fixed sites or locations. Nora investigates the notion of

an historical break that made the embodiment of memory in sites that contain historical

continuity, which he terms *lieux de mémoire*, possible. For Nora, *lieux de mémoire* are created

out of the interplay between memory and history; there must be a desire to remember, but the

sites are also inseparable from the temporal and social contexts provided by history.[16] This is

exemplified in several plays in this study, such as Leclaire's *Laurier* and Routhier's *Montcalm et

Lévis.* The historical research done for this study is used to explore the ways in which cultural or

collective memory has been embedded in the theatrical works to represent Anglophone culture as

---

[15] Pierre Nepveu, *L'Écologie du reel. Mort et naissance de la littérature Québécoise contemporaine – essai*
(Montréal: Editions Boréal, 1999), 214.
[16] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire" in *Representations No. 26 Special Issue:
Memory and Counter-Memory* (Spring 1989): 7-24.

well as the ways in which its presentation conflicts or confirms historical narrative and dominant cultural identity. Connecting to the work of Nora and Schlanger, as well as Diana Taylor's *Archive and Repertoire,*[17] this study also looks at the cultural context of the playwright and their engagement with French-Canadian cultural memory.

1.2.3 French Canadian Theatre History

The second research track for this study is the history of French-Canadian theatre, particularly from 1910 to 1929. Much like the search for plays, this study looks beyond the borders of Québec and explores the history of theatre across French Canada; however, the vast majority of publications and productions, as well as the majority of playwrights, lived in or worked in Québec, mainly in Montréal, which was, and to some extent continues to be, the epicenter or heart of the French-Canadian culture and cultural identity. In part, this is due to the much larger concentration of French Canadians in the province of Québec and in the area in and around Ottawa. This geographic area was also, perhaps due to the population density of French Canadians, the focal point of the discourse around French-Canadian culture and identity, which stemmed mainly from Québec, and, more specifically, from Montréal. So, a play produced or disseminated in print in Québec joined in the larger conversation of French cultural memory and national identity. In a sense, being welcomed into the Québec theatre scene legitimized the work and its author.

At the beginning of the 20th century in French Canada, the field of theatre, as we will see shortly, had not yet been established well enough to have professional reviewers and critics whose views and opinions could easily be distinguished from the everyman. And it is difficult to

---

[17] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

establish the viewpoints of "lay" audience members for performances that happened

approximately a hundred years ago without digging through personal journals that somehow

survived from that period, which could take decades. Thus, for the purposes of this study, with

the focus on the mechanics of collective memory and national identity in the theatre, we will

look at the types of audiences and audience members that could have seen the selected plays, as

well as the types of media coverage the plays received, or could have received.

By the start of the First World War, Montréal had established three English universities

and one French post-secondary institution. Both Québec and Ontario developed as urbanized

provinces as industrialization moved people towards the cities. Denis Saint-Jacques and Maurice

Lemire explain that "grâce à une clientèle plus nombreuse et plus en moyens, les hommes de

profession - l'élite traditionnelle du Canada français - participant à cette prospérité tout en

concourant à l'urbanisation des régions qui, en l'espace de dix ans, voient leur population

urbaine augmenter, parfois même doubler."[18] French Canada was marked by an increase in

intellectuals and wealth, thus providing audiences that had means and critical awareness. And

while these audiences were ready for change, they were not blindly accepting what was put on

stage in front of them. In *L'Institution du Littéraire au Québec*, Lucie Robert explains that, "Ce

public n'est plus réuni par la nécessité de former un rassemblement homogène de personnes

partageant un certain nombre de préoccupations… Au théâtre seulement peut-on dire que le

public réussit à briser son anonymat.".[19] The theatre space was developing into a forum for

dialogue and critical thinking – and not everyone had to agree.

Although the audiences were becoming more discerning in terms of the theatre that they

were seeing, at the beginning of the 20th century, most professional theatre venues were still

---

[18] Denis Saint-Jacques and Maurice Lemire, eds., *La vie littéraire au Québec V 1895-1918* (Saint-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005), 43.

[19] Lucie Robert, *L'Institution du Littéraire au Québec* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1989), 118.

presenting foreign, mainly French, works performed by majority French actors, which resulted in "foreign" or French being seen as the standard for professional theatre, thus the public was conditioned to see French-Canadian theatre, which was largely presented in smaller theatre houses and by amateur groups (which were soon to become semi-professional or professional) as amateur or at the very least *less* professional. The newness of the Canadian theatre training programs and the recent spotlight on Canadian actors also meant that French 'stars' were still very much at the centre of the industry. And there was yet to develop a system of patronage for theatre in which individuals or private companies had a stake in the success of French-Canadian theatre. Audiences of the selected plays, therefore, were limited in their experiences of seeing their own narratives and identities on stage, and their ability to continue the legacy of (or create classics out of) these plays was hindered by their ephemeral nature.

The media, in particular newspapers and periodicals, were also becoming more discerning and critical in their politics and assessments of art and theatre. As Hervé Guay explains, theatre is able to imagine a changed future, and thus it is also a mechanism for newspapers to further their political agendas through advertisements and reviews of particular performances that are in line with their political leanings. The early 20th century saw the rise of what Jacques Michon terms "la presse d'opinion"[20], or as Guay further describes it, "l'opinion théâtrale et l'opinion culturelle".[21] These opinions come from the readership and collaborators of the publications, not simply from the journalists themselves. The development of a critical discourse beyond the rejection (or admonishment) of works by the church and the defence of the work and the art form, which until that point was the extent of the dialogue, demonstrated a

---

[20] Jacques Michon, ed., *Histoire de l'édition littéraire au Québec au XXe siècle: La naissance de l'éditeur 1900-1950* (Montréal: Fides, 1999), 75.
[21] Hervé Guay, *L'éveil culturel: Théâtre et presse à Montréal, 1898-1914* (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2010), 103.

renewed respect for the theatre and a new cultural value that was being placed on the works that were produced.

But the media, much like audiences, were struggling with the newness of the French-Canadian theatre scene. Daniel Chartier explains in *L'émergence des classiques,* that for theatre critics:

> Il y a hésitation sur le point de vue à adopter face au spectacle: doit-on parler de la langue, de la mise en scène, du public, du prix des billets, de la distribution, de la construction du texte, du style, de la pertinence sociale et morale, doit-on mettre l'œuvre en contexte dans l'histoire du genre ou dans l'évolution littéraire de l'auteure, etc.? Cette mouvance du discours permet d'explique pourquoi ces pièces, acclamées à leur sortie comme les meilleures du répertoire Québecois, sont rapidement tombées dans l'oubli.[22]

Without a common vocabulary or understanding of how to discuss theatre, there was a discontinuity in the discourse around the works created in this time period. The theatrical discourse was always shifting, from casting to morality to historical context. Only certain periodicals had sections dedicated to theatre as most focused on novels and music.

The historical research into French-Canadian theatre history allows for a greater understanding of the wants and needs of French-Canadian audiences and the creative choices made by playwrights working at that time. Additionally, it situates the corpus of plays being studied in their temporal moment and contextualizes the analyses of the trends discovered and revealed in Chapters 3 and 4.

1.3 Examining the Repertoire: Theoretical Foundations

The close reading of the corpus of plays seeks to explore and respond to the two research questions laid out in the introduction to this dissertation. First, the study explores the nature of

---

[22] Daniel Chartier, *L'émergence des classiques. La réception de la littérature québécoise des années 1930* (Montréal: Fides, 2000), 278.

cultural representation in theatrical texts, particularly Anglophone cultural representation within the context of a French-Canadian society. The study then uses a post-colonial lens to examine the ways in which playwrights engaged in acts of subversion or dissent within their works through the *re*presentation or rewriting of Anglophone culture and the relationship and power dynamics between French and English Canadians in the minorized context of Québec and French Canada. Finally, the study turns to a discussion of possibility and the potential impacts this rewriting of narrative and identity could have on French-Canadian national identity. In this section, I will lay out the theory drawn upon throughout the dissertation that, paired with a dramaturgical analysis of the texts, informs my responds to these two questions.

1.3.1 Cultural (Re)presentation

Cultural representation is the articulation of a particular society's network or assemblage of language, linguistic traits and rhythms, shared values and ideas, and collective memory. As Marvin Carlson explains, "Theatre, as a simulacrum of the cultural and historical process itself, seeking to depict the full range of human actions within their physical context, has always provided society with the most tangible records of its attempts to understand its own operations".[23] He goes on to say that theatre is "the repository of cultural memory, but, like the memory of each individual, it is also subject to continual adjustment and modification as the memory is recalled in new circumstances and contexts".[24] The representation of culture involves engagement with cultural memory, or, in other words, the invocation of historical events mediated by cultural or collective memory. But, as Anneke Smelik and Liedeke Plate explain, memory, and thus culture, does not simply exist in a text or performance; it is not merely present

---

[23] Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 2.
[24] Ibid., 2.

to be consumed. They state that "art and art and popular culture constitute performative acts of memory generating an experience of the past in the present. Memory needs to be understood as an effect of a variety of institutionalised discourses and cultural practices."[25] The nowness and realness, as Peggy Phelan describes it, of theatre and performance highlight the relationship between past and present, as well as the link to the future. And these links, these embodied sites of cultural memory and exchange, are inseparable from the temporal and social contexts in which they are created. For Smelik and Plate, memory is *doing* that is mediated through performance. This focus on active remembrance creates a witness, a relationship in which something can be transferred or transposed from one individual to another, from one temporal reality to another, or from one world to another.

Cultural representation is complex and multifaceted; it does not simply involve the invocation of collective memory. Cultural representation on stage is an embodied practice that transposes cultural language, rhythms, signs, codes, and figurations through actors and characters. Michaela Grobbel suggests that the body is the central point or site of memorialization.[26] The body transposes culture and memory into time and space on stage and that representation is then *read* by the audience. In discussing his concept of *rhythmanalysis*, Henri Lefebvre explains that there is "[n]o rhythm without repetition in time and in space, without *reprises*, without returns, in short without **measure** [*mesure*]… Each rhythm has its own and specific measure: speed, frequency, consistency…"[27] Each culture has its own rhythm, which is produced and seen through language, character, and action or movement. Echoing

---

[25] Anneke Smelik and Liedeke Plate, eds., *Performing Memory in Art and Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 2-3.

[26] Michaela Grobbel, *Enacting Past and Present: The Memory Theaters of Djuna Barnes, Ingeborg Bachmann, and Marguerite Duras* (Toronto: Lexington Books, 2004), 62-64.

[27] Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life,* trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (New York: Continuum, 2004), 7-8.

Lefebvre, Judith Butler states that the performance of culture, or cultural performativity, "must be understood not as a singular or deliberate 'act,' but, rather, as the reiterative and citational practices by which discourse produces the effects that it names".[28] Cultural performance is part of a particular rhythm or a set of circumstances inscribed on or ascribed to the body. Embodied cultural representation, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5, therefore, is the *performance* of a particular culture's assemblage or rhythm on stage.

1.3.2 Cultural Engagement and the Post-colonial Lens

Historical, cultural, and national narratives, as well as collective memories, are constructed through the dynamic process of representation, refiguration, and recognition. Theatre has the capacity to expose this process, and to embody culture and cultural memory not only in the text, but also in the creative process, in the bodies of the performers, and in the exchanges between the audience and the actors in the theatre space. Nepveu writes:

> La notion de partage ne désigne pas une congruence molle et complaisante, mais un dialogisme qui se réalise dans des procédures et des stratégies et qui suppose une éthique de l'interprétation et de la traduction. Le partage, précisément, s'expose; il est exposition, visibilité des enjeux, des conflits et des liens sociaux.[29]

The dialogism or cultural engagement embedded into the plays included in this study is inherently political; it exposes differences and questions identity and belonging. As we will see in Chapters 4 and 5, these plays put in dialogue two cultures, two languages, two collective memories and histories, as a means to perform the construction – or *de*construction – of difference through embodied cultural representation. These embodied, or performed, cultural representations can be true to life, fantastical, satirical, tragic, historical, comedic - or any combination of these types of interpretation.

---

[28] Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 3.
[29] Nepveu, 215.

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari explain that "Une littérature mineure n'est pas celle d'une langue mineure, plutôt celle qu'une minorité fait dans une langue majeure."[30] They go on to say that minority literatures, a classification that I - among others - recognise applies to Québec literature, contain three particular characteristics: "la déterritorialisation de la langue, le branchement de l'individuel sur l'immédiat-politique, [et] l'agencement collectif d'énonciation".[31] While the French-Canadian œuvre can certainly be seen as a minority literature, it can be problematic to simply look at the conquered-conqueror, or minority-majority binary it creates as French-Canadian society, much like the English Canadian community, developed as a settler culture. Dalie Giroux purports that this simplified duality is at the heart of the "maître chez nous" identity of the contemporary Québecois but acknowledges that "cet arrêt sur image de l'historiographie Québécoise, celui qui présente a figure du Canadien français colonisé, cache et refoule l'autre partie de l'équation colonial Québécoise, celle par laquelle les Canadiens français devenus Québécois revendiquent… leur part du gâteau colonial, et décident d'exercer en leur propre nom la prérogative biopolitique du colonisateur anglais honni".[32] The use of the post-colonial lens in this study allows us to examine French-Canadian theatre and identity from *outside* of the minority literature paradigm. In other words, rather than focussing on French-Canadian culture and language as fixed and simply *within* or *subservient to* a dominant Anglophone majority, the post-colonial lens focuses on the *relationship* between the French-Canadian Self and the Anglophone Other and the *dynamic* identity of the French-Canadian people *over time*. As Homi Bhabha explains, "The terms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced performative… The social articulation of difference,

---

[30] Gilles Deleuze et Félix Guattari, *Kafka. Pour une littérature mineure* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1975), 19.
[31] Ibid., 33.
[32] Dalie Giroux, *L'œil du maître. Figures de l'imaginaire colonial Québécois* (Montréal: Editions Mémoire d'encrier, 2020), 11-12.

from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation".[33] Over time and through moments of cultural engagement, such as wars or battles, political conflict, and social unrest, the relationship and power dynamics between cultures, such as French and English Canadians, changes. The distancing created by the post-colonial lens allows us to take into account the variation in colonial status of the French-Canadian people and permits the discussion and analysis of the French-Canadian identity from the perspective as both a conquered or colonized people but *also* a settler culture.

The work of cultural representation takes place in the in-between spaces – or performative contact zones – of the theatre. Mary Louise Pratt defines these contact zones as "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination-like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today".[34] Not only are these spaces of cultural and linguistic contact, but also, as Monique Borie explains, places where the past meets the present, the dead meet the living. In these contact zones, the invisible appears within the visible, time becomes obscured by the encounter between past and present as the memory contained in the play and in the moment of the performance "prend place dans l'héritage une tradition orale, dans la réalité d'une véritable mémoire collective".[35] From these cultural contact zones emerge counter-narratives which are writing back against the dominant Anglophone settler narrative. These counter-narratives, as Roxanne Rimstead and Domenico A. Benenventi explain, "are essential for contesting and positioning the self and social movements, on both a micro and a macro level, as a complex form of relational resistance (versus a binary opposition) against

---

[33] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 2.
[34] Mary Louis Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: travel writing and transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 4.
[35] Monique Borie, *Le Fantôme ou le théâtre qui doute* (Paris: Actes Sud, 1997), 75.

master narratives, resistance that takes place within the space of social interaction" and stem

directly from the cultural representation of and engagement with the Anglophone Other.[36]

Cultural representation and engagement allows the power dynamics, interactions, social

hierarchies, physical spaces, and temporalities to be transposed, adapted, or reconfigured, into

the world of the play. Through this transformative process, theatre has the capacity to intervene,

to challenge dominant narratives, and propose alternative histories, memories, and perspectives.

In *Post- Colonial Drama: Theory, Practice, Politics*, Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins

explain the difficulties that settler cultures, such as the French and English in Canada, face when

trying to define and express national identity. They write:

> History is a particularly fraught issue for settler societies because of their ambivalent
> positioning in the imperial paradigm as both colonizers and colonized. By their very
> name, settlers are implicated in the dispossession of indigenous peoples from their
> homelands and in the (partial) destruction of their cultures.[37]

Both the French and the English were sent to the New World to develop new dominions. In

doing so they were the colonizers, asserting power over the indigenous population, though their

relationships with First Nations were very different, and establishing themselves at the top of the

cultural food chain. They were also, however, colonized themselves in that they were sent to

North America by their imperial mother countries and then abandoned (or, as in the case of the

United States, the settlers rebelled). In the case of French-Canadians, they were then colonized or

conquered by the English.

Dominique Maingueneau also explores this notion of continuing change of identity, and

lacking a specific, fixed place or space to call home. In discussing artists, particularly literary

---

[36] Roxanne Rimstead and Domenico A. Beneventi, "Introduction: Reading Space through Conflict," in *Contested spaces, counter-narratives, and culture from below in Canada and Quebec* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 14.

[37] Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins, *Post-colonial drama: theory, practice, politics* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 113.

authors, Maingueneau explains that:

> Dans une production littéraire fondée sur la conformité à des canons esthétiques, ce sont plutôt les communautés "d'artistes" plus ou moins marginales (aèdes ou trouvères) qui sont paratopiques… Par sa manière de "s'insérer" dans l'espace littéraire et la société, l'écrivain construit en effet les conditions de sa propre création.[38]

The writer is at once within and outside of society; he doesn't have a defined place. French-Canadian playwrights, like the ones we will discuss shortly, and one could even argue the French Canadians in general – particularly the Québécois – exist in this position of *n'être pas d'ici ni là* because they live (or lived) in Canada but are not a part of the grand narrative that exists in the country because of their language, cultural references, and exiguity.

The colonial rule of the English over French Canadians changed the power dynamics; they were no longer two equal settler cultures occupying the same space. It is important to note the distinct identity and post-colonial status of the French Canadians as a formerly subjugated people. They have a dual identity has both a *settler* culture and a *colonized* or *conquered* people, and, as Homi Bhabha terms, the French-Canadian people were 'unhomed', not once but twice: first from their mother country and again from their colony. Simon Harel and Isabelle St-Amand explain that, "Ayant un sens aigu de la présence de l'autre, dominant, auquel ils sont confrontés, en tout temps… ces derniers ont tendance à craindre qu'une ouverture qui ferait abstraction des inégalités n'aiT pour effet de favoriser une assimilation et un effacement de leur caractère distinct."[39] The inclusion of Anglophone culture in their plays, as we will see in the latter part of

---

[38] Dominique Maingueneau, *Le discours littéraire. Paratopie et scène d'énonciation* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2004), 72.

[39] Simon Harel and Isabelle St-Amand, "Introduction Identités multiples, identités assiégées: un point de vue critique sur la contingence," in *Les figures du siège au Québec: Concertation et conflits en context minoritaire* (Laval: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2011), 4.

this dissertation, is not a form of assimilation, but in fact a mechanism for demonstrating the uniqueness of the French-Canadian identity – and a practice of disruption of the dominant figure.

This study examines the unique perspective of the French-Canadian people as both settler and colonized-conquered and the dramaturgical strategies used by playwrights within the post-colonial perspective to represent and *re*present the Anglophone Other rather than the Self on the French-Canadian stage. In other words, this study is, one the one hand, exploring these plays as ethnographic cultural performances of the Anglophone Other. On the other hand, this study is also looking at the strategies employed by early 20th century French Canadian playwrights to undermine ethnographic performance by subverting or, as mentioned earlier, *re*presenting the Anglophone Other and writing back against the dominant settler narrative. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin define ethnography as:

> that field of anthropological research based on direct observation of and reporting on a people's way of life. It is the basic methodology employed by cultural anthropologists and consists of two stages: fieldwork, which is the term used for the process of observing and recording data; and reportage, the production of a written description and analysis of the subject under study.[40]

Ethnography is simultaneously a process of investigation and the results of that research. It allows for the methodically observation and recording of the way people in various communities communicate and, as discussed earlier, construct or represent their cultures and identities. The plays in this study that include Anglophone cultural representation, which are steeped in historical and cultural contexts, are, in a sense, performing ethnography as they simultaneously examine the relationship between French and English cultures and languages in early 20th century Canada, and display the results of that relationship on stage in the form of the plays themselves. However, the cultural representations that appear on stage are cultural *figures* or

---

[40] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures, 2nd ed.* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 85.

figurations, which Jean-Pierre Ryngært and Julie Sermon define as "forme(s) envisagée(s) de l'extérieur,"[41] and are representative of *all* Anglophones – or a singular Anglophone Other. They lack any unique qualities or characteristics relating to homeland and heritage, such as Scottish, English, or Irish, and serve a *function* in the French-Canadian story rather than following their own storyline and character arc or a clearly distinct Anglophone or English Canadian story. Unlike flat or type-characters, these characters are not simply antagonists or background noise. The Anglophone figurations in these 20th century works have a clear and critical role: facilitating the growth French-Canadian characters and culture within the world of the play. For example, Maxime Boisvert learns through his interactions with the Anglophone figuration in *Soixante minutes ambassadeur du Japon* by Joseph Désilets, represented by the Ottawa government, that he does not need to leave his Québec community to be happy, to be fulfilled.

Neither French nor English in terms of nationality, French Canadians were – and to some degree still are – displaced 'historical' Europeans, or displaced people of European heritage. Language, therefore, developed a new level of meaning, one of cultural association and connection to 'home'. Language, as we will see in Chapter 5, becomes a battle ground for supremacy in French-Canadian literature, as French replaces or subverts English and Anglophone cultural rhythms. Much like language, character and the body are used to replace or *re*present Anglophone culture on the French-Canadian stage. The body takes on the form and representation of culture, of identity, and has the capacity to become a substitute for the real. First, quite simply, the French-Canadian body of the actor takes the *place* of the Anglophone on stage. Additionally, character choices, such as status, linguistic capabilities, cultural knowledge, and relationships, have the capacity to *reconstruct* or *re*present the Anglophone, which could

---

[41] Jean-Pierre Rynært and Julie Sermon, *Le personage théâtrale contemporain: decomposition, recomposition* (Montreuil: Éditions Théâtrales, 2006), 11.

affect the understanding of not only French-English relations but also the French-Canadian understanding of Self.

The post-colonial perspective also challenges the notion of one prevailing narrative. Dominant narratives and cultures rely on the notion of singularity: there is only one true history – which is the one that they wrote for themselves. Micheline Cambron expounds that the Québécois sought to create a *récit commun,* a unified collective memory with shared – and protected – origin stories and cultural characteristics or tropes; in other words, they developed a dominant Québécois narrative which "dispose d'un pouvoir considérable parce que, comme le reél, il semble porter son propre sens : parce qu'il noue le Début et la Fin, il se pose comme immanent, et c'est *contre* lui que doit être aménangée toute forme d'interrogation du sens".[42] While, as Cambron explains, this *récit commun* acts as a hegemonic narrative against which alterity *within* Québec society is measured, the collective memory of the Québécois and French Canadians can also be seen as a counter-narrative against the dominant *Anglophone* narrative. Gilbert and Tompkins write that "settler histories do not simply replicate the master narrative's characteristic tropes; instead, they are often concerned with establishing authenticity for a society dislocated from the imperial centre and, simultaneously, alienated from the local land and indigenous culture."[43] By employing collective memory and the disruption of linear time and history, as we will discuss in more detail shortly and see demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5, settler cultures, and indeed minority communities as well, upset the underpinnings of the dominant narrative and culture by presenting their own *alternative* narratives.

---

[42] Micheline Cambron, *Une société, un récit. Discours culturel au Québec (1967-1976)* (Montréal: Editions de l'Hexagone, 1989), 182.
[43] Gilbert and Tompkins, 113.

1.3.3 Reimagining National Identities and Power Dynamics

For minority cultures and identities, or colonial or post-colonial subalterns, visibility and self-representation are central concepts for self-actualization. The development of national identity is a multi-layered and complex process and this study in no way intends to examine all facets of its creation. Much in the same way as the application of the post-colonial lens emphasises cultural engagement, this study will focus on the impacts of the *relationship* between the Self and the Other on the writing (or re-writing) and understanding of national identity. The definition of Self or national identity is not merely a geographic or geopolitical process; it is also, and more importantly, an internalized exercise of understanding. As Jacques Lacan describes, when the Self realizes it is distinct from the Other, it gains agency in order to develop a unique identity and see the Self as *whole,* which we will see in Chapter 5 as an emergent theme in the corpus of French-Canadian plays with Anglophone cultural representation.[44] In the case of national identity, this 'wholeness' involves the *visibility* and *legitimization* of community and cultural history. Charles Taylor argues that the national identity of Québec is comprised of three essential elements: "(i) une éthique politique, essentiellement définie par les droits humains, l'égalité et la démocratie (c'en est la dimension 'républicaine'); (ii) le français comme langue publique, et (iii) un certain rapport à notre histoire".[45] These are shared values that can be *contested* or *challenged*, meaning that there is inherently an Other embedded in the Self, or in national identity, as there are others that do not share these values. Additionally, both linguistically and in terms of collective history and memory, in the definition of Québec national identity there are individuals who are *included* and there are people who are *excluded*. As Taylor

---

[44] Jacques Lacan, "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the *I* Function as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience" in *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English*, trans. Bruce Fink (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2006), 75-81.
[45] Charles Taylor, "Nation Culturelle, nation politique" in *Penser la nation québécoise…,* ed. Michel Venne (Montréal: Editions Québec Amérique, 2000), 41.

explains, although individual human rights are important to the French-Canadian people, they are

outweighed by the common goal of *survivance* which is the key to the French-Canadian national

identity as it prioritizes not only the survival of the culture, language, and history, but also the

creation of new members of the community, ensuring the future of the French-Canadian

people.[46] Cambron follows Taylor's line of thinking, stating that "s'il y a des gens assez

méchants pour attaquer la langue française, c'est bien preuve qu'il faut la preserver et la

défendre".[47] It is clear both in the plays that we will discuss and in the history presented in

Chapter 2 that the French language and the French-Canadian culture were under attack, from the

Durham Report to the laws and regulations put in place to reduce or remove French from

education and the cultural landscape of Canada. The French-Canadian national identity, and the

idea of "nous", is based on being excluded from power and agency over their own future by the

Anglophone Other and the need to rebalance that dynamic in order to ensure its survival.

In discussing the relationship between theatre and national identity, Joseph Roach states

that both the creator and the audience are involved in the production of culture. He explains that:

> At the end of the current century, they [theatre scholars] have returned to an
> important dogma of the previous one [the nineteenth century]: the public role of the
> audience, mythologized as an organic cultural whole and reified as a mass-cultural
> simulacrum of the body politic. The results of this new research illuminate the
> historic emergence of self-conscious nationalism, the implicit ethnocentrism and
> racism that in part legitimate it, and the modern bureaucratic states that
> institutionalize it. Ben Anderson has called these deadly enclaves 'imagined
> communities.' Today most of us call them home.[48]

The term "imagined" can far too easily be misinterpreted to mean not real or imaginary. Benedict

Anderson, however, used it in a way to mean that communities are brought into being through a

---

[46] Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition": An Essay by Charles Taylor* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992).
[47] Cambron, 89.
[48] Joseph R. Roach, "Imagined Communities: Nation, Culture, and Audience Restaged" in *Nineteenth Century Theatre* (Summer 1993: 21. 1), 42.

process of the mind, much like Lacan's notion of Self; they are visionary works based on shared

or collective memories. Anderson asserts that "a nation is an imagined political community – and

imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign… imagined as a community, because,

regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always

conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship."[49] Nations are collective understandings or

imaginings that result in a shared belief in belonging. Cambron expresses that *l'imaginaire* is the

reality of alterity, a description that most certainly applies to post-colonial or minority cultures

and literatures, like French Canadians.[50] The imagined space of the theatre creates *possibility*,

including the possibility to legitimize alternative narratives that challenge the dominant narrative

and reflecting those alternatives onto the contemporary cultural reality outside of the theatre.

Roach brings in this argument as well through Loren Kruger's notion of "legitimization",[51]

which connects power dynamics and the construction of national narrative in that legitimization

allows for remembering or promotes forgetting of certain narratives. Legitimization is

particularly relevant to the marginalized or minority cultures and languages, as we can see in the

work of Bhabha and Maingueneau. In order for these cultures to survive, they must prove their

legitimacy. As discussed earlier, the early 20th century was a period of growth for both French-

Canadian theatre and French-Canadian nationalism. This was a moment at which cultural

legitimization was a priority, which can be seen in the sheer number of plays discovered through

this research, but also more specifically in the plays included in this study. The plays are

examples of works from the French-Canadian minority literature that seek to demonstrate and

---

[49] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism Revised Edition* (New York: Verson, 2006), 6-7.
[50] Cambron, 17.
[51] Roach, 45-46.

solidify national narrative and identity by *de*constructing the dominant narrative and, as we have already discussed, reversing the cultural and linguistic power dynamics.

1.4 Dramaturgical Strategies and Analysis

In discussing script analysis in his seminal book *Ghost Light: An Introductory Handbook for Dramaturgy,* Michael Mark Chemers explains that "a play is a machine, one that manufactures *meaning*… Deriving a theme from a script is an intense process of deep critical engagement and strict attention to detail. Before we can even begin to talk about themes, we must subject a play to a rigorous analysis."[52] The role of the production dramaturg is to perform an objective analysis of the play text, place it into the context of the historical, cultural, political, social, and artistic research that they have performed, and seek out the meaning and message embedded into the artistic choices made by the playwright.

This overview of dramaturgical analysis is not meant to act as a guidebook for production dramaturgy – I have, in fact, written an entire chapter on that topic in *Towards a New Dramaturgy*, the textbook I co-authored with Professor Gene Gibbons. Bourdieu says, "Objective analysis of practical apprehension of the familiar world is not new form of sacrificial offering to the mysteries of subjectivity, but a means of exploring the limits of all objective exploration."[53] This section will describe the methodology used for the exploration and analysis of the strategies noted below, which will be explored in detail in Chapters 4 and 5. As described in the opening of this chapter, the production dramaturg seeks to contextualize a play and then explore the world within the text, including its structure, form, characters, values, limitations,

---

[52] Michael Mark Chemers, *Ghost Light: An Introductory Handbook for Dramaturgy* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University, 2010), 69-70.
[53] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice,* trans. Richard Nice (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5.

and ideologies. The dramaturgical methods described in this section are paired with the theory discussed earlier in this chapter to explore the plays that include Anglophone cultural representation in order to understand how the playwrights tested the limits of cultural contact on stage, as well as the capability of theatre as a mechanism for undermining or subverting dominant narratives and writing or *re*writing cultural or national identity.

Through this research, there are four main types of dramaturgical strategies that I identified as being used for the representation and *re*presentation or rewriting of culture: 1) theme; 2) language; 3) character; and 4) time and space. The first strategy comprises of tactics that invoke or engage with collective memory. The second strategy involves creative choices such as: general and character-specific language choices and patterns, and linguistically embedded cultural codes, symbols, and images. The strategy of character encompasses decisions regarding character status, class, language and heritage, and gender, as well as choices relating to relationships between characters and the ability for characters to achieve wants and needs. The final strategy comprises creative choices such as: connecting to contemporary (to the time of the playwrights) political and cultural contexts, linear and non-linear storytelling frameworks, and the recall and/or rewriting of historical events and people, as well as the designation and representation of stage space.

1.4.1 Theme

When analysing theatrical texts, dramaturgs look at the connection between theme and the sociopolitical context at the moment of creation. The process used for a thematic analysis of the texts in this study is twofold. First, the texts are converted into Optical Character Recognition (OCR) documents and are then imported into NVivo Qualitative Data Analysis Software

(NVivo). Using the application, queries are performed against the texts using pre-determined

word lists, which can be found in Chapter 3, for five main themes: Politics & Government,

National Identity, Collective Memory & History, Race & Racism, and Cultural Conflict. These

queries determine the *likelihood* that each theme is included in the plays based solely on lexicon.

The second step in the process is to read each of the texts to confirm the inclusion or exclusion of

each theme in the text. Additionally, the dramaturgical reading of the text looks for the inclusion

of themes relating to what Ricoeur calls the past-present-future paradigm. In particular, I am

looking for invocations of historical events and/or individuals, such as Lord Durham in Marie-

Victorin's *Peuple sans histoire* or Montcalm and Lévis in Auguste Henri de Trémaudan's *Petit-*

Baptiste. The goal of thematic analysis is to discover trends and patterns in the use of themes in

early 20th century French-Canadian plays, as well as to determine the relationship between the

creative choices to invoke history and collective memory and the playwrights' contemporary

sociopolitical moment.

1.4.2 Language

A linguistic analysis of the plays looks at the linguistic and semiotic choices made by

playwrights. In the case of minority theatre, specifically French-Canadian theatre, language and

the layering of language is of particular importance, because, as Sherry Simon explains, "Texts,

like cultures, like national territories, are more and more the sites of competing languages,

diverse idioms, conflicting codes".[54] The inclusion – or exclusion – of languages and cultures

from the stage involves purposeful, deliberate choices. This type of analysis investigates

linguistic choices, such as the inclusion of the English language or English words in plays such

---

[54] Sherry Simon, "Translating and interlingual creation in the contact zone: Border writing in Quebec" in *Post-Colonial Translation: Theory and practice*. Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, eds. (New York: Routledge, 1999), 72.

as *Un gendre enragé* by Joseph Désilets and *Amour, Guerre, et Patrie* by Horace J. Kearney and

the exclusion of English in Marie-Victorin's *Peuple Sans Histoire*, with the goal of discovering

patterns in relation to the individuals or cultures that they represent. The analysis will investigate

the cultural codes and symbols embedded into texts, as well as the images and cultural memories

they evoke. This element of the dramaturgical analysis also investigates the notion of

intercultural engagement through the interweaving of different languages and cultural codes in a

single text. Additionally, this analysis looks at the techniques used by French-Canadian

playwrights to undermine or subvert Anglophone culture and dominance through the

deconstruction of French and/or English or the complete exclusion of the English language. For

example, in Leclaire's *Le petit maître d'école,* the Anglophone Inspector Bostock's inability to

speak French correctly – and the subsequent bastardization of both his French and English lines

of dialogue make it impossible for him to assert authority over the French Canadians in the play.

1.4.3 Character and Character Relationships

The dramaturgical character analysis for this study explores the status, heritage (including

ethnicity) of characters, with a focus on Anglophone characters, as well as relationships between

the characters. In particular, the analysis will examine trends that emerge from the corpus of

plays, such as the inclusion of more high status Anglophone characters in relation to French-

Canadian characters, and the potential reasons behind these artistic choices based on the

historical and contextual research that has been performed. The analysis will also employ the

historical research to see what characters are either based on real people, such as the original

schoolmistress in Leclaire's *Le petit maître d'école* being based on the Desloges sisters, or are

historical people, such as Lord Durham, Montcalm, and Laurier. Finally, the character analysis

will also look at ways in which choices relating to character subvert or undermine the
Anglophone culture and authority in the plays, which we will discuss in more detail in Chapter 5.
For example, as Gilbert and Tompkins explain, the use of marginalized or less masculine
characters, such as a woman in Magali Michelet's *Contre le flot* and a young boy in de
Trémaudan's *Le Petit-Baptiste* as the protectors of the French language and people against the
Anglophone authority, has the capacity to disrupt and renegotiate power dynamics between
cultures on stage.[55]

1.4.4 Time and Space

We have already discussed the notion of time in the analysis of theme, which involves an
investigation into the inclusion or invocation of cultural memory. Time, however, on its own can
be a dramaturgical strategy, particularly for disrupting the dominant narrative. A temporal
analysis of the plays explores the ways in which time is fractured, altered, or, as Monique Borie
describes, ghosted by the past. The inclusion of asides, monologues, poetry, or song can pause
the linear timeline of the narrative, and in fact interrupt the cultural rhythms on stage. The use of
non-linear timelines, such as in P.H. Bey and Jean Pick's *Acréyé ou Le sacre de Georges V,* goes
against the structured continuity that dominant narratives rely on to survive. Connections made
between past and present, such as in Leclaire's *Laurier*, by characters or by the audience can also
disrupt the flow of time. Finally, the analysis looks for moments when history itself is changed,
such as in Marie-Victorin's *Peuple Sans Histoire* and de Trémaudan's *Le Petit-Baptiste*. In each
of these cases, the goal is to understand not only *how* time has been altered but also what the
impact or *effect* is on the world of the characters and the relationship between the real and the
theatrical worlds. This will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5.

---

[55] Gilbert and Tompkins, 123-136.

The spatial analysis of a plays containing Anglophone cultural representation looks closely at the locations that exist in the plays to determine what they are places *of*, for example war, connection, prayer, or family. This is done by looking at what types of events occur in each place, for example family dinners, town hall meetings, education, or confrontations, and who exists in those spaces. Additionally, the spatial analysis looks at who the space *belongs* to, and thus who does not belong or must be *invited* in order to be in that space. Harel and St-Amand explain that for minority literatures, "Le défi alors à imaginer des façons de délimiter un espace propre sans se figer dans le passé, de s'ouvrir à l'atérité sans nécessairement se fonder dans l'espace dominant, bref, de trouver des moyens de se transformer de façon culturellement productrice".[56] By reclaiming cultural space on stage through the use of French-Canadian locations, as well as the use of French-Canadian bodies and the French language, playwrights are freeing themselves – and the audience – from the dominant Anglophone narrative. In other words, as we will see in Leclaire's *Petit maître d'école*, the repossession of space has the capacity to invert the paradigm of unhomliness by making the Anglophone the outsider.

In the upcoming chapters, we will see the theory and methodology discussed here put into practice. The historical research will be explored in detail, and the archival research will be put into context and analyzed. We will explore the plays that include Anglophone cultural representation and the dramaturgical strategies used to *re*present and disrupt Anglophone culture and power. The intercultural engagement produced by the inclusion of two cultures and languages in a single text, and the strategies used for cultural representation on stage, create what Bhabha describes as mutual newness; they create a change in both the Self (French Canadian) and the Other (English Canadian – or Anglophone) as a result of "self-problematization and

---

[56] Harel and St-Amand, 2.

reflexivity".[57] In the final part of this dissertation, we will discuss the *possibilities* that the intercultural exchange and the subversive use of dramaturgy to *re*present Anglophone culture and power could have on the understand and *re*writing of French Canadian national identity.

---

[57] Siobhan Brownlie, *Mapping Memory in Translation* (London: Palgrave, 2016), 4.

Chapter 2 Setting the Stage: French-Canadian Contexts 1910-1929

2.1 Introduction

When performing dramaturgical analyses on plays, it is essential to look at not only the content *of* the play, but also its *contexts*, which include both the sociopolitical state of world in which the play was created and also the theatrical traditions that influenced the artistic choices made by playwright. As discussed in the introduction, in their work on translation, Bosinelli and Torresi present the metaphor of the message in a bottle, which they explain means that it is not only the message - or text - itself that gets transmitted through translation, but also the space around the text, the story or journey of the text also gets transmitted through translation.[1] In thinking about theatre as a cultural transposition or creation, the same metaphor can then be applied to theatrical texts. The text itself, the written message that it contains, is important, but equally important are the contexts in which it was created – the social, political, cultural, theatrical, physical contexts of the play's creative spark. It is necessary to investigate and take into account what Bosinelli and Torresi call the microclimate of the bottle in other to fully understand the text's meaning and message. It is, therefore, important to understand the social and political climates in which the playwrights were writing in order to understand what may have inspired their work – either to create a commentary on society, or to provide an escape from it. Additionally, it is necessary to look at the cultural life and artistic practices both within theatre and in other mediums such as literature and film, that were present in the early 20th century in French-Canada to see how the plays fit within the creative landscape of the period, and if they follow the trends of the time, go against them, or present something brand new.

---

[1] Bosinelli, Rosa Maria Bollettieri & Ira Torresi, "Message(s) in a bottle: translating memory, the memory of translation," *InTRAlinea: Online Translation Journal* 18 (2016), http://intralinea/org/archive/article/2213

This chapter will investigate the sociopolitical contexts of French Canada from 1910 to 1929, as well as the history of French-Canadian theatre at the beginning of the 20th century, to better understand the world in which the playwrights were writing, what ideas and events they were exposed to, what they would have experienced, and what theatrical trends were influencing their own works. In other words, an historical review will not only help to understand the content of the plays, but also the *positionality* of the playwrights, and thus, the dramaturgical choices that they made in terms of cultural representation on stage. In this chapter, we will first delve into the political and social contexts of French Canada, with a particular focus on the development of the French-Canadian national identity and French-English relations from 1910 to 1929, including the institution of Regulation XVII and the Thornton Act, the Conscription Crisis and World War I, the Motion Francœur, and the civil and clerical French-Canadian nationalist movements. We will then turn to an overview of the theatre scene in French Canada during that same era, with a particular focus on Montréal as it was the heart of the theatrical world for French Canadians at that time.

2.2 Sociopolitical Contexts 1910-1929

In 1901, a census brought the question of ethnic origin and the relationship between culture and language to the forefront of society's consciousness. This was the first census to include a question on *nationality*. Participants were also asked to identify their heritage (based solely on paternal heritage if they were of mixed origin). Participants were then asked to identify their mother tongue. As Omid A. Payrow Shabani explains, "The language question, and particularly the use of the term 'mother tongue', aimed to buttress the idea of identity evoked by

the nationality question".[2] The purpose of the census was to discover to what extent citizens of French origins had assimilated into English Canada. The census established a very clear hierarchy: "(1) Anglophones, (2) Francophones who have learned English, (3) Francophones who do not speak English, (4) 'Foreign elements' who have learned either English or French, and (5) those who cannot speak either English or French".[3] Even at the beginning of the 20th century the Canadian government still sought to conflate "nationality", or the extent to which one was Canadian, with English. French Canadians were not only displaced Europeans, they were also displaced Canadians. Linguistically they were trying to find authenticity in their own voice while using a language that belonged to a country with whom they were no longer tied and one that was culturally distancing them from the identification as 'Canadian', the inclusive term for all people living in Canada, which distinct from *Canadien,* the term specifying French-speaking Canadians. It is important to note here that the period under discussion in this study takes place before the distinction between French Canadian and Québécois is made. Therefore, for the duration of this study, the term used to identify Francophone Canadians, or those who is consider their heritage to be French, is French Canadians.

This review of historical and social contexts focusses on the years from 1910 to 1929, a period of self-definition and uncertainty in French Canada's history. These two decades made up a period of intense social and political change, a period marked by a strong desire in French Canadians to become *visible*, to be *heard*. Henri Bourassa's nationalist newspaper *Le Devoir* was founded in 1910. *Le Droit* was founded in 1913 in Ontario in response to Regulation XVII and the government's attempts to eliminate the French language and culture from the perceived

---

[2] Omid A. Payrow Shabani, "Language Policy and Diverse Societies: Constitutional Patriotism and Minority Language Rights," *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory* 11, no. 2 (2004): 198.
[3] Ibid., 198.

Anglophone province. The French-Canadian opposition to conscription, which culminated in the 1917 Conscription Crisis, led to the Motion Francœur in 1918, which declared that Québec could be ready to separate from Canada. In 1922, Lionel Groulx published *L'Appel de la race*, a 'call to arms' for the French Canadian nationalist movement. This period, as we will see shortly, was also a time of significant change and expansion in the French-Canadian theatre scene. And it was a time that questions of place, power, and cultural agency were beginning to be addressed on French-Canadian stage. The historical review focusses on ideas, events, movements, and people that link together – or seek to distance – English and French histories and cultures as these are important to the dramaturgical strategies for Anglophone representation and *re*presentation that are used in the plays included in this study. This period will be subdivided into three distinct phases: a) 1910-1913 Pre-War, b) 1914-1918 Wartime, and c) 1919-1929 Post-War in order to discuss the significance of the differing political and social climates during this era when we look at the plays later on in Chapters 4 and 5.

2.2.1 Pre-War 1910-1913

In the early 20th century, there was a rise in French-Canadian nationalism and nationalist voices, and the French-Canadian population sought to both determine their own identity and be masters of their own destiny. As early as 1902, Henri Bourassa was publicly calling for a committed and fervent French-Canadian nationalist movement. On April 27, 1902, Bourassa held an anti-imperialist conference at the Monument National, a popular theatre venue at this time, where he presented his nationalist and patriotic platform. Bourassa stated of the French Canadians:

> L'amour du sol, des institutions, de la nationalité, qui se concentre chez les autres peuples en un patriotism simple et fort, se ramifie chez nous et nous crée trois devoirs distincts à accomplir: nos devoirs envers l'Angleterre, la puissance suzeraine; envers le Canada et nos concitoyens d'origine étrangère; envers nous-mêmes et notre nationalité.[4]

Bourassa's speech emphasized the singularity of the French-Canadian identity based on blood, and the need for French Canadians to be proud of their heritage and ensure its survival. Bourasssa also pointed out the importance of the loyalty to Great Britain but was careful to point out the French Canadians did not owe England anything, "ni rancune, ni reconnaissance".[5] In essence, Bourassa was proposing mutual respect between French- and English Canadians, but not at the expense of the French-Canadian culture, language, or traditions. In an article in *Le Nationaliste* in 1904, he further clarified his position stating:

> La patrie pour nous, c'est le Canada tout entier, c'est-à-dire une fédération des races distinctes et de provinces autonomes. La nation que nous voulons voir se développer, c'est la nation canadienne, composée des Canadiens français et des Canadiens anglais, c'est-à-dire de deux éléments séparés par la langue et la religion et par des dispositions légales si nécessaires à la conservation de leurs traditions respectives, mais unies dans un sentiment de confraternité dans un commun attachement à la patrie commune.[6]

Bourassa saw the importance of a unified Canada, but also the need for cultural independence.

Bourassa's sentiments ignited a nationalist flame in the French-Canadian community, one that continued to grow throughout the 20th century. By 1910, la Ligue nationaliste canadienne, which was founded in 1903 with the support of Bourassa by Olivier Asselin, Omer Héroux, and Armand Lavergne, was well-established as the leading voice of the nationalist movement. The Ligue nationaliste emphasized and campaigned on Bourassa's ideas cultural, religious, and

---

[4] Henri Bourassa, *Patriotisme Canadien-Français: Ce qu'il est, ce qu'il doit être – Discours prononcé au Monument National, le 27 avril 1902* (Montreal: Publication de la Revue Canadienne, 1902), 4.
[5] Ibid., 6.
[6] Henri Bourassa, "Réponse amicale a la 'Verité'", *Le nationaliste*, April 3, 1904, 2.

political autonomy, but still while remaining a part of Canada.[7] The Ligue "entend aussi poursuivre l'action d'Armand Lavergne en faisant pression sur les gouvernements, les municipalités, les compagnies, et les commerces en faveur du respect de la langue de la majorité québécoise".[8] L'Action française (along with the magazine by the same name) promoted traditional values, the importance of the church, and the need for a national identity. In 1910, Bourassa founded *Le Devoir*, which became the mouthpiece for the Ligue nationaliste, and continues to this day to be one of the largest and most circulated French-language newspapers in Québec.

The nationalist movement – and the consequences of it – reached beyond the bounds of the political forums, reaching other areas of life, including education and language rights. Pierre Coulombe explains that leading up to and around the turn of the century, "They [Anglophones] believe that the dominance of English over French is the product of social Darwinism, that some languages are naturally destined to eclipse others because they are better adapted".[9] However, it was law not evolution that was limiting the French language in Canada. In 1912, Ontario Premier James Whitney introduced Regulation XVII, a law limiting the instruction of the French language in Ontario schools. French was no longer considered a language of instruction, but would now simply a subject alongside mathematics, reading, etc. The Regulation stated:

> Such instruction in French shall not interfere with the adequacy of the instruction in English, and the provision for such instruction in French in the time-table of the school shall be subject to the approval and direction of the Chief Inspector and shall not in any day exceed one hour in each class-room, except where the time is increased upon the order of the Chief Inspector.[10]

---

[7] Denis Saint-Jacques and Maurice Lemire, eds., *La vie littéraire au Québec V 1895-1918* (Saint-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005), 39-40.

[8] Yvan Lamonde, *Histoire sociale des idées au Québec 1896-1929 Vol 2* (Montréal: Fides, 2004), 62-63.

[9] Pierre Coulombe, *Language Rights in French Canada* (New York: Peter Lang Publications Inc., 1995), 4.

[10] Government of Ontario, *Report of the Minister of Education for the year 1913*, ([Ontario?]: 1913), 319.

Teachers had to be qualified to teach in English and if they were not, or if they refused to conform to the Regulation they were replaced. De Nevers exclaims that, "Le langage est le véhicule de la tradition et de l'histoire… Et notre histoire glorieuse, notre épopée d'une grande race, que deviendrait-elle, si la langue dans laquelle elle a été écrite disparaissait en Amérique?"[11] Regulation XVII was designed to eliminate the French language, thus furthering Durham's linguistic and cultural assimilation plan; it was not simply an assault on the language, it was an attack on French-Canadian culture as a whole. The French-speaking population of Ontario, however, did not quietly submit to the demands of Regulation XVII. Instead, they founded a newspaper called *Le Droit*. First published on March 27, 1913 in Ottawa, the newspaper was designed to give voice to the French population in Ontario to speak out against Regulation XVII. *Le Droit* continues to be published and is in fact the only daily francophone newspaper printed in Ontario today. The French-language newspaper *La Liberté* was first published in Manitoba in 1913 and was the voice of the fervent resistant of the French-Canadian people when a similar law also aimed at eliminating French education, the Thornton Act, was passed in the province in 1916.[12]

In 1913, Jesuit priest Joseph-Papin Archambault established la Ligue des droits du français, which sought to "propager l'usage du français dans le commerce, dans l'industrie et dans les services publics et à redonner à la ville de Montréal un visage français".[13] The nationalist sentiments in Archambault's Ligue underlined the desire in French Canadians to ensure that their voices in their own language were heard not only at that time, but in the future.

---

[11] Edmond de Nevers, *L'avenir du people canadien-français* (Paris: Henri Jouves, 1896), 123-134.
[12] In 1928, Regulation 32 was introduced in New Brunswick by Premier JBM Baxter in an effort to give local schoolboards the option to offer bilingual programming. However, the bill was withdrawn due to Anglophone opposition. Additionally, in 1931 the Schools Act was passed in Saskatchewan making schools in that province English-language only.
[13] Saint-Jacques and Lemire, 49.

Cultural institutions and organizations dedicated to the French language and culture also began

to appear during this period. In 1910, the Académie littéraire de Montréal, which later became

l'Ecole littéraire, was founded. L'Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française,

founded in 1904, and the Société du parler français, based at the Université de Laval and founded

in 1902, both continued to be very active during this period in supporting the French language, as

well as the nationalist movement.[14] In particular, in 1912 the Société du parler français held the

first congress on the French Language in Québec City.[15]

Even in the realm of business there was a desire to protect French-Canadian interests,

which were largely organized and supported by the Catholic church in Québec. As explained by

Saint-Jacques and Lemire:

> Croyant ainsi la culture canadienne-française ménacée par des organisations étrangères et craignant surtout l'expansion du socialisme, le clergé commence par dénoncer ces associations ouvrières puis, à défaut de les bloquer, cherche à en restreindre l'action en mobilisant l'élite en faveur d'un syndicalisme catholique et national où les morales domineraient l'action professionelle.[16]

The church was concerned with the increasing number of businesses owned by Anglophone,

English or American, or foreign parties, particularly within the province of Québec. The church

saw this as a threat to French-Canadian culture and tradition, and, therefore, took a nationalist

and protectionist stance.[17] Their goal was to unionize across all industrial sectors in order to unite

workers under a single French-Canadian – and Catholic – banner. While these initiatives did help

to protect French-Canadian businesses and industries, it did not help the tensions between the

---

[14] Additional organizations founded during this period also include the Association canadienne-française d'Éducation de l'Ontario (1910) and the Société du parler français en Saskatchewan (1912).

[15] Denis Saint-Jacques and Lucie Robert, eds., *La vie littéraire au Québec VI 1919-1933* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2010), 112-115.

[16] Saint-Jacques and Lemire, 43-44.

[17] Edward M. Corbett, *Québec Confronts Canada* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967), 25.

petite-bourgeoisie, and English and immigrant business communities, which created further

divides along linguistic and ethnic lines, which continued throughout well into the 1930s.[18]

2.2.2 Wartime 1914-1918

On June 28, 1914, Archduke Ferdinand of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was

assassinated, sparking the beginning of World War I. On August 4th of the same year, the

ultimatum issued to Germany by Great Britain expired; therefore, as a British dominion and

through no choice of its own, Canada was at war. Over the course of the war, nearly 61,000

Canadians died, and over 170,000 were wounded.[19] The desire for an Allied victory brought the

country together, along with the grief experienced by communities across the country. But, at the

same time, deep divides remained between the English and French communities, and the policies

implemented by Borden's government during the war only intensified those fissures.

On August 22, 1914, the federal government of Canada passed the War Measures Act,

which allowed for the suspension of individual civil liberties and also allowed regulations and

directives to be implemented by decree rather than having to pass through the House of

Commons. The goal of the Act was to provide the federal government with the ability to swiftly

take action against a perceived threat to national security. But the Act, and the government's

overall response to the war effort, was not without its critics. Bourassa was initially in favour of

the war effort as an opportunity to bring the country together, but he was also critical of the

extent to which the government wanted to bolster and increase the Canadian contribution. This

---

[18] Michael Behiels, "L'Association catholique de la jeunesse Canadienne-française and the Quest for a Moral Regeneration, 1903-1914," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 13, No. 2, (Summer 1978): 36.
[19] "The Cost of Canada's War," Canadian War Museum, https://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/history/after-the-war/legacy/the-cost-of-canadas-war/.

was in keeping with his nationalist attitudes that Canada, in particular French Canadians, did not owe anything to England.[20]

Over the course of the first three years of the war, several efforts were made to increase voluntary enlistment, particularly amongst the French-Canadian population. The Bonne Entente movement in 1916-17, spearheaded by Toronto-based businessman John Milton Godfrey, aimed to reduce the divide between the populations of Ontario and Québec and increase cooperation in a collective effort to increase enlistment. Godfrey was critical of Bourassa's leadership in the French-Canadian community, believing that his particular brand of nationalism was narrow-minded and was the ultimate cause of the low enlistment numbers within the Francophone population. While the aim of the movement was to create unity, it had the opposite effect. Godfrey's ultimate goal was for Québec and the French-Canadian population to fall into line and enlist out of a moral duty to the country. The tactics used by the movement's leaders, such as tricking French Canadians in Ontario into attending a meeting to create a false sense of unity, were manipulative, and in the end only strengthened the distrust between the two communities.[21]

The efforts to increase voluntary enlistment ultimately did not increase the numbers sufficiently, and, in spite of a great deal of opposition, on August 29, 1917, the Military Services Act, which removed all exemptions and exclusions for military service, became law. All male citizens aged 20 to 45 could be subject to conscription to military service. The already large divide between French and English Canada only grew from that moment forward. As Geoff Keelan explains, "After the imposition of the Military Services Act… French Canada was

---

[20] Geoff Keelan, "The Forgotten Few: Quebec and the Memory of the First World War," in *The Great War: From Memory to History*, eds. Kellen Kurschinski, Steve Marti, Alicia Robinet, Matt Symes, and Jonathan F. Vance (Ottawa: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2015), 241-242.
[21] Brian Cameron, "The Bonne Entente Movement, 1916-1917: From Cooperation to Conscription," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 13, No. 2 (Summer 1978): 42-55.

isolated from the rest of the country. Most Québécois forgot the headlines championing the courage and initiative of their home-grown volunteer soldiers".[22] French Canadians had divided loyalties: to their country and to their French-Canadian national identity. Bourassa's opposition to the war effort and protectionist attitudes towards French Canada only increased as well once the Act was put in place. The situation became critical on April 1, 1918 when anti-conscription riots broke out across province.[23] In Québec City, five protestors were killed by members of the military instructed to break up the riots, and many more were arrested.[24]

Even through the war, other cultural and sociopolitical events and movements were continuing to emerge. Edouard Montpetit began publishing his stance on French-Canadian identity and its place in the federal government and Canada as a whole. In his 1914 *Les survivances françaises au Canada*, Montpetit writes of the French-Canadian identity:

> Cette histoire est droite, comme une belle route de France. Elle est loyale. En 1775 et en 1812, les Canadiens français ont combattu pour l'Angleterre; ils acceptent aujourd'hui pleinement la domination anglaise. Qui donc le leur reprocherait, si la loyauté est un des plus beaux caractères de l'esprit français?[25]

He adds, "Nous sommes une province de France, la plus éloignée, la moins connue, la plus oubliée, mais une province de France quand même. Cette pensée nous devrait inspirer et fournir à la parcelle d'esprit français qui nous est restée un aliment nouveau, une occasion de plus de se réléver créatrice".[26] While Montpetit acknowledged and understood the relationship to Great Britain, much like Bourassa, he emphasized the need to strengthen the relationship with France.

The language conflicts, particularly in schools, also continued throughout World War I. On January 7, 1916, the Battle of the Hatpins took place outside of the École Guigues in Ottawa.

---

[22] Keelan, 239.
[23] Ibid., 242-243.
[24] Saint-Jacques and Lemire, 38-39.
[25] Edouard Montpetit, *Les survivances françaises au Canada*, (Paris: Plon-Nourit, 1914), 39-40.
[26] Ibid., 44.

Two teachers, the Desloges sisters, along with the parents of their students launched a protest that ultimately ended with the resignation of André Charbonneau, president of school board responsible for enforcing Regulation XVII. Officers were stationed outside of the school to stop the Desloges sisters from entering and teaching. But a crowd of mothers, fathers and students aided the teachers, forcing their way past the guards, and installing the sisters in their classrooms with their students. Dubbed the "school guardians," the mothers of the schoolchildren remained posted outside of the school day after day, protecting the rights of French Canadians to learn in their own language.[27] In March of the same year, it was ruled in Manitoba that English was to be the only allowed language of instruction in schools, ostracizing yet another community of French Canadians.

Despite the war, or perhaps partly in response to it and the government's wartime policies, the French-Canadian nationalist movement only continued to grow throughout World War I. The Battle of the Hatpins exemplified the desire for the French-Canadian people to protect their language and their culture. In 1917, journalists Damase Potvin and Georges Morisset, along with playwright and artist Alonzo Cinq-Mars, founded the Société des Arts, Sciences et Lettres. The society published the review *Le Terroir*, and the goal of the society and the review were to promote and to "valorise[r] la tradition et la création locale".[28] Similarly, Abbé Lionel Groulx spoke out publicly for the first time in fervent opposition to the policies put in place that limited or attempted to eliminate the French language. In 1918, Groulx published *La Confédération Canadienne: ses origines*, in which he detailed what he saw as the mistreatment of French Canadians throughout the period of history leading to Confederation. Groulx

---

[27] "LES FEMMES SONT A L'ECOLE GUIGUES," *Le Droit,* January 7, 1916, 6.
[28] Fernand Harvey, "La vie culturelle à Québec (1791-2008): Essai d'interprétation," *Les Cahiers des dix* 62 (2008): 265.

denounced the treatment of French Canadians as second class citizens post-Confederation and demanded equal rights for both French and English Canadians.[29] Although Groulx stopped sort of advocating for separation from Canada, Liberal member of the Legislative Assembly Joseph-Napoléon Francœur did just that. Announced in December 1917 and appearing on January 8th, 1918, a motion now known as the Motion Francœur asserted that Québec "serait disposée à accepter la rupture du pacte confédératif de 1867 si, dans les autres provinces, on croit qu'elle est un obstacle au progrès et au développement du Canada".[30] The motion was in response to the anti-conscription sentiments in the French-Canadian community and had the support of many nationalists. In the end, however, Francœur was pressured by Premier Lomer Gouin to withdraw the motion, stating that the motion had achieved its goal, but that the other provinces' rights must be respected.

2.2.3 Post-War 1919-1929

The period immediately after World War I was one of rapid change across the world, including in Canada. Within the province of Québec, there was significant expansion of industrialization and a marked movement towards urbanization. Premier Taschereau's labour policies encouraged foreign investment and aimed at having the province's industrial output exceed the traditional agricultural stronghold.[31] In spite of the transition towards more future-oriented trades by the French-Canadian population, the Canadian business world even in Québec was still mainly run by Anglophone Canadians. However, the Francophone business elite

---

[29] Lionel Groulx, *La Confédération Canadienne: ses origines* (Montréal: Imprimerie Le Devoir, 1918).
[30] Assemblée nationale du Québec, "Motion francœur", http://www.assnat.qc.ca/en/patrimoine/lexique/motion-francoeur.html.
[31] Jeffrey Cormier and Philippe Couton, "The limits of Quebec nationalism, 1918-39: An interwar paradox," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 4, 4 (1998): 54-55.

maintained a certain level of privilege with the Anglophone community. The desires of the

professional elite, whom were "économiquement progressiste mais socialement conservatrice"[32],

along with the clergy, ended up in stark opposition to the aspirations of the rising middle class.

The elite endorsed tradition and heritage, whereas the general population desired modernization.

This separation led to two distinct nationalist movements during this period: the civil movement

and the clerical movement.

The civil nationalist movement sought to solidify the future of the French-Canadian

people in the modern era, but it did not leave its heritage behind. In 1920, the provincial archives

in Québec were formed and in 1922 the Commission des monuments historiques was founded.[33]

There was a clear desire to canonize and memorialize French-Canadian history and culture –

simply not at the expense of economic and industrial progress. The public nationalist movement,

that of the working or middle class, was aided in part by a faction of the Anglophone community

in Ontario. In 1923, a group of Protestant Anglophone intellectuals, with the support of Senator

Napoléon-Antoine Belcourt, founded the Unity League. The League was made up of influential

Anglophone deputies, journalists and university professors and administrators, who rallied to

gain support among the Anglophone public for the Ontarian French-speaking population's cause.

As Pierre Savard explains, the "*Unity League* se mérite la confiance de patriotes franco-ontariens

comme Mgr Hallé, qui fait l'éloge de son parti-pris d'union par la justice".[34] With strong ties to

the Association canadienne-française d'éducation d'Ontario, the League's main focus was

Regulation XVII and the language restrictions in Ontario schools. The pressure put on the

government by the Unity League caused Ontario Premier Howard Ferguson to create the Scott-

---

[32] Saint-Jacques and Robert, 36.
[33] Ibid., 41.
[34] Pierre Savard, "Relations avec le Québec," in *Les Franco-Ontariens*, ed. Cornelius J. Jaenen (Ottawa: Ottawa University Presses, 1993), 239-240.

Merchant-Côté Commission in 1925 to find a solution to the education crisis. The report came back in September 1927 recommending the reinstitution of bilingual schools. The government's main priority continued to be the learning of English, and they believed that its instruction needed to start early, along with the mother tongue, in order to be effective. Regulation XVII was, therefore, amended in 1927 to recognize bilingual schools. The law, however, was never formally repealed; it was simply not renewed in 1944. And it was not until 1968 that the Ontario government officially recognized the French-language schools.

On the other side of the class divide, the *petite bourgeoisie* and the clergy were concerned *about* modernization. Indisputably conservative and aligned with the Catholic church, the *petite bourgeoisie* "est plutôt hostile à l'urbanisation, à l'industrialisation rapide, aux transformations culturelles (cinéma, loisirs mixtes, danse) et sociales (syndicats neutres) menaçant la culture traditionnelle".[35] The rapid changes and shifts in social structures threatened their positions of power and privilege. This brought about a significant rise in what was coined later by Paul-André Linteau as clerico-nationalism. This movement is most notably associated with Abbé Lionel Groulx and his 1922 novel *L'Appel de la race,* in which he presents what he terms a mixed race (or mixed culture as it would be described in contemporary terms) family – a Catholic French-Canadian man, Jules de Lantagnac, married to a converted Anglican Anglophone woman, Maud Fletcher. A priest questions Jules' waning sense of pride in his own culture and heritage, having moved to Ottawa and participating in Anglophone social and professional circles. In essence, the story is about Jules' rediscovery of himself and his nationality. But that journey has a cost. Two of his four children along with his wife leave him, but his remaining two children stay behind. The family is divided, though from the way Groulx

---

[35] Saint-Jacques and Robert, 37.

presents the story, no more so than it was at the start. The new status quo is a return to what 'should' be, what is 'natural'.[36] Groulx, along with the clerico-nationalist movement in general, promotes tradition and heritage above all else. The movement also emphasizes the need for singularity in national identity, and that the French-Canadian people are responsible for their own destiny, which should not and cannot include English Canadians. As Saint-Jacques and Robert explain, "Ce nationalisme propose une mythification des traditions, menacées par quantité 'd'ennemis': langue anglaise, protestantisme, immigration juive, culture et capitaux américains".[37] Lionel Groulx's brand of nationalism sought to vilify English Canadians and anything that was "Other", while protecting and exemplifying the purity and sanctity of the French language, French culture, and French-Canadian national identity.

2.3 Cultural Life and French-Canadian Theatre in the Early 20th Century

Not only was the beginning of the 20th century a period of significant social change and of political upheaval, the first three decades of the 20th century saw a huge shift in the theatre scene in Québec as French-Canadian theatre artists and companies transitioned from drama circles and amateur or society groups to cohesive semi-professional touring troupes and eventually into professional acting companies for French-Canadian theatres. Theatre, however, was a part almost every college classique's curriculum, and amateur troupes were often created by former classmates, and most towns and villages had drama clubs.[38] Theatre was a part of the cultural life of Québec even though it was not professional. This section will provide an overview of the theatrical scene in French Canada, which was concentrated mainly in Québec,

---

[36] Lionel Groulx, *L'appel de la race* (Montreal: Editions Fides, 1980).
[37] Saint-Jacques and Robert, 45.
[38] Ibid., 183.

during the first part of the 20th century in order to situate the plays and playwrights that we will be discussing in the upcoming chapters. This section will begin with an exploration of cultural life in French Canada, focussing on Québec, and will then situate French-Canadian theatre within the cultural context.

2.3.1 Cultural Life in French Canada 1910-1929

Micheline Cambron writes of the cultural life in French Canada at the turn of the century, "Au moment où triomphent les études folkloriques et où, américanité oblige, une nouvelle culture populaire, plus axée sur la consummation de 'produits culturels' se fait jour, musique arts visuels et littérature s'inspirent des traditions populaires".[39] Cultural life in French Canada was looking inward, focussing on self-representation and national identity. The first film shown in Canada was played in Montréal in 1896. Shortly thereafter, in 1906, Léo-Ernest Ouimet opened the Ouimetoscope, Montréal's first permanent movie theatre.[40] Filmmakers in Canada, including Ouimet, the British American Film Manufacturing Company (BRIAM) based in Montreal, Joseph-Arthur Homier, and Arthur Larente, began producing films focused on Canada and Canadian history. BRIAM, led by Frank Beresford, produced *The Battle of Long Sault* in 1912*,* a film which tells the story of the resistance of the French settlers led by Dollard des Ormeaux against the Iroquois nation in 1660. He later went on to produce *Wolfe, or the Conquest of Quebec* in 1914. In 1922, Arthur Larente produced *Madeleine de Verchères,* directed by Joseph-Arthur Hormier, an historical drama about 14-year-old Madeleine who defended her community

---

[39] Micheline Cambron, "L'effervescence d'ue find de siècle," in *La Vie Culturelle à Montréal vers 1900*, ed.Micheline Cambron (Montréal: Editions Fides, 2005), 18.
[40] Pierre Véronneau and Andrew McIntosh, *Quebec Film History: 1896 to 1969*, last edited March 4, 2015, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-cinema-of-quebec.

against an Iroquois attack.[41] Though some scholars, such as Louis Pelletier, suggest that for Beresford and BRIAM, Canadian nationalism in film was simply a matter of commercial gain,[42] the sheer number of films being produced that include stories of French-Canadian heros and historical figures demonstrates a desire to see French-Canadian culture and identity on the big screen.

As Saint-Jacques and Lemire explain that, at the turn of the century, there was a push to institutionalize musical life in French Canada. In particular, higher education programs, scholarships, and prizes were developed during this period, which encouraged the development of Canadian talent, but "n'empêche toutefois pas la montée de quelques tensions qui touchent, entre autres, la définition d'une culture musicale canadienne, toujours largement déterminée par les rapports étrangers".[43] Much like in theatre, which we will discuss shortly, the musical life in French Canada was heavily influenced by foreign artists and works. However, over the course of the first three decades of the 20th century, French-Canadian music became more professional as not only musicians but also a musical discourse began to develop the musical community within Canada. Furthermore, as film and radio developed, more and more French Canadian musicians were hired to play and record for those media.[44] By 1933, Montréal had two francophone radio stations, Québec City and the surrounding area had another two, and the regions around Hull and Chicoutimi also had local stations. The Canadian National Railways Radio, which later became the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Corporation in 1932 (which was then incorporated into the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, as it is known today), began broadcasting sports, music,

---

[41] Peter Morris, *Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian Cinema 1895-1939* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 48.

[42] Louis Pelletier, "An Experiment in 'Historically Correct' Canadian Photoplays: Montreal's British American Film Manufacturing Co.," *Film History: An International Journal* 19, No 1 (2007): 34-38.

[43] Saint-Jacques and Lemire, 64.

[44] Saint-Jacques and Robert, 56-57.

news, and drama in both French and English using its own railway telegraph lines. In 1922, the

Canadian government instituted a new licensing category for those interested in simply receiving

transmissions, which led to the development and sale of private in-home radios across Canada.

Following the institution of this new bill, as Saint-Jacques and Robert state:

> Rapidement, la radio devient un lieu important de la vie culturelle… À la radio, on diffuse de la musique en direct, surtout Classique au début, puis du folklore ; on y présente des pièces de théâtre et des opérettes ; on y fait entendre les discours des hommes politiques et des autorités cléricales, mais aussi des féministes ; on y suit l'actualité locale, nationale et internationale ; on y porte une attention grandissante au sport professional ; on y consacre enfin des émissions à la science ou à la literature. Mais on diffuse aussi de la musique populaire, ce qui suscite des récriminations nombreuses de la part des élites.[45]

Through the radio, the general public was invited to participate in political and social discourse;

they were exposed to differing points of view and nationalist ideology. And they were able to

experience music and drama often played by and/or written by members of their own

community. The radio introduced a collective experience of society, culture, and politics to the

French-Canadian people that was previously not possible due to geography and socioeconomic

limitations.

In the world of visual art, painters such as Henri Julien were, as Cambron explains,

creating "une repésentation originale de la société traditionelle canadienne-française".[46]

However, as Saint-Jacques and Robert discuss, despite an emerging artistic critique in Canada as

well as schools and bursaries, there continued to be a significant European influence in artistic

styles and forms used in the early 20th century in French Canada. And yet, as Saint-Jacques and

Robert go on to say, "le champ artistique se dote ainsi de structures plus autonomes par rapport

aux impératifs nationaux que celles du champ littéraires... Ils n'atteint toutefois pas à une

---

[45] Ibid., 256.
[46] Cambron, 18.

autonomie complète. Le nationalisme, le patronage dans les commandes et l'influence du clergé constituent trois sources d'influence externe, surtout chez les francophones…"[47] The patronage of the artistic community and the influence of the Catholic church also influenced the burgeoning visual arts community in French Canada, promoting traditional values and subjects.

In the world of novels and literature, there were several popular forms, which as we will see in Chapter 3, mirror those that are present in French-Canadian theatre from this period. In particular, the adventure novel and the historic novel were incredibly popular forms of writing during this era. As Saint-Jacques and Lemire expound:

> La vulgarisation de l'histoire du Canada permet aux auteurs de composer des romans où ils font revivre la période de la Nouvelle-France ou celle, plus proche dans le temps, des rébellions des Patriotes en 1837-1838. S'ils reconduisent de façon générale les acquis de l'historiographie, les romanciers historiques soumettent toutefois leurs romans à une thèse, laquelle concerne le caractère exemplaire du genre. En effet, la critique de l'époque hiérarchise les types romanesques en accordant sa faveur aux romans à teneur patriotique, morale ou religieuse.[48]

In the early 20th century, French-Canadian novelists were writing morality tales, stories that exemplified the strength of the French-Canadian people, and the depth and breadth of French-Canadian history and collective memory. Some of these novelists, including Ernest Choquette and Damase Potvin, went on to write or adapt their existing works for the stage, featuring similar historic and didactic tales of good versus evil. In the 1920s, another form of novel was developed by Edouard Garand, which he described as "Les romans canadiens… écrits par les Canadiens, imprimés par des Canadiens, avec du papier canadien, illustrés par des Canadiens, et édités par des Canadiens, pour le bénéfice des Canadiens".[49] These short publications utilized magazine style formatting and illustration, and included historical and romantic stories, as well as theatrical

---

[47] Saint-Jacques and Robert, 59.
[48] Saint-Jacques and Lemire, 372-373.
[49] Edouard Garand, in Jean Féron, *l'Aveugle de Saint-Eustache* (Montreal: Editions Garand, 1924), 80.

texts, essays, and poetry. Poetry, written by authors such as Emile Nelligan, Pamhpile Lemay,

Albert Lozeau, and Louis-Joseph Doucet, also gained popularity during this period. As Saint-

Jacques and Lemire describe, French-Canadian poetry, in the early 20th century was

"principalement orientée selon deux tendances: l'une cherche à marquer d'un cachet régionaliste

l'espace poétique, l'autre, associée à la modernité, se tourne vers des thématiques universelles et

recherches formelles".[50] In essence, French-Canadian poetry was split, much like the population,

on the direction of French Canada's future: traditionalist or modernist.

2.3.2 Theatrical Life in French Canada 1910-1929

Between 1900 and 1915, the desire of both audiences and artists to see themselves and

their stories on stage, combined with the start of World War I, which sent most foreign theatre

artists back to Europe, sparked the developing professionalism of French-Canadian theatre. As

explained in *La vie littéraire au Québec*, "Presque chaque paroisse ou village possède un cercle

dramatique et toutes les regions sont désormais ouvertes à l'activité théatrale."[51] Amateur drama

clubs throughout the province and in Ontario and other parts of Canada were committed to

creating "bon théâtre" rather than making money. For some, that meant producing religious

theatre or theatre inspired by the Catholic church, while for others, it meant producing modernist,

contemporary plays that commercial theatres were not willing to produce. The theatrical

movement towards a more regional, distinctly French-Canadian theatre had begun.[52] As Jonathan

Paquette, Aurélie Lacassagne, and Robin Nelson explain, "la notion de terroir est culturellement

enracinée dans des traditions de productions localisées et dans des systèmes de protection

---

[50] Saint-Jacques and Lemire, 320.
[51] Saint-Jacques and Robert, 183.
[52] Saint-Jacques and Robert, 183-184.

juridiques dont les objectifs ont trait à la reconnaissance de l'origine, à la valorisation de la

tradition du mode de production et à l'authenticité du lieu de production".[53] The production of

literature and theatre is inherently *part of* the literature itself. The context of its creation is

inseparable from the end product or production. French Canadians desired a theatre that was

made locally, that reflected their culture, their *terroir*, and was truly their national theatre. And,

as Hervé Guay asserts, regionalist theatre, much like in the cinema, was for this reason a

resounding success.[54]

2.3.2.1 The Professional French-Canadian Theatre Scene

At the beginning of the 20th century up until the First World War, nearly all actors

performing in Canada were French, as were nearly all of the plays being performed. The first

truly professional theatre in French Canada, Théâtre National in Montréal, was founded by Julien

Daoust in 1900 with the desire, as explained by Larrue, to "créer à Montréal un théâtre national

où auteurs et interprètes locaux, surtout canadiens-français, pourraient vivre de leur art".[55] In

discussing early 20th century productions of Louis Frechette's *Papineau* and Louis Guyon's

Denis le patriote, Saint-Jacques and Lemire explain that the title roles of the plays were still

played by European actors. They write, "Dans ces conditions, le répertoire canadien n'est que

rarement jouer à la scène, à moins d'être adapté à la formation et à l'accent des acteurs."[56] The

---

[53] Jonathan Pacquette, Aurélie Lacassgne, and Robin Nelson, "Patrimoine et territorialisations: les imaginaires culturels du terroir dans la region des Laurentides au Québec," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 52, No. 1, (Winter 2018): 196.

[54] Hervé Guay, "'Où est l'immortalité? That is the question.' Censure et moralité dans les chroniques culturelles des quotidiens montréalais de l'entre-deux guerres" in *Chroniques des arts de la scene: À Montréal Durant l'entre-deux-guerres, Danse, théâtre, musique,* ed. Marie-Thérèse Lefebvre (Québec: Les éditions du Septentrion, 2016), 162.

[55] Jean-Marc Larrue, "Entrée en scène des professionnels 1825-1930," in *Le théâtre au Québec 1825-1980,* ed. Renée Legris (Montréal: VLB Editeur, 1987), 53.

[56] Saint-Jacques and Lemire, 140.

dominance of French actors on stage remained at the Théâtre National even as Paul Cazeneuve took over in 1903.[57] The development of the French-Canadian theatre scene, and the rise of the actor-manager, was in part due to the establishment of permanent theatres, but also in part to the development of professional formative training programs and schools in the country. Theatre continued to be a part of college educational programs across Québec, and fostered many actors and playwrights, including Joseph-Sergius Archambault, Joseph-Philias Filion, Hector Charland, and Bella Ouelette. Several foreign actors, however, including Henri Delcellier, Victor Occelier, and Eugène Lassalle, also settled in Québec and began their own conservatories and elocution and acting programs.

But audiences wanted to see themselves on stage – both their stories and their actors. With the start of World War I, "A compter de cette date [1914], les acteurs canadiens doivent assumer seuls l'organisation de la vie théâtrale. C'est sur eux désormais que repose son avenir".[58] Not only was there a desire for French Canadians to see themselves and their stories on stage, but there was also now an opportunity as many foreigners living in Canada chose to or were sent home to fight in the war.

In the first three decades of the 20th century, a change began as theatre artists and companies transitioned from drama circles to cohesive touring troupes and eventually into acting companies for professional French-Canadian theatres. Theatre troupes could be amateur or semi-professional. What distinguished between the statuses of different troupes were the actors and their training, and also whether or not they had consistent and regular programming.[59] The desire to become semi-professional entities stimulated the rise of the *actor-manager* in the French-

---

[57] Larrue, 54.
[58] Saint-Jacques and Lemire, 149.
[59] Saint-Jacques and Robert, 185-187.

Canadian theatre scene, which Larrue describes as "à la fois le directeur artistique et administratif ainsi que la vedette de la troupe locale. C'est lui qui recrutait ses collègues et fixait le répertoire en fonction, principalement, de ses propres goûts et aptitudes".[60] In the years preceding the First World War, several venues were opened and controlled by French-Canadian interests, notably the Théâtre National Français (Georges Gauvreau), as well as other permanent venues in Québec City (Auditorium, Salle Jacques-Cartier), Montréal (Théâtre des Nouveautés, Théâtre de Variétés, Théâtre Canadien-Français, Théâtre Chanteclerc, Théâtre Family, Théâtre Saint-Denis), and Ottawa (Salle Notre-Dame, Théâtre de l'Odéon). This period also saw the professional debuts of significant figures in the French-Canadian theatre scene, including Edmond Daoust (brother of Julian Daoust) as the director of the Cercle dramatique de Saint-Henri and Fred Barry and Albert Duquesne, who cofounded Troupe Barry-Duquesne.[61] It was not until the 1920s and Troupe Barry-Duquesne that French-Canadian actors became the majority of the cast, though this did not extend to all theatres and companies. It is also important to note here that, although as we will see in Chapter 3 there was a great deal of writing being done by French-Canadian playwrights, very little of that work was being done by professional writers and was taking place in professional venues. This does not, however, diminish the value, potential impact, and significance of the work these playwrights did.

2.3.2.2 The Amateur French-Canadian Theatre Scene

While the professional theatre scene was still in its infancy, there was a comparatively strong amateur theatre scene in French Canada in the early 20th century. By the end of the war, not only was the practice of theatre part of Québec life, but the content of the plays, the creators,

---

[60] Larrue, 27.
[61] Ibid., 25-61.

and the actors on stage were also rooted in the community's local culture and politics. In colleges, theatre was part of the curriculum for most students. These institutions produced mainly instructional or religious theatre, whereas society groups and amateur troupes chose to produce French classics and theatre for entertainment.

In 1904, Georges Gauvreau, the director of the Théâtre National in Montréal, began a one-act playwriting competition, which fostered and encouraged amateur French-Canadian playwrights. Elaine F. Nardacchio asserts that "Although this competition, which continued for several years, did not uncover any outstanding writers, many, such as Louis Guyon, Alfred Descarrie, and Julien Daoust, enjoyed considerable success at the time their plays were staged in Gauvreau's contests".[62] Le Théâtre des Nouvautés and l'Alliance française also held writing competitions for one-act plays. These competitions validated and legitimized the dramaturgy of French Canada and presented it in the public discourse as many of the competition winners were produced and toured by amateur drama circles and troupes, particularly around the province of Québec. Writing circles and associations, such as the l'Association dramatique de Montréal and l'Union dramatique de Québec, became hubs for playwrights and began publishing theatrical texts.[63] During the First World War, another form of theatre was also gaining popularity. Driven by Julien Daoust and Paul Cazeneuve, the fast growing writing style of the time, was "une écriture rapide, sans recherche et répétitive" and was most commonly developed and produced in the form of revues.[64] This rapid-fire form of theatre, in stark contrast to the structured French comedies and dramas being presented at the professional theatres, became an escape, something that could be both poignant in its ability to reflect on current events and topics, but also

---

[62] Elaine F. Nardocchio, *Theatre and politics in modern Québec* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986), 14.
[63] Saint-Jacques and Lemire, 147.
[64] Ibid., 148.

something familiar and comforting in its structure and style. It allowed people to come together

to laugh, to reflect, and to let go. What both the intellectual or bourgeoisie theatre and the

instantaneous theatre had in common was that they both connected with the French-Canadian

audience's past, its collective memory, and also its insecurities and frustrations, creating a shared

and unifying experience that sought to develop a national theatre and a national identity.

2.3.2.3 Dramaturgies of Early French-Canadian Theatre: Popular Forms and Genres

Although the mid-twentieth century saw the most prolific and well-known period of

growth in the French-Canadian theatre scene, a period which included the works of Gratien

Gélinas and Marcel Dubé, the period between 1880 and 1930 also saw an important shift in the

theatrical landscape in French Canada. As discussed earlier, at the turn of the century, the

majority of the plays being produced were French comedies and dramas, and most of the actors,

directors, and troupes performing in Québec (and Canada) were European or American. But over

the course of the first three decades of the twentieth century, as Étienne-F. Duval explains,

Canadian actors - and theatre companies - went from amateur to semi-professional to

professional with the development of theatre courses and organizations to support the training of

a new generation of French-Canadian theatre artists.[65]

Saint-Jacques and Lemire purport that the Canadian theatre scene around the turn of the

century was divided into two categories: small room theatre, which was largely where Canadian

companies performed (if at all), and large hall theatre. The small performance spaces included

venues such as city halls, cultural centres, and small concert halls. The theatre put on in these

spaces was produced by local drama clubs (les *cercles dramatiques*), which were most often

---

[65] Etienne-F Duval, *Le jeu de l'histoire et de la société dans le théâtre québécois 1900-1950* (Trois-Rivières: Collection Théâtre d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, 1983).

male-only casts, or touring theatre companies. The theatre in the large concert halls was produced by private patrons or investors, and their season selections were distinguishable "par le registre de leur répertoire, qui put être élevé (drame, comédie, opéra) ou populaire (burlesque, mélodrame, comédie légère), et par la langue qui y domine".[66] The Trust, Royal-Côté, and the Queen's theatres presented mainly burlesque, whereas l'Académie de music and the Théâtre Français presented melodramas and English-language American vaudeville. Throughout the period, the professional theatres produced popular theatre – melodramas and comedies – and less frequently produced more modern theatrical forms. As mentioned earlier, most of the repertoire at this time was still French. In particular, according to Saint-Jacques and Lemire, the revue, which was characterized by musical interludes, sketches, and scenes relating to real-life events and notable individuals, was increasingly popular in the French-Canadian theatre scene during this period, as we will see in the corpus examined in later Chapters.[67]

From the turn of the century to the First World War, French Canadians mainly argued for Canada's autonomy from Great Britain and worked to solidify the continuance of Catholic schools and the education in French in schools for French Canadians outside of Québec. During the war, anti-Imperialist sentiments grew with conscription. And then, in the years between the wars, the roots of the French-Canadian nationalist movements, such as the Mouvement Nationaliste (beginning in the 1930s) and the Mouvement Laurentien (beginning in 1957), began to grow. In the 1920s, there was a desire for autonomy not only from Great Britain, but from France as well, and there developed a desire for a truly national literature that presented and reinforced the French-Canadian national identity. Lamonde explains that, "La tâche n'était pas mince pour un Canadien français, en ces heures de gloire de l'Empire, de proposer aux

---

[66] Saint-Jacques and Lemire, 128.
[67] Ibid., 147.

Canadiens de langue anglaise un droit de réserve du Dominion du Canada à l'égard de la mère patrie de la majorité des habitants".[68] The growth in the division between French and English Canada and the foundation of the Ligue Nationaliste, the strong desire for Canada's – particularly French Canada's – independence in one form or another from Great Britain, and the championing of provincial autonomy from federal power with respect to language and education were all important sociopolitical contexts that entered into the narratives in the plays created during this period. These, along with many other historical and sociopolitical moments, memories, and ideas, made their way into the French-Canadian theatre created during this hyper-reflexive period. In Chapters 4 and 5, we will look specifically at the relationship between cultural memory and history and the narratives that were created in the plays that include Anglophone cultural representation.

Similar to Saint-Jacques and Lemire's breakdown of the format or genres of plays from this period, Duval developed a breakdown of the different types of plays that were being written at the first part of the 20th century. The categories he included are: National History (Nouvelle-France, Conquest, Rebellion of 1837-38, War 1914-1918) and Québec Society (Politics, Economy, Mores, Religion). Duval's categorizations specifically look at (and for) nationalist themes and ideas. He explains that:

> La nation québécoise du dix-neuvième siècle prenait conscience d'elle-même selon l'histoire qui l'avait façonnée; elle s'est donc repliée sur elle-même et sur son passé. Ce que cette nation aimait c'était elle-même telle qu'elle se connaissait ou se figurait être; elle croyait parfois aimer un autre peuple (le français, l'anglais), mais elle s'aimait plutôt elle-même dans l'image qu'elle se faisait des autres peuples.[69]

---

[68] Yvan Lamonde, *Histoire sociale des idées au Québec 1896-1929 Vol 2* (Montréal: Fides, 2004), 23.
[69] Duval, IX.

What is important in what Duval is describing here is that the French-Canadian people were becoming self-reflective, and their theatre was mirroring that line of thought. They were embedding their theatre with their own identity, their own history, and, something that will become important in the upcoming chapters, with their view or representation of others, including English Canadians, or the Anglophone Other. The unhappiness of the French Canadians in their present condition created what Lamonde describes as a "culte du souvenir", which gave rise to a cult of patriotism and nationalism.[70] Pierre Rajotte explains that this turning back to the past, their "parenté culturelle, des affinités idéologiques, incitent également certains intellectuels québécois et français à collaborer à divers organismes, comme les mouvements d'Action française".[71] We will discuss the categories that Duval and Saint-Jacques and Lemire put forward in more detail Chapter 3 when we investigate the corpus of plays that was collected during the course of this research.

Lamonde's sentiment is echoed by Annette Hayward's work in which she describes the return to tradition as a reaction to the "choc du futur".[72] The church played an important role in French-Canadian society in the early twentieth century. Guay explains that, "Sur le plan de l'identité culturelle, le Canada français hérite d'un type particulier de moralité, la moralité catholique, dont l'emprise sur la population a suscité des évaluations diverses, mais qu'aucun chercheur sérieux n'a ignorée".[73] Later into the century, Lionel Groulx expounds on this idea of the connection between French-Canadian identity (and state) and the church by stating that

---

[70] Lamonde, 170.
[71] Pierre Rajotte, "Strategies d'écrivains québécois de l'entre-deux-guerres: séjours et rencontres en France," *Réseaux littéraires France-Québec (1900-1940)* 26, No. 2 (2004): 32.
[72] Annette Hayward, "Littérature et politique pendant la première moitié du vingtième siècle: Prolégomènes,." *Canadian Literature* Iss. 209 (Summer 2011): 3.
[73] Hervé Guay, *L'éveil culturel: Théâtre et presse à Montréal, 1898-1914* (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2010), 23-24.

serving God allows one to serve his or her country better.[74] Religious theatre reflected another important element in French-Canadian identity from the period. The church created its own theatre, primarily destined for its own students, but also to promote and encourage its views on religion, nationalism, and tradition to the general public.

Greffard and Sabourin explain that:

Depuis les tout premiers textes, la question de la langue se pose de façon directe ou incidente, que soit celle du public ou celle des personnages: canadienne ou anglaise? française ou canadienne? urbaine ou orale? … la question de la langue au théâtre reflète la difficulté qu'éprouve la société canadienne-française à se définir, difficulté qui continuera à hanter la scène.[75]

French-Canadian theatre – and French-Canadian identity – was inextricably linked to the English language and Anglophone identity in Canada. Playwrights from this era took a variety of dramaturgical approaches to tackle this issue of cultural and linguistic engagement and duality in order to put on stage their vision - or imagined possibility – of what the French-Canadian identity could be, and, as we will see in the coming chapters, their representation or *re*presentation of the English Canadian, or Anglophone identity.

---

[74] Lamonde, 71.
[75] Madeleine Greffard and Jean-Guy Sabourin, *Le théâtre québécois* (Montreal: Editions Boréal, 1997), 28-29.

Chapter 3 Uncovering the Unknown: Archival Research, Challenges, and Discoveries

3.1 Introduction

Much as it is important to understand the context of a play to deduce its meaning, it is also necessary to understand the context and methods of the research to understand the results that it produced. In this chapter, we will first discuss the research process that was used for developing the corpus of plays used in this study, including the successes and the challenges. We will then turn to the results of the study, looking at an overview of the plays found, the playwrights who wrote them, as well as trends and patterns of genre, format, and theme.

One of the main goals of this research, which will be discussed in more detail shortly, was to develop a clear picture of the theatrical landscape in French Canada from 1910 to 1929. The exhaustive research methods demonstrate a commitment to doing just that, with the aim of creating a repository or database of theatrical works from this era that can be used by other researchers as well as members of the theatrical and general French-Canadian communities to learn more about their histories. However, this is only one study. With the amount of research gathered, a multitude of studies and dissertations could be written about the œuvres, their creative sparks, and their authors. Thus, it is important to note here that this chapter does not aim to provide a comprehensive, in-depth analysis of each and every discovery. Instead, its purpose is to lay the contextual backdrop against which we will be able to discuss the focus of this study: cultural representation on stage and plays with Anglophone cultural representation.

3.2 Archival Research: The Good, the Bad, and the Challenging

3.2.1 The Research Process: Possibilities

      The research for this project had its spark in 2013 while I was searching for a play to translate for a playwrighting and dramaturgy course at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. After nearly two years of hearing from classmates and faculty that Canadian and American theatre are essentially the same thing, I decided it was time to showcase our uniqueness. Determined to demonstrate the essence – and difference – of Canadian works, I decided I wanted to translate a French-Canadian play. In the library, I discovered the tomes of Edouard Rinfret's *Le théâtre canadien d'expression française,* which had not been checked out the library since the mid-1970s. That discovery led me to the works of Joseph Armand Leclaire, particularly his play *Le petit maître d'école,* that formed the basis for my master's thesis and project.

      Those same volumes were the starting point for my research in this project. In this instance, however, they were much more of a springboard, a way to initiate the research. The research for this project began in earnest in the spring of 2018. The first step was to search Rinfret's tomes for plays from the period of 1910 to 1929. The volumes have some listings without dates, and some that include various production or print dates. But this was just the start. The goal in the archival research was to create a comprehensive list of as many plays written and/or produced between 1910 and 1929 so that I could reconstruct and examine the French-Canadian theatrical landscape of the time and discover plays that included Anglophone cultural representation. Thus, it was necessary to do two things: 1) look elsewhere to find additional plays that were not included in Rinfret's listings, and 2) confirm the dates of the plays that were included in Rinfret's listings (both those with and without dates). Production dates, publication

dates, dates in listings, reviews, and publishers' notes were used to provide as accurately as possible the date when the plays were originally conceived. In Appendix A, which is a complete list of all of the plays that I found to have been created during the two decades, the dates are separated out by document, production, and publication. The earliest date mentioned in any source or in the document itself was used to determine whether it would be included in the corpus for this study or not. For example, if a production date for a play was listed as 1911, but the play was actually written in 1905, it was not included in the listings. Focusing on the earliest date recorded for the play, which was most often the date of the first production, allowed me to hone in on the creative inspirations and contexts of the plays in a clear and specific timeframe: 1910 to 1929. This was essential for the meta and textual dramaturgical analyses of the plays. Coming back to Bosinelli and Toressi's metaphor of the message in the bottle discussed in Chapter 1, it was essential to ensure that the plays were created within this time period in order to situate their inspirations, themes, and intentions within those temporally specific contexts.

I discovered early on that there has not been a great deal written about theatre in the period of this study. The majority of the works on Québec of French-Canadian theatre history begin discussing theatre created in the 1930s and with Gratien Gélinas. The general and national collections at the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BAnQ), however, included a select few reference and scholarly books that were able to help construct a list of plays from this period. In particular, I found works and/or names of playwrights listed in:

- Guy Beaulne's *Répertoire du théâtre de langue française au Canada* (1966)
- Duval's *Le jeu de l'histoire et de la société dans le théâtre Québécois 1900-1950* (1983)

- *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec Tome II 1900-1939* (1987) under the
  direction of Maurice Lemire and in collaboration with Gilles Dorion, André Gaulin, and
  Alonzo Le Blanc

- *La vie littéraire au Québec Tome V 1885-1918* (2005) edited by Denis Saint-Jacques and
  Maurice Lemire and *Tome VI 1919-1933* (2010) edited by Denis Saint-Jacques ad Lucie
  Robert

- *Dictionnaire des jeux scéniques du Québec au XXe siècle* (2007) under the direction of
  Rémi Tourangeau

- *Monologues Québécois 1890-1918* (1980) compiled by Laurent Mailhot and Doris-
  Michel Montpetit

I was also able to find some additional information and a few texts listed in:

- Jean Béraud's *350 ans de théâtre au Canada Français* (1958)

- *L'Histoire du Théâtre au Canada: Pour un retour aux classiques* (1945) by Léopold
  Houlé

- *Théâtres Québécois et canadiens-français au XXe siècles: Trajectoires et territoires*
  (2003) edited by Hélène Beauchamp and Gilbert David

And, finally, through investigating the digital Patrimoine Québécois collection, I was able to

discover several listings of French-Canadian authors and their works from 1933 called "Nos

Auteurs dramatiques" published by *Le Canada-Français,* a review journal published out of

Saint-Jean-Richelieu.

By cross-referencing the listings found in each of these sources, I was able to develop a

comprehensive list of plays presumed to be from the period of 1910-1929. Through this process,

I was able to confirm the dates of some of the plays that were found in Rinfret's listings and

discover additional dates, such as performance and publication dates of the plays. The list was extensive but did not yet feel exhaustive. It felt as though plays could still be missing. Furthermore, in order to truly understand the theatrical landscape of the time and perform dramaturgical analyses on the plays, I actually needed the play texts themselves. Summaries found in various sources were simply not enough.

And so, with that, the second phase of the archival research began. I delved into the archives and the collections, beginning with the BAnQ, for the play texts themselves. Many of the play texts were published in one form or another, either as a monograph (book, pamphlet, brochure), in an anthology, or in a journal or review. We will discuss the breakdown of play text types and publication information at the end of this section. Some of the plays have in fact been digitized and are easily available as PDFs from the BAnQ website. Some have been published and exist as print books in the general collection or for on-site access only in the national collection. But a great many exist only in boxes in the BAnQ archives housed in Old Montréal, Québec City, and Gatineau – or no longer exist at all. I used the playwrights' names and the play titles to search the archival records and the library and archives databases for traces of the plays. Additionally, I used 'théâtre,' 'Français,' 'Canadien,' and the dates of the period as search terms in Advitam, the search tool used by the Québec national archives. Over the course of the next year and a half, I searched for texts. I began with the Fonds Rinfret, as Edouard Rinfet had written summaries of many of the plays into his tomes, so it was likely that he had access to many of the plays. This was by far the most successful archival search I performed. I checked to see if the other playwrights and/or their families had collections. I looked for names of other scholars, journalists, directors, troupes and troupe leaders, theatre companies – anyone who

might have possibly had and kept copies of play scripts – to see if they had collections in the archives.

Fonds/Collection Name	Fonds/Collection No.	# of plays found
Fonds Rinfret	MSS58	18
Fonds Jean Grimaldi	MSS433	4
Fonds Louis-Napoléon et Lucien R Sénécal	MSS57	3
Fonds Joseph-Eugene Corriveau	MSS191	3
Collection Gilles Latulippe	MSS471	2
Fonds Camil LeSieur	P841	1
Fonds Fred Ratté	MSS180	1
Fonds Julien Daoust	MSS103	1
Fonds Imprimerie Populaire limitée	CLG56	1

Table 3.1 Archival Collections yielding plays from 1910-1929

As you can see from the table above, in addition to the success found with the Fonds Rinfret, the Fonds Jean Grimaldi, the Fonds Louis-Napoléon et Lucien R Sénécal, and the Fonds Joseph-Eugene Corriveau also produced number of play texts. It is understandable that the authors included in the table would have a stake in keeping copies of their works for posterity and to ensure their place in the cultural history of French Canada. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, as French-Canadian theatre was still new, there was not yet a defined system of patronage. Thus, there were very few individuals beyond the playwrights, and perhaps those involved in productions, that were invested in the survival of the texts.

Jean Grimaldi emigrated to Canada from France in 1926 and continued the musical and theatrical career he began after World War I. In 1929, his career flourished at the Théâtre National and he sang in musicals by Hector Pellerin, Raoul Léry, and Paul Hébert. In 1948, Grimaldi purchased the former Ouimetoscope space and founded his first theatre company, le

Canadien.[1] While in his role as theatre owner and operator it makes sense for Grimaldi to amass

play texts that were produced or considered for production, it is unclear what prompted Grimaldi

to begin collecting plays from the period prior to his arrival in Québec. It is possible that these

plays continued to circulate and that Grimaldi himself performed in one or more of them, such as

Allo 1929, a "grande revue" by Oscar Valade, which was one of the plays found in his collection.

Gilles Latulippe was a prolific actor and theatre maker in the 1960s and 1970s, much

later than the period in question. However, when he opened his own theatre, Variety Theater, in

1966, he began to revive older theatrical forms, such as burlesque, musicals, reviews, and

vaudeville – all of which we will see shortly, and as discussed in Chapter 2, were prevalent in the

1910s and 1920s.[2] Therefore, it is possible that Latulippe produced some of the shows that he

collected from the period included in this study, or at the very least it is possible that he collected

them while researching of Québec's theatrical history of the forms he was producing. Similarly,

Fred Ratté was a theatre maker in Québec and was also a pioneer in theatrical education in the

province. He founded a school for the dramatic arts with Henri Veilleux in 1956.[3] His collection

of plays may possibly have been used for studies at the school or for productions that he was

involved in during his over fifty-year career in theatre. Many, but not all, of the individuals

whose collections were searched for this research study had some connection to the theatre, and,

for one reason or another, were inspired to hold on to the play texts that they found, giving me –

and the theatrical community – and opportunity to study them today.

I also performed similar searches in the records of the National Theatre School (NTS) in

Montréal, as well as the Library and Archives Canada (LAC) in Ottawa. The NTS archives

---

[1] "Fonds Jean Grimaldi," Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, https://advitam.banq.qc.ca/notice/527357.
[2] "Collection Gilles Latulippe," Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, https://advitam.banq.qc.ca/notice/530463.
[3] "Fonds Fred Ratté," Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, https://advitam.banq.qc.ca/notice/523309

added some additional texts and contained duplicates of several that had already been discovered at the BAnQ. While the LAC archives contain some limited information about French-Canadian playwrights from that era, they include very few actual texts – and none that were unique and not available elsewhere within Québec. Additionally, I performed searches in the Concordia University and WorldCat library systems to see if any of the plays existed within university collections. There was only one play, *Maisonneuve* by Eva Circé-Côté, that I found available at Queen's University in Kingston, ON that I had not already found through other means. Finally, based on research done about the publication of texts during this period, I also searched in digital collections of the LAC and BAnQ, as well as Google, to find play texts published in journals and reviews from that era.

The next step once a play text was found was to capture it for analysis. This step was simply to download the PDFs for those texts that had already been digitized. For library books in general collections, I was able to take the plays home and scan them. I was allowed to photograph the text at Queen's University. In the BAnQ archival collections, I completed request forms and was given permission to photograph the materials I was working with, and those requests were granted. The national collection, however, proved difficult. Even for education purposes, texts in the national collection were not permitted to be scanned or photographed. However, it was possible to photocopy these texts page by page – at five cents per page. This challenge will be discussed in more detail shortly.

Once I had collected all of the images for a single text, I collated them into one single PDF file for each play. Then, once that was done for each of the plays, I was able to run the files through Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software to convert the files into a searchable format for both French and English. This was possible with nearly all of the texts. Two plays in

particular were *handwritten*, so it was not possible to do this process with those plays. The

purpose of the OCR conversion was to make textual analysis, particular semantic analysis, of the

plays possible through digital means in order to better identify trends and patterns in the plays

with Anglophone cultural representation. In the end, I created a list of 302 plays and 117 texts or

39% were discovered, documented, and collected.

Of those 117 plays discovered, 50% (58 texts) were printed as monographs, either in the

form of books, brochures, or pamphlets. A total of 32% of the plays were published in

anthologies, and an additional 16% were published in journals or reviews. Sixteen of the plays

were published more than once, sometimes in the same, but most often in different form, such as

first in a journal and then in an anthology. Finally, a total of 19 plays (16%) were not published

at all, and unpublished typescripts or handwritten texts were found in the archival collections. In

terms of publication, the majority of plays were published in the two major cities in Québec:

Montréal (66%) and Québec City (12%). Additionally, 8% of the plays were published in smaller

cities and towns within Québec and 4% were published in Ottawa.

Publisher	# plays published	% of plays published
Editions Garand	21	18%
Lémeac	10	9%
Le Passe-Temps	9	8%
Author (self-published)	6	5%
Agence dramatique canadienne	5	4%
Le Devoir	3	3%
Le Soleil	3	3%
La Patrie	2	2%
La Revue Populaire	2	2%

Table 3.2 Publishers of play texts included in the corpus

As you can see from the table above, there were two main publishing companies that distributed

play texts: Editions Garand and Lémeac, both based in Montréal. Interestingly, eight of the nine

works published by *Le Passe-Temps* in their review, were subsequently included in Lémeac's

anthology *Monologues Québécois, 1890-1980* published in 1980. It is important to note that the

journals and reviews indicated here did not simply publish within their existing periodical media,

but also published monographs through their publishing houses. In particular, the works

produced by *Le Devoir, Le Soleil,* and *La Patrie* were not all published in their journals and

reviews. It is also important to note here that these statistics are based solely on the plays that

were *discovered*, not all of the plays that I found to have been written during this period. As we

will see in the next section, there were significant challenges to finding texts as publication of

theatrical works during this period was limited.

3.2.2 Challenges

There were several challenges that presented themselves when trying to perform archival

research on theatre from this period. The first relates to publication and the preservation of

theatrical texts. As discussed in earlier chapters, with a lack of patronage system and little

publication, which we will discuss shortly, the playwrights appeared to be the only individuals

with a stake in keeping their works alive and accessible. The post-production dissemination - or

publication - of theatre texts was extremely limited during this time period. At the beginning of

the 20th century, the only option for publishing theatrical texts was self-publication by the author.

Although many (120 between 1900 and 1919)[4] texts were published, it was entirely up to the

playwright, with the support of his theatre troupe, to advertise and distribute the plays for sale.

There were, however, attempts by various organizations, including the Association des

journalistes canadiens-français and l'École littéraire de Montréal to aide in the promotion of

---

[4] Jacques Michon, ed., *Histoire de l'édition littéraire au Québec au XXe siècle: La naissance de l'éditeur 1900-1950*
(Montreal: Fides, 1999), 50.

authors and their works and intellectualism at events, such as the Soirées du Château de Ramezay.[5] The press also became an avid publisher of French-Canadian literary works in the 1920s; however, only 7 of the 435 texts published in the first 19 years of the century were theatre.[6] It was not until the late 1920s that professional editors, such as Éditions Albert Lévesque and Éditions Édouard Garand really began to publish theatre regularly. The former published very, very little theatre. Between 1926 and 1937, Éditions Albert Lévesque published only six plays.[7] And while the Éditions Édouard Garand published a great deal more theatre between towards the end of the 1920s and into the 1930s. Of the total plays discovered to have been published by Garand with confirmed publication dates, nearly 3 times as many were published between 1926 and 1931 (20 plays) than between 1915 and 1925 (7 plays) – and none were published earlier than 1915. By 1931 the novel had superseded the import of the theatrical text, and thus the editor published fewer (or no) plays each year.[8]

While looking for traces of plays and playwrights, as well as understanding the contexts, it was made difficult by the sheer newness of theatrical critique in French Canada. As discussed in Chapter 1, newspapers were only beginning to write about theatre and there was no common vocabulary for critics to use when discussing the art form. Few newspapers had dedicated theatre columns or sections, and even in a large newspaper like *La Presse* for much of the period up to 1929, there was instability in the writers who were chronicling the theatre scene – and those who were writing were required to (or chose to) use pseudonyms, which we will see shortly.[9]

---

[5] Ibid., 67-68.
[6] Ibid., 76.
[7] Ibid., 287.
[8] Ibid., 280-336
[9] Hervé Guay, "Chapitre I: État des lieux - Le Canada, 1919-1939," in *Chroniques des arts de la scène: à Montréal durant l'entre-deux-guerres, Danse, Théâtre, Musique,* ed. Marie-Thérèse Lefebvre (Québec: Les éditions du Septentrion, 2016), 32-34.

An additional layer of difficulty in searching archives and collections for these play texts is that there is no centralization for the content that makes up theatre history in either Québec or Canada. While there are organizations, such as Playwrights' Guild of Canada (PGC) and Centre des Écrivains et Auteurs Dramatiques (CEAD), that seek to create a lasting memory and historical trace of *contemporary* theatre (1960s onward), there still does not exist an organization or research body with a stake or investment in memorializing and remembering the *origins* of theatre history. This was made particularly apparent in the collections and fonds I searched through in the BAnQ archives. The information about what was contained in each collection was very limited. It often mentioned the name of a playwright, but it would not say if there were any play texts included, or if it was simply a photograph of a drama circle after one of their performances. There were also very few contents lists for the collections. In many cases, there were several boxes (or dozens of boxes) making up each collection, and thus it was necessary to order and go through each of the boxes in order to see if there was anything included. Box after box, nothing was found. On the one hand, it was demoralizing, on the other hand, it got me one box closer to finding something. There is a need for a centralized database and listing of the plays that I have discovered, which hopefully Appendix A will help to fulfill, with the eventual goal of this being made into a digital listing to aid in further research into this period.

Finally, it is important to recognize the challenge that is being faced by the entire world: the Coronavirus pandemic. While trying to access resources, the Concordia Library services team wrote that I should simply delay my research. The archives were closed for over a year. Libraries were also closed for a period of time, and the specific research-based services were not accessible. And there was a continued looming threat of further closures, which we are experiencing even now as I edit my dissertation. Coming out of what we thought would be the

most significant and deadly wave of the pandemic – another wave is upon us, so it is not over yet – some services and institutions opened up and research was able to resume. But it did not look quite the same. Requests for access, appointments, restrictions, and time limits were put in place – all of which are necessary to ensure the safety of our community. The result, however, is to slow down a research process that had been halted almost entirely for over a year. The one positive change that came from all of this is that the National Collection at the BAnQ removed its restriction on photographing documents. It is likely due to the fact that an individual can only make a two-hour appointment to be in the National Collection, and those spots are limited. The consequence of that change significantly reduced the cost of doing this research as I no longer had to pay five cents per page to photocopy them; I could simply take pictures.

3.3 Discoveries: Storytelling, Dramatic Forms, and Playwrights

Over the past several years, I have done a significant amount of work looking at the dramaturgies of Anglophone Québec theatre from 1930 to 1979 for a project at McGill University headed by Professor Erin Hurley. For that project, I identified and developed a list of themes and sub-themes that emerged in the works that I read. While it is not quite the same timeframe, and there are significant cultural differences, I used this as the starting point for developing the list of themes that I wanted to investigate in the French-Canadian theatre that I am looking at here. As discussed in Chapter 2, Duval has also done extensive work categorizing plays from the French-Canadian repertoire. I will first look at overall trends regarding the plays, including overall numbers, publications and productions, creation dates, and general playwright statistics. Then I will discuss dramatic forms and genre, and finally there will be a discussion on theme. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the patterns and trends discussed here

are meant to provide an overview of the French-Canadian theatrical landscape in this time period

in or through which to contextualize the plays with Anglophone cultural representation that will

be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.3.1 Plays, Playwrights, and Their Positions

As mentioned earlier, 302 plays were found to have been created during the period

between 1910 and 1929. Of those, I was able to locate and/or digitize legible (i.e. readable by

both human and computer for OCR and discourse analysis purposes) 117 plays. The spread of

the plays known and the plays found through the years under investigation can be seen in the

graph below.
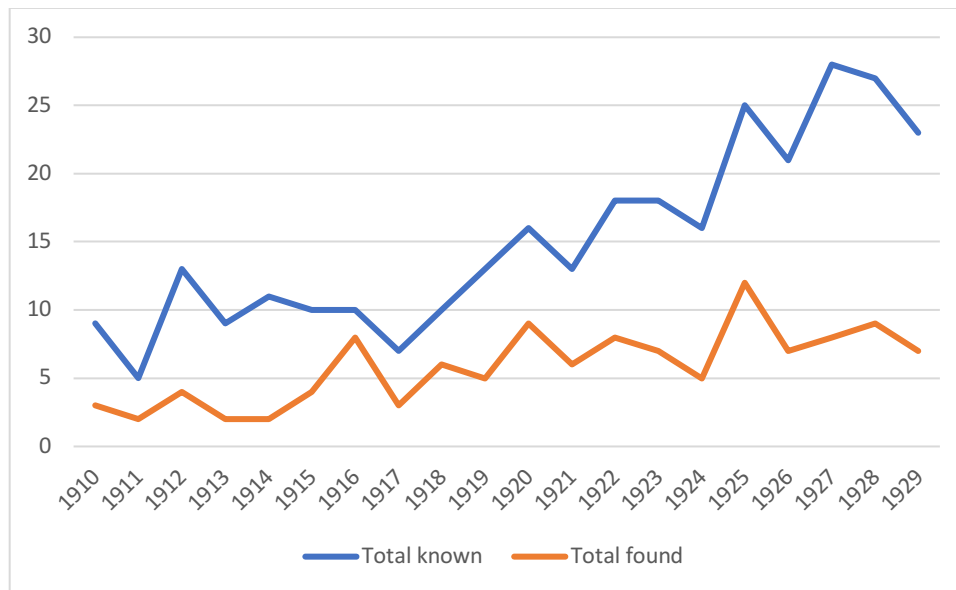
Figure 3.1: Total number of plays known and total number of plays found each year

The beginning of the 20th century was the start of the French-Canadian theatre scene's

professionalization and growth. As discussed in Chapter 2, when the First World War began,

French actors and creators were called back to France to fight, which allowed French-Canadian

voices to be seen and heard more and more frequently on stage, leading to a significant increase

in the number of plays being written. The three periods discussed in Chapter 2 – Pre-War (1910-1913), Wartime (1914-1918) and Post-War (1919-1929) – will be used in this analysis to discuss the trends and themes that emerged during this research as the societal focuses, ideas, and main concerns were different in each one of those sub-periods within the two decades under investigation.

Period	Years	Avg. # of plays
Pre-War	1910-1913	9
Wartime	1914-1918	9.6
Post-War	1919-1924	15.7
	1925-1929	24.8
	Combined	19.8

Table 3.3 Average number of plays per period

In order to get a clear picture of the increase, it is important not only to look at the *gross* number of plays, but also the *average* number of plays per period as the periods are not equal in number of years. As can be seen from the figure above, the average number of plays written each year nearly tripled from the pre-war period to the later post-war period.

It must be acknowledged that it is possible that more plays from this period were written and have not been discovered through the archival research. However, the search was exhaustive and scholarly due diligence was performed to find the largest number of plays from the period in order to ensure the most accurate representation of the theatrical landscape of the time. While there is somewhat of a difference, as seen in the table below, in the number of play texts found of those known to have been written in each era, there is only an 7% difference between the percentage found in the pre-war period and the overall post-war period.

Period	Years	Total Plays	% plays found
Pre-War	1910-1913	36	31%
Wartime	1914-1918	48	48%
Post-War	1919-1924	94	43%
	1925-1929	124	35%
	Combined	218	38%

Table 3.4 Percentage of plays discovered and acquired from each period

Therefore, it stands to reason that while there may be some plays missing, the plays and play texts found are adequate to provide an accurate picture of French Canadian theatre during the two decades in question and to identify emergent trends and patterns. In the upcoming sections, I will discuss the format and genre trends discovered, as well as the thematic and dramaturgical patterns that emerged through the research. Then, in Chapters 4 and 5, we will move into an in-depth dramaturgical analysis of the play texts containing Anglophone cultural representation.

Not only is it important to look at *what* was being written during his period, it is also necessary to look at *who* was writing as well. Through my research, I identified a total of 138 playwrights that were active during these two decades. Of those playwrights, 15 (or 11%) were women, and their work accounted for 14.5% of the total number of plays found to have been created during this era.

The majority of playwrights (84 individuals or 61%) produced only one work during the 20-year span, either as a solo work or a co-authored piece. This does not mean that for all of those playwrights it was the only work created during their careers, simply that it was the only work created between 1910 and 1929. Of those playwrights, 78.5% wrote solo works, and the other 21.5% co-authored their only work. Interestingly, 19% (or 58) of the total plays found to have been written in this period were written by four individuals: Louis-Napoleon Sénécal, Joseph Armand Leclaire, Ernest Guimond (aka Jean Bart), and Marie-Claire Daveluy. Sénécal worked as a government official, Leclaire had conservatory training in theatre but worked as a

customs official, and Daveluy was a librarian. Of those four, only Ernest Guimond's entire

career and livelihood was in the theatre, though there is no indication that he attended private

theatre courses to hone his craft.

To better understand the types of individuals that were becoming playwrights during this

era, I attempted to find out more about them, in particular their education or training and their

professions. Lamonde purports that up until the first part of the 20th century, there was a general

lack of intellectual cultural production, including in the arts and theatre, and advanced education

in French Canada. He describes 19th century essayist and thinker Edmond de Nevers' (Edmond

Boisvert) concerns regarding the future of the French-Canadian people, which were that there

was a lack of higher education and three troubling signs of decadence or dissolution:

partisanship, emigration (particularly to the United States), and the enslavement of man to

material goods or possessions. But, as Lamonde explains, things changed and there emerged a

visible student press in Québec, which signified an increase in the number of students amongst

the French-Canadian population.[10] However, the early 20th century brought with it significant

social, political, and cultural changes, as we saw in Chapter 2. Duval states that the political

unrest and the desire for cultural recognition allowed theatre in this period to "nourrir un

patriotisme de bon aloi au sein d'un public sinon de spectateurs, du moins de lecteurs".[11] And

while these audiences were ready for change, they were not blindly accepting what was put on

stage in front of them. Theatre was becoming a space that, as Saint-Jacques and Lemire point

out, was a place for social critique[12], and thus playwrights were able to take more risks, as those

choices reflected the movement of society towards modernism.

---

[10] Yvan Lamonde, *Histoire sociale des idées au Québec 1896-1929 Vol 2* (Montréal: Fides, 2014), 105-124.
[11] Etienne-F Duval, *Le jeu de l'histoire et de la société dans le théâtre québécois 1900-1950* (Trois-Rivières: Collection Théâtre d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, 1983), XIV.
[12] Saint-Jacques and Lemire, 434.

This rise of the intellectual and the increase in higher education institutions can be seen amongst the playwrights, as a significant number of them received upper level education. I was able to find the education or training for 37 of the playwrights. It is important to note that this number does not include individuals who went to ordination school to become members of a religious order. It is clear from their professions that they would have gone through this training. The following chart shows a breakdown of the education and training found for the 37 individuals. A select few individuals received training in more than one area, through this was not very common.

Training/Education	No. (Percentage)
Classics	9 (24%)
Law	9 (24%)
Arts & Literature (Lettres)	7 (19%)
Theatre/Acting	5 (14%)
Fine Arts & Music	4 (11%)
Science, Technical & Engineering	3 (8%)
Business	2 (5%)
Library Studies	2 (5%)
Medicine	2 (5%)
Notary	2 (5%)
Philosophy	1 (3%)

Table 3.5 Number and percentage of known training/education

What is interesting to note here is that the métiers being studied in higher education were not only practical, such as law and engineering, but also those that focus on intellectual thought, culture, and critical thinking. However, only a small proportion, as little as 11%, of the playwrights from the time received any training in theatre or dramatic arts. So, while there was a rise in education in the humanities and social/cultural studies, and there were some private training schools or programs for theatre, including the Conservatoire d'art dramatique, Conservatoire Lassalle, and Conservatoire de théâtre, not many of the individuals that

contributed to the emerging dramaturgies of the time received formal instruction in writing for the theatre. This may in part explain why many of the playwrights from the time wrote or co-authored only one play during a 20-year span, or very few plays throughout their career. Inspired by the sociopolitical circumstances of the moment, these new intellectuals began to see theatre as another outlet for critical thinking, political thought, and expressing national or cultural identity.

The reason for stating that theatre was *another* outlet for this type of thought and expression is that many of the playwrights in this era were also writers of a different sort. In fact, a significant proportion (26%) were journalists writing for some of the newly founded newspapers and journals established in this period that promoted similar critical thinking, nationalist ideas, and a unique French-Canadian social and cultural perspective.

Profession	No. (Percentage)
Journalist (incl. critic/reviewer)	24 (26%)
Government official/Judiciary position	16 (18%)
Writer (novelist, poet)	16 (18%)
Religious Member	13 (14%)
Theatre Artist (full-time, only profession)	13 (14%)
Professor/Teacher	10 (11%)
Other Arts	10 (11%)
Lawyer	7 (8%)
Librarian	4 (4%)
Doctor	2 (2%)

Table 3.6: Number and percentage of known professions

I was able to uncover the professions of 91 or 66% of the 138 playwrights from this period. Many of these individuals had more than one profession, though it was often unclear if they were holding more than one position at the same time or if they were sequential in different periods of their lives. A total of 26% of the playwrights were identified as journalists, which included columnists, reviewers, and critics. Additionally, 18% of the playwrights were shown to be

writers of other sorts of media, such as novels and poetry. Not all of those individuals, however, made their living solely from writing. It was an activity that took place in tandem with other occupations. In fact, over 70% of writers had at least one other profession. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, writing in the early 20th century in all of its forms was an outward expression of intellectual thought, a mechanism for sharing with other like-minded individuals.

However, the authors were not always forthcoming about their identities. As can be seen in Appendix B, which includes a list of all of the playwrights found, along with known training/education and professions, many individuals chose to use pseudonyms for their works. It is important to note here that the majority of the pseudonyms were used not for their theatrical works but for their writings in journals and newspapers. In the early 20th century – as is the case today - each newspaper and periodical had its own political agenda and affiliations. As Guay explains, "Pour ces hebdomadaires, le théâtre se transforme en véritable enjeu politique dans la mesure où il peut être vu comme un vecteur des réformes à entreprendre, à moins qu'il ne devienne l'une des principales sources du mal moderne à pourfendre".[13] The theatre was seen as a tool to present a changed future – or different possibilities – but also a mechanism for newspapers to further their political agendas through advertisements and reviews of particular performances that were in line with their political leanings. Not only were the themes in the newspapers and journals politically charged, but so, too, were the themes included in the plays, which often involved politics, nationalism, identity, and cultural conflict. The playwrights and authors using pseudonyms were perhaps trying to hide or at least create critical distance between their opinions and their other professions, particularly for those working in and around the government.

---

[13] Hervé Guay, *L'éveil culturel: Théâtre et presse à Montréal, 1898-1914* (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2010), 38.

As can be seen from the table above, a significant number of the playwrights were government officials (18%) and lawyers (7%). As discussed in Chapter 2, French Canada was in conflict with English Canada over language rights and the war effort during this period. So, it is possible that many of these officials felt compelled to produce works based on their other work experiences. There were also as many playwrights who were religious figures as there were those that were solely theatre artists – in other words those that were making their living from theatre work – at 14% in each category. As discussed earlier, drama was part of the curriculum in most theological colleges. Additionally, theatre has been a mechanism used by the church to communicate shared values and Biblical stories through morality and cycle plays for centuries. The church was critical of modernisation and urbanisation, and its use of theatre, an increasingly popular form of entertainment in this era, to promote nationalist thinking and traditionalist values to the French-Canadian population is not unexpected. In terms of those with theatrical training, it did not seem that there was any formalized training for dramaturgy or playwrighting at the time, so many of the individuals who worked professionally in the theatre were trained as actors and worked most often on stage. It appears that many of these individuals only wrote one or two plays, while their career in theatre was in directing or acting.

3.3.2 Storytelling and Structure: Dramatic Form and Genre

When analysing the storytelling and structure of a corpus of plays, it is important to analyse the format and genre of the plays. These two elements provide us with key information to understand what types of stories are being told and how they are being presented and provide insights into both the creators and the audiences. Lucie Robert explains that during the period under investigation, there was a movement away from the classical format of the multi-act

melodrama and towards shorter, often one-act, plays based around questions of humanity rather than heroism.[14] This movement towards shorter performance formats, including one act plays, is reflected in the corpus of plays that I discovered in my research. When looking for the format of the plays, I first looked at the texts themselves if I had copies. If I did not, I turned to the source(s) that listed the play as being from this era. If the plays were only listed in one source, I used the BAnQ's digital patrimoine Québécoise collection to attempt to find corroborating evidence, either a review, summary, or advertisement of the play. If I was not able to confirm with more than one source, or the information was simply not available, I did not include the format in the statistical analysis. Of the 302 plays that I found, I was able to determine the format for 264 or 87% of them.
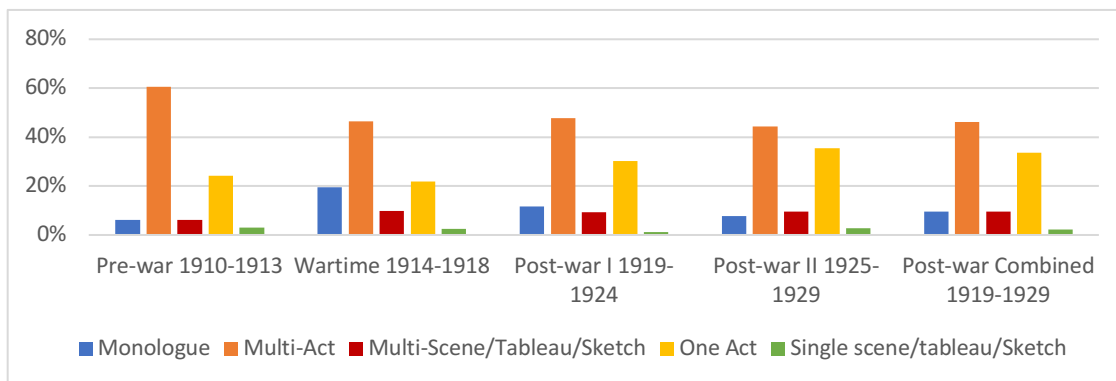
Figure 3.2: Percentage of each play format by period

As can be seen in the figure above, one-act plays represent fewer of the overall play formats before and during the war, at 24% and 22% respectively, than they do post-war, when they account for 34% of the plays overall in the full post-war era. This trend also speaks to the larger trend in literature towards shorter forms, as seen in Chapter 2 with Edouard Garand's publication of a series of short stories, novellas, essays, and even short plays. There is also a rise in monologues during and after the war from the pre-war 6% of play formats. Of particular

---

[14] Robert, 7-9.

interest is the spike in monologues during the First World War up to 20% of the overall plays

that were created during those five years. With the war raging on, this is not surprising. Many

men were sent overseas to fight, and those at home were taking part in the homefront war efforts.

There were fewer individuals able to participate in large-cast, lengthy performances.

Monologues, as we will discuss in more detail shortly, were also often comedic in nature were

centred around themes of daily life. They are also reminiscent of the short novellas that Garand

began publishing in the 1920s. Despite these upward trends, multi-act plays between 1910 and

1929 still accounted for 48% of the total plays found to have been created during this period.

In *La vie littéraire au Québec (Tome V),* Saint-Jacques and Lemire breakdown the genres

that were most common during this era into two types: Comedic and Dramatic. In order to

clearly distinguish between the generalized genre category of Dramatic and the genres that

include drama, such as historical or religious dramas, I have chosen to substitute the term

Dramatic as per Saint-Jacques and Lemire with the term Serious.
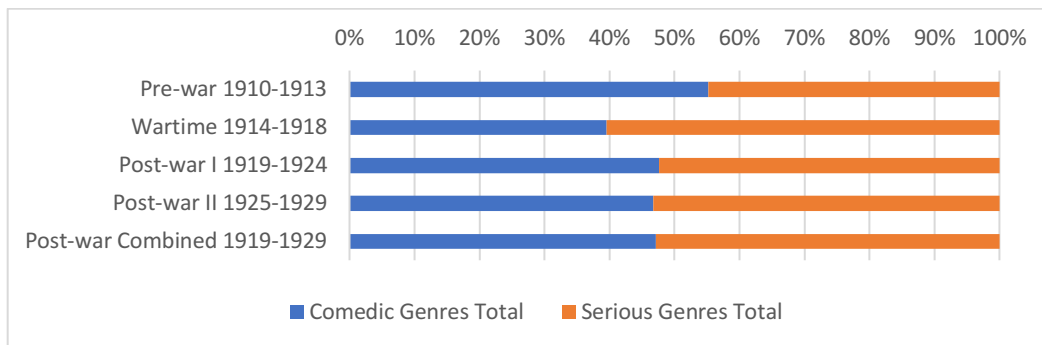
Figure 3.3 Comedic vs Serious Genres by period

The figure above illustrates the overall trend of Comedic versus Serious genres in each of the

periods in this era. While for the most part, the two types of plays can be seen almost equally,

during the First World War, there was a significant increase in the number of Serious plays,

which accounted for 60% of the plays discovered from those years. It should be noted here that it

is possible that more dramatic or serious texts have been discovered as more were in fact written

down in the first place. Sketches, revues, and vaudeville performances, much like commedia dell'arte performances, were not always fully scripted, and thus it is likely that more of those performances took place but we simply do not have a record of them. However, as mentioned earlier, the search was exhaustive for texts, and there is no corroborating evidence to support this theory. But, as this chapter aims to provide the most accurate representation of the French-Canadian theatrical landscape from 1910 to 1929, it is important to note the limitations and potential pitfalls of the archival research of an embodied artform.

In their analysis, Saint-Jacques and Lemire broke down the Comedic and Serious forms as follows:

Comedic	Dramatic/Serious
Monologues	Melodrama
Sketches	Bourgeoisie drama
Revues	Historical drama
Farce	
Vaudeville	
Poetic comedy	

Table 3.7 Breakdown of Comedic and Dramatic/Serious forms as per Saint-Jacques and Lemire[15]

While these genres did account for the vast majority of the plays, I found that they did not quite line up with the assignment of genre of the corpus of plays that I discovered. As with the format of the plays, I used the play texts themselves as the first place I looked to assign the genre of a play. If I did not have the play text itself, I looked at the additional resources that I had available to me, including the sources where the plays were written and the patrimoine Québécoise collection. If I did not have the text and could not find or corroborate the genre with more than one source, I did not include the genre in the analysis. I was able to identify the genre for 263 or 87% of the plays, so only one fewer play than I was able to identify for formats. However, not all

---

[15] Saint-Jacques and Lemire, 430-445.

plays had both pieces of information. So, while these numbers are almost equal, it does not mean

that they represent and are inclusive of the same set of plays within the corpus.

Using the methodology described above, I found the following genres present in the

Comedic and Serious categories:

Comedic	Serious
Comedy	Drama
Comedy Drama	Grand-guignolesque
Fantasy	Historical
Revue	Melodrama
Satire/Farce	Religious
Sketch/Bouffe	
Vaudeville	

Table 3.8. Genres discovered in the corpus of play texts 1910-1929

As you can see, there are some key differences here. I removed monologue from the genre

category as it is more relevant as a format. All but one of the monologues found were classified

in the Comedy genre, and the last one was Satire/Farce; so, all monologues were comedic. The

comedy genre is in essence what Saint-Jacques and Lemire classified as poetic comedy. But as

most plays were simply termed 'Comedy', this is more inclusive. Comedy Drama, Fantasy, and

Sketch/Bouffe were all genres that were assigned by the playwrights themselves to their own

work. Comedy Drama was also found in some of the listings of the plays that noted genre.
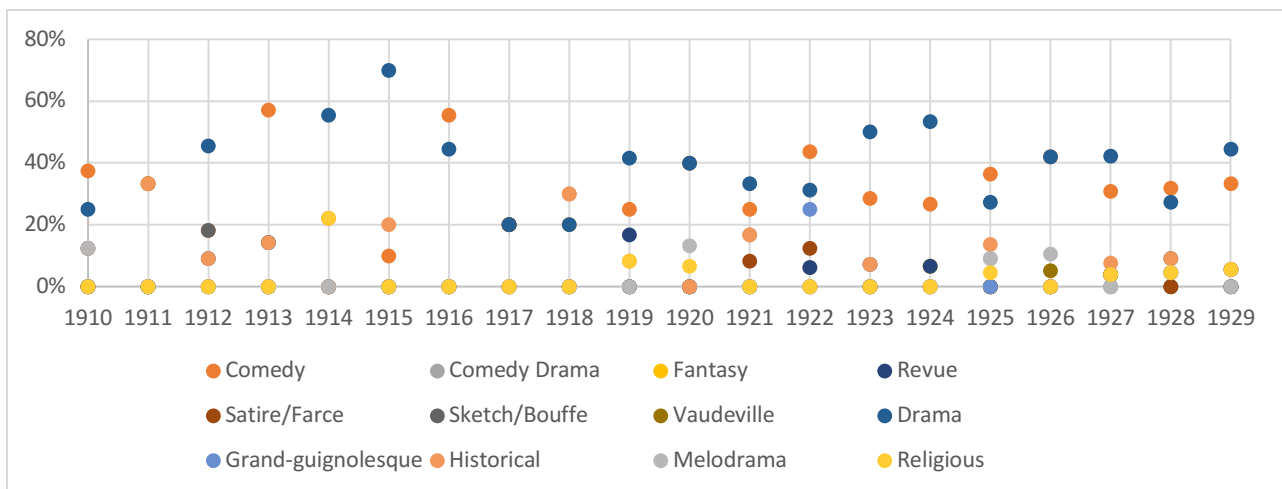
Figure 3.4 Percentage of play genres by year

On the Serious side, the two main differences are that Drama is more generalized than bourgeoisie drama, as this is the genre categorization used by the playwrights and the play listings, and Historical is simply an abbreviation of Historical Drama. Not one, but two plays were self-categorized as grand-guignol or grand-guignolesque – *Le Sérum qui tue* by Marc-René de Cotret and *L'erreur du docteur Sartène* by Henri Letondal – so that has also been included in this category. And finally, the most significant addition to the list is the genre of Religious plays. It seems that in Saint-Jacques and Lemire's genre analysis, plays with religious themes are included *within* the other genres. That is also still the case for several of these plays, but there are also some plays that are religious in *structure* and are classified as Religious as they are structured as morality plays, religious journeys, or cycle plays, or they are of a singularly religious nature in terms of their subject and theme.
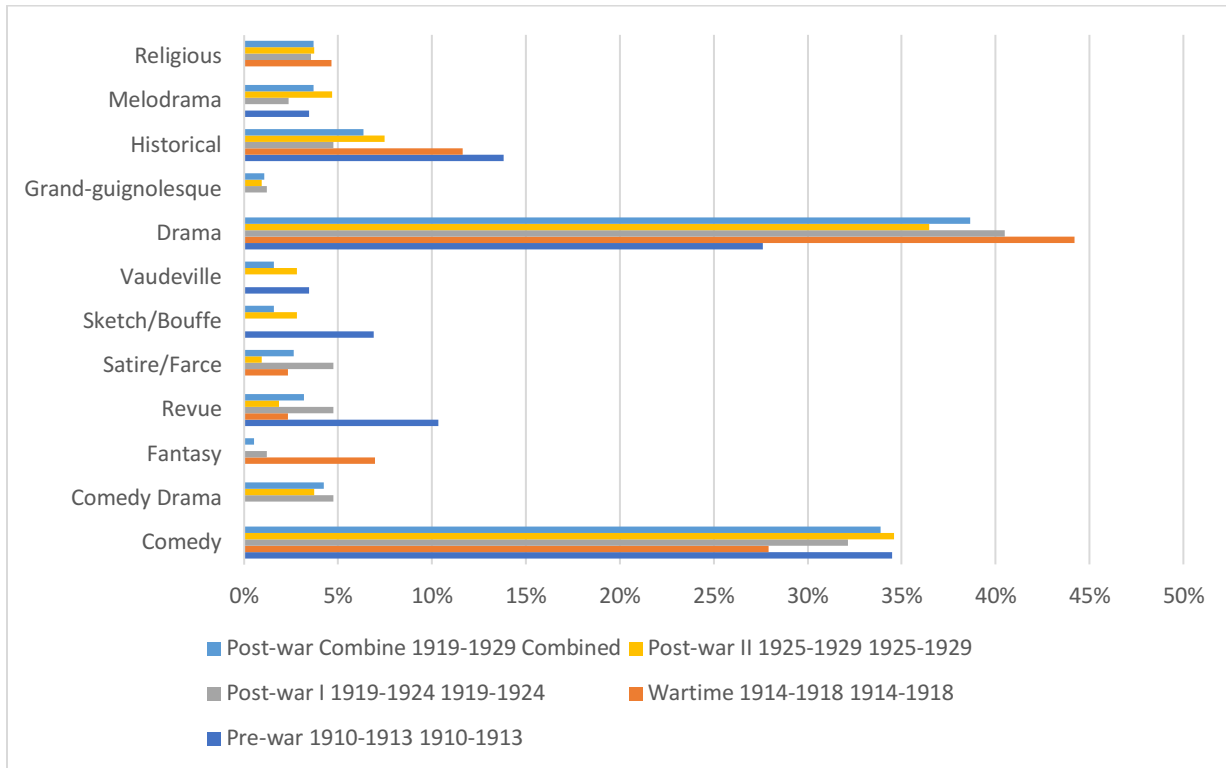
Figure 3.5 Percentage play genres by period

The two figures above show the prevalence of the genres identified first per year over the course of the era under investigation, and second in terms of the periods within the whole era. In general, the genres of Comedy and Drama account for the vast majority of the plays. In particular in 1914, 1915, 1923, and 1924, Dramas accounted for more than 50% of the plays, while in 1913 and 1916, Comedies accounted for more than 50% of the plays. Saint-Jacques and Lemire, as well as Duval and Robert, all note the increased importance of the historical play in this period, both in terms of genre and theme. As mentioned in Chapter 2, in Duval's 1983 work he includes plays with First World War settings, subjects, and themes as historical plays, even though they would have been current (or close to it) for the majority of this period. With that reading of Historical, there would be eleven additional plays categorized in that genre, five from the wartime period, and three in each of the post-war periods. While this has only a minor impact on the statistics for the post-war periods, it raises the percentage of Historical plays from 12% to 23% during the wartime period. What this inclusion does, however, is dilute the understanding of the genres that were being used at the time, as the playwrights from that period would not have considered their plays with World War I themes to be historical. Seven of those plays are classified as dramas using my methodology, 2 as melodramas, one as fantasy, and one as satire/farce. This range allows us to better understand the trends of the playwrights and plays of the time, rather than imposing a modern or contemporary historical view onto their work.

Using the assignments provided by the texts themselves and the corroborating materials, we can see that historical plays were in fact more prominent *before* and *during* the war, at 14% and 12% respectively, rather than during and after the war as it would have appeared with Duval's interpretation. Additionally, prior to the war sketch/bouffe, vaudeville, and revue performances were the other popular genres aside from comedy and drama. While the war and

the periods following it have fewer of those genres, they have a wider range of *additional* genres,

meaning that playwrights were starting to choose more modern play genres, such as comedy

drama, fantasy, satire/bouffe, and grand-guignol(esque) while at the same time more frequently

choosing different play formats, such as one-acts and monologues. The expansion of theatrical

genres, and the range of themes, as we will see shortly, can in part be explained by the war, by

the physical bodies present to create and see performances, but it can also be explained by the

sociopolitical changes that were occurring at that time.

3.3.3 Themes and Sociopolitical Connections

Robert explains that at the turn of the 20th century:

tant l'urbanisation accélérée entraîne le déploiement rapide d'un nouveau mode de vie, disposant de la lenteur et de la sagesse ancestrales, et la naissance de Nouvelles classes sociales qui vont constituer des publics attentifs à la vie théâtrale, bien que de manière différenciée, selon que l'on appartient à la nouvelle bourgeoisie francophone, à la petite bourgeoisie des cols blancs ou au prolétariat urbain.[16]

These new social classes, a desire for modernity and the rise in urbanism, the movement away

from the church, and the longing for a clear, visible, and acknowledged national identity was

reflected in the thematic choices made by the playwrights in this era. In this section, we will look

at two thematic analyses of plays from this era. First, we will use Duval's seminal 1983 thematic

categories, and then we will look at the thematic categories I chose for this study. It is important

to note here that thematic and discourse analysis done on the corpus was only performed on the

117 plays that I was able to procure and read. The reason for this is that the process for

determining the themes in the plays that I accumulated was two-fold. I first performed a

discourse analysis on the plays using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo using the word

---

[16] Robert, 10.

lists for each theme, which we will discuss in detail shortly. I then read each of the plays, as well as any summaries that were available as a dramaturg, practicing my craft and assessing the thematic elements in each of the plays in relation to the five themes I was looking for.

The main focus of Duval's analysis of the French-Canadian repertoire – which Duval calls the *Québec* theatre– is theme, in particular themes that look at nationalism and national identity in terms of politics, history, and culture. Duval focuses on two major categories of theme: National History, and Québec Society. National History includes the colonisation of New France, the Conquest, American Independence, the Rebellions of 1837-38, and, as mentioned earlier, World War 1. Québec Society includes Politics, Economy, Religion, and Mores, or social customs and conventions. The difficulty with Duval's study is that it was a nationalist enterprise in and of itself and sought to confirm the presence of nationalism and Québec culture in theatre through his analysis. Duval's positionality can be seen in the category of Mores, in which he looks at Education, Family, Paternal authority, Natural children, Hospitality of Québec(ers), Québecers having fun, Sickness and illness, and, finally, Vices and Social work, which includes Anglomania, alcohol, prostitution, gambling, and theft. While Duval rationalises the inclusion of Anglomania in the thematic analysis of the Québec repertoire in that it was a theme often addressed by the playwrights themselves, Duval does not explain or justify the inclusion of Anglomania within the category of vices and social services. Listing it along with vices such as prostitution, theft, and alcoholism provides a very clear picture of Duval's positionality in relation to the subject matter he is studying. Anglomania could, equally, have been its own separate more, or simply another category.

As Duval explains, he chose the plays for his study "en fonction de leur seule valeur d'illustration de l'histoire nationale et de la société québécoise".[17] This implies that rather than looking at the *presentation* of identity and society by the playwrights at the time of their writing, Duval chose texts that confirmed a particular vision or interpretation of history and society that he already had, one that reflected more on the views of the 1980s than those of the playwrights. The goal of my research, on the other hand, is ultimately to discover *how* culture is presented and represented in different ways or using different dramaturgical strategies within the contexts of early 20th century French Canada. While Duval's analysis was far from impartial and objective, it still provides important insights into the theatrical landscape of 1910-1929. However, rather than focusing as Duval did on what elements of French-Canadian society the plays demonstrated, I will instead use the thematic categorizations to find patterns in the dramaturgical choices made by playwrights based on the sociopolitical and historical contexts of 1910 to 1929, particularly in the later chapters for plays containing Anglophone cultural representation. This section will provide some insights into the major thematic patterns discovered or confirmed.

In order to expand Duval's analysis from only those plays from the two decades I am investigating that he included in his book, which accounted for 50 works (though from further research not all of which were in fact initially conceived of or produced between 1910 and 1929), to all of the plays that I was able to procure, I first had to read the texts and perform a dramaturgical analysis on all of them using Duval's thematic structure. I began with the plays that I had that were included in Duval's study to better understand the ways in which he was categorizing the texts. I read his short briefs about the plays and then read the plays themselves to look for key elements that he identified in his summaries that led to the classification. It is

---

[17] Duval, XIV.

through this process that I determined the difference in his use of Historical and mine both

thematically and in terms of genre. For nearly all of the plays, Duval assigned one single

overarching theme to the play. To simplify his analysis, I ensured that there was one theme

chosen for each play, whether the analysis was done by him or by me. A total of 18 of the 117

plays that did not fit into any particular theme that Duval had identified, so those plays were

classified as Other.
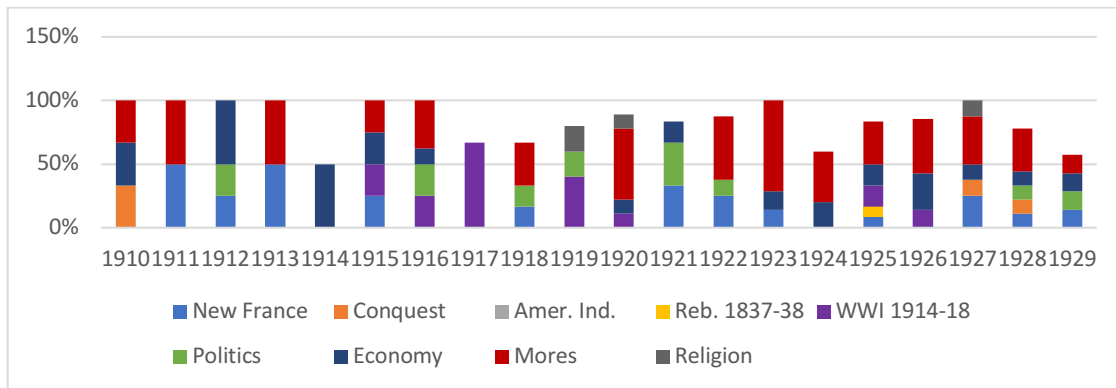
Figure 3.6 Percentage of Duval themes by year

As can be seen from the figure above, there was a range of themes being used most years.

The exception is 1914, in which the only Duval theme included was Economy, which was

present in one of the two plays texts I was able to find and read from that year. Unsurprisingly,

plays that revolved around the First World War appeared in 1915, not long after the war began,

and were most common during the war and in the years immediately following its conclusion.

The thematic peaks for Politics correspond to significant political battles being fought by French

Canadians during those years. In 1912, Regulation XVII was implemented in Ontario with the

goal to limit (or eliminate) the French language in/from the province. This led to the 1916 Battle

of the Hatpins. There are spikes in both of those years, along with an increase in the number of

plays using the more of Education as a theme, with two appearing in 1916, *Enjoleuse* and *Pas*

possible, however both plays are comedies that do not connect with the political situation at the

time even satirically. Education reappears in 1927 (*Preuve par l'histoire)* and 1929 (*Pousse-toué)*, coinciding with the amendment of Regulation XVII in 1927 to allow bilingual schools in Ontario. Again, the plays are comedies and do not deal directly with the political conflict that is occurring. This pattern, however, demonstrates that the education battle was in the minds of the playwrights at the time of their writing. The plays all focus on the education of the French-Canadian people, their betterment, and, in a sense, their own responsibility to learn. The choice to step away from the politics and bring the focus back to their own community could have been a dramaturgical choice by the playwrights to demonstrate the control that the French-Canadian people have – or should have – over their own education and futures. The general trends of cultural life in literature and the arts as demonstrated in Chapter 2 suggest that the choice was dramaturgical, as themes and questions of French-Canadian identity, heroism, and the future were prevalent in all literary forms, not just theatre.

Additionally, there are spikes in the theme of politics through the war, while French Canada was fighting against conscription while simultaneously participating in the war effort. There was also a spike in both politics and the theme of New France (National History) in 1921-23. This coincides with the beginning of the civil nationalist movement and the efforts to solidify and canonize French-Canadian history. From 1922 onward, the theme of Family under mores was also present. The church's nationalist movement could in part account for this rise, as it focused on traditionalist values, homeland, and maintaining the French-Canadian family unit.

As mentioned earlier, the goal of my research is to understand how playwrights interpreted the world around them and discover patterns in the choices that they made that can illuminate what was important to artists and audiences at the time and discover what messages they wanted to put forth. More specifically, the goal is to understand how French-Canadian

playwrights wrote and re-wrote cultural and identity in and through their plays. For these

reasons, the thematic categories that I have chosen are intended to identify different aspects of

life which contribute to the overall understanding and representation of culture on stage in these

plays. While it may appear in this chapter that these themes do not provide a great deal of

additional insight to what was seen in the Duval analysis, it is important to understand what they

are, why they were chosen, and what they can tell us in order to further the discussion in

Chapters 4 and 5 looking at Anglophone cultural representation on stage. The five themes that

for my own analysis I focused on during this study are:

1) Politics and Government
2) National Identity
3) Collective Memory/History
4) Race and Racism[18]
5) Cultural Conflict

Other scholars, including Duval and Hervé Guay (*L'eveil culturel*), have previously put forward

thoughtful and elucidative analyses of theme in theatrical texts, particularly working through the

notion of national identity. This study does not seek to contradict or challenge those analyses, but

rather approach the content from a different perspective. Much as will be the case for the close

reading and dramaturgical analysis of the corpus of plays containing Anglophone cultural

representation, this thematic analysis uses the lens of post-colonial theory to define the

characteristics of each theme. It focuses on ideas of the Self and the Other and the *relationship*

and power dynamics between French and English cultures in their plays.

  The theme of Politics and government specifically looks at the power structures,

decision-making processes and results, and the concepts of agency, autonomy, and authority

---

[18] It is important to note that this study is investigating Race and Racism as a *theme* within the plays. It does not seek to determine or designate the plays and playwrights as racist works.

within the context of Canadian history. While the focus in this category is on government and politics contemporary to the time when these plays were written, in other words the early 20th century, there is also a necessity to identify moments when historical power structures are present, as these important factors that fed into, and continue to feed into, the mindset of French Canadians at the time and contributed to their understand of the Self and the Anglophone Other.

The theme of National Identity encompasses ideas in which there is an acknowledgement or discussion of national or cultural identity by either the playwright or the character(s). As this study focuses on national identity in terms of the relationship to an Other, it looks for mentions of identity both as insiders (part of that cultural identity) and as outsiders (not part of that cultural identity). More specifically, this theme looks for markers of connectedness between individuals that defines the identity of the particular culture or nation, for example, language, shared values and morals, and the idea of home or place. This theme also looks for ideas of national pride, nationalism, and patriotism. For the purposes of this study, and in particular the discourse analysis, religion and religious terminology were not included in the assessment of the inclusion of national identity as a theme. Upon an initial pass through reading the plays and performing discourse analysis, it was determined that over 49% of the plays included a significant number of words relating to religion and religious figures. I will discuss this in more detail shortly when I discuss the process of discourse analysis in more detail.

Collective Memory and History is a theme that covers the ideas of a shared understanding of the past, and the invocation of historical events and individuals within the cultural community. This theme touches on the ideas of intergenerational memory and the passing down of collective identity from one to the next, including shared trauma, history, and tradition. Notions of

homeland, heritage, and ancestry are important to this theme. The ideas of remembering and

forgetting, as well as myth and stories or storytelling, are also included in this theme.

The theme of Race and Racism looks at notions of singularity of identity, in particular

when one community or culture is identifying and discussing another. Notions of

blood/bloodline are included in this theme, as well as ideas of immigration, assumption, and

assimilation. It is important to note that the understanding of the race, particularly as applied to

the French-Canadian population is very different today than it was in the early 20th century. In

the early 19th century, nationalism was becoming, as Philippe Reid explains, "très ethnique,

centré sur le concept de race. 'Nous', Britanniques, diront ses membres, appartenons à une race

supérieure, proteuse de civilisation et de progrès, face à 'eux', Français, membres d'une race

inférieure, traditionaliste et rétrograde, vestige du XVIIe siècle."[19] This notion of race and racial

superiority-inferiority was further galvanized by Lord Durham's 1839 report. And so, at the time

that the plays in question were being written, it was common – for good and for bad – for both

the French Canadians and the English Canadian government to equate the French-Canadian

people as a *race*. Today, we would use the term *nation*.[20]

And finally, the theme of Cultural Conflict looks for moments of enmity or dissonance

between two or more cultures or nations within Canada. This theme encompasses notions of

rebellion or resistance, but it is important to note that war is included in the theme of Politics and

Government, not cultural conflict for the purposes of this study. The reason for this is that the

First World War is featured in many of the plays, and it is a political war that extends beyond the

---

[19] Philippe Reid, *Le regard de l'autre. La naissance du nationalisme au Québec – essai* (Montréal: Editions de L'instant même, 2008), 9.

[20] It is also important to note here that this study does not delve into the complex and difficult dialogue regarding race and indigenous peoples. The use and designation of race is limited to the scope of the French-Canadian people by themselves and by the English.

bounds of Canada, or even Canada and Great Britain. In Canada, the differing opinions on the involvement in the war and the governments' responses to these opinions are also critical to the understanding of French-English relations in this period of history, so it is necessary to place that topic within the realm of politics. This theme looks specifically at cultural conflict *within* the Canadian context, in particular between French and English Canadians, and also identifies discussions or representations of conflicts between French Canadians and First Nations. The theme includes the invocation or presentation of historical people and events that caused or were involved in cultural conflicts in Canada's past. The theme also encompasses ideas of rights, justice, cultural independence and persecution, and censorship.

For each of these five themes, I created a list of key terms to search for in the Optical Character Recognition (OCR) versions of the plays. These word lists were based on ideology and theory connected to each theme as well as repeated words found through reading a selection of the plays that were discovered in the archival research phase of this study. When developing the word lists, it was important to ensure that each term was *unique* to a specific theme, rather than having words that existed under more than one category. It was also important to narrow the list of words to exclude those that could have too many alternative meanings that were outside of the purview of the theme. For example, the word 'master' or 'maître' could be used to discuss or denote government or politics and was initially included in the list. However, the term can equally mean master of the house, schoolteacher, or an individual in a supervisory role. After running a search of each of the initial word lists, I analysed the results and looked at the word trees[21] for each of the terms that I included. I set the context to ten words on either side of the term, which allowed me to gain an understanding of the way each word was used each time it

---

[21] A word tree looks at the relationship of a specific word to the text around it. In other words, it situates each instance of a given word into its contexts so it can be analyzed further by a human.

appeared in the plays. If I noticed that a term that was included in the initial word list was more often associated with a context other than that of the theme, which was the case for master/maître, I would eliminate it from the word list for that theme. I performed additional searches using new iterations of the thematic keyword lists until I reached a point where tall of the terms included were most often associated with the theme that I was looking for. It is important to note that I searched for these terms in both French and English in each of the plays as there are some plays from this period that are bilingual or at least contain some English. While this could seem like a cross-over with the search for Anglophone representation, which I will discuss in Chapter 4, it was important to include these terms as it was possible that French-Canadian characters were discussing the themes in English when speaking to or with Anglophone characters. The final word lists used can be seen in the figure below.

Politics & Government	National Identity	Collective Memory & History	Race & Racism[22]	Cultural Conflict
War/guerre Military/militaire Sovereignty/ souverainété Government/ gouvernement King/queen/monarc h/reine/roi/ monarque Power/puissance Control(e) Politic(s)/political/ politique(s) "Prime minister"/"premier minister" Territory/territoire Law/loi/réglement Regime/régime Official/officiel(le) Obey/obeir Authority/autorité	Identity/identité Authenticity/ authenticité People/people Nation/national(e)/ nationalist(e)/ nationalism(e) Language/langue/ langage Value/valeur Moral/morale Community/ communauté Home/"chez nous" Patriotism(e)/patriot (e)	History/histoire/ récit Memory/memories/ mémoire Generation/ generation Remember/souviens /souvennir Forget/oublie(r) Myth/mythe Tradition Ancestor/ancêtre/ aïeux/ancien(ne) Heritage/héritage Roots/racines Homeland/patrie/ patrimoine	Race/racism Immigration Blood/sang Assumption/ supposition Assimilation/ assimilate/ assimilé/assimiler	Conquer(ed)/ conquest/conquis(e) /conquérir/conquête Massacre Rebellion/rébellion/ rebel(le)/revolt/ révolte Censorship/censure Colonial/ colonialism(e)/ colonial(e)/ colonisation Rights/droits Justice Independence/ indépendence Persecution/ persécution

Table 3.9 Terms used in discourse analysis of the plays to confirm thematic inclusion in lexicon

Word frequency and word search queries were run for each theme against each play, and

the results were coded into the plays so that there was a visible way to see the rate, spread, and

breadth of the themes in the plays. The frequency analysis of the thematic words allowed me to

determine the *likelihood* of or *extent* to which a theme existed purely in the lexicon of the play,

providing me with an additional data point with which to either confirm, revisit, or reject the

existence of a given theme in a particular play. This analysis and use of NVivo software also

allowed for a more thorough examination of semiotic patterns, which will be discussed in

Chapters 4 and 5. As is evident from the table above, very few words included for the theme of

---

[22] Racial slurs were not included in this list as they were not prevalent enough in the texts to demonstrate any meaningful data for the analysis.

race. We will discuss the theme of race and racism in more detail shortly, however, it is

important to clarify here that when running data analysis software, it is necessary to find words

that are likely to be discovered in more than one text in order to be able to make comparisons

and assessments. Computers are not quite at the point of being able to make contextual

assessments and inferences to find like terms – though some software is getting close. As

mentioned above, the discussion and use of race was very different in the early 20th century than

today. The most common terms denoting race used in these texts are 'race' and 'peuple'.

However, as 'peuple' has additional connotative and denotative meanings, it was not possible to

include this term in the code-based analysis as contextualization of each iteration of the word

would be needed. This was simply done during the close reading phase of the thematic analysis

rather than using the software.

For the analysis using the themes I chose, I assigned all the relevant themes to each play

rather than limiting to one as was done with the Duval thematic analysis. As a reminder, this

analysis includes the 117 plays that I was able to read and perform discourse analysis on, not the

entirety of the 302 plays found to have been written during this era. Below is an overview of the

total number and percentage of plays that contained each one of the themes.

Theme	Number	Percentage
Politics & Government	32	27%
National Identity	26	22%
Collective Memory & History	28	24%
Race & Racism	11	9%
Cultural Conflict	21	18%
Other	59	50%

Table 3.10: Number of plays and percentage of plays containing each theme

As with the Duval study, there were several plays that simply did not include one or more of the

themes that I chose to focus on. A total of 59 plays (or 50%), in fact, did not include any of these

themes, and have thus been categorized as Other. While this is a significant portion of the repertoire that was read, it confirms that a large portion of the plays from this period were not focused on presenting or representing cultural and national identity. An entire study could be done simply on a thematic analysis of the plays from this period, expanding more broadly to look at those included in the Other category, but for the purposes of this study, I will focus solely on those that include the themes described above. It is somewhat surprising to find that three of the themes – Politics and Government, National Identity, and Collective Memory and History – are almost equally present in the plays.

It is also quite startling to discover that Race and Racism is included in only 9% of the plays given that this was the era that, as seen in Chapter 2, was marked by heightened racial tensions across language lines desire for a unique national identity, and a period that included the publication of works such as Lionel Groulx's *L'Appel de la race*. Initially I believed that this was the case simply because the terms I was using for the discourse analysis in NVivo were too modern and would not have been used during that era. This discovery was in part why I felt compelled to read through all of the plays and ensure that the correct themes were being applied. However, upon reading the plays I was able to confirm that there truly were that few that deal directly with the theme of race and racism as I have defined the category. This could in part be explained by the fact that the theme of race/racism was almost exclusively paired with the theme of National Identity and included Anglophone representation or Indigenous peoples. It seems that dramaturgically, in order for there to be a discussion of race, there needed to be both a Self and an Other, which is not present in the majority of the plays. The full list of themes assigned to the plays can be seen in Appendix .
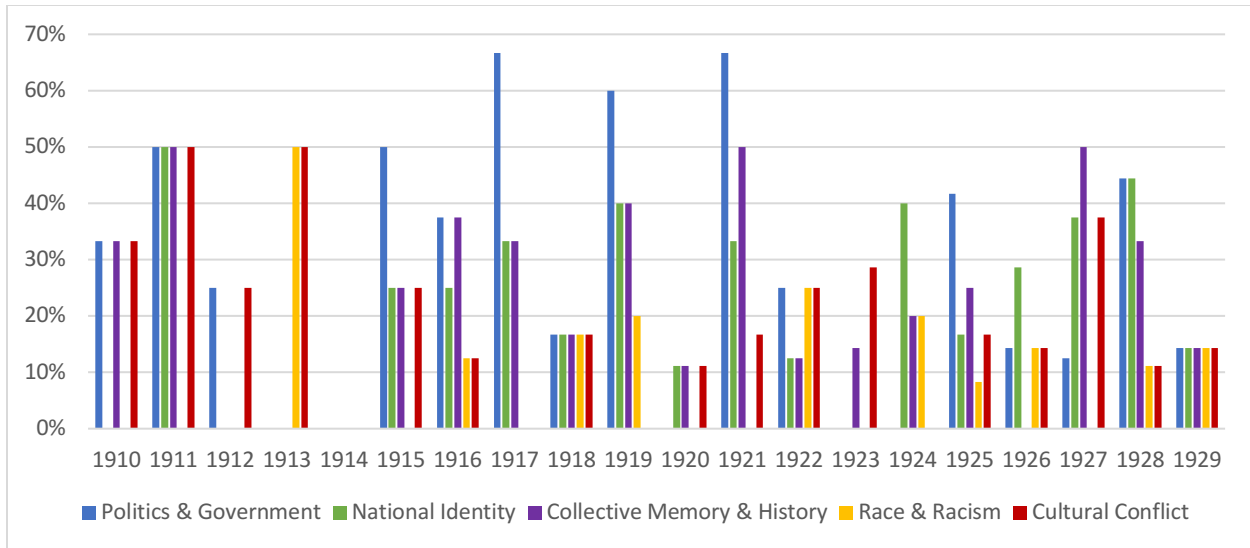
Figure 3.7 Percentage of plays with each theme by year

Similar to the analysis using Duval's themes, there are some spikes in the themes presented that correspond with significant events in French-Canadian history. The theme of Politics and Government is most present throughout the war years, during which time there was the Conscription Crisis as well as the language battles in Ontario. There is also an upward trend in the theme of National Identity, which crescendos in 1927 and 1928, around the time when Regulation XVII was modified, which was seen as a meaningful win for French Canadians. This might also in part explain the peak in Collective Memory and History present in 1927. But what is most interesting here in this chart is that while there are some peaks and valleys, most of these themes are present in many of the plays *throughout* the two decades. The presence of these themes in plays written throughout the era is indicative that these plays and ideas were not *reactionary* to certain events, but rather *representative* of the overall sociological and cultural shifts and movements that were happening in French Canada at the time.

What is interesting to look at, therefore, is the thematic crossover present in these plays, which can be seen in the chart below.

119

	Pol/Gov	Nat Id	Coll Mem	Race	Conf
Politics & Government		47%	53%	19%	28%
National Identity	58%		54%	31%	23%
Collective Memory & History	61%	46%		11%	50%
Race & Racism	60%	90%	30%		40%
Cultural Conflict	45%	30%	70%	20%	

Figure 3.8 Crossover of themes expressed as percentages of plays with each theme

Here we can see even more clearly the link between the discussion of race and the idea of the Self as 90% of the plays with the theme of Race & Racism also include the theme of National Identity. Another interesting connection seen in this chart is that 70% of the plays with the theme of Cultural Conflict also contain the theme of Collective Memory. As discussed in Chapter 2, this was a time when there was an intentional movement to memorialize and canonize the history of the French-Canadian people through the development of government ministries and institutions and that desire is mirrored in the plays from this period. The connection between these two themes shows that when cultural conflict occurs, which is most often between French and English Canadians, there is a significant number of plays that invoke or engage with cultural memory as a mechanism for demonstrating *legitimacy* of the Self in the face of a dominant Other. The use of collective or cultural memory when faced with an opposition or dominant narrative will be elucidated on in Chapter 5 as it is an important connection in plays with Anglophone cultural representation.

The high percentages of plays with the themes of National Identity, Collective Memory, and Race & Racism that also include the theme of Politics & Government (58%, 61%, and 60% respectively) demonstrate the strong views that these playwrights held on the importance and connection between identity and governance. This reflects the ideologies of the nationalist movements at the time and the social push-back against policies that limited or restricted the freedom of choice for the French-Canadian people and sought to diminish or eliminate their

culture. While none of these discoveries are particularly surprising, gaining clarity and

confirming these patterns and trends is essential to providing a foundation for the discussion of

plays with Anglophone cultural representation, and is equally valuable to the overall

understanding of French-Canadian theatre history.

Chapter 4 History, Cultural Memory, and the Anglophone Other

4.1 Introduction

Richard Schechner describes performance as "showing doing", which means to perform an action from everyday life.[1] Similarly, Aristotle states that "poets take their *mimesis* from men in action"[2]; in other words, poets – or playwrights – draw their inspiration from people who are *doing* things, and the actors are the ones who are *showing the doing*. Coming back to Schechner, in *Performance Studies: An Introduction* he explains that:

> Performances mark identities, bend time, reshape and adorn the body, and tell stories. Performances – of art, rituals, or ordinary life – are 'restored behaviors,' 'twice-behaved behaviors,' performed actions that people train for and rehearse. That making art involves training and rehearsing is clear. But everyday life also involves years of training and practice, of learning appropriate culturally specific bits of behavior, of adjusting and performing one's life roles in relation to social and personal circumstances.[3]

Performed identity in everyday life is made up of a series of commonly and collectively understood actions, behaviours, values, symbols, and codes. As discussed in Chapter 1, Judith Butler refers to these as *reiterative acts*.[4] For both Schechner and Butler, identity is something that is learned, rehearsed, and developed over time through the repetition of social and cultural codes that are enacted on and by the body. The network of behaviours and codes changes from culture to culture, adapting over time and through the introduction of new bodies and new ways of thinking. The performance of identity, including cultural identity, on stage, is a performance or *representation* of a particular network at a given moment in time. These representations

---

[1] Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction Second Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 28.
[2] Aristotle, *Aristotle's Poetics,* trans. George Whalley, eds. John Baxter and Patrick Atherton (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 51.
[3] Schechner, 28-29.
[4] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution" in *Performance Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Bial. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 154-166.

through theatrical performance are a *process*, an activity, an action that produces an effect. It is the role of the dramaturg to explore, understand, and contextualize those effects.

In the second half of this study, we will be investigating the dramaturgical strategies used by French-Canadian playwrights to represent or construct the culture of the Anglophone Other on stage, as well as the strategies used to subvert the dominant narrative of the Anglophone majority that existed in the early 20th century. To begin, this chapter will discuss the ways in which cultural memory, which is an essential component of and context for constructing and understanding cultural representation, is embedded into performance, and address the specific Canadian historical context in which the French and English Canadian collective memories reside. In the second half of this chapter, we will assess the corpus of French-Canadian plays from 1910 to 1929 containing Anglophone cultural representation and analyze the ways the representation of Anglophone Other is mediated through the French-Canadian collective memory and the impact of Anglophone culture and presence on French-Canadian lives. In Chapter 5, we will address the ways culture is embedded into embodied performance through choices relating to language and character. That chapter will also investigate the ways those choices serve to undermine Anglophone authority and rewrite the narrative of history, memory, and power dynamics between French and English Canadians.

4.2 Performing Cultural Memory and Canadian Historical Contexts

Much like memory, theatre, as explained by Diana Taylor (2003), Monique Borie (1997), and Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins (1996), also negotiates an in-between space, flexing and adapting as it is temporally and spatially ambiguous. Theatre has the capacity to contain and transmit cultural memory not only in the text, but also in the creative process, in the bodies of the

performers, and in the exchanges between the audience and the actors in the theatrical space. The practice of theatre is a collective experience that, through the embodiment of cultural memory, can intervene and challenge dominant narratives, and propose alternatives, and thus can be a powerful tool in affecting the creation of national narrative and national identity. In this section, we will look at the ways in which cultural and collective memory exists in theatrical texts and performance and the historical contexts that contributed to the shaping of French- and English Canadian cultural memory.

4.2.1 Cultural Memory on Stage

Cultural memory, much like cultural representation and identity, contains within it a multitude of dualities, or *both/ands*, as it, too, is both a product of and an instrument for shaping culture. In *History, Memory, Performance* David Dean, Yana Meerzon, and Kathryn Prince write that, "memory negotiates the distance between history as the 'real' past and history writing in the present, enabling us to know, or to think we know, about a past that we ourselves have not experienced. Yet memory is also very much about the present, its truth-telling is changeable, variable, and contested…"[5] Cultural memory needs to be located twice – first in the past and second in the present. The performance of cultural memory and the interplay between past and present, memory and current contexts, has the capacity to create active interruptions and interventions which can lead to the reconfiguration or re-presentation of culture and national identity. Marvin Carlson echoes Dean *et al* stating that theatre is:

> the repository of cultural memory, but, like the memory of each individual, it is also
> subject to continual adjustment and modification as the memory is recalled in new

---

[5] David Dean, Yana Meerzon and Kathryn Prince, eds., *History, Memory, Performance* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 11.

circumstances and contexts. The present experience is always ghosted by previous experiences and associations while these ghosts are simultaneously shifted and modified by the processes of recycling and recollection.[6]

Both memory and theatre are inseparable from the temporal contexts in which they were created and those in which they are being interpreted or transmitted.

Cultural memory can not only be located in time, but also in *place* or *space*. Pierre Nora calls these specific sites or locations that contain historical continuity *lieux de mémoire*, which he explains can be fixed or ephemeral places, sites, or even ideas, and are all places of remembrance. Cultural performance or representation, theatrical texts, and the bodies that symbolize or represent that culture can also be seen as *lieux de mémoire.* Theatre, therefore, contributes to the construction of national narrative through the performance of culture memory and cultural "origins". Nora states that "The greater the origins, the more they magnified our greatness. Through the past we venerated above all ourselves."[7] These *lieux de mémoire,* including those on stage, thus provide visibility and, more importantly, *legitimacy* to cultural history and identity. In particular, these memorial spaces offer French-Canadians the right to exist, to be recognized as a vibrant and unique culture, but additionally, they lend legitimacy to the right of French-Canadians to use theatre as a discursive tool to explore alienation and subjugation by the dominant Anglophone society and to symbolically redress or rectify the condition.

Along with the need to locate cultural memory contains within its temporal duality, it is also necessary for it to be *contextualized* twice – first in the world of the play's creation and second in the world of the play. Wulf Kansteiner argues that theatre forces the audience, as well

---

[6] Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 2.
[7] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations No. 26 Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory* (Spring 1989): 16.

as the artists, to experience their collective memory in a new context of the live present and the

performance, thus creating mutual newness both on and off stage.[8] Theatre provides the

framework to bridge the gap between past and present, the real and the fictional, history and

memory, cultural performance or representation and cultural identity, to turn the potentiality that

exists in collective memory into a tool to shape or reshape cultural and national identity. While

Kansteiner clearly connects the context of the performance with collective memory, Judith

Schlanger postulates that *la mémoire des oeuvres* is a space in which the memory of the arts

exists separately from and outside of cultural memory in "une existence parallèle, un peu secrète,

en retrait".[9] This concept of art and culture existing in two separate memory spaces seems

contradictory as theatrical texts and performances are not only a part of culture, as experiences

and artefacts, but they also draw their inspiration *from* culture. But Schlanger explains that these

memory sites are "d'abord un champ actif où il arrive quelque chose à tout moment et ce qui naît

à l'existence voudrait subsister".[10] Theatrical performance is inherently active, and is derived

and contextualized by culture and by the individual, both the playwright and members of the

audience. While this separation creates critical distance between art and collective memory, it

also allows for cultural memory to be produced on stage through the *act* of cultural performance,

and therefore creates two parallel memories: that of cultural representation and that of cultural

reality.

---

[8] Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies," *History and Theory* 41*, 2* (May 2002): 179-197.
[9] Judith Schlanger, *La mémoire des oeuvres* (Rieux-en-Val: Éditions Verdier, 2008), 147.
[10] Ibid., 15

4.2.2 French-English Canadian Historical Contexts

As cultural memory, and as we will see shortly, cultural representation and performance, are inherently and inseparably linked to history and historical contexts, it is important to understand the context of French-English relations through Canadian history. Though this history is lengthy and nuanced, this section aims to provide a brief overview of the main events that contributed to the relationship and power dynamics between French and English Canadians in the early 20th century.

Québec City and Montréal were founded in 1608 and 1642 respectively. The French set up trade roots, commercial enterprise, and their lives, in that area. On the eve of September 13, 1759 the British attacked Québec City – and won. A year later, in 1760, after several more battles, the French had been pushed back into Montréal and on September 8th Governor Vaudreuil officially surrendered to the British army on the terms of a treaty of capitulation. In 1763 as part of the Treaty of Paris (Seven Years' War), France gave New France to the British.

Following the Conquest in 1760, the British government developed a campaign promoting emigration to their newly acquired colony. Incentives including land and new markets for trade offered an alluring new life for many English citizens in the merchant class. They began settling across Nouvelle France (what is now known as the province of Québec), which at the time extended into what is now part of Ontario. It was only in the late 1770s and early 1780s, however, that the state saw any significant influx of English settlers. There were many English colonists who lived in the Thirteen Colonies that did not share the American aspiration for independence. Once the Revolution ended in 1776, those colonists (who became known as United Empire Loyalists) began to flee north into Canada, which was still under British control. Many of the Loyalists settled around the northern shore of Lake Ontario, which developed into

Southern Ontario. In 1783, King George III of England decreed that the Loyalists, who included

farmers, tradespeople and ex-military, should be given land, and thus the English settlements

became permanent.

At the time of the incursion of the Loyalists, the Québec Act (1775) was in effect,

meaning that the French population was still using French Civil law and French seigneurs were

still in charge of land dispensation. Although the Loyalists supported the Crown, they, like the

Americans, believed in sole individual land ownership. This directly conflicted with the

seigneurial system of paying rent for use of land. The Loyalists also subscribed to the American

notion of government by representation rather than the traditional structure of government of

appointed officials. These differences in societal organization exacerbated the rift in the

population.

Spurred on by pressure from the United Empire Loyalists, the British government ratified

the Constitutional Act of 1791, dividing the colony in two: Upper and Lower Canada (Ontario

and Québec respectively). Though the act is complex and nuanced, its key cultural impact was

the creating of an English-Protestant province (Upper Canada) and a French-Catholic province

(Lower Canada) each with their own separate governing bodies. This created an us/them

dynamic with strict boundaries. The division of the province of Québec and the institution of two

governing bodies did nothing to lessen the fissure between the French and the English. Not only

were there two provinces in the same colony operating side by side under vastly different social,

economic and political systems, but there was even disparity within the provinces themselves. In

Lower Canada (Québec) in particular, the government's Executive branch became known as the

Château Clique, a small group of upper-class families who controlled not only the government

but also a great deal of the mercantile industry in the province. These families were primarily English even though the majority of the population of the province was French.

The lack of accountability of the conservative governing bodies to the people combined with the tensions between the French and English populations led to the Rebellions of 1837-38 in both Upper and Lower Canada. On November 1st, Seigneur Louis Joseph Papineau led the French-Canadian nationalist group known as the Patriotes into a bloody battle in the streets of Montréal with British troops and English volunteers. The rebellion was not only fought in Montréal, but also along the banks of the Richelieu in smaller towns and communities, with British troops coming in from nearby Ontario, further emphasizing the geographic and cultural division between French and English Canada. The Patriotes were swiftly defeated, which led to widespread looting and burning of French-Canadian settlements. Over three hundred people died during the rebellion, almost all of them French.

Although the Rebellions of 1837-38 seemed on the surface to have been failures (the rebel group in Toronto had no more success), they unsettled the British government and prompted the commission of the 1839 Report on the Affairs of British North America written by Lord Durham, who called for two things: responsible government and the union of Upper and Lower Canada. In his report, Lord Durham wrote:

> I expected to find a conflict between the government and the people: instead, I found two warring nations within a single State; I found a struggle, not of principles, but of races. And I realized that it would be pointless to try to improve the laws or institutions without succeeding in extinguishing the mortal hatred which now divides the inhabitants of Lower Canada into two hostile groups: French and English.[11]

Durham believed that the union of Upper and Lower Canada would solve the problem, as the English would become a majority ruling party and the French, a clear minority, would then

---

[11] Earl of Durham, *The Report on the Affairs of British North America* (London: G.H. Davidson, 1839), 7.

assimilate and *become* English. He believed that "[t]here can hardly be conceived a nationality more destitute of all that can invigorate and elevate a people, than that which is exhibited by the descendants of the French in Lower Canada, owing to their retaining their peculiar language and manners. They are a people with no history, and no literature."[12] This cultural hierarchy and Durham's report justified the English domination of the French culture by establishing that the French were an ahistorical, backwards, and savage people.

Durham's report led to the Act of Union of 1840, which once again united Upper and Lower Canada, placing French and English in direct cultural and linguistic conflict with one another. The Act of Union not only solidified the political structure, but also the cultural hierarchy. It determined that all government documents and proceedings would be written and performed in English. If the French wanted to understand the decisions being made or wanted to participate in the government system at all, they had to learn – or, in essence, become - English. This is precisely what Lord Durham had proposed: assimilation. The Durham Report also led to Francois-Xavier Garneau's 1845 book called *Histoire du Canada*, which was a direct response to the colonial gaze, and sparked the resurgence of an intellectual and creative wave amongst the French-Canadian population, which laid the groundwork for many of the playwrights that are included in this study.

By the mid-nineteenth century expansion of the colonies required a change in structure and prompted the British North America Act of 1867. This Act was designed to unite the provinces of Canada (Upper and Lower), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick into a single Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom. What began as Nouvelle France in the sixteenth century (Cartier first landed in Québec in 1534) had metamorphosed into the two

---

[12] Ibid., 126-127.

independent provinces of Ontario and Québec as we know them today. They were given separate

provincial government systems but were also subject to the rule of a central Canadian

government controlled by the British Parliament. By the early 20th century, the focus of this

study, these two communities – French and English Canada – were co-existing both within the

boundaries of Québec and across Canada. As seen in Chapter 2, French Canada was developing

its own identity and had its own desires and goals. But the influence and dominance of English

Canada and the Anglophone Other was still evident, still affecting the everyday lives of French

Canadians.

4.3 Plays and Playwrights Representing the Anglophone Other

The initial impulse for this research was a desire to find French- and English Canadian

plays that had been translated by the other in the early 20th century, as my interest was in the

interplay between the two cultures on stage. However, after extensive searching in the archives,

it was determined that this type of work was rare – and would be very difficult to find, if it could

be found at all. Translation, however, is not the only means through which one culture can

represent or embody a cultural Other. Duval states, "Comme au XIXe siècle, les auteurs

s'attaquent à l'Anglomanie…! Pour se grandir, il fallait adopter les coutumes, la culture, et la

langue anglaise. On devait se réunir dans les salons et prendre le thé à l'anglaise. Pour réussir en

affaires, on devait pouvoir placer un mot en anglais ici et là. Pour bien paraître, on devait

s'habiller à l'anglaise".[13] Much like the 19th century cultural *rapprochement* with Irish

Canadians, 20th century French-Canadian playwrights explored their curiosity with Anglophone

---

[13] Etienne-F. Duval, *Le jeu de l'histoire et de la société dans le théâtre Québécois 1900-1950* (Trois-Rivières: Collection Théâtre d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, 1983), XX.

culture on stage through cultural representation.[14] I, therefore, turned my attention to finding

French-Canadian plays that included cultural representation of the Anglophone Other in

language, character, and theme. In this section, we will begin investigating the plays created

between 1910 and 1929 that contain Anglophone cultural representation. First, we will discuss

the methods used to identify those plays, and then we will turn to the plays and playwrights

themselves.

4.3.1 Identifying Anglophone Cultural Representation: Establishing Criteria and Discovering Texts

In order to discuss the plays that include Anglophone cultural representation, I first

needed to identify those plays. To do so, I developed a set of criteria based on linguistic,

dramaturgical, and thematic analyses of the plays to determine whether or not they included

Anglophone cultural representation. The first step was to analyse the language used in the play to

determine if any English words and/or phrases appeared, *à l'anglaise* as Duval explains. Using

the NVivo software mentioned in the previous chapter, I ran word analyses on the plays to make

an initial assessment as to the inclusion of English. This search was made up of the following

common English-usage words:

The	Know	For	Would	Where
That	What	From	Should	Why
There	Be	And	Must	How
Their	Able	Not	You	Who
They	Have	With	Will	Are
But				

Table 4.1 Common English words used for queries in play texts

---

[14] For more information on the Irish- and French-Canadian rapprochement, see Jean-Marc Leduc's 2014 master's thesis titled *La figure de l'Irlandais au Québec: perspectives historiques et littéraires (1815-1922)* (Concordia University) and Mary Haslam's article "Ireland and Quebec Rapprochement and Ambiguity," which appeared in the Canadian Journal of Irish Studies (Vol.33, No.1, Spring 2007).

The search was run in such a way as to only show these *exact* words, rather than words that contained the same letters. For example, 'Théâtre' begins with the same letters as the word 'The', but it would not appear in the search results. I then focused on reading the plays again starting with those that turned up with significant numbers of English words, though I did read through all of the plays to ensure that no English-language usage was missed, and to ensure that no mistakes were made by the software. While OCR is an effective tool, the quality of the scripts due to age and ink colours used in reproduction did not always provide optimal conditions for the software to properly recognize all words and word patterns. Similarly, the computer cannot differentiate between play texts and library, archive, or publisher notes. It was critical to go through each play to ensure that English-language notes or reference documentation was not inadvertently categorized as being considered English-language usage by the playwright.

Following the search and the reading of the plays, I set minimum language requirements to constitute Anglophone *cultural* representation by the playwright. The use of a single English word did not qualify. Using Henri Lefebvre's notion of *rhythm*[15], I looked for patterns of English-language usage that would constitute the inclusion of another culture. Dialogue using full English sentences, dialogue using a mix of French and English in the same thought to convey an idea, and the regular usage of English words and phrases within French dialogue were the three qualifiers that I looked for in the texts. The plays needed to include at least one of those three in order to say that Anglophone cultural representation was present in terms of language usage in the play.

The second element that I investigated to determine Anglophone cultural representation was whether or not a play included Anglophone characters. We will discuss later the figurative

---

[15] Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life,* trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (New York: Continuum, 2004).

representation of Anglophone characters in some of the plays, but for the purposes of determining Anglophone inclusion, I was simply looking at *if* they were used, not *how*. The embodiment of Anglophones on stage constituted Anglophone cultural representation.

The final element that I looked at when assessing Anglophone representation was the inclusion of the *relationship* or the *impact* of the relationship between French Canadians and Anglophones, which encompasses English Canadians and British English, through French-Canadian cultural memory. I specifically looked for discussions of the English and Anglophone culture that included cultural conflict between French and English Canadians, as well as narrative and/or dramatic elements where the Anglophone Other or the presence of the Anglophone Other's power and dominant narrative influenced the plot, life circumstances, or wants and needs of characters. In other words, I looked for dramaturgical moments where the Anglophone presence *affected* the story even without the physical representation of an Anglophone character. This invisible presence or force relates to Borie and Carlson's notions of ghosting, and it is what Andrew Sofer calls, dark matter, which "comprises *whatever is materially unrepresented onstage but is un-ignorable"*.[16] To this effect, the Anglophone presence has an effect, much as in real life, on the characters of the play; the cultural representation, therefore, takes up time and space in the play.

The first step in making this assessment was to look for references to English Canada and England as the governmental head of the dominion of Canada both in the early 20th century and now, as well as significant English leaders who were involved in cultural conflicts with French Canadians, such as English monarchs, and the military leaders involved in the Battle of the

---

[16] Andrew Sofer, *Dark Matter: Invisibility in Drama, Theater, and Performance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 4.

Plains of Abraham and the Rebellions of 1837-38. Again, using NVivo, I ran a word query

looking for the following terms:

English	Britain	George(s)
Anglais(e)	"grande Bretagne"	Victoria
Anglophone(s)	Empire	Edward
Canadian	Imperial	Wolfe[17]
England	Impériale	Durham
Angeleterre	"Great Britain"	

Table 4.2 Terms used for queries relating to Anglophone cultural representation – people and events

Once again, I returned to the play texts to confirm the computer analyses and to look for any

additional references to cultural conflicts between the French and English, as well as any

references that may have been missed. In particular, I looked for references to the Conquest of

1760, references to domination by the English in New France or Québec, and conflicts around

First World War.

Play Title	English Language	Anglo Characters	Themes
60 Minutes Ambassadeur au Japon	X		
Ames Françaises		X	X
Amour, Guerre et Patrie	X		X
Contre le Flot	X	X	X
L'espionne boche		X	X
La Vieillée de Noël	X	X	X
Laurier	X	X	X
Acréyé ou Le sacre de Georges V	X	X	X
Montcalm et Lévis			X
Petit maître de l'école	X	X	X
Petit-Baptiste		X	X
Peuple Sans Histoire	X	X	X
Un Gendre Enragé	X	X	
Percentage of plays with element	**69%**	**77%**	**85%**

Table 4.3 Summary of Anglophone cultural representation types by play

---

[17] Only Wolfe was used for the purposes of the queries as the goal was to find Anglophone cultural representations. As Wolfe was the English general during the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, using his name would capture both a representation of his person and also the inclusion or reference to the battle.

As you can see from the chart above, I discovered thirteen of 117 plays (or 11%) French-Canadian plays that included Anglophone cultural representation. The vast majority of the plays include themes of French-Canadian cultural memory that demonstrate the relationship between English and French Canadians, or the influence and power of English Canada, in particular the Anglophone government in Ottawa and the connection and loyalty (or lack thereof) to the British throne. Anglophone characters are included in 77% of the plays, however, English is only included in 69% of them.

It is important to note that three other plays, *Evangeline, Lawrence,* and *Pardon d'une race*, also included Anglophone representation but will not be discussed as part of this corpus. Those three plays are specifically *Acadian* narratives, and even in the early 20th century Acadia had a unique and distinct cultural identity from French Canada; their relationship with the English and English Canadians was also very fraught, but it was different, as noted in Chapter 1. Those plays, therefore, deserve to be regarded in a separate study. Three additional plays had minor references to Anglophone culture, including the use of some English words or mention of an English king, but as these elements did not affect the story or present Anglophone culture uniquely and separately from French-Canadian culture, they were not included. Finally, one translation of an English play into French, *East Lynne*, was not included. J. Eugène Corriveau translated and adapted the novel for the stage, maintaining the English characters and setting (in England); thus, it could be argued that there is significant Anglophone cultural representation included in the play. However, as the play was initially written as a novel by Anglophone Ellen Wood in 1861, and it is a translation rather than an original work by a French-Canadian playwright and it would also fall under translation studies and require a different set of questions be asked of it, thus it is not included in this study.

4.3.2 Trends, Plays, and Playwrights

4.3.2.1 Overall Trends in Plays with Anglophone Cultural Representation

In looking at the timeline of when the plays with Anglophone cultural representation were written, the majority (62%) of the plays were written post-World War I. Nearly one third (31%) were written during the war, and only one only play (7%) was written prior to the war. Of the overall plays found to have been written between 1910 and 1929, these plays make up 3% of pre-war plays, 8% of wartime plays, and 4% of post-war plays. The increase in the percentage of plays with Anglophone cultural representation during the war is significant, as the total number of plays discovered from wartime accounted for the lowest number of plays overall from these two decades at only 16%. We will discuss shortly the topical trends that exist and what may have contributed to this increase.

Of these thirteen plays with Anglophone cultural presentation, four (31%) are comedic plays. Two of these plays are farcical and satirical plays, including *Acréyé ou le "sacre" de George V* (1911) by P.H. Bey and Jean Pick which ridicules the King of England. The other two plays are situational comedies, as we will see shortly in their plot summaries, however one, *Le Petit-Baptiste* (1927) by Auguste Henri de Tremaudan, also incorporates elements of comedy of manners as well. All the comedic styles used by these French-Canadian playwrights were well established in the French theatrical traditions.[18] What is interesting is that these comedic plays were written only at the very beginning (1911) and very end (1927 and 1928) of the 20-year period under investigation. The remaining nine plays (69%) are serious plays made up of three

---

[18] Henri Bergson, *Le rire: Essai sur la signification du comique* (Paris: Editions Alcan, 1924).

genres: drama (67%), melodrama (11%), and historical (22%). The serious genre plays were all written between 1916 and 1926; thus, there is no overlap between serious and comedic genres of the plays that contain Anglophone cultural representation. This mirrors the trend in genres of all plays found to have been written during these two decades, with a dip in comedic works being written during World War I. However, this does not quite account for the complete lack in overlap seen in this specific subset of plays.

In terms of thematic content, 85% of the plays contain themes of politics and government and 77% contain themes of national identity.[19] Themes of collective memory and history are included in 62% of the plays, and cultural conflict is included in 46% of the plays. Finally, the theme of race and racism is included in 38% of the plays with Anglophone cultural representation, which is significantly higher than the percentage (9%) found in the full corpus of 117 plays read for this study.

The thematic crossover in this subset of plays is also very revealing, as seen in the figure below. There is a clear link between collective memory and history and politics and government, as well as between race and racism[20], politics and government, and national identity. Cultural conflict, too, is strongly linked to politics and government and collective memory and history.

	Pol/Gov	Nat Id	Coll Mem	Race	Conf
Politics & Government		73%	73%	45%	45%
National Identity	80%		50%	50%	40%
Collective Memory & History	100%	63%		38%	50%
Race & Racism	100%	100%	60%		40%
Cultural Conflict	83%	67%	83%	33%	

Figure 4.1 Thematic crossover by percentage in plays with Anglophone cultural representation

---

[19] Refer to Chapter 3 pp. 34-36 to find the descriptions of each theme as it is being used in this study.
[20] The full use and conceptualization of race and racism in the context of this study and the early 20th century can be found in Chapter 3, pp.108-111.

The plays that were being created between 1910 and 1929 are representative of their

sociopolitical moment; as we will see, they were often related to or were heavily influenced by

current issues and ideas. Race and collective memory and history were being *regulated* through

policies such as Regulation XVII in Ontario and the Thornton Act in Manitoba. Those laws

sought cultural and linguistic assimilation and were a direct result of the Durham Report from

1840. As seen in Chapters 2 and 3, there is also a history of English Canadians limiting the

access of French Canadians to their own governing bodies, to determining their own policies and

futures. The institution of conscription in 1917 brought with it a renewed sense of a loss of

control and autonomy. The relationship between race and national identity reflects the nationalist

movements that were taking place at the time these plays were being written. In particular,

Groulx's *L'appel de la race* linked the notion of nationhood and the French-Canadian nation to

the idea of a French-Canadian race. The goal of much of French-Canadian literature at this time

was to re-establish the dignity and fortitude of the French-Canadian race, which, as discussed in

Chapter 3, we would today call the French-Canadian nation.

4.3.2.2 The Plays and Playwrights

We will now turn our attention to the content of the plays and their authors. In particular,

we will investigate the ways in which Anglophone culture and the impact of the Anglophone

Other on French-Canadian lives is represented or mediated through collective memory of

moments of conflict and engagement, and the positionality of the playwrights. Through my

dramaturgical analysis of the thirteen plays, I discovered four main categories of plays with

Anglophone cultural representation: World War I plays, dramas revolving around recent or

contemporary political events (non-war related), familial dramas, and historical dramas. The comedies will be discussed separately, as they do not have a thematic through line.

There are three World War I plays which share narratives of heroic self-sacrifice and hometown love: *Âmes françaises* (1916) by Aimé Plamondon, *l'Espionne boche* (1916) by J. Henri Lemay, and *Amour, Guerre, et Patrie* (1919) by Horace J. Kearney. *Âmes françaises* is a heroic multi-scene drama centred on the courage and sacrifice of a young Québécois lawyer named Jacques Vaudreuil. Jacques chooses to voluntarily enlist in the army as he believes it is his duty to fight alongside his brothers, the French. Over the course of the scenes, he leaves his family, enlists in the army, is sent to Europe to fight, engages in combat, and, in the end, he is fatally shot. This play includes Anglophone characters, though they are not given specific names, and there is also a song about the English, which will be discussed shortly. Aimé Plamondon (1892-1972) studied law at Université de Laval à Québec and became a government official as a solicitor with the Ministry of Lands and Forests in 1916, where he worked until his retirement.[21] Plamondon was also given the title of Chevalier and was a long-serving member of the Knights of Columbus.[22]

L'Espionne boche is a full-length multi-act military drama about a young lawyer in Sherbrooke named Paul de Chantilly who, in spite of the objections of his fiancée and mother, enlists in the army to fight for his homeland. German spies, who are already in Canada meddling in the life of Paul and his bethrothed, Marcelle, also enlist and follow him to Europe. While in England, Paul is entrusted with important documents, which the German spies steal. Paul is arrested and is nearly shot for treason, but P'tit Louis, Paul's attendant, figures out what

---

[21] Denis Saint-Jacques et Lucie Robert, eds., *La vie littéraire au Québec VI 1919-1933* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2010), 134.

[22] Georges Bellerive, *Nos auteurs dramatiques: Anciens et Contemporains – Répertoire analytique* (Montréal: Libraries Beauchemin Ltée, 1933), 57.

happened and saves him – but the Germans escape. Paul and P'tit Louis are later captured by the Germans and interrogated. Even under the threat of death to himself or his bride-to-be, Paul gives up nothing. In the end, Paul is saved by Canadian troops under both English and French command and he is awarded the Bravery Cross by the French General Joffre. *L'espionne boche* includes Anglophone characters but no English language words or phrases. J. Henri Lemay (1885-1947) attended l'Université de Laval à Montréal to study law and became the district judge for Saint-François and Bedford in 1922, where he worked until his retirement in 1947. Prior to becoming a judge, he worked as a journalist at *La Tribune* in Sherbrooke for five years. He also served as an officer in the 54th Sherbrooke Batallion during the First World War. Lemay was a long-time member and president of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Sherbrooke and in 1952 the organization created the Juge Lemay Prix Littéraire in his honour.[23]

Amour, Guerre, et Patrie is a full-length multi-act melodrama focused on the love story between Louis and Jeanne. After returning from four years at school in Montréal, the childhood friends quickly fall in love with one another. But, as war breaks out, Louis enlists in the army and they are separated once more. After four years apart, Jeanne decides to become an army nurse and join her love in Europe. She arrives in Europe to find Louis in a private hospital, injured and being taken care of by Madame de Larosière, who is madly in love with him. But nothing will break the bond of these hometown sweethearts. The two return to home and decide to marry. This play does not include any Anglophone characters, but it does include some English words integrated into the French dialect used in the play. Horace J. Kearney (1858-1940) initially followed in his father's footsteps as an employee of the Grand Trunk railway by taking on the role of station master in Papineauville for nearly twenty years. Following that, he became

---

[23] Assemblée Nationale du Québec, "Joseph-Henri LEMAY", assnat.qc.ca, http://www.assnat.qc.ca/en/deputes/lemay-joseph-henri-4149/biographie.html (2009).

an assistant chief clerk for the District of Hull. Kearney also founded the Cercle dramatique de Papineauville.[24]

These three plays dealing with World War I are all focused on the courage, sacrifice and heroism of the French-Canadian soldier, rather than the *Canadian* soldier. Although, as discussed earlier in Chapter 2, there was significantly lower percentage of French Canadians than English Canadians that enlisted to fight in the war, all three of these plays have lead characters that volunteer to serve. Two of the plays, *L'espionne boche* and *Âmes françaises*, were written in 1916, prior to the conscription crisis and the institution of mandatory enlistment which came in 1917. These plays could be seen as propaganda to encourage French Canadians to enlist. Alternatively, as there was a concern by 1916 of conscription being implemented, these plays could be seen as a desire for French Canadians to take their fates into their own hands and *choose* to enlist rather than be forced. In either case, these plays, as well as *Amour, Guerre et Patrie* follow the trends of the nationalist ideologies of the time, as the theme of yearning for a distinctly French-Canadian identity to be recognized by Canada and the world is present in all three. In terms of Anglophone cultural representation, though these plays do not have a great number of Anglophone characters or English-language words, they do have significant themes connecting to the relationship with English Canada. When England declared war, Canada, too, was then at war – and the army was meant to support and serve the *English*, not the French. Thus, the French Canadians are at war *because of* the relationship and power of English Canada and England as the head of state. This explains the reluctance or at least ambivalence towards being drafted, as the French Canadians would be fighting their conqueror's war.

---

[24] Reginald Hamel, John Hare, and Paul Wyczynski, "KEARNEY, Horace J. (1858-1940)," in *Dictionnaire des auteurs de langue française en Amérique du nord* (Québec: Editions Fides, 1989), 721.

In all three plays there are discussions about loyalties and for whom the French

Canadians are fighting. In both *Amour, Guerre et Patrie* and *Âmes françaises* the hero characters

specifically state that they are fighting for their homeland, France, *not* Canada. In a song titled

"L'anglais" in *Âmes françaises*, the English are identified as the ultimate cause of war:

> Sitôt que la guerre éclata,
> Que l'affreux rideau se leva,
> Les yeux regardèrent là-bas
> Vers l'Angleterre[25]

At the end of the song, there is also a separation made between French and English:

> Et quand refleurira la Paix,
> Le lion Anglais, l'aigle Français
> Se partageront à jamais
> La même Gloire![26]

Anglophones are presented as the aggressors, the attackers, and the reason that they are being

pulled into war. In *Amour, Guerre et Patrie*, they are also being portrayed as self-serving

villains, as Louis exclaims to Jeanne that England allowed France to be humiliated by the

Prussians in 1870 and the French Canadians have not forgotten that, but that now England

supports them, the French and those of French heritage (including French Canadians)

"spontanement aujourd'hui, est-ce par intérêt, l'histoire le dira".[27] The relationship between

France and England and the collective memory of the trauma of 1870 continues to exist in

French-Canadian descendants and influences the way the characters in the play view and discuss

the English. In this way, the play acts as what Bouchard calls a *mythe dépresseur*, as discussed in

Chapter 1. These plays also emphasize the distinction and separation between the two cultural

---

[25] Aimé Plamondon, *Âmes Françaises: Épisode héroique en trois tableaux* (Québec: Imp. L'Action Sociale Ltée., 1916), 53.
[26] Ibid., 55.
[27] Horace J. Kearney, *Amour, Guerre et Patrie ou Pierrot Picotte s'Enrole* (Hull: Imprimerie Provost, 1925), 21.

communities, and that French Canadians are not fighting for English Canada, the English, or the English King; they are fighting for France. This attitude is reflected in the sociopolitical relationship closer to home as well, and the feeling that French Canada is at war with English Canada due to the institution of Regulation XVII and the Thornton Act and the aim of English Canada to eliminate the French language and culture from Ontario. As both Plamondon and Kearney worked as government officials in close proximity to the border with Ontario, they were both likely influenced by the cultural politics that were going on in the neighbouring province.

In *L'espionne boche* the theme of French-English relations in Canada is prominent, and somewhat more nuanced. While Paul is being interrogated by Buelow, the German spy, he is asked why the French Canadians are fighting for the English and whether or not they are free:

BUELOW (*Ironique)*

Je suppose pas que le Canadien oublie si vite le sang des siens répandu par les Anglais. Avant de venir combattre ici, à côté de ceux-ci, vous avez sans doute pris la précaution d'arracher de votre cœur le souvenir du massacre des Acadiens, d'enlever de votre pensée l'image des patriotes de 1837, d'effacer de votre mémoire le souvenir du gibet où Riel et tant d'autres expièrent la faute d'avoir trop aimé leur pays.

PAUL

Monsieur, les Anglais ont commis des infamies, c'est vrai; mais ce n'est pas moi qui empêcherai leurs descendants, plus justes et plus avisés, de cacher ces fautes sous le voile de l'oubli et d'un passé qu'ils essaient de réparer.

…

> Si nous combattons avec les Anglais, c'est parce que nous ne
> voulons pas avoir le soleil de France, s'abaisser comme un astre usé
> sur l'horizon du monde. Que deviendrait l'univers, que
> deviendrions-nous, nous, Canadiens-français qui ne vivons pour
> ainsi dire que de sa lumière et de sa chaleur?[28]

Paul's character implies a difference in the English Canadians that are governing and living in Canada in the early 20th century and their English ancestors who subjugated the French Canadians. He offers hope of a unified Canada. And yet, even for Paul the reason he is fighting is not for King and country (Canada), but rather to save or ensure the survival of France. It is possible that this is because Lemay himself was fighting in the war alongside English Canadians that he saw the value in fighting together and the possibility of a more unified Canada. But even for Lemay, it was necessary to send a clear message that French Canada's origins, its identity, and its culture were distinct from English Canada. General Dunbar of the English army at the end of the play recognizes the bravery and the contribution of the French-Canadian battallion as distinct from Canadians in general. The desire for this type of recognition of Self and the contributions made by the French Canadians not only in the war, but also in the formation of the country, was part of the nationalist movement at the time that this play was written.

In the corpus, I discovered two plays focussing on recent (late 19th century) or contemporary (early 20th century) non-war political events: *Le petit maître d'école* (1916) and *Laurier* (1921), both written by Joseph Armand Leclaire. Originally written and produced under the title *La petite maîtresse d'école* in 1916, Leclaire's full-length drama was subsequently published in 1929 under the masculinized title *Le petit maître d'école*, the title that it is known by today. A review published in <u>Le Droit</u> on June 7, 1916 offers a detailed summary of the plot of the original play, which I could not find. *La petite maîtresse d'école* is set in a small

---

[28] J. Henri Lemay, *L'espionne Boche* (Sherbrooke: La Tribune de Sherbrooke, 1916), 75-76.

(unnamed) village in Ontario where Jeanine Bernier, a schoolmistress, is confronted by school inspector Bostock who declares that she must cease teaching in French because of the newly enacted Regulation XVII. As the play progresses, Jeanine is forced to choose between her culture and language and her desire to follow the letter of the law. In the end, she chooses to defy the government and continue teaching with the support of her father, her admirer, and her students. At the very end of the play, the characters come together to declare to Bostock once and for all that they are French Canadian, and no one, not even the government, would take away their culture; they would continue to speak French.[29] The play was then published thirteen years later in 1929 as *Le petit maître d'école* by Éditions Édouard Garand in Montréal. The revised version of the play has some changes to the plot, but the most important change is that the schoolmistress was transformed into a schoolmaster named Fernand. The original schoolmistress was based on the Desloges sisters who defied Regulation XVII and continued to teach in French. All of the French-Canadian characters in this play speak only in French, whereas Bostock, the Anglophone inspector speaks a bastardized hybridization of French and English, much like an ineffective and unsuccessful form of Franglais or code-switching.

Laurier, written in 1921, is a full-length historical drama based on Wilfrid Laurier's journey to become prime minister of Canada and his goal to unite the two languages and cultures (French and English) that exist within the country. Edouard Rinfret aptly summarizes the plot of *Laurier,* writing:

---

[29] "A LA SALLE STE ANNE," *Le Droit*, June 7, 1916, 2.

Un Canadien français poursuit un grand idéal: unir un pays partagé en deux clans, pour deux langues. Il devient ministre pour le 'libéral'; malheureusement, il est sans cesse abaissé par ses compatriotes anglais. Mais il continue son œuvre. Si bien qu'au jour de son élection comme premier ministre du Canada, un homme lui lance une pierre; frappe son meilleur ami. C'est pour lui une perte très dure, mais, à la suite de sa miséricorde, pour le criminel, sa popularité grandit. A sa mort, les gens ont senti qu'ils perdaient le plus grand des Canadiens français. [30]

In essence, it is the story of a heroic French Canadian who overcame the animosity of English government officials and a deep personal loss to unite a divided country. But there is a suggestion, moreso by Rinfret in his description than Leclaire in his play, that Laurier's popularity was not only due to his political prowess but was also in part won out of pity. There are English characters and English language words used in the play, which are used to demonstrate support for Laurier on both sides of the linguistic and cultural aisle.

Joseph Armand Leclaire (1888-1931) was the only playwright that included Anglophone cultural representation to have attended school for theatre. He studied theatre at Conservatoire Lasalle, followed by the Collège de Montréal. He married Rose-Alma Ouellette, the sister of Bella Ouellette, the famous Québécoise actress married to Fred Barry, notable Québécois actor and producer.[31] Leclaire worked as a journalist and a customs officer, but also worked as an actor, director, and playwright. He won first prize for elocution and second prize for drama from the Conservatoire Lassalle (years unknown).[32]

---

[30] Edouard G. Rinfret, *Le théâtre canadien d'expression française tome 2 f,g,h,I,j,k,l* (Ottawa: Editions Leméac, 1976), 328.

[31] Ancestry.com. *Québec, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1967*[database on-line]. (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2008),
Original data: Gabriel Drouin, comp. *Drouin Collection*. Montréal, Québec, Canada: Institut Généalogique Drouin. Accessed through ancestry.ca.

[32] For more detailed information about Joseph Armand Leclaire, see Chapter 3 of my MFA thesis "We Are French. Et Anglais Nous Restons. Rethinking translation and adaptation for the stage as a tool for affecting bicultural and bilingual identity through an analysis and the practice of translating and adapting Armand Leclaire's 1916 play Le petit maître d'école" (University of Massachuestts Amherst, 2014), which was also translated into French by the Société de généalogie du Québec in August 2015
at https://www.sgq.qc.ca/images/_SGQ/R_LAncetre_plus_libre/TRAD-RLeclerc-ArmandLeclerc-biographie.pdf.

Both *Le petit maître d'école* and *Laurier* are focused heavily on the relationship between French and English Canadians, specifically the questions of unification and the national identity. *Le petit maître d'école* was written shortly after the Battle of the Hatpins took place in Ottawa; the plot also includes a student uprising, mirroring the real events from January and February 1916. *Laurier* was written ten years after Borden defeated Laurier in the 1911 election to become prime minister of Canada. It was Borden who implemented the divisive conscription policy, and similarly Conservative Party governments in Ontario that passed Regulation XVII and in Manitoba that passed the Thornton Act, prohibiting instruction in schools in French. In both plays, both the English and French-Canadian characters support the unification of Canada. Both plays, however, also denote the desire for English Canadians to reduce or remove the French-Canadian language and culture from Canadian history and identity, whereas the French Canadians believe that it is possible for both identities to exist in simultaneously within the construct of Canada. While *Le petit maître d'école* is clearly written in response to – or to document in a dramatic form – the events that took place in Ontario, *Laurier* is centred on collective memory, written almost as a reminder of what was and what is possible. It reads almost as a eulogy to Laurier two years after his death – and ten years after his defeat by Borden. The Anglophone culture in both of these plays is represented as an ignorant force that is impeding the French-Canadian people and the French-Canadian culture from taking its rightful place in Canadian history and identity.

Two familial dramas were found to have Anglophone representation: *Contre le flot* (1922) by Magali Michelet, the only play with Anglophone presentation written by a woman, and *Veillée de Noël* (1926) by Camille Duguay. *Contre le flot* was written by Magali (Marie Louise) Michelet in 1921 and was the first prize winner of the Concours de l'Action française,

148

which had the theme of "anglomanie" that year.[33] The story begins in Montréal (Westmount specifically) and then moves out West along with the characters. The full-length multi-act drama follows two young French Canadians as they attempt to succeed in life and find love and examines the characters' varying positions on staying true to their French-Canadian roots and their role in ensuring the survival of the French language. In particular, on the occasion of Corrine's 22nd birthday, she is looking to get engaged. She has several French-Canadian suitors, but she wants to marry the Anglophone Eric Davidson. Her mother supports the union as an ambitious decision that would allow for economic success. However, her father is firmly against this, stating "tu n'épouseras pas cet Anglais… Je veux pas de petits-enfants protestants… je ne veux pas de petits-enfants qui ne parleraient pas ma langue…"[34] In the end, after quickly becoming a widow as Davidson dies young, Corrine comes around and asks André to marry her, but the damage has already been done and he refuses. In contrast with Corrine, Marie-Blanche, a teacher, fervently believes in the preservation of the French-Canadian language and culture and is praised by André and other French-Canadian characters for her loyalty to her ancestry. Although Anglophone characters exist in this dramatic universe, they mainly speak in French, although they occasionally use English or Franglais. The French characters utilise (or employ) English words at times in their dialogue. Magali Michelet was born and raised in France, and is the only playwright included in this study who did not remain in Canada for most of her life. She moved to Alberta with her family in 1905, where she stayed until 1921. While in Canada, she became a passionate supporter of the French-Canadian cause and was enamoured with Québec

---

[33] Five plays were submitted to the competition that year. The judging panel comprised of: M. l'abbé Olivier Maurault, MM. Édouard Montpetit, Fernand Rinfret, and Léon Lorrain. Michelet won first prize, no second-place prize was awarded, and Mme. Eva Circé-Côté was awarded third prize for her play *L'Anglomanie*. After a great deal of searching, it appears that the text for Circé-Côté's play has not survived. ("Notre Concours Dramatique", *L'Action française* (November 1921), 686.)

[34] Magali Michelet, *Contre le flot* (Montréal: Librarie d'Action Canadienne-française, 1922), 30.

and French-Canadian culture. She developed her writing in Canada and won the Alliance

artistique competition in 1918 and the Action française competition in 1921. Upon returning to

France, she was involved in overseeing the production of olive oil with her sister.[35]

Veillée de Noël, a full-length multi-act drama, was written by Camille Duguay in 1926.

As the title indicates, the play takes place on Christmas Eve. Marie wants her daughter, Marthe,

to marry Henry Greenwood, an Anglophone from Manchester who developed his business career

in America, in the belief that this marriage will improve her daughter's economic success. Her

father, Jacques, on the other hand, wants her to marry Jean, another farmer from her hometown,

and remain in the country. At the beginning of the play, Marthe sides with her mother. However,

through divine intervention or an illumination that takes place during the midnight mass, Marthe

realizes her true purpose and decides that she must marry Jean and live on her family's land.

This play also includes an Anglophone character and English words. Much like *Le petit maître*

d'école, the Anglophone character in this play uses Franglais, which we will discuss in more

detail in Chapter 5. Camille Duguay (1882-1936) was a journalist and musician. He founded *La*

Voix des Bois-Francs in 1928, and over the course of his career he wrote for *le Canadien, La*

Parole, le Regard, and *La Gazette du Nord*.

> In the avant-propos in the published copy of the play, Duguay writes:
>
> Cependant, comme trop de femmes canadiennes, et d'autres nationalités aussi, elle [Marthe] a voulu évoluer dans le sens moderne, la mode. Il n'a fallu que l'apparition d'un étranger, Henry Greenwood, pour changer sa mentalité et la faire sortir de son véritable rôle… En écrivant cette pièce, nous n'avons eu qu'un but: doter le théâtre canadien d'une œuvre du terroir, morale, éducationnelle, et faire revivre quelques traditions, en rendant un respectueux hommage en passé"[36]

---

[35] Sathya Rao and Denis Lacroix, "Sur la piste de Magali Michelet, femme de lettres et chroniqueuse de l'Ouest canadien" in *Francophonies d'Amérique No 34* (2012): 173-192.
[36] Camille Duguay, *La Veillée de Noël* (Beauceville: L'Eclaireur Limitée, 1926), 5-6.

Both Duguay's play and *Contre le flot* deal with the theme of anglicization as a means of improving one's economic status. This relates to the social conflicts going on in French Canada in the early 20th century, particularly in Québec, in that the English were modernizing and ran most of the large businesses in Montréal, and the French-Canadian population was simply not moving forward towards the modern era at the same pace – and the Catholic church, in fact, opposed modernization altogether. In *La Veillée de Noël*, we see the ideology of the Catholic nationalist movement taking centre stage through the notion of tradition, agricultural professions, and the importance of faith.

Finally, there are two historical dramas: *Montcalm et Lévis* (1918) by Adolphe-Basile Routhier and *Peuple Sans Histoire* (1925) by Frère Marie-Victorin (Conrad Kirouac). *Montcalm et Lévis* is a full-length multi-act historical drama centred on several historical events in the 18th century involving the two historical figures from the play's title, emphasizing the heroics of the French-Canadian military leaders. The play begins in France prior to Montcalm arriving in New France and then focuses on two main military battles – Carillon (1758) and the Plains of Abraham (1759) – and the ousting of Intendant Bigot. The French Canadians succeed in the Battle of Carillon but lose the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, which leads to the Conquest and the cession of New France to England in 1760. Adolphe-Basile Routhier (1839-1920) studied law at l'Université Laval, practiced law in Kamouraska, and later sat on the bench in the upper court of the district of Saguenay and, later, Québec City. He served as president of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste and, notably as a French Canadian, he also served as president of the Royal Society of Canada. Additionally, he was awarded with an honorary doctorate of law. Most well

known as a poet, he wrote the lyrics that were used for the Canadian national anthem, though the piece was originally written as a patriotic song for the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste.[37]

Written by Frère Marie-Victorin (Conrad Kirouac) in 1925, *Peuple sans histoire* is an historical one-act play featuring Lord Durham. The play is a stage adaptation of his 1918 short story published as "Ils sont un people sans histoire!..." in *Récits laurentiens*, and then in *l'Almanach de la langue française* the following year. The story revolves around the writing of the infamous Durham Report in 1838-1839. The play's fantastical (or alternative) version of historical events, which we will discuss in more detail in the next chapter, concludes with Durham *not* submitting his report, but rather developing sympathy for the French Canadians and handing over his manuscript to a servant woman, Thérèse, after she confronts him (having read the report while he was sleeping) and proceeds to teach him some of French Canada's history. The play takes place entirely in French, including Lord Durham's dialogue, with the exception of three words that are both written by a servant and spoken aloud by Durham upon reading them: "Thou liest, Durham!" inscribed over the words "peuple sans histoire" in his report.[38] Born Louis-Joseph-Conrad Kirouac (1885-1944), Frère Marie-Victorin spent his childhood in Saint-Sauveur. He attended l'Académie commerciale de Québec in the late 19th century before entering the noviciate at the Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes au Mont-de-La-Salle in 1900. He obtained his doctorate from l'Université de Montréal and won many prizes for his scientific research in natural history. He taught botany at colleges and universities in and around Montréal and became a permanent professor at l'Université de Montréal in 1920.[39] He was also founder of the Montréal Botanical Garden and co-founder of the Association Canadienne-française pour

---

[37] Hamel, Hare, and Wyczynski, "ROUTHIER, Adlophe-Basile [Jan Piquefort] (1839-1920)," 1178.
[38] Frère Marie-Victorin, *Peuple Sans Histoire* (Montréal: Frères des Ecoles Chretiennes, 1925), 9.
[39] Saint-Jacques and Robert, 125.

l'avancement des sciences, the Société Canadienne d'histoire naturelle, and the Cercles des jeunes naturalistes. He also wrote the seminal text *Flore laurentienne*, which was published in 1935.[40]

Both of these plays focus on real historical events and people, and thematically are centred on deep schisms between French and English Canadians. While *Montcalm et Lévis* focuses on the strength of military leaders in combat, *Peuple sans histoire* showcases the strength of the common man – or woman – in overcoming the Anglophone cultural war. In both cases, French Canadians take risks in order to protect and preserve their culture and heritage. Montcalm risked his life on the battlefield and lost. However, after being fatally injured and realizing they have lost the battle, he exclaims, "surtout, je ne pourrais pas survivre à la douleur de voir les Anglais dans Québec".[41] Montcalm would rather die than see the English take over Québec. In *Peuple sans histoire*, Thérèse takes another sort of risk by stepping out of her place as a servant to protect her identity and her culture, risking condemnation and punishment for her actions. In both cases, the risks were rewarded. Montcalm was remembered as a hero who did all he could to defend French Canada, and Durham gave his damning report to Thérèse rather than the British government.

Both plays engage with collective memory and historical narrative and draw connections to contemporary events and ideas. *Montcalm et Lévis* was written in 1918, close to the end of the First World War and after the Conscription Crisis. The Conquest of Québec and the Conscription Crisis could be seen as mirroring one another and may have been the inspiration for the play. In both cases, the English win and reign over the French Canadians. Similarly, in both cases, many

---

[40] Raymond Duchesne and Tabitha Marshall, "Frère Marie-Victorin," *The Canadian Encyclopedia,* last edited March 4, 2015, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/frere-marie-victorin.
[41] Adolphe-Basile Routhier, *Montcalm et Lévis: Drame historique* (Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionaire, 1918), 119.

French Canadians died because of the actions of the English. *Peuple sans histoire* was adapted in 1925 and very much followed the ideological nationalist movement spearheaded by Groulx. The play was also written two years before the amendment to Regulation XVII in Ontario, thus the English government in Canada was still seen as actively trying to eliminate the French culture and language, following Durham's recommendations in his report.

Along with the serious dramatic plays discussed above, four comedic plays from this period include Anglophone cultural representation: *Acréyé ou le "sacre" de George V* (1911) by P.H. Bey and Jean Pick*, Le Petit-Baptiste* (1927) by Auguste Henri de Tremaudan, *Soixante minutes ambassadeur du Japon* (1928) and *Un gendre enragé* (1927) both by Joseph Désilets. The Bey and Pick's play and de Tremaudan's play include more significant Anglophone representation whereas Désilets' plays only tangentially include Anglophone representation. *Acréyé ou le "sacre" de George V* is a full-length multi-act revue-style play employing song and lyricism in its narrative structure. The play uses the tunes of existing French-Canadian and English songs with altered words, including some English words. This work does not use a linear narrative to tell the story; instead, the acts are thematic: the introduction of the king and the presentation of French-Canadian culture, the voyage on the Niobé to New France, the adventures of Captain Bernier, and, finally, King George V's visit to Montréal. The play was written by P.H. Bey, pseudonym for Pierre-Marcel Bernard, and Jean Pick, pseudonym for Napoléon Lafortune. Bey (1874-1936) was born in France but emigrated to Canada at the age of 17. He worked as a journalist, particularly for *La Nationaliste, La Patrie,* and *La Presse,* before becoming a translator at the federal parliamentary debates. Bernard is also credited in *l'Histoire de l'édition littéraire au Québec au XXième siècle* as the first author of *Théâtre canadien-français*.[42] Lafortune

---

[42] Jacques Michon, *Histoire de l'édition littéraire au Québec au XX^{ième}e siècle* (Québec: Editions Fides, 1999), 51.

(1886-1945) also worked as a journalist at *La Nationaliste* and later became a manager at *Le Devoir*.[43] The play is a nationalist showcase of French-Canadian culture and pride. The character of the George V, who became king in reality in 1910 (a year before this play was created), is represented as ignorant of French-Canadian culture, despite speaking exclusively in French throughout the play.

Petit-Baptiste is a full-length multi-act comedic play based on the historical events leading up to and including the Conquest of Québec in the 18th century. Much like *Montcalm and Lévis,* this play includes characters from history, as well as fictional characters, and follows the Battle of Carillon and the lead-up to the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. Fifteen-year-old Petit-Baptiste risks his life – and disobeys orders – to gain insight into the English troops and provide intel to his superiors in order to gain the upper hand in battle. He then feeds misinformation to the English about the French positions and troops. His bravery and efforts are rewarded, and he is made a captain by Montcalm. The play includes English characters but no English words or phrases. Born Auguste Henri de Tremaudan in 1874 in Chateauguay, this playwright spent a great deal of his life outside of the province of Québec. De Tremaudan worked as a teacher in Saskatchewan at the end of the 19th century and was admitted to the bar in Manitoba in 1913. He worked as a notary and real estate agent, and then continued his work as a real estate broker in California, where he lived until his death in 1929.[44]

Soixante minutes ambassadeur du Japon by Joseph Désilets is a short one-act comedy play that follows the emotional journey of one Maxime Boisvert, mayor of Victoriaville, Québec, as he believes he has been selected by the government in Ottawa to be the next ambassador to Japan. Over the course of the play, he receives warnings and advice from his colleagues and

[43] "Décès du gérant du 'Devoir'", *Le Droit*, January 9 1945, 9.
[44] Saint-Jacques and Robert, 139.

neighbours about going to Japan, but in the end, he receives a second letter from Ottawa explaining that there was all a mistake. The original message was meant to go to Max Greenwood in Victoria, British Columbia, rather than Maxime Boisvert in Victoriaville, Québec. While the play does not contain any English characters or English-language words, it does demonstrate the social and authoritative hierarchies between French and English Canadians as it suggests that an Anglophone would have necessarily been selected for an ambassadorship, whereas a French Canadian would not.

Un gendre enragé, also written by Joseph Désilets, follows Taillefer, a drunk lawyer who seeks care from his doctor for a dog bite. His doctor, Lasagesse, gives him all manner of treatments, which neither help nor are pleasant to endure. Lasagesse then learns that it was not a dog bite, but in fact a scratch from a wire fence as Taillefer tried to kick the dog. He is worried that Taillefer will be vengeful for the suffering the treatments caused, but all is forgiven and Taillefer commits to never drinking again. The play does include an English character, Johnson, who is a reporter from the *New York Times* who is trying to find out more about the Taillefer case. Joseph Désilets (1886-1957) achieved a Bachelor of arts degree from the Séminaire de Nicolet in 1907 and went on to study law at Université de Laval à Québec. He became a notary in Victoriaville and he also worked as a journalist.[45]

The first and perhaps most striking thing to notice when looking at these four plays is the gap in time between them. As mentioned earlier, the comedic plays and the dramatic plays do not overlap temporally at all. In 1911, the English and English Canadian governments were not yet seen as much of a menace to French-Canadian identity and culture. While nationalism was sprouting in Québec, Regulation XVII in Ontario and the Thornton Act in Manitoba had not yet

---

[45] Bellerive, 114.

come to pass, there was no *immediate* threat to French-Canadian culture. In the intervening years, the culture and language wars in Canada as well as World War I directly impacted the lives – and thoughts – of French Canadians. It was not as easy to laugh at the English when they were enacting harmful legislation that endangered French-Canadian identity and independence. By 1927, that threat had once again somewhat abated; the war was over, and Regulation XVII had been amended to allow for bilingual schools. So, it was possible to ridicule the English once more. All four of these plays do just that: mock the English and highlight their incompetence and/or ignorance. It is for that reason that these plays are being included in this study. As we will see in Chapter 5 when we discuss Anglophone cultural representation in character and language, as well as *re*presenting of Anglophone culture or the rewriting of cultural identity through dramaturgical strategies that seek to undermine the dominant narrative.

All of these plays engage in the creation of cultural contact zones, cultural engagement, and cultural representation. They all weave together cultural memory, addressing historical events from the recent or distant past. The playwrights engaged in a complex layering of history; they were not only in the process of making history by addressing current issues and/or events that had only recently occurred, but they also incorporated or recalled events and people from decades or centuries earlier. Their inclusion of Anglophone representation mediated by cultural conflict and collective memory demonstrates the significance of the impact the ongoing French-English conflict in Canada had on the French-Canadian people in the early 20th century. Over 40% of the playwrights lived and worked in towns and cities outside of Montréal and Québec City, including Sherbrooke, Victoriaville, Yamaska, Hull, Papineauville, and Kamouraska, proving that the issues and the effects of Anglophone cultural and English power were not limited to the major cities: they affected everyone. Three of the playwrights (25%) were also

writing from outside of the province of Québec in Alberta, Saskatchewan and later California, and Ottawa, which supports the idea that Anglophone power affected French Canadians beyond the borders of Québec. At least 58% of the playwrights achieved higher education degrees, meaning they were well educated and often affluent. Not all of the playwrights' educational backgrounds are available, so it is possible that an even greater percentage attended university or other post-secondary educational institutions. The positionality of the playwrights and their inspiration for writing these plays was likely not only impacted by their cultural surroundings, but also their workplaces and careers. Two thirds (67%) of the playwrights worked for the government as lawyers/solicitors, judges, officials, notaries, clerks, and translators. They would not only have seen the impacts of legislation created by English in the contemporary moment on the French-Canadian people, but they also would have seen and experienced the lasting effects of past laws and regulations that limited access of French Canadians to their own governing bodies; in other words, the historical impact and collective memory of English power and influence.

Chapter 5 Representing and *Re*presenting Anglophone Culture
on the French-Canadian Stage

5.1 Introduction

As an embodied practice, theatre has the capacity not only to transmit or communicate

cultural knowledge, but also to be involved in the *writing* or *re*writing of cultural identity

through cultural representation on stage. As Diana Taylor explains, "performances function as

vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity through

reiterated, or what Richard Schechner has called 'twice-behaved behaviour".[1] Theatrical texts

and performances offer the opportunity to explore, engage with, present, and challenge these

accepted behaviours that make up cultural identity and narrative. Theatre has the capacity to

expose differences in and between languages, cultures, and identities, and to question the notion

of a singular understanding of memory and history. In this chapter, we will explore the

dramaturgical strategies involving language, character, time, and space used by French-Canadian

playwrights from the early 20th century to represent and *re*-present or undermine Anglophone

culture and the dominant historical narrative.

5.2. Embodied Cultural Representation

Performance and theatrical texts are sites of coexisting conventions, cultural interactions,

and linguistic competition. The body is a critical element in performance as it is the instrument

through which playwrights construct and deconstruct cultural identities, codes, attitudes,

histories, and memories. Michaela Grobbel explains that the body is a cultural product that is

---

[1] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 2.

written on by social, political, and cultural codes.[2] Diana Taylor calls this the *repertoire* and

describes it as "embodied memory: performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing –

in short, all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge… The

repertoire requires presence: people participate in the production and reproduction of knowledge

by 'being there', being a part of the transmission."[3] It is this body, with its knowledge, its

culture, and its memory, that is read by an audience. As language and character both have the

capacity to carry and to be infused, they are vehicles of such elements, and are thus valuable

analytical categories to explore in this study. In this section, we will explore the ways in which

cultural representation is embodied through language and character. We will also discuss the

nature of post-colonial and minority literatures in a Québec context and the dramaturgical

strategies used by playwrights to undermine and deconstruct the dominant cultural and historical

narratives.

The theory of language being applied in this study is necessarily semiotic; however, it

approaches language from two angles: a) language as deeply social or cultural; and b) language

as an embodied practice which is read by the audience. Barbara Cassin writes that each language,

and thus each culture, has its own perspective and its own vision of the world.[4] The

representation of cultural Others, as well as foreign languages, allows a community to see

another perspective on a theme, an event, a culture – or even their own culture. Cassin goes on to

say, "A language, as we have considered it, is not a fact of nature, an object, but an effect caught

up in history and culture, and that ceaselessly invents itself - again, *energia* rather than *ergon*".[5]

---

[2] Michaela Grobbel, *Enacting Past and Present: The Memory Theaters of Djuna Barnes, Ingeborg Bachmann, and Marguerite Duras* (Toronto: Lexington Books, 2004), 2.
[3] Taylor, 20.
[4] Barbara Cassin, ed., *Dictionary of Untranslatables: A Philosophical Lexicon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), xix.
[5] Ibid., xix.

Like theatre and memory, languages are products *of* culture as much as they help to shape culture. Inherently and inseparably linked with their historical and cultural contexts; they are part of a network of exchange and dialogue, like cultural memory. Henri Lefebvre states that, "[e]verywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is **rhythm**."[6] Each linguistic network has its own rhythm, its own heartbeat that comes from its surroundings; rhythm is the way language moves through culture. Languages used in cultural representation on stage have their own rhythms as well, which are products of the world of the play and the world of the playwright.

Linguistic cultural representation produces a form of embodied knowledge for the performer and the audience. As Ferdinand de Saussure suggests, language and the signifier-signified codification are inherently arbitrary until they are contextualized and read by and through cultural contexts.[7] Their cultural contextualization is *inherited* from one generation to the next; signifiers or words are products of cultural history and narrative and they change or adapt over time. De Saussure calls this embodied language the *sound-image* which stands in for a concept, an object, idea, person, event – or any other "thing" that is trying to be designated. This notion relates directly to Aristotle's *verse* or heightened language, which involves one thing standing in for another in a codified way that must be decoded in order for its meaning to be understood. Playwrights can employ language in a number of different ways to present or represent culture, such as the use of regional dialects, the use of foreign or secondary languages to create distancing and differentiation, or code switching between two languages. In this

---

[6] Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, and Everyday Life* (New York: Continuum, 2004), 15.
[7] Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics,* trans. Wade Baskin (New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1959), 65-75.

chapter, we will investigate how French-Canadian playwrights from the early 20th century

employed language to represent and *re*present Anglophone culture.

This notion of figuration, or standing in for, does not only apply to semiotic elements in a

theatrical text; it can also exist in the form of characters. As Julie Sermon expounds, "[dans] les

dramaturgies figurales, les images proposés, les paroles énoncées, produisent de la fiction et de

l'imaginaire, ells donnent forme et lieu à un monde symbolique".[8] These components are stand-

ins for, or representative of, elements of the human experience, and when they are decoded by

the reader, they are received as both real and figurative simultaneously. They take up real time

and space as they are embodied by actors, set pieces, plot points, and words. Aristotle describes

character types, or embodied figurations, as being either better than or worse than humans.[9] Each

character is a stand-in for real people of that same type, which can be used to represent or

*re*present current or historically significant sociopolitical or cultural individuals, such as Lord

Durham or George V, or cultural archetypes or stereotypes, such as the culturally and

linguistically ignorant Anglophone.

As Pieter Muysken explains*,* "languages are perceived by their speakers as separate and

expressive of a particular identity… The first way then in which a language is a fortress is as the

bastion of a single identity".[10] In French-Canadian theatre with Anglophone cultural

representation, there exists a *double visioning* of identity in plays with Anglophone characters, as

the culture and language of the actor do not match those of the character they are playing. The

bodies on stage represent their own culture and language but also *embody* the culture, rhythms,

---

[8] Julie Sermon, "Qui du visage et de la figure? Les dramaturgies contemporaines, entre tradition humaniste et effects de *persona*," *Ligeia* Vol 1, No. 81-84 (2008): 128.
[9] Aristotle, *Aristotle's Poetics,* trans. George Whalley, eds. John Baxter and Patrick Atherton (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 51.
[10] Pieter Muysken, *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of code-switching* (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 41.

and memory of their character. The audience, therefore, is presented with a double vision of two cultures, languages, and rhythms in one body. This can create a juxtaposition between actor and character, or between the world of the audience and the world of the performance. This doubling has the capacity to make *visible* cultural identity, and thus confirm or legitimize French-Canadian agency in their own stories on stage.

5.3 Re-presenting and Re-writing Cultural Identity on Stage

Although, as discussed in the introduction, there has been resistance to the classification of French-Canadian and Québec literatures as post-colonial in the *early* 20th century rather than from the 1960s onward, this research has found that there exists in the corpus of plays from this time period a distinct alternative narrative that is not simply written to display its own culture but is also writing back *against* the colonizer to destabilize or unhinge the dominant Anglophone narrative. Engaging with a post-colonial lens to examine the works of early 20th century French-Canadian playwrights allows for the study of dramaturgical strategies used to: a) engage in discourse with the dominant Other; b) mobilize language and character as means of community expression and cultural representation; and c) navigate and reconfigure the conceptualizations of time and space. What these plays and other post-colonial literatures do is employ dramaturgical strategies to interrupt or break expectations and social norms. They become acts of criticism or critique, which "[seek] to understand the operations – politically, socially, culturally, and psychologically – of colonialist and anticolonialist ideologies."[11] Post-colonial plays create narratives that force their audience to examine the framework of the society depicted.

The engagement with the Other and the performative double visioning discussed earlier

---

[11] Lois Tyson, *Critical Theory Today: A User-Friendly Guide, 2nd Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 418.

creates cultural discourse and hybridity, which, according to Mikhail Bakhtin, leads to dramatic

irony. Michaela Wolf explains that "it is through this hybrid construction that one voice is able to

unmask the other within a single discourse".[12] In this vision of hybridity, unmasking is active; it

is an intentional engagement with the Other and it is one of the fundamental mechanisms of

comedy, which we will explore through the use of the buffoon in some of the plays included in

this corpus, notably Joseph Armand Leclaire's *Le petit maître d'école*. This relates to Homi

Bhabha's notion of performance as an active resistance to existing power dynamics, as he states

that art in its function as "… borderline work of culture… does not merely recall the past as

social cause of aesthetic precedent; it renews the past, refiguring it as a contingent 'in-between'

space, that innovates and interrupts the performance of the present".[13] Louise Ladouceur and

Nicole Nolette echo Bhabha's idea, saying that, "For these francophone communities, eager to

affirm the language in which their identity is rooted, theatre is seen as an act of cultural

resistance, allowing the French language to resonate in the public sphere, thus affirming and

promoting its existence".[14] It is also in this in-between space, as discussed earlier, that the

performance itself takes place, and also, as we will discuss in the conclusion, where cultural

memory and identity are created. Irony also creates an active form of resistance similar to satire,

which uses humour to bring the audience's attention to sociopolitical matters that are abnormal,

and to Bertolt Brecht's V*erfremdungseffekt* (making strange), which forces the audience to

acknowledge the structures and tricks that make up the theatre, both in the way the narrative

plays out and the theatre space itself. This idea of double visioning, of creating an ironic, or

---

[12] Michaela Wolf, "The *Third Space* in Postcolonial Representation" in *Changing the Terms: Translating in the Postcolonial Era,* Sherry Simon and Paul St-Pierre, eds. (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2000), 133.
[13] Homi Bhabha, *Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 7.
[14] Louise Ladouceur and Nicole Nolette, "*Cow-boy poétré*: A Bilingual Performance for a Unilingual Audience" in *Staging and Performing Translation: Text and Theatre Practice,* Roger Baines, Cristina Marinetti and Manuela Perteghella, eds. (London: Palgrave, 2011), 155.

rhetorical, discourse in a single performance or a single text, could be seen as making strange as well, as forcing the audience to become a critical witness that questions what is put in front of them and then goes on to question the social structure around them, which was Brecht's desire for his theatre.

Not only can objects, ideas, or cultures occupy the same space as one another, creating double visioning, but they can also exist in *liminal* space – or in *paratopie*. Dominique Maingueneau explains that the writer is at once part of and outside of society; there is no particular place that defines them - they are *not from there or here*, similarly to Bhabba's concept of 'unhomliness'. Maingueneau goes on to state that, "La paratopie spatiale est celle de tous les exils: mon lieu n'est pas mon lieu, où que je sois je ne suis jamais à ma place".[15] French-Canadian writers, much as French-Canadian society, are simultaneously part of Canada and not, as they do not form part of the dominant Anglophone narrative of the country as whole. French-Canadian literature is, therefore, a minority literature, as playwrights cannot be themselves even in their own home; they are always neither from there nor from here. Maingueneau talks of the non-place of these minority writers as a metaphorical or figurative notion, whereas Bhabha explains the lack of place as a political or social situation. The plays examined in this study, much like many other post-colonial plays, use specific strategies to combat this sense of non-being or dissociation, including the distortion of time with a non-linear structure, both in narrative construction and also through the invocation of historical events and people, and/or cultural or collective memory.

Augusto Boal declares that the "possibility of our [the audience] being simultaneously Protagonist and principal spectator of our actions, affords us the further possibility of thinking

---

[15] Ibid., 87.

virtualities, of imagining possibilities, of combining memory and imagination - two indissociable psychic processes - to reinvent the past and to invent the future."[16] Boal believes that theatre has the capacity to transform an audience, or a culture's understanding of itself by combining cultural and national memory, with imagination, or, with the potentiality of a different present. Paul Ricoeur explains that in order to discover the true authentic self, as discussed in Chapter 1, it is necessary to examine the past-present-future relationship, or phenomenological time. In other words, staging an alternative narrative that *presents* the minority position as Protagonist and *represents* the Other, the normally dominant culture, as Antagonist, makes the cultural identity of the minority visible in the performance space and, in turn, confirms their existence in reality.

The notions of authenticity and the dramaturgical strategies of hybridity and cultural engagement with the Other are of particular importance for post-colonial and minority cultures. V. K. Preston writes that performativity and historiography are intertwined in Marc Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* and *Les Muses de Nouvelle-France,* both published in 1609. Lescarbots' works contain elements of documentary history - dates, names of individuals, etc. - but they also both contain performative elements of colonialist ideals and paint images of the savage natives, the terrain, and the need for settlement. Lescarbot believed that these tableaux, these eye-witness accounts, would act as an embodied transmission of memory from generation to generation. Preston, however, explains that, "Sailors, translators, and other 'workers' either appear in the backgrounds of colonizer's images and texts or they do not, and the silence in official historiography attenuates and underestimates the memories and trajectories of these

---

[16] Augusto Boal, *Legislative Theatre: Using performance to make politics,* translated by Adrian Jackson (New York: Routledge, 2005), 5-6.

listeners, creating a body of counter-memories to those housed in the official colonial archive".[17]

As discussed in Chapter 2, until the early 20th century, French Canadians did not appear on stage, and were misrepresented in or positioned outside of the history of Canada. French-Canadian actors embodied minor, often servile characters, and the stories represented on stage were almost exclusively French. Off stage, French Canadians were occupied by the English and were subjected to their version of history, as well as their attempts to eliminate the French culture and language from Canada. Simon Harel and Isabelle St-Amand define this type of identity *besieged* or *assiégée* and explain the desire of these cultural communities to "de se reconstruire collectivement, de se donner les moyens d'agir dans la durée et de se constituer eux-mêmes comme référence".[18] Post-colonial plays are, therefore, sites of battle, and the representation of culture, memory, and history on stage are acts of counter-memory challenging the dominant historical and cultural narratives.

As discussed in earlier, cultural representation is not only the undertaking of history and cultural memory, but it is also an embodied practice. Cultures have their own rhythms, which are embodied by and represented through language and character. Playwrights can destabilize cultural representation of an Other through the inclusion or exclusion of that Other's language. An individual speaking in a different language, such as an Anglophone character speaking in French, does not have the same capacity to demonstrate and enunciate their own culture and cultural rhythms. Similarly, if the Other's language, such as English, is included but is not written in the same rhythm as it would be spoken by a native English speaker, the cultural

[17] V. K. Preston, "Un/becoming Nomad: Marc Lescarbot, Movement and Metamorphosis in Les Muses de la Nouvelle France," in *History, Memory, Performance,* eds. David Dean, Yana Meerzon, and Kathryn Prince (London: Palgrave, 2015), 75.

[18] Simon Harel and Isabelle St-Amand, "Introduction: Identités multiples, identités assiégées: un point de vue critique sur la contingence," in *Les figures du siege au Québec: Concertation et conflits en context minoritaire* (Laval: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2011), 5.

rhythm is interrupted. Finally, playwrights can use the knowledge or ignorance of language and

cultural rhythm to undermine a character's ability to communicate and represent their culture

through strategies such as the use of ineffective code-switching or the failure to understand the

primary language of the play, which in the case of this corpus is French. In addition to the

linguistic strategies that affect character and cultural representation, playwrights can also use

gender, social status, or class, stereotyping, and figuration or representation of real people in the

communities and cultural memories of the Self and the Other to reconfigure or rewrite

relationships and power dynamics between cultures.

In addition to cultural representation, time and space can also be disrupted through the

engagement with the Other as a means of interfering with the dominant cultural norms and

presenting an alternative narrative. Susannah Radstone expounds that the temporality of memory

can be asynchronous, broken, irregular in contrast to the linearity of historical narrative, and that

"If the discipline of history seeks to learn from memory, this will perhaps depend on

historiography's capacity to 'translate' or 'articulate', rather than merely describe memory

discourses".[19] Theatre is a space where place and time can be altered or manipulated and where it

can be embodied rather than merely described as it is in novels and history books. Post-colonial

theorists Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins posit that theatre can create temporal and spatial

dualities as the theatre space is occupied by both real and fictional place and exists in real and

fictional time. They explain that "Theatre lends itself particularly well to representations of

temporal (and spatial) ambiguity because 'all performances create a here which is not "here",

[and] a now which is not "now"'…"[20] A playwright's use of the delineation of time, including

---

[19] Susannah Radstone, "Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory," *History Workshop Journal* No. 59 (Spring 2005): 139.
[20] Helen Gilbert, and Joanne Tompkins, *Post-Colonial Drama: Theory, Practice, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 139.

the invocation of cultural memory or historical events, the presentation of past and present

simultaneously, and the altering or rewriting of historical events subverts the dominant narrative

by demonstrating alternative *possibilities*. Similarly, breaking down barriers between public and

private space and the laying of place – or *lieux de mémoire* – on stage reconfigures perceptions

of belonging, ownership, and authority.

5.4 (Re)writing the Anglophone Other and the Dominant Narrative in French-Canadian Theatre

The nationalist movements in French Canada spurred the need for inclusion and

representation of French Canadians – and their stories – both on and off stage, and the

playwrights included in this study took up that mantle. In discussing performance and theatrical

texts, Norman K. Denzin states:

> At these dramaturgical sites, people take sides, forcing, threatening, inducing, seducing, cajoling, nudging, loving, living, abusing, and killing one another… The storied nature of these experiences continually raises the following questions: Whose story is being told (and made) here? Who is doing the telling? Who has the authority to make their telling stick?[21]

By creating a world on stage characterized by a duality of linguistic and cultural representation,

playwrights develop an *infradramatic* quality that questions and challenges the intercultural

relationship between French and English Canadians. In doing so, these plays shift from *drame*

dans la vie, epic or melodrama, to *drame de la vie*, which Sarrazac says "est plus réellement

dialogique que le dialogue au sein du drame-dans-la-vie."[22] In this second section, we will

explore how French-Canadian playwrights in the early 20th century that included Anglophone

cultural representation in their plays employed many of the strategies discussed in the first part

---

[21] Norman K. Denzin, *Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1997), 92.
[22] Ibid., 246.

of this chapter. Here we will look at the ways in which they told their own stories – or wrote their own history through cultural memory – and subverted the dominant narratives by reconfiguring and rewriting cultural identity.

5.4.1 (Re)presenting Anglophone Culture and (Re)configuring Power Dynamics through Language and Character

5.4.1.1 Language

As illustrated in Chapter 4, nine plays include spoken English in the texts, and one play, *Peuple Sans Histoire*, has three words written and spoken in English which play an important role in the plot. These plays may be further subdivided as follows: plays in which Anglophone characters speak only in English; plays in which Anglophone characters speak in English and French or only in French; and plays in which English words are included in the French dialect and there are no Anglophone characters. Two plays have Anglophone characters speaking almost exclusively English: *Laurier* (1921) by Joseph Armand Leclaire and *Un gendre enragé* (1927) written by Joseph Désilets. In the case of *Laurier*, the character of Paddy O'Brien, a journalist and Laurier supporter, who speaks only in English. While O'Brien speaks only in English and acknowledges he cannot understand French, still he believes in the Francophone Laurier as a politician and leader, saying, "I thought he would speak in English too, but nevertheless I think this man Laurier is a wonder".[23] O'Brien then asks French-Canadian journalist Albert Fripon for a translation of Laurier's speech:

---

[23] Joseph Armand Leclaire, *Laurier* (Montreal: Editions Edouard Garand, 1921), 14.

O'BRIEN

Say, Albert, would you give me the principal lines of that speech?

FRIPON

For God's sake! What have you done?

O'BRIEN

I didn't understand a single word, so I just wrote the title.

FRIPON

The Silver-tongue Laurier!

FRIPON (*à part*)

"L'orateur à la bouche d'argent…" Eh bien, ce serait assez drôle de
lire ça de Laurier dans un journal aussi conservateur que la Gazette.
(*haut*) Well, Paddy, I am in a hurry just now but you can drop to-
night at my home; I'll give you a copy of the silver-tongued
Laurier's speech.

O'BRIEN

All right, kid, thanks. Now I haven't any business here. I don't know
where I am going but I am on my way. By by! (*il sort*)[24]

The use of English is limited to this scene featuring O'Brien, the sole Anglophone character in

the play. The use of English here serves the function of demonstrating the support of the English

for Laurier, which counters the arguments made by Laurier's colleagues later on in the play

when he decides to run for Prime Minister that he is "trop français pour les Anglais",[25] a

---

[24] Ibid., *Laurier,* 15.
[25] Ibid., *Laurier,* 35.

171

skepticism that is echoed in Fripon's aside shown above. This strategy of the unilingual

journalist is echoed in *Un gendre enragé*, as there is one character, a reporter from the *New York Times* named Johnson, who speaks in English and very broken French, simply to explain, "C'est moá pas comprendre très bien!"[26] Similarly, a French-Canadian reporter named Jolicœur is required to translate for Johnson in order for him to do his job. In the case of this play, it is unclear why a journalist from New York would come all that way to report on the misdiagnosis of a dog bite. The absurdity of Johnson's presence could be an indication of Désilets' feelings towards the Anglophone presence in Québec.

The specific inclusion of unilingual *journalists* in these two plays could also been seen as a commentary on the Anglophone media and its inability to report on or even understand French-Canadian culture and community. Both Leclaire and Désilets worked as journalists, likely exposing them to more of the English language and Anglophone community – including journalists, which allowed them to include more grammatically complete English in their works. Additionally, it is possible that these plays include dramatizations of events that occurred during their careers. The presence of the English journalists in both plays demonstrates an active engagement with and an interest in the French-Canadian community by the Anglophones. But, while they are interested, they are unable to do their job *without the help of French-Canadians*. These plays demonstrate a necessity or *responsibility* for French Canadians to be bilingual and the normalization of Anglophones being unilingual. They also illustrate a dynamic of dependency of the Anglophone culture on French Canadians, a dynamic that does not exist the other way around; the French Canadians can communicate, survive, and succeed on their *own*.

---

[26] Joseph Désilets, *Un gendre enrage* (Victoriaville: Author published, 1928), 53.

This sentiment is confirmed in O'Brien's last lines to Fripon: he, and Anglophones, have no business in Québec or French Canada.

In addition to the linguistic strategy of English-language inclusion of unilingual Anglophone characters, there are some playwrights that include Anglophone characters that are – or are at least more – bilingual. Of my corpus, three play show Anglophone characters speaking in French and English: *Contre le flot* (1922) by Magali Michelet, *Veillée de Noël* (1926) by Camille Duguay, and *Le petit maître d'école* (1916) by Joseph Armand Leclaire. Sarrazac explains that, "Le théâtre s'ouvre alors à cette dimension polyphonique que Bakhtine identifie dans le roman dostoïevskien : 'capter le dialogue de son époque', 'entendre son époque comme dans un grand dialogue', 'y saisir non seulement les voix diverses, mais, avant tout, les *rapports dialogues* entre ces voix, leur *interaction* dialogique'".[27] In these plays, the linguistic dialogue is not only external or between characters, but also internal as the characters grapple with two competing cultural and linguistic rhythms within their own speech.

In *Contre le flot,* Mrs. Miller speaks in English, though she does make attempts to speak in French. While speaking with two French girls, Marcelle and Laura, she says, "Vous allez m'obliger à parler en français, et je le parle si mal…"[28] Mrs. Miller, in fact, had a French teacher from Paris, but she does not have any confidence in her ability to speak the language. While the French characters in this play do not speak in English, it is clear that they understand it, as they respond to Mrs. Miller regardless of which language she is speaking. Similar to Leclaire and Désilets, it seems that Michelet is making a statement on the aptitude of the French Canadians — communicate in English.

---

[27] Sarrazac, 246.
[28] Magali Michelet, *Contre le flot* (Montréal: Librarie d'Action Canadienne-française, 1922), 9.

In *Veillée de Noël* and *Le petit maître d'école*, the Anglophone characters speak in a mix of French and English. At times, the characters of Henry Greenwood in Duguay's play and Inspector Bostock in Leclaire's speak in full English sentences. However, most of the time the Anglophone character speaks in a mix of French and English, at times using English syntax with French words, and at other times using French words incorrectly conjugated rendering their speech almost incomprehensible or comical – or both. For example, in *Veillée de Noël* Greenwood attempts to flatter Marie for her singing by stating: "Ah c'est vous qui avez chanté cette nuit! at the Holy church. Very belle voix."[29] While the message is understood, the speech pattern does not feel natural. The sentence is interrupted by an exclamation mark. Additionally, Greenwood uses the present perfect tense ('you sang') rather than the imperfect tense ('you were singing'), which demonstrates a lack of knowledge of the language structure and a reliance on English grammatical structure as the imperfect tense would be more appropriate in this context in French. The inclusion of English in these two plays presents the Anglophone culture through language. But the use of ineffective or failed code-switching between French and English rather than simply both languages existing with their own rhythms and intact syntactical structures, presents cultural contact zones that uproot or destabilize the English language, diminishing the power not only the English language, but also the Anglophone dominance over French Canadians.

Leclaire's play is centred on the 1912 institution of Regulation XVII in Ontario limiting education in French. In this work, Leclaire in essence develops a new foreignized language for the character of Inspector Bostock, the school inspector and representative of the Anglophone government. In discussing the march by school children against Regulation XVII, Bostock

---

[29] Camille Duguay, *La Veillée de Noël* (Beauceville: L'Eclaireur Limitée, 1926), 61.

exclaims, "Faire… parader les enfants dans la rûe… ce être… so funny! C'est moi rire…".[30] Bostock's dialogue is made up of French infinitives and incomplete ideas, as well as English words that also do not make up complete thoughts. For example, in Bostock's first introduction in *Le petit maître d'école*, he says: "D'abord, je me appelle George Bostock. Je très bien connaître ta petite garçon, le maître de école, et je me intéresse très bieaucoup à lui."[31] Bostock fails to employ the elision contraction between 'me' and both 'appelle' and 'intréresse'. Not only does this demonstrate a lack of knowledge of French, but in terms of the speech patterns, the emphasis is placed much more acutely on the self-referential direct object pronoun. The use of 'me' could be seen, both in French and English, as a dramaturgical strategy to demonstrate arrogance or self-centredness, as the sentence structure puts the emphasis back onto Bostock himself. Additionally, Bostock uses the infinitive of the word "connaître" rather than the present tense. While it is possible to discern meaning from his dialogue, Bostock's speech pattern and syntax do not follow either French or English rhythms in these passages or throughout the play, which calls into question his ability to communicate even in his *own* language.

The irony, connecting Sarrazac and Bakhtin, created through the destabilization of both grammatical structures is that it neuters Bostock's power and position of authority as he is no longer able to perform his role as the inspector of schools. Sarrazac states that:

> la fragmentation, voire l'hyperfragmentation, et une déponctuation presque totale, qui donne de la fluidité et souligne le caractère verbal de l'échange entre les personnages… Ce régime, l'écrivain nous indique qu'il est celui de l'ironie, du "frottement ironique" entre des parties du texte - des 'répliques', si l'on veut employer le vieux vocabulaire - *a priori* étrangères, voire réfractaires les unes aux autres.[32]

---

[30] Leclaire, *Petit maître,* 22.
[31] Joseph Armand Leclaire, *Le petit maître d'école* (Montréal: Editions Garand, 1929), 8.
[32] Sarrazac, 278.

Without the ability to communicate effectively in French, Bostock cannot do his job to eliminate it. To the audience as well as the French-Canadian characters in the play, Bostock is a buffoon who lacks the cultural and linguistic knowledge to actually do his job. Bostock declares, "Le gouvernement il prendre le intérêt des petites enfants en forçant les professeurs à leur enseigner le bonne parler anglaise pour qu'ils pouvoir gagner leur vie plus tard."[33] The mixing of tenses and the incorrect gendering of nouns renders Bostock's speech grotesque and implies a lack of education and knowledge. While claiming that forcing children to learn English (and learn *in* English) is to ensure they have a successful life as adults, Bostock, an Anglophone government official, is demonstrating that without the knowledge of *French* he cannot succeed at his own job. Placing the French language into the speech of an Anglophone character also disrupts their own cultural narrative, and in turn creates a space in which an alternative visioning of French-English relations, one where they are cultural and linguistic equals, can be performed and witnessed.

Another example of the use of Franglais is in Duguay's *Veillée de Noël* with Marthe's Anglophone love interest, Henry Greenwood. It is clear early on in the play that Greenwood does not know or have the ability to speak in French. Marthe admits to her mother that Henry always writes to her in English, and says, "Il m'a envoyé ausi deux chansons anglaises: 'O Catharina', et puis, 'Yes, we have no bananas to-day'. Je ne les ai pas apprises parce que j'aime mieux chanter en français… Il est bien aimable, mais il semble qu'il a de drôles de manières."[34] Later on, at the post-midnight mass gathering, Greenwood exclaims, "Mes chers amis, I am sorry, je ne sais plus chanter en français… Alors, je suivrai la mode, et je 'signerai' en anglais."[35] The inability of

---

[33] Leclaire, *Petit maître*, 8.
[34] Duguay, 19-20.
[35] Ibid., 63.

Greenwood to speak and sing in French, in the end causes Marthe to rethink her relationship with him. His cultural and linguistic ignorance excludes him as a suitor. Furthermore, Greenwood chooses to sing "Yes, we have no bananas to-day", which, similar to Bostock, renders him a buffoon, a sad, ridiculous figure that is shown as romantically inept and socially outcast. The dramaturgical strategy to include Anglophone characters that speak a mix of French and English is employed to reconfigure cultural and linguistic power structures on stage. By including the English language in French narratives, English becomes subordinate or secondary to French in terms of time and space on stage. The inability of the Anglophone characters to communicate in French creates dramatic irony as the lack of cultural and linguistic knowledge of French causes them to lose status, privilege, opportunity, and power.

In three plays from this period, Aimé Plamondon's *Ames Françaises (*1916)*, L'espionne boche* (1916) by J. Henri Lemay*,* and Auguste Henri de Trémaudan's *Le Petit-Baptiste* (1927), the English characters speak only in French. While Anglophone culture still exists on stage through the presence of the Anglophone characters, it is entirely mediated through the French language. It is possible that the playwrights of these plays simply did not have the linguistic capacity to write in English in order to have the Anglophone characters speak in their own language, or it is possible that for simplicity's sake they chose to only use French, or it could have been an *intentional* dramaturgical choice. It is possible, though it is *im*possible to be certain, that it was a purposeful choice to include Anglophone characters and not *allow* them to speak in English. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin explain that in post-colonial literatures, one of the textual strategies for deconstructing the dominant power is abrogation, which they define as, "[a] denial of the privilege of 'English'… Abrogation is a refusal of the categories of the imperial culture, its aesthetic, its illusory standard of normative or 'correct' usage, and its

177

assumption of a traditional and fixed meaning 'inscribed' in the words."[36] The complete removal

of the English language from the mouths and bodies of Anglophone characters is the ultimate act

of abrogation. It breaks the expectation of the audience to hear, experience, and be subjugated by

the English language from those characters. This choice also removes English and Anglophone

power represented through language and allows French and the French-Canadian culture to take

up *all* the linguistic time and space.

In the case of Plamondon and Lemay's works, the English characters do not affect the

plot, and appear only briefly in the stories. So, perhaps the use of English was seen as

unnecessary as their representation was secondary to the main story. In *L'espionne boche*,

however, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the English general Dunbar recognizes the French-

Canadian contribution in the war through Paul in French:

DUNBAR

Il y a ici, Général, un enfant du Canada, un Français de là-bas. La
croix des braves n'aura jamais été mieux méritée que par lui.

JOFFRE *(il décore Paul et lui donne l'accolade)*

Braves Canadiens, nous vous aimons, nous vous admirons et nous
vous remercions. Mes enfants, continuons notre lute pour la défense
du droit et de la liberté. Soyons courageux et braves jusqu'à la fin.
La France et l'Angleterre comptent sur vous, car de votre bras, de
votre courage, de votre fermeté, depend l'avenir du monde tout
entier.

…

---

[36] Bill Ashcroft, Garth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures 2nd edition* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 37.

DUNBAR

Colonel, avec celle qui sera sésormais la compagne de votre vie,
retournez au pays. Et si la santé vous permet formez un autre
bataillon de braves comme ceux de votre beau regiment, le 22ème.

Oui, qu'ils viennent, les vaillants Canadiens, nous aider à vaincre le
plus terrible ennemi que la civilisation ait jamais eu à combattre.

RIDEAU

FIN[37]

In this passage, Dunbar is expounding the bravery of the French-Canadian soldiers to the French

general Joffre. Both Joffre *and* Dunbar then thank them and express that they could not have

succeeded without the help of the French Canadians. In the case of Dunbar, he proposes the

medal of bravery be bestowed on Paul, and then suggests that Paul return home and form another

regiment. In a sense, though there is a recognition of the contribution made, Dunbar is reminding

Paul and the French Canadians that they are at the service of English and should be prepared to

fight again. In Joffre's dialogue, we see something even more interesting. Not only does Joffre,

as a representative of France, recognize their contribution to the war, but he also proclaims that

both France *and* England are counting on the French Canadians, and that the future of the world

depends on them. This illustrates a clear continued connection between the French Canadians

and France, their motherland, and between the French Canadians and England, their conqueror.

It also emphasizes the sense of *responsibility* of the French Canadians to both countries, and both

cultures, something that we saw earlier in relation to bilingualism.

---

[37] J. Henri Lemay, *L'espionne Boche* (Sherbrooke: La Tribune de Sherbrooke, 1916), 90-91.

The last grouping of plays, in which English is used but in the absence of Anglophone

characters, comprises of *Soixante Minutes Ambassadeur au Japon* (1928) by Auguste Henri de

Trémaudan and *Amour, Guerre, et Patrie* (1919) by Horace J. Kearney. This linguistic category

of play demonstrates the profound and lasting effect that Anglophone culture and dominance has

had on the French-Canadian people. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin explain that the second

strategy for post-colonial literatures to deconstruct power through language is appropriation,

which they describe as "the process of capturing and remoulding the language to new usages,

mark[ing] a separation from the site of colonial privilege… Appropriation is the process by

which the language is taken and made to 'bear the burden' of one's own cultural experience…"[38]

In de Trémaudan's play, there are very few English words used. The premise of the play's

comedic arc is a letter arriving for "Max Greenwood" that is delivered to Maxime Boisvert. The

letter was meant to go to Max Greenwood in Victoria, BC – not his French-equivalent namesake

Maxime Boisvert in Victoriaville, QC. The playwright in a sense appropriates the English name

to no longer have the meaning of a name, but rather an ironic literal translation of the French

name. This bilingual play on words presents the English government in Ottawa as inept, as they

do not seem to know the difference between French and English, or between English and French

cities in different provinces.

Before finding out the mistake, Boisvert takes stock of the opportunity to become the

ambassador to Japan. In talking to his wife, he exclaims, "Et, tu le partageras avec moi ce titre-là.

Oui, ben vite on m'appellera 'Sir Maxime Boisvert'!... quand on parlera de toi, on dira: 'Lady

Mélie Boisvert'…"[39] Boisvert sees this as an opportunity to take on, or appropriate, English

---

[38] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin., 37-38.

[39] Auguste Henri de Trémaudan, *Soixante minutes ambassadeur du Japon* (Victoriaville: Imprimerie de Victoriaville, 1928), 20.

noble titles and raise his social standing. Thus, Anglophone culture is represented as something

that can be accessed and leveraged by French Canadians rather than just envied from afar. After

finding out about the mix-up, Boisvert exclaims, "J'en ai assez! J'en ai assez!... Comment les

v'là qui me prennent pour un bouffon!... Ah!.. y a des limites pour faire rire de soi!..."[40] Boisvert

believes that the English government is not incompetent, but rather intentionally attempting to

humiliate him. It is clear in the play that this is an irrational conviction and is based on Boisvert's

inability to admit his own role in the error, his assumption that a message addressed to "Max

Greenwood" was for meant him in the first place. Though he did rush to conclusions regarding

the name, Boisvert's realization confirms the ineptitude of the English government in terms of

place, as they sent the message to the wrong town. In the end, Boisvert is able to laugh at the

situation:

> BOISVERT *(riant jaune)*
>
> C'est mieux prendre ça en riant!... C'est tout de même curieux dans
> la vie!...
>
>   …
>
> Ah! J'ai toujours été trop prompt, partout!... C'est une leçon que je
> reçois aujourd'hui, et, une bonne!... Ca me reviens, ce que tu m'as
> dit tantôt!... Je t'assure qu'à l'avenir avant de me decider,
> j'commencerai par réfléchir!.. Et, j'vous prie de croire, mes bons
> amis, que si déjà j'ai eu des attaques de gloriole, je viens de prendre
> une pilule qui va m'en guérir pour longtemps!...[41]

The Anglophone presence is transformed by the playwright into a device for education, for

warning against ignorance and assumptions. Rather than become the buffoon, Boisvert becomes

the enlightened. And, through his disappointment and embarrassment, and with the help of his

---

[40] Ibid., 63.
[41] Ibid., 67.

neighbours and friends, he realizes that he is exactly where he belongs: as the mayor of Victoriaville.

In Kearney's play, the lasting effects of Anglophone dominance are also present, though represented differently. Kearney has integrated or appropriated English words directly into the French-Canadian dialect. Though it is not what we know of today as joual, Kearney employs the local French-Canadian dialect, which includes English words. Words such as 'strip', 'cash', 'smart', 'job', 'size', 'rigging', and 'luck' are used and incorporated into the dialogue of several French characters. There are also incorrectly spelled words that are meant to be English, which are phonetic renderings of a French person speaking certain words. For example 'pickle' becomes 'picale', and, as we will see in the following example, 'bargain' becomes 'barginne'. In discussing the sale of land along the river, Duchausse says, "Tu peux en parler de c'te 'barginne' là. Il lui a payé quasiment rien pour ce bien-là".[42] Not only has Kearney appropriated and used the meaning of several English words in the French-Canadian dialect, he has also further subverted the power of English and Anglophone culture by writing words incorrectly, phonetically – but phonetically only for something who is a French first-language speaker. The English words then become *subservient* to the French language and cultural rhythms as they must be read and understood *through* French. Kearney has also created visual boundaries between French and English in the text using quotation marks in the text. Not only does this emphasize and mark the inclusion of English words, but it also limits the space and affect of each English word as if they were caged. This representation of Anglophone culture, in essence, inverts the power dynamics visible in 20th century Canada, as it was the French Canadians who

---

[42] Horace J. Kearney, *Amour, Guerre et Patrie ou Pierrot Picotte s'Enrole* (Hull: Imprimerie Provost, 1925), 5.

were subservient to the English. And it was the Anglophone government that was threatening jail time to those who continued to teach in French in Ontario and Manitoba.

Marie-Victorin's *Peuple Sans Histoire* (1925) is an outlier from the other plays with either English or Anglophone characters in that it includes only three English words, "Thou liest, Durham!",[43] which are first written by French-Canadian servant, Thérèse, and then read aloud by Lord Durham. These are the only English words that the Anglophone Lord Durham uses throughout the play. The play is set in 1838 as Lord Durham is finishing up his writing and preparing to travel back to England with his infamous report. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the real Lord Durham declared that French Canadians had no culture, no heritage, and he recommended assimilation with English Canada, that is the elimination of the French language and culture in Canada. Later in this chapter we will address the speculative adjustments made by the playwright Marie-Victorin to the historical narrative. Here, however, we will address the inclusion of Lord Durham and the almost complete exclusion of the English language from a play whose premise is the very resistance to French being snuffed out by colonial forces.

In *Peuple Sans Histoire,* Lord Durham is presented as a Francophile. Speaking with his secretary, Durham exclaims, "Je le regrette, mon ami, car si vous ne connaissez pas la langue française, vous ignorez ce que le langage humain peut traduire de lumière, de joie et de beauté!"[44] He is also portrayed as someone who is willing to listen to a cultural Other, rather than someone who makes assumptions about their culture and history, which is far from the history presented and played out off stage. Requiring Durham to speak only in French, much like the use of Franglais, disrupts his own Imperial English narrative. It also makes it difficult for Durham to have authority and power in his words and in his report, as he is speaking in and praising the

---

[43] Frère Marie-Victorin, *Peuple Sans Histoire* (Montréal: Frères des Ecoles Chretiennes, 1925), 9.
[44] Ibid., 3.

community that he is recommending be eliminated, which again creates dramatic irony.

Furthermore, this strategy places French as the language of commerce and communication in this

version of events. After reading through Durham's report while he slept, Thérèse shares the

following with her sister, Marie:

THÉRÈSE

Je n'y tiens plus, advienne que pourra!

(Elle s'avance derrière le gouverneur toujours endormi, et lit par-dessus son épaule. Puis elle saisit le manuscript et prent l'avant-scène; elle tourne une à une les pages; musique à l'orchestre. Tout à coup, son fin visage se contract et pâlit. Elle vient d'arriver aux lignes sur lesquelles le gouverneur a laissé tomber sa plume.)

Oh! c'est odieux ce qu'il écrivait là, quand la plume lui est tombée des mains. Écoute, petite sœur, les quelques mots que je vais te lire. Ils sont traces d'une écriture anguleuse qui sue l'orgueil et le mépris. Écoute, et retiens-les biens: 'Ils sont un peuple sans histoire!' Entends-tu, petite-fille du voltigeur de Châteauguay: 'Ils sont un peuple sans histoire!'… O journée de Carillon, tu n'étais donc un rêve!...[45]

What Thérèse reads aloud from the report is in French. While it is possible that she is translating

the text for her sister, who may not speak French, it is unclear. As we discussed earlier, this

notion of bilingualism of the French-Canadian people is a common strategy used by playwrights

at this time. Thérèse's use of English and her ability to read the report, however, also calls into

question what language the report was written in, but it is not clear from the script and we can

only infer so much from the text. Alternatively, most well-born and noble British individuals

---

[45] Ibid., 7-8.

would have had some education in French, so it is possible that the report in the play was written in French and Marie-Victorin is making a statement on the appropriation of the French language by Anglophones for their own purposes, even for the degradation of the people that speak the language.

5.4.1.2 Character

The embodiment of cultural representation and the demonstration and reconfiguration of power dynamics and relationships uses dramaturgical strategies in language paired with dramaturgical strategies relating to character. Like *Peuple Sans Histoire*, many of the plays with Anglophone representation include Anglophone characters of significant status and authority, particularly in relation to the French-Canadian characters written into the plays. In *Contre le flot* and *Veillée de Noël*, the Anglophone characters are successful businessmen, and association with them through marriage would be opportunities to raise social status. In *Le petit maître d'école*, we are presented with Inspector Bostock, a government officer. In *Acréyé ou le sacre de Georges V,* King George V, the highest-ranking Anglophone in the Empire and arguably the most powerful in the world, makes an appearance. And in *Petit-Baptiste* and *L'espionne boche,* high-ranking military leaders are both French and English. It is unusual in these plays to find French-Canadian characters that outrank – socially or militarily – the Anglophone characters. The one exception to this is in *Ames françaises,* which includes high ranking French military officials, but no high-ranking Anglophone officials. It is important to note here though that they are *French* officials, not specifically *French Canadian*. To come back to the notion of figuration discussed earlier, the representation of Anglophone culture and English characters in these plays as largely high-ranking characters that outrank the French Canadians is representative of the views of 20th

century French-Canadian society towards English both in the present moment and in their cultural or collective memory. The government of Canada was English and had significant power over French Canadians, even in Québec, which was seen through the language laws and the conscription crisis. And, as we saw in Chapter 4, there was a concerted effort by the English to exclude French Canadians from positions of power throughout the history of their dominance in Canada, hence this representation of Anglophone culture as authoritative and powerful connects to the cultural memory of the French-Canadian people.

The inclusion of high-status or high-ranking Anglophone characters is also a dramaturgical strategy in and of itself as it is a representation of the dominant, masculinized, authoritative Anglophone narrative against which the minority French-Canadian literature can write. By presenting characters of higher status, it is possible to undermine and subvert their authority. In post-colonial drama, the most common way to do so is through women – or feminized characters. Gilbert and Tompkins explain that, "women gain status and authority by their story-telling, not only because it gives them access to self-representation but also because the story-teller holds a position of considerable historical power in many cultures".[46] The woman's voice is the *alternative* to the continuation of the patriarchy; by allowing the female voice to be heard on stage playwrights have the ability to rewrite the historical narrative of their own culture. It is particularly notable that French-Canadian playwrights were using this dramaturgical strategy in their plays as the majority of drama circles or amateur troupes that would be producing these works were male-only. The playwrights must have seen an importance in the inclusion of female voices knowing that particular choice would likely limit the production of their work. Gilbert and Tompkins go on to say that, "In most non-literate communities, history

---

[46] Gilbert and Tompkins, 126.

was preserved by the story-teller who held a privileged place central to the maintenance and sustenance of the group's culture."[47] Although the Francophone community in Canada is literate and French is considered one of the two national languages, the history of the country - or what was considered to be the country – was and still is primarily written by the English. The preservation of French-Canadian culture, therefore, has largely been within the confines of the French-Canadian cultural community and thus has been oral and in literary fields stemming from orality, such as folktales, stories (*contes*), song, narrative poetry, and theatre.

This strategy of female storytellers as defenders of the French-Canadian language and culture can be found in several of the 20th century plays with Anglophone cultural representation. The clearest example is in the character of Thérèse in Marie-Victorin's *Peuple Sans Histoire*. Not only does she stand up to Durham by reading and defacing his report, but she also acts as the collective memory and storyteller of the French-Canadian people in this play. At the beginning of the third tableau, when Durham wakes up and returns to the writing of his report, he declares,

DURHAM

> Quelqu'un a écrit après moi, sur ce feuillet! Qui a pu oser? … *(Il lit)*
> 'Ils sont un peuple sans histoire!'… Ces mots sont bien de moi!... Je
> me souviens, je voulais développer longuement cette idée qui est
> capitale. Je me suis endormi là!... Et voici, en travers de la page, en
> grosses lettres appuyées: 'THOU LIEST, DURHAM!' Et ce
> singulier post-scriptum est signé: 'Madeleine de Verchères'.
>
> Étrange aventure, en verité! Me voici personage de mélodrame.
> Madeleine de Verchères? Je ne connais pas ce nom. C'est sans doute
> un pseudonyme.[48]

---

[47] Ibid., 126.
[48] Marie-Victorin, 9.

Durham acknowledges the ownership over his declaration that the French-Canadian people have no history. But he is confounded by the next line and the name the words are attributed to. Additionally, his first thought upon not recognizing the name is to assume it is a fake one, rather than recognizing the possibility that there is a real person, or a real *history*, that he does not know. Thérèse recounts to Durham the heroic tale of Madeleine de Verchères at 14-years-old fighting against the Iroquois to defend her home and her people. She explains that "Madeleine, avec une decision et une intelligence admirables organisa cette garnison, donnant aux uns des armes, aux autres de la consolation, à tous du courage".[49] The sheer veracity and power with which Thérèse tells the history of the French-Canadian people prompts Durham to say, aside, to himself, "Quelle fierté et quelle émotion dans sa voix! Je commence à croire que celle-là pourrait me renseigner sur ma visite de cette nuit!"[50] It is this story, and the way that Thérèse tells it to Durham, that changes his mind about the French-Canadian people. Through storytelling, Thérèse was able to defend her culture and demonstrate the uniqueness of its identity. Her ability to take control away from Durham reverses the power dynamic and places her, and thus French Canadians rather than Anglophones, as the ones in control of their future.

In the original 1916 version of Leclaire's play *Le petit maître d'école*, the schoolmaster was in fact a school*mistress* named Jeannine. She was very much a representation of the Desloges sisters at the school in Ottawa who were fighting against Regulation XVII by continuing to teach in French. Jeannine went against the law and stood up to Bostock; she, too, continued to teach in French. She defended the French language, ensuring that the next generation of French Canadians would be able to continue to tell their stories in their own language. Similarly, in *Contre le flot*, Marie-Blanche defends the French-Canadian language and

---

[49] Ibid., 12.
[50] Ibid., 12.

culture by going out West to encourage and grow the French-Canadian community beyond the

borders of Québec. Speaking with Corrine, who chose to marry an Anglophone, André says,

ANDRÉ

> Là, votre français est en défaut, ma chère Corinne... Fanatique est le
> mot le moins propre à définir Marie-Blanche. Que ses gens, à
> Montréal, la traite d'illuminée, d'exaltée, je n'en serais pas étonné.
> L'Est ne les connaît pas assez ces petites missionnaires qui le quittent
> pour une vie souvent dépourvue d'agréments. Et cependant, grâce à
> elles, des générations pourront remplir leur rôle en se transmettant le
> verbe maternel. . . Fanatique, si elle l'était, Marie-Blanche ne resterait
> pas longtemps ici... d'ailleurs le fanatisme n'est pas un défaut de notre
> race, vous le savez aussi bien que moi. . . Un esprit large et ouvert,
> une croyante enthousiaste, voilà Marie-Blanche.[51]

In the end, André refuses Corrine's proposal even though he was in love with her at the

beginning of the play and chooses Marie-Blanche instead. He does so specifically because of her

faithfulness towards the French-Canadian culture and language, saying "Vous qui nous aiderez à

lutter contre le flot".[52] Michelet has very much written this story in the form of a morality play,

as there are consequences to those that do not defend the culture and choose instead to Anglicize.

Corrine loses her Anglophone husband and her mother, who supported the marriage to an

Anglophone. She then loses the love she once had from André and ends up alone. Marie-

Blanche, on the other hand, is rewarded for her role in the defense of French Canada in the face

of the Anglophone threat. These morality or cautionary tales are theatrical representations of the

clerical nationalist movement. Anglophone culture is represented as inferior, is villainized, and is

shown as something that causes pain and destruction, where the punishment for Anglicization is

alienation or a withdrawal of belonging.

---

[51] Michelet, 57.
[52] Ibid., 96.

While women are seen as the mothers of French-Canadian culture and the bearers of their history, young boys – who are also seen as feminine, or at least not quite yet masculine – are seen as the *future* of French Canada. In de Trémaudan's *Petit-Baptiste,* Petit-Baptiste Perrault, a 15-year-old boy, manages to outwit English military leaders by playing the fool as he feeds them misinformation about the French troops and their position prior to the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. In an article about the play, Abbé Charbonnier writes:

> On sait que les annales militaires de l'ancienne France contiennent maintes prouesses analogues à celle-là; chez une nation où les femmes sont devenues parfois guerrières intrépides, quoi d'étonnant que des garçons imberbes aient été pris de la même fièvre belliqueuses, aux heures où le pays était en danger?... Tout comme Madeleine de Verchères fait penser à Jeanne Hachette ou à Jeanne de Domrémi, 'Petit-Baptiste' est du même sang que le 'Petit-Tambour' de Bazeilles; sa crânerie évoque plusieurs autres enfants anonymes de Lorraine ou d'Alsace, attachés aux armées dans les perpétuels conflits franco allemands.[53]

In Charbonnier's article, the connection between young boys and women is clear: they both take risks and step into danger in order to protect their people and their culture. They are able to do so because they are not dominant or masculine; they are overlooked and not seen as a threat. One of the soldiers, William Smith, says of Petit-Baptiste, "Vous voyez bien qu'il est parfaitement idiot".[54] Not only does this present Anglophones as arrogant, but it also demonstrates their ignorance of the French-Canadian people and those 'beneath' them. The level of power and control that the Anglophones and Anglophone culture has blinded them from seeing a woman or a child as anything but an innocent – or an idiot.

In Leclaire's *Le petit maître d'école,* another young boy, Pitou, is able to undermine the Anglophone authoritative character of Inspector Bostock. Pitou is one of Jeannine's (Fernand's in the 1929 version) students and is learning French grammar throughout the play. Leclaire has

---

[53] Abbé Charbonnier, "A.-H. de Trémaudan et ses dernières publications dramatiques," *La Presse,* June 14, 1929, 6.
[54] De Trémaudan, 19.

190

laid the groundwork of Pitou symbolizing the future of the French language and culture. When

Bostock comes to enforce Regulation XVII, the following exchange takes place:

> PITOU
> English! Ben, j'pense pas!
>
> BOSTOCK
> Pourquoi?
>
> PITOU
> Parce que… parce que j'aime pas ça!
>
> FERNAND
> Alors, Pitou, ç ate ferait la peine si tu ne pouvez plus parler français?
>
> PITOU
> Ah, oui, m'sieu.
>
> FERNAND
> Tiens, écoute; tu est le plus grand de l'école, tu as quatorze ans, ton
> jugement doit commencer à se former… Eh bien, que dirais-tu si,
> pour vous faire la classe, je vous parlais en anglais?
>
> PITOU
> J'dirais rien, m'sieu, j'comprendrais pas!
>
> FERNAND
> Mais que ferais-tu? Allons, réponds, n'aie pas peur et sois franc…
> Que ferais-tu?
>
> PITOU
> Ben, j'sais pas, mais j'cré que j'foxerais souvent.[55]

When presented with the problem of what he would do if his teacher had to speak to him in

English in order for classes to continue, Pitou responds with two things: first, he would say

nothing as he would not understand anything and second, he would "foxer", a French-Canadian

---

[55] Leclaire, 11.

anglicism meaning to skip school.[56] By using this anglicism, Pitou has undermined Bostock and

Anglophone authority as he has stated that he would rather not attend school at all than learn in

English while simultaneously appropriating an English word to explain what he would do

instead. Later in the play, Bostock is attempting to leave the schoolhouse when Pitou plays a

little trick on him. In the stage directions it states, "*Pitou qui était venu se placer près de Bostock*

pouffe de rire et en se retournant, avec son écriture sur l'épaule, il accroche le chapeau de

Bostock qui roule par terre. Celui-ci le ramasse et, furieux, lève la main sur Pitou."[57] Again,

Pitou is able to undermine the authority of the Anglophone figuration of power by allowing the

characters and the audience to laugh at him. Bostock is no longer seen as the stoic and

unbreakable force that he was presented as earlier in the play. The dramaturgical strategy of

positioning subordinate French-Canadian characters like Thérèse, Marie-Blanche, Petit-Baptiste,

and Pitou, in direct opposition to the dominant Anglophone culture, represented by characters

like Durham and Bostock, humanizes the Anglophone Other, shifting the cultural power

dynamics and reducing the overall strength and influence of Anglophones.

5.4.2 (De)constructing the Dominant Narrative through Time and Space

  Theatre has the capacity to alter, change, fast-forward, or rewind time, and transport an

audience and performance into a new or alternate space and reality. Monique Borie describes the

performative space of theatre, which she calls the *espace-frontière,* as the place where past meets

present, the dead meet the living. In this mediating space, the invisible appears *within* the visible,

time becomes obscured by the encounter between past and present as the ghost "prend place dans

---

[56] "Foxer", *Je Parle Québécois*, https://www.je-parle-quebecois.com/lexique/definition/foxer.html.
[57] Leclaire, *Petit maître,* 21.

l'héritage une tradition orale, dans la réalité d'une véritable mémoire collective"[58] This connects

to Homi Bhabha's concept of the 'in-between', where culture is produced through the past

interrupting the performance of the present to reconfigure the relationship between the two

temporalities. The temporal ambiguity that Borie's stresses also relates to Ricoeur's notion of the

past-present-future, meaning that the past and the future always exist in the present. The ability

to renegotiate time and space is particularly important for post-colonial works and minority

literatures, as it provides an opening for alternative narratives to be made visible. As Gilbert and

Tompkins explain:

> The span of time dramatized in post-colonial 'history' plays varies greatly and any
> number of temporal moments may be presented: the present, the post-independence past,
> the colonial era, the crucial moment of contact, the pre-contact period, and the even older
> and highly significant past of the pre-human world.[59]

This is significant as post-colonial plays can address and engage more than simply the pre- and

post-colonial time periods, as is evidenced in several of the plays in this corpus. In the case of

French Canada, the early 20th century with the growth of nationalist movements and French-

Canadian national identity can be seen as the birth of the post-colonial era. Therefore, the

colonial era would extend from the crucial point of contact – the Battle of the Plains of Abraham

and the Conquest (1759-60) to the 20th century, though, as discussed in the introduction, the

point which both political and cultural colonisation ended is not unambiguous. The pre-colonial

era, therefore, would be from the arrival of the French in New France in the 16th century up to

the Conquest.

There are three dramaturgical strategies in particular that the early 20th century French-

Canadian playwrights employ relating to time destabilize and rewrite the dominant narrative: a)

---

[58] Monique Borie, *Le Fantôme ou le théâtre qui doute* (Paris: Actes Sud, 1997), 75.
[59] Gilbert and Tompkins, 139.

193

the invocation of history and cultural memory, b) the delineation of time and narrative, and c) the transformation or rewriting of historical narrative. On the level of theme, *Montcalm and Lévis* and *Le Petit-Baptiste* both invoke the history and memory of the Conquest of Québec and the beginning of colonial rule by the English. Similarly, *Peuple sans histoire* is set in the colonial era in Canada. In Marie-Victorin's work, the story of Madeleine de Verchères is also an invocation of the past that destabilizes the dominant narrative as it asserts the power and strength of the French-Canadian people throughout history. It quite literally interrupts the narrative that the French have no history or culture, undermining the entire premise of the Durham Report and the enactment of the Act of Union in 1840. At the end of the play, Durham himself reveals this link, saying, "Je vois en effet que le fort de Verchères est encore français, et que, malgré le siècle écoulé, l'ombre de la petite Madeleine revient parfois, la nuit, dans le Château, monter la garde!"[60] Durham is demonstrating that the present is, to employ Borie and Carlson's concept, ghosted by the past – or that the past cotinues to exist in the present.

While the other plays in this study are set in the early 20th century Canada, many contain elements that connect the past and cultural memory with the present. Leclaire's *Le petit maître d'école* is based on Regulation XVII, which was put into effect only four years earlier. While this is something that happened in the recent past and the effects were still being felt at the time of the play's inception in 1916, the play connects the current events to the past through the invocation of the spirit of Georges Etienne Cartier and the memory of their French-Canadian ancestors in their claim to Canada as their rightful home. Cartier was the Minister of Militia and Defense at the time of Confederation (1867) and was instrumental in the inclusion of Québec in confederation as its own entity. As a member of both the Legislative Assembly of Québec and

---

[60] Marie-Victorin, 14.

194

the Parliament of Canada, Cartier was a representative of the interests of French Canadians within the Anglophone government of Canada in Ottawa. This invocation of the past seems to illustrate the need for Cartier once more and implies the Anglophone government was making the same mistakes as it did following the Durham Report in attempting to assimilate French Canadians. This representation of collective memory's connection to the present undermines and fractures the linear dominant narrative as it demonstrates a cyclical nature of history and sociopolitical conflict between French and English Canada.

There is one play in particular that use non-linear narrative structures: *Acréyé ou Le sacre de Georges V*. Bey and Pick's play is a vaudeville or sketch style performance that includes a series of songs and sketches grouped together as acts that are more like musical movements than theatrical chapters. While the overall structure follows the journey of King George from England to Montréal, the use of song and the cabaret-style performance challenges the traditional dramatic arc by introducing new characters, themes, and ideas in rapid succession that are not explicitly connected to one another. For instance, the song "La Conférence Impériale" is immediately followed by "Les Gymnastes Canadiens".[61] This thematic jump, or *jeu scénique,* contains no temporal markers; in the text, it is unclear if the second song takes place at the same time and in the same location as the first. This places the responsibility of building narrative and making connections onto the *audience*, which in this case was French Canadian. This removes the authority for writing narrative and history from Anglophone culture.

Both *Peuple sans histoire* and *Le Petit-Baptiste* do not simply invoke the past: they rewrite it. In Marie-Victorin's fantastical (or alternative) version of events, instead of Lord Durham returning to England and presenting his report to the British government, he instead

---

[61] P.H. Bey and Jean Pick, "Acréyé ou Le "sacre" de Georges V," in *Théâtres des "Nouveautés"* (Oct. Nov. 1911), 3-4.

hands it over to Thérèse, saying, "Permettez-moi, miss, de vous remettre ceci, sans vous demander d'explications".[62] The consequences of this revision of history would be significant. The immediate result of the Durham Report, as mentioned earlier, was the Act of Union in 1840, joining Ontario and Québec as Upper and Lower Canada. This began the series of attempts to assimilate French Canadians into Anglophone culture and language, the effects of which were still actively affecting the lives of French Canadians in the 1920s and 1920s when tall of these plays were written. Thus, by rewriting – or undoing – history, Marie-Victorin is presenting an alternative vision not only of the past but also the *present*, one in which French Canadians would not be subjugated by Anglophone culture or the English language. In Lacanian terms, this strategy allowed the audience to see themselves as *whole* through the erasure of trauma and exclusion.

In *Petit-Baptiste*, the misinformation that Petit-Baptiste feeds to the English military leads to the victory of the French over the English at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. Not only does Petit-Baptiste feed incorrect information to the English but also during the battle when the English are about to launch their third attack against the already tired French army, Petit-Baptiste and his men gather as many drums as they can, hide in a thicket and "fait batter au champ de façon si endiablée que l'ennemi s'est cru débordé par une force supérieure tenue en reserve et s'est mis à fuir".[63] The rewritten version of history devastates the notion of Anglophone power and military might as they are represented as gullible and easily tricked rather than wise and knowledgeable. Not only that, in de Trémaudan's play, Montcalm survives, and it is Petit-Baptiste that dies in his place. In an act of great courage and martyrdom, the young boy gives his life for the future and survival of French Canada. If the Battle of the Plains of

---

[62] Marie-Victorin, 14.
[63] De Trémaudan, 34.

Abraham had ended in a French victory, the Conquest would not have taken place, and thus the colonial rule of the Anglophones over French Canadians would not have begun. Similar to *Peuple sans histoire*, there would be a cascade of changes to the historical narrative stemming from the revision of that one event that would lead right up to the 20th century. This play demonstrates a historical narrative where French Canadians are in control of their own destinies and do not become subjects of the English, which connects to the French-Canadian nationalist movements that were gaining ground in the first two decades of the 20th century and the desires of French Canadians to be independent.

Often in post-colonial theatre the fracturing of time is used "in tandem with the historicising and remapping of space", as Gilbert and Tompkins point out.[64] In looking at theatrical texts and performing a spatial analysis, the main question that is being posed is "What is this a place *of*?". In other words, the spatial analysis identifies the types of events that occur in a particular place and the types of ideas and interactions that exist in those places as well. In the case of post-colonial literatures, the notions of belonging and ownership are also important when looking at space.

In looking at the representation of Anglophone culture in this corpus of plays, it is interesting to note that there are only two locations that *belong* to the English: Buckingham Palace, which is present in Bey and Pick's *Acréyé ou Le sacre de Georges V* and Salisbury Plain, which is where Stonehenge is located, in Lemay's *L'espionne boche*. Both locations are in England and are significant public symbols of English culture around the world. Salisbury Plain, located in the south of England, is also the location of a World War I training camp for Canadian soldiers, which is what is being referenced in the play. In *Montcalm et Lévis*, we are presented

---

[64] Gilbert and Tompkins, 145.

with one additional location that changes ownership over the course of the play: Château St-Louis. The stage directions state that in Act 5, "*Le Drapeau anglais flotte à la tour du château*".[65] This anglicization of the space follows the victory of the English at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, initiating the Conquest of Québec. Battlefields, including the Plains of Abraham and trenches in France during World War I, which are also spaces included in this corpus, are spaces of contested ownership that change hands over the course of time.

What we do not see in any of these plays, however, are Anglophone cultural spaces – public or private – located within Canada. As discussed in Chapter 1, Susannah Radstone proposes that the 'locatedness' embedded in the collective memory of transcultural and displaced peoples has the capacity "to aid in the construction of new homes in new lands, this literature points, nevertheless, to the continuing significance of location, and, particularly, memories of 'home', for the meaning-making and affective dimensions of life in the present."[66] We see a great number of French-Canadian spaces in all of these plays, including homes, castles, village spaces, and churches, depicting a vast sense of home and presence in Canada. Gilbert and Tompkins explain:

> The political agency of imperialism's spatial history has been even more pronounced in the settler colonies where linguistic, economic, and cultural domination by Europeans depended on the conquest of the land as a site from which to articulate power over the indigenous inhabitants of the settler colonies. [67]

Although Anglophone culture and English power dominated Canada, these playwrights chose *not* to present spaces that belong to Anglophones in Canada. In doing so, these playwrights

---

[65] Adolphe-Basile Routhier, *Montcalm et Lévis: Drame historique* (Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionaire, 1918), 131.
[66] Susannah Radstone, "What Place is This? Transcultural Memory and the Locations of Memory Studies" in *Parallax 17:4* (2011): 110.
[67] Gilbert and Tompkins, 145.

remapped the landscape of Canada, positioning French Canadians as the ones that belonged and Anglophones as the ones that did not.

In all of the locations mentioned included in these plays, Anglophones are represented as invaders or welcome or unwelcome guests, connecting directly with the cultural memory of the French-Canadian people. One clear example of this is in Leclaire's *Le petit maître d'école* when Bostock enters Fernand's space and attempts to assert dominance over the French Canadian in law and in language. He asks to speak with Fernand in English, to which Fernand replies, "Pardon, monsieur, quand j'aurai, moi, à m'adresser à vous, je le ferai dans votre langue, mais comme c'est vous qui avez à me parler je vous prie de le faire dans la mienne, autrement je ne vous répondrai pas."[68] Fernand is claiming ownership over the space culturally and linguistically, making Bostock the outsider. By excluding Anglophone space from their plays, Leclaire and the other playwrights included in this study are reclaiming the stage and the spaces represented in their plays as their own, and in doing so they are *unhoming* Anglophone culture and authority and reconquering their own imaginative spaces – a tradition that continues and grows from the 1930s onward.

---

[68] Leclaire, 21.

CONCLUSION

Through the course of this research, it was discovered that Anglophone cultural representation was included in several of the plays written in the early 20th century, though the figure of the Anglophone was not always the same. In some cases, the Anglophone was represented as the oppressor or the aggressor, in other cases the Anglophone was presented as the ignorant, uneducated fool. What is clear through all of the plays, however, is that the Anglophone representation or figure has a *purpose,* or a *function:* to highlight alterity and to demonstrate moral or cultural inadequacy. The Anglophone characters do not grow or learn from their mistakes in these plays; they have no character arcs. Instead, Anglophone representation allows *French Canadians* to learn a lesson, from the dangers of Anglicization to the value of courage and sacrifice for one's people to the belonging and importance of French Canadians in and to Canada and Canadian history. The inclusion of Anglophone cultural representation and the post-colonial dramaturgical strategies employed by the playwrights has the *capacity* to give power and agency to French-Canadian audiences through new knowledge and the presentation of new *possibilities*. These strategies follow the sociopolitical and nationalist ideas of the time, particularly the desire for cultural and linguistic recognition and visibility, and the legitimization of cultural history, and thus these plays have the potential to have affected or contributed to the understanding of Self and of French-Canadian identity.

As a production dramaturg, having completed the historical and sociopolitical research and the close reading of a text, I would write a letter to the director illuminating them on the most interesting and unique elements of the play and the contexts that I think would be worth considering and exploring in production. This letter would encapsulate the important points of my research and, more importantly, explain the significance and potential impact of the themes,

ideas, and contexts that I have discovered in and around the play. It would also express my

desires for further exploration to provoke a deeper knowledge of the play. This dissertation, in

essence, is a written record of my dramaturgical process – academic and artistic – exploring the

object or corpus (rather than play) of early 20th century French-Canadian theatre history and the

specific topics (unique element) of Anglophone cultural representation and post-colonialism

within that corpus. It is only fitting that this study ends with a summative letter to the director,

whom I see in this case as my academic and artistic theatre communities.

Dear "Director",

In exploring early 20th century French-Canadian theatre, I discovered that there was a

great deal more theatre written during the period from 1910 to 1929 than initially suspected. It is

quite surprising that there were 138 French-Canadian playwrights active during those two

decades given that it was only just the beginning of the professional theatre scene, and neither a

system of patronage beyond drama clubs and boarding schools nor a critical vocabulary had yet

been established to support and discuss theatre in French Canada. As one would expect given the

clerical and civil nationalist movements that were gaining traction at that time, it is no surprise

that many of the plays from those early decades of the 20th century include nationalist sentiments

and ideology. Most of the plays, as you can find in Chapter 3 in my dramaturgy book, are either

comedy or drama, with more of the plays being dramas during and after World War I. This is

understandable given the shock and trauma of the war on societies around the world.

I started my thematic exploration of the corpus of 117 plays that I was able to find

through archival research using the analytical structure of Québec theatre historian Etienne

Duval. In his analysis there are two main categories into which plays can be classified: 1) plays

that deal with current events issues (current to the playwright), and 2) historical plays. The historical plays are based around events in Québec and French Canada's past, including the colonization of New France, the Conquest, and the Rebellions of 1837-38 in Upper and Lower Canada, particularly focussing on those in Lower Canada (which is what we know today as Québec). The plays dealing with issues relating to the present-day world of the playwrights include themes of social mores or values, World War I, most notably tales of courage and sacrifice of the French-Canadian people, economics, and politics, especially the institution of Regulation XVII in Ontario in 1912, a law which attempted to eliminate education in French. There are also plays with religious themes, which at times can be historical and based around liturgical figures, and at other times can be contemporary, looking at religious instruction and institutions in French Canada in the early 20th century. I followed up this analysis with my own thematic exploration of the corpus delving into themes relating to cultural representation, including politics and government, national identity, collective memory and history, race and racism, and cultural conflict. Through semiotic and dramaturgical analyses of the plays, I discovered clear links between notions of national identity (i.e. the Self) and the theme of race and racism. As we have already discussed in our conversations, the term 'race' in the early 20th century used by both the English and French to characterize or classify the French-Canadian people would be substituted today by the word 'nation'. I also found strong connections between collective memory and cultural conflict, which speaks to the desire of the French-Canadian people at that time to legitimize their cultural history through the development of government ministries and institutions and also the deep fissure between French- and English Canadians created by policies and ideology of Anglophones to discredit and eliminate the French-Canadian culture, heritage, and language.

As we are not able in one production (or one dissertation) to cover all of themes and ideas that could come from this incredible wealth of plays, I chose to focus my attention on one particular concept within the larger corpus: the representation of Anglophone culture in these French-Canadian plays. In brief, what I discovered was that early 20th century French-Canadian playwrights utilized dramaturgical strategies in two distinct ways: 1) to include Anglophones and Anglophone culture in their plays as a demonstration of their day-to-day engagements with the Other (cultural representation); and 2) as a means to build a counter-narrative and deconstruct Anglophone dominance and power (cultural *re*presentation).

In terms of Anglophone cultural representation, it is important to remember that French-Canadian lives were being affected by the Anglophone presence since the Conquest of Québec in 1760 and continue to be affected and influenced by the English government today. In the early 20th century, the English Ontarian and Manitoban governments instituted regulations (Regulation XVII and the Thornton Act, respectively) with the specific aim to eliminate the French language and culture through its exclusion from educational institutions; if children couldn't learn in their own language, and were forced to learn in English, they would simply cease to use French – at least that appeared to be their thinking, which was a direct result of Lord Durham's 1839 report claiming the French had no culture or heritage and his recommendation for assimilation. Plays such as Joseph Armand Leclaire's *Le petit maître d'école* and Frère Marie-Victorin's *Peuple Sans Histoire* address these issues directly through the dramatization of real events and people, as an immediate or imminent threat and as part of the collective cultural memory of the French-Canadian people. Similarly, the Conscription Crisis of 1917 was an immediate concern for the French-Canadian people as it forced them to fight on behalf of the King of England, for their conqueror. Horace J. Kearney's *Amour, Guerre, et Patrie,* and Aimé Plamondon's *Âmes*

françaises and J. Henri Lemay's *L'espionne boche* focus on the sacrifices being made by French-Canadian soldiers by going to war. Interestingly, these plays also glorify war, courage, and sacrifice, and seem to promote French-Canadian voluntary enlistment in the Canadian army. However, the characters in the plays also make it clear they are fighting for their motherland (France), *not* their conqueror (England).

On a more private or familial level, Anglophones were also present and participating in life with French-Canadians in the early 20th century, which affected both economic and marital opportunities of French Canadians. During this era, there was an increase in the number of English-owned businesses in the province of Québec, many of which created white collar jobs, which were in stark contrast to the traditionalist labour-based jobs such as agriculture and mining, of the French-Canadian people. This dynamic created a threat of "Anglicization" of French Canadians, with relationships with Anglophones and the knowledge of English being seen as a means to economic success and increased social standing. This is seen very clearly in Camille Duguay's *Veillée de Noël* and Magali Michelet's *Contre le flot*, both of which feature young French-Canadian women toying with the idea of marrying Anglophones. The plays are clearly cautionary tales; in Duguay's piece, the woman chooses the French-Canadian and is "saved" and remains part of the community, whereas in Michelet's play, the woman chooses the Anglophone and is ostracized from her own community (and soon becomes a widow). Even the farcical play *Soixante minutes ambassadeur au Japon* by Joseph Désilets demonstrates the influence and impact of Anglophones on daily life in French Canada in the early 20th century. The Anglophone Ottawa government mistakenly sends a telegram to Victoriaville, Québec rather than Victoria, British Colombia, raising the hopes of a French-Canadian mayor that he may become the next ambassador to Japan. But the mistake is discovered, and the mayor feels foolish

– for his own part in the miscommunication but also because it is made clear that an Anglophone would be chosen for a position like that, but not a French Canadian.

Through my work I have found that the playwrights employ three main dramaturgical tactics to represent Anglophone culture on stage: 1) the inclusion of collective memory; 2) language; and 3) character. The collective memory of the French-Canadian people incorporates an Anglophone presence, particularly at moments of cultural conflict. Plays like Leclaire's *Le petit maître d'école* and *Laurier*, as well as Marie-Victorin's *Peuple Sans Histoire*, Adolphe-Basile Routhier's *Montcalm et Lévis,* and *Petit-Baptiste* by Auguste Henri de Trémaudan, all contain elements of the French-Canadian collective memory, such as the Battle of the Hatpins, the invocation of Sir George Etienne Cartier, and the ascent of French-Canadian Wilfred Laurier to the seat of prime minister of Canada in Leclaire's works, the creation of Durham's report and the story of Madeleine de Verchères in Marie-Victorin's play, and the Battles of Carillon and the Plains of Abraham in both Routhier and de Trémaudan's plays. To varying degrees the English language is used in these plays, from Anglophone characters, such as Paddy O'Brien and Johnson, using English only to communicate, to Anglophone characters, such as Henry Greenwood and Inspector Bostock, successfully or unsuccessfully employing a mix of French and English (i.e. Franglais), to French characters, such as Boisvert and Duchausse, integrating English words into their dialogue, to no English being included at all in plays such as *Un gendre enragé* by Joseph Désilets and *L'espionne boche.* As you can see from the different ways that language is used, many of these plays include Anglophone characters as well – in fact, only three plays do not have any Anglophone characters at all.

Language and character as dramaturgical strategies are employed to subvert or *re*present Anglophone culture and reconfigure power dynamics between French and English Canadians.

Additionally, post-colonial strategies involving time and space are also used for these purposes. As mentioned earlier, not all plays include the English language, thus in some cases, even powerful, high-ranking Anglophone characters, such as Lord Durham in *Peuple Sans Histoire* and the King of England in *Acréyé ou le sacre de Georges V* by P.H. Bey and Jean Pick, speak entirely in French. In other plays, characters such as Inspector Bostock and Henry Greenwood use Franglais and fail to effectively communicate and assert themselves, and thus lose status and authority. In the case of Inspector Bostock, his inability to communicate in fact affects his ability to do his job, and as he is an inspector of schools, this creates dramatic irony as he is represented as ignorant or uneducated. For those characters that are unilingual Anglophones, particularly O'Brien and Johnson, they are also unable to do their job, further emphasizing Anglophone ignorance of the French language.

In the majority of the plays with Anglophone representation, the Anglophone characters are high-status and/or high-ranking, as government officials, military leaders, or business owners. What I found was that playwrights use subordinate French-Canadian characters, such as women and children, to subvert the power and authority of the dominant, masculine Anglophone characters. These effeminate characters are representatives of the French-Canadian culture and destiny; they are the keepers of cultural history and the storytellers of the French Canada collective memory. And they triumph over the dominant Anglophone Other to take back their place in history and in society as an *equal*. A very clear example of this can be found in *Peuple Sans Histoire*. Thérèse, a French-Canadian servant, stands up to Lord Durham and his claim that French Canadians have no heritage. Through storytelling, she manages to change Lord Durham's mind, and he gives *her* his report instead of taking it back with him to England.

In this example, we can also see the dramaturgical strategy of time being employed, as Marie-Victorin *alters* the ending of an historical event. The fracturing of linear time and narrative, the invocation of history and cultural memory, and the transformation or *rewriting* of history are all dramaturgical strategies used by these playwrights to subvert the dominant narrative of Anglophone cultural supremacy. Bey and Pick's *Acréyé ou le sacre de Georges V* is the most noteworthy example of the fracturing of linear narrative as it is written as a cabaret-style revue that jumps back and forth between different themes and storylines, from the showcasing of French-Canadian culture to the desire of King George to assert his power over his people in Canada. *Petit-Baptiste*, like *Peuple Sans Histoire*, changes the ending of an historical event in the play, as Montcalm survives the Battle of the Plains of Abraham when in real life he did not. Additionally, the play also invokes historical and collective memory as it depicts real people and events from the past. *Montcalm and Lévis* also follows the same historical events, but what is more interesting here is that this demonstrates not only a pattern of time but also space. Many of the spaces included in the plays that have Anglophone cultural representation are spaces of conflict, of battle, such as the battlefields in New France and Lower Canada, a World War I training camp in England, and trenches in France. Additionally, the playwrights often used spaces that *belong* to French-Canadians, such as Fernand's school and Boisvert's home, places where Anglophones are either invaders or unwelcome guests. The use of space connects directly with the French-Canadian cultural memory and the feeling of being *unhomed*.

As I was considering the dramaturgical strategies used in these plays and the mechanisms for Anglophone cultural representation and *re*presentation, or, in essence, the strategies for the inclusion of the Anglophone Other, I also explored the potential impact or effect of these strategies on French-Canadians, on the French-Canadian Self that makes up the *audience* of

207

these plays. In particular, I was struck by Peggy Phelan's writings on identity and visibility/invisibility in her book *Unmarked: the politics of performance*. She writes that, "[i]dentity is perceptible only through a relation to an other - which is to say, it is a form of both resisting and claiming the other, declaring the boundary where the self diverges from and merges with the other. In that declaration of identity and identification, there is always loss, the loss of not-being the other and yet remaining of that other for self-seeing, self-being."[1] While Phelan makes it clear that simply being visible does not mean that one automatically gains power and agency, occupying space and being present offers the *possibility* of being seen and, therefore, of being heard and understood. As a self-reflexive practice, theatre, and these plays, have the capacity to reconfigure power, to redefine national and cultural narrative, and to *legitimize* the French-Canadian identity. In our ongoing explorations of this corpus, we need to consider the ways our artistic practices allow or prevent these plays from being seen and studied and how we affirm or deny French-Canadian identity.

Another book that I found particularly compelling in helping me to understand the relationship between memory and identity was Marianne Hirsch's *Family Frames: photography, narrative, and postmemory.* In her book, she explains that the "only real 'self'… is coextensive with the mask, the makeup, and the costume. It is constructed in relation only to other performances, other artifacts, and thus it is itself always *other*, scattered through and among the debris of culture".[2] Hirsch points out that identity, and thus memory and collective memory, always exists in relation to an Other, to an outsider. Through the inclusion of Anglophone cultural representation in language, character, time, space, and collective memory, artefacts of

---

[1] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: the politics of performance* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 13.
[2] Marianne Hirsh, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 109.

the *French-Canadian Self* were also embedded into these plays. In other words, the inclusion of the English language and/or Anglophone culture *confirms* the presence of the French language and French-Canadian culture. In particular, the French language takes up space and time on stage, it *occupies* Anglophone characters like Lord Durham, interrupts the cultural rhythms of characters like Bostock and Greenwood, and denies them their own cultural space. The French language becomes the means of communicating history and memory, of asserting authority and power, even by characters like King George and the English military general Dunbar. At a time when the Anglophone governments were trying to remove French from Canadian culture, these playwrights demonstrated the *need* for French, not just for French-Canadians but also for English Canadians, through their plays.

The plays we are exploring play with the notions of the real and the imaginary, something that could be further explored in our production. The body takes on the form and representation of culture, of identity, and has the capacity to demonstrate difference, becoming a substitute for the real. The Anglophone characters included in these plays are, as mentioned earlier, primarily high-ranking or high-status characters. They are embodied by French-Canadian actors, and on a very simple level, those bodies then become imbued with the status of their characters. Though the Anglophone characters are of high-status, they are the *minority* in all of the plays. In fact, most often there is only one single Anglophone character in a play, which acts as the playwright's representation of Anglophone culture as a whole; in other words, that one character is a symbolic figuration of "Anglophone". In several of the plays, such as *Peuple Sans Histoire, Le petit maître d'école*, *Veillée de Noël,* and *Contre le flot*, the Anglophone character – or the Anglicized character in the case of *Contre le flot* – in the play loses their power and authority over the course of the play. Lord Durham hands over his report to Thérèse having learned of

French-Canadian cultural history, thus removing his power and status from returning to England with his infamous work. Inspector Bostock's inability to shut down Fernand's school and end education in French renders him a failure and his inability to communicate transforms him into a buffoon. Henry Greenwood loses his status of suitor because of his cultural ineptitude. And Corrine, the Anglicized French-Canadian character in Michelet's play, becomes a widow as her Anglophone husband (who does not appear in the play) dies, becomes a social outcast and is rejected by a former admirer when she asks him to marry her. In each of these cases, the Anglophone characters fall from their positions not simply because of a character flaw, but because of *ignorance* of the French language or French culture – or a rejection of it. French-Canadian culture and people, therefore, have *affirmed* as a valid culture that has its own history, its own language, and its own narrative that can be *learned* and *known.* The French characters and the French culture thus *take the place* of those fallen Anglophone characters and can be seen as greater or more powerful.

Through cultural representation of the Other on stage, subaltern cultures like the French-Canadian culture, engage in cultural contact with dominant narratives, developing counter-narratives and creating a space for re-evaluating collective memory and identity. In his book *The Audience,* Herbert Blau presents a compelling and evocative case for the potential of theatre to affect the audience, stating that "[h]owever weary we may be, in postmodern art and thought, of the features of mimesis, a spectre is haunting the world, and that is the power of representation to alter the balance of power. A good part of political struggle over that, as the better part of recent theory is an engagement with the operations of representational power, and the question of who has it."[3] By seeing alternative power dynamics between the Self and the Other on stage, the

---

[3] Herbet Blau, *The Audience* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990), 338.

audience is made to re-evaluate the power dynamics that exist in their real lives. It is possible that the representation of the Anglophone as a less dominant on stage, less authoritative character can take the place of the *real* and become the *reality* of French-Canadian life.

In *Peuple Sans Histoire* and *Petit-Baptiste* audiences are being directly asked to question their current reality as both plays radically alter historical events that position French-Canadians as subjects of Anglophones. The playwrights ask audiences how different the *present* would be if Lord Durham's report had never been submitted or if the Battle of the Plains of Abraham had been won by the French-Canadians and the Conquest never took place. How different would life be for French-Canadians in the early 20th century if either of those events did not happen? How different would life be *today*? What would French-Canadians' relationship be to English Canadians? What would their relationship be to Canada and to their sense of space and their perception of *home*?

The social critique that we do as artists and academics, is, as ethnographer Jim Thomas explains, radical. He writes that this type of work "implies an evaluative judgement of meaning and method in research, policy, and human activity… The act of critique implies that by thinking about and acting upon the world, we are able to change both our subjective interpretations and objective conditions."[4] The plays in this study engage in a critical discourse with alternative phenomenological time, power dynamics, and narratives. Beyond questioning what the present would be if history had been different, these plays ask audiences to consider *what could be changed now*, by them, through their own actions. These plays aim to shift the audience's *perception of Self* to reveal their own *agency*. In this way, these plays are artistic embodiments of French-Canadian *identity* and expressions of early 20th century French-Canadian *nationalism*.

---

[4] D. Soyini Madison, *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics & Performance* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), 13.

The next step to confirm the efficacy of these plays to affect the creation of national identity and their effect or impact on early 20th century French-Canadians would be to study the aesthetics of the plays, including a more in-depth analysis of character and form, as well as aesthetics or literary quality and scope or breadth of production. The analysis of character would involve looking at character archetypes to determine if there are parallels with other literary forms from the time and also to see if there are any more nuanced patterns that emerge regarding the function of different character types. The study of the form of the plays would involve looking more broadly at the corpus of 117 plays to identify trends and patterns within the plays and their structures. The study of the aesthetics and breadth of impact of the plays would require further archival research to develop production histories for each play to see how wide the audiences were that they reached and to perform a reception study of the plays using reviews and summaries, which were often published in newspapers to promote the plays. Additionally, it would be necessary to explore private letters, such as correspondence and diaries, of influential artistic and political figures from the time, to see if the plays were present in any of their thoughts and ideas.

I believe it would be valuable as well to continue the exploration into post-colonial and minority literature strategies used in Québec theatre, particularly looking at the Anglophone representation of French-Canadian culture in the more contemporary period of the 1970s onward. A comparative study between these two theatrical bodies of work could provide new insights into the ways that both communities employ strategies of cultural representation in times of cultural conflict and allow for an exploration into the *stakes* of presentation and representation of the Other.

Finally, I believe that there is a critical need in our work as academics and artists to ensure that the historical record of our work remain *accessible*. Theatre historians and thinkers David Dean, Yana Meerzon, and Kathryn Prince explain that "[t]heatre, in contrast to many other forms of historical representation, has the power to reshape elements of the past, but it can also capture, as a photograph or a fossil does, a fragment of its own historical moment for posterity".[5] The plays in this study *present* French-Canadian society in the early 20th century, its ideas, its positionality, its memory, and *represent* the Anglophone Other as it was seen in that historical moment. This corpus is a comprehensive snapshot in time that has the capacity to reshape, or at the very least further inform, our understanding of French-Canadian theatre history – but it can't do anything if it cannot be seen, read, or embodied. We need to continue to empower these voices and these alternative narratives by digitizing play texts, creating long-term archives that encourage exploration into theatre history and can be accessed by both artistic and academic communities, and engage in discourse with these plays through production and performance. In my role as dramaturg, I will continue to act as a bridge between these two worlds, to support, participate in, and guide both historical productions and research endeavours.

Your Dramaturg,

Alison Jane Bowie

---

[5] David Dean, Yana Meerzon and Kathryn Prince, eds., *History, Memory, Performance* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 8.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

<u>Plays cited and analyzed</u>

Bey, P.H. and Jean Pick, "Acréyé ou Le "sacre" de Georges V," in *Théâtres des "Nouveautés"* (Oct. Nov. 1911).

Désilets, Joseph, *Un gendre enrage* (Victoriaville: Author published, 1928).

Désilets, Joseph, *Soixante minutes ambassadeur du Japon* (Victoriaville: L'auteur, editeur, 1930).

de Trémaudan, Auguste Henri, *Petit-Baptiste: Comédie héroïque en quatre actes* (Montréal: Editions Edouard Garand, 1929).

Duguay, Camille, *La Veillée de Noël* (Beauceville: L'Eclaireur Limitée, 1926).

Kearney, Horace J., *Amour, Guerre et Patrie ou Pierrot Picotte s'Enrole* (Hull: Imprimerie Provost, 1925).

Leclaire, Joseph Armand, *Le petit maître d'école* (Montréal: Editions Edouard Garand, 1929).

Leclaire, Joseph Armand, *Laurier* (Montreal: Editions Edouard Garand, 1921).

Lemay, J. Henri, *L'espionne Boche* (Sherbrooke: La Tribune de Sherbrooke, 1916).

Marie-Victorin, Frère, *Peuple Sans Histoire* (Montréal: Frères des Ecoles Chretiennes, 1925).

Michelet, Magali, *Contre le flot* (Montréal: Librarie d'Action Canadienne-française, 1922).

Plamondon, Aimé, *Âmes Françaises: Épisode héroique en trois tableaux* (Québec: Imp. L'Action Sociale Ltée., 1916).

Routhier, Adolphe-Basile, *Montcalm et Lévis: Drame historique* (Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionaire, 1918).

<u>Additional Plays Referenced</u>

Beaudoin, Edouard, "Pardon d'une race: Drame acadien en trois acte," *Almanach de L'Action sociale catholique* [??: 1928], 42-53.

Carignan, Paul, *Lawrence* [unpublished typescript].

Circé-Cöté, Eva, *Maisonneuve* [unpublished typescript].

Corriveau, J. Eugène, *East Lynne* [unpublished typescript].

Daoust, Julien, *Evangéline: Drame en 5 actes et 6 tableaux* [unpublished typescript].

Daveluy, Marie-Claire, "La preuve par l'histoire," *Aux Feux de la rampe* (Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française, 1927).

De Cotret, Marc-Réné, *Le serum qui tue* (Montréal: Editions Edouard Garand, 1928).

Ferland, Jules, *Pousse-toué!: monologue comique canadien* (Montréal: self-published, 1929).

Fréchette, Louis, *Papineau* (Montréal: Chapleau & Lavigne Imprimeurs, 1880).

Guyon, Louis, *Denis le patriote: drame canadien français* [print unknown].

Letondal, Henri, *L'erreur du docteur Sartène* [print unknown].

Proulx, Antonin, *L'Enjoleuse : Dévotion : L'Amour à la poste* (Ottawa: Ateliers Typographiques de l'Imprimerie Canadienne, 1916).

Proulx, Antonin, "Pas Possible," *Le Pays Laurentien Vol 1,* (August 1916): 196-203.

Valade, Oscar, *Allo 1929* [unpublished typescript].

Secondary Sources

<u>Historical Sources</u>
"A LA SALLE STE ANNE," *Le Droit*, June 7, 1916, 2.

"Notre Concours Dramatique", *L'Action française* (November 1921), 686.

Assemblée Nationale du Québec, "Motion francœur", http://www.assnat.qc.ca/en/patrimoine/lexique/motion-francoeur.html.

Bellerive, Georges, *Nos auteurs dramatiques: Anciens et Contemporains – Répertoire analytique* (Montréal: Libraries Beauchemin Ltée, 1933).

Bourassa, Henri, "Réponse amicale a la 'Verité'", *Le nationaliste*, April 3, 1904.

Bourassa, Henri. *Patriotisme Canadien-Français: Ce qu'il est, ce qu'il doit être* (Montréal: La Cie de Publication de la Revue Canadienne, 1902).

Charbonnier, Abbé, "A.-H. de Trémaudan et ses dernières publications dramatiques," *La Presse,* June 14, 1929, 6.

Coulombe Pierre, *Language Rights in French Canada* (New York: Peter Lang Publications Inc., 1995).

de Nevers, Edmond, *L'avenir du people canadien-français* (Paris: Henri Jouves, 1896), 123-134.

Earl of Durham, *The Report on the Affairs of British North America* (London: G.H. Davidson, 1839).

Garand, Edouard, in Jean Féron, *l'Aveugle de Saint-Eustache* (Montreal: Editions Garand, 1924).

Garneau, François-Xavier, *Histoire du Canada* (Québec: C. Darveau, Imprimeur, 1864).

Government of Ontario, *Report of the Minister of Education for the year 1913*, ([Ontario?]: 1913).

Groulx, Lionel, *L'appel de la race* (Montréal: Editions Fides, 1956).

Groulx, Lionel, *La Confédération Canadienne: ses origins* (Montréal: Imprimerie Le Devoir, 1918).

Lescarbots, Marc, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Adrian Perier, 1609).

"LES FEMMES SONT A L'ECOLE GUIGUES," *Le Droit,* January 7, 1916, 6.

Dramaturgy and Performance

Aristotle, *Aristotle's Poetics,* trans. George Whalley, eds. John Baxter and Patrick Atherton (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures 2nd edition*, (New York: Routledge, 2002).

Blau, Herbet, *The Audience* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990).

Boal, Augusto, *Legislative Theatre: Using performance to make politics,* translated by Adrian Jackson (New York: Routledge, 2005).

Borie, Monique, *Le Fantôme ou le théâtre qui doute* (Paris: Actes Sud, 1997).

Bowie, Alison and Gene Gibbons, "Chapter 2: History of Dramaturgy," in *Towards a New Dramaturgy* (Toronto: TopHat, 2018).

Butler, Judith, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution" in *Performance Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Bial. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 154-166.

Butler, Judith, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

Carlson, Marvin, *The Haunted Stage: Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

Chemers, Michael Mark, *Ghost Light: An Introductory Handbook for Dramaturgy* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University, 2010).

Filewod, Alan, *Performing Canada: The Nation Enacted in the Imagined Theatre* (Kamloops, BC: University College of the Cariboo, 2002).

Grobbel, Michaela, *Enacting Past and Present: The Memory Theaters of Djuna Barnes, Ingeborg Bachmann, and Marguerite Duras* (Toronto: Lexington Books, 2004).

Ladouceur, Louise and Nicole Nolette, "*Cow-boy poétré*: A Bilingual Performance for a Unilingual Audience" in *Staging and Performing Translation: Text and Theatre Practice, eds.* Roger Baines, Cristina Marinetti and Manuela Perteghella, (London: Palgrave, 2011), 155-169.

Lessing, Gothhold, *The Hamburg Dramaturgy: A New and Complete Annotated English Translation,* trans. Wendy Arons and Sara Figal (New York: Routledge, 2018).

Phelan, Peggy, *Unmarked: the politics of performance* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

Rynært, Jean-Pierre and Julie Sermon, *Le personage théâtrale contemporain: decomposition, recomposition* (Montreuil: Éditions Théâtrales, 2006).

Sarrazac, Jean-Pierre, *Poétique du drame modern: De Henrik Ibsen à Bernard-Marie Koltès* (Paris: Seuil, 2012).

Schechner, Richard, *Performance Studies: An Introduction Second Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

Sermon, Julie, "Qui du visage et de la figure? Les dramaturgies contemporaines, entre tradition humaniste et effects de *persona*," *Ligeia* Vol 1, No. 81-84 (2008): 117-128.

Sofer, Andrew, *Dark Matter: Invisibility in Drama, Theater, and Performance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013).

Taylor, Diana, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

Turner, Cathy and Synne K. Behrndt, *Dramaturgy and Performance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Williams, David, "Geographies of Requiredness: Notes on the Dramaturg in Collaborative Devising," *Contemporary Theatre Review* Vol 20, No. 2 (2010): 197-202.

French-Canadian Theatre History

Ancestry.com. *Québec, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621-1967*[database online]. (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2008), Original data: Gabriel Drouin, comp. *Drouin Collection*. Montréal, Québec, Canada: Institut Généalogique Drouin, Accessed through ancestry.ca.

Assemblée Nationale du Québec, "Joseph-Henri LEMAY", assnat.qc.ca, http://www.assnat.qc.ca/en/deputes/lemay-joseph-henri-4149/biographie.html (2009).

Beauchamp, Hélène and Gilbert David, eds., *Théâtres Québécois et canadiens-français au XXe siècle: Trajectoires et territoires* (Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2003).

Beaulne, Guy, *Répertoire du théâtre de langue française au Canada* (Québec: Ministère des affaires culturelles du Québec, 1966).

Béraud, Jean, *350 ans de théâtre au Canada Français* (Montréal: Le Cercle du livre de France, 1958).

"Collection Gilles Latulippe," Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, https://advitam.banq.qc.ca/notice/530463.

"Décès du gérant du 'Devoir'", *Le Droit*, January 9, 1945, 9.

Duchesne, Raymond and Tabitha Marshall, "Frère Marie-Victorin," *The Canadian Encyclopedia,* last edited March 4, 2015, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/frere-marie-victorin.

Duval, Etienne-F, *Le jeu de l'histoire et de la société dans le théâtre québécois 1900-1950* (Trois-Rivières: Collection Théâtre d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, 1983).

"Fonds Fred Ratté," Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, https://advitam.banq.qc.ca/notice/523309

"Fonds Jean Grimaldi," Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, https://advitam.banq.qc.ca/notice/527357.

Greffard, Madeleine and Jean-Guy Sabourin, *Le théâtre québécois* (Montreal: Editions Boréal, 1997).

Guay, Hervé, *L'éveil culturel: Théâtre et presse à Montréal, 1898-1914* (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2010).

Hamel, Reginald, John Hare, and Paul Wyczynski, "KEARNEY, Horace J. (1858-1940)," in *Dictionnaire des auteurs de langue française en Amérique du nord* (Québec: Editions Fides, 1989).

Houlé, Léopold, *L'Histoire du Théâtre au Canada: Pour un retour aux classiques* (Montréal: Editions Fides, 1945).

Lefebvre, Marie-Thérèse, ed., *Chroniques des arts de la scene: À Montréal Durant l'entre-deux-guerres – Danse, Théâtre, Musique* (Québec: Les éditions du Septentrion, 2016).

Legris, Renée, Jean-Marc Larrue, André-Gilles Bourassa and Gilbert David, *Le théâtre au Québec, 1825-1980. Repères et perspectives* (Montreal: VLB éditeur, 1988).

Mailhot, Laurent and Doris-Michel Montpetit, eds., *Monologues Québécois 1890-1918* (Montréal: Leméac, 1980).

"Marie-Victorin, Frère (Pseud. Conrad Kirouac)" in *Dictionnaire des auteurs de langue française en Amérique du Nord* (Montréal: Editions Fides, 1989).

Nardocchio, Elaine F., *Theatre and politics in modern Québec* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986).

Rao, Sathya, "'Le Coin feminine' de Magali: une rubrique feminine pas comme les autres" in *Cahiers franco-canadiens de l'Ouest Vol 25, No 1-2* (2013): 129-153.

Rao, Sathya and Denis Lacroix, "Sur la piste de Magali Michelet, femme de lettres et chroniqueuse de l'Ouest canadien" in *Francophonies d'Amérique No 34* (Autumn 2012): 173-192.

Rinfret, Edouard G. Rinfret, *Le théâtre canadien d'expression française tomes 1-4* (Ottawa: Editions Leméac, 1976).

Robert, Lucie, *Apprivoiser la modernité théâtrale: La pièce en un acte de la Belle Époque à la Crise – Anthologie* (Montréal: Editions Nota Bene, 2012).

Tourangeau, Rémi, *Dictionnaire des jeux scéniques du Québec au XXᵉ siècle* (Laval: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2007).

French-Canadian Sociopolitical and Cultural History

Behiels, Michael, "L'Association catholique de la jeunesse Canadienne-française and the Quest for a Moral Regeneration, 1903-1914," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 13, No. 2, (Summer 1978): 27-41.

Cambron, Micheline, ed., *La Vie Culturelle à Montréal vers 1900* (Montréal: Editions Fides, 2005).

Cameron, Brian, "The Bonne Entente Movement, 1916-1917: From Cooperation to Conscription," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 13, No. 2 (Summer 1978): 42-55.

Corbett, Edward M., *Québec Confronts Canada* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967).

Harvey, Fernand, "La vie Culturelle à Québec (1791-2008): Essai d'interprétation," *Les Cahiers des dix* 62 (2008): 251-281.

Hayward, Annette, "Littérature et politique au Québec pendant la première moitié du vingtième siècle" in *Canadian Literature, Issue 209* (Summer 2011): 68-89.

Keelan, Geoff, "The Forgotten Few: Quebec and the Memory of the First World War," in *The Great War: From Memory to History*, eds. Kellen Kurschinski, Steve Marti, Alicia Robinet, Matt Symes, and Jonathan F. Vance (Ottawa: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2015).

Lamonde, Yvan, *Histoire sociale des idées au Québec 1896-1929, Vol 2* (Montréal: Fides, 2004).

Morris, Peter, *Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian Cinema 1895-1939* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978).

Pelletier, Louis, "An Experiment in 'Historically Correct' Canadian Photoplays: Montreal's British American Film Manufacturing Co.," *Film History: An International Journal* 19, No 1 (2007): 34-48.

Rajotte, Pierre, "Strategies d'écrivains québécois de l'entre-deux-guerres: séjours et rencontres en France," *Réseaux littéraires France-Québec (1900-1940)* 26, No. 2 (2004): 31-50.

Savard, Pierre, "Relations avec le Québec," in *Les Franco-Ontariens*, ed. Cornelius J. Jaenen (Ottawa: Ottawa University Presses, 1993), 239-240.

Shabani, Omid A. Payrow, "Language Policy and Diverse Societies: Constitutional Patriotism and Minority Language Rights," *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory* 11, no. 2 (2004): 193-216.

"The Cost of Canada's War," Canadian War Museum, https://www.warmuseum.ca/firstworldwar/history/after-the-war/legacy/the-cost-of-canadas-war/.

Véronneau, Pierre and Andrew McIntosh, *Quebec Film History: 1896 to 1969*, last edited March 4, 2015, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-cinema-of-quebec.

Nationalism, Identity, and Post-Colonialism

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism Revised Edition* (New York: Verson, 2006), 6-7.

Bhabha, Homi, *Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

Bouchard, Gérard, Genèse des nations et cultures du Nouveau Monde: Essai d'histoire compare (Montréal: Editions Boréal, 2001).

Cambron, Micheline, *Une société, un récit: Discours culturel au Québec (1967-1976)* (Montréal: Editions de l'Hexagone, 1989).

Chanandy, Amaryll, "Rereading Quebecois literature in a postcolonial context," *Quebec Studies* Vol 35, (Spring-Summer 2003).

Cormier, Jeffrey and Philippe Couton, "The limits of Quebec nationalism, 1918-39: An interwar paradox," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 4, 4 (1998): 47-74.

De Certeau, Michel, Frederic Jameson and Carl Lovitt, "On The Oppositional Practices of Everyday Life," *Social Text No. 3* (Autumn 1980): 3-43.

Denzin, Norman K., *Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 1997), 92.

Dumont, Fernand, *Genèse de la société Québécoise: essai* (Montréal: Editions Boréal, 1997).

Gilbert, Helen and Joanne Tompkins, *Post-colonial drama: theory, practice, politics* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

Giroux, Dalie, *L'œil du maître. Figures de l'imaginaire colonial Québécois* (Montréal: Editions Mémoire d'encrier, 2020), 11-12.

Harel, Simon and Isabelle St-Amand, eds., *Les figures du siège au Québec: Concertation et conflits en context minoritaire* (Laval: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2011).

Harel, Simon, ed., *L'étranger dans tous ses étais: Enjeux culturels et littéraires,* ed. Simon Harel (Montréal: XYZ éditeur, 1992).

Lacan, Jacques, "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the *I* Function as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience" in *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English*, trans. Bruce Fink (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2006), 75-81.

Madison, D. Soyini, *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics & Performance* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2005).

Montpetit, Edouard, *Les survivances françaises au Canada*, (Paris: Plon-Nourit, 1914).

Pacquette , Jonathan, Aurélie Lacassgne, and Robin Nelson, "Patrimoine et territorialisations: les imaginaires culturels du terroir dans la region des Laurentides au Québec," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 52, No. 1, (Winter 2018): 193-216.

Pratt, Mary Louis, *Imperial Eyes: travel writing and transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

Reid, Philippe, *Le regard de l'autre: La naissance du nationalisme au Québec – essai* (Montréal: Editions de L'instant même, 2008).

Rimstead, Roxanne and Domenico A. Beneventi, eds., *Contested spaces, counter-narratives, and culture from below in Canada and Quebec* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018).

Roach, Joseph R., "Imagined Communities: Nation, Culture, and Audience Restaged" in *Nineteenth Century Theatre* (Summer 1993: 21. 1): 41-49.

Taylor, Charles, "Nation Culturelle, nation politique" in *Penser la nation québécoise…,* ed. Michel Venne (Montréal: Editions Québec Amérique, 2000), 41.

Taylor, Charles, *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition": An Essay by Charles Taylor* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992).

Tyson, Lois, *Critical Theory Today: A User-Friendly Guide, 2nd Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

Wolf, Michaela, "The *Third Space* in Postcolonial Representation" in *Changing the Terms: Translating in the Postcolonial Era,* Sherry Simon and Paul St-Pierre, eds. (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2000): 127-146.

Literature and Literary Theory
Barthes, Roland, *Essais critiques* (Paris: Seuil, 1991)

Bourdieu, Pierre, *Outline of a Theory of Practice,* trans. Richard Nice (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984).

Chartier, Daniel, *L'émergence des classiques. La réception de la littérature québécoise des*

années 1930 (Montreal: Editions Fides, 2000).

Deleuze, Gilles et Félix Guattari, *Kafka: Pour une littérature mineure* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1975).

Lemire, Maurice, eds., *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec Tome II 1900-1939* (Montréal: Editions Fides, 1987).

Maingueneau, Dominique, *Le discours littéraire. Paratopie et scène d'énonciation* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2004).

Michon, Jacques, ed., *Histoire de l'édition littéraire au Québec au XXe siècle: La naissance de l'éditeur 1900-1950* (Montréal: Fides, 1999).

Nepveu, Pierre, *L'Écologie du reel: Mort et naissance de la littérature Québécoise contemporaine – essai* (Montréal: Editions Boréal, 1999).

Ricoeur, Paul, *Temps et Récit Tome III* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1985).

Robert, Lucie, *L'Institution du Littéraire au Québec* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1989).

Saint-Jacques, Denis et Lucie Robert, eds., *La vie littéraire au Québec VI 1919-1933* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2010).

Saint-Jacques, Denis and Maurice Lemire, eds., *La vie littéraire au Québec V 1895-1918* (Saint-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005).

Schlanger, Judith, *La mémoire des oeuvres* (Rieux-en-Val: Éditions Verdier, 2008).

Memory Studies

Dean, David, Yana Meerzon and Kathryn Prince, eds., *History, Memory, Performance* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015).

Halbwachs , Maurice, *On Collective Memory,* translated and edited by Lewis A. Coser, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Hirsch, Marianne, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Kansteiner, Wulf, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies" in *History and Theory* 41, 2 (May 2002): 179-197.

Nora, Pierre, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire" in *Representations No. 26 Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory* (Spring 1989): 7-24.

Radstone, Susannah, "What Place is This? Transcultural Memory and the Locations of Memory Studies" in *Parallax 17:4* (2011): 109-123.

Schwartz, Barry, "Cultural and Collective Memory: Comparative perspectives" in *Handbook of Cultural Sociology* (New York: Routledge, 2011): 619-628.

Smelik, Anneke and Liedeke Plate, eds., *Performing Memory in Art and Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

Language and Linguistics

Bosinelli, Rosa Maria Bollettieri & Ira Torresi, "Message(s) in a bottle: translating memory, the memory of translation," *InTRAlinea: Online Translation Journal* 18 (2016), http://intralinea/org/archive/article/2213

Brownlie, Siobhan, *Mapping Memory in Translation* (London: Palgrave, 2016).

Cassin, Barbara, ed., *Dictionary of Untranslatables: A Philosophical Lexicon* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

de Saussure, Ferdinand, *Course in General Linguistics,* trans. Wade Baskin (New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1959).

"Foxer", *Je Parle Québécois*, https://www.je-parle-quebecois.com/lexique/definition/foxer.html.

Lefebvre, Henri, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life,* trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (New York: Continuum, 2004).

Muysken, Pieter, *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of code-switching* (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Simon, Sherry, "Translating and interlingual creation in the contact zone: Border writing in Quebec" in *Post-Colonial Translation: Theory and practice*. Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, eds. (New York: Routledge, 1999).

Complementary Sources

Bowie, Alison, "Le Petit Maitre d'école: L'auteur et la pièce," trans. Rodrique Leclerc, https://www.sgq.qc.ca/images/_SGQ/R_LAncetre_plus_libre/TRAD-RLeclerc-ArmandLeclerc-biographie.pdf.

Barthes, Roland, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography,* translated by Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981).

Bassnett, Susan, "Translation as Re-Membering" in *Cultural Memory: Essays on European Literature and History,* Edric Caldicott and Anne Fuchs, eds. (New York: Peter Lang Publications Inc., 2003): 293-310.

Bergson, Henri, *Le rire: Essai sur la signification du comique* (Paris: Editions Alcan, 1924).

Burger, Baudouin, *L'activité théâtrale au Québec 1765-1825* (Montréal: Editions l'Hexagone, 1991).

Chapman, Rosemanry, *What is Québécois Literature: Reflections on the Literary History of Francophone Writing in Canada,* 2013

Comeau, Robert, Charles-Philippe Courtois et Denis Monière, eds. *Histoire Intellectuelle de L'Indépendantisme Québécois: Tome I 1834-1968* (Montréal: VLB Editeur, 2010).

Derrida, Jacques, *Psyche: Inventions of the Other Volume 1* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).

Dion, Léon. *Nationalismes et politiques au Québec* (Montréal: Editions Hurtubise HMH, Ltée., 1975).

Drouin, Jennifer, *Shakespeare in Québec: nation, gender, and adaptation,* 2014

Dumont, Fernand. *Raisons Communes* (Montréal: Les Editions du Boréal, 1995).

Haslam, Mary, "Ireland and Quebec Rapprochement and Ambiguity," *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 33, 1 (Spring 2007): 75-81.

Hayway, Annette, *La querelle du régionalisme au Québec, 1904-1931: vers l'autonomisation de la littérature québécoise* (Ottawa: Le Nordir, 2006).

Hirsch, Marianne and Leo Spitzer, "Testimonial Objects: Memory, Gender, and Transmission," *Poetics Today 27:2* (2006): 353-383.

Hurley, Erin, *National Performance: Representing Quebec from Expo 67 to Céline Dion* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

Knowles, Ric, *The Theatre of Form and the Production of Meaning* (Montreal: ECW Press, 1999).

Laframboise, Philippe, *Fred Barry et la petite histoire du théâtre au Québec* (Montréal: Les Editions Logiques, 1996).

Larrue, Jean-Marc, *Le théâtre à Montréal à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Montreal: Editions Fides, 1981).

Leduc, Jean-Marc, "La figure de l'Irlandais au Québec: perspectives historiques et littéraires (1815-1922)*,"* Masters thesis, Concordia University, 2014.

Mailhot, Laurent and Jean-Cléo Godin, *Théâtre québécois Tome I* (Québec: Bibliothèque québécoise, 1989).

Mailloux, Steven. *Rhetorical Power*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

Moss, Jane, "Les théâtres francophones post-identitaires: état des lieux" in *Canadian Literature, Issue 187* (Winter 2005): 57-72.

Ouellet, Thérèse, *Bibliographie du théâtre canadien-français avant 1900* (Québec: [s.n.], 1949).

Perron, Paul, *Narratology and text: subjectivity and identity in New France and Québécois literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

Pouliot, Suzanne, "L'édition théâtrale au service de l'éducation et de la nation (1800-1970)" in *L'histoire de la science en literature pour l'enfance et de jeunesse Vol 11, No 2* (2008): 103-117.

Radstone, Susannah, "Reconceiving Binaries: The Limits of Memory," *History Workshop Journal,* 59 (Spring 2005): 134-150.

Saint-Jacques, Denis and Marie-José Des Rivières, eds., *De La Belle Epoque à la Crise. Chroniques de la vie culturelle à Montréal* (Montreal: Editions Nota Bene, 2015).

Talib, Ismail S., *The Language of Postcolonial Literatures: an introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

Vauthier, Marie, *New World Myth: Postmodernism & Postcolonialism in Canadian Fiction*, 1998).

White, Hayden, *Figural Realism: Studies in the Mimesis Effect* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999).

Appendices

Appendix A: All plays 1910-1929
       Section 1: Play listings – Production and format
       Section 2: Play listings – Publication and document location

Appendix B: Playwrights active 1910-1929

Appendix C: Play themes – Retrieved plays
       Section 1: Duval thematic listings
       Section 2: Study-specific thematic listings

Appendix A

All plays discovered to have been created between 1910 and 1929

Play listing sources

MQ	Monoloques québécois
DOC	Date included in physical or digital document
TCEF	Theatre canadien d'expression française
NAD	Nos auteurs dramatiques
RduT	Repertoire du Theatre
DJS	Dictionnaire des Jeux Scneiques du Quebec au Xxe Siecle
Other	Other - specification included in notes

Locations Found

BAnQ	Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec
NC-BAnQ	National Collection/Collection nationale - Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec
A-BAnQ	Archives - Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec
BAnQ PDF	PDF Document available through the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec collection numérique
NTS	National Theatre School

Note 1: Not all plays with locations listed were included in the study. Some of the call numbers were discovered to be inaccurate or the item was no longer available. Additioally, the pandemic restricted access to materials in locations other than Montréal.

Note 2: For analysis, monologue anthologies have been kept as one unit

Note 3: Information included for production is based on listed sources only. Publication information was coroborated by the sources themselves when found.

Section 1 - Production and Play Format Details

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Add. Author(s)	Earliest Prod or Writ. Date	Date Source	Writing/Production Details (from listed sources only)	Genre	Format	No. Acts/Scenes	Notes
L'	Absolution	Vekeman	Victor					Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Acréyé ou Le Sacre de Georges V	Bey	P.H.	Jean Pick	1911	TCEF	Performed in Montreal in 1911	Comedy	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Ad Majora	Laramée	Jean		1927			Religious	Multi-Scene	3 tableaux	with chorus
	Aéroplane	Daoust	Julien (d'Aoust)		1912	TCEF	Dates included: 1912-1916; Dates are not specified as publication or production	Revue	Multi-Act	5 acts	
Les	Ailes Cassées	Girard	Rodolphe		1932	TCEF	Performed Oct 16 1932 in Montreal and on Radio-Canada in 1953	Comedy Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
	Allo 1929 - Grande Revue	Valade	Oscar					Revue	Multi-Scene		
	Allons-y Brunette	Gauthier	Conrad		1919	TCEF	Performed at Théâtre Canadien Francais Feb 24 1919	Revue	Multi-Scene	5 tableaux	
	Âme de Femme	Mallet	Jean		1928	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed Feb 28 1928 at Monument National	Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Ames Francaises	Plamondon (Le Chevalier)	Aimé		1916	TCEF; RduT	Performed by Union dramatique de Quebec in Quebec 1916	Drama	Multi-Scene	3 tableaux	
	Ames Héroïques	Romuald (frère)	Francois (AKA Frere Raphael-Francois)		1921	TCEF; NAD	Performed April 12 1921 in Trois-Rivieres	Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	drama with a chorus and orchestra
	Amour à la poste	Proulx	Antonin					Comedy	One Act		
L'	Amour Contre La Haine	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)		1928	TCEF	Monument National	Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
L'	Amour en voyage	Hébert	Paul		1928	NAD; RduT					
	Amour et Patrie ou Crime Héroïque	Leclaire	Joseph Armand					Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Amour et Pays ou La Terre Chez Nous	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1923	TCEF; NAD; DOC	Presented Dec 1 1926 at Salle de Ville Saint-Henri Montreal; date on document Oct 16 1923	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
L'	Amour style moderne	Deyglun	Henri		1929	RduT	No production details				
	Amour, Guerre et Patrie ou Pierrot Picotte s'Enrole	Kearney	Horace J.		1919	TCEF	Performed 1919 Odeon de Hull, Nov 29 1923 Collegiate Institute, 17 Dec 1923 Ford City, Jan 22 1924 salle de l'ecole Saint-Francis (Sandwich, ON), Nov 7 1938 Salle Saint-Alphonse, Dec 2 & 5 1948 Salle Cartier par les Amis de la Scene	Melodrama	Multi-Act	6 acts	
Les	Amours d'Une Reine	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)		1929	TCEF	Performed at Monument National Feb or March 1929	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
L'	Ange Prisonniers Politiques	Daveluy	Marie-Claire		1926	TCEF	Date written, does not have production information	Comedy	One Act		
L'	Angelus et les Glaneuses	Coupal	Maximilian		1929	TCEF	Created in Saint-Rémi in April 1929 for the Congrès marial de Québec	Drama	Multi-Scene	Tableaux	Poetic
L'	Anglomanie	Circé-Côté	Eva (Colombine)		1922	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Presented March 21 1922 at the Monument National under the patronage of la Société des Auteurs Canadiens; Winner of prix l'Action francaise	Comedy			
L'	Anniversaire 50	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon					Sketch/Bouffe			
L'	Anti-Féministe	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène		1922	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Created April 26 1922 at Salle des Chevaliers de Colomb (location?)	Comedy	One Act		
	Appel du Missionnaire	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène		1925	TCEF		Comedy	One Act		Lyrical
	As-tu vu la r'vue???	Robi	Armand	Pierre Christe	1913	TCEF	Presented March 31 1913 at Theatre National francais in Montreal	Revue	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Associons-Nous	Daveluy	Marie-Claire					Historical		5 sketches	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Add. Author(s)	Earliest Prod or Writ. Date	Date Source	Writing/Production Details (from listed sources only)	Genre	Format	No. Acts/Scenes	Notes
	Attisez le Feu	Daveluy	Marie-Claire		1925	TCEF	Date written, does not have production information	Comedy	One Act		
	Au Clair de la Lune	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		1922	Other	Performed at Theatre Chanteclerc week of January 22 1922	Revue	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Aurore, l'Enfant Martyre	Petitjean	Léon	Henri Rollin (Henri Plante), Alfred Nohcor (Alfred Rochon)	1928	TCEF; RduT	Presented June 29 1928 at theatre Saint-Denis in Montreal	Melodrama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
L'	Autre Chemin	Letondal	Henri		1919	TCEF; RduT	Performed May 12 1919 at Salle du Gesu in Montreal	Drama	One Act		
L'	Aveugle de Saint-Eustache ou l'Aveugle de la Forge	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1924	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Presented at Monument National June 24 1924, then Nov 23-25 1926 by Cercle Larin at l'Academie, Christophe-Colomb, then Dec 9 1926 at Sandwich, ON, Dec 12-13 1926 in Detroit, Oct 29 1931 at Salle Municipale de Saint-Henri	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Avez-vous vu Phonsine?	Lafontaine	Henri		1926	TCEF	Performed at a salle municipale in Longueuil Jan 20 1926	Comedy	Monologue	Monologue	
Le	Baiser	Lemaire	Géorgine		1922	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Presented May 8 1922 at Salle Saint-Sulpice, then Jan 28 1923 at Theatre parisien de Montreal	Comedy	One Act		
Le	Beau Soir	Hornier	J. Arthur						One Act		
La	Belge aux gants noirs	Lacerte	Emma Adèle (Madame Bourgeois)					Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
La	Belle Montréalaise	Daoust	Julien (d'Aoust)					Comedy	Multi-Scene	6 tableaux	Lyrical
La	Berceuse	Ouellette	Conrad Émilien		1925	TCEF; RduT	Presented Nov 24 1925 at Chateau Frontenac and March 21 1933 at paroisse Saint-Francois-Solano by Alliance Paroissiale Forte	Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
Les	Berniers	??	Anonyme		1913	TCEF	Montreal, Cercle Lasalle, Service annuel 1913	Drama			
	Boches	Plante	Alex (Alexandre Villandray)		1915	TCEF	Performed March 18 1915 at Theatre de l'Autitorium in Quebec	Drama	One Act		
Un	Bon Coeur	Guay	Alfred						Single scene/tableau/sketch		
Un	Bon Coeur: Noël mondain	Guay	Alfred		1923						
Les	Boucaniers ou Frères de la Côte	McGown	J.G.W.					Historical	Multi-Act	5 acts	
La	Bouée	Choquette	Ernest					Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
Le	Bouquet de Melusine (Three steps: l'Ordre de bons temps, Madame de Repentigny, and Forestiers et voyageurs)	de Montigny	Corolus Glatigny Louvigny		1928	Other; TCEF	From Dictionnaire des Oeuvres: Scenes de folklore representes au Festival de Quebec, Mai 1928	Historical	Multi-Scene	3 scenes	Listed in Dictionnaire des Oeuvres; has music
	C'est Fini	Vekeman	Victor		1921	TCEF	Performed Nov 13 1921 gynamse Sainte-Anne Woonsocket RI		Multi-Scene	4 scenes	
	C'est la vie	Gauvreau	Louis-François (M.F.)		1914	TCEF; RduT	Performed at the Theatre Canadien de Montreal	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	C'est la vie	Gauvreau	Louis-François (M.F.)		1924	TCEF; RduT; Other	Performed at Theatre Chanteclerc 1924 (L'Authorité)	Revue	Multi-Scene		Musical Comedy revue
La	Cadeau	Daveluy	Marie-Claire		1924	TCEF	Date written, does not have production information	Comedy	One Act		
Le	Calvaire d'une mère	Lefebvre	Arthur		1915	TCEF; Other	Performed for the first time in Montreal ; Performed at Theatre Corona in Monreal (Le Clairon)	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Add. Author(s)	Earliest Prod or Writ. Date	Date Source	Writing/Production Details (from listed sources only)	Genre	Format	No. Acts/Scenes	Notes
Un	Canadien Errant	Aumais (prêtre)	L.N.		1928	TCEF	salle municipale de Saint-Télesphore 16 fev 1928	Drama	Multi-Act	2 acts	
Les	Canadiens de "37"	Beaulieu	Germain		1927	NAD; RduT; TCEF	November 28 1927 at Monument National	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Ce que je vois! Ce que je pense!	Lassalle	Eugène (Marguerite-Marie)		1925			Comedy	Monologue		Series of monologues
Les	Ceintures Fléchées	Guyon	Louis		1928	TCEF; NAD	Performed Feb 20 1928 at Monument National	Comedy	Multi-Act	4 acts	
Le	Cénacle	Asselin	Emile		1922	TCEF	written between March 21 and 31 1922	Satire/Farce	One Act		Specifically farce
	Ceux Qui Souffrent	Coupal	Louis		1918	NAD		Historical	One Act		
	Chambres	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène	Arthur Tremblay	1912	TCEF	written 1912-1913	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Champion d'Italie	Coutlée	Paul					Comedy	Monologue		
	Chanson des Bohemes	Chauvin	Edouard					Comedy	Monologue		in song
Le	Chapeau de paille	Chagnon	Louis-Joseph		1929	NAD; RduT; TCEF; Other	Performed in 1929, premiered at the competition organized by the Salon des Poetes de Lyon; Presented at Theatre Francais June 26 1927 by Groupe Beaulne (Le Droit)	Comedy	One Act		One third prize in competition organized by Salon des poetes de Lyon
	Charles Lemoyne	Marie-Victorin (frère)	(Conrad Kirouac)					Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Chateauguay ou Le Pardon du Prêtre	Leclaire	Joseph Armand					Historical	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Chérubin 1930	Letondal	Henri		1929	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed Dec 10 1929 at Hotel Ritz Carlton	Comedy	One Act		
Le	Chevalier de Colomb	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène		1922			Comedy Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Cheveux Longs et Esprit Court	Daveluy	Marie-Claire		1924	TCEF	Date written, does not have production information	Comedy	One Act		
Le	Chien Perdu	Ferland	Jules		1918	TCEF; MQ	Performed June 1918 at Theatre Foire Montrealaise	Comedy	Monologue		
La	Cigarette	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1922	TCEF	Written in 1922 and 1925; no production information	Comedy	One Act		
La	Cité du Bien	Dupont	Claude ((Soeur Josephine- du Saint-Coeur-de-Marie, née Marie-Alice Ferron)		1914	DJS		Religious			
	Claire	Choquette	J. Auguste		1921	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Presented April 17 1921 in Montreal by French actors, then again May 8 1921 in Montreal, and finally in April 1933 at the Palais Montcalm de Quebec by Troupe Barry-Duquesne de Montreal	Satire/Farce	Multi-Act	3 acts	
Le	Code de l'Honneur	Beaulieu	Germain		1918	TCEF	Produced Aug 12 1918 at National Francais - adaptation of a play that was proced at His Majesty's theatre in 1916	Drama			Chivalrous drama
	Coeur d'Enfant	Daveluy	Marie-Claire		1925	TCEF	Date written, does not have production information	Comedy	One Act		
	Coeur de Maman	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		1920	TCEF; RduT	Performed Dec 19 1920 at the Theatre Chanteclerc in Montreal	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Comment Pierrot Servit la France	de Lambert	Marguerite					Fantasy	One Act		in verse
La	Conscience d'un Prêtre	Daoust	Julien (d'Aoust)		1925	TCEF	Performed May 6-12 1925 at Théâtre canadin and July 8-9 1925 at Salle l'Assomption in Moncton, NB	Drama	Multi-Act	6 acts	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Add. Author(s)	Earliest Prod or Writ. Date	Date Source	Writing/Production Details (from listed sources only)	Genre	Format	No. Acts/Scenes	Notes
Le	Conscrit Baptiste	Leclaire	Joseph Armand					Satire/Farce	Monologue		Satire specifically
La	Conspiration des jeunes	Marie-Victorin (frère)	(Conrad Kirouac)		1914	NAD					
	Conspiration des Poudres	Marie-Victorin (frère)	(Conrad Kirouac)		1910	RduT; TCEF	Performed March 15 1910 at Salle du College in Longueuil	Comedy	One Act		
	Contre le Flot	Michelet	Magali		1922	TCEF	Performed Nov 17 1922 at Salle academique du College des Jesuites	Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Corinne	Girard	Rodolphe					Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
Le	Coup d'épingle	Letondal	Henri		1923	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed May 8 1922 Salle Saint-Sulpice in Montreal and Jan 24 1923 at Theatre parisien in Montreal	Drama	One Act		
Le	Cours Improvisé	Daveluy	Marie-Claire		1920	TCEF	Date written, does not have production information	Comedy	One Act		
	Craches-en un: monologues comiques	Coutlée	Paul					Comedy	Monologue		Series of monologues
Les	Croustillards à la cour du recorder	Perrault	Almer		1912	TCEF	Presented March 18-23 1912 at Ouimetoscope in Montreal	Sketch/Bouffe	One Act		
	Dans le peu d'un monastre	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1928	TCEF	Written in 1928; no production information	Religious	One Act		sketch without words, but with song
	Dans les Griffes de Bigot	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène	Arthur Tremblay	1914	TCEF	Presented in 1914 in Quebec	Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
	De Fil en Aiguille	De Tremaudan	Auguste Henri (Tremaudan)		1926	NAD; RduT		Melodrama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Débuts d'Octave ou Pousse-Toué	Ferland	Jules					Comedy	Monologue	1 prologue, 4 tableaux	
Le	Destin	Benoit	Mme Emmanuel Persillier	Alice Pépin Benoit/Monique (pseud)	1926	TCEF		Drama	One Act		
	Deux aventuriers	Potvin	Damase (Jean Yves Sainte Foy)	Alex Plante	1912	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed 1912 at Theatre Populaire in Saint-Roch de Quebec	Drama			
	Dévotion	Proulx	Antonin					Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Dialogue sue les Morts	Girard	Rodolphe					Single scene/tableau/sketch			
La	Divine Pecheresse	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		1928	Other	Mentioned in Canada qui chante March 1928; Also mentioned in programme from Theatre Chanteclerc week of Jan 29 1929 (but not program for the play)				
	Djympko	Renaud	Emiliano		1926	NAD		Comedy			Musical comedy
	Dollard	Gagnier	Hervé		1920	TCEF; NAD;RduT	Performed Nov 11 1920 and May 24 1921 at the Monument National in Montreal	Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Dollard des Ormeaux	Bourbeau-Rainville	Olivier-Victor				Presented during the week of April 11 1911 at the Theatre National Francais	Historical	Multi-Scene	9 tableaux	
	Dollard n'est pas mort	Gauthier (abbé)	Émilien					Historical	Multi-Act	2 acts	
Les	Dopés	Le Gouriadec	Loïc (Paul Gury)		1919	RduT		Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Douze tableaux de la vie scoute	Vincent, o.f.m.			1929	DJS		Religious	Multi-Scene		
Le	Droit de Vote aux Femmes	Le Gouriadec	Loïc (Paul Gury)					Comedy	Monologue		
	East Lynne	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène		1914	TCEF	Presented in 1941 at Theatre Bellevue in Montreal and at the Theatre Princesse in Quebec	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Add. Author(s)	Earliest Prod or Writ. Date	Date Source	Writing/Production Details (from listed sources only)	Genre	Format	No. Acts/Scenes	Notes
Une	Élève de Corneille	de Champris	Henry Gaillard		1913				One Act		in prose
	En pleine gloire	Huguenin	Mme Madeleine		1919	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed March 2 1919 at Orpheum in Montreal, then again Feb 7 1928 at Salle Sainte-Brigide	Drama	One Act		
	En Roulant ma Boule	Bourgeois	Albéric		1926	TCEF	Presented at Theatre Saint-Denis January 31 1926	Comedy	Multi-Scene	10 tableaux	Musical comedy
	Encore Un	Vekeman	Victor						Multi-Scene	5 scenes	
L'	Enfant de Choeur ou Le Soprano Prodige	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1927	TCEF	Written Feb 20 1927; no production information	Sketch/Bouffe	One Act		
L'	Enjôleuse	Proulx	Antonin					Comedy	One Act		
	Entendons-Nous	Lemay	Pamphile					Vaudeville	One Act		
	Entre Deux Civilisations ou Le Fils de Cheik	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		1923	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed Oct 8 1923 Theatre Chanteclerc, then Oct 29 at Theatre Cnadien-francais, then March 15 1938 at Salle Saint-Alphonze by Troupe paroissiale de Saint-Alphonze	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Entre Deux Rondels	Robillard	Claude		1928	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Presented Jan 24 1929 at Theatre Gesu (written Nov 1928 in Montreal)	Comedy	One Act		
L'	Epeuchette de Blé d'Inde	Gauthier	Conrad		1929	TCEF	Presented October 7 1929 at Monument National as part of le "cadres des Soirées du Bon vieux temps"	Historical	Single scene/tableau/sketch		
L'	Épluchette	Roy	Régis					Comedy	Monologue		Listed in Theatre comique de Regis Roy (1864-1944) edited by Mariel O'Neill-Karch and Pierre Karch (Les Editions David, Ottawa, 2006)
L'	Erreur du docteur Sartène	Letondal	Henri		1923	TCEF; RduT; Other	Performed 1923 at Theatre Stella and May 17 1932 Theatre Moyse Hall at McGill by Montreal Repertory Theatre; also performed at Monument National (Le Devoir)	Grand-guignolesque			
L'	Espionne Boche	Lemay	J. Henri		1916	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed Feb 2 1916 at Theatre de Sa Majesté in Sherbrooke	Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
L'	Étrange aventure	Letondal	Henri	Oscar Mercier	1918	TCEF; RduT	Theatre Chanteclerc	Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
	Evangéline	Daoust	Julien (d'Aoust)		1925	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Presented July 8-9 1925 at Salle L'Assomption in Moncton and twice in August 1929 in Quebec, then at other Acadien centres in the maritime provinces	Historical	Multi-Scene	6 tableaux	
La	Famille Beaufretin	Descarries	Alfred		1912	TCEF	Date written, does not have production information	Comedy	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Famille Croustillards	Perrault	Almer					Sketch/Bouffe	Multi-Act	3 acts	
Les	Fantoches	Letonal	Henri					Satire/Farce	One Act		All of the skits in Fantoches are short; 16 in total; satirical
Le	Fétiche (opérette)	Vézina	Joseph	Alex Villandray (Alexandre Plante), Louis Fleur	1912	TCEF; NAD	Performed Feb 26 1912 at L'Auditorium in Quebec; NAD - says authors Ant. Langlais and Alex Plante, music by Vezina	Historical	Multi-Act	2 acts	operetta
	Feu Follet	De Tremaudan	Auguste Henri		1930	NAD		Comedy Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
La	Fille du Conscrit	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1923	TCEF	Written Oct 3 1923; no production information	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
La	Fille du Sheik	Barry	Frédéric		1925	TCEF	Produced at Théâtre Chanteclerc in 1925	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Add. Author(s)	Earliest Prod or Writ. Date	Date Source	Writing/Production Details (from listed sources only)	Genre	Format	No. Acts/Scenes	Notes
La	Fille du Soleil	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		1925	Other	Listed in Le Canard in March 1925 with no details; performed at Theatre Chanteclerc the week of September 27 1926	Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	Piece japonaise
Le	Fils du Sheik	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)		1927	TCEF	Performed at Theatre Saint-Denis in 1927 directed by Raoul Léry	Drama			
Les	Fils du Sorcier	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène	Arthur Tremblay	1915	TCEF	States that the director was Arthur Tremblay, but there is no other information about the production; written 1915-1916	Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
	Fleur D'Irlande	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		1929	TCEF; Other	Theatre Chanteclerc programme from Jan 13 1929	Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	Musical drama
La	Fleur du Sang	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1924	TCEF	Written Nov 1924; no production information	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Fleurs des Ondes	Gill	Mme Charles (Gaétane de Montreuil)		1913	TCEF; NAD;RduT	Performed in 1913; also a public reading May 19 1969 at the Centre du Theatre d'Aujourd'hui directed by Réjean Roy	Historical	Multi-Act	4 acts	
La	Folie des Grandeurs	Perrault	Almer		1913	TCEF	Created Sept 15 1913 at Boulevardoscope, remount at Bellevue for the start of Troupe Belville in the week of Sept 29 1913; then at Biographe National March 2&8 1914	Comedy	One Act		
Le	Fond des Tasses	Plamondon (Le Chevalier)	Aimé		1916	TCEF; NAD			One Act		
	Francaises D'Amérique	Rocheleau	Corinne		1915	TCEF; NAD; RduT; DJS	Performed Feb 10 1915 in Worcester, Mass	Historical	Multi-Act	10 tableaux	
	Francesca de Rimini	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène	Arthur Tremblay	1912	TCEF	written bewteen 1912 and 1915	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
Le	Fumeur endiablé	Circé-Côté	Eva (Colombine)		1922	NAD; Other	written before 1922	Comedy	One Act		Prod date: Le Devoir article about prod April 21 1922
Les	Garanties d'un Futur	Bienvenue	Alfred		1925	TCEF	Performed at Théâtre Canadien in Montreal in 1925	Comedy	One Act		
Un	Gendre Enragé	Désilets	Joseph		1927		NAD - says "souvent" for production but does not include dates; RduT; TCEF - written in 1927	Satire/Farce	One Act		
Le	Général Vallières - La médaille (suivis)	Daveluy	Marie-Claire		1928	TCEF	Date written, does not have production information		One Act		
Les	Glaneuses	Soeur Saint-Louis-de-Sacré-Coeur			1914	DJS					
	Gloire à Dollard	Perrin (p.s.s.)	Julien					Historical	Multi-Scene	5 tableaux	
La	Grand Sacrifice	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)		1924	TCEF; NAD;RduT	Performed at Chanteclerc in Montreal (confirmed in La Presse article April 13 1974)	Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
La	Grande Amie	Gauthier (abbé)	Pierre (Pierre du Sol)		1920	TCEF	Performed Nov 20 1929, April 28 1937 by students at College de l'Assomption,	Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
La	Guerre ou Le Triomphe des Alliés	Daoust	Julien (d'Aoust)		1915	TCEF	Performed in January 1915 at Théâtre Canadien-Francais	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
Un	Héritage à L'Horizon ou Louison et Son Garçon vont a l'exposition	Kearney	Horace J.		1910	TCEF	Performed by Cercle Saint-Jean 1910, remounted April 30 1936 Theatre Cartier in Hull	Melodrama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
Une	Heure de Garde	Daveluy	Marie-Claire		1930	TCEF	Presented March 30 1930 at Salle Saint-Jean Baptiste in Montreal	Comedy	One Act		Date written March 7, 1926

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Add. Author(s)	Earliest Prod or Writ. Date	Date Source	Writing/Production Details (from listed sources only)	Genre	Format	No. Acts/Scenes	Notes
L'	Heure est Venue	Benoit	Mme Emmanuel Persillier	Alice Pépin Benoit/Monique (pseud)	1923	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Produced Jan 8 1923 at the Ritz Carlton in Montreal for the reunion of the Women's Press Club		One Act		
L'	Homme au foulard blanc	Le Gouriadec	Loïc (Paul Gury)		1917	TCEF; RduT		Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	police drama
	Honni soit qui mal y pense!...	Choquette	J. Auguste						One Act		
	Horrible tragédie en Roumanie	Deyglun	Henri		1929	RduT	No production details				
	I Les Avocats	??	Anonyme		1927	TCEF	5 dec 1927 a salle académique du Gésu, directeur Louis-Philippe Hébert	Comedy	Multi-Act	3 acts	
Les	Idoles ou le Massacre dans le temple	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1929	TCEF	Written in 1929; no production information	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Iéna	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		1910	TCEF	Performed Feb 19 1910 at Monument National		Multi-Act	2 acts	In verse
L'	Impossible Partage	de Champris	Henry Gaillard		1926			Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	in prose
L'	Inconnue	Patry	Joseph					Fantasy	Single scene/tableau/sketch		
L'	Intendant Bigot	Rousseau	Alfred	co-author and musique par J. U. Voyer	1929		Nos auteurs dramatiques; Repertoire du Theatre - prod 1921 (Trois-Rivieres), pub 1921	Historical	Multi-Act		Historical Canadian opera
L'	Intime Souffrance	Proulx	Antonin					Drama	One Act		
L'	Ivrogne	Gaston	Charles					Comedy	Monologue		
	Je suis pressé!	Ferland	Jules					Comedy	Monologue		
	Je suis timide	Gaston	Charles					Comedy	Monologue		
	Je t'aime, Je ne t'aime pas	Panneton	Philippe		1927	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed April 28 and May 19 1927 Monument National by Artistes de la Societe canadienne de comedie		Single scene/tableau/sketch		
	Jean Audrain	Michelet	Magali		1917	TCEF; NAD; RduT					
	Jean des Prairies	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène	Arthur Tremblay	1912	TCEF	Presented at the Theatre Chanteclerc in Montreal in 1912, directed by Arthur Tremblay	Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
	Jean le Précurseur (oratorio)	Couture	Guillaume		1923	NAD; Other			Multi-Act		musical
	Jeanne d'Arc	Lacerte	Emma Adèle (Madame Bourgeois)		1920	NAD; RduT	Presented in Ottawa	Drama			
Un	Jeune Homme Nerveux	Letondal	Henri		1927	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed Apr 28 1927 Monument National by Artistes de la Societe canadienne de comedie	Comedy	One Act		
La	Jolie fermiere	Hébert	Paul		1928	NAD; RduT; Other	Performed at Theatre Princess 1928 (Le Soleil)	Comedy			
	Joseph Trahi par ses frères	Laforce	Pierre					Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	Musical comedy
	Joyeux propos de Gros-Jean	Roy	Régis					Comedy	Monologue		Listed in Theatre comique de Regis Roy (1864-1944) edited by Mariel O'Neill-Karch and Pierre Karch (Les Editions David, Ottawa, 2006); series of monologues
La	Justice de Dieu	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)		1927	TCEF; NAD;RduT	Performed at the Institut Saint-Antoine at the celebration of R.F. Romauld Dec 14 1927	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Là-Bas, Là-Bas, Dans la montagne	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1927	TCEF	Written in 1927; no production information	Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Laurier	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		1921	TCEF	Performed March 7 1921 at Theatre Family in Montreal	Historical	Multi-Act	6 acts	
La	Laveuse Automatique	Séguin	Oscar		1929	TCEF	Performed June 5 1929 at Theatre de l'Hotel de Ville de Waterloo	Comedy	Multi-Act	2 acts	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Add. Author(s)	Earliest Prod or Writ. Date	Date Source	Writing/Production Details (from listed sources only)	Genre	Format	No. Acts/Scenes	Notes
	Lawrence	Carignan	Paul		1929	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Performed at salle de l'Academie Piché in Lachine May 28 and 30 1929; Directed by P.E. Charbonneau	Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	Specifically says tragedy
La	Legende du paradis terrestre	Comte	Gustave					Comedy	Monologue		
La	Lettre	Desjardins	Antonio					Drama	One Act		
Une	Lettre au Ministre	Helvet	??					Comedy	Monologue		
La	Limite	Séguin	Oscar		1924	TCEF	Performed Oct 17 1924 in Waterloo and Dec 13 1924 at CKAC	Drama	One Act		
Un	Locataire dans la rue	Ferland	Jules						Monologue		
Le	Lys Noir (Le lis noir)	Benoit	Mme Emmanuel Persillier	Alice Pépin Benoit/Monique (pseud)	1927	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Presented October 20 1927 at the first official soirée of the French section of the Association des Auteurs Canadiens	Drama	Single scene/tableau /sketch		
	Madeleine de Verchères	Girard	Rodolphe					Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Maisonneuve	Circé-Côté	Eva (Colombine)		1921	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Presented April 3, 1921 at His Majesty's theatre in Montreal	Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
	Mam'Zelle Printemps	Le Gouriadec	Loïc (Paul Gury)	Julien Daoust	1917	TCEF	Date not specified as production or publication	Revue	Multi-Scene		
Les	Manifestes électoraux	Hugolin (o.f.m.)	R.P. M.L.S.					Comedy	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Manque-La Pas!	Daoust	Julien (d'Aoust)		1912	TCEF	Dates included: 1912-1916; Dates are not specified as publication or production	Revue	Multi-Act	3 acts	
La	Marguerite effeuillée	Soeur Saint-Louis-de-Sacré-Coeur			1920	DJS					
	Maria Chapdelaine	Cinq-Mars	Alonzo	Damase Potvin				Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Maria Chapdelaine	Le Gouriadec	Loïc (Paul Gury)		1923	TCEF	Performed Feb 23 1923 at Theatre National Montreal and in 1947 at Ottawa Little Theatre	Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
Le	Mariage de Rosa	Gauthier	Charles-Emile		1916			Comedy	Multi-Act		Bouffe style
	Marie Calumet	Vallerand	Alfred (Germain d'Auray)		1929	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed Nov 19 1929 at Monument National in Montreal				Piece du terroir
La	Marque d'Infamie	Huget	Geroge		1924	TCEF; RduT; Other	Performed at Theatre Chanteclerc June 1924; TCEF and RduT have Ernest Guimond listed as author, but the program says George Huget	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
La	Meilleure part	Dupont	Claude ((Soeur Josephine- du Saint-Coeur-de-Marie, née Marie-Alice Ferron)					Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	social drama
	Mélie mon Amour	Le Gouriadec	Loïc (Paul Gury)		1922	TCEF	Performed April 10 1922 at Theatre National				Translation of Peg of my heart
	Même Sang	Feron	Jean		1919	TCEF	Performed March 3-4 1919 in Arborfield, Saskatchewan	Historical	Multi-Scene	2 scenes	
La	Mendiante Amour	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1926	TCEF	Written in Dec 1926; no production information	Drama	One Act		
La	Mère Abandonnée	Deyglun	Henri		1925	TCEF	Created and presented at Theatre Chanteclerc in Sept 1925; remounted March 18 1928 at Theatre Saint-Denis	Drama	Multi-Scene	6 tableaux	
	Mes Monologues	Coutlée	Paul					Comedy	Monologue		For use by young people
	Microbiologie	Charbonnier	Auguste					Comedy	Monologue		
Un	Million pour un Casse-Tête	Séguin	Oscar		1927	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed Nov 29 1927 at Paroisse Sainte-Brigide by Cercle Leclair	Vaudeville	Multi-Act	3 acts	
Le	Mirage	Benoit	Mme Emmanuel Persillier	Alice Pépin Benoit/Monique (pseud)	1921	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Produced Nov 21 1921 at Théâtre Canadien-Francais in Montreal under the patronage of the Honorable Athanase David	Comedy Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Add. Author(s)	Earliest Prod or Writ. Date	Date Source	Writing/Production Details (from listed sources only)	Genre	Format	No. Acts/Scenes	Notes
	Mon Commis-Voyageur	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène		1925	NAD; TCEF, RduT	Presented Dec 8 1925 at Salle des Chevaliers Christophe Colomb in Quebec	Comedy Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Monique	de Champris	Henry Gaillard		1920			Melodrama	Multi-Act	3 acts	in prose
	Monologue de tous les temps	King	Pat					Comedy	Monologue		
Les	**Monologues de Lasalle sérieux**	Lassalle	Eugène (Marguerite-Marie)		1914			Drama	Monologue		
	Monsieur de Danse Pas	Houlé	Léopold		1927	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed at Monument National de Montreal by the Societe canadienne de comedie	Comedy	One Act		
	Monsieur Grabouillet	Houlé	Léopold		1929	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed Dec 10 1929 at Hotel Ritz-Carlton in Montreal	Comedy	Multi-Scene	2 tableaux	
	Monsieur qui n'a pas volé ce parapluie	Ferland	Jules					Comedy	Monologue		
	Montcalm et Lévis	Routhier (sir)	Adolphe-Basile					Historical	Multi-Act	5 acts	
La	**Mort de Tristan et D'Yseut**	Charbonneau	Jean		1929	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Presented Nov 23 1929 in Salle Saint-Sulpice in Montreal	Drama	One Act		
	Namounah	Gendron	Emma		1922	Other	Théâtre New Empire	Drama	One Act		
Les	**Noces d'Or**	de Champris	Henry Gaillard		1925	RduT		Drama	One Act		in prose; specifically tragedy
Le	**Noël des Loups**	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		1927	TCEF	Presented Dec 17 1927 at Theatre National as part of "le cadre soirée-bénéfice en l'honneur de M. Maurice Pelletier"	Drama	One Act		
	Nos Yeux S'Ouvrent	Aubry	Marcelle	Marguerite Lessard	1926	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Produced February 1926	Comedy	Multi-Act	2 acts	
	Nuit de Noël	Gauthier	Joseph-Henri					Religious	One Act		Parish Leaflet
L'	**Oeuvre de la Friponne**	Beaudoin (abbé)	Édouard (Jean Santerre)					Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	On Demande une Jeune Fille	Coutlée	Paul					Comedy	Monologue		
L'	**Orage**	Loranger	Jean Aubert		1922	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed May 8 1922 Salle Saint-Sulpice in Montreal and Jan 22 1923 at Theatre parisien on	Comedy	One Act		
	Oscar Déménage	Helvet	??					Comedy	Monologue		
Les	**Pâmoisons du Notaire**	Huot	Alexandre					Vaudeville	One Act		
	Par la Souffrance	Vekeman	Victor		1928						
Le	**Pardon d'une Race**	Beaudoin (abbé)	Édouard (Jean Santerre)		1927	TCEF; RduT	May 26 1927 at l'Ecole classico-ménagère de Saint-Pascal, then again at college de Sainte-Anne de la Pocatière, and then in Feb 1928 at Monument National	Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
Une	**Partie de 500**	Baker	William Athanase					Comedy	One Act		
	Pas Besoin de Récompense	Des Tourelles	Jean						One Act		
	Pas Possible	Proulx	Antonin					Comedy	Single scene/tableau /sketch	2 scenes	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Add. Author(s)	Earliest Prod or Writ. Date	Date Source	Writing/Production Details (from listed sources only)	Genre	Format	No. Acts/Scenes	Notes
	Pas pour Rire	Plamondon (Le Chevalier)	Aimé	Alfonse Richard	1919	NAD; Other	Listed in Theatres et Concerts May 5 1919 as being performed the next week at Academie St-Joseph (rue St Jean) and the following week at Salle St-Pierre in St Sauveur; also listed in Le Soleil Dec 6 1919 as being performed at the Theatre Imperiale	Revue	Multi-Scene		Musical comedy revue
La	Passion	Ethier (abbé)	Jean D'Avila		1925	TCEF; DJS	Presented each Sunday from 1925 to 1928 at the Saint-Jerome arena; musicale direction by Jean Gaulet (for the 125 member members of the Association Chorale)	Religious	Multi-Act	5 acts	with full choir and orchestra
La	Passion	Lassalle	Eugène (Marguerite-Marie)		1927	TCEF	Performed in March 1927 at Theatre Saint-Denis in Montreal	Drama			
Le	Pèlerin d'amour	Berthos	Jean (pseudonyme Thomas Alfred Bernier)					Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	In verse
Le	Petit	Vekeman	Victor					Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
Le	Petit Cancre	Daveluy	Marie-Claire		1925	TCEF	Date written, does not have production information	Comedy	One Act		
Le	Petit Maître d'école	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		1916	Other	Have built production history for this play	Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
Le	Petit Mousse	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1928	TCEF	Written in 1928; no production information	Sketch/Bouffe	One Act		
Le	Petit Patriote de 1837	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)		1927	TCEF; RduT	Performed July 28 1927 at the Salle Sainte-Brigide and Oct 26 1927 at Ecole de Reforme in Montreal	Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Petit-Baptiste	De Tremaudan	Auguste Henri					Comedy	Multi-Act		heroic comedy in 4 acts
Un	Petit-fils de Pierre Gagnon	Dupont	Claude ((Soeur Josephine- du Saint-Coeur-de-Marie, née Marie-Alice Ferron)		1929	NAD		Drama	Multi-Act	2 acts	social drama
	Petite Cousine	de Champris	Henry Gaillard		1911				Multi-Act	4 acts	in prose
La	Petite Maîtresse d'Ecole	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1924	TCEF	Performed June 2 1924 in Salle du Collegiate Institute, Windsor at the Festival Dollard des Ormeaux and de Sainte-Jeanne d'Arc	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	Adapted from La Metisse by Jean Tieron
La	Petite Pensionnaire des Ursulines	Daveluy	Marie-Claire		1923	TCEF	Date written, does not have production information	Comedy	One Act		
	Peuple Sans Histoire	Marie-Victorin (frère)	(Conrad Kirouac)		1930	TCEF	Presented Feb 1930 Academie commerciale de Quebec; June 1930 at Loretteville and March 21 1933 at gala dramatique de Quebec	Historical	One Act		
	Peut-être	Martineau	Simone		1924	TCEF	Presented April 24 1924 at Monument National	Fantasy	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Pierrot dans la lune	Brossard (abbé)	Auguste		1929	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Presented at Seminaire de Joliette in 1929		Multi-Act	2 acts	
La	Pipe de Plâtre	Huot	Alexandre		1923	TCEF	Performed Jan 26 1923 at Theatre Parisien in Montreal, supported by the group Association des auteurs canadiens	Comedy	One Act		
Le	Portrait	Vekeman	Victor		1927						
	Pour de L'Or	Coutlée	Paul					Comedy	One Act		
	Pour Être Report	Proulx	Antonin						Multi-Scene	2 scenes	
	Pour le Premier Prix	Roy	Régis					Comedy	One Act		

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Add. Author(s)	Earliest Prod or Writ. Date	Date Source	Writing/Production Details (from listed sources only)	Genre	Format	No. Acts/Scenes	Notes
	Pousse-Pousse	Gauthier	Charles-Emile		1923	TCEF	Performed Dec 24 1923 at "ouimetoscope" in Montreal	Comedy	Multi-Act	2 acts	with music and "en joual"
La	Preuve par l'Histoire	Daveluy	Marie-Claire		1923	TCEF	Date written, does not have production information	Comedy	One Act		Short play for children
Le	Prince des Etudiants	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1928	TCEF	Written in 1928; no production information	Vaudeville	One Act		
La	Pupille de Montcalm	Deville	René		1925	TCEF; Other	Presented at Théâtre Canadien in Montreal; Performed at Canadien-Francais in 1926 (Le Canada)	Historical	Multi-Act	4 acts	
	Quand Même!	De Tremaudan	Auguste Henri		1921	RduT		Historical	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Qui S'y Frotte S'y Pique	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène	Arthur Tremblay	1914	TCEF	States that the director was Arthur Tremblay, but there is no other information about the production	Comedy	One Act		
Le	Rachat	de Champris	Henry Gaillard		1911				Multi-Act	3 acts	in prose
Le	Rajah (opéra-bouffe)	Michaud	Benjamin	Musique par J. Vézina	1910	NAD		Comedy	Multi-Act	2 acts	Bouffe
	Rencontre	Le Myre	Oscar		1910	TCEF	Written Sept 25 1910; no production info	Drama	One Act		
La	Répétition	Daveluy	Marie-Claire		1926	TCEF	Date written, does not have production information	Comedy	One Act		
Le	Retour	Choquette	J. Auguste		1919	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Created in Montreal by French artists, remounted in Quebec at the Theatre Imperial Jan 16 1919 and at the Theatre Canadien a Montreal in 1921	Drama	One Act		Won second prize at competition 1918 organized by Alliance Artistique
Le	Retour de la débauche	Bourgeois	Albéric					Comedy	Monologue		
La	Revanche d'une Race	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)		1928	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Performed Feb 8 1928 at Ecolde de Reforme in Montreal	Drama			
	Revue du Printemps	Letondal	Henri	Jean Nolin	1926	TCEF; RduT					
Le	Sacrifice	Girard	Rodolphe					Drama	Multi-Act	2 acts	
	Salomé or Hérodiade et Salomé	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1920	TCEF	Written May 3 1920; no production information	Religious	Multi-Act	4 acts	
Le	Sang Francais	Sénécal	Lucien R.		1926	TCEF; NAD	Written in Windsor Jan 1 1926, performed Feb 8 1826 at Auditorium Saint-Francis, Sandwich, ON, April 14 1926 at Club Franco-americain, Windsor, Nov 22-24 1927 at paroisse Saint-Zotique Montreal, April 19 1934 Salle Saint-Alphonse d'Youville by Chorale Saint-Nicolas d'Ahuntsic, Oct 21&23 1947 at Salle Cartier by Amis de la Scene	Melodrama	Multi-Act	5 acts	Adaptation of work by Albert Lambert and Fernand Meynet
La	Secousse	Feron	Jean					Comedy Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
Le	Secret du Prêtre	De La Lande	André Castelein		1929	TCEF	Performed in Saint-Boniface, Manitoba in 1929	Drama	Multi-Act	3 acts	
	Semence et moisson	Soeur Marie-des-Sept-Douleurs			1914	DJS		Religious			
Le	Sérum qui Tue	de Cotret	Marc-René		1973	TCEF	Presented at Théâtre d'Aujourd'hui Sept 19-Oct 22 1973; directed by Claude Maher	Grand-guignolesque	Multi-Act	2 acts	
Le	Sinistre Fantôme	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)		1928	TCEF	Theatre Chanteclerc	Drama			Inspired by Phantom of the Opera

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Add. Author(s)	Earliest Prod or Writ. Date	Date Source	Writing/Production Details (from listed sources only)	Genre	Format	No. Acts/Scenes	Notes
Une	Soirée chez Crémazie	Ouellet	Cyrias		1925	TCEF; RduT					
Une	Soirée Mouvementée	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène	Arthur Tremblay	1915	TCEF	States that the director was Arthur Tremblay, but there is no other information about the production	Comedy	One Act		
	Soixante Minutes Ambasssadeur au Japon	Désilets	Joseph		1928	NAD; TCEF	NAD - says "souvent" for production but does not include dates; TCEF - written and created in 1928	Comedy	One Act		
	Soliloque Matinal	Chauvin	Edouard					Comedy	Monologue		
	Son Fils	Hornier	J. Arthur		1912	TCEF; RduT					
Le	Songe du Conscrit	Verchères	Paul	Alexandre Huot	1918	TCEF; DJS	Performed June 24 1918 at Theatre du Cercle Chevalier de Levis	Fantasy	Single scene/tableau /sketch		fairytale with Music
Le	Sort du Testament	Boileau	A.		1920	NAD; RduT; TCEF		Melodrama			
Le	Soufflet	Letondal	Henri		1919	TCEF; RduT		Comedy	One Act		
Le	Succès	Proulx	Antonin					Comedy	One Act		
Les	Sucres	Gauthier	Conrad		1927	TCEF	Presented April 25 1927 at Monument national as part of "le cadres des Veillées du Bon vieux temps"	Historical	Multi-Scene	2 scenes	
Les	Surprises du divorce	Bisson	Alexandre		1923	TCEF	Performed the week of Jan 22 1923 at the théâtre Parisien by the troupe de l'Association des Auteurs Canadiens	Satire/Farce	Multi-Act		
	Tel pere, tel fils	Coutlée	Paul					Comedy	One Act		
La	Tentation d'un Ange	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		1926	TCEF	Performed at various theatres including Theatre Chanteclerc week of Octobre 18 1926	Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
La	Terre	Le Myre	Oscar								
	Thérèse Donne et Reçoit	Daveluy	Marie-Claire		1923	TCEF	Date written, does not have production information	Comedy	One Act		
	Titoine en ville	Leclaire	Joseph Armand					Comedy	Monologue		
	Tizoune veut s'marier	Dubuisson	Damase		1929	TCEF	Presented Nov 11 1929 at Theatre National; author was director	Comedy	One Act		
La	Tragédie acadienne	Romuald (frère)	Francois (AKA Frere Raphael-Francois)		1922	DJS; Other	Performed at L'Academie de la Salle March 1922 (Le nouvelliste)	Religious	Multi-Scene		with music
La	Trahison d'une race	Beaudoin (abbé)	Édouard (Jean Santerre)		1927	RduT	Sainte-Anne de la Pocatière 1927				
Le	Triomphe des pauvres gens	Deyglun	Henri		1926	RduT; Other	No production details; Listed in Progres du Saguenay, Le Soleil, La Presse articles for performances	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Trois Points d'Interrogation	Comte	Gustave		1927	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Presented April 28 1927 at the Monument National	Comedy	One Act		
Le	Truc de Colinette	Robert	George-H.		1926	NAD; Other					La Presse article Nov 16 1926, operetta
	Valencia	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)		1928	TCEF	Theatre Arcade in Montreal	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
	Valse d'été	Letondal	Henri		1922	TCEF; RduT		Comedy	Multi-Act	3 acts	
La	Veillée de Noel	Duguay	Camille		1926	TCEF; RduT	Created Jan 14 1926 at Theatre Archaumbault by Cercle Dramatique Drummondville; remounted sometime after that; remounted again Dec 10 1929 in Lowell and then Feb 1931 in Victoriaville	Drama	Multi-Act	2 acts	with songs
Le	Vengeur	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon		1914	TCEF	Written and performed Dec 1914 by Cercle Saint-Henri	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	
Les	Victimes(et un divorce à d'eau)	Vekeman	Victor					Melodrama	Multi-Act	3 acts	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Add. Author(s)	Earliest Prod or Writ. Date	Date Source	Writing/Production Details (from listed sources only)	Genre	Format	No. Acts/Scenes	Notes
	Viens-tu voir ça?	Gauthier	Charles-Emile		1925	Other	It is listed in the Oct 6 1925 La Presse "Ouimetoscope" saying it was the play of the week; look at Oct 3 1925 as well	Comedy	One Act		Musical comedy
La	Vierge Blanche	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)		1926	TCEF; RduT	Theatre Chanteclerc, reprise at Theatre Saint-Denis in Montrea	Drama			
La	Vierge des Bouges	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		1920	TCEF; RduT	Performed at Theatre Family in Montreal	Drama	Multi-Act	5 acts	Musical drama
Les	Vieux Garcons	Sénécal	Lucien R.		1928	TCEF	Performed Feb 23 1933 at Salle Fortier	Comedy Drama	One Act		Canadian folk songs
La	Visite Nocturne	Coutlée	Paul					Comedy	One Act		
Le	Visiteur Nocturne	Ferland	Jules			TCEF	Presented at the Théâtre Aux Montagnards; no date included	Comedy Drama	One Act		
	Vive la Canadienne	Plamondon (Le Chevalier)	Aimé	J. Eugène Corriveau, musique par O. Létourneau	1924	TCEF; NAD	Performed March 27 1924 at Salle des Chevaliers de Colomb, Quebec	Comedy	Multi-Act	3 acts	operetta; lyrical comedy
	Voilà le plaisir	Perrault	Almer	Henri Miral	1922	TCEF	TCEF; RduT				
Le	Voleur d'Amour	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		1927	TCEF	Presented Sept 11 1927 at Theatre Saint-Denis by Troupe Barry-Duquesne	Drama	Multi-Act	4 acts	
	Y'En A d'Dans	Eddy	M.	Alex Silvio	1927	TCEF	Presented Dec 1927; no production details	Revue	Multi-Act	2 acts	

Section 2 - Publication and Play Location Details

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Earliest Pub Date	Date Source	Publication Info (from listed soures only)	Publication Type	Publisher	Publisher Location	Document Location (confirmed only)	Notes
L'	Absolution	Vekeman	Victor	1923	TCEF	Published twice in same year	Monograph	Imprimerie Francaise Vekeman and Editions du Levrier	Montreal; Woonsocket, RI	NC-BAnQ C842.54 v431a 1923	
	Acréyé ou Le Sacre de Georges V	Bey	P.H.			Oct Nov 1911	Journal/revue	Imprimerie du Devoir, Revue d'Actualités	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	
	Ad Majora	Laramée	Jean	1927	TCEF; RduT		Monograph	Messager Canadien	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 L318ad 1927	
	Aéroplane	Daoust	Julien (d'Aoust)	1910	DOC	Montréal qui chante Montréal Vol. 2, no 22 (10 mars 1910), p. 6	Journal/Revue	Montreal qui chante	Montreal	BAnQ PER M-385 MIC A1695 - microfiche only	Description only - microfiche; not available
Les	Ailes Cassées	Girard	Rodolphe	1921	TCEF; RduT, NAD		Monograph	Courier Fédéral Ltée	Ottawa	NC-BAnQ C842.52 G518ai 1921	
	Allo 1929 - Grande Revue	Valade	Oscar	1929	DOC					A-BAnQ Fonds MSS433	unpublished typescript found
	Allons-y Brunette	Gauthier	Conrad								
	Âme de Femme	Mallet	Jean				Typescript				
	Ames Francaises	Plamondon (Le Chevalier)	Aimé	1916	TCEF; NAD; RduT		Monograph	l'Action sociale Ltée	Quebec	A-BAnQ Fonds MSS57	
	Ames Héroïques	Romuald (frère)	Francois (AKA Frere Raphael-Francois)	1921	TCEF		Monograph			MIC/B6503 GEN microfiche only	Was not accessible
	Amour à la poste	Proulx	Antonin	1916	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Published Feb 19 1916 with Enjoleuse et Devotion	Anthology	Ateliers typographiques de l'imprimerie Canadienne	Ottawa	NC-BAnQ C842.52 P9684e 1916	
L'	Amour Contre La Haine	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)								
L'	Amour en voyage	Hébert	Paul								
	Amour et Patrie ou Crime Héroïque	Leclaire	Joseph Armand	1915	TCEF		Monograph	Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal		
	Amour et Pays ou La Terre Chez Nous	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS57	Unreadable copy; not included in study
L'	Amour style moderne	Deyglun	Henri								
	Amour, Guerre et Patrie ou Pierrot Picotte s'Enrole	Kearney	Horace J.	1925	TCEF		Monograph	L'Imprimerie Provost	Hull	NC-BAnQ C842.52 K246am 1925	
Les	Amours d'Une Reine	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)								
L'	Ange Prisonniers Politiques	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1927	TCEF	Published on p.269 in Aux	Anthology	Librarie d'Action	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 D246A2 1927	Book missing
L'	Angelus et les Glaneuses	Coupal	Maximilian	1929	TCEF	Published in Annales Thérésiennes, 25e année, no 10 June 20 1929 pp. 294-309	Journal/Revue	Annales Thérésiennes		NC-BAnQ - being processed (not available)	
L'	Anglomanie	Circé-Côté	Eva (Colombine)								Text has been lost
L'	Anniversaire 50	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon	1928	TCEF		Typescript				
L'	Anti-Féministe	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène	1922	TCEF		Monograph	Imprimerie de L'Action Catholique	Quebec	BANQ PDF	
	Appel du Missionnaire	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène			Typed script 1925					
	As-tu vu la r'vue???	Robi	Armand	1913	TCEF		Monograph	Imprimeur Pigeon			
	Associons-Nous	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1915	TCEF	Published in La Bonne Parole (all 1915): vol. 2 no 11 Jan p.5; vol 2 no 12 Feb p.6; vol.3 no 2 Apr p.5; vol. 3 no 5 July p. 4; vol. 3 no 8 Oct p.5	Journal/Revue	La Bonne Parole			
	Attisez le Feu	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1927	TCEF	Published p.179 as part of Aux feux de la rampe	Anthology	Librarie d'Action Francaise Ltee	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 D246A2 1927	Book missing
	Au Clair de la Lune	Leclaire	Joseph Armand								

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Earliest Pub Date	Date Source	Publication Info (from listed soures only)	Publication Type	Publisher	Publisher Location	Document Location (confirmed only)	Notes
	Aurore, l'Enfant Martyre	Petitjean	Léon	2004	DOC		Monograph	Bibliothèque québécoise	Québec	NC-BAnQ 920.936276 G1354m 2005	
L'	Autre Chemin	Letondal	Henri	1923		Except only printed	Journal/Revue	La Ligue d'Action Francaise	Montreal	A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58 & Fonds MSS433	EXCERPT ONLY
L'	Aveugle de Saint-Eustache ou l'Aveugle de la Forge	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon	1928	TCEF; NAD	Published as part of Théâtre canadien	Anthology	Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal		Novel available, but the play was not found
	Avez-vous vu Phonsine?	Lafontaine	Henri								
Le	Baiser	Lemaire	Géorgine								
Le	Beau Soir	Hornier	J. Arthur	1924	TCEF	Published Oct 4 1924 in Le	Journal/Revue	Le bon loisir			
La	Belge aux gants noirs	Lacerte	Emma Adèle (Madame Bourgeois)	1920	TCEF; NAD		Monograph	Imprimerie Beauregard	Ottawa	NC-BAnQ CON Z86307	
La	Belle Montréalaise	Daoust	Julien (d'Aoust)	1913	TCEF; DOC	TCEF date does not specify pubication - typed script; Montréal qui chante Montréal Vol. 13, no 2 (février 1921), p. 2	Journal/Revue	Montreal qui chante	Montreal	BAnQ PER M-385 MIC A1695 - microfiche only (unavailable)	
La	Berceuse	Ouellette	Conrad Émilien	1925	TCEF; NAD; RduT	NAD says 1927 for pub date	Monograph	Edouard Garand	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 C5558b 1927	
Les	Berniers	??	Anonyme								
	Boches	Plante	Alex (Alexandre Villandray)	1915	TCEF; DOC		Monograph	Imprimerie de l'Evenement	Quebec	BAnQ PDF	
Un	Bon Coeur	Guay	Alfred	1923	TCEF	Published in les Annales Dec	Journal/Revue	Les Annales	Ottawa		
Un	Bon Coeur: Noël mondain	Guay	Alfred	1923		Annales de l'institut canadien français d'Ottawa vol 2 no 2 (dec 1923) 13				BAnQ PER A-110 Les Annales de l'Institut Canadien-Francias d'Ottawa vol 2 no 12 (Dec 1923)	Not found
Les	Boucaniers ou Frères de la Côte	McGown	J.G.W.	1910	TCEF		Monograph	Librarie Beauchemin	Montreal		
La	Bouée	Choquette	Ernest	1927	NAD;RduT; TCEF	Published in 1927 in two different publications: solo monograph and in the Sommaire de theatre anthology (p. 87-172)	Monograph; anthology	L'Imprimerie Yamaska (book); Librarie Déom (anthology)	Saint-Hyacinthe; Location?	A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	
Le	Bouquet de Melusine (three steps: l'Ordre de bons temps, Madame de Repentigny, and Forestiers et Coureurs)	Louvigny de Montigny		1928	NAD; Othe; RduT; TCEF		Anthology	Editions du Mercure	Montreal	BAnQ 842.99 M792bp2 1928 OR NC-BAnQ 782.140268 M792b 1928	Listed in Dictionnaire des Oeuvres
	C'est Fini	Vekeman	Victor	1921	TCEF		Monograph	Imprimerie francaise Vekeman	Woonsocket, RI		
	C'est la vie	Gauvreau	Louis-François (M.F.)								
La	Cadeau	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1927	TCEF	Published p.103 as part of	Anthology	Librarie d'Action	Montreal		Book missing
Le	Calvaire d'une mère	Lefebvre	Arthur							A- BAnQ Fonds MSS58	unpublished typescript found
Un	Canadien Errant	Aumais (prêtre)	L.N.	1929	TCEF	L'enseignement primaire journal d'édcation et d'instruction Quebec vol 50 no 10 (juin 1929) p.585	Journal/revue; anthology	Government of Québec	Québec	BAnQ 588 OFF I57A1 E58	
Les	Canadiens de "37"	Beaulieu	Germain								
	Ce que je vois! Ce que je pense!	Lassalle	Eugène (Marguerite-Marie)				Monograph	Imprimerie de "La Patrie"	Montreal	NTS C841.5 L346c 1925 or NC-BAnQ C841.52 L346c 1925 or BAnQ 841.91 L346c 1925 on request - 10 day min	
Les	Ceintures Fléchées	Guyon	Louis								
Le	Cénacle	Asselin	Emile	2015	DOC	Comédies: Asselin, Émile, 1894-1981 auteur	Anthology	Maxime	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.54 A8445A2c 2015	
	Ceux Qui Souffrent	Coupal	Louis	1918	NAD; DOC; TCEF; RduT		Monograph	L'Imprimerie de l'Institut des Sourds-Muets	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 C856c 1918	
	Chambres	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène			Typed script 1912-1913					
	Champion d'Italie	Coutlée	Paul	1920	TCEF		Monograph	l'agence Dramatique Canadienne	Montreal	A-BAnQ Fonds MSS433	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Earliest Pub Date	Date Source	Publication Info (from listed soures only)	Publication Type	Publisher	Publisher Location	Document Location (confirmed only)	Notes
	Chanson des Bohemes	Chauvin	Edouard	1919	MQ	Le Devoir in *Figurines* p.41-43; also part of Monologues quebecois p.84	Anthology; Anthology	Le Devoir; Lemeac	Montreal	BAnQ 842.9108 M7517 1980 (book)	
Le	**Chapeau de paille**	Chagnon	Louis-Joseph								One third prize in competition organized by Salon des poetes de Lyon
	Charles Lemoyne	Marie-Victorin (frère)	(Conrad Kirouac)	1912	NAD; RduT	RduT says first publication in Longueuil; then Montreal	Monograph	Publisher of second two publications - Freres des Ecoles Chretiennes	Longueuil; Montreal		
	Chateauguay ou Le Pardon du Prêtre	Leclaire	Joseph Armand	1918	TCEF		Monograph	Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal		
	Chérubin 1930	Letondal	Henri							NC-BAnQ - being processed (not available)	
Le	**Chevalier de Colomb**	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène	1924	DOC; TCEF	La Revue Populaire magazine littéraire illustré mensuel Montréal; Jan 1924 Vol 17 No 1 TCEF includes printing by Garand in Quebec, but with no date	Journal/revue	La Revue Populaire	Montreal	BANQ PDF	
	Cheveux Longs et Esprit Court	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1927	TCEF	Published p.81 as part of Aux feux de la rampe	Anthology	Librarie d'Action Francaise Ltee	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 D246A2 1927	Book missing
Le	**Chien Perdu**	Ferland	Jules	1918	TCEF; MQ	Publsihed in le Passe-temps Jan 11 1919 Published in	Journal/Revuew; Monograph;	Le passe-temps; Agence dramatique Canadienne;	Montreal	BAnQ PER P-26 MIC A1622 Le Passe-temps Vol 25 no 621 Jan 11 1919 p.18	
La	**Cigarette**	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon								
La	**Cité du Bien**	Dupont	Claude ((Soeur Josephine- du Saint-Coeur-de-Marie, née Marie-Alice Ferron)								
	Claire	Choquette	J. Auguste								
La	**Cloche Dans le Soir**	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1926	TCEF	Published in La Bonne Parole, Revue de la Fédération Nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste in various editions October, Nov-Dec 1926 and Jan 1927	Journal/Revue	La Bonne Parole; Revue de la Fédération Nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste			
Le	**Code de l'Honneur**	Beaulieu	Germain								
	Coeur d'Enfant	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1927	TCEF	Published p.143 as part of Aux feux de la rampe	Anthology	Librarie d'Action Francaise Ltee	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 D246A2 1927	Book missing
	Coeur de Maman	Leclaire	Joseph Armand	1920	TCEF		Monograph	Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal		
	Comment Pierrot Servit la France	de Lambert	Marguerite	1917	RduT		Monograph	Imprimerie "Le Soleil"	Quebec	NC-BAnQ 98581 CON	
La	**Conscience d'un Prêtre**	Daoust	Julien (d'Aoust)							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS433	unpublished typescript found
Le	**Conscrit Baptiste**	Leclaire	Joseph Armand	1917	MQ	Le passe-temps 1917; also in	Journal/Revue;	Le passe-temps; Lemeac	Montreal	BAnQ PER P-26 MIC A1622 Le passe-	
La	**Conspiration des jeunes**	Marie-Victorin (frère)	(Conrad Kirouac)								
	Conspiration des Poudres	Marie-Victorin (frère)	(Conrad Kirouac)								
	Contre le Flot	Michelet	Magali	1922	TCEF		Monograph	Librarie d'Action canadienne-francaise	Montreal	University of Ottawa OCoLC877115787	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Earliest Pub Date	Date Source	Publication Info (from listed soures only)	Publication Type	Publisher	Publisher Location	Document Location (confirmed only)	Notes
	Corinne	Girard	Rodolphe	1921	TCEF; RduT	Listed in RduT but no date	Manuscript				
Le	Coup d'épingle	Letondal	Henri								
Le	Cours Improvisé	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1927	TCEF	Published p.7 as part of Aux feux de la rampe	Anthology	Librarie d'Action Francaise Ltee	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 D246A2 1927	Book missing
	Craches-en un: monologues comiques	Coutlée	Paul	1920	DOC		Anthology	Imprimé au "Samedi"	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	
Les	Croustillards à la cour du recorder	Perrault	Almer							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	Handwritten; Not included in study
	Dans le peu d'un monastre	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon								
	Dans les Griffes de Bigot	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène	1910	DOC					A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	unpublished typedscript found
	De Fil en Aiguille	de Trémaudan	Auguste Henri	1925	NAD; RduT	Published in the United States	Journal/Revue	Le Courrier Francais	Los Angeles	NC-BAnQ C842.52 T7891d 1925	
	Débuts d'Octave ou Pousse-Toué	Ferland	Jules	1929	TCEF	Vol. 1 of Nouveau Repertoire le Bret	Monograph	Jules Ferland Editeur (self)	Montreal	A-BAnQ Fonds MSS91	
Le	Destin	Benoit	Mme Emmanuel Persillier								
	Deux aventuriers	Potvin	Damase (Jean Yves Sainte Foy)								
	Dévotion	Proulx	Antonin	1916	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Published Feb 19 1916 as three plays	Anthology	Ateliers typographiques de l'imprimerie Canadienne	Ottawa	NC-BAnQ C842.52 P9684e 1916	
	Dialogue sur les Morts	Girard	Rodolphe	1912	TCEF; RduT	Published as part of Contes de	Anthology				
La	Divine Pecheresse	Leclaire	Joseph Armand								
	Djympko	Renaud	Emiliano								
	Dollard	Gagnier	Hervé	1922	TCEF; RduT, NAD		Monograph	Imprimerie des Editeurs Limitée	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	
	Dollard des Ormeaux	Bourbeau-Rainville	Olivier-Victor	1911	RduT, TCEF		Monograph	Librarie Beauchemin Limitée	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	
	Dollard n'est pas mort	Gauthier (abbé)	Émilien	1927	TCEF; RduT, NAD		Journal/Revue	L'Action Sociale	Québec	NC-BAnQ C842.52 G2763d 1927	
Les	Dopés	Le Gouriadec	Loïc (Paul Gury)								Programme available at BAnQ
	Douze tableaux de la vie scoute	Vincent, o.f.m.									
Le	Droit de Vote aux Femmes	Le Gouriadec	Loïc (Paul Gury)	1927	TCEF	Appeared in Canada Qui Chante July 1927	Journal/Revue	Canada Qui Chante			
	East Lynne	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	unpublished typescript found
Une	Élève de Corneille	de Champris	Henry Gaillard								
	En pleine gloire	Huguenin	Mme Madeleine	1919	TCEF; NAD;		Journal/Revue	La Patrie	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	
	En Roulant ma Boule	Bourgeois	Albéric								
	Encore Un	Vekeman	Victor	1919	TCEF		Monograph	Imprimerie V. Vekeman	Woonsocket, RI		
L'	Enfant de Choeur ou Le Soprano Prodige	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon				Typescript				
L'	Enjôleuse	Proulx	Antonin	1916	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Published Feb 19 1916 as three plays	Anthology	Ateliers typographiques de l'imprimerie Canadienne	Ottawa	NC-BAnQ C842.52 P9684e 1916	
	Entendons-Nous	Lemay	Pamphile	1911	TCEF	Printed for the Royal Society	Monograph		Ottawa	BAnQ - being processed (unavailable)	
	Entre Deux Civilisations ou Le Fils de Cheik	Leclaire	Joseph Armand	1928	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Published as one of the volumes in the Théâtre canadien series	Monograph	Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal	A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	
	Entre Deux Rondels	Robillard	Claude	1931	TCEF; RduT		Monograph	Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.508 T4 v.28 1931	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Earliest Pub Date	Date Source	Publication Info (from listed soures only)	Publication Type	Publisher	Publisher Location	Document Location (confirmed only)	Notes
L'	Epleuchette de Blé d'Inde	Gauthier	Conrad							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	
L'	Épluchette	Roy	Régis	1916	Other	Anthology of monologues	Anthology	Editeur Gerard Malchelosse	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	Listed in Theatre comique de Regis Roy (1864-1944) edited by Mariel O'Neill-Karch and Pierre Karch (Les Editions David, Ottawa, 2006)
L'	Erreur du docteur Sartène	Letondal	Henri								
L'	Espionne Boche	Lemay	J. Henri	1916	TCEF; RduT		Journal/Revue	La Tribune de Sherbrooke	Sherbrooke	NC-BAnQ C842.52 L5494e 1916; NC-	
L'	Étrange aventure	Letondal	Henri								
	Evangéline	Daoust	Julien (d'Aoust)							A- BAnQ Fonds MSS103	unpublished typescript found
La	Famille Beaufretin	Descarries	Alfred	1926	NAD;	Published along with another	Anthology	Garand	Montreal	A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	
	Famille Croustillards	Perrault	Almer							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	Handwritten script - OCR could not be performed
Les	Fantoches	Letonal	Henri	1922	TCEF	Published Feb 1922	Anthology	L'Imprimerie des Editeurs Limitée	Montreal	A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58 & Fonds MSS433	All of the skits in Fantoches are short; 16 in total
Le	Fétiche (opérette)	Vézina	Joseph	1912	TCEF		Monograph	Imprimerie de l'Evenement	Quebec	BAnQ PDF	
	Feu Follet	de Trémaudan	Auguste Henri	1929	NAD; RduT		Monograph	Garand	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.912 T7891 1929 or BAnQ C842.52 T7891f 1929 on request	
La	Fille du Conscrit	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS57	unpublished typescript found
La	Fille du Sheik	Barry	Frédéric								
La	Fille du Soleil	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		TCEF	Published as part of Théâtre canadien; was not found	Anthology	Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal		
Le	Fils du Sheik	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)								
Les	Fils du Sorcier	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène			Typed script 1915-1916					
	Fleur D'Irlande	Leclaire	Joseph Armand				Monograph	Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal	A- BAnQ Fonds MSS58	Only songs were discovered, no full play text (not included in study)
La	Fleur du Sang	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon								
	Fleurs des Ondes	Gill	Mme Charles (Gaétane de Montreuil)	1913	TCEF		Monograph	Self-Published	Washington, DC	NC-BAnQ 158803 CON	
La	Folie des Grandeurs	Perrault	Almer							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	Handwritten; Not included in
Le	Fond des Tasses	Plamondon (Le Chevalier)	Aimé								
	Francaises D'Amérique	Rocheleau	Corinne	1940	TCEF		Monograph	Librarie Beauchemin Limitée	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	
	Francesca de Rimini	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène			Typed script 1912-1915					
Le	Fumeur endiablé	Circé-Côté	Eva (Colombine)								
Les	Garanties d'un Futur	Bienvenue	Alfred								
Un	Gendre Enragé	Désilets	Joseph	1928	NAD; RduT; TCEF	NAD says published in 1930; RduT and TCEF say 1928 by author	Monograph	L'auteur	Victoriaville	BAnQ 842.91 D4578g 1928	
Le	Général Vallières - La médaille (suivis)	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1944							
Les	Glaneuses	Soeur Saint-Louis-de-Sacré-Coeur									

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Earliest Pub Date	Date Source	Publication Info (from listed soures only)	Publication Type	Publisher	Publisher Location	Document Location (confirmed only)	Notes
	Gloire à Dollard	Perrin (p.s.s.)	Julien	1923	TCEF; NAD; DJS; RduT		Monograph	Bibliotheque de L'Action Francaise	Quebec	BAnQ PDF	
La	Grand Sacrifice	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)								
La	Grande Amie	Gauthier (abbé)	Pierre (Pierre du Sol)							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	unpublished typescript found
La	Guerre ou Le Triomphe des Alliés	Daoust	Julien (d'Aoust)								
Un	Héritage à L'Horizon ou Louison et Son Garçon vont a l'exposition	Kearney	Horace J.								
Une	Heure de Garde	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1927	TCEF	Published in l'Almanach de la langue francaise 12e année 1927 pp. 123-133	Anthology	Lique de l'Action Francaise			Date written March 7, 1926
L'	Heure est Venue	Benoit	Mme Emmanuel Persillier	1923	RduT; TCEF	Published under the pseud Monique	Newspaper	Le Devoir	Montreal		
L'	Homme au foulard blanc	Le Gouriadec	Loïc (Paul Gury)								
	Honni soit qui mal y pense!...	Choquette	J. Auguste	1929	TCEF	Published in 1929; appeared	Journal/Revue	La Vie Canadienne			
	Horrible tragédie en Roumanie	Deyglun	Henri								
	I Les Avocats	??	Anonyme								
Les	Idoles ou le Massacre dans le temple	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon								
	Iéna	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		TCEF			Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal		
L'	Impossible Partage	de Champris	Henry Gaillard		DOC		Monograph	Editions du "Soleil"	Quebec	NC-BAnQ 842.912 G139i 1926	
L'	Inconnue	Patry	Joseph	1918	TCEF	Le Terroir orange vol 1 no 3 (nov 1918) p. 35-40	Journal/Revue	Le Terroir	Gaspesie	BAnQ PER T-58	
L'	Intendant Bigot	Rousseau	Alfred	1928	DOC		Monograph	Self-Published?		NC-BAnQ 782.10268 V975i 1928	Historical Canadian opera
L'	Intime Souffrance	Proulx	Antonin	1920	TCEF; NAD	Published first March and april 1920 in La revue national N.S. vol 1 no 3 and 4	Journal/Revue; Monograph	La revue nationale N.S.; Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal		
L'	Ivrogne	Gaston	Charles	1913	MQ	Le Passe-temps Oct 25 1913;	Journal/Revue;	Le passe-temps; Lemeac	Montreal	BAnQ PER P-26 MIC A1622	
	Je suis pressé!	Ferland	Jules	1917	MQ	Le passe-temps June 2 1917; Canada Qui Chante 1927 Sept also in Monologues quebecois p.101-103	Journal/Revue; Anthology	Passe-temps; Canada qui chante; Lemeac	Montreal	BAnQ PER C-581 Canada qui chante Vol 1 no 9 Sept 1927 p.12	
	Je suis timide	Gaston	Charles	1914	MQ	Le passe-temps July 4 1914; also published in Monologues	Journal/Revue; Anthology	Le passe-temps; Lemeac	Montreal	BAnQ PER P-26 MIC A1622	
	Je t'aime, Je ne t'aime pas	Panneton	Philippe								
	Jean Audrain	Michelet	Magali								
	Jean des Prairies	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène			Typed script					rewritten 1914
	Jean le Précurseur (oratorio)	Couture	Guillaume								Theatre Saint-Denis BAnQ Division de Collections (Programmes de musique); also have program; musical
	Jeanne d'Arc	Lacerte	Emma Adèle (Madame Bourgeois)	1920	RduT				Ottawa		
Un	Jeune Homme Nerveux	Letondal	Henri								
La	Jolie fermiere	Hébert	Paul								
	Joseph Trahi par ses frères	Laforce	Pierre	1924	TCEF	Published under title Causeries Litteraires	Anthology	Librarie Beauchemin Ltee			
	Joyeux propos de Gros-Jean	Roy	Régis	1928	Other	Anthology of monologues	Anthology	Les Cahiers Populaires	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	Listed in Theatre comique de Regis Roy (1864-1944) edited by Mariel O'Neill-Karch and Pierre Karch (Les Editions David, Ottawa, 2006); series of monologues

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Earliest Pub Date	Date Source	Publication Info (from listed soures only)	Publication Type	Publisher	Publisher Location	Document Location (confirmed only)	Notes
La	Justice de Dieu	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)								
	Là-Bas, Là-Bas, Dans la montagne	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon								
	Laurier	Leclaire	Joseph Armand	1921	TCEF		Monograph	Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal	A- BAnQ Fonds MSS58	
La	Laveuse Automatique	Séguin	Oscar	1930	TCEF; NAD	Published as one of the volumes in the Théâtre canadien series	Monograph	Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal	NC-BAnQ 122523 CON	
	Lawrence	Carignan	Paul							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	unpublished typescript found
La	Legende du paradis terrestre	Comte	Gustave	1920	MQ	Le passe-temps Dec 11 1920; also in Monologues quebecois	Journal/Revue; Anthology	Le passe-temps; Lemeac	Montreal	BAnQ 842.9108 M7517 1980 (book); PER P-26 MIC A1622 (journal)	
La	Lettre	Desjardins	Antonio	1924	Other	Published in his anthologie Crépuscule	Anthology				Apprivoiser la modernité
Une	Lettre au Ministre	Helvet	??	1921	TCEF		Monograph	Agence Dramatique Canadienne	Montreal	A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	
La	Limite	Séguin	Oscar	1925	TCEF; NAD		Unclear	Imprimerie du Journal de Waterloo	Waterloo		
Un	Locataire dans la rue	Ferland	Jules	1925	TCEF	Published Jan 1925		L'Agence dramatique			
Le	Lys Noir (Le lis noir)	Benoit	Mme Emmanuel Persillier								
	Madeleine de Verchères	Girard	Rodolphe	1921	TCEF						
	Maisonneuve	Circé-Côté	Eva (Colombine)							Queen's University - Lorne Pierce Collection LP/Folio PS9505 .I74 M34 1921a	Unpublished typescript found
	Mam'Zelle Printemps	Le Gouriadec	Loïc (Paul Gury)								
Les	Manifestes électoraux	Hugolin (o.f.m.)	R.P. M.L.S.	1912	TCEF; NAD; RduT		Monograph	Librarie Beauchemin Ltee	Montreal	NC-BAnQ MIC/B524\74620	
	Manque-La Pas!	Daoust	Julien (d'Aoust)	1921	DOC	Montreal qui chante vol 13 no 2 fev 1921	Journal/Revue	Montreal qui chante	Montreal	BAnQ PER M-385 MIC A1695 - microfiche only	Description only - microfiche; not available
La	Marguerite effeuillée	Soeur Saint-Louis-de-Sacré-Coeur									
	Maria Chapdelaine	Cinq-Mars	Alonzo	1919	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Published May - Sept 1919 in the revue; Vol 1 no 9-12 and vol. 2 no 1.	Journal/Revue	Le terroir			
	Maria Chapdelaine	Le Gouriadec	Loïc (Paul Gury)							A-BAnQ Fonds P841,S3,D1	unpublished typescript found
Le	Mariage de Rosa	Gauthier	Charles-Emile							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS471	unpublished typescript found
	Marie Calumet	Vallerand	Alfred (Germain d'Auray)								
La	Marque d'Infamie	Huget	Geroge								
La	Meilleure part	Dupont	Claude ((Soeur Josephine- du Saint-Coeur-de-Marie, née Marie-Alice Ferron)	1915	NAD; RduT						
	Mélie mon Amour	Le Gouriadec	Loïc (Paul Gury)								Translation of Peg of my heart
	Même Sang	Feron	Jean				Monograph	Self-Published		BAnQ PDF	
La	Mendiante Amour	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon				Typescript				
La	Mère Abandonnée	Deyglun	Henri	1929	TCEF	Published as one of the volumes in the Théâtre canadien series	Monograph	Garand	Montreal	A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58 & Fonds MSS180	
	Mes Monologues	Coutlée	Paul	1926	TCEF	Written in March 1926	Anthology	Garand	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 C871m 1926	
	Microbiologie	Charbonnier	Auguste	1919	MQ	Le Passe-temps May 3 1919; also in Monoloques quebecois p.87-88	Journal/Revue; Anthology	Le passe-temps; Lemeac	Montreal	BAnQ 842.9108 M7517 1980 (book); BAnQ PER P-26 MIC A1622 (journal)	
Un	Million pour un Casse-Tête	Séguin	Oscar	1927	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Published as one of the volumes in the Théâtre canadien series	Monograph	Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.508 T4 v.4 1927	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Earliest Pub Date	Date Source	Publication Info (from listed soures only)	Publication Type	Publisher	Publisher Location	Document Location (confirmed only)	Notes
Le	Mirage	Benoit	Mme Emmanuel Persillier	1921	TCEF	Published under the pseud Monique with L'heure est venue	Newspaper	Le Devoir	Montreal		
	Mon Commis-Voyageur	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène	1925	TCEF	Published as a solo monograph in 1925 and then as a pair with Henry Deyglun's Les secrets du docteur Morhanges in 1926 in Theatre Canadien	Monograph; anthology	Garand	Montreal	BANQ PDF	
	Monique	de Champris	Henry Gaillard		DOC		Monograph	Editions Gabriel Enault,	Paris	BAnQ 842.912 G139m 1925	
	Monologue de tous les temps	King	Pat	1919	MQ	Le passe-temps Nov 1 1919; also in Monologues quebecois p.91-93	Journal/Revue; Anthology	Le passe-temps; Lemeac	Montreal	BAnQ PER P-26 MIC A1622 Le passe-temps vol 25 no 642 Nov 1 1919 p. 439	
Les	Monologues de Lasalle sérieux	Lassalle	Eugène (Marguerite-Marie)							MIC/B524\81728 microfiche only (unavailable)	
	Monsieur de Danse Pas	Houlé	Léopold								
	Monsieur Grabouillet	Houlé	Léopold								
	Monsieur qui n'a pas volé ce parapluie	Ferland	Jules	1925	TCEF; MQ	Published Feb 27 1925; also in Monologues quebecois p.106-107	Anthology	L'Agence dramatique canadienne; Lemeac	Montreal	A-BAnQ Fonds MSS91	
	Montcalm et Lévis	Routhier (sir)	Adolphe-Basile	1918	TCEF; NAD; RduT		Monograph	Imprimerie Franciscaine missionaire and Editions Casterman	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	
La	Mort de Tristan et D'Yseut	Charbonneau	Jean							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	unpublished typescript found
	Namounah	Gendron	Emma	1923	Other		Journal/Revue	La Revue Populaire	Montreal	BAnQ PER R-334 MIC A1480 La Revue populaire vol 16 no 6 June 1923 p. 140-150	Also in Lucie Robert's Apprivoiser la modernité
Les	Noces d'Or	de Champris	Henry Gaillard		RduT	no date listed and none found	Monograph	Editions du "Soleil"	Quebec	NC-BAnQ 842.912 G139n 1925	
Le	Noël des Loups	Leclaire	Joseph Armand								
	Nos Yeux S'Ouvrent	Aubry	Marcelle								
	Nuit de Noël	Gauthier	Joseph-Henri	1919	TCEF	Published Jan 26 1919	Monograph	Eglise Saint Jacques	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	Parish Leaflet
L'	Oeuvre de la Friponne	Beaudoin (abbé)	Édouard (Jean Santerre)	1929	NAD; RduT; TCEF	L'Almanach de l'Action Sociale Catholique in 1929					
	On Demande une Jeune Fille	Coutlée	Paul	1920	TCEF		Anthology	Garand	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 C871m 1926	
L'	Orage	Loranger	Jean Aubert	1925		In the book "Le Village"	Anthology	Editions Garand	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	
	Oscar Déménage	Helvet	??	1921	TCEF		Monograph	Agence Dramatique Canadienne	Montreal	A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	
Les	Pâmoisons du Notaire	Huot	Alexandre	1926	TCEF; NAD; RduT		Monograph	Editions Garand	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 H957p 1926	
	Par la Souffrance	Vekeman	Victor								
Le	Pardon d'une Race	Beaudoin (abbé)	Édouard (Jean Santerre)	1928	NAD; TCEF; RduT	L'Almanach de l'Action Sociale Catholique in 1928 p. 108) ; and in Le théâtre d'Arlequin d'Eugène Achard	Monograph	Librairie Générale Canadienne	Montreal	Université Laval - +RIN-0004	Collection Rinfret
Une	Partie de 500	Baker	William Athanase	1913	NAD; RduT; TCEF		Book/monograph	C.A. Marchand	Montreal	NC-BAnQ MIC/B524\9-90506	Microfiche unavailble
	Pas Besoin de Récompense	Des Tourelles	Jean	1913	TCEF	L'Écho du patronage Saint-Hyacinthe Vol. 4, no 42-43 (mars 1913), p. 332-335	Journal/Revue	l'Echo de patronage	Saint-Hyacinthe	BAnQ PER E-163 l'Echo du patronage Saint-Hyacinthe Vol 4 no 42-43 (March 1913)	Not available
	Pas Possible	Proulx	Antonin	1916	TCEF	Published in Le Pays Laurentien 1er année no 8 aout 1916 p. 197; excerpt only	Journal/Revue	Le Pays laurentien	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Earliest Pub Date	Date Source	Publication Info (from listed soures only)	Publication Type	Publisher	Publisher Location	Document Location (confirmed only)	Notes
	Pas pour Rire	Plamondon (Le Chevalier)	Aimé								
La	Passion	Ethier (abbé)	Jean D'Avila								
La	Passion	Lassalle	Eugène (Marguerite-Marie)								
Le	Pèlerin d'amour	Berthos	Jean (pseudonyme Thomas Alfred Bernier)	1924	TCEF	Published in 1924	Monograph	Imprimerie Laflamme	Quebec	BAnQ PDF or BAnQ C841.4 B528p 1924	
Le	Petit	Vekeman	Victor	1926	TCEF		Monograph	Imprimerie V. Vekeman	Woonsocket, RI	NC-BAnQ 270402 CON	
Le	Petit Cancre	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1927	TCEF	Published p.155 as part of Aux feux de la rampe	Anthology	Librarie d'Action Francaise Ltee	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 D246A2 1927	Book missing
Le	Petit Maître d'école	Leclaire	Joseph Armand	1929	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Published as one of the volumes in the Théâtre canadien series	Monograph	Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal	A- BAnQ Fonds MSS58 and BAnQ PDF	
Le	Petit Mousse	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon				Manuscript				
Le	Petit Patriote de 1837	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)								
	Petit-Baptiste	de Trémaudan	Auguste Henri	1927	NAD; RduT	NAD - published in 1929 but does not have information	Monograph	Garand	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 T7891p 1929	
Un	Petit-fils de Pierre Gagnon	Dupont	Claude ((Soeur Josephine- du Saint-Coeur-de-Marie, née Marie-Alice Ferron)	1915	NAD; RduT		Monograph	Imprimerie la Cie "Le Bien Public"	Trois-Rivières	NC-BAnQ C842.52 D938p 1915	
	Petite Cousine	de Champris	Henry Gaillard								
La	Petite Maîtresse d'Ecole	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon								
La	Petite Pensionnaire des Ursulines	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1927	TCEF	Published p.29 as part of Aux feux de la rampe	Anthology	Librarie d'Action Francaise Ltee	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 D246A2 1927	Book missing
	Peuple Sans Histoire	Marie-Victorin (frère)	(Conrad Kirouac)	1925	TCEF; NAD; RduT		Monograph	Freres des Ecoles Chretiennes	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	
	Peut-être	Martineau	Simone								Programme in A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58 but no script
	Pierrot dans la lune	Brossard (abbé)	Auguste	1929	TCEF	Published by H. Boulord, Niort					
La	Pipe de Plâtre	Huot	Alexandre	1926	TCEF; NAD; RduT	Published after the novel Le massacre de Lachine	Anthology	Editions Garand	Montreal	A-BAnQ Fonds MSS58	
Le	Portrait	Vekeman	Victor								
	Pour de L'Or	Coutlée	Paul	1928	RduT; TCEF			Garand	Montreal		
	Pour Être Report	Proulx	Antonin	1917	TCEF	Published in Le Pays Laurentien 2e année no 8 aout 1917 p. 121-125	Journal/Revue	Le Pays laurentien		BAnQ PER P-119 Le Pays Vol 2 (Aug 1917)	Not found
	Pour le Premier Prix	Roy	Régis	1910	TCEF		Anthology	Self-Published	Ottawa	BAnQ PDF	
	Pousse-Pousse	Gauthier	Charles-Emile							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS471	unpublished typescript found
La	Preuve par l'Histoire	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1927	TCEF	Published p.51 as part of Aux feux de la rampe	Anthology	Librarie d'Action Francaise Ltee	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 D246A2 1927	Book missing
Le	Prince des Etudiants	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS57	unpublished typescript found
La	Pupille de Montcalm	Deville	René								
	Quand Même!	de Trémaudan	Auguste Henri	1928	NAD; RduT		Monograph	Garand	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.508 T4 v.6 1928 or BAnQ 842.912 T7891 1928 on request - 10 days min	
	Qui S'y Frotte S'y Pique	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène			Typed script Jan 12 1915; translated into English					
Le	Rachat	de Champris	Henry Gaillard								

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Earliest Pub Date	Date Source	Publication Info (from listed soures only)	Publication Type	Publisher	Publisher Location	Document Location (confirmed only)	Notes
Le	Rajah (opéra-bouffe)	Michaud	Benjamin	1910	TCEF		Monograph	Imprimerie H. Chasse	Quebec	BAnQ PDF	
	Rencontre	Le Myre	Oscar								
La	Répétition	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1927	TCEF	Published p.227 as part of Aux feux de la rampe	Anthology	Librarie d'Action Francaise Ltee	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 D246A2 1927	Book missing
Le	Retour	Choquette	J. Auguste								Won second prize at competition 1918 organized by
Le	Retour de ladébauche	Bourgeois	Albéric	1924	MQ	Published in Les voyages de Ladébauche printed by La Presse; also in Monologues quebecois p.135-137	Anthology; Anthology	La Presse; Lemeac	Montreal	BAnQ 842.9108 M7517 1980 (book)	
La	Revanche d'une Race	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS434	
	Revue du Printemps	Letondal	Henri								Programme found, but no script
Le	Sacrifice	Girard	Rodolphe	1923	TCEF	La Canadienne le magazine du Canada français Montréal : Vol. 7, no 2 (mai 1923), p. 12-13, 30-31 ; also published in Almanach Rolland 1926	Journal/Revue; Anthology	Le Canadienne; Almanach Rolland		BAnQ PER C-149 La Canadienne Vol 7 No 2 (May 1923)	
	Salomé or Hérodiade et Salomé	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon								
Le	Sang Francais	Sénécal	Lucien R.							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS57	Adaptation of work by Albert Lambert and Fernand Meynet; unpublished typescript found
La	Secousse	Feron	Jean	1924	TCEF; RduT, NAD	Published as one of the volumes in the Théâtre canadien series	Monograph	Garand	Monteal	BAnQ PDF	
Le	Secret du Prêtre	De La Lande	André Castelein	1929	TCEF	Typed script					
	Semence et moisson	Soeur Marie-des-Sept-Douleurs									
Le	Sérum qui Tue	de Cotret	Marc-René	1928	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Published as one of the volumes in the Théâtre canadien series	Monograph	Garand	Montreal	BAnQ PDF	
Le	Sinistre Fantôme	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)								Inspired by Phantom of the Opera
Une	Soirée chez Crémazie	Ouellet	Cyrias								
Une	Soirée Mouvementée	Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène			Typed script Jan 27 1915; transalated in English					
	Soixante Minutes Ambasssadeur au Japon	Désilets	Joseph	1928	NAD; TCEF	L'Imprimerie de Victoriaville; second edition published in 1938	Monograph	Librarie Saint-Jean Ltee	Victoriaville	NC-BAnQ C842.52 D4578s 1938	
	Soliloque Matinal	Chauvin	Edouard	1919	MQ	Le Devoir in *Figurines* p.25-26; also part of Monoloques	Anthology; Anthology	Le Devoir; Lemeac	Montreal	BAnQ 842.9108 M7517 1980 (book)	
	Son Fils	Hornier	J. Arthur								
Le	Songe du Conscrit	Verchères	Paul	1918	TCEF						
Le	Sort du Testament	Boileau	A.								
Le	Soufflet	Letondal	Henri								
Le	Succès	Proulx	Antonin	1921	TCEF	Published in La Revue nationale Jan vol 2 no 1 p. 13, Feb no 2 p. 10, and March no 3 p. 12 1921	Journal/Revue	La Revue Nationale		BAnQ PER R76 La Revue nationale vol 2 no 1 (Jan 1921) - not available	
Les	Sucres	Gauthier	Conrad								
Les	Surprises du divorce	Bisson	Alexandre	1924	DOC		Monograph	Stock	Paris	NC-BAnQ 842.912 B6235s 1935	

	Title	Author Last	Author First	Earliest Pub Date	Date Source	Publication Info (from listed soures only)	Publication Type	Publisher	Publisher Location	Document Location (confirmed only)	Notes
	Tel pere, tel fils	Coutlée	Paul	1923	DOC; TCEF	La Revue populaire magazine littéraire illustré mensuel Montréal : Vol. 16, no 3 (mars 1923), p. 149-152, 154, 156, 158, 160; TCEF includes printing by Garand in Quebec, but with no date	Journal/Revue	La Revue Populaire	Montreal	BAnQ PER R-334 MIC A1480 - microfiche only	Microfiche only; unavailble
La	**Tentation d'un Ange**	Leclaire	Joseph Armand	1922	TCEF	Written Aug 1922; does not include publication info	Typescript				
La	**Terre**	Le Myre	Oscar	1925	TCEF	Piece for radio			Montreal		
	Thérèse Donne et Reçoit	Daveluy	Marie-Claire	1927	TCEF	Published p.69 as part of Aux feux de la rampe	Anthology	Librarie d'Action Francaise Ltee	Montreal	NC-BAnQ C842.52 D246A2 1927	Book missing
	Titoine en ville	Leclaire	Joseph Armand	1920	MQ	Le passe-temps Feb 7 1920;	Journal/Revue;	Le passe-temps; Lemeac	Montreal	BanQ PDF	
	Tizoune veut s'marier	Dubuisson	Damase								
La	**Tragédie acadienne**	Romuald (frère)	Francois (AKA Frere Raphael-Francois)								
La	**Trahison d'une race**	Beaudoin (abbé)	Édouard (Jean Santerre)	1928	RduT	L'Almanach de l'Action Sociale Catholique in 1928					
Le	**Triomphe des pauvres gens**	Deyglun	Henri								
	Trois Points d'Interrogation	Comte	Gustave								
Le	**Truc de Colinette**	Robert	George-H.								
	Valencia	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)								
	Valse d'été	Letondal	Henri	1924		La Lyre Montréal Vol. 2, no 15 (janvier 1924), p. 36					
La	**Veillée de Noel**	Duguay	Camille	1926	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Published twice in the same year; first on its own, then in journal/revue	Monograph; Journal/revue	l'Eclaireur Ltee; La voix des Bois-Francs	Beauceville; Victoriaville	BAnQ PDF	
Le	**Vengeur**	Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon								
Les	**Victimes(et un divorce à d'eau)**	Vekeman	Victor	1926	TCEF	Pubisher info only, no date in TCEF	Monograph	Imprimerie francaise Vekeman	Woonsocket, RI		
	Viens-tu voir ça?	Gauthier	Charles-Emile							A-BAnQ Fonds MSS433	copy available is unreadable
La	**Vierge Blanche**	Guimond	Ernest (Jean Bart)								
La	**Vierge des Bouges**	Leclaire	Joseph Armand		TCEF			Editions Edouard Garand	Montreal	A- BAnQ Fonds MSS58	unpublished typescript found
Les	**Vieux Garcons**	Sénécal	Lucien R.	1928	TCEF	Written 1928	Typescript				
La	**Visite Nocturne**	Coutlée	Paul	1928	NAD; RduT; TCEF	Published as part of Théâtre canadien	Anthology	Garand	Montreal		
Le	**Visiteur Nocturne**	Ferland	Jules	1925	TCEF	written Dec 1925				A-BAnQ Fonds MSS91	unpublished typescript found
	Vive la Canadienne	Plamondon (Le Chevalier)	Aimé	1924	TCEF		Monograph	Imprimerie Modèle	Quebec	BAnQ PDF	
	Voilà le plaisir	Perrault	Almer								
Le	**Voleur d'Amour**	Leclaire	Joseph Armand								
	Y'En A d'Dans	Eddy	M.			Maybe in Canada qui chante					

Appendix B

Playwrights found to be creating between 1910 and 1929

Author Last	Author First	AKA	# Plays Solo	# Plays Co-authored	Schooling	Profession	Notes
Asselin	Emile	Marc Forrez	1			Priest	
Aubry	Marcelle			1			
Aumais (prêtre)	L.N.		1			Priest	
Baker	William Athanase		1		Law	Lawyer	
Barry	Frédéric (Fred)		1		No specific training	Actor; Troupe founder	Attended Academie Saint-Jean-Baptiste (for what?)
Beaudoin (abbé)	Édouard	Jean Santerre	3			Priest	
Beaulieu	Germain		2		Law	Lawyer, Professor, Entomologist, Judicial consultant	
Benoit	Mme Emmanuel Persillier	Alice Pépin, Monique		4			
Berthos	Jean	Thomas Alfred Bernier	1				
Bey	P.H.			1			
Bienvenu	Alfred		1				
Bisson	Alexandre		1			Priest	
Boileau	A.		1				
Bourbeau-Rainville	Olivier-Victor		1		Law	Magistrate	U de Laval
Bourgeois	Albéric		2		Illustration	Painter, illustrator, charicaturist	Boston
Brossard (abbé)	Auguste		1			Priest	
Carignan	Paul		1				
Chagnon	Louis-Joseph	Jean de Ravier, Louis de Rosale	1		Classics, Notary(?)	Journalist, translator	
Charbonneau	Jean	Stanislas Prudhomme	1			Poet, founder of Montreal Literary School	
Charbonnier	Auguste		1			Composer, poet, writer	
Chauvin	Edouard	Aldophe Berton	2		Classics	Poet	
Choquette	Ernest		1		Classics and Medicine	Doctor, Novelist	
Choquette	J. Auguste		3				
Christe	Pierre			1			
Cinq-Mars	Alonzo	Marc Avril, Cyrano, Zo Marshal, Quatremai, Alcibiade Sanschagrin		1	Sculpture	Sculpter, painter, poet, journalist	
Circé-Côté	Eva	Colombine	3		Diploma in "bibliogrphie"	Columnist, Librarian Montreal, Director of collège francais pour jeunes filles	
Comte	Gustave	G. Etmoc	2		Law	Teacher, librettist, critic, journalist	
Corriveau (chevalier)	J. Eugène		5	8	Doctorate in Letters	Bailiff of supreme court of Quebec, justice of the peace, Legistalture library official, professor of history	
Coupal	Louis		1				
Coupal	Maximilian		1				
Coutlée	Paul	Rodolphe et Marcel	7		Drama schools	Merchant clerk, professional actor, journalist, copyeditor, bookseller	Conservatoire d'art dramatique, Conservatoire Lassalle, Perfectionnement à Paris (art de la scene)
Couture	Guillaume		1				
Daoust	Julien		6	1	None	Theatre Artist	
Daveluy	Marie-Claire		15		Librarianship	Journalist, librarian, chief of Montreal library catalogue, Cofounder and director of the School of Librarians at U de M, radio writer	
de Champris	Henry Gaillard		6			Professor	
de Cotret	Marc-René		1		No specific training	Journalist	
De La Lande	André Castelein		1			Teacher, notary and real estate agent, founder of a journal	
de Lambert	Marguerite		1			Actress	
De Tremaudan	Auguste Henri		4		Classics	Teacher, notary and real estate agent, lawyer, founder of a journal	
Des Tourelles	Jean		1				
Descarries	Alfred		1		None	Various trades	
Désilets	Joseph	Jean Noël	2		BA Arts, Law, Notary	Notary	
Desjardins	Antonio		1		Litterature and philosphy	Poet	Sorbonne in Paris
Deville	René		1				
Deyglun	Henri	sometimes name spelled Henry	4		Theatre school	Jack-of-all-trades; Actor, author, sculptor, scenic designer	Conservatoire de theatare
Dubuisson	Damase		1			Singer, teacher, prolific actor	
Duguay	Camille		1			Writer	
Dupont	Claude	Soeur Josephine- du Saint-Coeur-de-Marie, née Marie-Alice Ferron	3		Religious	Professor; Superior	
Eddy	M.	Alex Silvio		1			
Ethier (abbé)	Jean D'Avila		1			Priest	
Ferland	Jules		6		Acting	Amateur actor, Journalist and journal director, bookseller, editor	
Feron	Jean	real name Joseph-Marc-Octave-Antoine Lebel; J.-Marc Lebel, Jean Pionnier	2			Novelist, playwright	
Fleur	Louis	Antoine Langlais		1		Lawyer	
Gagnier	Hervé		1		BA (unknown sbj.)	Journalist and editor	
Gaston	Charles		2				
Gauthier	Charles-Emile		3				
Gauthier	Conrad	E. Copeau, Damoc, Duranc No 1, Gaulaf, Paul Miéry	3			Critic, actor, musician	

Author Last	Author First	AKA	# Plays Solo	# Plays Co-authored	Schooling	Profession	Notes
Gauthier (abbé)	Émilien		1			Priest	
Gauthier	Joseph-Henri		1				
Gauthier (abbé)	Pierre (Pierre du Sol)		1			Priest	
Gauvreau	Louis-François		2				
Gendron	Emma	Manon	1			Cashier, stenographer, screenwriter, playwright, journalist	
Gill	Mme Charles	Gaétane de Montreuil; née Georgina Bélanger	1			Journalist, poet	
Girard	Rodolphe		5		BA Arts	Writer, journalist, soldier	
Guay	Alfred	real name Pierre Daviault; Pierre Légris, Pierre	2		Lettres	Journalist, literary critic, professor, writer	
Guimond	Ernest	Jean Bart	10			Actor, playwright	
Guyon	Louis		1		Technical formation	Machiniste, Insurance agent, Official	
Hébert	Paul		2				
Helvet		real name Jean Roby	2			Bookstore clerk	
Homier	J. Arthur	Le Grognard	2			Photographer, filmmaker, playwright	
Houlé	Léopold	Gaétan Senesac	2		MA Arts, PhD in litterature	Journalist, Publicist for Commission canadienne de la radio, director of PR and publicity Radio-Canada, essayist	
Huget	George		1				
Hugolin (o.f.m.)	M.L.S.		1		Ordination	Archivist, librarian and biographer of the Franciscans	
Huguenin	Mme Madeleine	Luc Aubry, née Anne-Marie Gleason	1			Reviewer/critic, journalist	
Huot	Alexandre	Henri Verdon	2	1	No specific training	Journalist, chief editor, novelist	
Kearney	Horace J.		2		None	Station master; Deputy prothonotary of Hull district	
King	Pat		1				
Lacerte	Emma Adèle	Madame Emma-Adele Bourgeois; Léda	2		No specific training	Journalist and writer, composer	
Lafontaine	Henri		1				
Laforce	Pierre		1				
Laramée	Jean		1				
Lassalle	Eugène		3		Classics	Actor, producer	
Le Gouriadec	Loïc	Paul Gury	5	1	Theatre	Actor (stage and screen), Writer	
Le Myre	Oscar		2			Lyricist	
Leclaire	Joseph Armand		17		Theatre	Customs officer; Journalist; Playwright, Actor	Conservatoire Lassalle
Lefebvre	Arthur		1				
Lemaire	Géorgine	née Coutlée (Nun of Paul); Rosemonde	1				
Lemay	J. Henri		1		Law	Lawyer, military officer	
Lemay	Pamphile		1		Law, Classics, Latin	Official (translator, Legislature librarian), lawyer	
Lessard	Marguerite			1		Actress	
Letondal	Henri	Fabio, Henry Max, les Frères Zengamo	8	2	Music and painting	Actor and director, Journalist, Theatre critic, Host, writer, and director for radio, film (Hollywood)	
Loranger	Jean Aubert		1			Poet	
de Montigny	Corolus Glatigny Louvigny	Henry d'Els, Florendeau, Joseph Saint-Hilaire, Stanislas Prudhomme	1		Classics	Journalist, translator, Poet, editor, novelist	
Mallet	Jean		1				
Marie-des-Sept-Douleurs (soeur)			3			Nun	
Marie-Victorin (frère)		Conrad Kirouac	4		PhD in Science; Ordination?	Professor	
Martineau	Simone		1				
McGown	Joseph George Walter		1				
Mercier	Oscar			1			
Michaud	Benjamin	Gaston Morelles, E. Taceur		1			
Michelet	Magali		2			femmes de lettres; chronicler/journalist, novelist	
Miral	Henri			1		Director	
Nohcor	Alfred	Alfred Rochon		1		Actor, composer, author, talent agent	
Nolin	Jean			1	Classics, business	Publicist, poet, radio announcer	
Ouellet	Cyrias		1				
Ouellette	Conrad Émilien	Christo Christy	1				
Panneton	Philippe		1		Medicin	Diplomat, writer, physician, academic, founding member of Academie des Lettres du Quebec	
Patry	Joseph		1				
Perrault	Almer		3	1			
Perrin (p.s.s.)	Julien		1			Priest	
Petitjean	Léon			1			
Pick	Jean			1			
Plamondon (Le Chevalier)	Aimé		2	2	Law	Law official wih Ministry of Lands and Forests	
Plante	Alexandre	Alex Villandray, Major Alexandre, Paul Rex	1	2	None	Travelling salesman; Military	
Potvin	Damase	Jean Yves, Sainte Foy, Jérome Coignaud, Croquausel, Graindesel		2	No specific training	Journalist, Official	
Proulx	Antonin		7		None	Journalist, Librarian, Adjunct conservator at the Carnegie library	
Renaud	Emilian		1				
Richard	Alphonse			1			
Robert	George-Henry		1				
Robi	Armand			1		Reviewer/critic	
Robillard	Claude		1		Engineering	Public works city of Montreal, Superintendant and director of parks services and urbanism Montreal, Director of Canadian exhibition company (Expo 67)	

Author Last	Author First	AKA	# Plays Solo	# Plays Co-authored	Schooling	Profession	Notes
Rocheleau	Corinne		1				
Rollin	Henri	Henri Plante		1			
Romuald (frère)	Francois (AKA Frere Raphael-Francois)		2			Priest	
Rousseau	Alfred			1	Classics, business	Banker, federal official, editor, writer	
Routhier (sir)	Adolphe-Basile	Francois Bonami, Jean Piquefort	1		Law	Lawyer, Judge	
Roy	Régis	N. Durand, Willy de Grécourt	3		None	Government official	
Séguin	Oscar		3		Unknown	Journalist, Owner of a journal and printer, Director of Commission des liqueurs de Quebec store, Chaber of commerce president Waterlook, founder of Institut cultural de Montreal	
Sénécal	Louis-Napoléon	Ellen Esse	16		No training	Municipal secretary treasurer, councillor	
Sénécal	Lucien R.		2				
Silvio	Alex			1		Director	
Tremblay	Arthur			8			
Valade	Oscar		1			Actor	
Vallerand	Alfred	Germain d'Auray, A. Mateur	1			Director, Stage Manager	
Vekeman	Victor		7				
Verchères	Paul			1			
Vézina	Joseph			2		Orchestra conductor, Editor, Professor, Organist	
Vincent, o.f.m.			1			Priest	
Voyer	Joachim Ulric			1		Opera composer	

Section 1 - Plays with Duval themes

Play Title	First Author	Year	New France	Conquest	Amer. Ind.	Reb. 1837-38	WWI 1914-18	Politics	Economy	Mores	Religion	Other	Duval Genre	Notes
				National History				Québec Society						
60 minutes Ambassadeur du Japon	Joseph Désilets	1928						X					Comedy	Electoral mores
Ad Majora	Jean Laramée	1927									X		Religious	Priest
Allo 1929	Oscar Valade	1929										X	Revue	Daily life
Ames Francaises	Aimé Plamondon	1916					X						Historical	heroic tale
Amour, Guerre et Patrie	Horace J. Kearney	1925					X						Historical	Takes place during and around the war, but not about the war
Aurore, l'enfant martyre	Léon Petitjean	1928								X			Melodrama	Family
Boches	Alex Plante	1915					X						Historical	
Ce que je vois ce que je pense	Eugène Lassalle	1925										X	Comedy	Monologues creating pastoral pictures, discussing past, and daily life
Ceux qui souffrent	Louis Coupal	1918						X					Historical	Set in 14th century Saxe, Germany - historical?
Champion d'Italie	Paul Coutlée	1920								X			Comedy	Quebecers know how to have fun
Chanson des Bohemes	Edouard Chauvin	1918										X	Comedy	Monologue in song
Comment Pierrot servit la France	Marguerite de Lambert	1917					X						Historical	
Contre Le flot	Magali Michelet	1922								X			Drama	Vices - Anglomania
Craches-en un	Paul Coutlée	1920										X	Comedy	monologues about daily life
Dans les Griffes de Bigot	J. Eugène Corriveau	1910		X									Historical	Events around the Conquest
De Fils en aiguille	Auguste Henri de Trémaudan	1925							X				Melodrama	
Débuts d'Octave ou Pousse-Toué	Jules Ferland	1929								X			Comedy	Education
Dévotion	Antonin Proulx	1916						X					Drama	langue francaise; could also be vices - theft
Dollard	Hervé Gagnier	1922	X										Historical	Canada
Dollard des Ormeaux	Olivier-Victor Bourbeau-Rainville	1911	X										Historical	Canada
Dollard n'est pas mort	Émilien Gauthier	1927	X										Historical	Canada
East Lynne	J. Eugène Corriveau	1914							X				Drama	
En pleine gloire	Madeleine Huguenin	1919					X						Historical	
Entre Deux civilizations	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1923									X		Drama	Hospitality of Quebec; education maybe
Entre deux rondels	Claude Robillard	1928										X	Comedy	Made trying to follow dreams rivaling the literary greats
Evangeline	Julien Daoust	1925	X										Historical	Acadia
Feu Follet	Auguste Henri de Trémaudan	1929							X				Comedy Drama	
Fleur des Ondes	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1913	X										Historical	Canada
Francaises d'Amerique	Corine Rocheleau	1915	X										Historical	Canada
Gloire à Dollard	Julien Perrin	1923	X										Historical	Canada
Je suis presse!	Jules Ferland	1917										X	Comedy	Monologue about auditioning and being late
Je suis timide	Charles Gaston	1914										X	Comedy	Man got nervous and ran away from his own wedding
Joyeux propos de Gros Jean	Régis Roy	1928										X	Comedy	Monologues about daily life and French Canadian culture
L'Absolution	Victor Vekeman	1923								X			Drama	Vices - alcohol
l'amour a la poste	Antonin Proulx	1916								X			Comedy	Family; Vices - alcohol, excesses
L'anti-féministe	J. Eugène Corriveau	1922						X					Comedy	Political men
L'enjôleuse	Antonin Proulx	1916								X			Comedy	Education
l'espionne boche	J. Henri Lemay	1916					X						Historical	heroic tale
L'Impossible partage	Henry Gaillard de Champris	1926								X			Drama	Family
L'Inconnue	Joseph Party	1918								X			Drama	Sicknesses/illnesses
L'Intendant Bigot	Alfred Rousseau	1928		X									Historical	Events around the Conquest; opera
L'Ivrogne	Charles Gaston	1913								X			Comedy	Vices - alcohol
l'Orage	Jean Aubert Loranger	1922								X			Comedy	Family
L'Epleuchette de Blé d'Inde	Conrad Gauthier	1929										X	Comedy	Monologues about daily life and French Canadian culture
La Belge aux gants noirs	Emma Adèle Lacerte	1920					X						Historical	Family
La Berceuse	Conrad Émilien Ouellette	1925								X			Drama	Family
La Bouée	Ernest Choquette	1927								X			Drama	Family or sicknesses/illnesses
La conscience d'un pretre	Julien Daoust	1925								X			Drama	Vices - Theft; could be religion, but narrative revolves around theft
La famille Beaufretin	Alfred Descarries	1912							X				Comedy	Family trying to move up in the world
La famille Croustillard	Almer Perrault	1912							X				Comedy	Urbanism and family trying to move up in the world
La Fétiche	Joseph Vézina	1912	X										Historical	Canada; Relations between Indiens Loups and French, and mixed up love
La Fille du conscrit	Louis-Napoléon Sénécal	1923								X			Drama	Family

Play Title	First Author	Year	National History					Québec Society		Mores	Religion	Other	Duval Genre	Notes
			New France	Conquest	Amer. Ind.	Reb. 1837-38	WWI 1914-18	Politics	Economy					
La grande amie	Pierre Gauthier (Pierre du Sol)	1920							X				Drama	Urbanism and modernism will make you go broke; only true liberty is in tradition
La laveuse automatique	Oscar Séguin	1929								X			Comedy	Debate about whether or not to get a dishwasher
La légende du paradis terrestre	Gustave Comte	1920									X		Comedy	About Adam and Eve in Eden
La Lettre	Antonio Desjardins	1924										X	Drama	
La Mère abandonee	Henri Deyglun	1925								X			Drama	Vices - alcohol, theft; Family
La Mort de Tristan et Y-seut	Jean Charbonneau	1929						X					Drama	Concerns for protecting crown and power
La Pipe du Platre	Alexandre Huot	1926								X			Comedy	Trying to win a bet almost breaks up a marriage
La secousse	Jean Feron	1924								X			Comedy Drama	Family
La veillée de Noel	Camille Duguay	1926									X		Drama	Family; also some economy in terms of mariage
La visiteur nocturne	Jules Ferland	1925									X		Comedy Drama	Quebec hospitality
Laurier	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1921						X					Drama	Men of politics (Wilfrid Laurier)
Lawrence	Paul Carignan	1929	X										Historical	Acadia; based on timeline in the play, might be better as Politics - men of politics (Charles Lawrence)
Le Bouquet de mesuline	Corolus Glatigny Louvigny de Montigny	1928	X										Historical	Musical historical scenes 1606, 1705, 1810
Le Calvaire d'une Mere	Arthur Lefebvre	1915								X			Drama	paternal authority; Family
Le Cénacle	Emile Asselin	1922								X			Comedy	Quebecers know how to have fun
Le Chevalier de Colomb	J. Eugène Corriveau	1922								X			Comedy Drama	Family, also deals with money, but Economy does not fit
Le chien perdu	Jules Ferland	1918										X	Comedy	Monologue about a man trying to find his lost dog
Le Conscrit baptiste	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1917					X						Historical	Conscription and French fighting
Le Mariage de rosa	Charles-Emile Gauthier	1916							X				Comedy	Economic betterment over family matters
Le Pelerin d'amour	Jean Berthos	1924								X			Drama	Family
Le Petit maitre d'ecole	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1916						X					Drama	Langue francaise
Le petit!	Victor Vekeman	1926								X			Drama	Vices - alcohol, (gambling), theft; could also be family
Le Prince des etudiants	Louis-Napoléon Sénécal	1928								X			Vaudeville	Vices - alcohol
Le Rajah	Benjamin Michaud	1910							X				Comedy	Everyone trying to get ahead
Le Retour de ladebauche	Albéric Bourgeois	1924										X	Comedy	Guy gets on the wrong train and the wrong boat
Le sacre de George V	P.H. Bey and Jean Pick	1911									X		Comedy	Hospitality of Quebecers; also includes King Georges V, so could be historical or political men
Le sang francais	Lucien R. Sénécal	1926					X						Historical	Sacrifice and bravery in war; choices that need to be made
Le Sérum qui tue	Marc-Réné de Cotret	1928								X			Grand-guignol	Sicknesses/illnesses
Les ailes cassées	Rodolphe Girard	1921						X					Comedy Drama	Electoral mores; could also be Economy since they are trying to move up in the world
Les Fantoches	Henri Letondal	1922										X	Satire/Farce	Short scenes about daily life
Les manifestes électoraux	R.P. Hugolin	1912						X					Comedy	Electoral mores
Les Noces d'or	Henry Gaillard de Champris	1925					X						Historical	1919 in Africa, but is still part of the war
Les Pâmoisons du notaire	Alexandre Huot	1926							X				Vaudeville	Doing anything to get a job
Les surprises du divorce	Alexandre Bisson	1923								X			Satire/Farce	Family
Maisonneuve	Eva Circé-Côté	1921	X										Historical	Canada
Maria chapdelaine	Loïc Le Gouriadec	1923							X				Drama	Trying to better life; would have put this under Family
Même sang	Jean Feron	1919					X						Historical	French and French Canadian share the same blood; glory of French Canadians at war
Mes monologues	Paul Coutlée	1926										X	Comedy	Daily life
Microbiologie	Auguste Charbonnier	1919										X	Comedy	The intrigue and woes of microbiology and research
Mon commis voyageur	J. Eugène Corriveau	1925							X				Comedy Drama	Mariage for status
Monique	Henry Gaillard de Champris	1920								X			Melodrama	Family; could also be Economy
Monologue de tout les temps	Pat King	1919						X					Comedy	Electoral mores
Monsieur qui n'a pas voler un parapluit	Jules Ferland	1925										X	Comedy	Man explaining how he did not actually steal an umbrella
Montcalm et Lévis	Adolphe-Basile Routhier	1918	X										Historical	Canada
Namounah	Emma Gendron	1922	X										Historical	Canada
Nuit de noël	Joseph-Henri Gauthier	1919									X		Religious	Shepherds led to stable for Jesus' birth
On demande une jeune fille	Paul Coutlée	1920								X			Comedy	Family - wants to find a bride
Oscar déménage	Helvet	1921										X	Comedy	Friend "helping" to move avoids as much work as possible
Pardon d'une race	Édouard Beaudoin	1927	X										Historical	Acadia
Pas possible	Antonin Proulx	1916								X			Comedy	Education

| Play Title | First Author | Year | New France | National History | | | | Québec Society | | | | Other | Duval Genre | Notes |
				Conquest	Amer. Ind.	Reb. 1837-38	WWI 1914-18	Politics	Economy	Mores	Religion			
Petit-Baptiste	Auguste Henri de Trémaudan	1927		X									Historical	Lead up to Conquest; battle of Carillon
Peuple sans histoire	Marie-Victorin	1925				X							Historical	French culture and language; Durham Report
Pour le premier prix	Régis Roy	1910								X			Comedy	Education
Pousse pousse	Charles-Emile Gauthier	1923								X			Comedy	Quebecers know how to have fun
Preuve par l'histoire	Marie-Claire Daveluy	1927								X			Comedy	Education
Quand même	Auguste Henri de Trémaudan	1921	X										Historical	Canada
Soliloque matinal	Edouard Chauvin	1918								X			Comedy	Quebecers know how to have fun
Titoine en ville	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1920								X			Comedy	Vices - theft
Un Canadien Errant	L.N. Aumais	1928							X				Drama	urbanism and modernism fail, traditional economy is better
Un gendre enragé	Joseph Désilets	1927								X			Satire/Farce	Vices - alcohol
Un million pour un casse-tête	Oscar Séguin	1927							X				Vaudeville	Diversions lead to financial ruin
Un petit-fils de Pierre Gagnon	Calaude Dupont	1915							X				Drama	Trying to get job
Une lettre au ministre	Helvet	1921							X				Comedy	
Vierge des bouges	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1920								X			Drama	Vices - prostitution; could also be education
Vive la canadienne	Aimé Plamondon	1924								X			Comedy	Quebecers know how to have fun

Section 2 - Plays with themes selected specifically for this research study

Play Title	First Author	Year	Politics/Gov.	Nat./Cult. Id.	Coll. Mem./Hist	Race/Racism	Cult. Conflict	Anglo Rep	Other	Duval Genre	My Genre	Notes
60 minutes Ambassadeur du Japon	Joseph Désilets	1928	X	X		X		X		Comedy	Comedy	Electoral mores
Ad Majora	Jean Laramée	1927							X	Religious	Religious	Priest
Allo 1929	Oscar Valade	1929							X	Revue	Revue	Daily life
Ames Francaises	Aimé Plamondon	1916	X		X			X		Historical	Drama	heroic tale
Amour, Guerre et Patrie	Horace J. Kearney	1925	X	X	X			X		Historical	Melodrama	Takes place during and around the war, but not about the war
Aurore, l'enfant martyre	Léon Petitjean	1928							X	Melodrama	Melodrama	Family
Boches	Alex Plante	1915	X	X						Historical	Drama	
Ce que je vois ce que je pense	Eugène Lassalle	1925			X					Comedy	Comedy	Monologues creating pastoral pictures, discussing past, and daily life
Ceux qui souffrent	Louis Coupal	1918		X		X				Historical	Historical	Set in 14th century Saxe, Germany - historical?
Champion d'Italie	Paul Coutlée	1920							X	Comedy	Comedy	Quebecers know how to have fun
Chanson des Bohemes	Edouard Chauvin	1918							X	Comedy	Comedy	Monologue in song
Comment Pierrot servit la France	Marguerite de Lambert	1917	X		X					Historical	Fantasy	
Contre Le flot	Magali Michelet	1922	X	X		X		X		Drama	Drama	Vices - Anglomania
Craches-en un	Paul Coutlée	1920							X	Comedy	Comedy	monologues about daily life
Dans les Griffes de Bigot	J. Eugène Corriveau	1910			X		X			Historical	Historical	Events around the Conquest
De Fils en aiguille	Auguste Henri de Trémaudan	1925							X	Melodrama	Melodrama	
Débuts d'Octave ou Pousse-Toué	Jules Ferland	1929							X	Comedy	Comedy	Education
Dévotion	Antonin Proulx	1916							X	Drama	Drama	langue francaise; could also be vices - theft
Dollard	Hervé Gagnier	1922	X		X		X			Historical	Historical	Canada
Dollard des Ormeaux	Olivier-Victor Bourbeau-Rainville	1911			X		X	X		Historical	Historical	Canada
Dollard n'est pas mort	Émilien Gauthier	1927		X	X		X			Historical	Historical	Canada
East Lynne	J. Eugène Corriveau	1914						other		Drama	Drama	
En pleine gloire	Madeleine Huguenin	1919	X	X	X					Historical	Drama	
Entre Deux civilizations	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1923					X			Drama	Drama	Hospitality of Quebec; education maybe
Entre deux rondels	Claude Robillard	1928	X							Comedy	Comedy	Made trying to follow dreams rivaling the literary greats
Evangeline	Julien Daoust	1925	X				X	X		Historical	Historical	Acadia
Feu Follet	Auguste Henri de Trémaudan	1929		X		X				Comedy Drama	Comedy Drama	
Fleur des Ondes	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1913				X	X			Historical	Historical	Canada
Francaises d'Amerique	Corine Rocheleau	1915	X		X		X			Historical	Historical	Canada
Gloire à Dollard	Julien Perrin	1923			X		X			Historical	Historical	Canada
Je suis presse!	Jules Ferland	1917							X	Comedy	Comedy	Monologue about auditioning and being late
Je suis timide	Charles Gaston	1914							X	Comedy	Comedy	Man got nervous and ran away from his own wedding
Joyeux propos de Gros Jean	Régis Roy	1928	X	X	X					Comedy	Comedy	Monologues about daily life and French Canadian culture
L'Absolution	Victor Vekeman	1923							X	Drama	Drama	Vices - alcohol
l'amour a la poste	Antonin Proulx	1916							X	Comedy	Comedy	Family; Vices - alcohol, excesses
L'anti-féministe	J. Eugène Corriveau	1922							X	Comedy	Comedy	Political men
L'enjôleuse	Antonin Proulx	1916							X	Comedy	Comedy	Education
l'espionne boche	J. Henri Lemay	1916	X	X	X			X		Historical	Drama	heroic tale
L'Impossible partage	Henry Gaillard de Champris	1926							X	Drama	Drama	Family
L'Inconnue	Joseph Party	1918							X	Drama	Drama	Sicknesses/illnesses
L'Intendant Bigot	Alfred Rousseau	1928			X		X			Historical	Historical	Events around the Conquest; opera
L'Ivrogne	Charles Gaston	1913							X	Comedy	Comedy	Vices - alcohol
l'Orage	Jean Aubert Loranger	1922							X	Comedy	Comedy	Family
L'Epleuchette de Blé d'Inde	Conrad Gauthier	1929							X	Comedy	Comedy	Monologues about daily life and French Canadian culture
La Belge aux gants noirs	Emma Adèle Lacerte	1920					X			Historical	Drama	Family
La Berceuse	Conrad Émilien Ouellette	1925							X	Drama	Drama	Family
La Bouée	Ernest Choquette	1927							X	Drama	Drama	Family or sicknesses/illnesses
La conscience d'un pretre	Julien Daoust	1925							X	Drama	Drama	Vices - Theft; could be religion, but narrative revolves around theft
La famille Beaufretin	Alfred Descarries	1912							X	Comedy	Comedy	Family trying to move up in the world
La famille Croustillard	Almer Perrault	1912							X	Comedy	Comedy	Urbanism and family trying to move up in the world
La Fétiche	Joseph Vézina	1912					X			Historical	Historical	Canada; Relations between Indiens Loups and French, and mixed up love
La Fille du conscrit	Louis-Napoléon Sénécal	1923							X	Drama	Drama	
La grande amie	Pierre Gauthier (Pierre du Sol)	1920		X	X			X		Drama	Drama	Urbanism and modernism will make you go broke; only true liberty is in tradition
La laveuse automatique	Oscar Séguin	1929							X	Comedy	Comedy	Debate about whether or not to get a dishwasher
La légende du paradis terrestre	Gustave Comte	1920							X	Comedy	Comedy	About Adam and Eve in Eden
La Lettre	Antonio Desjardins	1924							X	Drama	Drama	
La Mère abandonee	Henri Deyglun	1925							X	Drama	Drama	Vices - alcohol, theft; Family
La Mort de Tristan et Y-seut	Jean Charbonneau	1929							X	Drama	Drama	Concerns for protecting crown and power
La Pipe du Platre	Alexandre Huot	1926							X	Comedy	Comedy	Trying to win a bet almost breaks up a marriage
La secousse	Jean Feron	1924							X	Comedy Drama	Comedy Drama	
La veillée de Noel	Camille Duguay	1926		X			X	X		Drama	Drama	Family; also some economy in terms of mariage
La visiteur nocturne	Jules Ferland	1925							X	Comedy Drama	Comedy Drama	Quebec hospitality
Laurier	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1921	X	X	X		X	X		Drama	Drama	Men of politics (Wilfrid Laurier)

Play Title	First Author	Year	Politics/Gov.	Nat./Cult. Id.	Coll. Mem./Hist	Race/Racism	Cult. Conflict	Anglo Rep	Other	Duval Genre	My Genre	Notes
Lawrence	Paul Carignan	1929	X		X		X	X		Historical	Historical	Acadia; based on timeline in the play, might be better as Politics - men of politics (Charles Lawrence)
Le Bouquet de mesuline	Corolus Glatigny Louvigny de Montigny	1928	X	X	X					Historical	Historical	Musical historical scenes 1606, 1705, 1810
Le Calvaire d'une Mere	Arthur Lefebvre	1915							X	Drama	Drama	paternal authority; Family
Le Cénacle	Emile Asselin	1922							X	Comedy	Comedy	Quebecers know how to have fun
Le Chevalier de Colomb	J. Eugène Corriveau	1922							X	Comedy Drama	Comedy Drama	Family, also deals with money, but Economy does not fit
Le chien perdu	Jules Ferland	1918							X	Comedy	Comedy	Monologue about a man trying to find his lost dog
Le Conscrit baptiste	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1917	X	X						Historical	Satire/Farce	Conscription and French fighting
Le Mariage de rosa	Charles-Emile Gauthier	1916							X	Comedy	Comedy	Economic betterment over family matters
Le Pelerin d'amour	Jean Berthos	1924			X				X	Drama	Drama	Family
Le Petit maitre d'ecole	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1916	X	X	X	X	X	X		Drama	Drama	Langue francaise
Le petit!	Victor Vekeman	1926							X	Drama	Drama	Vices - alcohol, (gambling), theft; could also be family
Le Prince des etudiants	Louis-Napoléon Sénécal	1928							X	Vaudeville	Vaudeville	Vices - alcohol
Le Rajah	Benjamin Michaud	1910	X							Comedy	Comedy	Everyone trying to get ahead
Le Retour de ladebauche	Albéric Bourgeois	1924		X						Comedy	Comedy	Guy gets on the wrong train and the wrong boat
Le sacre de George V	P.H. Bey and Jean Pick	1911	X	X				X		Comedy	Comedy	Hospitality of Quebecers; also includes King Georges V, so could be historical or political men
Le sang francais	Lucien R. Sénécal	1926	X	X		X		X		Historical	Melodrama	Sacrifice and bravery in war; choices that need to be made
Le Sérum qui tue	Marc-Réné de Cotret	1928							X	Grand-guignol	Grand-guignol	Sicknesses/illnesses
Les ailes cassées	Rodolphe Girard	1921	X							Comedy Drama	Comedy Drama	Electoral mores; could also be Economy since they are trying to move up in the world
Les Fantoches	Henri Letondal	1922							X	Satire/Farce	Satire/Farce	Short scenes about daily life
Les manifestes électoraux	R.P. Hugolin	1912	X							Comedy	Comedy	Electoral mores
Les Noces d'or	Henry Gaillard de Champris	1925	X							Historical	Drama	1919 in Africa, but is still part of the war
Les Pâmoisons du notaire	Alexandre Huot	1926							X	Vaudeville	Vaudeville	Doing anything to get a job
Les surprises du divorce	Alexandre Bisson	1923							X	Satire/Farce	Satire/Farce	Family
Maisonneuve	Eva Circé-Côté	1921	X		X					Historical	Historical	Canada
Maria chapdelaine	Loïc Le Gouriadec	1923							X	Drama	Drama	Trying to better life; would have put this under Family
Même sang	Jean Feron	1919	X	X	X	X				Historical	Historical	French and French Canadian share the same blood; glory of French Canadians at war
Mes monologues	Paul Coutlée	1926							X	Comedy	Comedy	Daily life
Microbiologie	Auguste Charbonnier	1919							X	Comedy	Comedy	The intrigue and woes of microbiology and research
Mon commis voyageur	J. Eugène Corriveau	1925	X							Comedy Drama	Comedy Drama	Mariage for status
Monique	Henry Gaillard de Champris	1920							X	Melodrama	Melodrama	Family; could also be Economy
Monologue de tout les temps	Pat King	1919	X					X		Comedy	Comedy	Electoral mores
Monsieur qui n'a pas voler un parapluit	Jules Ferland	1925							X	Comedy	Comedy	Man explaining how he did not actually steal an umbrella
Montcalm et Lévis	Adolphe-Basile Routhier	1918	X		X		X	X		Historical	Historical	Canada
Namounah	Emma Gendron	1922				X	X			Historical	Drama	Canada
Nuit de noël	Joseph-Henri Gauthier	1919							X	Religious	Religious	Shepherds led to stable for Jesus' birth
On demande une jeune fille	Paul Coutlée	1920							X	Comedy	Comedy	Family - wants to find a bride
Oscar déménage	Helvet	1921							X	Comedy	Comedy	Friend "helping" to move avoids as much work as possible
Pardon d'une race	Édouard Beaudoin	1927		X	X	X	X	X		Historical	Historical	Acadia
Pas possible	Antonin Proulx	1916							X	Comedy	Comedy	Education
Petit-Baptiste	Auguste Henri de Trémaudan	1927	X		X		X	X		Historical	Comedy	Lead up to Conquest; battle of Carillon; historical comedy
Peuple sans histoire	Marie-Victorin	1925	X	X	X	X	X	X		Historical	Historical	French culture and language; Durham Report
Pour le premier prix	Régis Roy	1910							X	Comedy	Comedy	Education
Pousse pousse	Charles-Emile Gauthier	1923							X	Comedy	Comedy	Quebecers know how to have fun
Preuve par l'histoire	Marie-Claire Daveluy	1927			X					Comedy	Comedy	Education
Quand même	Auguste Henri de Trémaudan	1921	X	X						Historical	Historical	Canada
Soliloque matinal	Edouard Chauvin	1918							X	Comedy	Comedy	Quebecers know how to have fun
Titoine en ville	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1920							X	Comedy	Comedy	Vices - theft
Un Canadien Errant	L.N. Aumais	1928		X						Drama	Drama	urbanism and modernism fail, traditional economy is better
Un gendre enragé	Joseph Désilets	1927		X				X		Satire/Farce	Satire/Farce	Vices - alcohol
Un million pour un casse-tête	Oscar Séguin	1927							X	Vaudeville	Vaudeville	Diversions lead to financial ruin
Un petit-fils de Pierre Gagnon	Calaude Dupont	1915							X	Drama	Drama	Trying to get job
Une lettre au ministre	Helvet	1921	X							Comedy	Comedy	
Vierge des bouges	Joseph Armand Leclaire	1920							X	Drama	Drama	Vices - prostitution; could also be education
Vive la canadienne	Aimé Plamondon	1924		X		X			X	Comedy	Comedy	Quebecers know how to have fun