LANDSCAPES OF LONGING:

COLONIZATION AND THE PROBLEM OF STATE FORMATION IN CANADA WEST

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis is a study of colonization as a strategy and practice of Canadian state formation during the era of union. 1841 to 1867. The state's efforts to colonize a large frontier region. the Ottawa-Huron Tract. were intended to transform the forested wilderness into thriving agricultural communities as existed in the more southern areas of Upper Canada / Canada West. These visions of what colonization should produce. what this thesis calls 'dreamscapes' or 'landscapes of longing.' were a complex amalgam of utilitarian. romantic. and liberal impulses that. while intended to fix immediate financial problems in the Province of Canada. were also endemic throughout the mid-Victorian. North Atlantic world.

In striving for this imagined future. the Canadian state financed a number of initiatives. Townships. individual lots of property. and a network of colonization roads were surveyed. The Crown Lands Department deployed local agents to manage the settlement of the roads. which featured free grants of 100 acres. and to see that other public lands were sold to honest 'actual settlers' who would clear trees. plant crops. and contribute to the civilizing process of the frontier. Under the direction of the Bureau of Agriculture. immigration agents in various points of entry along the St. Lawrence River. the north shore of Lake Ontario. and in the city of Ottawa. as well as overseas agents sent to various ports in Europe. were part of an effort to manage the flow of population into Canada. Together. both departments employed a range of practices –

reconnaissance. mapping, evaluation – in an effort to know and thus order the people and places being subjected to the colonization project.

The sum total of the state's involvement with this colonization project was the formation of a massive archive of knowledge in the form of reports. correspondence. work diaries. maps. statistics. educative pamphlets. and even material specimens. Rather than seeing this knowledge as markers of some other history. this thesis asks questions about how this archive was produced and implicated in the very history its texts purport to represent. The power-knowledge practices of the Canadian state has bequeathed a massive archive for historians but little is still known about the history of this archive. Using the example of the colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract. this thesis demonstrates how scholars might benefit from increased attention to the production and consumption of knowledge as history.

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Most of all, though, to Mom, Mike, Susan, Steve, Cibele, Lois, Bob, Beth, and Graeme I am unable to say thank you enough for your love, support, understanding, and the countless laughs we have shared. A person could not imagine a better family.

This dissertation is dedicated to Karen Reyburn. Not only did her sacrifices make this dissertation possible, but never did she waver in her encouragement nor in her ability to make me smile. She makes every day of my life better than the one before. Thanks, K.

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Chapter One

Introduction:
State Formation and a Colony of Unrequited Dreams

In the summer of 1849, the editor of the *Bytown Packet* presented a ten-part

feature on the "Settlement of the Ottawa Country." He promised to "show why this

particular Tract of country is, more than any other, calculated to the benefit of the

Province by being laid open to settlement. The first reason is its quality – the second its

geographical position."[1] The "Tract" of which the editor wrote was the Ottawa-Huron

Tract, a massive region located north of Old Ontario, west of the Ottawa River, east of

Georgian Bay, and south of Lake Nippissing and the French River. (see Map 1.1) Its

"quality" was the abundance of trees, minerals, waters, and the potential for agriculture

that boosters believed to be hidden beneath the forests. The advantage of its

"geographical position" was the region's location away from the American border but

also on a fairly direct route between London, Montreal and Chicago, three key

metropolises within the North Atlantic economy. While the region was very much on the

periphery of the Province of Canada, boosters such as Robert Bell (1821-1873), editor of

the *Packet*, sought to situate the future development of the Ottawa-Huron Tract within the

'national' interest.

Local boosters were soon to discover others who shared their vision of the region

as a potential windfall for the Province of Canada. Besides the financial interests of

lumbermen, land speculators, and investors keen to exploit the potential for mining in the

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[1] Bytown *Packet*, 21 July 1849. The series ran on a weekly basis from 24 June until 25 August of 1849.

Ottawa-Huron Tract, bureaucrats and politicians (both Tories and Reformers) in the

Canadian state saw the region as ideal for systematic colonization.[2] For these people,

lying under the forests was a soil whose potential for commercial agriculture was only

just beginning to be known. Long after the forest industry exhausted the supply of mature

trees, the state envisioned a permanent society of white farmers who would extend the

governable boundaries of the imagined community of the Province of Canada and, with

the construction of land roads, canals, and railways, join the agro-society of Old Ontario

as well as the commercial and timber markets of Montreal and Quebec City. The chief

politician driving this project, P.M. Vankoughnet (1822-1869), even suggested, with

much hyperbole, that there might eventually be a thriving population of eight million

people in a region that was roughly the size of Ireland.[3]

Besides such imperialistic romanticism, there was a real material commitment as

the provincial state began investing substantial financial and administrative resources to

this colonization project. By the middle of the 1850s, there had emerged an identifiable

bureaucratic network which planned, managed, and evaluated the key facets of the

project: exploring and surveying the land to prepare it for widespread, permanent

settlement; building and maintaining public works, especially land roads and canals to

'open' the region; finding and placing the right 'type' of person to carry out the labour of

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[2] This is not to suggest that these interested political officials did not have their own financial interest in mind when they advocated a colonization project for the region. Besides the lumbermen who were also members of parliament, such as John Egan and David Roblin, Francis Hincks was a notable landowner in the Upper Ottawa Valley. On the political significance of these lumbermen see H.V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines & Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974).

[3] AO, RG 52, Series V-b, Box 1, vol. 1, 25 July 1856, "To Emigrants and others seeking LANDS FOR SETTLEMENT."

colonization and to introduce a progressive culture to the wilderness and its 'waste lands'.

The state's involvement with colonization did not end there. Colonization's progress was

also subjected to a great deal of inspection, reconnaissance, mapping, and judgement by

both local state agents 'on the ground' and officials housed in central state bureaucracies.

In this respect, the colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract was both a strategy and a

practice of Canadian state formation. It was also a project that many would rightly call a

mistake.

Since Arthur Lower's unambiguous condemnation in 1929, Canadian historians

have expressed confusion over how the state could think that this region could become a

reflection of the pastoral, agricultural landscapes of Old Ontario. As the geographer

Graeme Wynn has said, "the supporters of colonization were all too often blind to the

reality of the land with which they were dealing."[4] From Lower to Wynn, scholars have

agreed that this exercise in colonization stands as a historical failure.[5] For others

interested in nation-building, this early effort at colonization has largely been cast aside in

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[4] Graeme Wynn, "Notes on Society and Environment in Old Ontario," *Journal of Social History*, 13 (1979), 56.

[5] A.R.M. Lower, "The Assault on the Laurentian Barrier, 1850-1870," *Canadian Historical Review*, 10 (1929), 294-307; Lower, *Settlement and the Forest Frontier in Eastern Canada* (Toronto, 1936), esp. 48-57; George W. Spragge, "Colonization Roads in Canada West, 1850-1867," *Ontario History*, 49 (1957), 1-18; Keith A. Parker, "Colonization Roads and Commercial Policy," *Ontario History*, 67 (1975), 31-39; J.H. Richards, *Land Use and Settlement on the Fringe of the Shield in Southern Ontario*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1954; R. Louis Gentilcore, "Lines on the Land: Crown Surveys and Settlement in Upper Canada," *Ontario History*, 61 (1969), 57-73. Slightly more optimistic interpretations include Brian S. Osborne, "Frontier Settlements in Eastern Ontario in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Changing Perceptions of Land and Opportunity," in David Harry Miller and Jerome O. Steffen, eds., *The Frontier: Comparative Studies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), 210-226 and Geoffrey Wall, "Nineteenth-century Land Use and Settlement on the Canadian Shield Frontier," *Ibid.*, 227-242. Neil Forkey, *Segmented Frontiers: A Socio-Environmental History of the Areas of the Trent Watershed*, Ph.D. Thesis, Queen's University, 1996, offers some fresh and

favour of the more triumphant story of the move to the prairies and the Pacific Ocean.[6]

The most sustained interest in the project has come from local historians of the region who have been anxious to tell the stories of the region's 'true pioneers' and who have been motivated, to some degree, by the desire to reconstruct parts of the Upper Ottawa Valley and Muskoka as 'heritage sites'.[7]

The 'failure' which historians have detected has emerged, in part, from their tendency to examine this episode of colonization for what it produced on the ground. By the end of the nineteenth century, the region had stopped being a target of settlement schemes, its population modest and scattered in pockets. The forest industry had moved even further north into the nirvana that was then supposedly emerging in 'New Ontario'.[8] By the early twentieth century, residents of southern and eastern Ontario saw and used the region as an opportunity to visit the 'rustic frontier', to relax in lakefront resorts and cottages as in Muskoka, or to hunt and fish as was popular in the Upper Ottawa Valley and Algonquin Park. Those who remained in the region, who continued to believe that they could become successful farmers, were widely considered to be either simple or ignorant. As the poet Al Purdy has written:

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unique insights especially with respect to the place of the environment in the experience of colonization.

[6] Doug Owram, *The Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 45-47; W.L. Morton, *The Critical Years: The Union of British North America, 1857-1873* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964).

[7] See, for example, S. Bernard Shaw, *The Opeongo: Dreams, Despair and Deliverance* (Burnstown, Ont.: General Store Publishing House, 1994); Brenda Lee-Whiting, *Harvest of Stones: The German Settlement in Renfrew County* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); Carol Bennett, *Valley Irish* (Renfrew, Ont.: Juniper Books, 1983).

> Yet this is the country of defeat
> Where Sisyphus rolls a big stone
> Year after year up the ancient hills
> Picknicking glaciers have left strewn
> With centuries of rubble
> Days in the sun
> When realization seeps slow in the mind
> Without grandeur or self deception in
> Noble struggle
> Of being a fool...[9]

Even in such sympathetic hands, colonization is perceived and (re)presented as an

unqualified flop. Try as they might, the collective efforts of settlers and engineers could

not conquer the Canadian Shield.

And yet, this colonization project produced significant political changes that

would have important ramifications in later social and environmental histories of

settlement. Expansionism was an exercise in extending the governable boundaries of the

Province of Canada, of seeking to assert the state's authority to govern, and thus to order,

both society and political economy.[10] While its administrative reach was much greater

than its grasp, the state was able to accomplish two fundamental changes. First, the

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[8] Elizabeth Arthur, "Beyond Superior: Ontario's New-Found Land," in R. Hall, W. Westfall, L. Sefton MacDowell, eds., *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988), 130-149.

[9] Al Purdy, *Selected Poems* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), 118-119 as cited in Marilyn G. Miller, *Straight Lines in Curved Space: Colonization Roads in Eastern Ontario* (Toronto: Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1978), 49. See also Jane Urquhart, *Away* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993).

[10] Appreciating expansionism as an expression of power rather than 'natural' growth of the nation-state has been a staple for historical studies of colonization in Quebec. See the review of the earlier literature in G. Massicotte, "Les Études régionales," *Recherches sociographiques*, 26 (1985), 155-178 and compare the differing arguments in Normand Séguin, *La Conquête du sol au 19e siècle* (Sillery, Que.: Express, 1977), Christian Morissonneau, *La Terre Promise: Le mythe du Nord québecois* (Montreal: Hurtubise, 1978), J.I. Little, *Nationalism, Capitalism, and Colonization in Nineteenth-Century Quebec: The Upper St. Francis District* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), Gerard Bouchard, *Quelques Arpents d'Amérique: Population, économie, famille au Saguenay 1838-1971* (Montreal: Boréal, 1996).

Ottawa-Huron Tract became ordered as a home for white settlers and immigrants, who

were invested with a legal and political right to claim property, and thus ownership,

through the land policies of the Crown Lands Department, via private transactions with

land speculators, or through the more anarchistic method of squatting.[11] By contrast,

aboriginal peoples, whose numbers in the region had already declined rapidly by the

middle decades of the nineteenth century, were 'removed' from this process, confined to

reserves or in the far backwoods.[12] The second, related 'accomplishment' of this

colonization project was that it was, arguably, one of the first significant experiments of

the Canadian state at systematic nation-building and even in 'failure' it established

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[11] For comparative perspectives with mid-Victorian California, Australia, and New Zealand see John C. Weaver, "Beyond the Fatal Shore: Pastoral Squatting and the Occupation of Australia, 1826-1852," *American Historical Review*, 101 (1996), 981-1007; Weaver, "Frontiers into Assets: The Social Construction of Property in New Zealand, 1840-65," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 27 (1999), 17-54; Karen B. Clay, "Property Rights and Institutions: Congress and the California Land Act of 1851," *Journal of Economic History*, 59 (1999), 122-142; Donald J. Pisani, "Squatter Law in California, 1850-1858," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 25 (1994), 277-312.

[12] I do not refer here to the social and economic realms which saw some aboriginal peoples work, hunt, and fish next to white settlers and immigrants even after their political and legal rights to hold property were removed. See R. Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997); John Lutz, "'Relating to the Country': The Lekwammen and the Extension of European Settlement, 1843-1911," in R.W. Sandwell, ed., *Beyond the City Limits: Rural History in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999); Daniel Clayton, *Islands of Truth: The Imperial Refashioning of Vancouver Island* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000); Perry, *On the Edge of Empire*; Richard Mackie, "The Colonization of Vancouver Island, 1849-1858," *BC Studies*, 96 (1992-1993), 3-40. For two reflective essays on the history of interaction between white settlers, aboriginal peoples, and landscape throughout Canadian history see Gerald Friesen, *Citizens and Nation: An Essay on History, Communication, and Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000) and W.H. New, *Land Sliding: Imagining Space, Presence, and Power in Canadian Writing* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). On nineteenth-century Ontario more specifically, see Peter S. Schmalz, *The Ojibwa of Southern Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991). For the Upper Ottawa Valley, valuable insight can still be gleaned from F.G. Speck, *Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915).

strategies and practices that would later be reproduced in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.[13]

For all the focus on what colonization did and did not produce, there is little in the literature about how it was administered, why it emerged through the state, and the larger cultural context from which it came. Rather than starting at the end, one wonders: how might a history of colonization look from its fantastic and brazen start? This thesis is, in part, an exercise in reading this political history forward, in seeking an understanding of why and how decisions were made and how these decisions were then enacted. When we situate colonization back into the political and cultural contexts from which it emerged, we are provided with a better understanding of what Graeme Wynn recognizes as a central question: why and how were the promoters of colonization "blind to the reality of the land"? The question, this thesis argues, compels us to engage the historical processes connected with Canadian state formation.

The colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract coincided with a new era in Canadian state formation and the emergence of a Canadian governmentality.[14] The shift in colonial-imperial relations and the introduction of 'responsible government', which began in 1841 and accelerated after 1848, witnessed the bureaucratization of liberal governance in Canada and with it the introduction of state institutions and practices that sought to

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[13] Doug Owram, *The Promise of Eden*; D.J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton*, vol. 1 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981), 253-269; Hall, *Clifford Sifton*, vol. 2 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 63-76.

[14] On the former see the essays in Allan Greer and Ian Radforth, eds., *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

construct an ordered, self-regulating social body.[15] These various practices of governance

facilitated a separation of 'state' from 'society', a divide that was necessary to establish

the legitimacy of the state to govern in a liberal democracy and, in the words of Michel

Foucault, to effect the conduct of conduct.[16] Of course, this gap between 'the political'

and 'the social' was an artificial construct which belied the fact that governance in

Canada was becoming increasingly active and interventionist. This paradox, what

Timothy Mitchell calls the "state effect," was particularly important in mid-Victorian

Canada because it provided the colonial state with the necessary political, legal, and

moral capital with which to finance and direct expansionist projects of colonization.[17]

The expansionist impulse dominated Canadian political discourse, particularly

after the mid-1850s when the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company came up for

renewal.[18] An expansionist program that combined immigration, settlement, and the

construction of public works such as canals and railways had already emerged in

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[15] The larger context of this process is described in J.M.S. Careless, *The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841-1857* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967) and J.E. Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of the United Canadas, 1841-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955). See also Elizabeth Mancke, "Early Modern Imperial Governance and the Origins of Canadian Political Culture," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 32 (1999), 3-20.

[16] The 'conduct of conduct' was of particular importance to Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977) and *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1: An Introduction* trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

[17] Mitchell, "Society, Economy, and the State Effect," in George Steinmetz, ed., *State / Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 76-97.

[18] Owram, *The Promise of Eden* and Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 96-112. See also NAC, RG 1, L 6 E, vol. 3, "Report on the North-West Territories of Canada, the Hudson's Bay, and Indian Territories; with the Questions of Boundary and Jurisdiction connected therewith," a key text prepared by the then-Commissioner of Crown Lands, Joseph Cauchon, in 1857.

December 1848 when Inspector General Francis Hincks charted a new future for the Province of Canada, especially its troubled finances.[19] Furthermore, much of what Hincks advocated in 1848 had been expressed a decade earlier in the famous *Report* of Lord Durham and in the brief but politically significant administration of Lord Sydenham, the first governor general of the united Canadas.

Thus, while the mid-1850s are rightfully held up as a moment of intensifying expansionism within the Canadian state, its perceived utility as a strategy for extensive as well as intensive growth owed much to the union of the Canadas in 1841. It might well be argued that the defining cultural element of governance in Victorian Canada was its colonizing desires and practices, and that there emerged what one might call a 'gardener state' which sought to cultivate a fertile socio-economic field in its territorial domain.[20] In this respect, what Norbert Elias describes as "the civilizing process" constitutes a useful and important concept with which to analyze both the colonization project of the Ottawa-Huron Tract and more generally the formation of a Canadian governmentality.[21] Elias has charted the emergence in Western Europe of a social order predicated on self-restraint in the tension between individual and national identities. He explains the civilizing process as a re-formation of both body and mind, of both conduct and thought, which worked through both the micro-level experiences of everyday living and the

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[19] Michael Piva, *The Borrowing Process: Public Finance in the Province of Canada, 1840-1867* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1992), 57-81.

[20] The metaphor of the 'gardener state' is featured in Zygmunt Bauman, *Legislators and Interpreters: On modernity, post-modernity and intellectuals* (Cambridge, 1987), 51-67.

[21] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994 [orig. 1939]).

macro-level experiences of nation-building.[22] Indeed, the civilizing process, as explained

by Elias, embedded the everyday into the nation and the nation into the everyday.[23]

Promoters of the colonization project of the Ottawa-Huron Tract perceived its

localized challenges – for example, 'wilderness', 'bogus settlers', and 'paupers' – as

requiring both material and cultural 're-forming' and 'ordering' so as to advance the

'national interest'. Through various institutions and practices, these spatial and social

'problems' were subjected to a civilizing process seeking to establish both territorial

boundaries on the land and social boundaries within the imagined community of the

Province of Canada. Fantasies connected to the identity of the province's peoples and

landscapes were endemic to the discourse of colonization; in countless texts of the mid-

Victorian era, one can identify 'dreamscapes' of what regions like the Ottawa-Huron

Tract could one day become.[24] This political 'looking forward' to an ideal landscape of

people and places played an important role in how colonization was observed and

evaluated by state agents, and how colonization's subjects were being judged as successes

or failures.

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[22] There is an immense secondary literature devoted to Elias and his formulations on the civilizing process, much of which has been synthesized to great effect in Robert van Krieken, *Norbert Elias* (London: Routledge, 1998).

[23] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* revised ed. (London: Verso, 1991). See also Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Wuerttemberg, imperial Germany, and national memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Mark Bassin, *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[24] Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

This colonization project thus offers a point of entry into processes and ideologies associated with Canadian state formation. The concept of 'state formation' is fraught with complexity and has been the subject of multidisciplinary and international debates.[25] 'State formation' is used here to mean the processes through which population and territory have historically been ordered and regulated through the strategies, practices, and technologies of political rule.[26] There is a great emphasis in this thesis on processes (inspection, reconnaissance, mapping, judgement) utilized by the Canadian state to construct spaces of liberal order in which the 'normal' workings of political economy, especially production and social reproduction, could function.

These efforts required a wide range of technologies to support governing strategies. While the effectiveness of these technologies can be questioned, the ways in which they were used provide valuable insight into the state's efforts to know, order, and regulate. For the mid-Victorian state builders, these devices included the land survey, the land register, the location ticket and land deed, the map, the emigrant guide, and the census. Reading each as political tools of the state can derive new insights from these traditional sources. In the chapters that follow, there is a particular focus on how these

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[25] On the competing, social scientific ideas of 'state formation' see George Steinmetz, "Introduction: Culture and the State," in Steinmetz, ed., *State / Culture*, 1-49 and Christopher Pierson, *The Modern State* (New York: Routledge, 1996), both of which offer helpful bibliographies.

[26] Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer, *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985); Bernard Cohn and Nicholas Dirks, "Beyond the Fringe: The Nation State, Colonialism, and the Technologies of Power," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 1 (1988), 224-229; Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Bruce Curtis, *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of the Canadas, 1840-1875* (Univ. of Toronto Press, 2001).

technologies transformed people (settlers and immigrants in particular) into 'population'
and wilderness into 'territory'.

The Canadian state and its colonization project reflected key elements of mid-
Victorian modernity: the dynamics of a North Atlantic market economy and the making
of social classes; the North American territorial push for empire and the rise of
geographical sciences and engineering; intensifying patterns of migration; competing
Anglo- and French-Canadian nationalisms; and the political bureaucratization of liberal
governance.[27] Canada's 'revolution in government' did not emerge from some social,
economic, and cultural vacuum. In fact, the formation of the gardener state in Canada
was an effort to harness modernity as it was unfolding throughout the Western world, but
especially within North America.

To understand the ideological elements of state formation, one is confronted with
the challenges of exploring the making and articulation of a Canadian governmentality.
While also the subject of much intense scholarly debate, all would agree that the concept
of 'governmentality' traces back to its first theorist, Michel Foucault.[28] As part of his
studies of the structures of power in society, Foucault defined governmentality as:

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[27] These themes appear in a number of key texts that cover the middle decades of the
nineteenth century including: Greer and Radforth, eds., *Colonial Leviathan*; Suzanne Zeller,
Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation (Toronto:
University of Toronto Press); Douglas McCalla, *Planting the Province: The Economic History
of Upper Canada, 1784-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Cecelia Morgan,
The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850 (Toronto:
University of Toronto Press, 1996); Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: Rethinking
the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991* 2nd ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992);
Tina Loo, *Making Law, Order, and Authority in British Columbia, 1821-1871* (Toronto:
University of Toronto Press, 1994).

[28] See, for example, Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller, "Political Power Beyond the State:
Problematics of Government," *British Journal of Sociology*, 43 (1992), 173-205; Bruce Curtis,
"Taking the State Back Out: Rose and Miller on Political Power," *British Journal of Sociology*,

1) The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that...has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.

2) The tendency which, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) of this type of power which may be termed government, resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of *savoirs* [knowledges].

3) The process, or rather the result of the process, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually becomes 'governmentalized'.[29]

Governmentalities are profoundly ideological, in that they refer to the way that people, both inside and outside of the state, think about government. They are articulated, normalized, and accepted through what Foucault calls "calculations" and "tactics" that produce "a whole complex of *savoirs*" or "power-knowledge" practices. Through these practices, Foucault argues, states became 'governmentalized'.[30]

In becoming 'governmentalized', the Canadian state-in-formation created a documentary explosion: knowledge of people (in the form of 'population') and places (in the form of 'territory'), and its organization into simplified and manageable representations, especially statistics, was essential to both the discourse and the practice

46 (1995), 575-597; Rose and Miller, "Political Thought and the Limits of Orthodoxy: A Response to Curtis," *British Journal of Sociology*, 46 (1995), 590-597. See also P. O'Malley, L. Weir, and C. Shearing, "Governmentality, Criticism, Politics," *Economy & Society*, 26 (1997), 501-507 and Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[29] Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in G. Burchell, C. Gordon, P. Miller, eds., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 102-103.

[30] Of the earlier works, see the essays and interviews in C. Gordon, ed., *Power / Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) and Paul Rabinow, ed., *Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984). See also the chapter "Method" in *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1*, 92-102.

of rule.[31] Knowledge-making was also critical to the strategizing and evaluating of state

initiatives. such as the colonization project of the Ottawa-Huron Tract. In particular, we

shall explore in this thesis how a distinctly liberal social order (and governmentality) was

both imagined and naturalized within the geographical and social domains of the region.[32]

To say 'the state' produced knowledge and used this knowledge to rule simplifies

and distorts a process that was and is inherently uneven and susceptible to all sorts of

influences – cultural. political, social, economic, environmental – that may lie both within

and without the institutional domains of 'the state'. Indeed, if 'the state' is appreciated as

a network of offices and personalities through which knowledge is communicated,

engaged, and used 'to see' and 'to govern' population and territory, then analysts must try

to reconstruct these networks and their practices to appreciate the contours, the false

starts, and the more 'normal' workings of governmentality.[33] To do otherwise is to

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[31] A helpful overview of this 'explosion' can be found in Bruce Curtis, "Official Documentary Systems and Colonial Government: From Imperial Sovereignty to Colonial Autonomy in the Canadas, 1841-1867," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 10 (1997), 389-417. On the notion of "simplified" representations, see James C. Scott, "State Simplifications." *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 4 (1995), 1-42 and Theodore M. Porter, *Trust in Numbers: The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 73-86. On statistics and other forms of 'scientific' representation as expressions of governmentality see: Bernard Cohn, "The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia," in his *An Anthropologist Among the Historians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Ian Hacking. *The Taming of Chance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation. 1830-1864* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Curtis, *The Politics of Population*; Zeller, *Inventing Canada*.

[32] Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review*, 81 (2000), 617-645; Loo, *Making Law. Order. and Authority in British Columbia. 1821-1871*; Curtis, *The Politics of Population*.

[33] The application of 'actor-network theory' to the study of organizations and institutions is a hallmark of some of the most challenging works in the social studies of science. See, for example. Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar, *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts* second ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987); Michael Callon and John Law. "On the Construction of Sociotechnical Networks:

reduce 'the state' to an undifferentiated whole, a representation at odds with the history of state formation both in Canada and across the Western world.

In this regard, a researcher may be well served in following an interpretive direction suggested by Foucault. Foucault was anxious to see studies of governmentality which focused on institutions and tactics that have historically worked outside 'the state,' yet he was also convinced of the importance of a critical history of state formation that sought to 'deconstruct' the practices of governance that flowed through its institutional spaces. Indeed, while he called for a political philosophy that "cut off the King's head,"[34] Foucault also said in respect to his own researches: "It was, and for me still is, a matter of showing how in the West, a certain critical, historical, and political analysis of the state, of its institutions, and its mechanisms of power appeared in binary [us / them, we / the other, normal / deviant] terms."[35] Such a deconstructive approach yields significant insights into the dynamics of Canadian state formation, the power of a liberal Canadian governmentality, and the significance of these political processes to Canadian social and environmental histories.[36]

Content and Context Revisited," Knowledge and Society, 9 (1989), 57-83. The larger implications of this approach for the study of both 'science' and 'society' is emphasized in Bruno Latour. We Have Never Been Modern, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 1-12. The utility of an empirical, actor-network approach to the study of state formation appears in Curtis. The Politics of Population. 29-33.

[34] Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power." Gordon, ed., Power / Knowledge, 121. Also, in The History of Sexuality, vol. 1, 91: "We must...conceive of sex without the law, and power without the king."

[35] Michel Foucualt, Difendere la società (Florence: Ponte alle Grazie, 1990), 68 as cited in Ann Laura Stoler, Race and the Education of Desire: Focualt's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 55-56. These remarks were part of Foucault's 1976 lectures at the College de France.

[36] See also the comments in Geoff Eley, ed., Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870-1930 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 25.

How, though, might one pursue a deconstruction of 'the state'? One answer to this question is to examine the articulation of a particular state project, such as the colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract, that is not necessarily confined to a single government department or office, but ranges across bureaucratic boundaries and involves different people in different locations. This is the interpretive stance adopted here. In every chapter, we shall adopt the perspective of the anthropologist and attempt to follow the movement of people and communication through the bureaucratic networks that were striving to impose order on colonization. The first challenge is to identify what these networks were and to map their structure, including the offices and key personalities involved. The second challenge is to follow the movement of people and communication throughout these networks. With respect to the colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract, this requires the researcher to make several lateral moves within the bureaucratic state, in particular among the various offices of the Crown Lands Department and those of the Bureau of Agriculture. It also requires the researcher to move outside the narrow confines of 'the office' and, with the agents themselves, to head out to 'the field'. State agents worked as much outside their offices as they did within, often travelling for days in the difficult terrain of the Ottawa-Huron Tract. Working in small places and settings that were decidedly less-formal than those found in the capital, these travelling agents opened new spaces in which the processes of state formation could function.

To study these processes, however, one must work with those evidential traces that remain of their history, and for studies of pre-Confederation Canada locating and assessing such traces is highly problematic. The offices, functions, and responsibilities of individual government departments have a very uneven and fluid history; as

responsibilities shifted, so too would the relevant documentation which the state had produced and preserved.[37] As well, the capital of the Province of Canada moved several times before civil servants began arriving in Ottawa in 1865. At several junctures between 1841 and 1865 and after, departmental records were therefore moved, rearranged, neglected, and even lost. Furthermore, later archival practices have, by both necessity and choice, sought to impose their own order on departmental records.

For example, in the Archives of Ontario, some, but hardly all of the records related to the bureaucratic history of the colonization roads have been collected under their own record group, RG 52. And yet the records in RG 52 are but a fragment of a much larger collection of materials related to the construction, maintenance, and governance of the colonization roads. This is further complicated by the fact that between 1841 and 1852 the Crown Lands Department was responsible for the roads, but then between 1852 and 1862 this responsibility was shared with the newly created Bureau of Agriculture. After 1862, administrative control of colonization roads was returned in full to the Crown Lands Department. Complicating things further, after 1867 Crown Lands remained a provincial department but Agriculture became a key department of the new federal state and the respective departmental records were pulled farther apart. Thus to locate all the relevant documentation on the administrative history of colonization roads, the researcher must consult letterbooks, reports, maps, and statistics that were produced and preserved in other record groups than RG 52, both in the Archives of Ontario and in the National Archives of Canada. In this respect, the challenge is to reconstruct not only the bureaucratic network that governed colonization but also the

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[37] The broad contours of this are described in Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Service*.

archive of knowledge that this network produced. While detailed, painstaking, and often frustrating, the reconstruction of the archive is essential to a deconstruction of the state.

This approach compels the researcher to work with the state's archive and to read its texts as both material products of state formation and as cultural representations of governmentality. To meet these dual objectives, a series of general questions have been adopted: Who requested knowledge and what kind? Who produced knowledge and in what capacity? Under what conditions was this knowledge produced? What processes were involved in its display and representation? What was being displayed and represented? Who ultimately engaged this knowledge and used it? How was this knowledge used? These questions are sometimes reformulated to the specific demands of a particular chapter or topic but they are consistent in directing the reading of the colonization archive in the chapters that follow.

In this way, the analysis works with the knowledge, the texts, that administrators requested and possessed. The interpretive goal is to "see like a state"[38] by attending to "the physicality of representation itself."[39] One of the best examples of this methodological approach is Daniel Clayton's reading of the history of Captain Cook's journals. Clayton's study is instructive for demonstrating how attention to the physical making of texts yields invaluable insights into the truths they sought to establish and the authenticity with which they spoke. Clayton traces "Cook's books," and other pivotal texts, to make an important commentary on the danger of allowing 'evidence' to become

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[38] James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

[39] James Duncan and Derek Gregory, eds., *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 3.

reified into immutable "facts".[40] As this thesis will demonstrate at several instances, the power-knowledge practices underpinning the process of state formation can render its archives highly problematic.

In dealing with the problem of state formation, the next six chapters move through the colonization archive thematically. Chapter 2 seeks to establish the larger political context from which this colonization project and its archive emerged through a summary of the mid-Victorian Canadian state's institutions and practices. The chapter then charts the discourse of "systematic colonization", which was introduced from Britain by Lord Durham and Lord Sydenham and became situated within the Canadian state and more specifically, the colonization project of the Ottawa-Huron Tract. Part II, which encapsulates Chapters 3, 4, and 5, examines colonization as a strategy of state formation. This section explores the imaginative dimensions of what colonization was expected to produce in the region, both geographically (Chapter 3) and socially (Chapters 4 and 5). Part III, which includes Chapter 6 and 7, shifts our attention to a study of colonization as a practice of state formation. This section explores how expectations of colonization were translated into specific policies and practices governing both immigration (Chapter 6) and the settlement of free grant lands (Chapter 7).

While the separation of "colonization-as-strategy" to "colonization-as-practice" is useful for organizing our study, the two were not mutually exclusive. In both style and substance there is great overlap between Parts II and III. Many of the processes occurred simultaneously in the 1850s and early 1860s. But the objectives of these processes were somewhat different and they each reveal different dimensions of a state-in-formation and

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[40] Clayton, *Islands of Truth*.

the articulation of governmentality. The conclusion will try to restore a sense of order by suggesting their implications to the historical and historiographical understanding of mid-Victorian Canada.

Map 1.1 The Ottawa-Huron Tract

Source: Graeme Wynn, "Notes on Society and Environment in Old Ontario," *Journal of Social History*, 13 (1979), 54.

Colonisation Roads 1863
Colonisation Roads Projected 1863
Boundary of Canadian Shield
Northern Limit of Surveyed Townships, 1851
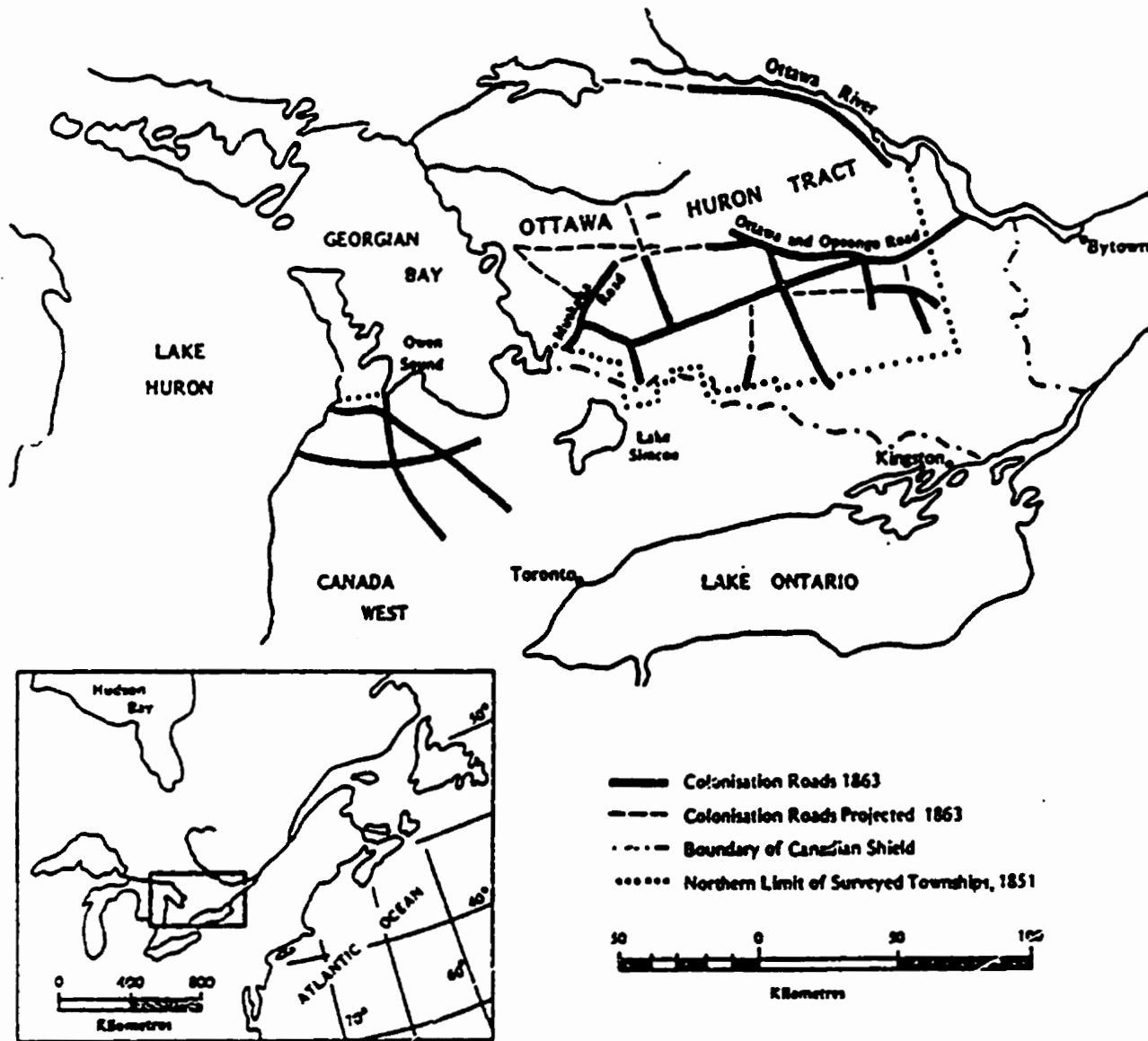
Chapter Two

Cultivating Space and Society:
The Gardener State and the Colonization Project

The colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract constituted structures and practices

of governance as 'Canadian' expressions of larger historical developments in the Western

world. These changes reflected what Zygmunt Bauman has called a transformation from

government as "gatekeepers" to government as "gardeners."[1] Much like Michel

Foucault's ideas on governmentality[2] and Norbert Elias' studies of the civilizing process[3].

Bauman sees modern governance. predicated on Enlightenment ideals of the social

contract. as a clear departure from feudal. patron-client systems in earlier periods. In

modern governance. the state's primary goal is to cultivate definitions of citizenship. "to

transform the state of the territory to bring it closer to that of a contrived 'ideal state'."

This objective differed from those of the pre-modern gatekeepers who sought to assure

that their subjects and territories "self-reproduce[d] undisturbed" and who were most

interested "to make sure that [their] share [was] collected. and to bar impostor

gatekeepers ... from taking their cut."[4] Bauman sees this transformation as critical to the

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[1] Zygmunt Bauman. *Legislators and Interpreters: On modernity. post-modernity and intellectuals* (Cambridge. 1987). 51-67. See also James C. Scott. *Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1998).

[2] Michel Foucault. "Governmentality." in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon. and Peter Miller. eds.. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1991). 87-104.

[3] Norbert Elias. *The Civilizing Process* trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994 [orig. 1939]).

[4] Bauman, *Legislators and* Interpreters. 52.

social and political histories of Western Europe between the French Revolution and the

social upheavals of 1848. While the periodization was slightly later in Canada.

Bauman's metaphor of the "gardener state" resonates well for the history of early

Canadian state formation and the discourse of systematic colonization.

Building the Gardener State

Perhaps the most significant contribution of Lord Durham's *Report* was not just

its support for 'responsible government' but rather its introduction of a new system of

governance and. by extension. the beginnings of the modern bureaucratic state in Canada.

A product of Durham's association with fellow Radicals in Britain. the philosophical

orientation the *Report* was a blend of classic liberalism. in the tradition of Adam Smith

and David Ricardo. and utilitarianism. especially that espoused by Jeremy Bentham and

James Mill.[5] Such a combination infused not only the ideas in the *Report* but also the

language through which they were expressed: "As long as personal ambition is inherent

in human nature and as long as the morality of every free and civilized community

encourages its aspirations. it is one great business of a wise Government to provide for its

legitimate development."[6] The *Report* features many such pronouncements. and

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[5] See S.E. Finer. "The Transmission of Benthamite Ideas, 1820-1850." in Gillian Sutherland. ed.. *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth-Century Government* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1972). 11-32 and Donald Winch. *Classical Political Economy and Colonies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1965).

[6] C.P. Lucas. ed.. *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America* (Oxford. 1912). vol. II. 312. [hereafter references will be to *Durham Report* with the appropriate volume and page numbers] The place of classic liberalism in the discourse of colonization is explored in Winch, *Classical Political Economy* and, for Canada, in Tina Loo. *Making Law. Order. and Authority in British Columbia. 1821-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1994), 8-10. Also helpful is Miles Taylor. "Imperium et Libertas? Rethinking the Radical Critique of Imperialism during the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History.* 19 (1991). 1-23 and

Durham's suggestions about reform in the colonies were designed to create the "proper" political environment in which civic liberties, and therefore a liberal national growth, could occur. This environment included, of course, the emergence of a hegemonic British culture, but also more material things such as municipal governments, a reformed electoral process, and the transformation of frontier lands into cultivated property.[7]

Durham also emphasized that it was the state's duty to coordinate, monitor, and evaluate the production of this new liberal political environment, what he elliptically referred to as a "system." For example, "so great is the influence," he wrote, "on the other Province of the arrangements adopted with respect to the disposal of public lands and colonization in any one, that it is absolutely essential that this department of Government should be conducted on one system, and by one authority."[8] Durham's "one system" was the state, but his "one authority" was a complex amalgam of British imperial oversight and responsible colonial independence. It is the former, the "one system," that is of interest to us here, the latter, "one authority," having been extensively treated by scholars interested in the history of political thought.[9] Still, in both these respects, the British government agreed with Durham and so too did the person they appointed to implement some of Durham's suggestions, Charles Poulett Thomson, Lord Sydenham.

Eileen P. Sullivan, "Liberalism and Imperialism: J.S. Mill's Defense of the British Empire," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 44 (1983), 599-617.

[7] The reconciliation of laissez-faire liberalism and an interventionist state is described in Phillip Corrigan and Derek Sayer, *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 114-165.

[8] *Durham Report*, vol. II, 314.

[9] See Janet Ajzenstat and Peter J. Smith, eds., *Canada's Origins: Liberal, Tory, or Republican?* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995). Also revealing are the essays in the special edition of *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 26 (1991) and Ajzenstat's *The Political Thought of Lord Durham* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

Since Sydenham was entrusted with overseeing the Union of 1841 and the system

of governance that would administer the new Province of Canada, this appointment made

significant and lasting changes to the political landscape in the colony. As Ian Radforth

and Bruce Curtis make clear, the system of administration that emerged in 1841 under the

new governor general was constructed on utilitarian ideals then dominant in England, and

prominently featured in Durham's *Report*.[10] The combination of utilitarian practicality

with the goals of the civilizing process created a new intimacy between the state and 'the

people' and charted a new course for the management of both population and territory.

While the result was hardly an even process, and was rife with corruption.

ignorance, and well-intended blunders, the new bureaucratic state began altering relations

between rulers and ruled. As Figure 2.1 suggests, the administrative structure of the

Canadian state evolved in a relatively short period.[11] It was carved into four principal

sectors: revenue and finance; defence; population; land and resource development.

According to J.E. Hodgetts, these four sectors combined employed no more than 2700

people at any one time.[12] A great deal of work was thus entrusted to a very limited

number of people. New departments emerged between 1841 and 1867, and among these

later additions perhaps none was more significant, at least for the purposes of this thesis.

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[10] See also Radforth, "Sydenham and Utilitarian Reform" and Curtis. "Class Culture and Administration: Educational Inspection in Canada West." 104-109. See also Philip Buckner. *The Transition to Responsible Government: British Policy in British North America, 1815-1850* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985) and Donald R. Beer. "Responsible Government in the 1980s: A Survey of Recent Literature of the Introduction of Colonial Self-Government in British North America," *Australian-Canadian Studies.* 8 (1990). 75-93.

[11] J.E. Hodgetts. *Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of the United Canadas. 1841-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1955).

[12] *Ibid.* 42.

than the Bureau of Agriculture and Statistics which came into being in 1852.[13] Each

sector was subject primarily to the political oversight of the Executive Council and the

Legislative Assembly, which in turn reported to the governor general and thus the

Colonial Office in London. While imperial control grew less significant over time, in

1841 its influence was still palpable.[14] As well, owing to the precarious and often

confusing state of finances in the province, each sector was also concerned with the

actions of the inspector general (later re-named the minister of finance in 1859) who

exercised tremendous influence in prioritizing agencies and state initiatives.[15] Indeed,

Michael Piva makes the important point that the public debt crisis which greeted the

Union in 1841, almost all of it owed by Upper Canada to foreign creditors, made the

office of the inspector general immensely important in the state structure created by the

union.[16]

Among those in the central offices of the departments, the chief assistants, who

often held titles such as "secretary," "assistant commissioner," or "deputy

commissioner," played crucial roles in departments. As multiple demands frequently

took heads of departments away from their offices, it was incumbent upon the chief

assistants to translate strategies and policies into practices and then evaluate their

'success' or 'failure' by filtering through reports, data, and even material specimens

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[13] Bruce Curtis. *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of the Canadas, 1840-1875* (Univ. of Toronto Press, 2001).

[14] Bruce Curtis, "Official Documentary Systems and Colonial Government: From Imperial Sovereignty to Colonial Autonomy in the Canadas, 1841-1867," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 10 (1997), 389-417 is the most systematic treatment of this process.

[15] Michael J. Piva, *The Borrowing Process: Public Finance in the Province of Canada, 1840-1867* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1992).

collected. These deputies also issued directives to local agents and handled day-to-day problems that arrived with the mails. At the Bureau of Agriculture, for example, incoming correspondence included petitions, letters of complaint, inquiries from other colonial and imperial government offices, and a range of material from local agents and agricultural societies. Secretaries also had to establish lines of communication with their counterparts in other departments since, as in the case of colonization, many of the policies initiated by one sector had relevance for another and thus needed some interdepartmental coordination. This was one area where the new state system worked well as theory but poor as practice. Deputy heads were also called upon to provide written briefings and responses to the Executive Council, the most important body of oversight within the early Canadian state system. This multi-dimensional, administrative identity has left an indelible impression in the archival record; one finds the names of departmental secretaries in countless different record groups, and even when documents are unsigned, the researcher can recognize both the secretaries' physical (handwriting) and stylistic signature.[17]

One of the most significant duties of the secretary was to collect data and then translate them into a form that could easily be understood by their colonial and imperial superiors. This process can be seen most clearly in annual reports of departments, which contain neat tables of aggregate statistics and a careful selection of 'relevant' and 'useful' documentary material such as excerpts from field agent reports or correspondence. This

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[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Bruce Curtis, "The Canada 'Blue Books' and the Administrative Capacity of the Canadian State, 1822-1867," *Canadian Historical Review*, 74 (1995), 535-565. S.J.R. Noel, *Patrons, Clients, Brokers: Ontario Society and Politics, 1791-1896* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) studies power and patronage among politicians.

selection process contributed to what James C. Scott calls "state simplification."

Government cannot work with much complexity. It cannot legislate solutions to

problems that cannot be defined, and therefore contained. It must necessarily see society

and territory in aggregate forms, whether statistical or otherwise.[18] The annual reports

prepared by secretaries had tremendous utility in this respect because they were entrusted

as experts interpreting material collected by other experts (the local field agent). Once

published, a decision that was also selective because not all were published, these annual

reports became part of public culture as newspapers reprinted selected passages or used

the knowledge provided in them to advance an editorial stance.

Departmental secretaries were also entrusted to make sure offices ran in an

orderly fashion, delegating tasks to bureaucrats and instilling an office culture. For the

Department of Crown Lands, for example, the commissioner and assistant commissioner

issued directives to subordinates about the length of workdays, the organization of work

spaces, and the need to keep 'outsiders' away from sensitive materials (maps, reports,

correspondence) used in the department.[19] Such directives went beyond calls to be more

careful with budget expenses. They also formalized the ways in which the central state

was to operate. This element of a bureaucratic culture reified the fiction that the state

existed as an entity separate from the social body. Establishing boundaries between

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[18] James C. Scott, "State Simplifications," *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 4 (1995), 1-42 and
Theodore M. Porter, *Trust in Numbers: The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life*
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 73-86 develop these ideas in unique and
compelling ways.

[19] See the directives in Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO), RG 1, A-I-7, Subject Files 1790-1929,
vol. 4, env. 3, "Departmental Orders and Regulations 1855-1890," MS 892, reel 2. The repetitive
nature of some of these orders suggests that the process of professionalization and formalization
was anything but smooth. See also the "Annual Report of the Department of Crown Lands,"

greedy speculators and sensitive state material may have fulfilled an ethical dimension, but it also contributed to the larger process of making the modern state an 'official' space separate from the everyday, to be seen and entered but only by following codes of conduct. In many ways, then, the deputy heads of departments became the nerve centre for the daily workings of governance and did much to shape it.

Another key figure in the new state system was the local field agent. The local agent, whose many forms included the timber agent, school inspector, provincial land surveyor (P.L.S.), Crown Land agent, inland immigration agent, and assessor, were the point-men for the state. They had the task of implementing directives from the central authority, of tailoring policy objectives to the particular conditions of specific regions. They were also to observe, monitor, and evaluate the performance of citizens.

In the frontier especially, the ability of the local agent to fulfil this task was complicated by distance. As a result, the use of local informants often became crucial. Gossips, snitches, disenfranchised or ostracized members of a community all supplied valuable information. The school superintendent and inspector for Niagara, Jacob Keefer, for example, reported in 1845: "No. 8. Black Settlement. Mrs. Lucy Mather. Canadian. – Widow. says her husband has been dead 4 years – it is said she is living as wife to some colored man – saw 2 white girls in her house, am told there are yellow ones...."[20] Similarly, in 1839, the new rural police in the Montreal District were advised "to know, but in their intercourse with the people, to respect their manner and usages" so

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Journals of the Legislative Assembly (hereafter *JLAC*), 1857, Appendix 25 which concludes with a scathing review of the department by its then-chief, Joseph Cauchon.

[20] NAC, MG 24, 133. 7 as cited in Bruce Curtis, "Mapping the Social: Notes from Jacob Keefer's Educational Tours, 1845." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 28 (1993), 65.

as to "obtain the confidence of the people and…destroy the pernicious influence which produced the disturbances of 1837 and 1838."[21] The Crown Land agent assigned to settle and monitor the Opeongo Road, T.P. French, considered his work impossible without the assistance of local residents as translators, informants, and boosters.[22] For local agents of all sorts, then, the church, the tavern, the market, and the mill were usually key sites for this exchange of information as the agents used word-of-mouth to understand what was "really" happening in the local community.

Yet their ability to capitalize on this information was hampered by the fact that the local agent was also a symbol of authority. Local agents kept offices, and they were the ones to whom citizens were expected to report. Within the context of the colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract, for example, the Crown Land agent was the one to whom a new settler had to go to receive a location ticket, a title to a lot of Crown Land property, or even basic information about where land was available. In the case of the Free Grants, this agent decided whether a settler had met the conditions of settlement and was 'worthy' of receiving the cherished title. In both cases, the settler and the agent, a micro-level expression of 'society' and 'state', were engaged in a power relationship and, paradoxically, both a distance and a degree of intimacy between them were established. This dynamic constituted the administrative space through which state formation engaged everyday life. It was in these intimate relations that resistance was offered, authority challenged, and legitimacy contested. Other times, the local agent was able to offer real

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[21] *Rules for the Government of the Rural Police: Circular Memorandum for the Information and Guidance of the Inspecting Stipendiary Magistrate…in the Montreal District* (Montreal: James Starke, 1839), 2 as cited in Brian Young, "Positive Law, Positive State: Class Realignment and the Transformation of Lower Canada," in Greer and Radforth, eds., *Colonial Leviathan*, 60.

[22] This is explored in much detail in Chapter 7.

assistance and rather than conflict, there was a more positive cooperation. Regardless of

their nature. these relations were sites where early Canadian state formation took on its

most poignant meaning.[23]

As manifested in the departmental secretary and the local field agent, the patterns

and structures of governance in Canada were significantly altered after 1841, with what

one might call a 'double movement' of centralization and localization. That is, the state

extended its regulatory influence over a number of issues, other than just those of trade.

through an administrative structure that used permanent agents and inspectors to monitor

and evaluate its governance at the local level. School inspectors, surveyors, Crown Land

agents, in-land immigration agents and translators, justices of the peace. and sheriffs all

played significant roles in this reorganization of governance through their monitoring of

and reporting on everyday life.[24] At the same time it was within central offices that this

local governance was evaluated, given direction, and fit into the larger context of state

building.

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[23] Peter Baskerville, "Transportation, Social Change, and State Formation. Upper Canada. 1841-1864," in Greer and Radforth, eds., *Colonial Leviathan*, 231-232, argues that the inspector was most common to education but that these experts were less common in other spheres of government. It seems, however. that Baskerville is reacting to the name "inspector" rather than the process "inspection" and thus minimizes the significance of this phenomenon.

[24] Contrast this analysis of the 'localization' of state formation in the colonial era with J.I. Little. *State and Society in Transition: The Politics of Institutional Reform in the Eastern Townships. 1838-1852* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1997); Gérald Bernier and Danielle Salée. "Social Relations and the Exercise of State Power in Lower Canada (1791-1840): Elements for an Analysis," *Studies in Political Economy*, 22 (1987), 101-143; Bruce Curtis. "Representation and State Formation in the Canadas, 1790-1850," *Studies in Political Economy*, 28 (1989), 59-87. See also the ideas put forth in Michael Braddick, "State formation and social change in early modern England: a problem stated and approaches suggested," *Social History*. 16 (1991), 1-17.

Perhaps the best known and appreciated dimension of the new state in Canada was the process of institutionalization.[25] Institutions such as the penitentiary, asylum, hospital, and quarantine station at Grosse Isle were all intended to protect 'the people' from infectious diseases, and to eliminate elements in the population who strayed from cultural norms and values and thus threatened the integrity of the national and local community. This protection was believed to have been accomplished through activities of confinement, as 'problem' elements of the population were removed and isolated from other citizens.[26] Much like surgeons who carve out the sick tumours that threaten the body, the state wanted to preserve the health of the social body by isolating the sick, the mad, the profane, the criminal, and the deviant. As scholars have shown, practices of institutional confinement were central to the emergence of modern state systems all over the West and in fact officials in Canada were always interested in following the examples of European states.

Besides confinement, state institutions also sought to act as instruments of political socialization. In no area was this more pronounced than in the creation of the public school system. Children as objects of state schooling were to be made loyal, disciplined citizen subjects. This was accomplished through a wide range of tactics and practices. The organization of the classroom into neat, ordered rows and the application

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[25] J.M.S. Careless, *The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841-1857.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

[26] See, for example, Jean-Marie Fecteau, *Un nouvel ordre des choses: la pauvreté, le crime, l'État au Québec, de la fin du XVIIIe Cecile a 1840* (Outremont: VLB éditeur, 1989); John Weaver, *Crimes, Constables and Courts: Order and Transgression in a Canadian City, 1816-1970* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Peter Oliver, *'Terror to evil-doers': Prisons and Punishments in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto : Published for the Osgoode Society by University of Toronto Press, 1998).

of strict behavioural codes taught students to exercise self-discipline of their energy and excitement. The teaching of particular forms of knowledge, especially the sacred mythology of Western Europe's rise in civilization, provided the background to telling "Canada's" story and learning its constitutive elements. The selection of upright, moral, qualified teachers was another important contribution to this process. Teachers were to act not only as instructors but also, especially in 'backward' frontier regions, as role models. All of these goals and plans were subject to annual inspection from 'experts' who would evaluate schools, including their administrators, teachers, and students. More so, perhaps, than any other institution of the state, schooling illustrates the gardening impulse of the modern Canadian state. Ultimately sober and industrious, rather than excitable and frivolous, students were to grow into not just replications of their parents, but in fact a "better" version of them. While this was the strategy of the state, it was often modified and even resisted by families, local communities, and within the classroom and playgrounds by students and teachers. Despite this resistance, schools emerged as key social spaces through which concepts of citizenship were taught and learned even if they were not always accepted.[27]

As research continues to reveal, the school, the court house and prison, the asylum, the orphanage, the hospital, and the social welfare office were all key spaces through which state formation and governance were made visible and real to citizens.

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[27] Paul Axelrod, "Historical Writing and Canadian Education from the 1970s to the 1990s," *History of Education Quarterly*, 36 (1996), 19-38 and his excellent synthesis in *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Susan Houston and Alison Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London: Althouse, 1988).

where the double movement of centralization and localization played itself out.[28]

Through these spaces policy became practice, and the abstracted vision of planners met

the complexity of everyday life. In the process of colonization, however, these

institutional spaces came later. Meanwhile, the immigration (or "emigration" as it was

then known) office, with its emigrant agent, translators, and doctors, and the Crown

Lands Department, especially the local field agent and the surveyor, remained the

primary symbols and spaces of authority which settlers first engaged.

These institutions, especially the bureaucracy that operated them and the practices

that flowed through them, and the larger system of governance that we have been

describing have left an indelible impression in the historical record. Governance

depended on the production and interpretation of knowledge about both the population

and territory subject to the state. While centrally located officials created aggregates,

'big pictures' of the social body and the space this body inhabited, they did so based on

data provided to them by local agents in the form of reports, tables, correspondence,

maps, material specimens, solicited testimonials, work diaries, and so forth. The local

agents were required to organize their data in a very regulated, schematic fashion so that

the material could be incorporated into a larger system of data collection and knowledge

production. This codification became increasingly regular and pervasive in the Canadian

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[28] Valuable guides through the literature can be found in Carolyn Strange and Tina Loo, *Making Good: Law and Moral Regulation in Canada, 1867-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Cynthia Comacchio, "Another Brick in the Wall: Toward a History of the Welfare State in Canada," *left history,* 1 (1993), 103-108; Rainer Baehre, "The State in Canadian History," *Acadiensis,* 24 (1994), 119-133; Greg Marquis, "Law, Society, and History: Whose Frontier?" *Acadiensis,* 21 (1992), 162-174.

state system after 1841, and signified a shift from a reliance on 'local knowledge' to the rigor of a science of state, statistics.[29]

We can see this shift in the issue of directing immigration where it was most needed. In 1841, the emigration office sent out a questionnaire to all sheriffs and agricultural societies asking them sixty-five general questions about their home region as well as requesting a list of local wages and prices. The responses ranged from short, sketchy answers, with many questions ignored, to answers which were long-winded and used as a platform for the sheriff or agricultural society to make a political argument or act as a local booster. The inconsistency of replies defied aggregation. There was no whole to be made from these parts.[30]

By contrast, in January 1858, the Bureau of Agriculture, through which immigration was then administered, sent out a questionnaire to municipalities about the population and labour needs in their districts for the upcoming immigration season.[31] A local official was required to fill in fifteen columns, only one of which was saved for "observations."[32] The other columns were allocated to farm labourers, "boys over 12,"

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[29] Curtis, "Official Documentary Systems and Colonial Government," 392. This process was not smooth or absolute, of course. The published 1851 Census, for example, an early beacon of statistical rigour, conceded its results were predicated on "voluntary information," but "tested, however, to some extent by the observation and local knowledge of the Enumerators." 1851 Census, vol. 1, 10. In fact, one might argue that there was a degradation of 'the local' within the context of state formation and its power-knowledge practices, a theme that runs throughout this thesis, especially in chapters 3 and 7.

[30] NAC, RG 5, B 21, vols. 1 and 2 contain the responses.

[31] NAC, RG 17, vol. 2392, file "Emigration Correspondence, 1856-1858." We return to this practice of knowledge-making about immigration in Chapter Six.

[32] This "local official" is why the emergence of District Councils and then municipal government was another critical dimension to the double movement of early Canadian state formation. This point is also made with reference to schooling in Curtis, "Mapping the Social," 53-54. From a wholly different perspective, Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural*

"girls over 12," and then a taxonomy of various occupations, from the highly skilled

(carpenters) to the less-skilled ("foundrymen"). In these columns, the respondent was

required to fill in a number. From these questionnaires, it was straightforward for an

official in the central office to create a table from the collected data and 'map' the labour

needs of the entire Province of Canada. This 'map' would then be used for directing new

immigrants based on what labour they could supply and what region had a demand for it.

Whereas the first questionnaire bred chaos, the second cultivated order.[33]

This example is a mere fragment of a massive documentary record that we

recognize now as an archive. Yet the archive was and is more than a repository of

knowledge taken from observation of the real world. It is a construct, a cultural product

that emerged from the processes of observation and representation, each a profound act of

governance.[34] The archive provides a material and imaginative space through which its

makers and users see and interpret the world represented within it.[35] It is not an innocent

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History (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 209-213 makes a
similar observation.

[33] But are the data more valuable in the second questionnaire? After all, how did the local official
come up with a number? Can we really believe, for example, that the respondent from Simcoe
knew his district needed only five tinsmiths but thirty-six carpenters? State simplification
required statistics, it needed to see a coherent, static picture of what the world was. When
scholars use this data they must be sensitive to this impulse, because the more the state simplified
the more abstract the picture of the world became.

[34] The census is one of the many forms of knowledge production, and perhaps the best known in
the Canadian context. The writings of Bruce Curtis in this area are pioneering. See, for example,
his "The Canada 'Blue Books' and the Administrative Capacity of the Canadian State, 1822-
1867," *Canadian Historical Review*, 74 (1995), 535-565 and "On the local construction of
statistical knowledge: Making up the 1861 census of the Canadas," *Journal of Historical
Sociology*, 7 (1994), 416-434.

[35] My thinking on the archive owes much to: Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive:
Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), 1-44; Edward Said, *Orientalism*
(New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), 13-43; Patrick Joyce, "The Politics of the Liberal Archive,"
History of the Human Sciences 12, 2 (1999), 35-49; Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of*

window to some other past but is in fact very much a part of that past. In this regard, the

archive and the knowledge it holds cannot be understood without a recognition of the

political power it held. The presence of particular forms of knowledge in an archive was

and is invested with an authority and legitimacy to speak for those who cannot, to exist as

markers and signifiers for time and space. The archive must therefore have its genealogy

mapped out and analyzed so that we may then comprehend its contents in their

appropriate contexts.[36]

This section has endeavoured thus far to sketch out what the "appropriate

contexts" of the colonization archive were: the structures and practices of early Canadian

state formation. Yet it remains to ground this context in the specifics of the colonization

of the Ottawa-Huron Tract, to begin to assess the people, personalities, and processes that

created the colonization archive, the documentary heart of this thesis. Once we can

identify the administrative networks that produced the contents of the archive, we can

begin to understand colonization's relevance to understanding the larger processes of

state formation and governance and their importance to the social, cultural, and

environmental histories of Canada. Such an investigation, however, must begin by

exploring the conditions that made possible the formation of a colonization archive in the

first place. This story, we shall see, while played out in Canada, had its start across the

Atlantic among the turbulent politics of early-Victorian Britain.

Knowledge trans. A.M. Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1972), 126-131; Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 2-18; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* revised ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 163-185.

[36] Carolyn Strange, "Stories of Their Lives: The Historian and the Capital Case File," 25-48 and Steven Maynard, "On the Case of the Case: The Emergence of the Homosexual as a Case History

Colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract (I)

The particular timing of colonization in the northern frontier of Canada West, the

Ottawa-Huron Tract, was stimulated by an intersection of demographic and economic

crises involving the Canadian state. First was the worsening condition of the

government's finances and the general economic malaise that had enveloped the province

by the late 1840s. Second was the famine migration from Ireland in 1847 and 1848, an

experience that from an administrative point of view was a debacle. Third was the

perceived 'filling up' of Old Ontario, a situation that the state considered serious for it

represented a limitation upon the region's agricultural expansion and also threatened

social order by creating a landless population. Finally, the state expressed concern over

emigration to the American midwest and New England, and the general inability to keep

immigrants from using Canada as a mere causeway to the United States. Together, these

factors provided the necessary political capital to embark on an aggressive project of

colonization.[37]

This project was first articulated in the Inspector General Francis Hincks' well-

known memorandum of December 1848, which served as a blueprint not only for

colonization in Canada West, but also for Canadian nation-building in Western Canada

right through the Laurier years.[38] In a carefully argued and well thought paper intended

in Early-Twentieth-Century Ontario," 65-87 in Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, eds.. *On the Case: Explorations in Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

[37] Each of these factors is dealt with more systematically in the following chapters.

[38] NAC. C.O. 42, vol.552, reel B-412, "Memorandum on Immigration and on Public Works as connected therewith," 20 December 1848 and A.G. Doughty, ed., *The Elgin-Grey Papers 1846-1852* vol.4 (Ottawa, 1937), 1427-1436. All citations hereafter will refer to the copy in the *Elgin-Grey Papers*. Hincks' memorandum has been the subject of recent attention by scholars. Compare Piva, *The Borrowing Process*, 78-81; A.A. den Otter, *The Philosophy of Railways: The*

to stimulate British investment in the province, Hincks drew together issues of population, land, infrastructure, and state building. The language and logic in this memorandum suggest more continuity than change from the discourse of colonization articulated a decade earlier by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Lord Durham, and Charles Buller, as well as the important modifications introduced by Lord Sydenham's 1841 Speech from the Throne. Written for both a British and Canadian audience, it is little wonder the memorandum sought to situate itself firmly in the inherent logic of a liberal colonization scheme that held advantages for both imperial and colonial interests.

Hincks first reminded his imperial readers that they should not "under estimate the advantages of Colonization as compared with Emigration."[39] Emigration was not and could not be systematic, and the emigrants were simply unable to invest their capital in anything but the purchase of their own land. These settlers thus became little more than paupers, unable to contribute in any meaningful way to the betterment of both the local landscape and the larger concerns of the Province of Canada. By contrast, colonization, a process that included but was also separate from emigration, allowed the movement of population to be more regulated and directed because it sought to manage not just the movement of people but also their settlement and land use.

Hincks illustrated this connection when he argued that, when free grants of fifty acres were allocated to "actual settlers," it allowed the capital held by the settler to be invested in the improvement of his property. This would, therefore, "add to the public domain; thus rendering it available as good Security for borrowed Capital – while at the

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Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America (Toronto, 1998), 58; Curtis, "Official Documentary Systems and Colonial Government," 407.

[39] Hincks, "Memorandum," 1428.

same time a large quantity of labour is taken from the Market which can only be supplied by Immigrants."[40] Britain's surplus labour, a wasted element of their domestic population, would therefore become a commercial asset in Canada and transform waste lands into valuable collateral.

Hincks also suggested that these free grants would be made in conjunction with the building of great "general projects", especially canals and railways. This suggestion was in specific opposition to the usual practice of building "local projects" which did not add to the betterment of the larger community but simply created jealousies and resentment that governmental monies were not allocated in their areas. Local projects would instead use money generated from a system of local taxation under the guise of the District Councils. This would create the needed capital from "the inhabitants of these localities themselves or by means of loans raised on their credit," thus creating "a very considerable demand [in these localities] for Immigrant Labour."[41] For their part, general projects would aid colonization in that they would give new arrivals a source of income, "the rate of wages in Canada being high," and provide needed capital to invest in the improvement of their free grants.[42] In both cases, however, the larger ideals of colonization would be met. Wilderness would become agricultural fields, isolation of settlers would be diminished, and the province would offer a much better market for British manufactures while at the same time relieving the Mother Country of unneeded population.

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[40] *Ibid.*, 1431.

[41] *Ibid.*, 1432.

[42] *Ibid.*, 1434.

As Michael Piva has pointed out, Hincks' memorandum received much attention from both the imperial authorities and his fellow colonial leaders. Piva's meticulous research has concluded that the memorandum's production was a process, that it went through several drafts and was "circulated widely in government circles," but that its ultimate effectiveness lay in the fact that it utilized "a set of ideas and assumptions that already enjoyed wide currency."[43] This "wide currency" certainly included the lengthy memorandum prepared by Provincial Secretary R. B. Sullivan on this topic, and a speech he later gave to the Toronto Mechanic's Institute based on it.[44]

It is also clear that the memorandum had political value because of its roots in the earlier writings of Wakefield, Durham, and Buller, and the modifications introduced by Sydenham. Before following the implications of Hincks' memorandum, we must thus first move back in time, prior to and then through the union of 1841. As we shall see, much of what Hincks said and how he said it was produced by a discourse of systematic

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[43] Piva, *The Borrowing Process*, 68. In Chapter 6, I also suggest that the financial problems exposed by the Irish famine migration acted as a necessary spark to ignite substantial administrative reform, especially with regards to immigration and colonization.

[44] See R.B. Sullivan, *Address on Emigration and Colonization, delivered in the Mechanic's Institute Hall* (Toronto: Brown's Printing Establishment, 1847). His memorandum can be found in the *Elgin-Grey Papers*, 1440-1448. Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Service*, 259-264 argues that in fact Sullivan's memorandum held much more currency for imperial officials and that it was not until after Confederation that the more ambitious ideas in Hincks' memorandum became effectual under the leadership of Macdonald. There are two fundamental problems with this interpretation. First, Hodgetts' reliance on the published *Elgin-Grey Papers* presupposes the power of these men to direct colonization in the Province of Canada. Such was not the case after 1848, especially with a new Reform government and the emergence of a new era of "responsible government." Indeed, Elgin himself conceded as much when he told Grey he approved a colonization scheme "on advice" of the Executive Council. (*Elgin-Grey Papers*, vol. III, 1134) The second problem with Hodgetts' interpretation is that he seems to reject out of hand that there was much of a colonization scheme in Canada West at all: "The scheme in Upper Canada was an extremely modest response to a small and not very noisy demand."

colonization, one that emerged in Britain and, with the mission and report of Lord

Durham, was introduced to the Canadas.

Systematic Colonization

The Wakefieldian vision of colonization was central to Durham's *Report* even

though "it is not always treated as such by his [Durham's] commentators."[45] Edward

Gibbon Wakefield was the intellectual and political force behind a distinct theory of

colonization that, he hoped, would revive national British interest and concern for the

utility of colonies.[46] His first efforts in colonization, in which Lord Durham was also a

participant, were directed towards Australia and New Zealand and begun in 1829 during

his last year in prison for kidnapping.[47] By then, Wakefield was a devotee of Adam

Smith, and in 1833 he wrote a long introductory essay to an edition of Smith's *The

Wealth of Nations*, in which he sought to revive Smith's thoughts on colonial markets as

keys to Britain's prosperity.[48] Despite the fact he never saw either place until years later,

Wakefield used Australia and New Zealand as a platform for his advocacy of

mercantilism through "systematic colonization," a project that was successful enough

that, by the middle of the 1830s, Wakefield and his allies in the Colonial Reform

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[45] Janet Ajzenstat, *The Political Thought of Lord Durham*, 28. One Canadian commentator who certainly did appreciate this connection, although Ajzentat does not mention him, was Graeme Wynn, "Notes on Society and Environment in Old Ontario," *Journal of Social History*, 13 (1979), 52.

[46] M.F. Lloyd Prichard, ed., *The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield* (London, 1968).

[47] See the entry on Wakefield by H.J.M. Johnston in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, 817-819.

[48] Smith's arguments on colonies and mercantilism can be seen in Book IV, Chapters VII and VIII of the *Wealth of Nations*.

movement were a political force. This was not just true in the case of new colonies in the South Pacific but, with Lord Durham's mission, was also true in one of the oldest elements of the empire, Canada.

Wakefield believed that a "revival in the art of colonization" was essential to solving problems of population, territory, and economy in Britain.[49] Contrary to previous experiments in colonization. Wakefield argued that selling frontier lands in the colonies to prospective settlers at a "sufficient price" would ensure that only the most capable and resourceful would find their way to the frontier initially.[50] Once there, these settlers would begin the tasks of clearing trees, establishing farms, building towns, and creating industries that would promote the formation of a settler society. The capitalist pioneers would establish a demand for labour that could then be met with the careful selection, assistance, and direction of emigration by the state. These emigrants would be directed by the state through the creation of an emigration fund, the monies for which would come from the sale of public lands. Ideally, then, the sale of lands in the colony would provide the money and the demand, while Britain would offer enough of a surplus of young,

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[49] There was hardly a consensus in Britain, however, about Wakefield's colonization program. Compare Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A view of the art of colonization, with present reference to the British empire: in letters between a statesman and a colonist* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1969 [orig. London, 1849]) and Herman Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and the Colonies* (London, 1861). The latter is a direct critique of Wakefield. Also helpful is Winch. *Classical Political Economy*. 122-128.

[50] The "sufficient price" was the cornerstone of Wakefield's colonization scheme and its most controversial element. See the coverage he gives it in Wakefield, *A view of the art of colonization*, 338-395.

married working couples who would have the correct moral and physical disposition to make for effective settlers.[51]

Wakefield's vision of the 'ideal settler' was certainly rooted in a general ignorance about the nature of poverty, an overt racism, and a glaring disinterest in aboriginal peoples.[52] Still, he was right to recognize the importance of land and the environment, in its legal form as 'property', to the formation of settler societies. Indeed, Wakefield's colonization schemes were dependent on combining systematic administration of land with the careful management of population, first as emigrants and then as settlers. Most critically, perhaps, is that Wakefield's colonization was, in his word, a "process," something that occurred over and through time and space.[53] In his discourse, colonization was thus active; it produced, made, formed, and effected real change both in the colony and in the mother country. As a result, it also was something that needed regulation with policies that were elastic, flexible to change with the shifts in demand and supply of labour in the colony and Britain.

The central role which Wakefield accorded governance is also significant. "Unquestionably," he wrote, "the process of colonization comprises government; for in the first place the settlers must be governed somehow; and secondly, the amount and

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[51] *Ibid.*, Letter LXII, 405-426 argues for the importance of selection of only moral, upright emigrants from Britain.

[52] All of these are on vivid display in his discussion on the nature of labour in the colonies, in *A view of the art of colonization*, Letter XXVII, 174-181. One example must suffice here: "The careless, lazy, slovenly, dirty, whining, quarrelsome, Saxon-hating, Irish-pauper emigrants are labourers no English or Scotch or American capitalist would be dependent upon for carrying his business, if he could by any means avoid the trouble and annoyances of such a dependence." (180)

[53] See his definitions of "colony" and "colonization" in his *A view of the art of colonization*, 15-16.

character of the emigration to a colony are deeply affected by the manner in which emigrants are governed. Besides, the national character of the states formed by colonization must greatly depend on the character of institutions of government which the settlers first obtain."[54] Not only, then, was colonization an active process but it was subject to the obvious need of governance to marshal and monitor it. While there was much in Wakefield about who should be 'responsible' for this government, the colonies or the mother country, such discussions took place upon a foundation that did not question the importance and utility of governance in the formation of a settler society. Indeed, Wakefield went so far as to say that "the intervention of government is more, and more constantly, needed in the multifarious business of constructing society, than in that of preserving it."[55]

These and other components of Wakefield's colonization discourse are readily apparent in Durham's *Report*. One of the key elements in the *Report* is how problems in population, that manifested in the Rebellions of 1837-38, were explicitly linked to the management of public lands. More specifically, the *Report* highlights the problem of distance in early Victorian Canada and what this had meant to the social and political health of the province. "Deserts are…interposed between the industrious settlers," Durham wrote, a fact that had ruinous implications:

> The greatest obstacles exist [therefore] to co-operation in labour, to exchange, to the division of employment, to combination for municipal or other public purposes, to the growth of towns, to public worship, to regular education, to the spread of news, to the acquisition of common knowledge, and even to the civilizing influences of mere intercourse for amusement.[56]

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[54] Wakefield, *A view of the art of colonization*, 16-17.

[55] *Ibid.*, 211.

[56] *Durham Report*, vol. II, 204

Here, Durham captured the depth of the problem of distance as it appeared to those in

government. Distance, especially distance expanded by the absence of communication

lines, inhibited the imperial, metropolitan vision of the world. "Waste lands" and

"deserts" were left untouched by the "civilizing influences" of "industrious" Euro-

Canadian settlers, and thus detached from both colonial and imperial markets.

The use of terms such as "waste lands" and "deserts" reflected a belief that the

Canadas largely remained empty, a *tabula rasa* upon which the state could and should

inscribe a fixed identity. They were "waste lands" not because they had nothing to offer.

In fact the exact opposite was the case. Rather, they were "waste lands" in the sense that

they remained as nature rather than natural resources. They were "deserts" because they

were lifeless and barren, devoid of Europeans turning the trees into timber, the waters

into canals, the grasses into wheat, the animals into livestock.

Of course, such language was completely at odds with the ecological reality of

flora and fauna in the Canadas, not to mention aboriginal peoples, who represented a very

strong life force in these regions. But such perspectives were predicated on a

fundamentally different idea of value. While Romantics celebrate nature as something

fundamentally good and pure, to be preserved and saved in its "true" form, for colonizers

like Lord Durham, Edward Wakefield, and Charles Buller, nature represented an

economic problem to be solved. Yet such an approach to Nature was hardly unique to

early Victorian élites and intellectuals. It was also fundamental to everyday life in the

Canadas for European settlers and aboriginal peoples.[57]

Perhaps most important for the imperial state, however, was that nature in the

Canadas produced distance and this created small pockets of places isolated from one

another just as it isolated individuals from sharing a "common knowledge" and thus

forming a "public" or "imagined community."[58] Durham saw this absence of a public as

the crux of the troubles in 1837 and he worried that it would continue to be a problem in

the future. He argued that only "by elevating these small and unimportant communities

into a society having some objects of national importance" could American

encroachment be repelled and a connection with Britain maintained.[59] For Durham, local

"communities" and the particular needed to give way to the importance of "society". To

protect the Canadas thus required the invention and cultivation of a Canadian public, a

process impossible without a wholesale reorganization of nature and a collapse of

distance. To return to Bauman's metaphor, one could not grow an ordered garden from

seeds scattered haphazardly.

The connection between physical distance and these cultural, political, and

economic concerns was not lost on Charles Buller, Durham's most important assistant in

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[57] William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991) and *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

[58] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* revised ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 9-46 makes this point in a somewhat different context. There, he argues that the printing press made possible a simultaneity that allowed citizens who never met face-to-face to feel nonetheless part of the same imagined community. This is another way in which distances can be shrunk (or expanded depending on the degree of literacy and access to printed materials).

[59] *Durham Report*, vol. II, 310-311

his mission to Canada. A close ally of Wakefield, Buller wrote out the details about a

plan for colonization that Durham alluded to in his own *Report*.[60] Buller was a powerful

advocate of systematic colonization in the British Parliament and both he and his brother,

Arthur, played instrumental roles in giving the *Report* "the facts in evidence" upon which

Durham sketched out a new course for governance in Canada.[61] In his own report to

Durham, Charles Buller argued that the system of land administration in the Canadas

since the arrival of the Loyalists in the late eighteenth century had created "a lamentable

deficiency of all the circumstances which indicate or advance civilization." These

"circumstances" he identified as capital and labour, permanent settlement, administration

of justice, education and religious instruction, and public works built with speed and

economy.[62] Like Durham, Buller also argued that to reform and advance the social and

cultural betterment of the people, to form a society from a scattering of unimportant

communities, required a wholesale change in the ways in which land was administered,

Nature engaged, and population managed.

Unlike the vague generalizations provided by Durham, Buller advanced a far

more detailed program for a new system of land administration, that would ensure "actual

settlement" on public lands rather than wild speculation and neglect, and raise revenues

to build up the infrastructure and communication lines in the colonies. One key

mechanism would be the imposition of a "wild-land" tax that would compel property

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[60] See Durham's comments in the *Report*, vol. II, 327.

[61] See Charles Buller's 06 April 1843 speech to the British House of Commons on "systematic colonization" which is published as Appendix I in Wakefield, *A view of the art of colonization*, 453-500. The quote "facts in evidence" is taken from Durham in the *Report*, vol. II, 329.

[62] *Durham Report*, vol. III, 80.

owners to make their holdings profitable, or at least "improved" enough to pay for the levied tax. To avoid the imperfections of the previous system of land taxation, Buller argued that a powerful central authority, the Colonial Office in London, should monitor and regulate this process to ensure the taxes were assessed, collected, and invested free from local corruption. In this way, monies raised would be directed primarily towards the construction of great public works that would begin breaking down the barrier of distance. "The opening of roads," he warned, "is the one thing without which it is impossible a new country can thrive" and thus could not be trusted to small-mindedness of corrupt, local officials who lacked the great, national and imperial vision necessary.[63]

A second key strategy of revenue, according to Buller's plan, would be the sale of Crown Lands. Lots sold at a "sufficiently high" price would attract investment from the very best class of settlers without discouraging others of more moderate means. "Moderate" did not mean poor, however. In language much like his close ally Edward Wakefield, Buller suggested that the "sufficient price" would still need to ensure that "labouring emigrants" not be "induced to become purchasers before they have either the requisite capital or knowledge to qualify them" as landowners.[64] Thus while he suggested a price of ten shillings per acre, Buller also stressed that it would always be better to err on a price too high than too low. For by making a serious commitment of cash, settlers would be more motivated to settle and improve their holdings. Speculation would be discouraged, improvements would spark a demand for labour, and the emptiness of the "waste lands" would give way to a new, integrated Canadian public.

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[63] *Durham Report*, vol. III, 84.

[64] *Durham Report*, vol. III, 113.

Buller also pointed out that no reforms to land regulation could be done without a steady stream of immigration. "It is only by means of such immigration," he wrote, "that the execution of the great public works...can be accomplished, and the vast tracts of appropriated desert filled up with settlers." As well, without this immigration and settlement, "the proposed tax could hardly fail to press fairly."[65] Yet Buller was also careful to point out how important government was to ensuring that immigration be made subject to its regulation. He lambasted the Imperial Government as being "deplorably defective" in its policies and practices of emigration, pointing out the hypocrisy of managing and regulating the movement of criminals to Australia while leaving the movement of free people to North America in the hands of shipowners and other capitalists.[66]

Buller's suggestions for improving this system were directed in large part to extending the power and funds available to the agent in Quebec, for improving the conditions of travel across the Atlantic, and for the construction of shelters in Quebec to ease the transition for new arrivals. He also insisted that these newcomers "should be forwarded to the place where they can obtain employment, under the direction of responsible [government] agents, acting under a central authority."[67] Only this close monitoring of the migrants could ensure that immigrants not take up frontier lands too quickly, but first acquire the "possession of capital, and an acquaintance with the modes

[65] *Durham Report,* vol. III. 117.

[66] *Durham Report,* vol. III. 121.

[67] *Durham Report.* vol. III. 125.

of husbandry practised in the colonies."[68] All of this would be financed, Buller

suggested, by directing a portion of the revenues raised from wild land taxes, the sale of

public lands, and timber licenses.[69] In all of this, the Buller "plan" was in complete step

with the Wakefield "scheme."

Charles Buller's plans for the colonization of Canada suggest a project quite

similar to that proposed a decade later by Francis Hincks. Each displayed a utilitarian

view of the environment and shared ideas about the functions that settlers could and

should play in the national political economy. Furthermore, each saw the importance of a

central authority, for Hincks the colonial state while for Buller it was the imperial state,

using a system of taxation to finance and direct public works that would have larger (i.e.,

not local) implications. Finally, both stressed the necessary interconnectedness of

settlers, public works, and the improvement of wild lands. The one significant difference

lay in the idea that Hincks favoured free grants while Buller, like his ally Edward

Wakefield, believed that immigrants should have to purchase their lots. As well, the

Hincks memorandum certainly reaffirmed Lord Sydenham's insistence, made both

privately in correspondence with a friend and very publicly in his 1841 Speech from the

Throne, that immigrants should be put to work on public works projects, that they should

be given an opportunity to earn some much-needed income rather than directed

automatically to the towns to work as general labourers or servants.[70]

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[68] *Durham Report*, vol. III, 126.

[69] *Durham Report*, vol. III, 115.

[70] "There exists within the Province," Sydenham said in this speech, "no means so certain of producing a healthy flow of Immigration from the Mother Country and of ultimately establishing the Immigrant as a settler and proprietor within the colony, as the power of affording sure employment for his labour on his first arrival." *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, vol.1, 15

As we shall see, the colonization project that evolved in the Ottawa-Huron Tract followed many of the suggestions made by Buller, but perhaps most important here is to recognize how the imperial context shaped the "Canadian" expression of colonization as it appeared in Hincks' memorandum. Too often, historians have downplayed or outright ignored Canada's place as a colony in the Empire.[71] Yet it was through this connection that many of Canada's political leaders learned to speak, and through which the meanings of such value-laden concepts such as 'colonization' were introduced into Canadian political discourse.

This is not to suggest that the flow of influence was simply metropole to colony. In the example of colonization, for example, Wakefield's reliance on Robert Gourlay's *Statistical Account of Upper Canada* was instrumental in framing his own theory.[72] As well, it was from the Canadas and the United States that Wakefield derived many of the facts that, he claimed, legitimated his schemes. Yet the discourse of systematic colonization was made truthful and therefore politically valuable because it became the policy of the Colonial Office in London, and, through the machinations of political inquiries, committees, and the press, the cornerstone of discussion and debate about the value of colonies. Even as the details evolved, and the specifics of Wakefield's scheme were cast aside for the Canadas, such a process occurred without questioning the logic and legitimacy of systematic colonization: combining the management of emigration,

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June 1841, 15. See also his "Letter From Sydenham to a Friend," in *Select Documents on British Colonial Policy 1830-1860* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), 219, written a year earlier than the speech.

[71] Philip Buckner. "Whatever happened to the British Empire?" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada*, New Series / Nouvelle série, Vol. 4 (1993), 3-32; Ajzenstat and Smith. *Canada's Origins: Liberal, Tory, or Republican?*

settlement, and public works would produce a definable citizenry and territory for both

the colony and the Empire.[73]

Colonization in the Ottawa-Huron Tract (II)

While the larger political and discursive context from which Hincks'

memorandum emerged triggered events and processes that gave the colonization project

of the Ottawa-Huron Tract its form, it also had a larger and longer influence on the

emergence of a transcontinental policy.[74] This was certainly the opinion of

colonization's chief bureaucrat, William Hutton (1801-1861). Writing in 1857 of his

superior at the Department of Agriculture, P. M. Vankoughnet, Hutton said:

> The Chief of the Dep't is determined to follow up on his
> colonization schemes with a spirit and I feel assured that his is
> the true plan to promote the welfare of the Colony. The making
> of the Railroad has paved the way for him and the immense
> extent of Roads which this Dep't is making into the heart of the
> forest in all directions will be a good seconder to the Railroad
> influences and will make Canada a splendid country. The
> improvements will be followed up by an Ottawa Canal and
> possibly in a few years a Railway to the Pacific. Mr. Hincks was
> the statesman that first set the ball rolling by his Grand Trunk
> Policy and the Honourable Mr. Vankoughnet appears to be
> specially pointed out as an able coadjutor.[75]

Hincks may have been the "statesman that first set the ball rolling" but it was the

bureaucratic state and agents such as William Hutton which gave colonization its form.

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[72] Robert Gourlay, *Statistical Account of Upper Canada* (London: Simpkin, 1822). Neill, *A History of Canadian Economic Thought*, 9-15 makes this connection.

[73] Corrigan and Sayer, *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution*, 114-165 provides an explanation of why such a discourse had currency within the context of the English state.

[74] The very last sentence in Michael Piva's *The Borrowing Process*, reads: "With a few revisions in details his [Hincks'] 'Memorandum' of December 1848 could serve again [following Confederation in 1867] as a guide for Canadian economic and financial policy." (220)

Responding to the combined elements of immigration, settlement, and public works, so prominent in the discourse of systematic colonization, the state system produced an administrative network of offices and agents, one that was intended not only to introduce colonization policy but to exercise very activist and interventionist governance.

As reflected in Figure 2.2, the administrative structure of colonization may best be described as byzantine and it is little wonder that some participants complained about the lack of coordinated efforts. Given the shared emphasis on land and population it is not surprising that both the Bureau of Agriculture and the Crown Lands Department shared responsibilities. They were assisted by the Geological Survey of Canada, especially its director William Logan (1798-1875) and his assistant Alexander Murray. This assistance was principally in the early stages when the territory was explored and mapped and then declared "open" for agricultural settlement.[76] Of more direct relevance to the administration of land, however, were the efforts of the Surveying Branch of the Crown Lands Department whose surveyors not only laid out the property lines and township grids but were also asked to evaluate the potential of these lands.[77] Dealing with the land and settlers on an everyday basis, however, was the duty of the local Crown Land agents who allocated the free grants and managed the sale of other lots, and also dealt with various problems involving settlers. The local agents of the Timber Office of the Crown

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[75] NAC, RG 17, A-I-2, vol.1490, 665-666, Hutton to C.P. Roney.

[76] See, for example, Alexander Murray's report to Logan excerpted in Florence Murray, ed., *Muskoka and Haliburton 1615-1875: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 156-157.

[77] John L. Ladell, *They Left Their Mark: Surveyors and Their Role in the Settlement of Ontario* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1993), provides a comprehensive description of this process from the late-eighteenth century through the twentieth.

Lands Department were also key components of the administration of colonization, as they were to regulate the regional economy, especially as it pertained to the building, maintenance, and settlement of colonization roads. The timber agents were also important for mediating disputes over timber limits and trying to prevent illegal clearing practices. As for the movement of immigrants into the region, the Chief Emigrant Agent at Quebec City. A.C. Buchanan (1808-1868), and the in-land emigrant agents located at Toronto. Hamilton, Kingston, Montreal, and Ottawa were key officials.[78] They not only offered advice and guidance for new arrivals but, with the important help of the translators, they also made great efforts to direct the flow of migrants into situations of permanent settlement in the region.

The Bureau of Agriculture acted as a fulcrum around which the administration of colonization unfolded. The key administrator was certainly William Hutton, the department's Secretary and cousin of Francis Hincks. Hutton was brought into Agriculture in 1853 with the intention of making the office run more efficiently, with a particular focus on the issue of immigration, which was by the early 1850s administered within the Canadian state independent from imperial oversight in Britain. Such a pairing was hardly incidental. As an Irish Protestant immigrant who had been a great advocate of British emigration to Canada, Hutton had already published a well-known and well-regarded report of the province's agricultural potential in 1835 and had recently undergone a tour in his native Ireland promoting the value of emigration to the province.

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[78] These in-land agents were hardly anonymous actors. A.B. Hawke, the agent at Toronto, wielded considerable influence among the emigration department and with Conservative politicians, although by the time he was sent to Liverpool in 1859 as a permanent agent there this departmental influence was waning. Francis Clemow, the agent at Ottawa, and a later Senator, was an important powerbroker in the city and the Upper Ottawa Valley.

Furthermore, as a Unitarian, gentleman farmer, school inspector, justice of the peace, and experienced office administrator, Hutton offered the perfect image of middle-class seriousness and sobriety.[79] His experience and background thus made him an ideal administrator for the office, especially the new responsibilities that were to come from the colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract.

Hutton's commitment to colonization was certainly deep, and he seems to have shirked his other duties, such as the production of the annual Blue Books, in order to focus his energies.[80] Hutton's involvement and direction of every facet of colonization – exploration, surveying, promotion, settlement, and evaluation – are captured in the departmental records of Agriculture and Crown Lands and reveal a man trying to coordinate diverse agents and personalities.[81] His principal correspondents were A.C. Buchanan, A.J. Russell (1807-1873) of the crown timber office in Bytown (Ottawa), politicians and cabinet ministers, and local agents from all departments. This was along with preparing replies to countless petitions from local inhabitants as well as to inquiries from within and without the province about the free grant system. His place in the

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[79] See Gerald E. Boyce, *Hutton of Hastings: The Life and Letters of William Hutton, 1801-1861* (Belleville, 1972); the entry on Hutton by Wesley Turner in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. IX, 404-405; Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters* (Toronto and Belfast: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 53-63.

[80] Curtis, "The Canada 'Blue Books'," 551-557.

[81] The principal collection is NAC, RG 17, vol. 1490 which is the letterbook that covers the outgoing correspondence from the Bureau. However, since responsibility for the colonization roads was transferred to the Crown Lands Department in 1862, after being taken from them in 1853, Hutton appears in RG 1, the Crown Land Department Records and in RG 52, the Colonization Roads Branch Records in the Archives of Ontario. The provenance of these records give some idea of how significant Hutton was as an administrator and points out how colonization must be seen as a complex process of rule rather than as some monolithic public office.

administrative network combined with his enthusiasm for the task assigned to him was critical to the ways in which colonization emerged as a practice of rule and the ways in which these practices became represented in the colonization archive. Indeed, to understand how the administrative network of colonization worked, the historian must often begin with Hutton's office and then pursue various issues within the agency or department responsible for the execution of policy, the collection of data, and the preparation of reports.

Hutton's place in this network was also significant for the Ottawa-Huron Tract in particular. As reflected in his enthusiasm for his cousin Francis Hincks, a Reformer, and his boss, P.M. Vankoughnet, a Conservative, Hutton shared the transcontinental vision that by the 1850s was already permeating Canada West on all sides of the Legislature.[82] Further, he identified Ottawa and the Upper Ottawa Valley as key sites for this expansion. Hutton expressed this point in a letter to his wife in 1855, wherein he believed that Ottawa would win the seat of government because the town was then central to all that was happening and would happen. He pointed out that there was "an application before the House for a charter for a R&R from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean which would come out at near Vancouver's Island which abounds in Coal and belongs to England – Bytown would be on the direct route to the seaboard from ocean to ocean and about halfway perhaps – Before many years thro' Canada will be the route to China."[83] Furthermore, Hutton had no doubts about the immense natural wealth that was

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[82] Doug Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

[83] NAC, MG 30, E 96, vol.6, Hutton Family Correspondence 1855-1859, William Hutton to Fanny Hutton 25 March 1855.

stored in the region and that required only the 'right' settlers and institutions to support

the region's well-tested economy. "Along the entire length of the Ottawa and its

numerous tributaries," he told an Irish audience in 1854, "there are to be found the richest

possible lands in the most desirable situations."[84] Hutton also believed that the climate of

the region, while harsh, would improve with settlement and breed a stronger and more

moral community of settlers. Indeed, the climate made possible, he said, the rhythms of

the region's economy, one that benefited both the lumberman and the farmer.[85] Finally,

Hutton was well aware that William Logan and Alexander Murray of the Geological

Survey of Canada (GSC) and the land surveyor and newspaper publisher Robert Bell had

all explored the Ottawa-Huron Tract, mapped it, and declared its soils and resources ideal

for settlement.[86] While the activities of the provincial land surveyors will be dealt with

more systematically in a subsequent chapter, it is important to recognize that their

explorations, as well as those of the GSC, certainly framed the geographical imaginations

of policy managers like Hutton and added the needed legitimacy to policy proposals.[87]

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[84] Hutton, *Canada: Its Present Condition, Prospects, and Resources. Fully Described for the Information of Intending Emigrants* (London, 1855), 57. The original manuscript of Hutton's talk can be found in NAC, MG 30, E 96, vol. 6, Hutton Family – Miscellaneous 1842-1886.

[85] *Ibid.*, 4-8.

[86] This Robert Bell should not be confused with the geologist and surveyor Robert Bell who was also from eastern Ontario and who was a member of the Geological Survey of Canada, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century. These Bells were not related. See Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 84-86 and the entry on Robert Bell, the publisher, by Henri Pilon in the *Dictionary of Candian Biography (DCB)*, vol. X, 45-46. Bell was a rabid expansionist who used his platform as editor of the *Bytown Packet* (later *Ottawa Citizen*) to make his case for the importance of the region to the future greatness of Canada. His own land holdings and investment in local railway ventures were probably, however, as important in this regard as his nationalism.

[87] Zeller, *Inventing Canada*, 13-112.

The importance of these scientists and engineers was on display when the Bureau of Agriculture prepared a report in September of 1853 for the Executive Council. The 'report' was actually the first substantial bureaucratic argument for money to construct colonization roads in and across the Ottawa-Huron Tract, in effect the start of the colonization project as it involved all its constitutive elements. The report first promised that as projects of national importance, "[t]hese roads and the new rural districts connected with them might be made tributary to our rivers and railroads and contribute their share to the general prosperity." It highlighted in particular the advantages of the Upper Ottawa Valley by suggesting "four-fifths of this region is fit for cultivation" and that like the settlements in the Lower Ottawa Valley, settlers up river would benefit from "the markets afforded by the lumbering operations carried on in the surrounding country." Having established the credentials of this region, and the importance colonization would have for the further exploitation of critical timber revenues, the report called for a main line (the Opeongo Road) that would run from the Ottawa River to Lake Opeongo and from there through Muskoka to Georgian Bay. It cited the explorations and reports prepared by the newspaper publisher and surveyor Robert Bell who had originally explored the region in the late 1840s and surveyed an east-west route that was to be called, appropriately enough, Bell's Line and who had also, one year earlier, surveyed a possible route for the Opeongo Road.[88] (See Map 2.1)

Finally, the report then referred to Andrew Russell of the Crown Lands Department. Russell's expertise as a long-time land surveyor plus his loyal service to the

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[88] Bell's Report was submitted in 1848, and as late as 1857 he was being contacted about its conclusions. Excerpts from the report can be found in Murray, *Muskoka and Haliburton 1615-1875*, 146-149. See also AO, RG 52, V-b, Box 1, vol.1, Bell to Russell 8 June 1857.

crown as a colonial administrator were relied upon to make the recommendation as to who should supervise the road's survey and construction.[89] Thus while the request came from Agriculture, which would administer the building of the colonization roads, experts from the Crown Lands Department and the GSC provided the necessary knowledge and legitimacy to make the request more viable.[90] Given the widespread enthusiasm for the proposal in the legislature and in the public press. it is little wonder the report was approved in total.[91] With this, responsibility for colonization roads was transferred from the Crown Lands Department to Agriculture and thus the emergence of Agriculture, and Hutton in particular, as the central figure in the network of colonization.

The documentary record demonstrates how power in this network flowed.[92] (See Figure 2.2) The formation of the Bureau of Agriculture in 1852 already placed the emigration department under its watch, and Buchanan was a key ally of Hutton in trying to manage and reform policies and practices connected with immigration. This was especially true in the establishment of overseas agents, who were to sell Canada as a destination to would-be emigrants, as well as the participation of Canada at international

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[89] The person nominated (and later adopted) was the trained surveyor, and long-time radical, David Gibson, a one-time leader of the Upper Canadian Rebellion who had lived since in exile in New York State.

[90] NAC, RG 17. vol. 1490. 97-105 has a copy of this report.

[91] See, for example. the comments of William Lyon Mackenzie in *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada*. vol. XI. part II (1852). 1494.

[92] In the discussion that follows, Figure 2.2 will help orient readers through the barrage of names and duties that follows. This section's descriptions are based on the NAC. RG 17. vol. 1490. 1852-1862; AO. RG 1. F-I-8. Crown Timber Office, Ottawa, Letterbooks 1855-1859; AO, RG 1. A-I-7. vol. 14. env. 1. Ottawa and Opengo, 1853-1859, MS 892. reel 8; AO. RG 1. A-I-7. vol. 14. env. 2. Ottawa and Opeongo, 1860-1866, MS 892. reel 9; AO, RG 1, A-I-4, Commissioner's Letterbooks. MS 1939. reel 13: AO. RG 52. Series V-b, Box 1. vol. 1. indexed correspondence. 1853-1857: AO. RG 52. Series V-b. Box 1, vol. 2, correspondence 1858-1861.

fairs and exhibitions. It was also Buchanan who worked with Hutton to convince the Executive Council of the need for the preparation, publication, and widespread distribution of emigrant guides. Indeed, as we shall see, Buchanan shared with Hutton the belief that these guides were not just important for the promotion of Canada, but also filled an important moral and political need.

Within Canada, Buchanan was a major booster of colonization. When he inspected ships coming into Quebec, he used this capacity to distribute pamphlets and make known the existence in the Canadas of free grants available for immediate settlement. Buchanan also directed his German and Norwegian translators not only to sell the idea of free grants to prospective settlers when they arrived in Quebec but also, in some cases, to accompany them to their destinations. For the Upper Ottawa Valley, William Sinn, the German translator at Quebec was a frequent visitor and a man through whom German-speaking settlers sought to voice their problems and concerns to the state.

The final administrative element of this branch was the in-land immigration office. In Ottawa, this section was headed by a local power broker, and later Senator, Francis Clemow. This office was the place to which newcomers were to report and receive any assistance and direction as could be provided. Clemow enumerated new arrivals and in his annual reports transmitted the demographic profile of immigrants as well as their final destination.

Yet it was in the area of roads and settlement that the Bureau extended its authority. The superintendents assigned to build the roads, David Gibson and A.H. Sims, reported directly to Hutton until 1862, when the responsibility shifted back to the Crown Lands Department. Yet in the Upper Ottawa Valley in particular, these roads were also

subject to the supervision of A.J. Russell, in no small part because these roads were meant to buttress the agro-forestry market system of the region. As a result, Russell became a frequent correspondent of William Hutton and received directives from him in all matters connected to the roads – their construction, settlement, and maintenance. In fact, it was Russell who had to manage and report upon the money spent on the Opeongo Road, the key east-west artery that was to serve as a baseline for all of the major colonization roads. While he reported to his brother Andrew at the Department of Crown Lands in his role as Timber Agent, he also used that knowledge to inform William Hutton. Hutton, we shall see, was able to use Russell's reports on the timber industry to refute claims by angry lumbermen that colonization was hurting their business practice, and, in A.J. Russell, Hutton had an ally as committed to the importance of this project as he was.

Finally, the local Crown Land Agents assigned to the colonization roads were responsible directly to Hutton but also to the Crown Lands Department. In the Upper Ottawa Valley, this figure was T.P. French, who applied for and received responsibility for the Opeongo Road. Yet French maintained a connection to the Crown Lands Department because he also dealt with other, for-sale crown lands in South Renfrew county. There was much overlap in this area, and confusion as the annual reports of both the Crown Lands Department and the Bureau of Agriculture often published the same reports from the Colonization Road Agents. Furthermore, when French had a problem, he appealed to both Andrew Russell at Crown Lands and to William Hutton at Agriculture depending on the specific nature of his inquiry. Fortunately for French, Hutton enjoyed a very cordial relationship with his counterpart at the Crown Lands

Department, Andrew Russell and while this relationship did not translate into a more
efficient coordination it did reduce interdepartmental squabbling.

Also reflecting the interconnectedness of Crown Lands and Agriculture in this
network was the fact that P.M. Vankoughnet was Minister of each. He began in
Agriculture, as president of the Executive Council, in 1856 and then switched from there
to Crown Lands in 1858 where he stayed until 1862. These offices provided
Vankoughnet with the ideal vantage point to pursue his own expansionist dreams. As
W.L. Morton points out, Vankoughnet became the first elected statesman to argue openly
for expansion to the Northwest and an end to the vast holdings of the Hudson's Bay
Company.[93] It is little wonder that William Hutton in 1857 would speak so fondly of
Vankoughnet, seeing him as the man who would translate Francis Hincks' Grand Trunk
Policy into a project of expansionism. More than hyperbole, the letter books of both
departments provide many examples of Vankoughnet personally directing elements of the
colonization scheme, especially with respect to the question of immigration. In this
regard, he was an ideal political patron for colonization.

This administrative network was predicated on both the system of governance that
had been introduced in 1841 with the Union of the Canadas as well as the discourse of
systematic colonization that Francis Hincks had called upon to push forward his plan to
get Canada out of its financial, demographic, and economic crises. It was the discourse
of systematic colonization that pulled together questions of population, territory, and
public works. This is what made possible the concentration of power in the hands of one

office. It also endowed this office with tremendous political capital. Hutton was able to

shirk his other duties, to request and receive money, and direct agents located outside his

normal departmental purview because of the significance and value invested in his

project. Hutton was engaged in nothing less than the serious business of state-building,

and, given the larger context of expansionism by the 1850s, it is little wonder Hutton

attained tremendous bureaucratic resources to make that happen.

The practices of agents in each branch of this network involved issues of

inspection, surveillance, and observation that were endemic to practices throughout the

state. Governance as it emerged through the project of colonization created numerous

spaces through which the abstract 'state' became a more intimate part of people's

everyday lives. This tightening relationship occurred through institutions, such as the

local Crown Land or in-land immigrant agencies, and in those moments when agents

ventured into the backwoods to evaluate colonization's progress. In this regard, these

agents were fulfilling a function similar in intent to those of custom and excise agent, the

postmaster, the school inspector, the justice of the peace, and several others. And just

like these other officials, the local agents of colonization produced reams of

correspondence, reports, maps, and statistics which they deposited into a central office.

Indeed, the by-product and ultimate legacy of colonization's structure and

mandate was the formation of an identifiable and powerful archive of colonization whose

broad, aggregate strokes hid the complexity and unevenness of its details. The archive

created and made intelligible a local world in the Ottawa-Huron Tract that legislators and

the majority of the public never saw, but in which they invested an enormous amount of

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[9] W.L. Morton, *The Critical Years: The Union of British North America, 1857-1873* (Toronto:

money, time, and hope. For those people and places who were this local world's subjects, this representation made little room for their voice and their own experiences and identities. In all of this, though, the colonization project of the Ottawa-Huron Tract was hardly unique. Not only were all sectors of the Canadian state operating in this manner, but such practice was central to modern states in France, Germany, and Britain and in their imperial governments in North Africa, the Far East, and India. As we begin to unpack the colonization archive in subsequent chapters we will draw comparisons and contrasts to these other places not just to make sense of what was happening at that time, but to begin assessing some of the legacies bequeathed to later generations by the emergence of the modern, Canadian gardener state.

McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1964), 31.

Figure 2.1

Source: J.E. Hodgetts. *Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of the United Canadas. 1841-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1955)

CHRONOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE of PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS. 1841-1867

Map 2.1:

Colonization Roads in Ontario
Between Lake Simcoe and the Ottawa River

BASED ON
THE 1872 REPORT of THE
COMMISSIONER of CROWN LANDS
Drawn by — A.W. Hudson

Figure 2.2

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Colonization Network, Ottawa-Huron Tract, 1854-1862

Chief Emigration Agent

A.C. Buchanan (Chief) – Quebec City
A.B. Hawke – Toronto
Interpreters / Doctors
In-land agents
Overseas Agents

Colonization Roads

A.J. Russell / A.B. Perry
David Gibson

[After 1862]

Timber Office (C.L.D.)
A.J. Russell – Bytown/Ottawa

Department of Agriculture
William Hutton (Secretary)

[P.M. Vankoughnet - Minister]

Crown Lands Department (C.L.D.)
Andrew Russell (Assistant Commissioner)

Provincial Land Surveyors

Local Road Agents (C.L.D.)

T.P. French
M.P. Hayes
Ebeneezer Perry
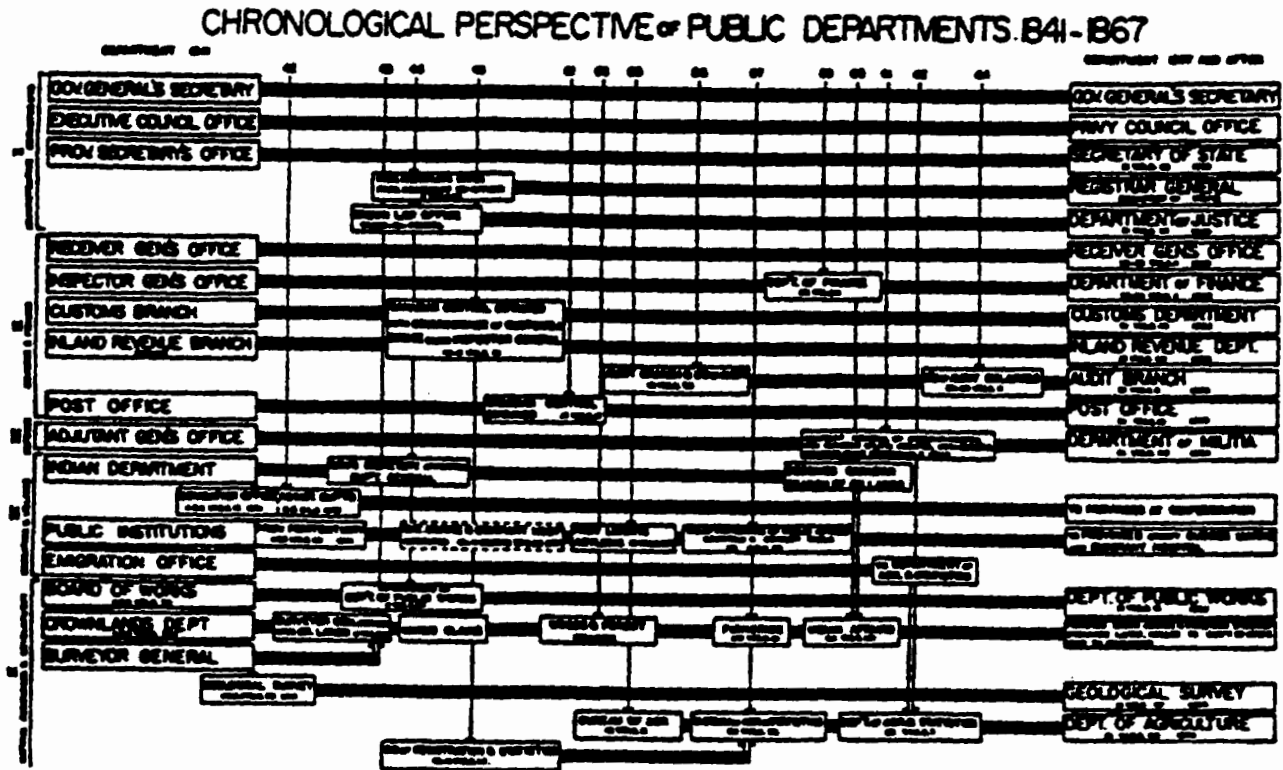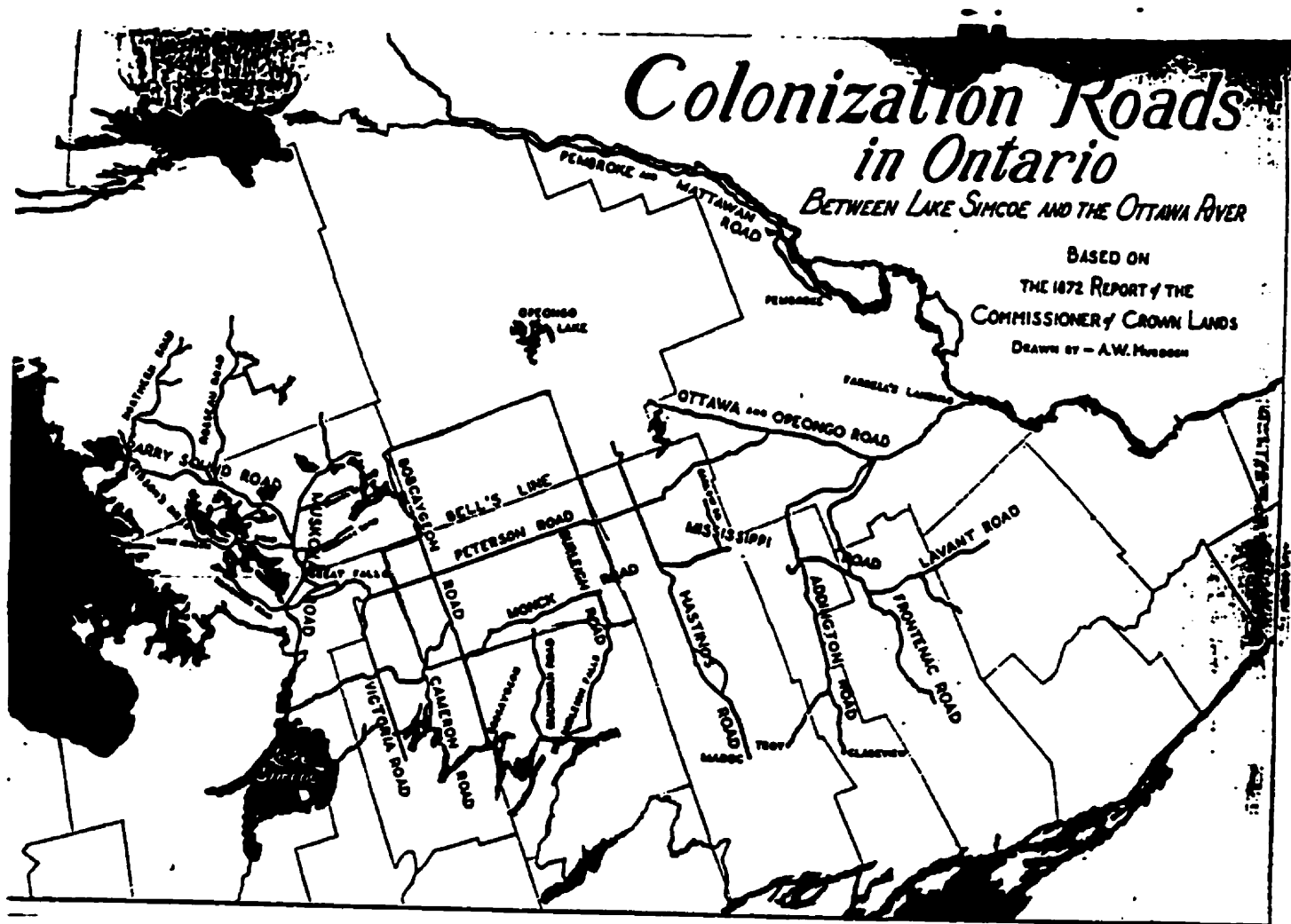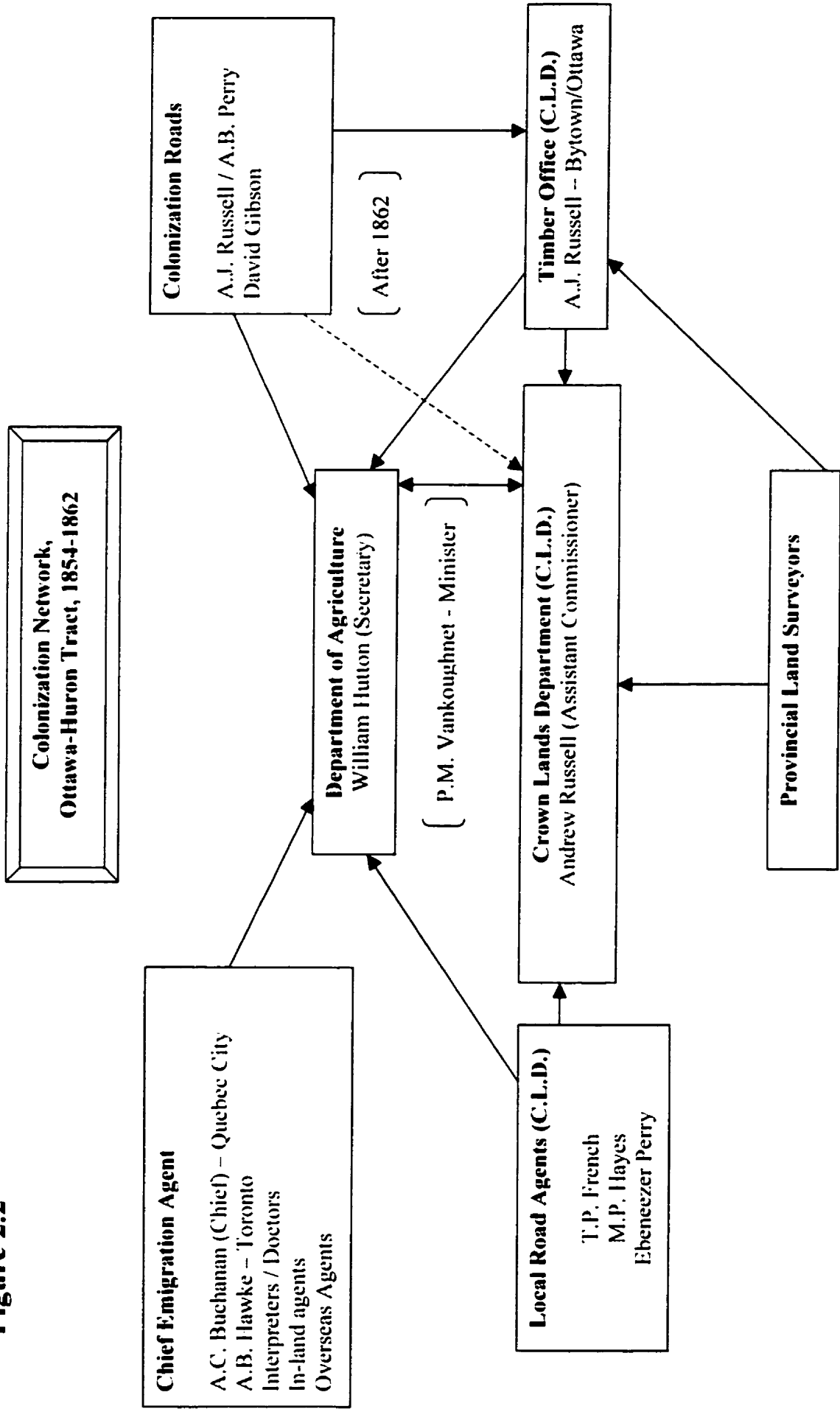
Part II   Governance, Experts, and Defining Colonization

The previous two chapters have established the methodological. conceptual. and

contextual frameworks that define the scope of inquiry in this thesis. Our task is to

understand better how the early-Canadian state worked. and how its practices resonated

in the political. social. cultural. and environmental histories in which it was embedded.

We have adopted Zygmunt Bauman's metaphor of the "gardener state" to capture the

active character of this process. one that was common throughout the post-Enlightenment

imperial world but that had a more unique. hybrid identity in a "white" colony like the

Province of Canada. We have also argued that the colonization project directed towards

the Ottawa-Huron Tract in the middle decades of the nineteenth century presents us with

an opportunity to examine the complexities of state formation. especially the critical

power relationships that were produced by colonization's politicization of both

population and territory.

This section explores the state's construction of the expected results of

colonization. Not surprisingly. these expectations were tied to the land and to the

population whose task it was to maximize its potential. Chapter 3 focuses on the

formation of a new "scientific" understanding of the Ottawa-Huron Tract and the state's

invention of a new spatial identity for it. Together. the state and science provided the

language and legitimacy to establish the Ottawa-Huron Tract as a theoretical space (or

"field") whose colonization was in the national interest. Chapters 4 and 5 sketch out how

the state sought to define a population of "actual settlers" who would then carry out the

task of completing the transformation of the region from. in their words. an empty. desert.

wilderness into a thriving region of culture and economy.

In all three of these chapters. we will see how the gardening impulses of the early-Canadian state-in-formation sought to know and simplify the world around it in order to rule both its present condition and its future development. In combination with the first two chapters of this thesis. Part II provides us with the necessary analytical tools to study colonization's shift from a state strategy to a state practice. a challenge we shall pick up in Part III.

Chapter 3

Geography and Citizenship:
The Invention of the Ottawa-Huron Tract as a Field for Colonization

Colonization. as Cole Harris has recently reminded us. is fundamentally ¨about the control of land: land use itself defined new rights. exclusions. and patterns of dominance: and strategies for the effective control of land operationalized colonial rhetorics and discourses.¨[1] To ensure its place in these contests for control of the land. the state had to assert and normalize its legitimate presence in the region by making its soils. waters. trees. minerals. and wildlife (and their consumption) subject to its governance. In the Ottawa-Huron Tract. this process was aided by the fact that the ¨negotiation¨ of Robinson's Treaty in 1850 ceded to the state the eastern and northern shores of Lake Huron. This meant that the entire Ottawa-Huron Tract now comprised ˙Crown Lands˙ with some pockets of private holdings by lumbermen and. in the east along the Ottawa River. by title-holding settlers. Yet the state was little more than an absentee landlord: it owned these lands but did little for them except collect rents and duties from lumbermen. Colonization was intended to change this policy of laissez-faire ownership dramatically.

To effect change and instill governance the modern state required knowledge. something in short supply with respect to the political management of the geography of the Ottawa-Huron Tract. As late as the summer of 1856. the chief administrator of

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[1] R. Cole Harris. *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: UBC Press. 1997). 185.

colonization. William Hutton, expressed concern about the lack of specific geographical knowledge readily available on the region. He told a correspondent that he had maps of the region provided by Andrew Russell of the Crown Lands Department, so that he could "therefore form some idea of the general character of the land." But Hutton was dissatisfied. "[I]f we could get more particular information," he wrote, "as to a few of these 23 Townships and select as we could safely recommend for settlement it would be a legitimate way of leading to a knowledge of more of them."[2] Hutton wrote these words only three years after telling the Executive Council that they should finance colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract because an "estimated four-fifths of this region is fit for cultivation."[3] Neither in 1853 nor in 1856 did Hutton know what the Ottawa-Huron Tract 'really' was. Nor would he in his lifetime.

This ignorance did not stop colonization from beginning. Between the late 1840s and the early 1860s, the state unleashed a massive campaign of scientific exploration to make this region better known and, in 1861, shortly after Hutton's death, the first great "official" geography on the Ottawa-Huron Tract appeared. Produced under the direction of the highly-respected Thomas Devine, Provincial Land Surveyor (P.L.S.), this geography took the form of a large map drawn at a generous scale showing newly surveyed (i.e. post-1850) and older townships, lots and concession lines, as well as colonization roads. The map was accompanied by published excerpts of ethnographical description provided by surveyors who had explored and mapped the region. One could therefore look at the map, choose a particular township, and then look up its description

[2] NAC, RG 17, A.1.2 (hereafter *Ministry of Agriculture Letterbook*), vol. 1490, 556, Hutton to T.P. French, 07 July 1856. Emphasis in original.

[3] *Ibid.*, 101, Report to the Executive Council, 12 September 1853.

in the accompanying text. This form of geographical representation was not new. but the sophistication and systematization with which it was done by Devine surpassed earlier efforts such as that depicted in *Smith's Canadian Gazetteer* in 1846.[4]

The "official" geography was a monument to the state's efforts not only to make the region better known but also to bring a sense of spatial order to the Ottawa-Huron Tract. It was published. significantly. as part of the annual report prepared by the Crown Lands Department. beginning in 1861 and continuing in 1862 and 1863 as surveyors continued to "fill in" the "emptiness" on the map.[5] Its appearance was the culmination of more than a decade of work by the department's surveyors. and the department's central offices had managed and organized both the fieldwork and the process by which the surveyors saw their work built up into an aggregate. "big picture" of the region. While Hutton was unfortunately dead by then. the geographical knowledge he desired to make settlement "legitimate" was now in place. With the measuring and marking of property lines and township boundaries. and the existence of scientific geographical descriptions. the Ottawa-Huron Tract could be displayed and identified as a place prepared to receive settlers and build civic communities.

This development was critical for the state and the political legitimacy of its project. Since 1855. in a series of parliamentary inquiries. lumbermen had challenged the logic and necessity of widespread agricultural settlement in the Ottawa-Huron Tract. They believed that the state was defying "the line...as nature has laid it down" between

[4] W.H. Smith. *Smith's Canadian Gazetteer...with a map of the Upper Province* (Toronto: H. & W. Roswell. 1846).

[5] *JLAC*. 1861. Sessional Paper 15. Appendix 36: *JLAC*. 1862. Sessional Paper 11. Appendix 26: *JLAC*. 1863. Sessional Paper 5.

timber lands and farming lands.[6] Scientific geographical exploration and writing, we

shall see. would become essential to the state's refutation of the powerful lumbermen.[7]

Responding to the challenges of the lumbermen through the published proceedings of

various parliamentary hearings also provided an opportunity for the state to articulate a

new "grammar" of nascent Canadian nationalism. one that situated the Ottawa-Huron

Tract's regional identity within the dynamics of a North Atlantic economy. the lifeblood

(then and now) of Canada's seemingly perennial "great future."[8]

Historians. geographers. anthropologists, and sociologists are building an exciting

body of scholarly literature on the related themes of imperialism. colonialism. and

governance. Among other things. their research is making clear how important

geographical knowledge was. and still is. to the territorial ambitions of nation-states. both

in overseas colonies and in regions located closer to home.[9] In this regard. one of the

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[6] James H. Burke's testimony in "Report of the Select Committee Appointed to Examine and Report Upon the Present System of Management of the Public Lands." *JLAC*. 1855. Appendix M.M.. (hereafter *Report on Public Lands*). While a Crown Timber agent. Burke was a strongly ally of the lumbermen.

[7] The early chapters of H.V. Nelles. *The Politics of Development: Forests. Mines & Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario. 1849-1941* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada. 1974) explore the state's relationship with the lumber industry. Nelles is right to describe the lumbermen as "tenants of the state" (17) but he is equally careful to point out that this relationship did not preclude them from forming a powerful interest group. and the activity of John Egan as a Member of Parliament was essential in this regard. This relationship. and our understanding of it. is explored in the next chapter.

[8] The importance of print capitalism to the formation of a "grammar of nationalism" is a fundamental insight in Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* revised ed. (London: Verso. 1991). Sir Wilfrid Laurier's declaration on the twentieth century is probably the most famous example of the utopian imaginations of nation builders: even today such pronouncements generate a great deal of political capital.

[9] See. for example. *Cartographica*. special issue on "Cartography and Statecraft: Studies in Governmental Mapmaking in Modern Europe and its Colonies." vol. 35. nos. 3 and 4 (1998): Ann Godlewaska and Neil Smith. eds. *Geography and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell. 1994): David Hooson. ed. *Geography and National Identity* (Oxford: Blackwell. 1994): David N. Livingstone and Charles Withers. eds.. *Geography and Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

most interesting aspects of this work is the emphasis being placed on 'imagined

geographies'.[10]

While perhaps somewhat abstract. 'imagined geography' has much utility as an

organizing concept for historians who seek to examine the past through both time and

space. Working from Edward Said's notion of 'orientalism'. an 'imagined geography'

may be taken to mean.

> a discourse that is by no means in direct. corresponding
> relationship with political power in the raw. but rather is
> produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of
> power. shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political
> (as with a colonial or imperial establishment). power intellectual
> (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or
> anatomy. or any of the modern policy sciences). power cultural
> (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste. texts. values). power
> moral (as with ideas about what 'we' do and what 'they' cannot
> do or understand as 'we' do).[11]

Such a definition suggests that we use the concept of 'geography' to denote a discourse

rather than the material reality represented in this discourse. 'Imaginary' does not mean.

however. that this geography was not real: rather. it signifies the fact that this geography

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1999). Working from a slightly different perspective. see also Peter Sahlins. *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1989).

[10] See. for example. Mark Basasin. *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East. 1840-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1999): Matthew H. Edney. *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India. 1765-1843* (University of Chicago Press. 1997): Katherine G. Morriseey. *Mental Territories: Mapping the Inland Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997).

[11] Edward W. Said. *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books. 1979). 12. See also Said's *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1993). There is a small academic industry of books and articles that discuss Said's ideas about the politics of geography within the contexts of imperialism and colonization. I have found the critical appraisals by historical and cultural geographers to be the most useful. See. for example. Felix Driver. "Geography's empire: histories of geographical knowledge." *Environment and Planning D.* 10 (1992). 23-40: Derek Gregory. "Imaginative Geographies." *Progress in Human Geography.* 19 (1995). 447-485: Neil Smith and Anne Godlewska. "Introduction: Critical Histories of Geography." in Smith and Godlewska. eds.. *Geography and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. 1994). 1-8.

was essential to providing a picture of a region that most residents in the Province of Canada never visited except through an imaginative mental journey compiled from the maps and writings and speeches of those who did.[12] This use of ·geography· compels us to explore the larger processes that allowed this discourse to speak. to be made to seem truthful and accurate.[13] And this. I want to emphasize in this chapter. was largely made possible because of the processes connected with early-Canadian state formation.

Indeed. interested as he is in more pure ··cultural·· productions such as novels. art. and music. Edward Said·s formulations seem to skirt the significance of the state as not only a writer of imagined geographies but also state formation as a process of selection and legitimization of particular geographies.[14] As Bernard Cohn and Nicolas Dirks have suggested. modern states ··made their power visible not only through ritual performances and dramatic display. but through the gradual extension of ·officializing· procedures and routines. through the capacity to bound and mark space. to record such transactions as the sale of property. to count and classify their populations. .... and finally to become the natural embodiment of history. territory. and society.··[15] While the writing of an official. imagined geography on the Ottawa-Huron Tract lacked the literary flair of Joseph Conrad or Jane Austen. two favourites of Said. it was a profound expression of political and

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[12] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* revised ed. (London: Verso. 1991).

[13] See the example of this perspective in Suzanne Zeller. ··Classical codes: biogeographical assessments of environment in Victorian Canada.·· *Journal of Historical Geography*. 24 (1998). 20-35.

[14] James C. Scott. *Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998); Michel Foucault. ··Questions on Geography.·· in Colin Gordon. ed.. *Power / Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings. 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon. 1980). 63-77 is an important statement on power relationships and space.

cultural power by the state. Its very ordinariness and its appearance of being routine

allowed the state to write itself. literally and figuratively. into the landscapes of the

Ottawa-Huron Tract.

Also problematic in Said's theorization of 'orientalism' is that his reference to the

"reigning sciences" does not mention the importance of the physical sciences and

engineering. two related branches of "power intellectual" that scholars now see as having

been historically critical to both state formation and the formation of imagined

geographies.[16] These connections were particularly acute in the mid-nineteenth century

as a quantifying impulse had already emerged as perhaps the defining element of modern

governance. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the various practices and forms of

knowledge favoured by the state.

In particular. the cadastral land survey (the focus of much of this chapter) and the

population census had much in common as technologies of state power. Both sought to

translate the complexity of the real world into simplified displays of order and

understanding. and both were encyclopedic in their intent. form. and practice. Reflecting

a "mathematical cosmography" by using numbers and statistics to generate aggregate

wholes. and thus to identify trends and patterns. the survey and the census were both

intended to minimize the unknown and the unexpected by making the present and the

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[15] Bernard Cohn and Nicholas Dirks. "Beyond the Fringe: The Nation State. Colonialism. and the Technologies of Power." *Journal of Historical Sociology*. 1 (1988). 224.

[16] See Patrick Carroll. "Science. Power. Bodies: The Mobilization of Nature as State Formation." *Journal of Historical Sociology*. 9 (1996). 139-167: Anne Godlewska. *The Napoleonic Survey of Egypt. A Masterpiece of Cartographic Compilation and Early Nineteenth-Century Fieldwork*. vol. 25. *Cartographica Monograph*. 38-39 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1988).

future appear to be more predictable.[17] In form, the neat columns of the census were akin

to those in the state's property ledger. Each made management of people and places

appear far more systematic no matter how imperfect or abstract the representations

depicted in the survey or the census really were. In practice, both surveys and censuses

were the products of reconnaissance and mapping. The surveyor in the field and the

enumerator each collected the data while officials in the central office directed these

acquisitions and then assembled the data in a larger, single whole. What scholars have

begun to do with the population census, therefore, historians of state formation and

governance must also do with the survey; we must ask how and why it was made and

what purpose it served to those who made and used it.[18]

The relationship between imagined geographies and various forms of power

demands that we see these cultural / political productions as having very real effects on

the material reality of everyday life. More than an 'idea', an imagined geography

becomes a discourse of power when it is translated into policies and actions that

transcend their literal and interact with the very people and places which they purport to

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[17] Matthew H. Edney, "Mathematical Cosmography and the Social Ideology of British Cartography, 1780-1820," *Imago Mundi*, 48 (1994), 101-116.

[18] On the survey see Matthew H. Edney, "Reconsidering Enlightenment Geography and Map Making: Reconnaissance, Mapping, Archive," in Withers and Livingstone, eds., *Geography and Enlightenment*, 165-198 and Roger J.P. Kain and Elizabeth Baignet, *The Cadastral Map in the Service of the State: A History of Property Mapping* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). Bruce Curtis, "On the local construction of statistical knowledge: Making up the 1861 census of the Canadas," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 7 (1994), 416-434 and "Expert Knowledge and the Social Imaginary: The Case of the Montreal Check Census," *Histoire Sociale / Social History*, 28 (1995), 313-332. My own understanding of the census and the role of statistics owes much to: Bernard Cohn, "The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia," in his *An Anthropologist Among the Historians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Ian Hacking, *The Taming of Chance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Theodore M. Porter, *Trust in Numbers: The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

When we see which voices were allowed to speak (and those who were not) in the construction of an imagined geography. we see how identities can be either written out into or out of the landscape .

Voice and Identity: The Ottawa-Huron Tract as a Frontier Geography

Despite the British army's preliminary explorations of the area after the War of 1812. by the late 1840s the Ottawa-Huron Tract still appeared as an empty space on contemporary maps. its geography known by commercial reputation (the pine-rich forests) and explorer legend (the Ottawa River and its tributaries) but not by science. Such ignorance was of much concern to William Logan. the first director of the Geological Survey of Canada (GSC) and he personally undertook an exploration of the region in the early years of his mandate. Still. as late as 1852. the editors of the *Canadian Journal of Science. Industry. and Art* told their readers that they hoped to make available "a statistical sketch of the 'Ottawa country'" because "comparatively little is known of that most interesting section of the country." [19] Similarly. the renowned civil engineer. Thomas Keefer told an audience in 1854 that he had chosen to speak about the Upper Ottawa area "more on account for its obscurity than for its prominence – a district of which I will venture to say Canadians. generally. know less than of many foreign countries. – one which few have ever seen. and which very few have examined."[20]

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[19] *Canadian Journal.* 2 (September. 1852). 46.

[20] Thomas C. Keefer. *"Montreal" and "The Ottawa": Two Lectures Delivered Before the Mechanics Institute of Montreal. in January of 1853 and 1854* (Montreal: John Lovell. 1854). 33.

Of course these discussions of the region as "unknown" or as "one which few

have ever seen" ignored aboriginal peoples living in the Ottawa-Huron Tract who held a

vast knowledge of the region. geographical. historical. and spiritual. For them. the region

was both home and passageway. a means to an end as well as an end itself.[21] Their

expertise was certainly seized upon by the first white explorers in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries. such as Samuel de Champlain. who relied completely on aboriginal

peoples and aboriginal geographical knowledge and mimicked the travelling routes and

strategies of these peoples through the complex networks of rivers. streams. and lakes

that constitute the Ottawa River watershed. Little changed over the next 150 years as

native peoples and their local knowledge were used by white travelers and tourists as

guides right up to World War II.[22] Besides their work as guides. aboriginal peoples and

their knowledge also played a significant role for those working in the region. An 1871

pamphlet. explaining how the lumber trade worked in the region. described the valuable

role played by natives as follows: "Having secured the [timber] limit. the next step is to

dispatch a party of experienced scouts. generally Indians or half-breeds. to examine the

land and seek out groves of valuable timber. The skill of these self-taught surveyors is

sometimes very remarkable....They often sketch the surface of the country. showing the

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[21] Peter Hessell. *The Algonkin Tribe* (Arnprior: Kichesippi Books. 1987) is a helpful point of departure as is F.G. Speck. *Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian* [sic] *Bands of the Ottawa Valley* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau. 1915). See also Chad Gaffield. ed.. *Histoire de l'Outaouais* (Laval: Les Presses de l'Université de Laval. 1994) and Lorne Hammond. "Capital. Labour. and Lumber in A.R.M. Lower's Woodyard: James MacLaren and the Changing Forest Economy. 1850-1906." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Ottawa. 1993).

[22] Robert Legget. *Ottawa Waterway: Gateway to a Cont·   · ·onto: University of Toronto Press. 1975). chapters 3 and 4. offers a number of examples. ᵣatricia Jasen. *Wild Things: Nature. Culture. and Tourism in Ontario. 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1995). 118-119.

position of its streams and lakes. its groves of timber. and it mountainous or level

appearance. with a skill and accuracy which is truly marvelous."[23]

While clearly vital. in the mid-nineteenth century the knowledge provided by

aboriginal peoples was considered little more than raw data that required careful handling

and interpretation by geographical scientists such as those of the GSC. land survey. and

civil engineering. Native informants. guides. and scouts were admired for their

usefulness by white scientists who wrote about the Ottawa-Huron Tract. but their place in

these geographies was instead as a part of the very wilderness that made this region so

remote. different. and *unknown* to those in the older settled areas of the province. As a

result. knowledge provided by aboriginal peoples was reframed by scientific

investigations and the demands of a burgeoning staples economy tied to the forests. At

no time would aboriginal guides and scouts be considered to be experts on the region and

allowed to speak about its identity in the 'official' geographies produced by the state.

Indeed. while their work and knowledge was so important. their actual voices were

silenced.[24]

Also largely silenced were the early white residents of the region. who were

thought to constitute a population of savage-like peoples. for whom many in the

metropolitan areas of Old Ontario had little regard. This disdain was brought into acute

focus in the late 1850s. when Queen Victoria chose Ottawa (Bytown) as the permanent

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[23] *The Lumber Trade of the Ottawa Valley with a description of some of the principal manufacturing establishments*. 2nd ed (Ottawa: Time Steam Printing and Publishing Company. 1871). 16-17.

[24] On the connections between aboriginal and non-aboriginal practices. and their rejection by non-aboriginal culture (and. one might add. historical understanding). see Gerald Friesen. *Citizens and Nation: An Essay on History. Communication. and Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2000). especially chapters 1-3.

capital of the Province of Canada over Quebec City. Montreal. Kingston. and Toronto.

The Toronto *Globe*. for example. pointed out that there was a "very different" proportion

of Roman Catholics in Ottawa as opposed to other places in Upper Canada. and that this

population was "even less enlightened and progressive than the census returns indicate.

A lumbering country never possesses either an educated or an orderly people. and

although large parts of the Ottawa district are now agricultural in their character. the

population are still affected by the circumstances of the early settlement."[25] Similarly.

the *Paris Star* argued that "the social and moral influence of the [Ottawa] district are as

objectionable as those which cluster around that ancient city: and although just within

the boundary of Upper Canada. it is practically further removed from the people. and

more repugnant to the feelings of the western Province than Montreal. Three Rivers or

Stantead."[26] Even the *Ottawa Gazette* could speak of its hinterland in the Upper Ottawa

area as having a population "too much like a pack of well-trained hounds. once set on the

scent they pursue the game in full cry. without taking the trouble to look either on one

side or the other of their path. to think of the danger that may lurk ahead." Such

observations provided the grist for the editor of the *Globe*. George Brown. to remark:

"Such a place for a metropolis was never selected by sane men."[27] More than resentment

over being passed-over as host city. the vitriol expressed by the *Globe* reflected the belief

that this region was not of Upper Canada. that it was a place away and distinct from the

concerns. interests. and moral sensibilities of those in Old Ontario.

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[25] *The Daily Globe*. 28 January 1858.

[26] Not surprisingly. this was picked up in *The Daily Globe*. 06 February 1858.

[27] *The Daily Globe*. 15 February 1858.

The low regard held for people living in the region. the opposition of lumbermen to increased settlement. and the general 'otherness' that defined the Ottawa-Huron Tract in relation to the older settled areas in the south, required much effort from the state for it to legitimize the colonization of this region. Little wonder, then. that so much time and effort should be directed to remaking its geography. if not its population. as a place of much concern and interest to the province. To achieve this reinvention of the region's identity. the state had to reorient the geographical imaginations of those in Canada for whom the Ottawa-Huron Tract was little more than a frontier of lumbermen. squatters. and Indians living in some anarchic. chaotic, and degenerative wilderness. The practice and language of the geographical sciences would provide the state with the necessary tools for this process. In turn. the state would create a group of official geographical experts who would be given the opportunity and political and cultural legitimacy to define what the Ottawa-Huron Tract 'really' was.

As Doug Owram and Suzanne Zeller have demonstrated. imagined geographies built upon a foundation of scientific geographical knowledge were an essential element of a burgeoning commercial. middle-class culture in mid-Victorian Canada West for whom expansion and nation-building defined Canada's destiny.[28] Not surprisingly. this 'public' took interest in what the state and its scientists were discovering in their surveys and explorations. In the city of Bytown. for example. the expansionist *Packet* (later the

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[28] Owram. *Promise of Eden* and Suzanne Zeller. *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of the Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1987). See also Zeller's "Nature's Gullivers and Crusoes: The Scientific Exploration of British North America. 1800-1870." in John L. Allen, ed., *North American Exploration*. vol. 3: *A Continent Comprehended* (Lincoln. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1997). 190-243. The pioneering work of Morris Zaslow should not be discounted in this regard. See his *The Opening of the Canadian North. 1870-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1971). Mark

Citizen) newspaper took the time to explain to its readers the significance of Logan's survey of the Upper Ottawa River. especially what it meant to the future growth and prosperity of the vast hinterland that lay to the northwest of the city.[29] For their part. the scientists and surveyors were enthusiastic participants in this larger political and cultural movement. and William Logan was especially acute at interpreting his scientific discoveries within nationalist themes.[30]

This rendezvous of science. culture. and geographic knowledge was made possible. however. by the formation and practices of a modern bureaucratic state and with a project of colonization this intersection was especially acute. The state called upon its geographical experts not only to provide the necessary knowledge about the region's landscapes and resources. but also to prepare these landscapes for successful. permanent settlement. So important was the role of the geographical sciences to colonization that Thomas D'Arcy McGee could proclaim in 1862: "Fortunately for us who advocate the recruiting of a productive rather than destructive army. science with its hammer and its theodolite. has been for twenty years. at works in these wildernesses. Our living

Bassin. *Imperial Visions* describes a very similar set of conditions in Russia vis-à-vis the Amur River Valley in Siberia occurring at the same time.

[29] *Bytown Packet*. August-September. 1850. See also Zeller. *Inventing Canada*. 85-86.

[30] Zeller. *Inventing Canada*. 13-112. Logan was much like his British colleague. Sir Roderick Murchison. See Robert A. Stafford. *Scientist of empire: Sir Roderick Murchison. scientific exploration and Victorian imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1989). On land surveying in Canada West see John L. Ladell. *They Left Their Mark: Surveyors and Their Role in the Settlement of Ontario* (Toronto: Dundurn Press. 1993) and Don W. Thomson. *Men and Meridians: The History of Surveying and Mapping in Canada. volume 1: Prior to 1867* (Ottawa: Information Canada. 1966). 218-249.

geologists have exploded one fallacy – that the granite country between the Ottawa and Lake Huron could never sustain a numerous population...."[31]

As the quote from McGee reflects, surveying, exploring, mapping, evaluating, counting, and experiencing, all parts of the scientific process, were not done outside the political and cultural contexts which enveloped not only the individual expert in the field but that also privileged the scientist as 'expert' and the knowledge he created as 'truthful'.[32] McGee was referring to the figure of William Logan of the Geological Survey of Canada, who by 1862 had become, as he himself put it, an "oracle" of sorts,[33] but his comments were equally relevant to the work of provincial land surveyors, engineers, lumbermen, and even some state administrators, all of whom emerged as recognized experts on the geography of the Ottawa-Huron Tract.

One became identified as an 'expert' on the geography on the Ottawa-Huron Tract through three key criteria: professional training; experience of the region; and respectability. A professional training gave the expert the necessary intellectual capital. Such training inevitably had to include not just scholarly learning but also qualified membership in professional organizations. Time spent in the Tract provided the necessary local knowledge that, it was thought, allowed these experts to ground theory and general patterns in the particularities of the region. This gave the experts a form of experiential capital from which they could draw to justify their own qualifications to

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[31] Thomas D'Arcy McGee, *Emigration and Colonization in Canada: A Speech Delivered in the House of Assembly, Quebec, 25 April 1862* (Quebec: Hunter, Rose & Lemieux, 1862), 20. Emphasis added.

[32] On some of the historical issues involved with expertise in the modern bureaucratic state see Roy MacLeod, ed., *Government and Expertise: Specialists, administrators and professionals, 1860-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[33] Quoted in Zeller, *Inventing Canada*, 76.

speak not only about science and engineering in general but, more importantly, what science and engineering meant to the challenges and opportunities provided by the Ottawa-Huron Tract. Finally, respectability gave the expert the necessary moral capital and authority that complemented the intellectual. This respectability came from the position and title one held, 'engineer' or 'surveyor' for example, as well as the reputation that accompanied one's name. All of these criteria were of course embedded in one another, and equally important, embedded in larger socio-cultural values attached to race, social class, gender, ethnicity, and religion. Experts on the Ottawa-Huron Tract fit comfortably in the emerging bourgeois culture of the province, and whose combinations of physical prowess and intellectual manhood were easily reconcilable with the serious business of government and state-building.[34]

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[34] My discussion of how "experts" were identified is based on three main source groups. First, the hearings and reports of parliamentary committee inquiries that dealt with colonization and / or the region. Especially important were: "Report of the Select Committee on the Management of Public Lands," *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canda* (hereafter *JLAC*), 1855, Appendix M.M.; "Report of the Committee on Colonization," *JLAC*, 1860, Appendix 5; "Report of the Select Committee on the Ottawa Ship Canal," *JLAC*, 1863, Appendix 5; "Report of the Select Committee on the Timber Trade," *JLAC*, 1863, Appendix 8; "Report of the Committee on the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Territory," *JLAC*, 1864. Appendix 8. Second, I examined how particular experts, such as A.J. Russell (surveyor / chief of Crown Timber Office in Bytown), William Shanly (engineer), Thomas Devine (surveyor) were recognized in such works as Henry J. Morgan, *Sketches of celebrated Canadians and persons connected with Canada: from the earliest period in the history of the province down to the present time* (Montreal: R. Worthington, 1865) and *The Canadian Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men* (Toronto, Chicago, New York: American Biographical Publishing Company, 1880). The third key source for this paragraph was the representation of these experts that appeared in correspondence among the key administrators and agents of colonization. These were: NAC, RG 17, A-1-2, vols. 1490-1493, Ministry of Agriculture Letterbook; AO, RG 1, A-1-7, vol. 14, "Ottawa and Opeongo," 1853-1866; AO, RG 1, A-1-4, Commissioner's Letter Books, MS 1939, reel 13-14; AO, RG 52, V-b, Boxes 1, 2; AO, RG 52, 1-a, Boxes 1-42; AO, RG 1, F-1-8, vol. 28, Letterbooks of Crown Timber Office, Ottawa, 1855-1859. Also important for larger themes were R.D. Gidney and W.P. Millar, *Professional gentlemen : the professions in nineteenth-century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Cecelia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Language of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Robert Lanning, *The National Album: Collective Biography and the Formation of the Canadian Middle Class* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1996); Richard White, *Gentleman Engineers: The*

Experts were allowed to speak for and about the Ottawa-Huron Tract and in so

doing they gave this region its identity as an 'official' geography. This was

accomplished in two distinct but overlapping ways. First, experts sent into the Ottawa-

Huron Tract as agents of the state were instructed to bring a sense of order to the

unwieldy wilderness, to begin to transform, in the words of John Weaver, the frontier into

proprietary assets.[35] Second, experts were called upon to interpret the region's

geography, to assess its identity and its legitimacy as a field for colonization. Before this

could occur, however, this geography needed to become known and in this regard no

group of experts were more critical than the Provincial Land Surveyors (P.L.S.).

Writing and Capturing the Ottawa-Huron Tract

Starting in the early 1850s, the state turned to its newly professionalized corps of

surveyors to write the first official geography of the Ottawa-Huron Tract. In 1849,

reforms had been introduced to the rules and regulations that governed surveying,

including the introduction of a Board of Examiners to safeguard professional standards.[36]

To this end, the state specified the necessary schooling and vocational training one would

have to accomplish before being allowed to sit for qualifying exams. Furthermore, an

official measurement, "a chain," was to be kept in the central offices of the Crown Lands

Department, one in Quebec and the other in Toronto, to ensure that all surveyors were

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Working Lives of Frank and Walter Shanly (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). Matthew G. Hannah, *Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory in Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), makes an extended argument about Francis A. Walker – the dean of the American census – as an 'expert' in ways that complement the approach I have taken here.

[35] John C. Weaver, "Frontiers into Assets: The Social Construction of Property in New Zealand, 1840-1865," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 27 (1999), 17-54.

using an accurate (or at least standard) unit to blaze their markers. Finally, there was a

significant shift in the administrative organization of the Provincial Land Surveyors (their

new title) as they were no longer to serve just the Surveyor General but were instead now

ultimately responsible to the Commissioner of Crown Lands (CCL); markers were now

blazed on stones and trees in the name (literally) of the Commissioner and not the

Surveyor General. Surveyors had become firmly entrenched as agents of the state.

This process of professionalization was significant because, it was argued, in

order to produce a comprehensive, scientific, and therefore 'accurate' geography of a

region as large as the Tract required organization and standards. Indeed, to produce the

kind of geography that was needed – a map drawn to generous scale, depicting all the

relevant topographical elements, and enough other data to be able to offer a detailed,

ethnographic description of what the region was really like – it had to be built up in

aggregate form. The instructions presented to surveyors before they went into the field,

as well as the rules and regulations they were expected to follow once they were there,

proved crucial in making possible, indeed inevitable, that a 'big picture' of the Ottawa-

Huron Tract could be drawn and described.[37]

Perhaps most prophetically, when sent into the Ottawa-Huron Tract by the state,

township surveyors were presented ahead of time with the cadastral grid into which they

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[36] 12 Victoria c.35 is the legislation. See also Ladell. *They Left Their Mark*. 138-139.

[37] There is much in the history I am describing here that resonates in Ian Hacking's thesis about modernity's quest to tame chance, and in Theodore Porter's arguments about the modern culture of quantification. See Hacking. *The taming of chance* and Porter. *Trust in Numbers: The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life*. Also important to all this, however, was William Logan and the Geological Survey of Canada. The mapping and surveying performed by the GSC were, in the words of A. J. Russell, "the basis for the projection of their [waste lands of the Crown] subdivision into townships and farm lots..." by the P.L.S. working for the Crown Lands Department. See testimony of Russell in "Report of the Select Committee investigating Geological Survey." *JLAC*. 1854. Appendix L.

then had to fit their assigned area.[38] The Commissioner of Crown Lands explained the

process as follows:

> When the Survey of a new Township is ordered by the
> Government. a projected Plan is constructed in the Surveyor's
> Branch. exhibiting the number of Lots, Concessions or Ranges in
> the proposed Township. with the dimensions of the several
> regular Lots. Concessions. &c.. with the courses or bearings of
> the various lines to be surveyed. entered thereon; -- a copy of
> this Plan is forwarded to the Surveyor appointed. as also a copy
> of the general instructions...[39]

The systematic organization of the Tract thus began with the central planner and was

taken out to the region by the surveyor. The surveyor's task was to use calibrations based

on compass readings. astronomical observations. trigonometrically deduced angles and

measurements. and the baselines provided by previous surveys. to blaze markers and

straight property lines that paid little respect to the intrusion of forests. rocks. and waters

but instead privileged the necessity, logic. and scientific aesthetic of the cadastral grid.[40]

It was the job of the township surveyor to acknowledge "natural" obstacles but not to

allow them to interfere with his work. As a scholar of colonial Siam observes. this type

of surveying "anticipated spatial reality" and the maps it produced became "a model for.

rather than a model of. what it purported to represent."[41]

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[38] The state's use of the cadastral grid is discussed in an international. historical context in Kain and Baignet. *The Cadastral Map in the Service of the State*.

[39] "Annual Report of Commissioner of Crown Lands." *JLAC*. Sessional Paper 15. 1861.

[40] An important scholar of surveying, Matthew H. Edney. has eschewed the term "grid" in favour of "graticule" for a number of compelling reasons. However. while his arguments hold merit for the case of colonial India. the process in the Province of Canada was of such systematic rigour that the term "grid" is more appropriate in that it conveys the idea that the process could be (and was) reproduced in any place and upon any landscape.

[41] Winichakul Thongchai. "Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of Siam." Ph.D. Thesis. University of Sydney (1988). 310. as cited in Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities* revised ed. (London: Verso. 1991). 173. The ideas of this thesis are made readily available in

While township and regional maps were indeed models of spatial reality. so too was the surveyor's field notebook. "The Surveyor's field-notes are intended." the Commissioner of Crown Lands wrote in 1861, "in their new [i.e. split-line] form to be a fair illustration of the Topography of the land over which the surveyed lines pass:...the chief object being to exhibit the character of the country. and to furnish such reliable information as to enable any party to retrace the surveyed lines on the ground at any future period...."[42] To "exhibit the character of the country." the surveyor was thus further instructed to select the best place for new towns. report "general observations on the Physical Geography of the country. its capabilities. and the best means of developing them." and to enumerate any squatters encountered in his assigned area. recording their name. size of family. length of occupation. size of squat. "improvements" made. and make any remarks as the surveyor deemed important. Appearing above the signature of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, by the mid-1850s these directives appeared on a standard. typeset form called "General Instructions" in which the only blank spaces were left to fill in the specifics of lot sizes. This formalization and standardization of practice replaced the hand-written. often area- or task-specific directives that were issued until the early 1850s.[43] In any respect. the field notebook was expected to constitute what

Thongchai. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1994).

[42] "Extracts from Surveyor's Reports." *JLAC*. 1861. Sessional Paper 15. Appendix 36. (hereafter all citations to the extracts will take the form of *Surveyors' Extracts*. year. surveyor name. location of survey)

[43] These changes can be seen clearly in "Instructions to Land Surveyors / Crown Land Survey / General Printed Instructions." vol. 8. 17 Nov. 1850 to 15 Sept. 1856. a copy of which can be found at the University of Guelph. McLaughlin Library. CA2ONLF L22. roll#125. reel 2.

anthropologist Clifford Geertz calls "thick description": a mini-encyclopedia of a

township. its population and its resources.[44]

The use of the "split-line method," which after 1856 was standard practice by

surveyors. was especially important in that it compelled the surveyor to in essence break

down the township grid into its constitutive elements. As Figure 3.1 illustrates. the split-

line method placed a survey line down the middle of the page and placed all intersecting

surveyed lines at carefully drawn right angles. It then arranged the landscape – its trees.

waters. changes in elevation. and any other outstanding topographical data – as it related

to these lines. Moving from the split-line plan in a surveyor's field notebook. to the

township map. to the regional map. the geography of the Ottawa-Huron Tract could

therefore be assembled. The importance of this system and the logic that created it was

such that Thomas Devine. the creator of the split-line method and the chief surveyor in

the employ of the Crown Lands Department. was sent into the field to inspect the use of

the split-line method by surveyors. Devine reported that with all the reforms in

organization and practice of surveying. including the split-line method. regular "practical

examination of their [surveyors'] work in the field" would ensure that the work of these

men would "be brought every year nearer to perfection."[45]

In becoming more "perfect." by capturing the fluidity of the region's topography

in the neat. square boxes of the cadastral grid and in the logo-centric form of the split-line

method. both time and space in the Ottawa-Huron Tract were seized by the state. Even

though the region changed dramatically in the span of a single calendar year – for

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[44] The classic statement is Clifford Geertz. "Thick Description: Toward and Interpretive Theory of Culture." in his *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books. 1973). 3-30.

[45] *JLAC*. Sessional Paper 11. Appendix 26. "Remarks on Upper Canada Surveys. &c."

example. changes in climate made distances collapse and expand as river waters froze in

winter and frozen land trails thawed into muddy bogs in spring – and people's

relationship to the environment also evolved through the seasons. a written and therefore

static geography could not represent this kind of temporal complexity.[46] One of

academic geography's greatest challenges in recent years has been to restore time to any

geographical account of a place: in the middle of the nineteenth century. township

surveyors were compelled to ignore time so as to be able to make some sense of the

landscapes they were encountering.[47] Indeed. in the effort to draw up geographical

inventories and make visible and therefore understandable what had previously been

incomprehensible. surveyors were incapable of dealing with history. that is with change

over time.[48]

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[46] On the "struggle with distance" see Harris. *The Resettlement of British Columbia.* 161-193. Contemporaries were. however, acutely aware of climate and expansionists often argued that settlement could change climate by clearing the dark trees which blocked out the sun and wind. See. for example. the booklet written by the chief administrator of colonization. William Hutton. *Canada: Its Present Condition. Prospects. and Resources Fully Described for the Information of Intending Emigrants* (London: Edward Stanford. 1854). in which his promotion of Canada begins by explaining away any "problems" in climate. (2-8)

[47] This was not the case for all surveying: road surveyors especially had to imagine the landscape through the seasons when choosing particular routes. Those who did not. were in fact chastised by their colleagues: "A man may be an excellent scientific Surveyor but if he be destitute of practical knowledge of land and of road engineering in a new country his road lines may be valueless as to position and may from his ignorance of what is required be carried through by a senseless love of straight lines over grounds which will render them very expensive in the making and might unfavourable for travel when made. which a practical knowledge ... would have enabled him to avoid." (AO. RG 1. F-1-8. vol. 28. A.J. Russell to William Hutton. 07 August 1857)

[48] This is in marked contrast to the inventories drawn up by William Logan and his colleagues with the Geological Survey of Canada whose work was very much about the layering of time reflected in geological formations. While complementary in many ways. the geographical science produced by the GSC was recognized by contemporaries as also distinct and unique. Ever the careful politician himself. Logan maintained his project's unique identity against the massive surveying project carried out by land surveyors in the 1850s and 1860s in part by extending the boundaries and limits of his investigations while leaving it to land surveyors to generate the more full pictures of already-explored lands such as those in the Ottawa-Huron Tract.

This suspension of time and change is what the state in fact needed from and demanded of their surveyors. In his insightful *Road to Botany Bay*, Paul Carter suggests that the surveyor "was the means of transforming the dynamic space of travelling into the fixed and passive space of settlement."[49] In the Ottawa-Huron Tract. this transformation was accomplished in two ways. First was the use of local residents. in particular aboriginal peoples. squatters. and lumbermen. as informants to provide the necessary local knowledge of particular townships. Their understanding of the landscape from its use in the everyday was reinvented by the formal rules of cadastral surveying. Two "Indian hunters" explained to a surveyor. for example. how they used various waters to move pelts and venison through the interior of the region. The surveyor used this knowledge to explain how white settlers might then use the waters to power sawmills and move timber to the Ottawa River (and by extension to the ports at Montreal and Quebec).[50] For aboriginal traders. the waters were part of their own movements. a means of travelling to forge their own strategies of economic sustenance. By contrast. for the surveyor these waters were to contribute to the networks of population and commerce that were to mark this region's change from a frontier wilderness into a civilized Euro-Canadian community.[51] While the use of local informants was intended to help prove the authenticity of the knowledge contained in a survey. it also had the effect therefore of

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[49] Paul Carter. *Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1988). 120. For a stimulating discussion and extrapolation of the themes I discuss all-too-briefly in this section see Derek Gregory. *Geographical Imaginations* (Oxford: Blackwell. 1994).

[50] *Surveyors' Extracts.* 1861. J.W. Fitzgerald. survey of the boundary lines between Minden and Stanhope. Dysart and Guilford. Dudley and Harburn. and Harcourt and Bruton.

[51] These connections have recently been explored in Friesen, *Citizens and Nation: An Essay on History. Communication. and Canada.* 41.67.

allowing the state to give this knowledge a new meaning shaped by its own needs and

concerns for a permanent settlement of white, productive, loyal citizens.

A second, related means by which the state effected a change in the region's

spatial identity was also connected to the actual practices of field surveying and then

office-writing of an imagined geography. Committing the space of the Ottawa-Huron

Tract to government ledgers and cadastral maps and enumerating its white squatter

population allowed this region to begin its emergence as a defined place, as a part of,

rather than a part away from, the boundaries of 'civilized' life in the Province of Canada.

This transformation occurred because property could now be identified, defined, and, in

theory at least, respected. Social relations, economic survival, and legal identity were all

predicated on holding title to a plot of land that was by all rights, privileges, and

requirements, "yours." However, the cadastral map and the ledger also allowed the state

to catalogue its full citizens while at the same time signifying a male property owner's

political rights to his neighbours. To plan and administer the migration and settlement of

a population which officials thought could reach into the hundreds of thousands or even

millions, the state desperately needed this system; experiences since the arrival of

Loyalists in the late eighteenth century had demonstrated to officials that colonization

that was not systematic became plagued by abuse and government appeared impotent and

incapable.[52] Ordering the geography of the Ottawa-Huron Tract through systematic

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[52] See especially the comments of Charles Buller in C.P. Lucas, ed., *Lord Durham's
Report on the Affairs of British North America*, vol. III (New York: Oxford, 1912), 74, 80, and
passim.

cadastral surveys thus prepared for the social organization of its current and future settlers.[53]

The desire for property-based social organization was not just a desire of the state. In October 1850. for example. one early white resident complained that the lack of finished surveys in the Ottawa-Huron Tract meant that the region's early settlers were being "denied the benefits of civilization." They were instead "kept in a state of anarchy. with scarcely a single check but physical force. against lawlessness. and every inducement to violence and injustice." "John McMullan. A Squatter" bemoaned how the past three years had seen settlement on unsurveyed lands cause "several Law Suits between themselves for *imagined* trespass on each other." He also said that twice in the past year. "bodies numbering over *fifty* men" had come armed "to decide by mortal fight *boundaries* of antagonistic neighbours in the Lake Dore District."[54] These letters of worry and complaint were complemented. however. by others celebrating the arrival of surveyors.[55] In all cases. the desire expressed was for order. a quality associated with the definition and marking of property that accompanied the presence of the Provincial Land Surveyor. The authority and trust vested in surveyors to blaze true. accurate. and

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[53] Harris. *The Resettlement of British Columbia,* 126 makes a similar point. albeit with much greater care and sophistication. See also Matthew Johnson. *An Archaeology of Capitalism* (Oxford: Blackwell. 1996).

[54] Both letters appeared in the *Bytown Packet.* 05 October 1850. All emphases are in the originals.

[55] See. for example. letter from the settlers of Wilberforce in the *Packet* (now named the *Citizen*). 31 January 1852 and the plea from Grattan Township 20 March 1852. See also the comments of P.L.S. Duncan Sinclair in his "Survey of the Outlines of the County of Renfrew. 15 October 1852 – 28 July 1853." AO. RG 1. CB-1. Box 19. MS 924. reel 12. Sinclair reported meetings with settlers throughout the Upper Ottawa Valley who either desired a survey or were pleased to have finally been surveyed.

necessary lines of property thus helped to normalize and legitimize the presence of the state's governance in the lives of these settlers and their settlements.

When the official geography was finally assembled as a whole in late 1861, its form was as important as what it actually said. The map was drawn at a generous scale of 9 miles per inch and this allowed for a fair amount of detail to be included. (See map 3.1) The map demonstrated the progress being made in the region, especially in the areas closest to the older settlements of southern Ontario and those in the east between the Ottawa River and Lake Opeongo. While township boundaries had been carved into the landscape throughout, in the south and east of the Tract individual townships had been subdivided into concessions, lines, and easily identifiable property lots. The effect was palpable: one needed only to glance at the map to see the boundaries of the province physically advancing north. The inclusion of certain colonization roads on the map also served to remind those looking at the map that the move north would not stop and these empty townships would, like the once empty Ottawa-Huron Tract, soon be filled.

Essential to the map's ability to communicate were the lines and names arranged so carefully across the region's landscapes. The surveyed lines, including the major colonization roads, reflected the order and progress that made, it was believed, for civilized living. These surveyed lines, running mostly in strict parallel horizontally and vertically, signified the kind of rational, practical science most favoured. This was a science that explored and discovered but which also was of use to the public it was to serve. As one politician put it in 1854:

> The ultimate object, however, of all science is practical utility; it is only a systematic, instead of desultory search for valuable facts. The discovery of some useful material at a particular point would be an isolated fact though perhaps of great importance to that locality: but combined with a correct scientific knowledge

of the geology of the country, it would be not only available over
an extensive region, but would be a valuable truth to the whole
world.[56]

Devine's carefully drawn map, along with the process that made for its construction,

fulfilled this criterion. It assembled data collected on individual townships and, by

collating them in a larger whole that connected these local places to older settled areas,

had the effect of making knowledge of the region inform a practical, useful, and larger

knowledge of the province.

While the lines on the map were important so, too, were the names. Consider the

following names given to 'new' places along the Upper Ottawa Valley in the 1850s:

Sebastopol, Wilberforce, Adamston, Grattan, Stafford, Bagot, Wylie, Fraser, Burns,

McKay, Renfrew County. Especially for those outside of the region, these names helped

make familiar a territory that was still largely unknown, to make its imagined geography

even more real and identifiable to its readers. It was already a long tradition in the

colonial world for explorers and settlers to label new territorial possessions with the kind

of names that signified meaning to those who lived with them and to those who heard

them spoken. As Benedict Anderson points out, the word "new" before an already-

familiar name (e.g., New York, New Orleans, New England) was especially important in

this regard.[57] In Canada, one of the traditions brought by the Loyalists to celebrate the

Empire and pay tribute to it was to inscribe the landscape in its name.[58] This was also the

case in the Upper Ottawa Valley, except that this example reminds us that the process

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[56] "Report of the Special Committee inquiring into the Geological Survey." Appendix L.
JLAC, 1854, n.p.

[57] Anderson, Imagined Communities, 187.

[58] One need only drive along Old Highway 2 along Lake Ontario's north shore to see the
results of this process.

was not so absolute. A host of names, such as Petawawa. Madawaska, and

Mattawatchan, was adopted (some might say they were appropriated) from the

Algonkins, and the first great colonization road in this otherwise 'Scottish' part of the

Tract was the "Opeongo Road." However, these names, misspelled with regularity by the

state in its annual departmental reports and maps, paid less homage to the pre-contact

history of these places than it did to the success enjoyed by white settlers, traders, and

lumbermen, in beginning a process of transformation that the state and its geography

were completing.[59]

While the map communicated in a number of different ways,[60] it was buttressed

by the careful selection of written observations and interpretations from surveyors' field

notebooks. The published extracts were introduced by the editor, Thomas Devine, with

some straight facts: where a township was located, how many acres it held, when it was

surveyed, and who performed the survey. After this, and using quotation marks to show

that it was now the surveyor speaking, there appeared selected bits of ethnographic

description. This might include mention of squatters or other types of settlers, local

markets and mills, and an inventory of flora and fauna species. In all cases, however,

there was reference to the quality of soil and an assessment of a township's potential for

agriculture.

What was significant about all this, however, was the sense of authenticity

conveyed by these extracts, how they purported to speak so truthfully and honestly about

what these places were really like. This was accomplished in two primary ways. First,

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[59] Carter. *Road to Botany Bay*, 1-22; Gregory. *Geographical Imaginations*, 171-173.

the surveyors cited concession lines or even lot numbers. no doubt reading from their field notebooks. This specificity revealed the depth of local knowledge which the surveyor possessed. The second note of authenticity was signified by the surveyor's insertion of himself into his own narrative: "During the autumn when camped by the lake. I had an opportunity of spearing twenty fish...": "In this township there is much land of a good quality. and a proportion of an inferior kind. intermixed. and I consider about 2/3rds of the township is well adapted for settlement...": "...I think it extremely probable that there is a large per centage of good land in the two unsurveyed townships...." This combination of authoritative. specific scientific observation with interpretative ethnography made for a compelling argument that the Ottawa-Huron Tract was indeed a valuable field for colonization and that it was already being changed for the better by it. This geography also helped the state make the argument that the project was yielding the kind of results that would benefit the province as it would allow Canada to retain more European immigrants and it would permit the sons of farmers in Old Ontario an accessible and desirable area to get their own 100 acre lots.

Still. what was missing from the 1862 geography was in some cases as significant as what was included. One of the most prominent omissions was the report of J.W. Bridgland. P.L.S.. a man of much repute who had surveyed a possible road through the Muskoka area in the early 1850s. Bridgland was sent to the area to add a north-south artery that would intersect with an east-west line previously surveyed by Robert Bell in

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[60] See the now-classic essay J.B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map." *Cartographica.* 26 (1989). 1-20: the criticisms of Harley in *Cartographica.* 26 (1989). 89-121: and Harley's response in *Cartographica.* 27 (1990). 1-23.

1848.[61] Bell's report had praised the potential of this area as rich in wheat-bearing soil and climate.[62] Bridgland did not, however, share this assessment. In depositing his field notes, his report said: "The only advantage, perhaps, which your department will realise from [these], is, a knowledge and a consequent safeguard, against incurring future expenses in the sub-division of a county into townships, and farm lots..."[63] Perhaps not surprisingly, it was Bell's interpretations that were selected for the geography and while Bridgland was proved more correct over time, the knowledge he produced was undesirable in the political and cultural contexts of the day. It was even less valuable for the state as it tried to push ahead its plans for colonization in the region.

While the form of the geography was significant, so too were the messages it conveyed. The official geography was a careful, rigorous construction of the Ottawa-Huron Tract that made a compelling argument about its 'natural' fitness as a field for colonization. Moving from township to township, one could read of valuable and 'potentially valuable' land, fast moving waters teeming with fish, and, of course, forests with seemingly inexhaustible wealth as timber. Still, as the following example demonstrates, some extracts were less-enthusiastic: "The land in this Township [Tudor] is rather of an inferior quality, being rough, broken and undulating in character, the ridges generally rocky and unproductive, and the valleys of a deep alluvial soil." However, this same township was then described as "having a great influx of settlers and numerous applications for wild lands" who could benefit from the township's rich pine resources

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[61] J.W. Bridgland, "Exploring Survey from Talbot River to the River Muskoka, May-October 1852," AO, RG 1, CB-1, Box 25.

[62] Florence Murray, ed., *Muskoka and Haliburton 1615-1875: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 146-149.

[63] Quoted in Ladell, *They Left Their Mark*, 147.

and their ¨great advantages for getting to market.¨[64] Even in areas that were poor for

farming, then, permanent, successful settlement was described as being possible and, as

in the case of Tudor, already becoming a reality.

It is important to note that while the written extracts were largely a form of

boosterism for colonization, many also featured references to places of ¨inferior¨ soil that

would not make for agricultural purposes. In almost no case, however, was this label

attached to the whole of a township.[65] Rather, poor soils were located in specific

¨pockets¨ or sub-regions, therefore demonstrating that their inferiority was both known

and contained. Alice Township, for example, was described as having ¨one small

section, about a mile square, in which the land is more uneven and stony.¨[66] There was

even reference to specific lots where prospects for cultivation were unlikely, as was done,

for example, in the cases of Brudenell, Galway, and Sebastopol townships.[67]

Some surveyors, including Thomas Devine who chose and arranged these extracts

personally, believed that as the most fertile parts of a township were cultivated into

agricultural fields, less-desirable areas such as swamps and marshes could be brought

along by settlers. J.W. Fitzgerald, for example, concluded his massive survey: ¨Having

thus reviewed the eight Townships ... stating as near as possible the proportions of good

and bad land, the description and quality of the timber and soil, it is my opinion that at

least 40 per cent of the whole is well adapted for immediate cultivation: besides, a large

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[64] *Surveyors' Extracts, 1861*, W.H. Deane, survey of Tudor Township.

[65] Ashby Township, however, was an exception: ¨It is to be regretted that the capabilities of this township are such, that it will not truthfully admit of commendation: the parcels of ground to be found in any way capable of cultivation, being so limited in extent and scattered, will scarcely afford a prospect of successful settlement.¨

[66] *Surveyors' Extracts*, 1861, John Morris, survey of Alice township.

[67] *Surveyors' Extracts*, 1861.

proportion would. in the course of time. be rendered available."[68] A similar projection was made by Quintin Johnston's survey of four townships along the Hastings Road.[69] While the geography was a static representation of what the region's landscapes looked like. it was nonetheless able to begin sketching an idea of what these same landscapes should look like in the future.

This future was thought to be dependent on the fortunes of the region's 'natural' agro-forestry economy. whereby farmers and lumbermen were symbiotic. Several extracts pointed out the necessity and logic of this relationship among the settler. the lumberman. and the state and surveyors 'read' the landscape and evaluated townships within the context of this economic system. As a result. some of the most densely-treed townships were celebrated as ideal for settlement because of the market demand provided by the lumber camps. This was especially the case in those areas in the east of the region. where the lumber industry had already begun to establish its presence: "This section of the Ottawa and Huron tract being a mixed agricultural and timber producing region. offers a great inducement to settlers. inasmuch as they are sure of a ready market and high prices at the nearest lumbering establishment: and the further a farmer locates himself in the interior. the higher the price he is certain of realizing for his farm produce."[70]

If nurtured carefully. the agro-forestry economy would yield the kind of progress desired by the state and the geography was useful in charting out some of the early.

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[68] *Surveyors' Extracts.* 1861. J.W. Fitzgerald. surveys of boundary lines between Minden and Stanhope. Dysart and Guilford. Dudley and Harbourn. and Harcourt and Bruton townships.

[69] *Surveyors' Extracts.* 1861. Quentin Johnston. survey of Limerick. Wollaston. Dungannon. and Faraday townships.

[70] *Surveyors' Extracts.* 1862. John A. Snow. survey of Mississippi Road Line.

modest successes already achieved by colonization. The surveyor of Minden, for example, said he was "pleased...to be able to report very favorably of this Township, which is now being fast settled by an industrious and intelligent class of people" and that such progress showed that the township was not just "of the greatest advantage to the emigrant" but also "to the interest of the Province generally."[71] Other extracts highlighted the roles being played by the colonization roads in advancing settlement further and further into the Ottawa-Huron Tract: the roads, it was said, were facilitating the movement of goods and people within the region and between the frontier and the older, settled areas and their markets and ports.[72] While these statements were hardly thunderous pronouncements, they worked to remind the reader that the lines of progress represented on the map were having a very real impact on the land.

Both in form and in substance the official geography invented a territory that was given a very real identity and even a name – the Ottawa-Huron Tract – that permitted those outside and inside the region to form an imaginative idea of this region as a whole. What made this geography powerful, however, was the ways in which it became central to critical debates and parliamentary investigations devoted to the region's colonization. Perhaps most interestingly, the geography's careful, systematic construction as a work of science would itself become a source of outrage for colonization's political opponents, the lumbermen. Lumbermen were frightened by the implications of what the geography was saying: their own, private fiefdom was quickly becoming a subject of importance to

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[71] *Surveyors' Extracts*, 1861, J.W. Fitzgerald, survey of Minden township.

[72] See, for example, *Surveyors' Extracts*, 1862, John A. Snow, survey of Mississippi Road Line; *Surveyors' Extracts*, 1861, John A. Snow, survey of Sebastopol; *Surveyors' Extracts*, 1861, Gibbs, survey of Anglesea township

the new nation-state and they were losing their ability to dictate its terms. It is to this key process that we now turn.

The Region and the Province: Interpreting the Ottawa-Huron Tract

The debate over the region's 'true' geographic identity was played out most clearly in the political theatre of the parliamentary committee inquiry.[73] These 'fact finding' missions, still a major part of the political process, brought together experts to suggest solutions to problems. The final report submitted by the committee, published in the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly* with some or all of the evidence presented in hearings, served to evaluate the worthiness of particular expert opinion. By adopting particular expert positions and rejecting others, the committee's report thus worked as a sort of arbiter of the evidence that was then appended. Of course while the report itself was consensual, the evidence behind it revealed that differences of opinion, sometimes quite severe, existed even among the experts. Dealing with dissent was an essential aspect of making the state's scientific knowledge even more authentic and truthful and in this respect the parliamentary hearing was an invaluable tool.

These hearings offered an important arena in which to demonstrate how important the state's colonization efforts were to the entire province. Indeed, besides the specific examples discussed here, between 1855 and 1864 a number of important parliamentary inquiries, plus annual departmental reports, made the imagined geography of the Ottawa-

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[73] The key hearings in the decade between 1855 and 1865 were: "Report of the Select Committee on the Management of Public Lands," *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada* (hereafter *JLAC*), 1855, Appendix M.M.; "Report of the Committee on Colonization," *JLAC*, 1860, Appendix 5; "Report of the Select Committee on the Ottawa Ship Canal," *JLAC*, 1863, Appendix 5; "Report of the Select Committee on the Timber Trade," *JLAC*, 1863, Appendix 8; "Report of the Committee on the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Territory," *JLAC*, 1864, Appendix 8.

Huron Tract an issue of provincial importance.[74] To paraphrase Benedict Anderson. the

imagined geography of the Tract used. and was added to. the grammar of early Canadian

nationalism.[75] While the 'discovery' of the Prairies would take the place of the Tract in

the discourse of transcontinental nationalism. the region remained significant after

Confederation for the expansionist province of Ontario. Indeed for Ontario the region

became a key causeway to the mineral wealth north of Lake Huron and. later. to the

provincial government's dream of a 'New Ontario' north of Lake Nippissing. So much

of this later history was made possible by the ways in which the state. working through

its experts. was able to define and defend the Ottawa-Huron Tract as a key component to

both the present and the future of the province.[76]

The most important defence appeared in an 1862 parliamentary inquiry

investigating the present and future prospects for the timber trade. The timber industry

was dismayed about the prospects of widespread. permanent settlement. Most worrisome

was that new property lines put real restrictions on the timber industry's ability to pick

and choose whatever trees they considered most valuable. When looking at the official

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[74] See the "Report of the Select Committee on the Management of Public Lands." *JLAC.* 1855. Appendix M.M.: "Report of the Select Committee on Emigration." *JLAC.* 1859. Appendix 19: "Report of the Select Committee on Emigration." *JLAC.* 1860. Appendix 4: "Report of the Committee on Colonization. *JLAC.* 1860." Appendix 5: "Report of Engineers on the Survey of the Ottawa Ship Canal." *JLAC.* 1860. Appendix 21: "Second and Third Reports of the Committee on Emigration and Colonization." *JLAC.* 1863. Appendix 1 and Appendix 3: "Report of the Select Committee on the Ottawa Ship Canal." *JLAC.* 1863. Appendix 5: "Report of the Select Committee on the Timber Trade." *JLAC.* 1863. Appendix 8: "Report of the Committee on the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Territory." *JLAC.* 1864. Appendix 8. See also the annual reports of the Department of Agriculture. the Commissioner of Crown Lands. and the Geological Survey of Canada. especially from the years 1852 to 1866.

[75] Anderson. *Imagined Communities.* 185. reads: "Map and census thus shaped the grammar which would in due course make possible 'Burma' and 'Burmese.' 'Indonesia' and 'Indonesians.'"

geography and at the way it was being produced by Thomas Devine and his cadre of provincial land surveyors. lumbermen wondered openly about the privilege accorded these experts to speak objectively and truthfully. Allan Gilmour. a lumberman and merchant who was often a spokesman for the timber industry's interests. captured this mistrust:

> In my opinion it has been from the desire of the Government to have good land fit for settlement discovered and reported. so as to have it opened up for occupation by the Farmer. and that as surveys were continued and roads extended when land was reported as suitable for agricultural purposes and not otherwise. it was the intent of those employed about this business to report in such a way that their services should be continued."

While he conceded the truthfulness of some of the surveys. Gilmour's challenge to the process that wrote the geography called into question the state's integrity. He argued. quite correctly. that the process of colonization. as a project of the state. was self-legitimizing and therefore not trustworthy. Imagine his outrage. then. when the response of the parliamentary committee to his (and other lumbermen's) charges of surveying malpractice was to advise that the state send "some thoroughly competent and reliable officer. whose report would be available in any further consideration of this subject." to examine some of the townships that seemed. at least in the evidence. to be especially contentious"[78] In effect. the committee rejected Gilmour's challenge by focussing on the issue of how much good agricultural land actually existed in the region. even specifying particular locales. This permitted the committee to avoid the larger. and in some ways

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[76] See also Elizabeth Arthur. "Beyond Superior: Ontario's New-Found Land." in R. Hall. W. Westfall. L. Sefton MacDowell. eds.. *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History* (Toronto: Dundurn Press. 1988). 130-149.

[77] Testimony of Allan Gilmour. "Report of the Select Committee on the Timber Trade." *JLAC*. 1863. Appendix 8. n.p.

[78] Committee Report. *Ibid*

more troubling. issue of whether the science of surveying could be trusted when in the employ of the state.

The system which Gilmour questioned did need to be scrutinized. The emphasis placed by the state on acquiring and defending geographic knowledge on the Ottawa-Huron Tract belied its fragmented. incomplete. and sometimes dubious quality. Surveyors sent out to explore. record. and evaluate the landscape were exposed to physical hardships. and while such travails fed a mytho-poetic image of them. these problems clearly affected the accuracy of the work produced.[79] Errors in fact were especially prevalent when the state sent agents into the field and they were required to perform tasks that fell outside the limits of their training. While it may have been expedient. for example. to have the surveyors in frontier regions evaluate the fitness of particular soils for agricultural exploitation. such requests were made of men whose professional training never included studies in agro-sciences. Instead. the state trusted the judgement of these men from a combination of the surveyors' individual experiences as farmers or from the surveyors abilities to collect local knowledge from those who would 'know'. These problems were of course buried in behind the veneer of professionalism and scientism that surrounded the Provincial Land Surveyor and his new rigorous practices by the 1860s. But mistakes were made. and a glance into the

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[79] Disease. malnutrition. inter-personal conflicts. fights with squatters and aboriginal peoples. fire. floods. snow. cold. heat: surveyors' field notes and field diaries record some horrendous conditions in which to survey straight lines and choose communication routes. While many field notes are accessible in AO. RG 1. CB-1 (and organized very well by place and time). see the example of Robert Bell provided in Murray. *Muskoka and Haliburton*. 136-146. in which Bell seems to have experienced almost all possible hardships.

departmental records shows how extensive some of these errors were.[80] That these errors were not exposed at this parliamentary hearing is itself quite significant.[81]

The 1862 committee also ignored or at the least downplayed the charges raised by Ezra Stephens. a gentleman farmer who resided to the southeast of the Ottawa-Huron Tract. Stephens told the committee he had "made enquiries of the settlers" in the Tract and "made memoranda" as he travelled through the areas of the Tract nearest to him. He told the committee that settlers complained "they had been deceived by the glowing accounts and reports made by surveyors and agents employed by the government."[82] Stephens made reference not only to Crown Land agents in Canada but also to the immigration agents who had begun 'selling' Canada as a field for settlement across Britain and Western Europe. These agents were armed with the Devine map and with a number of accounts copied from surveyor's notebooks.[83] In trusting the truthfulness of the geography contained in these materials. some settlers made decisions to come to the region and even. in some cases. to use their claims to choose a lot for grant or purchase.[84]

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[80] For a vivid example of one. see AO. RG 1. E-6. vol. 9. "Report of A.J. Russell on Clashing Boundaries of Timber Limits in the Mississippi Branch of the Madawaska Area. 1869" in which he found errors in both township and timber surveys that reached up to 2 miles.

[81] Sociologists and historians of science have done much to explode the myths of the value-free. culturally inert. and politically-free scientific research. See. for example. Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar. *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts* second ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1986) and Bruno Latour. *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1987).

[82] Testimony of Ezra Stephens. *Ibid.*

[83] Wesley Turner. "Colonial Self-Government and the Colonial Agency: Changing Concepts of Permanent Canadian Representation in London. 1848 to 1880." Ph.D. Thesis. Duke University. 1971. 107-108 and Norman Macdonald. *Canada: Immigration and Colonization. 1841-1903* (Toronto: Macmillan. 1966). 35.

[84] See for example the confession in Reverend H. Christmas. ed.. *Canada in 1849: Pictures of a Canadian Life: or. The Emigrant Churchman. by a Pioneer in the Wilderness* (London: Richard Bentley. 1850). vol. 1. 234 and this after warning other settlers to take the time to go over land with a guide before purchasing. (220-221) Emigration guides produced by the

When discovering that the reality of the landscape was more fluid and uneven than had been represented. settlers became understandably outraged and the claim of misrepresentation by disappointed settlers was a common refrain in the 1860s and 1870s.[85]

These people were. however. easily dismissed by the state as being poor or ignorant farmers. and in many cases their complaints fell on deaf ears. As J.W. Bridgland. then the newly appointed chief of colonization roads. wrote: "The Department usually concludes that the people [who complain] are so exorbitant in their demands that instead of being grateful for what they have got they have become pampered by indulgence. and pigeonhole their complaints with dignified silence."[86] Even though more respected citizens. such as clergy or gentleman farmers. might be invited to come to parliamentary hearings to speak on their behalf. the settlers' arguments were often dismissed as complaints from those lacking the necessary qualities to be successful. Their failure was lamentable. but it was the settlers themselves. the state claimed. who were responsible.[87] Even when conceding that the distinctions between strong and weak agricultural areas needed to be emphasized. the state could always

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state during the 1850s and 1860s directed new arrivals to go directly to the local Crown Land Agent and work through the materials in his office to find a plot of land. For one example. see A.C. Buchanan. *Canada: For the Information of Intending Emigrants* (Quebec: J. Blackburn. 1864).

[85] See. for example. Hans Wilhelm Muller. *Gross Mismanagement of Immigrants in the Hands of Government in Quebec* (Montreal: "Witness" Publishing House. 1873). 32.

[86] AO. RG 52. Series V-b. Box 2. file 6. Colonization Road Reports 1863-1868. 10 November 1863.

[87] Too see this in vivid detail see for example the annual reports and correspondence of the local Crown Land Agent. T.P. French. assigned to the Opeongo Road and its settlers found in AO. RG 1. A-I-7. "Ottawa and Opeongo. 1855-1859 and 1860-1866."

counter that there was good land to be had everywhere and it was more of a question of a settler being able to select properly and then work the land correctly.

To make this claim and to respond also to the specific charge of the lumbermen that the surveyors did not fairly represent the true potential of the soil in both quality and quantity. the state was able to turn to other experts in its employ. No figure perhaps was more important in this respect than Crown Timber Agent. A.J. Russell. himself a surveyor held in high regard.[88] In the early 1860s. Russell responded to several petitions from prominent lumbermen that outlined their objections to colonization in the region. not the least being that the state was forcing settlement into areas where "it [was] a fact to all acquainted with the country. that many large tracts of the best timbered lands are utterly unfit for agricultural purposes...."[89] Russell's counter to this assertion was simple and direct: there was good land for agriculture but the division between good and poor soils was far more complex than the hardwood / softwood generalizations of the lumbermen's position. He pointed out. with reference to specific places. that even within a single lot the distinction was not so clear and to extrapolate that to the entire region was specious. Most effective. however. was the manner in which Russell responded. He laid out the facts of the petition. conceded points that he thought were fair and true. and then systematically addressed the remaining with reference to a whole host of statistics. blended with qualitative data gleaned from government reports and his own personal

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[88] Examples of Russell working on issues critical to colonization can be found in. among other places. AO. RG 1. F-I-8. vol. 28. "Crown Timber Office Letterbooks. 1855-1859."

[89] This quote is taken from Petition of the Lumber Manufacturers. December 1861. which appears in "Report of the Select Committee on the Timber Trade." *JLAC*. 1863 Appendix 8.

observation as a long-time agent. His responses therefore read with great dispassion and much objectivity.[90]

Russell also pointed out repeatedly that there was much that was disingenuous in the stance of the lumbermen. The official geography of the Ottawa-Huron Tract had in fact pointed out areas where settlement would be inadvisable and while some mistakes, Russell conceded. had been made when local Crown Lands agents ignored some of the poorer areas. these were not faults of the surveyors. Furthermore. by suggesting that much of the region could in fact be settled by farmers. the surveyors had terrified lumbermen who saw that their unchallenged right to exploit the massive timber reserves of the region could be undone somewhat by the allocation of property rights to individual settlers. The lumbermen's own "readings" of the region's geography. especially the unfitness of pine-rich areas to support agriculture. thus needed to be dismissed as commercially self-serving. This made for an effective counterclaim: if the state was trying to legitimize its own practices through knowledge produced by surveyors. it was at least doing so with reference to science and not the financial bottom-line.

Challenges by the lumbermen also failed because they could not undo the established ·fact· that colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract was not a regional issue but was also an important provincial question. While they themselves sought to justify their complaints by emphasizing the importance of the timber industry to the finances of the state. the lumbermen did not speak of the Ottawa-Huron Tract as a **place** of concern for the nation.[91] By contrast. when Thomas Devine and his surveyors wrote their

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[90] Russell to Commissioner of Crown Lands. 05 March 1862. which appears in "Report of the Select Committee on the Timber Trade." *JLAC*. 1863 Appendix 8.

[91] Gilmour to Commissioner of Crown Lands. 09 February 1863. *Ibid.*

geography, they were encouraged throughout by other scientists and engineers who were making this very point. William Logan was unequivocal in his commitment to colonization on the Canadian Shield as a necessity for both the present and future economic health of the province. From the early 1840s, Logan stressed repeatedly the importance of assessing the potential of the Shield's other, i.e. non-timber, natural resources. The minerals held in the Shield, he promised, would reap great benefit to the Province's troubled finances. Furthermore, Logan was of the opinion that behind the southern rim of the Shield, where the rock formations were exaggerated, there would be good opportunity for permanent agricultural settlement.[92]

Working both inside and outside the confines of the state, two well-known and highly-regarded civil engineers, Thomas Keefer and Walter Shanly, also did much to transform the region into a provincial concern. Both Keefer and Shanly sought to place the Ottawa-Huron Tract as the ideal conduit for the burgeoning, metropolitan North Atlantic economy, the future of which they saw as running from London to Montreal and then Chicago. They further argued that by turning the region's attentions to the west, and not just east to the timber ships in Quebec, the Ottawa-Huron Tract was in an ideal location to become a supplier to the huge consumer demand for wood, wheat, and ore that would come with the opening of the American West.

Keefer spoke and wrote extensively on the advantages of a rail line that would link Montreal to Ottawa and thence across to Lake Huron and ultimately the emerging

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[92] "Report of the Special Committee inquiring into the Geological Survey," *JLAC*, 1854, Appendix L. See also his testimony in "Report of the Committee of the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Territory," *JLAC*, 1864, Appendix 8.

metropolis of Chicago.[93] A preferred causeway between these points, Keefer argued, was the Ottawa-Huron Tract. It was shorter than the current St. Lawrence and Great Lakes route, safe from any external (i.e. American) military threats, and linked the powerful lumber industry, a key to the state's financial health, to both the American West and London. Keefer explained to an 1855 parliamentary committee investigating reforms to the management of public lands that, by adopting a communications system that combined rail and water, the *cul-de-sac* character of the westernmost areas of the Tract could be 'opened' thus yielding a rich future for the region that would also provide great benefits for the nation as a whole.[94] His remarks were hardly a surprise as only one year earlier in a public lecture he had remarked: "[N]o one can look upon the geographical description of the Ottawa without becoming convinced that unless there be some positive disqualification, it is a district which ought not and cannot much longer remain a wilderness."[95]

Even more so than his professional colleague Thomas Keefer, the civil engineer Walter Shanly sought to place the geography of the Ottawa-Huron Tract at the heart of Canadian nation building.[96] In 1856, Shanly was instructed to undertake a survey for a proposed Ottawa-Georgian Bay ship canal, and in 1863 he was the chief expert called in testify to the parliamentary committee that was formed "to investigate the subject of a

[93] The clearest statement by Keefer appears in his *"Montreal" and "The Ottawa": two lectures delivered before the Mechanics Institute of Montreal, in January, 1853 and 1854* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1854). He also gave testimony in "Report of the Select Committee on the Management of Public Lands," *JLAC,* 1855 and "Report of the Committee of the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Territory," *JLAC,* 1864, Appendix 8.

[94] "Report of the Select Committee on the Management of Public Lands," *JLAC,* 1855, testimony of Thomas C. Keefer.

[95] Keefer, *"Montreal" and "The Ottawa,"* 73.

navigable line of communication between Montreal and Lake Huron."[97] Calling upon his earlier report, which was submitted in 1858. Shanly was able to make a powerful and statistically-precise argument that the proposed route was better than either the Welland or Lake Ontario-Georgian Bay canals. The Ottawa-Georgian Bay Canal, he told the committee, was twenty percent more efficient than its competitors, a rate that more-than-compensated for its shorter travelling season. He was also able to present a figure for the cost of building the canal (21 million dollars), demonstrating where and how that money would need to be spent.

Shanly's testimony in 1863 was a summary of his earlier 1858 report, prepared for his political bosses at the Department of Public Works, and it is important that we see this report as a major contribution to both the production of an imagined geography on the Ottawa-Huron Tract and the reinvention of this region's identity as a truly provincial concern. Shanly's 60-page report was published in 1858, 1863, and again in 1900; the hope for an Ottawa-Georgian Bay ship canal was strong until the 1920s and so respected was Shanly's investigation that it was thought to be as relevant and significant in 1900 as it had been forty years earlier.[98]

The report opened with a large map (see maps 3.2a and 3.2b) which situated the proposed canal into its much larger geographic and commercial context. The map was

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[96] For more on Shanly's activities as an engineer, see White, *Gentlemen Engineers*, 140-178.

[97] "Report of the Select Committee on the Ottawa Ship Canal," *JLAC*, 1863, Appendix 5

[98] It was printed initially by order of the Legislative Assembly in 1858, but then reprinted by the corporate interests in the Ottawa Valley and the Montreal Board of Trade, with the encouragement of certain politicians who also favoured the canal's construction. I have chosen to use the 1863 edition for all my citations as the 1858 version did not include Shanly's appendices and the 1900 edition is simply an identical reproduction of the 1863 complete text. Walter

significant for it allowed all who read the report to test the validity of Shanly's claims.
and it permitted the abstract nature of his statistics (especially those dealing with
distance) to be given a more readily understandable 'reality' for the reader. Placed at the
start of the report. the map also worked to frame the geographical imagination of the
reader by providing the necessary and 'important' reference points that the 60 pages of
text would then describe and analyze.

Shanly knew how important this map was because. like Thomas Keefer. he
recognized that geographical imaginations among the commercial and political élite of
Canada were highly ignorant and ' or unfavourable with respect to the Ottawa-Huron
Tract. More explicitly than Keefer. however. Shanly recognized the significance of these
geographical imaginations to the politics of developing this region. "It is not. however.
the money cost of the enterprise that will be so difficult to deal with in endeavouring to
procure an impartial consideration of its merits." Shanly concluded in his report. "as the
remoteness and present inaccessibility of the district which it penetrates." He continued:

> But an atom of our population belongs to the valley of the
> Ottawa: and to the mass of the people the whole of the
> region…is a *terra incognita*. supposed to be enveloped in frost
> and snow for the greater part of the year. and. therefore. unsuited
> for habitation by civilized man. Indifference to the facts of the
> case and subsequent absence of correct information engender
> unbelief. The very name of 'Canada' was wont but a few years
> since to suggest similar ideas to the minds of people of New
> York and Massachusetts."[99]

Equating the American ignorance of Canada with the present opinion of the Ottawa-
Huron Tract held by "the mass of the people" in Canada was a pointed remark. Shanly

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Shanly. *Report on the Ottawa and French River Navigation Project* (Montreal: John Lovell.
1863).

[99] Shanly. *Report on the Ottawa and French River Navigation Project. 43-44.*

challenged his Canadian readers therefore to jettison what he saw as a misinformed bias and instead see the proposed project with an "impartial consideration" of the facts.

Shanly was of course happy to provide in his report a huge litany of "facts" to make this consideration possible. In particular. he made effective use of statistical evaluations of the proposed route. This was especially significant in the early sections of the report where he mapped out a number of key points of comparison (distance. time. tonnage) between the Ottawa-Georgian Bay canal and its rivals. the Welland Canal and the Lake Ontario-Georgian Bay route.[100] While careful to explain how he made his calculations. especially when they involved the not-yet-built Ottawa-Georgian Bay ship canal. Shanly still felt confident enough to assert: "The foregoing calculations should be sufficient. I think. to show that the French River and Ottawa line of navigation possesses *in reality* such commercial advantages as make it worth while to put its engineering merits on their trial."[101] It is significant for us to see that. for Shanly. his statistics pertaining to an unbuilt canal were thought to allow him to (re)present some actual. material reality.

Having established the statistical necessity of the route. Shanly then took his readers on an ethnographical journey along it. which afforded him an opportunity to explain further what the statistics had already proven and to begin fixing what he saw as a major error in geographical knowledge. Indeed. Shanly's first task. as he saw it. was to undo the "error or oversight in nomenclature" that the great Admiral Bayfield had assigned on his maps to the junction of the French River and Lake Huron. Shanly directed his readers to "sheet No. 3 of Bayfield's Chart of Huron." in particular the area

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[100] *Ibid..* 11-15.

labelled by Bayfield as the "Bustard Islands." "the Mouths of the French River." and an

inlet named "Key."[102] Having put himself "entirely in the hands of [his] pilot. a

sagacious Algonquin of Lake Nippisingue." Shanly "discovered" that what Bayfield had

dismissed as a nameless "large river" (located near the Key) that existed independent of

the French River was in actuality the great mouth of the French River. Previously. white

men sailing in this area had followed Bayfield's charts in thinking the mouth of the

French River was not navigable save for small crafts no bigger than a canoe. By contrast.

travelling aboriginal peoples. as Shanly pointed out. had long used both this and the other

"Mouths of the French River" to move from Lake Huron down river to Lake

Nippissing.[103] Working from what his "Algonquin" pilot showed him. Shanly quickly

corrected the idea that an Ottawa-Georgian Bay ship canal would be impossible without a

huge excavation at its start at the French River.

Writing as both an engineer and a tourist guide. Shanly then took his readers

down the French River. across Lake Nippising. down the Mattawan River. and finally to

the great Ottawa River. Where necessary. he paused to explain. again with tables of

statistics.[104] the engineering required to allow rough waters along the route to be

navigated. the locks and dams that would have to be built and where some dredging of

shallow waters might be required. Alongside the technical discussions of hydrology.

however. Shanly told his readers what they would see. feel. and experience along the

route. For example: "The scenery of the Thousand Isles of the St. Lawrence." he

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[101] *Ibid.*. 15.

[102] *Ibid.*. 16.

[103] *Ibid.*. 17.

[104] *Ibid.*. 29. 31-32.

scoffed. "were tame and uninteresting as compared with the endless variety of island and bay. granite cliff and deep sombre defile. which mark the character of the beautiful. solitary French River."[105] Similarly. Shanly believed that the "Ottawa route [also] possesses certain distinctive features which entitle it to other considerations than those incident to a mere channel for merchandise. Penetrating the heart of our country. it can boast of magnificent scenery. which. as it becomes accessible and known. cannot fail to attract the tourist as well European as American."[106]

Besides its aesthetics. Shanly argued that the region also offered valuable resources for the lumbermen. the farmer. and the miner. thus making it an important field for colonization. Far from proclaiming the entire region an agricultural paradise. he instead emphasized that the region was a complex geography. good soils interspersed with great ore and granite deposits. and. of course. trees everywhere. Its climate. which Shanly himself measured in 1856-1857 and about which he inquired of his "Indian informants."[107] was not nearly the horror that others imagined it to be. Having worked through the worst winter in memory. Shanly saw the region's seasons as sufficiently temperate to allow for a shipping and growing season that was comparable. although shorter. than that offered in areas to the south. Developing the Ottawa-Georgian Bay route. Shanly argued. would only allow these 'natural' advantages to grow. thereby aiding in its successful colonization. "[A]s the country becomes inhabited. and civilization turns its resources to account." Shanly suggested. "internal inter course will

[105] Ibid.. 20.

[106] Ibid.. 39.

[107] Ibid.. 47. Shanly presented his climatic observations and research in Appendix B of his report.

spring up. creating a trade apart entirely from the dull routine of western traffic. propeller

following propeller with their eternal cargoes of grain and traffic."[108]

Throughout his report. Shanly's scientific analysis blended with his travelogue

sought to explain *why* the beauty and majesty of the region's waters and its surrounding

geography needed to be understood as significant to the interests of Canada. As he

explained: "The traveller. however. who judges the country only by what can be seen of

it from the river as he glides past in his canoe. does not form a fair estimates of its

adaptability to the uses of civilization." By contrast. his own rigorous analysis. rooted in

the practices of scientific investigation and description. allowed Shanly to argue that no

future in Canada could be imagined without a great deal of thought to the place of the

region in it:

> ...the impartial chronicler. when he has completed his tour of the
> river. must record his opinion. that the destiny of the valley of
> the Ottawa is not to be a parallel one to or of the same inviting
> character as that of the St. Lawrence Valley. with its rich alluvial
> soil and broad. wheat-growing districts: but. having faith in the
> future of his country. he will at the same time predict that the
> former section has awaiting it a destiny not second in national
> importance to that of the more favoured region. as to soil and
> climate. which constitutes the latter section: and that. with our
> great northern river for the spinal column. Canada must
> gradually attain the strength and vigour which length without
> breadth can never confer."[109]

Seeing Canada as an organic body. fated to grow as civilization moved further into the

wilderness. Shanly emphasized the essential character of the Ottawa-Huron Tract to this

inevitable future. Its regional identity was thus of great concern and interest to the entire

Province of Canada.

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[108] *Ibid.* 39.

Imagined Geography and the Language of Nationalism

As Thomas Devine and his surveyors were bringing the geography of the Ottawa-

Huron Tract into the known and thus governable territory of the Province of Canada,

other experts were framing the region within an international context that also did much

to legitimize its colonization. This process reached its logical conclusion in 1864, when a

parliamentary committee, drawn up to look exclusively at the future of the Ottawa-Huron

Tract as a field for colonization, opened with this blunt statement of "fact":

> The subject referred to the committee is a very extensive and
> important one, inasmuch as the only large body of good lands of
> any extent now belonging to the Crown, is to be found in the
> region in question. Moreover, ...unless settlement can be carried
> on in this region, Canada would remain a mere frontier strip
> bordering the margin of the St. Lawrence and the Great
> Lakes."[110]

The Ottawa-Huron Tract thus held an important part of the future of the nation in its

valuable ("good lands") geography. This geography would provide the necessary depth

to what the committee called the "frontier strip" that bordered the United States.

We should take notice of this language: the use of the word "strip" was a by-

product of geographical imaginations framed by the early maps produced on the Province

of Canada. The great map and geography produced by Thomas Devine and his

Provincial Land Surveyors, much like that of William Shanly and his canal route, offered

a picture of the Province that showed the possibility of a future beyond the shores of the

St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario. In writing this geography, the state was able to introduce

the "Ottawa and Georgian Bay Territory" (the name favoured by the 1864 parliamentary

committee) to the discourse of the nation. It was no longer a mysterious, unknown

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[109] *Ibid.,* 49.

wilderness area that lay behind the civilized life of Old Ontario. In fact. the 1864 committee could very carefully define the exact boundary lines that identified the region as a distinct place.[110] They were also very clear as from where they learned about this region: "Sir William Logan is of the opinion that fertile land will be found ... and this opinion is borne out. in fact. by the testimony and actual observations of persons familiar with the country. and is also substantiated by the results obtained from the Surveyors' Reports as exhibited on the colored map of the newly-surveyed Townships. which has been prepared by the Crown Lands Department."[112] The committee also pointed to its other key expert witnesses. Thomas Keefer. Walter Shanly. Thomas Devine. and Alexander Murray (Logan's deputy at the Geological Survey). all of whom offered different but highly complementary testimony about what the region really was and what its continued (and increased) colonization would offer to Canada.

This was a place. the committee concluded. that was receptive to the permanent settlement of white farmers who would work with lumbermen to transform trees into valuable timber. with miners to make rocks into precious minerals. and who would themselves convert waste areas into wheat-growing and mixed-farming fields. The state would have to make sure this process of change would continue. The state. the committee said. would need to do this by investing in and directing the construction of various lines of communication that would accelerate the pace of colonization: these

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[110] "Report of the Committee of the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Territory." *JLAC*. 1864. Appendix 8.

[111] This read as follows: "...the Territory lying between Lake Huron on the West: French River. Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa River on the North and East: and the Townships on the South. surveyed previously to 1850." "Report of Committee on Ottawa and Georgian Bay Territory." *JLAC*. 1864. Appendix 8.

[112] *Ibid.*. "First – The Ottawa Tract."

lines could include rail and canals but the committee was especially keen to promote the nine colonization roads that were already constructed and the others which were still in the survey stage. Communication lines. rich natural resources. and the symbiotic connections between farmer and lumbermen in the agro-forestry economy could only function. however. with the right type of settlers and settler society. To this end. the committee suggested. "A steady and regular system of supervision of these roads should also be maintained by competent Inspectors. in order that the comparative progress of settlement may be ascertained and the efficiency of the system tested and sustained...."[113] Even with its 'natural' advantages and the 'natural' logic of the agro-forestry economy. the region's colonization required the presence of competent agents of the state to ensure that nature and economy were running their proper. progressive course.

The processes of writing and interpreting a geography on the Ottawa-Huron Tract served to construct a field that would be used as a backdrop against which settlers would be evaluated as citizens. It did this in three distinct yet overlapping ways. First. it helped silence the place of aboriginal peoples in the region. not to mention their valuable work and knowledge. by largely writing them out of the landscape. Even though their numbers had diminished severely in this region before the 1850 Robinson Treaty that confiscated much of these lands (especially in the west) from them. aboriginal peoples did not fit into the patterns of civilized life being represented on the new maps and in the state's plans for widespread permanent. agricultural settlement. Native peoples. it appears. belonged to the region's history. but they were no longer a part of its present or future. Their later re-emergence on reserves only seemed to underscore this point. The Ottawa-Huron Tract

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[113] *Ibid.*

as written and imagined by the state was instead a place for white Europeans and the civilized culture that accompanied fully formed settler societies that offered institutions of personal and public betterment. especially churches and schools. and who contributed to the larger national economy through production and consumption based on Canada's 'limitless' natural resources. The chaos of frontier life. with its lumbermen and squatters. was only a necessary first step in this larger process of change.

Closely related. the second implication for citizenship that resulted from the writing of an imagined geography of the region was that it helped reproduce capitalist social formations predicated on property and all the rights and privileges that accompanied it. By organizing the landscapes of the region into surveyed lots. the state was able to attract families from other parts of the province who could not longer find land for their children. They were also able to attract settlers. from Canada and abroad. who desired the security and protection that title to a property conveyed. All of this was also much desired by the state. because citizens who owned property. and who were therefore recorded in a land registry. were far easier to organize and govern. Through regular inspection and assessment. property owners were also easier to see and use as assets: it was individual property owners and settlers who added to the Canadian state's worth through direct taxation but also by helping guarantee much-needed loans being negotiated with British investors.

The third impact of the history of this geography was that it made the success or failure of colonization even more dependent on the settlers who were persuaded to migrate there. By "proving" scientifically that the region could be a generous field for farmers. the state was able to make demands of its settlers that they were expected to

meet with their own resources. Furthermore. through their continued inspection and supervision of many of these settlers. the state was able to evaluate their fitness not just as pioneers but as loyal. disciplined political subjects. That the majority failed and either left the region or accepted a lifestyle of brutally hard work and minimal rewards. was never the fault of the state. In each of these ways. then. the imagined geography of the Ottawa-Huron Tract touched the everyday lives of the peoples and places in the Ottawa-Huron Tract.
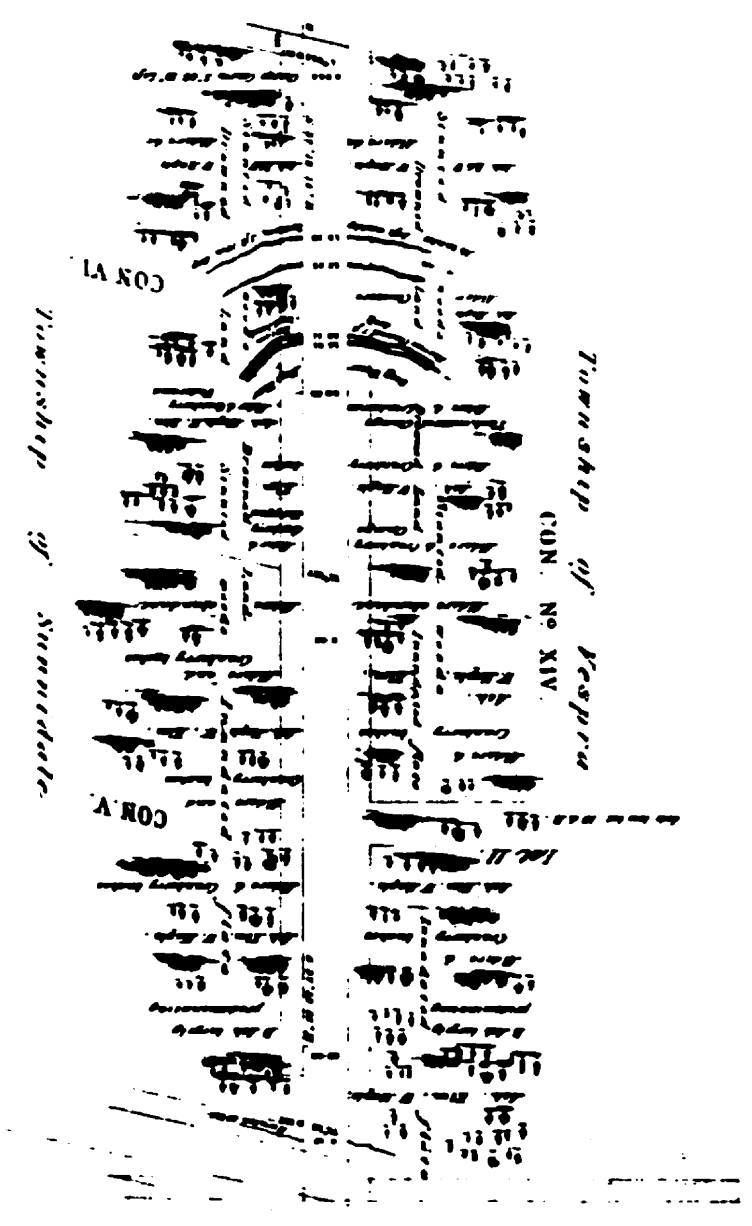
Figure 3.1 An Example of the Split-Line Method

Source: Richard S. Lambert with Paul Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth: A Centennial History of the Public Management of Lands, Forests, and Wildlife in Ontario, 1763-1967* (Toronto: Hunter Rose Co., 1967), 73.

Map 3.1

GOVERNMENT MAP
of part of the
HURON and OTTAWA TERRITORY
UPPER CANADA
Compiled under the direction of
Thomas Devine F.R.G.S. &c.
Head of Surveyors Branch
U.C
Scale 300'000
1861
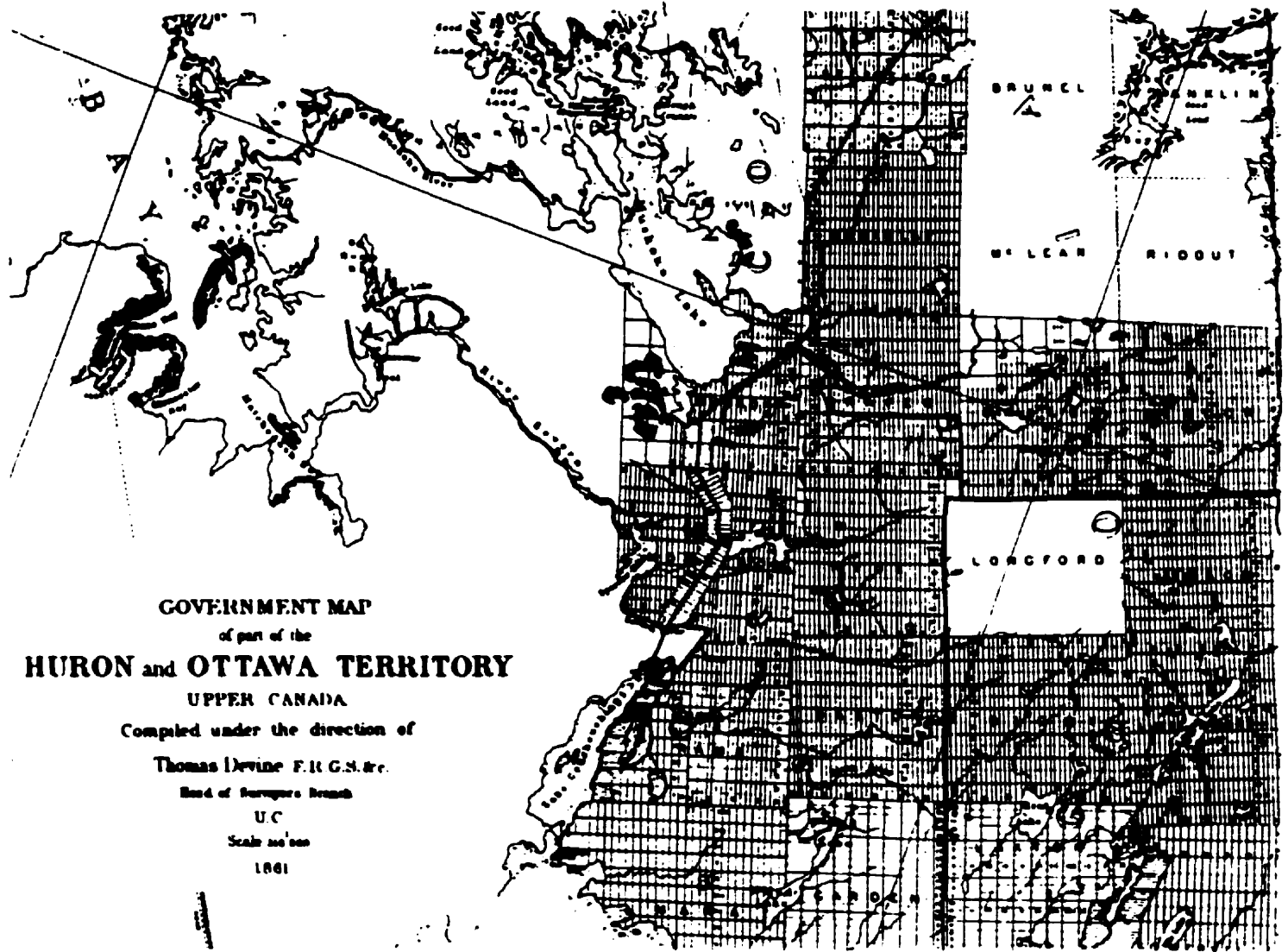
Map 3.2a (consult with 3.2b)

Source: Walter Shanly. *Report on the Ottawa and French River Navigation Project.* Montreal: John Lovell. 1863

Map 3.2b

MAP
— of —
CANADA
AND BORDERING TERRITORIES
SHOWING PROPOSED SHIP NAVIGATION
FROM LAKE HURON to MONTREAL BY THE
FRENCH RIVER AND OTTAWA
AS COMPARED WITH THAT
BY THE
GREAT LAKES
ACCOMPANYING REPORT OF WALTER SHANLY C E
FRENCH RIVER AND OTTAWA NAVIGATION.
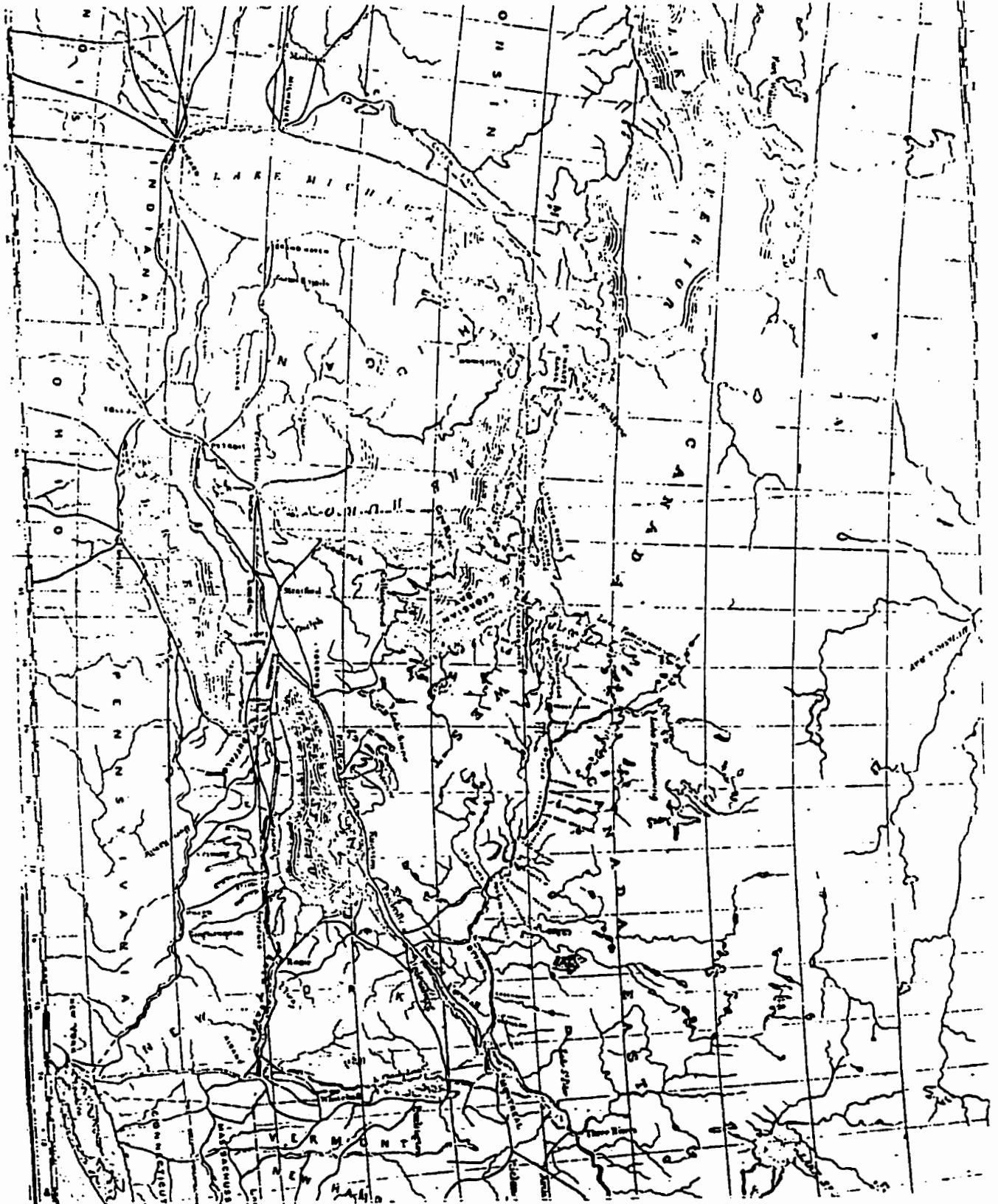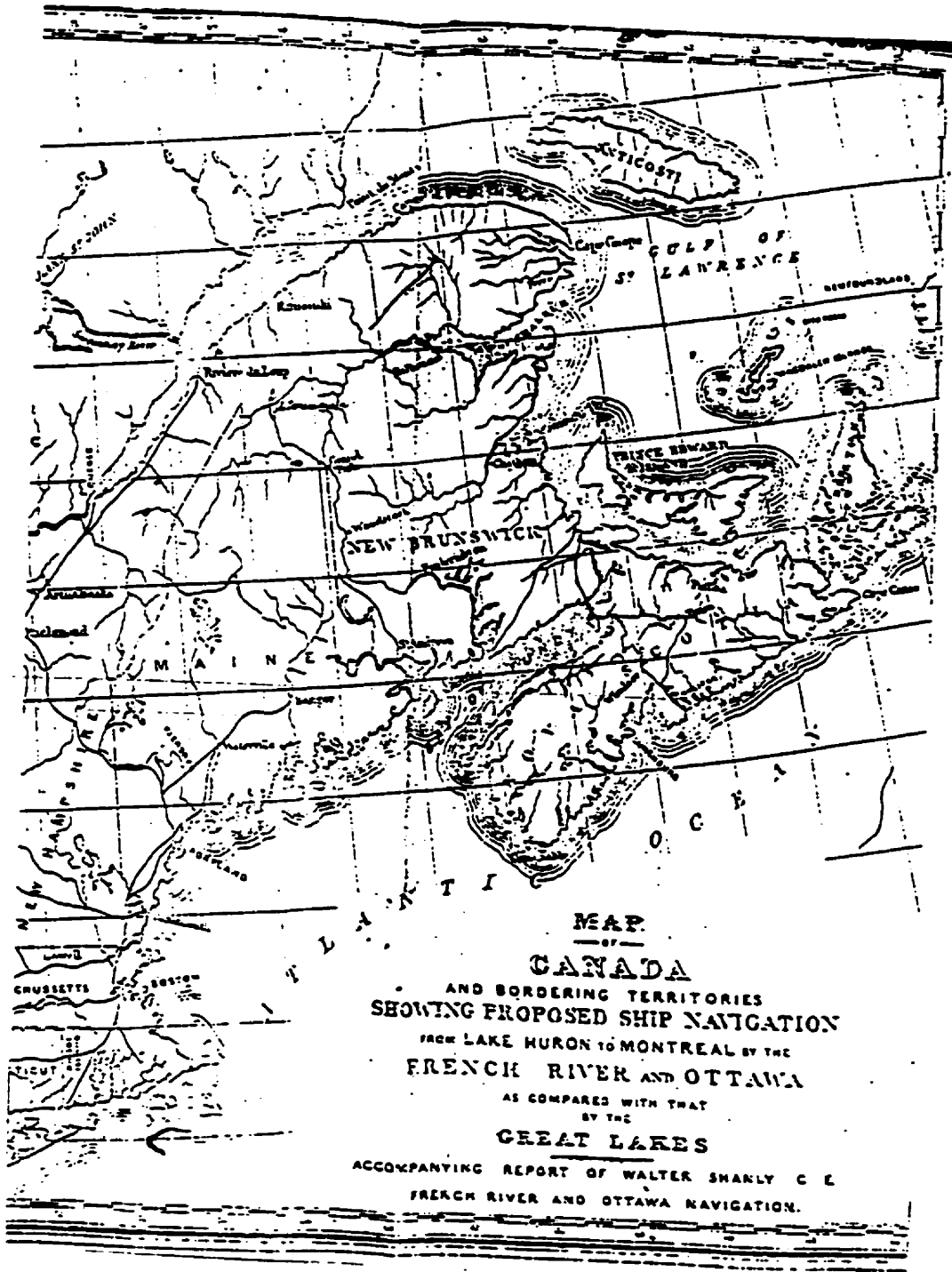
Chapter Four

Language, Government, and the Politics of Settlement

The study of colonization in the Ottawa-Huron Tract offers a point of entry into a

much broader study of a Canadian state-in-formation and its complex relationship to both

geography and society. In particular. it has been a point of emphasis thus far to argue that

the modern Canadian state. through its capacity and desire to organize. classify. and

identify – in other words *know* – set out to become the embodiment of both geography

and society and their respective histories. The previous chapter. concerned with the

state's construction of a geography named the 'Ottawa-Huron Tract'. argued that this

process was as much political and cultural as it was scientific. Indeed. the boundaries that

defined the Ottawa-Huron Tract on the ground (via the surveyor's emblazoned markers

on trees. rocks. and makeshift posts) were also inscribed on maps. in field notebooks.

reports. and. ultimately. in the political imaginations of élites. While these élites rarely if

ever visited the Ottawa-Huron Tract. except through the archive produced by experts such

as the civil engineers Thomas Keefer and Walter Shanly. it was they who would

ultimately enact policies of settlement and exploitation that would affect the region's

peoples and landscapes. The conclusion of the previous chapter suggested that by making

this region's geography known and organizing its wilderness into townships and units of

property. the state had prepared the region. at least theoretically. for the emergence of a

settler society whose task it would be to transform wilderness into pastoral landscapes. to

construct productive community from the so-called "waste lands." Yet what should this settler society be? What kind of settler was needed to build these societies?

The answers to these questions, and the focus of this and the next chapter, came to be expressed in an idealized citizen-settler, whom the state (and others) called the "actual settler."[1] While the expression 'actual settler' was neither new to the mid-nineteenth century, nor unique to Canada, its significance in Canadian political discourse at this time was acute. In a new era of colonial governance when responsibility for public lands, immigration, and public works was effectively under colonial rather than imperial control, when the rebellions of the late 1830s were still active in the memories of the state's builders, and when a new art of government was reflected in the resulting institutions and practices, the concern for a new settler society in frontier lands was as much qualitative as it was quantitative.

The actual or *bona fide* settler was defined in stark opposition to speculators, thieves, and impostors thought to be roaming frontier Canada to make quick money at the expense of others. For reform-minded Canadians, the greatest offender was the speculator who purchased lots with the intent of waiting for the value to rise as areas matured and the demand for land grew. These people were seen by reformers as impeding the progress of settlement by leaving land empty and therefore 'unimproved'. These speculators were seen as another Family Compact, the ruling group which had been a bane to political reformers in Upper Canada before the rebellions of 1837-38. "The progress of the colony has thus been retarded." settler John Dunbar Moodie wrote of the

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[1] The expression "*bona fide* settler" was also used as a synonym. In both cases, the issue was one of authenticity.

Compact in 1852. "and its best interests sacrificed, to gratify the insatiable cupidity of a clique who boasted the exclusive possession of all the loyalty in the country."[2]

Also considered evil was the huckster-speculator who preyed upon the excitement of new immigrants (and would-be emigrants still in Britain) by misrepresenting lands in their possession to make a quick dollar. These hucksters were particularly offensive to Moodie's wife, the writer Susanna Moodie, who observed in the introduction to *Roughing It in the Bush*: "Oh, ye dealers in wild lands – ye speculators in the folly and credulity of your fellow men – what a mass of misery, and of misrepresentation productive of that misery, have ye to answer for! You had your acres to sell, and what to you were the worn-down frames and broken hearts of the infatuated purchasers?"[3] According to the Moodies, selfishness prohibited speculators from thinking of the greater public good. These were not citizens of a progressive community so badly needed by a growing colony like Canada.

Like speculators, it was believed that other 'bogus settlers' did not seek to establish productive farms and therefore contribute to the public good. Instead, the name "bogus settlers" was applied to those who took up land with the sole intent of getting as much timber as possible to the local mills before abandoning their lot. Also bogus were poachers who removed timber, fruits, and wildlife without obtaining the legal rights to these goods or the land and waters from which they came. Instead they were said to stalk

[2] His comments appear in one of three chapters that John Moodie contributed to Susanna Moodie. *Roughing It in the Bush; or, Life in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989 [orig. 1852]). The quote is taken from page 246.

[3] *Ibid.*, 13. A segment of this same passage also appears in W.H. New, *Land Sliding: Imagining Space, Presence, and Power in Canadian Writing* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 75.

the frontier, looking for opportunity but not for a permanent place to establish a home. The impermanence displayed by both the roving poacher as well as those exploiting timber licenses certainly failed the standard of actuality. As a Crown Timber Agent said in 1855, "Time is required to ascertain that settlement is actual."[4]

Equally problematic for the state were squatters. Squatters occupied an ambiguous place in Canadian politics.[5] They were admired by reformers for trying to carve out farms from the dense forests of frontier regions like the Ottawa-Huron Tract. Thus, as was pointed out in the last chapter, provincial land surveyors sent into the region were directed to enumerate squatters and note the amount of clearings done and the extent to which they were farming. The state hoped to have these pioneers take up legal title to the public lands to which they had laid claim. While squatters were a 'class' of settlers that were considered to be rough and to exhibit little interest in following the rules of property, they were still preferable as white, Euro-Canadians in contrast to aboriginal peoples who might 'return' to the region and seek to occupy these lands.[6] Indeed, in the 1840s and 1850s Crown Land agents were directed to give opportunity to squatters who had improved public lands – such as clearing, planting, and building a house of some sort

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[4] "Report of the Select Committee Appointed to Examine and Report Upon the Present System of Management of the Public Lands," *JLAC*, 1855, Appendix M.M., testimony of A.J. Russell. Hereafter, I will use the abbreviated *Report on Public Lands*. Unfortunately, there are no page numbers with the edition published in the *JLAC* so readers will have to work through its 100+ pages by following the name of the person the citation indicates and then working though their testimony or submitted evidence.

[5] J.I. Little, "Contested Land: Squatters and Agents in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada," *Canadian Historical Review*, 80 (1999), 381–412, seeks to show the often-ambiguous relationship between the state, its agents, squatter families and communities, and title-holders.

– to purchase these 'improved' lands. The agent was in fact not to sell this land to anyone other than the squatter "without first communicating with the Department on the subject."[7]

But squatters were also seen, by both Reformers and Conservatives, as unwilling to follow the rules for colonization. Instead, squatters adhered to their own practices of property and commercial exchange.[8] This was especially offensive to Conservatives such as John Beverley Robinson, who wrote: "I have no sympathy for the genus squatter…I think the favour that has always been shown to squatters has a democratizing tendency and leads to a confusion in the notions of *meum* and *teum*."[9] For Conservatives and even for many Reformers, squatters, as distinct from the actual settlers, were perceived as crude and uncivilized, living on primordial instincts that they had unfortunately brought

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[6] With the Robinson Treaty of 1850, aboriginal peoples in the region had been re-located to reserves on Manitoulin Island and in areas along the eastern and northern shore of Georgian Bay and Lake Huron.

[7] A copy of the "General Instructions to the District or Resident Agents of the Department of Crown Lands" can be found in the *Report on Public Lands*. The quote is from section XIII of these directives.

[8] This was hardly unique to Canada, as squatters were also key figures in the mid-Victorian, frontier landscapes of Australia, New Zealand, and California. See John C. Weaver, "Beyond the Fatal Shore: Pastoral Squatting and the Occupation of Australia, 1826-1852," *American Historical Review*, 101 (1996), 981-1007; Weaver, "Frontiers into Assets: The Social Construction of Property in New Zealand, 1840-65," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 27 (1999), 17-54; Karen B. Clay, "Property Rights and Institutions: Congress and the California Land Act of 1851," *Journal of Economic History*, 59 (1999), 122-142; Donald J. Pisani, "Squatter Law in California, 1850-1858," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 25 (1994), 277-312.

[9] J.B. Robinson to J. Macaulay, 20 July 1852. Quoted in Lillian Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 295.

with them from Europe. the United States, and Quebec.[10] While important as pioneers in

the colonization of waste lands, squatters were thus perceived by many to be incompatible

with the goal of building a modern Canada. Like the landscape, these people would have

to be cultivated into better citizen-settlers, through education and other cultural

institutions. or perhaps even removed (through dislocation) from the territorial limits of

'civilized' Canada. In their present condition. they simply did not demonstrate attributes

of 'actual settlers'.

The disqualification of squatters. speculators, and poachers from the category of

'actual settler' emerged from a political discourse that equated colonization with the

larger project of nation- and state-building and it is this context that must guide our

reading of its history. Benedict Anderson has argued persuasively that projects of modern

nation-building were predicated on the making of imagined national communities.[11] The

taxonomy of settlers that emerged from mid-nineteenth-century Canadian political

discourse. and especially from the way in which these categories ('actual settler'. 'bogus

settler'. 'speculator'. 'poacher'. 'squatter') were imagined. contributed to the larger

project of defining the boundaries of a national community in Canada. By writing about

these settlers and mapping the social landscape with terms like 'actual settlers' and

'bogus settlers'. the state was able to sketch 'the social body'. to offer a representation of

society that was not just based on 'the facts' but was also produced from an ethic and

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[10] We will return to this in greater detail below. but see also Little. "Contested Land.." 381-382 who quotes Susanna Moodie as describing her squatter neighbours as being "ignorant as savages. without their courtesy and kindness."

[11] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* revised ed. (London: Verso. 1991).

nationalist fantasies about the making of settler societies to effect national progress.[12] As

a result, just as there was an imagined geography named the Ottawa-Huron Tract, there

came to be an imagined community of settlement placed within that geography. That is

the focus of this, and the next, chapter.

To explore this history, however, we must first confront the established, relevant

historiography. Works by such well-known, and well-regarded Canadian scholars as

Arthur Lower, Lillian Gates, H.V. Nelles, and Graeme Wynn, among others, have offered

an interpretation of settlement in the frontier of Old Ontario that continues to dominate

our knowledge on the topic: these scholars constitute an interpretive community with

respect to the history of the politics of settlement in mid-nineteenth-century Ontario.

Although each was interested in different issues related to this process, and each

approached the issues with different conceptual and methodological tools, and in some

cases even offered different conclusions, all have worked from the same 'official' archive

of colonization. Furthermore, all have placed the lumber industry at the centre of their

analyses and approached the archive in a search for evidence of settlement's relationship

to this industry, with an acute focus on both lumbermen-settler and lumbermen-

government relations.[13]

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[12] A similar project was underway in Britain since the 1830s and it is given a fascinating critical analysis in Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[13] The notion of an "interpretive community" is a fundamental point in Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in this Class?* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980). Arthur Lower, "The Assault on the Laurentian Barrier, 1850-1870," *Canadian Historical Review*, 10 (1929), 294-307; H.V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines & Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974); Graeme Wynn, "Notes on Society and Environment in Old Ontario," *Journal of Social History*, 13 (1979), 49-65; Lillian Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, 284-307. The staying-power of Lower's interpretation is reflected in

Within this body of scholarly work, however, there seemed to be no need to ask

what terms like 'actual settler' and 'bogus settler' meant to those who used them or to

understand how the experience of settlement in the Ottawa-Huron Tract was made subject

to the state and its processes of governance. As a result, the state's governance (and its

resulting discourse) remained outside the scope of analysis. As Jacqueline Stevens has

cautioned, "[a]ttention to the state risks simply mimicking its own conventions."[14]

Indeed, by allowing the language of archives produced by the processes of governance to

become the language of critical analysis, scholars run the risk of reproducing history on

the terms on which it was written by the past. As a result, terms such as 'actual settler'

and 'bogus settler' are allowed to stand as descriptive and analytical concepts in the

politics of settlement. Yet, the existence of these concepts and their meanings in political

discourse were in fact contested elements in this history.

This chapter revisits what is arguably the single most important piece of evidence

from which historians have examined lumberman-settler and lumberman-government

relations, but from the starting point of asking how this evidence represents these

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W. Robert Wrightman and Nancy M. Wrightman. *The Land Between: Northern Ontario resource Development, 1800 to the 1990s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 422, fn. 2, which describes Lower's 1929 piece as still "the classic interpretation to the colonial approach to the Shield in this period." While less-explicit, J. David Wood, *Making Ontario: Agricultural Colonization and Landscape Re-Creation before the Railway* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000) would seem to echo these thoughts. See, for example, page 23 of this work where Wood speaks of the "assault" (without any quotation marks) unleashed by settlers, a militaristic metaphor used to great effect in Lower, *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forests* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1938). Earlier, Harold Innis was so impressed by Lower's work on this topic that he commissioned him to write *Settlement and the Forest Frontier in Eastern Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936) which in many ways is an extension of the same arguments presented in the 1929 *Canadian Historical Review* article and which would be pivotal to Lower's *The North American Assault*.

[14] Jacqueline Stevens. *Reproducing the State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 47.

relationships (through language) and casts them within a larger context and culture of state formation. This is the *Report on Public Lands* published in the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly* in 1855. It is a massive report of over 100 pages of testimony and reproduced pieces of evidence. The hearings, on which the report was based, called upon a wide range of personalities and 'experts' and thus it is little wonder that in this report one can find a wide range of opinion. Building upon the research results of earlier resource historians such as Lower, Gates, Nelles, and Wynn, this chapter returns to this critical collection of evidence with an eye towards the forms of representation that were used by contemporaries to describe the lumber industry and colonization. The results include a broader, more complex understanding of the state's perception that the relationship between settlers and the lumber industry was a means to a larger end and not an end in itself.[15] Such an insight opens up the analysis that follows in Chapter 5.

The *Système Agro-Forestier* and the "Public Inquiry into the Management of Public Lands" of 1854-55

As its name suggests, the *système agro-forestier*, the motor that drove the Ottawa-Huron Tract's economy throughout the nineteenth century, depended upon the relationship between the lumberman and the farmer. Especially in winter, when teams of lumberers went to camps in the bush to cut down trees and move the timber to the banks

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[15] Again, I am alluding to the interpretive direction suggested by James C. Scott. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

of the frozen rivers, they needed both produce and labour supplied by farmers. The climate and the conditions of work were such that the caloric intake of men at the camps was very high: their appetites and tastes craved pork, grains, and root vegetables, not to mention litres of strong tea. Getting these goods from market to camp was difficult, especially in the Ottawa-Huron Tract where distances from the markets in Renfrew, Eganville, and Pembroke grew each year as camps pushed farther into the bush. As a result, having farmers settled near the camps, especially as they moved inland away from market towns, was much desired by lumbermen who went so far as to hire farmers to work land within their timber limits.

Besides agricultural produce, also significant was the labour provided by farmers in the winter months. While the work in lumber camps was difficult and intense, and the pay was marginal, it provided important income for new settlers in the Ottawa-Huron Tract. Money earned from the camps was essential to meeting the operating costs of farms still covered by bush or whose soils were not yet providing profitable yields. Many families were required to send sons to join their fathers in the camps and there was a culture to work and life in the camps, one in which the bonds of kinship and language were especially significant. Lumbermen thus searched for employees who could work together as the difficulty of felling trees, stripping them, and moving them overland to the waters required much coordination of effort. Hiring fathers and sons, and perhaps cousins and uncles was a means of forming teams, which, under the direction of experienced lumbermen, would be efficient and cost-effective. As well, knowing how

desperate some families were for the income provided by work in the camps. lumbermen were able to pay a very modest wage for their labour.[16]

This system was certainly perceived by contemporaries. as well as later historians. to be the pivotal issue in understanding the politics of settlement. As we saw in the last chapter. engineers. surveyors. and administrators understood the intimate bonds between the lumberer and the farmer as symbiotic. organic. and natural. and they saw the geography of the Ottawa-Huron Tract as ideal for this relationship to prosper. As well. the state's geographical experts used the unquestioned logic of the *système agro-forestier* to demonstrate how valuable the Ottawa-Huron Tract was as a field for colonization. At the same time. lumbermen recoiled against the state's efforts to place a large. permanent population of farmers in 'their' forests.[17]

Their anger with the state. did not. however. translate into a rejection of the *système agro-forestier*. Instead. lumbermen argued that the equilibrium of the region's economy was threatened by overcolonization. Hidden by the political excitement of colonization. the lumbermen charged that devious people were applying for land at reduced rates. clearing as much timber as they could in a short period of time. selling it

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[16] Lorne Hammond. "Capital. Labour. and Lumber in A.R.M. Lower's Woodyard: James MacLaren and the Changing Forest Economy.. 1850-1906." Ph.D. Thesis (University of Ottawa. 1993). 18-19. But see also: Normand Séguin. "L'economie agro-forestière: genèse du développement au Saugenay au 19e siècle." in Séguin. ed.. *Agriculture et colonisation au Québec* (Montreal: Boréal Express. 1980): René Hardy and Normand Séguin. *Foret et Société en Maurice* (Montreal: Boréal. 1984): Chad Gaffield. *Language. Schooling. and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1987). 62-99. For life in the lumber camps see the synthesis in Ian Radforth. "The Shantymen." in Paul Craven. ed.. *Labouring Lives: Work and Workers in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1995). 204-277.

[17] The idea of the forests being "theirs" to manage properly as a resource. is a central idea in Lower's discussion of the lumbermen in "The Assault on the Laurentian Barrier."

off to the local mill, and then moving on to their next location. Lumbermen thus charged that the state's misguided attempts at colonization in some areas of the Ottawa-Huron Tract, especially the pine-rich townships, was exacerbating these abuses.[18]

In turn, lumbermen were compelled to turn to the state to argue against its practices. The Crown Timber Act of 1849, among other things, prohibited lumber companies from transgressing boundaries of newly surveyed townships that were to be settled by later colonists, so that lumbermen were unable to police 'bogus settlers' and timber poachers. H.V. Nelles has shown that the 1849 Act was instrumental in establishing a new relationship between the lumbermen and the state, that of "tenant-landlord."[19] Appealing to their landlords in the mid-1850s, when colonization was still in its infancy and surveyors had only begun their extensive mapping of the region, lumbermen recognized that in order to make the most effective political argument they could not simply make the accusation that quick-for-profit lumber extraction was just like the other evil of mid-nineteenth century Canada, land speculation. Rather, they argued that such practices violated the very definition of 'actual settlement' and thus constituted a threat to the state's territorial interests.

These arguments appeared most forcefully in a famous 1854 parliamentary inquiry to explore the use, management, and future colonization of public lands, the results of which appeared in the *Report on Public Lands*. None of those men representing lumber's interests, James Henry Burke, George Hamilton, William Hamilton, and Allan Gilmour, objected to the necessity of settlement in the Ottawa-Huron Tract *per se*. Instead, each

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[18] "Report of the Select Committee on the Timber Trade," *JLAC*, 1863, App. 8.

supported a concerted effort to work within the framework of colonization. For example.

Crown timber agent James Henry Burke objected to settlement in pine-timber areas on

the premise that the soils underneath were thin and sandy and incapable of supporting

agricultural development. "But mark this coincidence." he continued. "surrounding the

pine territory and contiguous to the great lumber fields" was a large area "possessing a

fertile soil and timbered by hardwood. This timber has not the commercial value of pine.

and its destruction is not a national loss."[20]

Such an argument was consistent with the two pillars of the lumbermen's

arguments: first. that the pine forests were a national good and needed the systematic

management which only business (and not the state) could ensure: and second. that the

Ottawa-Huron Tract was not one single ecological region but a dichotomous collection of

micro-regions. whether pine-rich or pine-poor. in which settlement could and should

bring the maximum benefit to the state and industry. Burke also argued that the

monopolistic timber industry preserved social order in the Ottawa-Huron Tract by

keeping the artisan in his shop. the farmer on his fields. and the merchant behind his

counter rather than trying to cash in on the financial windfall of lumbering. "I believe."

he concluded. "the present system to have a healthy effect on the economy of the forest

and the settlement of the country."

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[19] Nelles. *The Politics of Development.* 14.

[20] *Report on Public Lands.* testimony of James Henry Burke. While Burke was an agent for the Crown Lands Department. his sentiments were openly in support of the lumbermen and the timber industry in general. Unless specified otherwise. all the quotations in this section are derived from this massive report. Unfortunately. the pages of the report are not numbered. so quotations must be located by their speaker.

Historians have long recognized the significance of this parliamentary inquiry, especially the testimony of James Burke, and it has in fact been a key text in establishing the timber industry's perceived 'hostile' feelings towards colonization.[21] Nelles uses the inquiry to show that whereas lumbermen and farming settlers co-existed peacefully in the lowlands of the St. Lawrence River and Great Lakes, this all changed once the frontier pushed into the northwest of the Ottawa-Huron Tract.[22] Similarly, Gates agreed with Arthur Lower (and Harold Innis) that "quite suddenly" the lumberman and the settler came to resent one another.[23] More than anyone, Lower accepted the apparent estrangement between settlers and lumbermen, and was unambiguous about who had more legitimacy in this clash: "While the lumbermen were probably actuated mainly by selfish motives," he wrote in 1936, "there is no question they were in the right and that the country as a whole would have been much further ahead if the forests of the upper Ottawa Valley had been kept permanently in their hands as a national estate. Then the rivalry between the lumberer and settler, which incited one to slash down and the other burn up, would never have taken place."[24]

In challenging the extent of this rivalry, Graeme Wynn is careful to note that "the clash of interests [revealed in the 1854-55 inquiry] polarized points of view. In reality the

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[21] Nelles, *The Politics of Development,* 17, Wynn, "Notes on Society and Environment in Old Ontario," 55, Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada,* 298 all cite the same quote from James Burke: "...we go for keeping a fair line of demarcation between the lumbering and the agricultural regions as nature has laid it down." Lower, "The Assault on the Laurentian Barrier," 295-296 paraphrases the same testimony.

[22] Nelles, *The Politics of Development,* 16.

[23] Gates, *Land Policies of Upper Canada,*297.

[24] Lower, *Settlement and the Forest Frontier in Eastern Canada,* 56.

situation was essentially more complex than these arguments suggested."[25] The

interdependent relationships between lumbermen and settlers in the système agro-

forestier certainly warrant such an argument, and it is Wynn's understanding of the social.

as well as political and economic, elements of the lumber industry that allow him to see a

somewhat skewed representation of lumbermen and settler relations that historians have

generally read into the 1854-55 report. Wynn's 1979 arguments have only been

reinforced by subsequent socio-historical research by scholars of Ontario and Quebec. as

well as Wynn's own research on colonial New Brunswick.[26]

As a welcome refinement of earlier research. Wynn's article offers a more

nuanced conclusion because his emphasis on the social and environmental context of the

lumberman-settler relationship breaks free the staples-driven analysis of Lower (and

Gates) and the functionalist, political-economic arguments of Nelles. In effect, Wynn

situates the rhetoric and fact expressed in this hearing within a different historical context.

And yet, one wonders how these facts were made and used.

Parliamentary inquiries and the recommendations that flowed from them can be

approached as politicized representations of social reality and as displays of a state-in-

formation.[27] To read these inquiries less as 'fact-finding' state projects but rather 'fact-

making' state initiatives. is to be attuned and sensitive to the ways in which truth-value

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[25] Wynn. "Notes on Society and Environment in Old Ontario." 55-56.

[26] See the citations provided in fn. 16 above as well as Graeme Wynn. *Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1981).

[27] See Anderson. *Imagined Communities.* 36-46. 164-170 and Cohn and Dirks. "Beyond the Fringe: The Nation State. Colonialism. and the Technologies of Power." *Journal of Historical Sociology.* 1 (1988). 224-229.

was attained in them. For the 1855 *Report on Public Lands*, such a reading must take us

beyond the traditional historiographical interest in the arguments of the lumbermen, the

large land companies, and the proponents of unfettered settlement. We need to listen, as

the committee did, to the objective and systematic comments provided by 'the expert'.

By unpacking the role of the expert in this parliamentary hearing we can see a new history

begin to emerge. one removed (as Wynn suggests) from the extremist rhetoric of

lumbermen and agriculturists. Instead the reader is taken down a new path, above the

fray of self-serving lumbermen and overly-romantic agriculturists. In this other history,

the actual settler assumed an identity that went beyond his role in the *système agro-*

forestier, to become instead a moral, political, as well as economic citizen whose

obligations were to the betterment of not just the region's powerful lumber industry but

also the local civic community, the region, and, above all else, the state.[28]

The Civilizing Process and the Management of Public Lands

The key expert in this hearing was Alexander Jamieson (A.J.) Russell. At the

time, Russell described himself as "the Inspector of Crown Timber Agencies for the

Ottawa and Canada East" who in the previous nine years had also been surveyor of

Crown Timber licenses at Bytown, issuer of these licenses, and "Inspector of Crown

Lands and colonisation roads for Canada East." Born in Glasgow in 1807, A.J. Russell

had come to Canada with his brother Andrew (who was by the mid-1850s Assistant

Commissioner of Crown Lands) and the rest of their family in 1822 and settled in the

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[28] My use of gender-specific pronouns "his" and "him" is not accidental, but rather reflects the
degree to which the "actual settler" was itself a gendered category of citizenship. We will give

Eastern Townships. In 1829, when he was twenty-two years old, A.J. Russell became a

Deputy Provincial Land Surveyor. joining his father and brother in the Crown Lands

Department. After working for a while on the construction of the Rideau Canal, Russell

spent over a decade working on various public works in Lower Canada as a civil

engineer. before joining the Crown Timber Office in Bytown in 1846.[29] Russell's brother

Andrew deferred to him in the 1854 hearings on public lands by telling the committee

that A.J. possessed "a much more thorough and extensive knowledge of the territory [the

Ottawa Valley]" than he himself did.

Given A.J. Russell's extensive career and service to the state, and the

endorsement of his highly regarded brother, it is little wonder that in a fairly lengthy

examination. he was asked not only to comment on general questions but to assess the

credibility of all the preceding testimony. This included that of the lumbermen, the land

companies, and the lengthy testimony of William Spragge, a spokesmen for unfettered

settlement in the Ottawa-Huron Tract and one of those voices that Wynn described as

"agriculturist." Russell's testimony included a review of that provided earlier by Thomas

Keefer who already by 1855 was regarded as an engineer of international repute. Arthur

Lower also recognized Russell's unique position in this inquiry. calling him a "competent

official" who did not think much of Keefer's testimony.[30] And yet, Lower credits Keefer

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this more attention in Chapter Five.

[29] Such a biography certainly qualified Russell's inclusion in *The Canadian Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men. Ontario Volume* (Toronto. Chicago. and New York. 1880). pp.134-135 from which much of this paragraph was gleaned. See also Margaret Coleman. "Andrew Russell." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography.* vol.XI. pp.779-780.

[30] See his "The Assault on the Laurentian Barrier." 301.

with being the architect of the colonization program that had just begun in the Ottawa-Huron Tract (with the building of colonization roads and surveys for settlement); in fact. Keefer was outside the administrative network that strategized and practised colonization but whose voice and reputation were called upon to legitimize the larger goals of the project. Lower's interest in the ends rather than means of colonization. in addition to the holding power of Keefer's reputation as an influential force in Canadian politics of the period. resulted in such a conclusion. However. more so than anyone else involved with these hearings. including Keefer. Russell and his testimony appear to have been regarded as "expert" and worthy of attention by politicians.

Not surprisingly. Russell was asked first to review the timber industry and its relationships with the state and with settlers. and the answers he provided seemed to search for a consensus between all the concerned parties. Russell recognized the importance of maintaining a "judicious medium" between the promotion of the timber industry and the necessity of using cleared land for agricultural purposes. In this regard. he believed that the current regulations concerning the disposal of public lands met this objective although it required much effort on the part of the state to monitor the industry and its use (or lack thereof) of certain lands currently licensed to them. Russell was also adamant that the timber industry provided a captive market in need of agricultural supplies and thus it operated as a tremendous source of revenue for settlers. As was the case of the lumbermen. Russell argued that the industry needed actual settlers to fill the demands of the regional economy. Like all those involved with the hearings. Russell distinguished between 'actual' and 'bogus' settlers. What was unique was his argument that the latter "injure[d] the actual settler" by lowering the value of the land that the actual

settler acquired with his property. In this regard the bogus settler was not just an affront to the progress of the timber industry but constituted a real threat to the success of the agents of colonization. the actual settlers.[31]

Actual settlement and the state's ability to ensure its progress were also threatened. Russell claimed. when speculation was permitted. Thus, when asked to assess the testimony of Jonathan White. of Michigan. on the American system of public land dispersion. Russell argued vehemently that it should be avoided. In the course of his testimony. White had admitted that land speculation in the United States was a problem. but he believed that the municipal tax system of Upper Canada in particular could act as a check on "wild speculators." Russell believed that unlike the American Midwest. the Ottawa Valley did not offer the luxury of taking the risk that the good lands could fall in to the hands of speculators and stop the progress of settlement. He warned the committee that "circumstances. and the coldness of *our* climate do enough already to turn away immigration. and draw off *our* native population. and weaken *our* national strength. without this additional obstruction."[32] As proof. he pointed to Canada's history with regards to property sold in large blocks or to private speculators. in particular the

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[31] *Report on Public Lands.* testimony of A.J. Russell.

[32] I have italicized the word "our" to highlight what was pervasive in Russell's testimony. Speaking to the committee. Russell's use of this possessive pronoun was effective in situating the region's colonization within the context of 'the state'. Furthermore. the word "our" demonstrated for the committee that the region was indeed a place in and of Canada. a space and society that belonged to them. Thus when he speaks of "our native population" he is speaking of white Euro-Canadians. especially the movement of peoples from Canada into the American Midwest and New England states. He was not referring to aboriginal peoples who did not belong to "our" Canada.

experiences of Lower Canada in his old home region the Eastern Townships. "Were such

a blight to fall on the lands fit for settlement on the Ottawa," he argued:

> it would long check the consolidation of the Province as an
> inhabited country: and be injurious to its unity and strength.
> For there, as the chief value of the land is, in its timber forests,
> we know it would be for that it would be purchased by
> speculators – the soil would be little thought of. – The lumbering
> which is causelessly [sic] complained of now, would then
> certainly be the governing interest, and settlement be entirely in
> its mercy. – Government would have lost all control of the land,
> which it now retains, and the immediate interests of the
> speculators would ever rule the interest of the Province."[33]

This was sobering testimony. The course of state-building depended, according to such

arguments, upon the efforts of Government (capital G) to transcend the narrowness of

speculators and other individuals who were trapped by their own selfish drives and

desires. Indeed, when left outside the regulatory presence of the state. "wild speculators"

bred social disorder and an undoing of the great national project. Thus while the timber

industry could argue that its power served to preserve social order by keeping settlers in

their rightful place (the field, the family home, the village store), for Russell such control

required the place of enlightened, unprejudiced Government.

Further, in his review of Thomas Keefer's proposal for a colonization scheme

that, based on the construction of new railways, might place actual settlers on all lands

regardless of their agricultural potential. Russell was adamant that the state could not

allow this to happen. Rather, Russell proposed that the state accelerate its efforts to

survey the entire Ottawa-Huron Tract and then use this knowledge to place settlers only

on those lands that could be brought under the hoe with success. Settlers induced to take

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[33] *Report on Public Lands*, testimony of A.J. Russell.

up lands rich in timber but poor in soil would become. Russell warned. "wedded to

poverty" and thus a social burden rather than social benefit. So unimpressed was Russell

with Keefer's proposal that he confessed to being "wholly unable to point out any

particulars in which it would be for the interest of the country that it should be

adopted."[34]

In challenging the lumbermen. the large land companies, and the railway booster

Thomas Keefer. the issue for Russell was one of social order and the importance of

rational. systematic. state-run colonization. The timber industry had to be made subject

to the larger goals of the nation-state and not left to act as a protector or guarantor for it.

Speculation. Russell warned. would only exaggerate the extent to which the selfish

interests of the timber industry and the large land companies would be permitted to

assume this role. Furthermore. only with careful planning could government ensure that

the optimal conditions for actual settlement were in place. Actual settlers. Russell

suggested. were smart enough to choose lots that were viable for long term farming and

the state needed only to prepare these lands for settlement by surveying them into defined

lots of property. producing maps. and disseminating information. Russell believed that.

in producing and monitoring a program of systematic colonization. both actual settlers

and the lumbermen would prosper. that railways and other lines of communication would

thrive. and that all of this would contribute to the betterment of Canada. Most

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[34] *Ibid..* testimony of A.J. Russell.

importantly. government would control the land and its destiny, rather than run the risk of exposing public lands to grip of selfish speculation and reckless exploitation.[35]

If speculators were enemies of the state for Russell, so too was the squatter. In his review of William Spragge's testimony. Russell agreed that squatting was an "evil" that the state had to stop immediately in the Upper Ottawa Valley by stepping up its efforts to survey the wild lands. As was the case with land speculation. Russell argued that squatting was "injurious to the future character of the settlement. The land is taken up by a poorer and inferior class of settlers." Further. unlike the United States where settlers of means would buy out squatters. in the Canadian frontier actual settlers "avoid such settlements as unsuitable to live in." He continued:

> [S]quatter settlements are therefore deprived in a very
> considerable degree of the advantage of having settlers of means
> and education. and of the benefit of the expenditure of their
> money. and of their example in improved cultivation. as well as
> other services and assistance in municipal affairs and in
> educational and other social matters of the greatest importance
> to their future prosperity.[36]

Here we see how a civil society of actual settlers was imagined to be essential to the both the betterment of the local community as well as the social organization desired by the Canadian state-in-formation. The interests of the state to see a civil society transform the wilderness of the frontier into a place of manners. morals. and mores could not be accomplished with the interfering backwardness and incivility of squatters.

In this regard. Russell was certainly in much agreement with the arguments of at least one of those voices who wanted widespread and intense settlement throughout the

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[35] *Ibid..* testimony of A.J. Russell.

[36] *Ibid..* testimony of A.J. Russell.

Ottawa-Huron Tract. William Spragge. who was then a secretary in the Crown Lands

Department. testified that as "the most moral. as well as superior. physically to the other

classes." actual settlers "are the source whence those other classes can be best reunited."

He warned. however. that these actual settlers should not be isolated from one another in

the frontier. but rather that only institutions and practices of community could ensure the

integrity and success of colonization:

> The moral. social and religious condition. is. I believe almost
> universally found to become depreciated amongst those people.
> whether in the United States or Canada. who. debarred by their
> isolated situation from the privileges of education and religious
> instruction. have. as regards those of mature years become
> insensible to the restraints which they impose. while the younger
> members of families. having never enjoyed the opportunity
> necessary for the inculcation of the principles they teach. exhibit
> the melancholy spectacle of responsible beings ignorant of the
> obligations and duties due from them to God. and to man. ...
> [T]he lawless and the profane who must need both the influence
> and example of persons of orderly habits. and well regulated
> minds...[therefore require] the Government. in devising a mode
> for extending the interior settlements. to offer facilities for the
> introduction of education and religious instruction.[37]

Like Russell. Spragge told the committee that actual settlers would act as agents in

ensuring that the institutional development of civil society. schools and churches in

particular. would be built. Such an argument carried much weight. The notorious culture

of the shantymen was well known and feared by those who wanted agricultural settlement

and a civil society in the region.[38] These rough men. along with squatters and their

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[37] *Ibid..* testimony of William Spragge.

[38] This was punctuated by the Shriner's War of 1837-38. an event that has been the subject of three distinct historical treatments: Michael Cross. "The Shiners' War: Social Violence in the Ottawa Valley in the 1830's." *Canadian Historical Review.* 54 (1973). 1-26; Richard Reid. *The Upper Ottawa Valley to 1855* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press. 1990). xxxii-xl; Chad Gaffield. "Scorpions. Solitudes and the Process of Communication." *Zeitschrift fuer Kanada-Studien.* 13 (1993). 39-51.

families. represented "the lawless and the profane" that Spragge argued needed the

refining presence of actual settlers. These settlers, with their "orderly habits" and "well

regulated minds." fulfilled a middle-class sensibility with respect to social and moral

order. It was little wonder, then, that A.J. Russell did not object to this aspect of

Spragge's testimony.

Russell's testimony, when read as 'expert' discourse, offers us a much more

complex and thorough depiction of the actual settler and the politics of settlement than

scholars have acknowledged. The actual settler was unquestionably considered essential

to the efficient workings of the region's système agro-forestier; Russell's remarks on this

issue are very much unremarkable in this regard. And yet, Russell's observations on the

moral and social dimensions of actual settlement, along with those of William Spragge,

hint at a much larger and more extensive presence of the "actual settler" in political

discourse. In the course of their respective testimonies, each expressed great concern for

the fate of the civilizing process in the rugged frontier conditions that then existed in the

Ottawa-Huron Tract. In particular, they worried about the moral condition of the settlers,

and the contaminating influences of others (squatters in particular) who would poison the

making of orderly, respectable settlements. For Spragge and Russell, the formation of a

pastoral settler society[39], which they believed to be the most viable path to building a

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[39] The "pastoral ideal" was central to middle-class, educated, romantic imaginations of the early-Victorian era. Its evolution among artists, poets, and novelists is traced in Terry Gifford, *Pastoral* (London: Routledge, 1999). See the discussion of the middle-class garden in Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 330-335. For a vivid image of the Canadian pastoral vision, see the cover of *Emigration to Canada: The Province of Ontario* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1869) which depicted a flat farm bordered by rolling hills and featuring expansive fields, the only trees appearing in a cultivated orchard. All of this order was

strong. Christian nation, required government to promote a moral conduct of everyday living, one in which the church and the school would serve to regulate the minds and habits of citizen-settlers. In this regard they were hardly alone. The concerns of Russell and Spragge reverberated throughout the administrative network responsible for colonization. This, in fact, will be our focus in the next chapter.

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given a definite form with the use of fences to trace the property line. We shall discuss this romanticism of landscape in more detail in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

Narrating Normalcy:
Colonization and the Construction of the Actual Settler

If we are compelled to look elsewhere in the colonization archive to explore the politics of settlement in mid-nineteenth century. where might we look? The answer to this problem requires us to ask what historical conditions constructed a "politics of settlement" in mid-nineteenth-century Canada. It is clear that these conditions were grounded in the contest for land. but more specifically. the contest for power over the land. its resources. as well as the people for whom this land was home. While much is known about the political battles between lumber barons and various elected officials. less is known about the larger set of processes that made such a confrontation necessary. indeed possible: the growth. expansion. and intensification of a new Canadian state-in-formation and its commitment to a strategy of systematic colonization. For this state-in-formation. colonization was intended to produce valuable yields from the resources of the wilderness and to see that a society of loyal. dedicated. and committed citizen-settlers. the "actual settlers". extended the boundaries of civil society from the confines of Old Ontario towards the north and west. Trees were to be cut and minerals extracted. but this would be accompanied by the production of a new pastoral landscape in which families and communities would be the agents of production and reproduction for countless generations. It is within this vision. and the archive in which it was written and then preserved. where we find a different and perhaps broader history of the politics of settlement. This is the focus of this chapter.

A vision is not only written. it is also mapped. given a form and substance that is intended to exist as a spatial thing projected through time. The mapping of an imagined social landscape of the Ottawa-Huron Tract emerged from the state's confrontation with two critical questions: What should a frontier settler society be? What kind of settler was needed to build these societies? Both questions demanded discussion about the qualitative dimensions of settlement. on the 'type' of person and conditions that would foster progress. While issues of capitalist economy such as production. consumption. prices. wages. and labour appeared in these discussions they were themselves embedded in a far-reaching discourse that sought to 'teach' settlers the correct customs. habits. and rules in order to regulate their social. political. and economic conduct.[1] As a result. the concept of the 'actual settler'[2] appeared in this discourse as signifying a whole constellation of meanings. ideals. and values that transcended the settler's material relationship with the land. The actual settler came to represent nothing less than the ideal citizen.

On one level. what we might call the abstract. macro-level of political policy. this relationship was expressed through the rules of settlement that were drawn up to ensure that only actual settlers would be permitted to receive title. hold property. and thus enjoy

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[1] Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer. *The Great Arch: English State Formation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1985). 135-141. discusses the "educational idea" that emerged in mid-Victorian England. a process that included not only schools but a whole range of institutions and practices that sought to teach the correct codes of conduct and habits. especially to those of the crude and rough working classes. For Canada. see Bruce Curtis. *Building the Educational State: Canada West. 1836-1871* (London. Ont.: Althouse Press. 1988). esp. chapter one.

[2] For the sake of reading ease. I shall drop the use of quotation marks around the expression 'actual settler' except when it appears in a direct quotation. However. I want to make it clear that the 'actual settler' was a powerful social category being produced through political discourse. It was not. and still is not. a concept that has a timeless meaning.

the benefits and privileges of citizenship that accompanied property ownership. Thus the first set of conditions placed on the free grants in the Ottawa-Huron Tract in 1855 required that applicants be 18 years old. to be a "subject of her Majesty." possess a "certificate of probity and sobriety." have the necessary money to purchase goods until the land became productive. place twelve acres under cultivation within four years. erect a house no less than twenty feet by eighteen feet. and reside on the lot continuously until the conditions of settlement were met.[3] Only nine months after issuing this directive. however. the Executive Council revoked three of these conditions: applicants no longer would require a certificate of character: they would not have to be subjects of Great Britain: and prospective settlers would not have to prove they possessed enough money to provide for themselves.[4]

The reasons for these changes were for the most part a reflection of the demographic and socio-economic organization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract rather than a rejection of the ideals contained in the original set of conditions. The region's *système agro-forestier* and the continued construction of colonization roads. it was hoped by administrators. would provide enough seasonal employment to allow settlers to earn income in winter with the rest of the year devoted to working on clearing the settler's lot.[5]

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[3] These regulations were widely advertised and also explained to settlers once they took a location ticket. See. for an example of advertising. the poster (dated September. 1855) in AO. RG 1. A-VIII. vol. 16. "Newspaper Clippings and Regulations re: roads and timber. 1794-1909." 56. Failure to meet these conditions denied settlers legal title to their land and made them susceptible to the threat of expulsion.

[4] NAC. RG 1. State Book "Q". 26 July 1856. C-117. 455-456.

[5] See. for example. both the appeal and rejection for assistance of Polish immigrants who had settled deep into the interior of the Ottawa-Huron Tract in AO. RG 52. Series V-b. Box 1. vol. 2. letter from T.P. French to William Hutton. 27 March 1860.

A means test was less significant. therefore. than a willingness to work. Immigrants from continental Europe. especially Germany and Norway. were most favoured (for reasons we will explore in Chapter 6) and to exclude these people from taking up free grants as they were not yet British subjects was counterproductive to the goals of colonization. Finally. the certificate of probity and sobriety. while still certainly desirous. was simply impractical when trying to convince squatters of the advantages of holding title.

This last issue was of particular importance to the 1860 parliamentary committee dedicated to studying the issue of colonization.[6] This committee credited squatters for having begun the colonization of "the rich valley of the Ottawa" and desired nothing less than to see these pioneers take grants. meet the conditions of settlement. receive titles. and thus "enjoy all the political and social advantages which the laws and political institutions of his country confer on him."[7] While the committee advocated a zero-tolerance policy towards those who would henceforth squat on surveyed public lands. the members insisted that the 'good' squatters – that is. those who had settled on lands before the massive survey projects of the 1850s in Upper and Lower Canada – be brought into the national community. Technicalities like certificates of sobriety only discouraged squatters from becoming citizens. it was feared. and thus served little practical purpose.

Yet the 1860 committee was also quite concerned with the moral condition of settlements. Being careful not to revive the religious acrimony that accompanied the secularization of the clergy reserves. the committee favoured the state allocating grants of $50.00 to local communities to ensure that churches could be built and clergy. Protestant

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[6] "Report of the Committee on Colonization." *JLAC*. 1860. Appendix 5.

or Catholic. attracted to settle in these areas. Christianity. the committee suggested. had always been at the forefront of colonization in the New World: "The history of Canada is patent to show that the Missionary has more than any other contributed. by his lessons of faith and charity. to the civilization of his country! More than this even. his blood has moistened the soil. as he fell beneath the tomahawk of the Indian. still a savage!"[x] Thus. far from abdicating the necessity of morality on the frontier. the committee instead sought to rely on the abilities of religious communities to instruct and demonstrate to squatters (and others) what was required for the establishment of civilized society.

While some settlement duties were deemed unnecessary and even prohibitive. those that remained in place. both on the free grants and on sold public lands. reflected the desire for a social order predicated on stability and permanence. These sentiments were expressed clearly by another parliamentary committee in 1857:

> The settler should be enabled to obtain his title deeds as soon as
> he shall have opened a road along the front of his farm. cleared
> six acres of land. of which not less than two should be in
> meadow. and erected a habitable house. and another building for
> reception of his crop. These conditions which are easy of
> performance. are perfectly sufficient to ensure actual
> occupation. and this is all we require in colonization."

While the specifics changed somewhat over time. most obviously in the amount of clearance required. what remained consistent among the conditions of settlement was that settlers had to erect a house of minimum dimensions and had to demonstrate an effort to

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[·] *Ibid..* 9.

[x] *Ibid..* 10-11.

["] "Report of the Special Committee on Emigration." *JLAC.* 1857. Appendix 47.

convert the darkness of the forest into the lightness of the meadow.[10] Even among those

who criticized what they saw as an unfair requirement that a constant residence be kept

on the land – they argued that the majority of settlers had to supplement the family

income by working as domestics or for lumbermen, manufacturers, and the fisheries, all

of which took settlers away from their lots for extended periods of time – there was little

disagreement on the significance of establishing a permanent and stable population with

settlers who could demonstrate consistent 'improvement' of their lots.[11] Indeed, among

the conditions of settlement there was a clear sense that progress did not beget stability

and order but, rather, that the relationship was inverse. Only a population that

demonstrated a commitment to a place could then create the necessary institutions and

landscapes that made for progress.

A significant question still remained for the state: how could it ensure that the

greatest number of settlers would meet the conditions of settlement and become actual

settlers? The answer, it decided, was knowledge. Between 1855 and 1870, the state

began an intense campaign of writing, editing, publishing, and distributing emigrant

guides both in older settled areas of Canada as well as in Europe.[12] Both in form and

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[10] Lillian Gates offers an extensive discussion of the specifics in her *Land Policies of Upper Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 284-302. Also helpful are the documents collected in AO, RG 1, A-VIII, vol. 16, "Newspaper Clippings and Regulations re: roads and timber, 1794-1909."

[11] A nearly-identical desire was expressed by the British colonial state in nineteenth-century India. See Jacques Pouchepadass, "British Attitudes Towards Shifting Cultivation in Colonial South India: A Case Study of South Canara District, 1800-1920," in David Arnold and Ramachandra Guha, eds., *Nature, Culture, Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), esp. 133-135.

[12] Norman Macdonald raises an important question about the distribution of these guides when he cites an 1872 report that described boxes of pamphlets rotting in the mouldy cellars of

content. these guides moved beyond the general. abstract goals expressed in the rules of

settlement and focussed on the specifics involved with the micro-level of the everyday.

Dealing with how people should live. work. and relate with one another. these guides

were manuals of citizenship on how to become actual settlers and respectable members of

Canada's burgeoning national community.[13]

Pursuing this line of inquiry compels us to situate the politics of settlement within

a large and international field of study. With the translation and re-publication of Norbert

Elias' paradigmatic study of the history of manners and state formation. scholars across

the humanities and social sciences are re-thinking the connections between 'official'

cultural practices and the exercise of power relationships.[14] Elias' assertions about the

relationship between court society. governance. and the formation of 'society' in Western

Europe fit comfortably with the research of other scholars of modern state formation

concerned with the historical significance of the politicization of individual conduct.[15]

Despite this convergence. scholars working with conduct manuals (or related materials)

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overseas immigration offices. See his *Canada: Immigration and Colonization: 1841-1903* (Toronto: Macmillan. 1966). 32. Still. our focus on the guides' production and what they can tell us about the imaginations of the supporters and administrators of colonization allows us. for the moment at least. to set aside this issue.

[13] A comparable. though slightly different discussion of emigrant guides appears in Robert Lanning. "Mapping the Moral Self: Biography. State Formation and Education. in Ontario. 1820-1920." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Toronto. 1990). 54. 82.

[14] Elias. *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization.* trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell. 1994 [orig. 1939]). Until the early 1990s. Elias' *magnum opus* appeared in English translation as two separate titles. *The History of Manners* and *Power and Civility.* The 1994 edition by Blackwell as reconnected these texts as they were intended to be read by Elias. Readers will also benefit. however. from the newly-edited text published in 2000 by Blackwell Publishers in which a number of corrections and clarifications. made by both Elias himself and the editors. appears.

have for the most part preferred to interpret them as literary texts and expressions of
authors' personal values. The manuals have thus been read as cultural productions that.
while affected by politics. are of much more important and significant value as markers of
social organization (especially gender. class. race. and age).[16] For this body of research.
Norbert Elias is either a silent or marginalized scholarly voice.

The emigrant guides studied here were directly implicated in the political
processes of governance and modern state formation. Indeed. it is argued here that. as
Elias suggests. the emigrant guides of mid-nineteenth-century Canada were a technology
of governance: they were efforts to direct the course of natural laws of human nature in
order to effect a specific end – actual settlement.[17] By focussing on the making of this
technology. by tracing its emergence from the administrative network through which
governance of colonization flowed. by asking how the guides communicated and then.
finally. by examining what they actually said. we can appreciate the guides not simply as
literary ephemera but rather as political texts. In doing so. we can also respond to the
deserved concerns of Elias raised by American scholar John Kasson who argued that the
macro-sociology of Elias "was far too sweeping and undeveloped" when attempting to

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[15] A valuable. concise introduction to Elias can be found in Robert van Krieken. *Norbert Elias*
(New York: Routledge. 1998).

[16] See. for example. Cecelia Morgan. *The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper
Canada. 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1996). 141-182. For the United
States. John Kasson. *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America*
(New York: Hill & Wang. 1990) and C. Dallett Hemphill. *Bowing to Necessities: A History of
Manners in the United States. 1620-1860* (New York: Oxford. 1999). This hardly renders these
studies ineffectual as all are fascinating and compelling cultural histories that have much to say
about the exercise of power in social relations.

[17] The notion of a "technology of governance" owes much to Michel Foucault. *Discipline and
Punish*. trans. by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books. 1977 [orig. 1975]).

link conduct manuals to modern state formation.[18] The micro-study offered here is thus

in many ways a response to Kasson but it is also. much like the other chapters of this

thesis. part of our larger concern with the implications and historical significance of

power-knowledge practices through which the modern Canadian state sought to know. to

inform. and. ultimately. to govern.

Governing Through Knowledge

In the active. literate culture of the Province of Canada. advising settlers the best

way to go about living was an established practice by 1855.[19] Often in the form of

traveller's accounts or personal reminiscences. these writings went to great lengths to

describe the province. its landscapes. and its peoples in an effort to promote further

settlement and. in many cases. to advance a political cause both in the colony and in

England.[20] In some cases. the early guides were directed towards an audience composed

not only of potential emigrants but also their social and political 'betters' who were

encouraged to give their (qualified) charges the necessary moral guidance to emigrate to

Canada. As a result. these guides tended to speak more about emigrants than they did to

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[18] John Kasson. *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York: Hill & Wang. 1990). 11.

[19] Useful points-of-entry into this literature include: Bryan Palmer. "Upper Canada." in M. Brook Taylor. ed.. *Canadian History: A Reader's Guide. 1: Beginnings to Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1994). 205-206: Elizabeth Waterson. et al.. eds.. *The Travellers: Canada to 1900: An Annotated Bibliography of Works Published in English from 15⁻⁻* (Guelph: University of Guelph. 1989): G.M. Craig. ed.. *Early Travellers in the Canadas. 1⁻91-186⁻* (Toronto: Macmillan. 1955).

[20] Perhaps the best-known of these early writings appeared in Robert Gourlay's *Statistical Account of Upper Canada*. vol. 1 (London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1822).

emigrants.[21] By contrast. when the Canadian state joined this cultural practice in the mid

1850s as authors. editors. and publishers. it followed the lead of more practical guides

such as *Hints to Emigrants. Respecting North America* that addressed emigrants and

would-be emigrants directly and did not venture into lengthy pronouncements about the

necessity of emigration for the future greatness of England.[22]

While some mention might be made of empire. the Canadian state's official

emigrant guides were directed towards the future prosperity and greatness of Canada as a

nation. and as a tool for state-building. officials such as William Hutton and A.C.

Buchanan embraced their foray into prescriptive literature with a great deal of

administrative energy and effort. As Bruce Curtis observes. the early 1850s saw "the

production and distribution of emigrant guides [become] a colonial activity and one of the

first pre-occupations of the Bureau of Agriculture."[23] In part. this focus of purpose was a

by-product of parliamentary legislation. which required the Minister of Agriculture "to

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[21] This can be seen in a guide published on authority of the British government (on the advice of the then-Governor General Charles Bagot): *The Emigrant to North America* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1841). This guide spent much time pleading for emigrants to come (or be sent) to Canada and not the United States. a theme that was common to a number of other guides including Thomas Rolph. *Comparative Advantages Between the United States and Canada* (London: Smith. Elder. and Co.. 1841).

[22] (Quebec: Thomas Cary & Co.. 1831). Another example of the practical style of guide was the British government's *Information for Emigrants to British North America*. 2nd edition (London: Charles Knight & Co.. 1842). If there is an exception among the corpus of "official guides" identified in this chapter it is [Reverend Henry Hope]. *Letters From Canada. with numerous illustrations*. 11th ed. (London: Frederic Algar. 1863) in which the narrative is clearly directed to middle- and upper-class readers. While these groups did indeed supply emigrants to Canada at this time. their numbers paled in comparison to working-class and pauper migrants. Another exception may be A.T. Galt's *Canada 1849-1859* (Quebec: John Lovell. 1860) which reads. in parts. like a prospectus for British investors.

[23] Curtis. "Official Documentary Systems and Colonial Government: From Imperial Sovereignty to Colonial Autonomy in the Canadas. 1841-1867." *Journal of Historical Sociology*. 10. 4 (1997). 411.

adopt measures to disseminate information in such a manner and form as he may find best adapted to promote improvement within the Province. and encourage immigration from other countries."[24] Equally significant was the enthusiasm and concern devoted to the guides by colonization's chief bureaucrat. William Hutton. and the head of the emigration office in Quebec. A. C. Buchanan. In correspondence on a daily basis. Hutton and Buchanan worked together to assemble a corpus of emigrant guides that. in their words. were intended "to promote the welfare of Immigrants thereby [increasing] further Immigration"[25] Hutton's commitment to the guides reflected in his activities and thinking outside the offices of the Bureau of Agriculture. He published an emigrant guide and delivered speeches to prospective emigrants in his native Ireland in the early 1850s and correspondence between Hutton and his family in the 1830s and 1840s reflects how strong his interests already were in promoting emigration and Canada through the printed word.[26] While the Bureau of Agriculture also used newspaper advertisements. handbills.

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[24] NAC. RG 1. E 1. State Book "R". microfilm reel C-118. 13-14. 04 December 1856.

[25] NAC. RG 17. A. 1.2. vol. 1490. Letterbook. microfilm reel T-112. 369-370. Hutton and Buchanan to Executive Council. 25 April 1855.

[26] There are two sources from which to read Hutton's "unofficial" writings on migration. settlement. nation-building. and a score of other topics: Gerald E. Boyce. ed.. *Hutton of Hastings: The Life and Letters of William Hutton. 1801-1861* (Belleville: Hastings County Council. 1972) which is especially useful for the earlier (1830-1850) life and career of Hutton and NAC. MG 30. E 96. vol. 6. which contains correspondence between Hutton and his family between 1850 and his death in 1861. In 1852. Hutton completed a draft of a lengthy speech he would later give to audiences in Ireland and that would later be re-produced in a published pamphlet. It can be found in NAC. MG 30. E 96. vol. 6. "Hutton Family – Miscellaneous 1842-1886." A similar argument could be made for A.C. Buchanan. After succeeding his uncle in 1838. Buchanan was an important advocate for emigrants and campaigned on their behalf (for more protection and safety) with his political masters both in England and later in Canada. Buchanan also published columns in the local *Quebec Mercury* newspaper about the key issues connected with immigration and settlement. See the biography provided in Wesley Turner. "Alexander Carlisle Buchanan." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. vol. IX. 97-98.

posters. and public lectures to promote the Province of Canada and the Ottawa-Huron Tract as inviting fields for prospective settlers. Hutton and Buchanan certainly promoted emigrant guide books as the most effective "manner and form" through which to recruit and settle a society of citizen-settlers.

The promotion of immigrant welfare was also essential to the promotion of a civil society of dedicated citizen-settlers. While framed in a pragmatic manner. full of 'common-sense' recommendations about the mundane and less-mundane elements of everyday living. the various facts and suggestions provided in the pamphlet materials also represented a very distinct vision of Canada. the Ottawa-Huron Tract. and the place of the settler in these provincial landscapes. There was much discussion. therefore. of the key structures and conditions of everyday life in the province. especially in its hostile frontier along the Canadian Shield. These included climate. soil. trees. cultural and civic institutions. production figures. clearance rates. and political culture. In every instance. though. these facts were presented in such a way as to instruct men. women. and children about how they should practice settlement within this 'Canadian' framework.[27]

If the emigrant guides were designed to be pedagogical. the lessons they taught were very much about discipline. This discipline was directed to the conduct of settlers

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[27] Thus while the guides most certainly need to be read as belonging to a larger. trans-Atlantic culture of respectability and progress. there must also be a recognition that the official guides sought to ground a number of general principles and values within the specifics of mid-nineteenth-century Canada. Such a combination made possible remarks such as: "The motto of the capital of Canada is 'Industry. Intelligence. and Integrity.' and her emblem is the Beaver. These three qualifications are required of all who desire to make speedy and honourable progress in life and when possessed and exercised they cannot fail. humanly speaking. to command success in Canada." William Hutton. *Canada: A Brief Outline of Her Geographical Position. Productions. Climate. Capabilities. Educational and Municipal Institutions. Fisheries. Railroads. &c. &c. &c.* 4th ed. (Quebec: John Lovell. 1862). 40.

through both time and space and situated most often within the social context of the family and the local community. Depictions of family and community were not just utopian but also appeared. we shall see. as social relations that demanded obligation. duty. and commitment on the part of all individuals. men and women. older and younger. These were the very qualities that the state hoped for and expected of citizens. and by making particular constructions of family and community appear 'normal' and 'routine'. these guides offered a fantasy about the kind of society and public that Canada deserved from its frontier settlers.[28] This fantasy world was a society of self-disciplined individuals. families. and communities who would pursue important goals of state building while exercising a form of regulation on their own actions. speech. feelings. and thoughts. Rather than dismiss such fantasies as mere rhetoric divorced from any semblance to reality. however. we shall instead reflect upon the implications for those settlers made subject to this discourse. First. though. we need to explore how this discourse was given its privileged form as 'official' advice to emigrants.

Assembling a Body of Knowledge

It is possible to identify the key texts that formed the corpus of emigrant guides for the state in part because the project's administrators were fairly systematic about their production. In 1859. at a parliamentary inquiry. a young secretary at the Bureau of Agriculture. Evelyn Campbell. was able to provide a full answer to the question: "What have been the principal publications of the Bureau. giving information to emigrants. and

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[28] On the significance of fantasy to nationalism see Stathis Gourgouris. *Dream Nation: enlightenment. colonization. and the institution of modern Greece* (Stanford: Stanford

in what languages have they appeared?"[29] Campbell pointed out three main texts. by

William Hutton. T.P. French. and Catherine Parr Traill. and explained that the first two

pamphlets had been translated from English into French. German. Norwegian. and

Swedish.[30] Campbell also mentioned other minor publications and information sheets

including maps and tables of routes showing the means by which migrants could get from

Europe to the Ottawa-Huron Tract. In the early 1860s. three significant texts were added

to the official corpus: an information booklet prepared by Emigrant Office Chief A.C.

Buchanan: a review of the 1850s written by the then-Finance Minister Alexander Galt:

and. finally. a revised. state-adopted edition of the much-published *Letters From Canada*

produced by the social crusader and nation-builder the Reverend Henry Hope.[31] These

texts were also supplemented by the regular publication. in Britain. of the *Canadian*

Emigration Gazette. which also began to appear in the early 1860s.[32] Finally. in 1869.

University Press. 1996).

[29] Select Parliamentary Committee on Emigration. *JLAC*. 1859. Appendix 19. n.p. The annual reports of the Bureau of Agriculture on the JLAC. from 1855 to 1865 provided the updates to the corpus of "official" emigrant guides as they unfolded.

[30] William Hutton. *Canada: A Brief Outline of Her Geographical Position. Productions. Climate. Capabilities. Educational and Municipal Institutions. Fisheries. Railroads. &c. &c. &c* (Quebec: John Lovell. 1858): T.P. French. *Information for Intending Settlers on the Ottawa and Opeongo Road. And its Vicinity* (Ottawa. 1857): Catherine Parr Traill. *The Canadian Settler's Guide* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1969 [orig. 1855]).

[31] A.C. Buchanan. *Canada: For the Information of Intending Emigrants* (Quebec: John Lovell. 1864): A.T. Galt. *Canada 1849-1859* (Quebec: John Lovell. 1860): [Reverend Henry Hope]. *Letters From Canada. with numerous illustrations.* 11th ed. (London: Frederic Algar. 1863).

[32] Norman Macdonald. *Canada: Immigration and Colonization. 1841-1903* (Toronto: Macmillan. 1966). 82-83.

the newly created Province of Ontario published its own guide. an effort that was based very heavily on the precedents established in the 1850s and early 1860s.[33]

While these were indeed the 'official' guides. they should not be considered in isolation from the larger cultural tradition from which they emerged. Both the first official guide (Traill's) and one of the last (Hope's) were in fact appropriated from this tradition.[34] Furthermore. Traill recommended other existing guides. in particular that of her brother Samuel Strickland. and she also provided excerpts from them within her own guide.[35] T.P. French was much the same with Vere Foster's guide and William Hutton. who had earlier been a collaborator with and admirer of Catharine Parr Traill. was himself part of this larger tradition prior to preparing his own official guide.[36] Indeed. the official guides were not only political constructs of the state but also. as scholars such as Cecelia Morgan. C. Dallett Hemphill. and John Kasson have pointed out. part of a larger.

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[33] *Emigration to Canada: The Province of Ontario* (Toronto: Hunter. Rose & Co.. 1869).

[34] Traill's guide most certainly was influenced in part by the explosion of etiquette manuals that appeared throughout the middling classes of England in the 1830s following the Reform Act. For a thoughtful discussion of these etiquette manuals and their political. social. and cultural significance see Elizabeth Langland. *Nobody's Angels: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995). esp. 24-61.

[35] Samuel Strickland. *Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West* (London: R. Bentley. 1853).

[36] Vere Foster. *Work and Wages: or. The Penny Emigrant's Guide to the United States and Canada.* 5th edition (London: W. & F. G. Gash. 1855); William Hutton. *Canada: Its Present Condition. Prospects. and Resources. fully described for the Information of Intending Emigrants* (London: Edward Stanford. 1854). As the use of excerpts was such a prominent feature in the guides of Traill and French. and Hutton's own. earlier efforts exercised great influence over his later writings. I have included the relevant portions of these texts in my discussion here as they belonged to the same network of discourse.

trans-Atlantic network of discourse emanating from the new middle classes of the

Province of Canada. the northern United States. and England.[37]

While the first official guide was appropriated by the state. Catharine Parr Traill's

The Canadian Settler's Guide was highly-regarded as a foundational text. In the spring

of 1855. Hutton and Buchanan appealed to the Executive Council for funds to re-publish

Traill's guide. it had originally been published just a year earlier in 1854. and have it

distributed throughout Britain and in the older settled areas of Canada. Both men

admired the book and thought it totally consistent with the objectives of the state's

colonization efforts in the Ottawa-Huron Tract.[38] Receiving no reply to their initial

request. Hutton and Buchanan continued to appeal to the Council throughout the year and

in December 1855 they received. in part. the answer they sought. Impressed by Hutton

and Buchanan's evaluation of the pamphlet as "extremely well calculated from its

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[37] Morgan. *The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada. 1791-1850;* Kasson. *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* Hemphill. *Bowing to Necessities. A History of Manners in the United States. 1620-1860.* On the trans-Atlantic character of political discourse. see J.G.A. Pocock. *The Machiavellian Moment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1975) and *Virtue. Commerce. and History: Essays on Political Thought and History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1985). For Canada. see Janet Ajzenstat and Peter Smith. eds.. *Canada's Origins: Liberal. Tory. or Republican?* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press. 1995). Within mid-nineteenth-century Canada. there was also affinity with other guides prepared during the same period. especially by writers who were either politicians or closely involved with the state's colonization efforts. Useful examples include: Sidney Smith. *The Settler's New Home: Or. The Emigrant's Location Being a Guide to Emigrants in the Selection of a Settlement. and the Preliminary Details of the Voyage* (London. 1849); Editor of the *Canadian News. Canada: The Land of Hope: For the Settler and Artisan. the Small Capitalist. the Honest. and the Preserving* (London. 1857); Frank Widder. *Information for Intending Emigrants of all Classes to Upper Canada* (Toronto. 1850).

[38] Hutton was also an earlier correspondent with Traill and more than 10 years earlier had expressed great admiration for her skills and honesty as a writer. See the letter from Hutton to his mother. 19 April 1842 in Boyce. ed.. *Hutton of Hastings.* 95 in which he says of Parr Traill's earlier *Backwoods of Canada:* "Get a sight of it if you can and let all interested read it. as it is <u>entirely truthful</u> and pleasantly written." (emphasis in original)

genuine truthfulness and clear practical details." and further encouraged that rivals A.H.

Hawke (the Emigrant Agent of Upper Canada) and Frank Widder (agent for the Canada

Company) had "cordially unite[d] in recommending" the guide. the Executive Council

commissioned the publication of 600 copies. The Council were most impressed by the

fact "that the authoress. Mrs. Traill. has herself been an old settler in Canada struggling

through every stage of the Settler's life. and has [therefore] gained by hard experience the

knowledge. which. in her work she has so ably and truthfully imparted to all who read

it..."[39] In issuing these copies. however. the state offered the guide under a new title. *The*

Canadian Settler's Guide rather than the original *The Female Emigrant's Guide and*

Hints on Canadian Housekeeping. perhaps in an effort to emphasize what Traill herself

argued in the text: that emigration and settlement were a family experience and that the

conduct of both women and men of all ages had to be of such moral character so as to

cultivate a garden from the wilderness and expand the boundaries of civilized society.[40]

This was the message. the state believed. that was "so ably and truthfully imparted to all

who read it."

The truthfulness of all the texts was of paramount importance to the state. In the

words of William Hutton. the official guides had to be "bold. pithy. concise. and truthful

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[39] NAC. RG 1. E 1. State Book "Q". C-117. 17-18. 14 December 1855.

[40] In this regard. Traill had much in common with her sister Susanna Moodie and correspondence between the two demonstrates a similar sensibility about the significance of moral conduct to successful settlement and. with this. the interests of nation-building. Two readily-accessible collections of their correspondence can be found in Carl Ballstadt. et al. eds.. *I Bless You in My Heart: Selected Correspondence of Catharine Parr Traill* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1996) and Carl Ballstadt. et al. eds.. *Susanna Moodie: Letters of a Lifetime* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1985). Yet the sisters also were quite distinct in temperament and style. a difference that can be observed when comparing Traill's *The Canadian Settler's Guide*

paragraphs conveying very much information. and whetting the appetite for more.["][41]

Hutton's own pamphlet was certainly just this. Based on a series of lectures he had

published earlier. Hutton's official pamphlet aspired to be little more than a recitation of

facts and statistics. It told the prospective emigrant how to travel. when to travel. where

to arrive. what to expect with respect to prices. and what institutions the emigrant could

expect. In this regard. Hutton's guide had much in common with the 1857 guide prepared

by Crown Lands agent. Thomas P. French. French's guide. derived from an earlier.

public letter he had written to the Archbishop of Bytown (Ottawa). was packed with the

kind of basic information about everyday life in the Ottawa-Huron Tract. including

descriptions of the necessary goods (utensils. clothing. staples. tools) required for frontier

living and a smattering of statistics about prices. As if to underscore the pragmatic and

factual nature of the guide. and in language echoing that of the Executive Council. French

claimed to write from "*practical personal experience*" and not from hearsay or

abstraction.[42] French's guide was to all appearances "bold. pithy. concise. and truthful."

To make sure that it was. Hutton told a correspondent. he and others in the Bureau of

Agriculture had "examined and corrected" the final draft to prepare it for publication.[43]

Tables of prices. wages. climatic conditions. and demographics. were important to

conveying a sense of objectivity and truthfulness in the guides. and these data were

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and Moodie's *Roughing it in the Bush: or. Life in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1989 [1852]).

[41] NAC. RG 17. A.1.2. vol. 1490. 665-666. Hutton to C.P. Roney. 15 January 1857.

[42] French. *Information for Intending Settlers.*. A2. (emphasis in original)

[43] NAC. RG 17. A.1.2. vol. 1490. 698. Hutton to C.P. Roney. 14 February 1857.

gleaned from official statistics produced by the state. Reverend Henry Hope pointed to

this process with great approval:

> The Honourable Mr. Vankoughnet deserves the highest praise
> for the prudent forethought which has distinguished his
> administration of the Emigration Department. Three years since
> he announced that he was not prepared to yield to popular
> clamour and invite 'a promiscuous rush of immigrants.' He fist
> ascertained. upon authority. what classes of settlers were most
> needed. and then he gave his sanction to the publication of such
> works as gave a temperate and truthful view of Canada. as
> regards her climate and resources. To other parties belongs the
> discredit of having. by unauthorized and untruthful statements.
> induced many hundreds. unfitted for any employment in Canada.
> to come here.[14]

Hope's use of the terms "authorized." "truthful." and "temperate." in opposition to

"unauthorized" and "untruthful" are instructive. From where did this authority derive?

The answer was. of course. the state and its knowledge-making practices (the census. the

survey. and meteorological studies in particular) that provided the necessary. accurate.

objective data to substantiate authoritative claims about the climate and natural resources.

Of all the guide writers. it is not surprising that William Hutton made the most liberal use

of the state's colonization archive in his official guide to make his claims appear truthful

and legitimate. Especially effective in this regard was his selection of excerpts from

Crown Land agents assigned to each of the major colonization roads: the local

knowledge provided by these extracts offered specific examples of the larger patterns of

success promised in other areas of the guide.[45] By giving its approval to the publication

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[14] Hope. *Letters From Canada*. 18. Hope's celebration of Vankoughnet was good politics but it was bad history: Vankoughnet helped set in motion a series of practices that were designed and directed by his chief immigration bureaucrats. William Hutton and A.C. Buchanan. We will return to this point in Chapter Six.

[45] These appeared in the later (1861 and 1862) editions of Hutton's. *Canada: A Brief Description*: they underscore the significance of Hutton's place as the fulcrum around which the

of these facts and the assertions made upon them. the state qualified these texts as honest

and true in opposition to the biased and corrupt efforts of land and rail companies who

were also seeking to recruit emigrants in Europe to take up residence on their properties.[46]

This 'approval' appeared on the title page of each of the guides with a simple. but

significant. phrase: "Published by authority."

The guides strove to appear as sources of enlightenment directed towards the

betterment of the emigrant. Thus. after critiquing other authors for ignoring them.

Catharine Parr Traill explained that she wished simply to advance the knowledge of

women in the hope of ensuring the success of a family's actual settlement.[47] For his part.

T.P. French promised his readers he wanted to make known only that which was not. the

Upper Ottawa Valley: "I have been careful to abstain from *theorising* ... [and] I write not

to order" but only wish to "dispel the cloud of obscurity that invariably vails [sic] their

future prospects of success from nine-tenths of the poorer class of immigrants who

usually come to Canada."[48] In a similar vein. A.C. Buchanan promised his readers a

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administrative control of colonization worked. (See Figure 2.1 in chapter two.) Hutton's use of other elements of the colonization archive. include Thomas Devine's map of Canada. all worked to form one of the first syntheses to be written from these records.

[46] See. for example. the critical comments of H. Montauus. made to the Emigration Department. about the pamphlet written by Frank Widder of the Canada Land Company (*Information for Intending Emigrants of all Classes to Upper Canada*). NAC. RG 17. A III. "1842-1855: Emigration Correspondence." 22 January 1853. See also the comments of Reverend Hope in his *Letters From Canada*. 38-39. which read: "There is no publication sanctioned by the government of Canada which has *invited* emigration to Canada without a warning as to those classes for whom the Province now offers no chance of success. In spite of those continuous warnings...there are railway companies. steamboat companies. out-fitters. and *hoc genus omne*. who have done infinite injury to individuals as well as the Province by their untruthful and inflated accounts."

[47] Traill. *The Canadian Settler's Guide*. xvii.

[48] French. *Information for Intending Settlers*. A2. (emphasis in original)

pamphlet "compiled from the latest authentic official sources and other data." His guide

was simply to "afford information upon every important point of enquiry."[49]

Whatever the intent. the pamphlets were unambiguous as to who was ultimately

responsible for the success or failure of settlement. "I have. it is true. met with many

cases of want of success." Reverend Hope wrote. "but in almost every case the fault has

not been the institutions. or the climate. or the resources of Canada. but the unfitness of

the parties complaining. from the want of those qualifications as regards physical or

intellectual attainments. that want of enterprise. or that indulgence in intemperate habits.

(a fruitful source of failure here) which would hinder their success any where."[50] For

A.C. Buchanan. while "cases of disappointment must occasionally occur. ...in nine cases

out of ten. they may be traced to the individuals themselves."[51] More specific to the

Ottawa-Huron Tract. T.P. French promised that the "Valley of the Ottawa offers the

blessings of a happy home. and the certainty of ultimate and not remote independence to

the sober. honest. and industrious husbandman."[52]

Within the guides. therefore. the settler was framed as an agent in control of his

own actuality. Failure deviated from the norm of success. In this logic. praise was to be

placed on settlers who became permanent and successful. while scorn directed at those

who failed to capitalize on the opportunities provided by Canada. Indeed. the emphasis

placed on the individual in the guides was consistent with what historian Allan Smith has

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[49] Buchanan. *Canada*. 2.

[50] Hope. *Letters From Canada*. 38.

[51] Buchanan. *Canada*. 2.

[52] French. *Information for Intending Settlers*. 31.

called the myth of the self-made man, a figure who became (and often remained) central

to a wide range of liberal narratives written in and about Canada.[53] As Smith suggests,

scholars need to be critical of this myth: by constructing a settler in control of his own

destiny, and thus absolving itself of responsibility, the state shifted the burden of

colonization to these settlers. Set against the tremendous obstacles offered by the

Ottawa-Huron Tract's geography – obstacles that had been minimized by the formation of

a powerful, imagined geography prepared by various men of science and then reiterated

through the narratives of the emigrant guides – the state's efforts to make successful,

permanent settlement appear to be the norm minimized the tremendous privation and

hardships that came with everyday living on the frontier. Even Catherine Parr Traill's

guide, while sensitive to the hardships of frontier living, nonetheless diminished these

challenges by pointing out repeatedly that the right 'type' of person, living with the right

'types' of family and community would subdue any obstacle. This process of making

settler success appear normal created a legacy of expectations that many settlers simply

could not meet and who were thus branded as failures.[54] To better appreciate how the

guides contributed to the discourse of expectations we must now shift our analytical

attention to what they actually said and how they were able to offer an almost exhausting

list of 'suggestions' about everyday living.

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[53] Allan Smith. "The Myth of the Self-Made Man in English Canada, 1850-1914." *Canadian Historical Review*. 54 (1978). 189-219.

[54] Arthur Lower. "The Assault on the Laurentian Barrier. 1850-1870." *Canadian Historical Review*. 10 (1929). 294-307.

Reading Through the Body of Knowledge

The official emigrant guides sought to demonstrate that Canada possessed a series of systems, political, social, and economic, that provided the necessary structures for successful, actual settlement. It was thus contingent on individual settlers to recognize these systems and situate themselves within their proper roles. As was suggested earlier, one of the most prevalent themes that connected all of these systems was that of discipline. Discipline of the self, of one another, and of the landscape, produced a settler society that could be entrusted to make progress. When this discipline was exercised within the context of the Ottawa-Huron Tract's political, economic, and social systems, the micro-level of everyday practices and goals also worked towards macro-level concerns of state building.

Perhaps the most important element in connecting the local to the provincial, the micro to the macro, was the political system that the guides trumpeted, a system made possible by the institutional growth of the Canadian state-in-formation. Especially important in this regard were the public schools, the Crown Land office, the emigration office, and the 'new' municipal government created by the Baldwin Act of 1849, each of which received much praise and testimony from guide writers. For the state, these institutions demonstrated to actual settlers that they would not be abandoned after immigration nor would they be denied their freedoms as settlers.

Consider the process of colonization as it appeared in the guides. Immigrant readers were directed to the safe offices of the Emigration Department in Quebec City where they would find protection from the many predators and frauds who sought to lure

the new arrival with false promises of well-paying jobs and inexpensive but fertile lands. By contrast. the guides promised. Chief Emigrant agent A.C. Buchanan. his staff. and his network of in-land offices and agents would see that new arrivals were provided with true information. tickets. as well as direction for those immigrants who did not already have a pre-arranged destination.[55] When moving to the frontier. immigrants were to present themselves to the local field agents of the Crown Lands Department. In these offices. further havens from selfish speculators who roamed the frontier looking to exploit ignorant new arrivals. settlers would find truthful maps. surveyors' reports. and other materiel to select the best possible lot for settlement. As well. it was from the local Crown Lands agent that settlers received their location tickets. those veritable passports to a new beginning. Once settled on their new property. the children of actual settlers would be able to reap the benefits of a new. province-wide system of public education. fathers would find themselves empowered by the equally new formation of municipal governments. and all members of the settler family. even in "the most distant hamlet." could remain connected to their families and friends thanks to the network of postal offices that linked not only all places in Canada. but also Canada and the north-Atlantic world.[56] At every point of this colonization narrative. the state worked for the citizen-settler by providing a series of benevolent spaces. All it asked of readers was to recognize and use these spaces to their own advantage.

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[55] As T.P. French warned: "Arrived in Quebec Emigrants must be *particularly careful not to follow the advice of strangers of either sex. in regard to lodgings. employment. or modes of travelling.* When put on shore they go *at once* to the Chief Emigrant Agent...." French. *Information for Intending Settlers.* 15. Italics in original.

[56] Hutton. *Canada: A Brief Outline.* 4th ed.. 15-17.

One of the interesting dimensions of these narratives of what one might call 'the brotherly state' was how they worked to naturalize and normalize the governance of the initial settlement of the immigrant. A 'good' settler was one that did not follow the beckoning of a speculator. Rather, a 'good' settler visited the Crown Land office and registered with the local agent. 'Smart' immigrants without family already in Canada made sure to present themselves to A.C. Buchanan at Quebec City or at one of the in-land immigrant offices in Montreal, Ottawa, Kingston, Toronto, or Hamilton. 'Smart' immigrants did not wander Canada, drifting, looking for work but unsure of how or where to get it. In these narratives, therefore, the political system produced by the Canadian state-in-formation provided stability for the settler. It also, of course, produced social order and stability for the state.[57]

The concerns for social order and by extension social discipline were powerfully articulated through the guides' ability to sketch social and economic systems that involved not only the individual settler but also the settler family and settler community. Yet it would be a mistake to imagine that these other systems were thought to work alongside but separate from the political. In fact, the social and economic systems as they appeared in the guides involved the governance of society, the taming of its impulses and desires towards larger, political ends.[58] It also involved the natural environment for no

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[57] We will discuss this process more fully in Chapter Six, but for now it is important that these guides were seeking to 'teach' the would-be immigrant-settler the 'correct' geography of travel, what Benedict Anderson calls "traffic habits." Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* revised ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 169.

[58] Consider, for example, the mythic, utopian, and fantastic statement of T.P. French in his *Information for Intending Settlers* who wrote: "Generally speaking religious or political acerbity is almost unknown here: the people of all creeds and shades of politics are so mixed up in business, and are so dependant upon each other, that they cannot afford to quarrel about their

element of everyday life in frontier Canada could be discussed without reference to climate and natural resources. Indeed, as much as the political, social, and economic systems were discussed with reference to the conduct and habits of citizen-settlers, the guides went to great lengths to emphasize that individuals, families, and communities all lived in a world of changing seasons and a diverse landscape of water, trees, rocks, and meadows. Perhaps no one example illustrated this belief more strongly than the guides' discussion of the seasons and, in particular, their focus on winter.

The Canadian winter, something that many contemporaries in mid-nineteenth-century Canada believed to be the source of much false knowledge among prospective settlers, appeared in the guides as a source of manliness, health, and morality. Furthermore, the winter was celebrated as a time that provided much relief to the frontier. Travel became easier, farmers had more time for community, and the markets at the lumber camps provided much income for the settler and also offered seasonal employment directly to men. "Snow, in Canada, instead of being the bugbear that it is imagined to be by old country people," William Hutton wrote, "is, in fact, the delight of the inhabitants."[59] So wonderful and essential was the winter, T.P. French saw fit to summarize the end of his pamphlet as follows: "[B]ut for [winter] the climate would be less healthful, the soil less fruitful, the valuable products of the forest could never be

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particular forms of worship, or their political predilections, even though their better judgements did not interpose to prevent them." (33) As Richard Reid documents, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the Upper Ottawa Valley had (and continued to have) a rich history of political, socio-economic, and ethno-religious conflict. Reid, *The Upper Ottawa Valley* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990).

[59] Hutton, *Canada: Its Present Condition.*, 6.

made subservient to the use of man, and Canada would not be, what she undeniably is, a

prosperous, progressive, and a happy country."[60]

Readers were also told that the climate of Canada, and especially its winter,

provided a calendar of labour and activity that, if adhered to, would allow the actual

settler to prosper. Hutton and French, for example, focussed their energies on the times

of year when various tasks needed to be accomplished in the frontier family economy

under the leadership of the father. Winter months were for logging, either in an effort to

clear their own property or in one of the many logging camps scattered throughout the

Ottawa-Huron Tract. This work was for father and sons, although daughters could be

made useful, they said, in bundling kindling and underbrush. Spring brought the burning

of excess timber and the making of potash, a key component of the frontier family

economy. Spring also meant the planting of potatoes and here, French observed, "women

and children" were especially active in its cultivation.[61] Yet it was the father's duty to

prepare, seed, nurture, and harvest his crops between May and up to the start of

November. He was also expected in these months to participate in community "bees" to

raise barns, build shanties, or clear property.[62] This calendar of labour, designed for the

most part around the duties of men, did much to reinforce the necessity and logic of the

système agro-forestier for the success of actual settlement. It also worked to make these

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[60] French, *Information for Intending Settlers*, 36.

[61] *Ibid.*, 24.

[62] Hutton, *Canada: Its Present Condition*, 42-43; Catharine Anne Wilson, "Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood," *Canadian Historical Review*, 82 (2001), 431-464. Dr. Wilson was kind enough to make this article available for me prior to its publication.

patterns of labour appear as normal and routine.[63] The reader of the guides was expected to adopt these recipes for success: to do otherwise would not only be a mistake in judgement but would demonstrate the unfitness of the individual for the demands of frontier living.

The advice and guidance given women by Catherine Parr Traill adhered to a similar pattern of time-discipline that was prescribed for men.[64] Her guidebook examined each month. providing climatic details of what to expect as well as a list of "women's work" that needed to be done in these months. January and February. for example. were devoted largely to food preparation. Good. hearty bread was essential to the health of the family. Traill told her readers. especially in the coldest months of winter.[65] Traill also instructed how women should tend to gardens. manufacture textiles. and produce the best cheeses over the course of the late spring and summer. Autumn brought the harvest and the need to prepare for the next growing season. November and December ushered in the short days and long nights but. Traill said. "the Canadian winter is a cheerful season."[66] And this was so because. as she warned. the "seasons are brightened or darkened by our individual feelings and domestic circumstances."[67]

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[63] Hope. *Letters From Canada*. 25-31. offers a "Diary of Farm Operations in Canada" in which Hope sought to describe the typical. partially-cleared farm of 1860 Canada and the schedule of labour required to reap the "natural" benefits of the Canadian landscape.

[64] This discussion of prescribed labour and time owes much to E.P. Thompson. "Time. Work-Discipline. and Industrial Capitalism." reprinted in his *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (New York: The New Press. 1993). 352-403.

[65] Traill. *The Canadian Settler's Guide*. 86.

[66] *Ibid*. 221.

[67] *Ibid*. 222.

In the guides. the discussion of the family economy. and thus of working "family time." left little or no time for idleness. The frontier. these guides warned. was inhospitable to those who preferred to lay-about or to those settlers too delicate for the challenges of everyday living. As Reverend Hope wrote. "No idle men are wanted. They are a nuisance and a curse everywhere. and especially in a new community."[68] 'Busy-ness' was more than strength of character. however: it was also a means to govern individuals. Whether following the rules of a boss or employer. or those rules of climate that all farmers were forced to obey. the guides 'accounted for' and to some degree tried to regulate the individual settler's time. While the end product of colonization. a cultivated landscape yielding valuable harvests and a healthy. thriving population of actual settlers. was of concern for the state. so too was the process.

While time-discipline was deemed to be practical necessity for the actual settler. the theme of discipline was also very strong when directed towards space. in particular the domestic spaces of the family farm. William Hutton. for example. told his readers that with the help of a community bee. a settler could raise a house of sixteen by twenty-four feet within two weeks of settlement. "[T]hey are most warm and snug." he said. "and can be kept beautifully neat being plastered both inside and outside. Many a beautiful white table-cloth and bright silver spoon. and well-filled table. and shining happy countenances. have I seen in such houses."[69] Another guidebook. written by the

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[68] Hope. *Letters From Canada*. 42. Eric Sager and Peter Baskerville have explored "idleness" and it relationship to class relations in urban. industrial Canada in their *Unwilling Idlers: The Urban Unemployed and Their Families in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1998).

[69] Hutton. *Canada: Its Present Condition.*. 79.

Conservative politician and lawyer Sidney Smith, told its readers in 1849 that men needed to "make the house more comfortable and neat within – more trim without – do what you can for the garden, and inspire in the womankind a taste for botany and flowers." The guide warned further that men should "leave every other job to make the house pleasant to the female eye, and replete with the amenities of civilization. That is the first thing which will reconcile your wife and daughters to their adopted country."[70] Also concerned with the aesthetics of domesticity, Catharine Parr Traill told her female readers to see that a verandah was built: "It affords a grateful shade from the summer heat, shelter from the cold, and is a source of cleanliness to the interior. It gives a pretty, rural look to the poorest log house, and as it can be put up with little expense, it should never be omitted."[71]

Such sentiments emphasized a Victorian belief in the regenerative and moral powers of the home, no matter how humble the building or structure in which families lived.[72] While the guides addressed people who, for the most part, would live for many years in shanties or small cottages, they sought to emphasize the spiritual, moral, and psychological aspects of these spaces, and the promise of a better future.[73] A cared for home, the guides seemed to promise, went a long way to reconciling the entire family, mothers and daughters as well as fathers and sons, to the work of colonization. Indeed,

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[70] Smith, *The Settler's New Home*, 42.

[71] Traill, *The Canadian Settler's Guide*, 14.

[72] See the excellent John R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values* (New York: Basic Books, 1996) which makes this point with reference to a number of fascinating examples.

[73] See the compelling vision of progress provided in Traill, *The Canadian Settler's Guide*, 21-23.

neat and clean homes. no matter how humble the dimensions or the structure as a whole. were perceived as a source of the lifeblood of the civilizing process.

This was well illustrated in one of the most graphic depictions of what successful actual settlement should look like. Vere Foster's *Work and Wages* was a guide intended for peasants and the working class in Ireland and Great Britain but it was also a text singled out by T.P. French in his guide on the Ottawa Valley. Foster's guide begins and ends with 'before' and 'after' pictures. (See Figures 5.1 and 5.2) The 'before' depicts him as a peasant. complete with bare feet and a shoddy-looking hat. his possessions in a cloth sack fashioned at the end of a stick. The house he is leaving has a thatched roof and a pig grazing at the front door and is marked with a decrepit. broken-down fence. The 'after' picture shows Foster in his contemporary. successful existence. He has a trimmed beard. a tailored suit. and looks every bit the gentleman. His wife smiles at him across the dining table holding their youngest child while the older child is at Foster's knee looking up at him. The dining table sits in front of an impressive fireplace adorned with a clock and vases. Completing this picture is the presence of what appears to be Foster's mother-in-law also sitting at the table and a maid entering the room with a covered plate that we can only imagine holds some delicious surprise.

Foster's before and after pictures offered an image of respectability. sobriety. and permanence. The power of these images lay in their connotation of being normal. common. and routine. Indeed. Foster's use of the captions "as I was" and "as I am" almost wave a finger at readers. a gesture admonishing them to take note of what kind of remarkable change was not only possible but which. with careful. disciplined living. should happen. While there was a very particular aesthetic of 'the home' at work in these

images. and in the middle-class. English visions of home articulated in all of the guides. such particularity was never acknowledged.[74] It was simply allowed to exist as typical and expected.

Aesthetics of landscape. another form of disciplined space. also played a significant role in the guides' discussions of actual settlement. "No clearance loses its title to *new*." William Hutton wrote. "till the stumps are pretty well rotted out. and this requires nine years to effect. even with the most industrious."[75] One of the most remarked upon aspects of the frontier landscape was the presence of stumps. exposed by the clearing process but left to decay. For some. stumps symbolized the brutality and coarseness of the early stages of the settlement process. They were thought to "disfigure the fields" until giving way to neatly cultivated "orchards. cornfields. and pastures."[76] It is not hard to appreciate this aesthetic even from our contemporary perspective. Figure 5.3 is a vivid example of how the clearing process resembled a battle scene. the stumps appearing as fallen soldiers and the earth scorched from the burning process. Indeed such images certainly resonate well within Arthur Lower's now-famous history of "the assault on the North American forests."[77]

For others. however. stumps were temporary markers of the beginning of a new. modern age. In a drawing (Figure 5.4) in Reverend Hope's *Letters From Canada*. for

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[74] Davidoff and Hall. *Family Fortunes*. 357-396.

[75] Hutton. *Canada: Its Present Condition*.. 12-13.

[76] Traill. *The Canadian Settler's Guide*. 17.

[77] Lower. *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest: A History of the Lumber Trade between Canada and the United States* (Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1938).

example. stumps were part of a larger scene of frontier activity depicting industry and progress. A small shanty billowed smoke while working men chopped down trees. made timber. and stored it in a neat-looking lean-to constructed to the side of the shanty. A boy sat off to the side with his fishing line hanging in a pond and in the background it appeared to be a woman looking out of the front door of her modest home. taking in the men's work. The stumps were embedded in this rather romantic scene of 'Canada'. Absent was any sense of violence. and even the man chopping down a tree at the front of the picture seemed to be more Bunyanesque than an agent of destruction.

The temporary character of stumps was given emphasis in an 1869 pamphlet produced by the "new" Province of Ontario: "Gradually but surely the work of improving a new farm goes forward. until it is astonishing what a change is brought forward in a few short years. The wilderness is transformed into a fruitful field. One by one the stumps have rotted out. and given the plough free scope to work. Inequalities in the surface of the land become smoothed down. and almost the only evidence that the country is new. is furnished by the rail fences."[78] In such discourse. stumps were key markers of a *new* settlement and a *new* home. Their crudeness deserved tolerance since they were not permanent. giving way to the 'natural' changes introduced by time and the continued labour of the settler. While the rural. English. and middle-class sensibilities of Catherine Parr Traill found these markers to be offensive and inappropriate to a landscape of civility. others were more accepting of the necessity of stumps as a step towards to a better future. For them. stumps were significant as an expression of discipline exerted on

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[78] *Emigration to Canada: The Province of Ontario*. 28.

the land. of it being brought under control to work for people and the economy rather than

against them as a hostile obstacle and enemy of progress.[79]

While some disagreement may have existed over the 'true' meaning of stumps. all

parties shared the same goal. a desire for what William Hutton called "old settlement."[80]

The scene of "old settlement" began with the appearance of the pastoral. where the debris

of clear-cutting was wiped clean with the appearance of neat. tended fields. In 1869. the

government of Ontario described old settlement as follows:

> Other improvements have been made on the farm which we are
> supposing to have reached a state of completeness. The front
> fences have ceased to be of rails. A neat. ornamental paling or
> hedge. skirts the public road. and a tasteful bit of shrubbery
> environs the house and out-buildings. Altogether there is an air
> of beauty and attractiveness about the scene. but recently so
> wild. The above illustration [Figure 5.5] will give some idea of
> the appearance presented by a well-laid-out. and neatly kept
> Canadian farm.[81]

The transformation of the landscape from dark forests. to rotting stumps. and then to

pastoral fields. was perceived as essential to the practice and achievement of settlement.

Indeed successful. actual settlement required that settlers replace the 'new' of the frontier

with the 'old' landscapes of southern Ontario. especially in the agriculturally rich area of

the St. Lawrence Lowlands. In this vision. producing a new space in the frontier

hinterland of the Ottawa-Huron Tract was thus in many ways a reproduction of space in

the heartland of 'Old Ontario'.

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[79] In this regard. consider the figure of the "stump extractor" who began to make his appearance in Canada in the late 1840s. Reverend H. Christmas. *Canada in 1849: Pictures of Canadian Life: or. The Emigrant Churchman by a Pioneer in the Wilderness.* 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley. 1850). 223.

[80] Hutton. *Canada: Its Present Condition.* 12-13.

These aesthetics of landscape minimized and simplified the immense amount of

labour and time that was required to affect such change. Using a variety of sources.

including first-person narratives such as work diaries. social historians and historical

geographers have researched the character of the clearing process finding it to have been

slow. uneven. and terribly difficult.[82] By contrast. images such as that described by the

government of Ontario in 1869 wiped clean the dirt. sweat. and blood that dominated the

work of clearing: they. in fact. seemed to swallow up history. leaving it hidden behind

the façade of neat. tidy farms that the guides claimed to be "complete."

The guides also placed much emphasis on the micro-level of 'the family' and 'the

home' as the key level of experience for actual settlement. As Catharine Parr Traill

admonished: "Family union is like the key-stone of an arch: it keeps all the rest of the

building from falling asunder."[83] Similarly. an 1860 parliamentary inquiry concluded that

such sentiments were not mere opinion but also objective fact: "every settler prefers and

desires to be as near as possible to his family and birth-place" a desire. they continued.

which was "so natural and legitimate."[84] These 'official' views of family were hardly at

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[81] *Emigration to Canada: The Province of Ontario.* 28.

[82] Peter Russell. "Forest into Farmland: Upper Canada Clearing Rates. 1822-1839." *Agricultural History.* 57 (1983). 326-339 is a standard reference here. See also the graphs provided in J. David Wood. *Making Ontario: Agricultural Colonization and Landscape Re-Creation Before the Railway* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2000). 90. Figure 5.1. Providing valuable insight into the physical and emotional investment settlers had to put into the clearing process are two important syntheses of social and labour history: Ian Radforth. "The Shantymen." in Paul Craven. ed.. *Labouring Lives: Work and Workers in Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press). esp. 221-227 and Terry Crowley. "Rural Labour." in *Ibid..* 13-104.

[83] Traill. *The Canadian Settler's Guide.* 12.

[84] "Report on the Committee on Colonization." 6.

odds with those held by the settlers themselves: research by social historians such as

Bruce Elliott. Chad Gaffield. Gérard Bouchard. Catharine Wilson. and Alan Greer. have

demonstrated the primacy of family and kinship networks within the strategies and

decision-making process of frontier settlements.[85] And yet within the politicized

discourse of the guides. 'the family' also constituted a means through which to govern the

habits and practices of individuals. The writing of Parr Traill was especially explicit in

this regard:

> Where there is a willingness on the husband's part to do all that
> is reasonable to promote the internal comfort. the wife on hers
> must cheerfully make the best of her lot – remembering that no
> state in life. however luxurious. is without trials. Nay. many a
> rich woman would exchange her aching heart and weary spirit.
> for one cheerful. active. healthy day spent so usefully and
> tranquilly as in the Canadian settler's humble log-house.
> surrounded by a happy. busy family. enjoying what she cannot
> have amid all her dear-bought luxuries. the satisfaction of a
> hopeful and contented heart.[86]

While much valuable research has been conducted that documents the state's 'invasion'

of the family. especially through programs of social welfare. perhaps too little attention

has been accorded to the state's efforts to govern through families. to rely upon 'normal'

family relations and practices as a means of regulating. directing. and preserving moral.

[85] Elliot. *Irish Migrants in the Canadas* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1988): Gaffield. *Language. Schooling. and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1987): Bouchard. *Quelques Arpents d'Amérique: Population. économie. famille au Saguenay 1838-1971* (Montreal: Boréal. 1996): Wilson. *A New Lease on Life: Landlords. Tenants. and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994): Greer. *Peasant. Lord. and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes. 1740-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1985).

[86] Traill. *The Canadian Settler's Guide*. 44.

discipline behaviour by individuals.[87] While the evidence offered here is far from

conclusive in this regard. it is nonetheless suggestive.

While "the family" was considered essential to the process of colonization. the

guides also emphasized the importance of "community". Much mention was made. for

example. of the roles played by neighbours. near and far. in helping new settlers. In this

regard. no single activity was more significant than the community bee.[88] Bees reflected

the mutual dependence that was the reality of social and economic life. but they also

signified the psychological components that accompanied the deprivations. struggles. and

isolation of frontier living. For the state. bees were microcosms of what they imagined

Canada should be: pioneers working together for the betterment of each other. giving of

themselves for a noble. Christian cause under an implicit understanding that favours and

assistance were to be reciprocal and only to be received or given in times of genuine need.

This reciprocity acted as a check on the selfish. on those who would try to capitalize on

the kindness of others without any thought to giving of themselves. To illustrate this

point. Catherine Parr Traill told a few stories of her neighbours borrowing from her

various foodstuffs and clothing. and her own refusal to comply with requests that she

thought were disingenuous: "I give these instances." she wrote. "that the newcomer may

distinguish between the use and the abuse of the system: that they may neither suffer

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[87] Of course efforts to reform. discipline. and govern through "the family" came from a variety of institutions that lay outside as well as inside the state. See Jacques Donzelot. *The Policing of Families* trans. by Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books. 1979) and Nikolas Rose. *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1999). 74-76. which provides a succinct and powerful discussion. For Canada. see Mariana Valverde. *The Age of Light. Soap. and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada. 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1991).

[88] Wilson. "Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood." esp. 439-440.

their good nature and inexperience to be imposed upon. nor fall into the same evil way

themselves, or become churlish and unfriendly as the manner of some is."[89] Demanding

that settlers care and nurture one another under the guise of 'community' (in this instance

a moral economy of exchange that Traill called "the system") and adhere to a set of rules

about what was and what was not permitted as appropriate communal behaviour.

permitted the state to effect some level of social regulation. and thus of governance.

without needing to involve itself financially.[90]

For the state the expression of community that was signified by the working bee.

and other elements of the moral economy. were important to the articulation of a national

mythology of unity. co-operation. and public harmony.[91] This was made clear in T.P.

French's guide for settlement in the Ottawa Valley. Following his declaration that twelve

men could raise a shanty in a single day. and that locating this help was of "no difficulty."

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[89] Traill. *The Canadian Settler's Guide*. 27.

[90] The communal charivari must also be located within this context. See the useful summary in Bryan D. Palmer. *Working Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour. 1800-199*. 2nd edition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1992). 66-69 and the much more intensive Palmer. "Discordant Music: Charivaris and Whitecapping in Nineteenth-Century North America." *Labour   Le Travailleur*. 3 (1978). 5-62. See also Allan Greer. "From Folklore to Revolution: charivaris and the Lower Canadian rebellion of 1837." *Social History*. 15 (1990). 25-43.

[91] The "moral economy" was one in which commercial exchange was predicated less on profit but rather on obligation to and co-operation with. family and community. This idea has been subject to much scholarly debate. most of it located around the emergence of capitalism in colonial America. See the helpful summary provided by Alan Kulikoff. "The Transition to Capitalism in Rural America." *William & Mary Quarterly*. 46 (1989). 120-144. Besides the American literature discussed in Kulikoff. see Natalie Zemon Davis. *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1975). 97 and 178 and E.P. Thompson. "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century." *Past & Present* 50 (1971). 76-136. See also Suzanne Dezan argues in "Crowds. Community. and Ritual in the Work of E.P. Thompson and Natalie Davis." in Lynn Hunt. ed.. *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1989). 47-71. More empirical is Wilson. "Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood." esp. 435-440.

French ensured his readers that the "best possible feeling prevails among the Settlers. and no kindness that any one of them can render is ever denied to the stranger. no matter from what country he hails. or at what altar he kneels."[92] And William Hutton stated bluntly: "Among Canadians there is perfect toleration in religious matters."[93] Communal institutions such as schools. churches. and the market provided. the guides promised. the spaces in which actual settlers would work together and foster bonds of mutuality. At the local store. for example. settlers were instructed that they would not need cash but could exchange the fruits of their domestic labour – farm produce. potash. quilts. foodstuffs – for other goods or as payment towards outstanding debts. So well entrenched were these activities that one writer described them as "the system."[94]

"The system" was one of mutuality. where networks of personal exchange were governed not only by individuals but also by a larger ethic of obligation and respect that was expected to guide the individual. For the reader of these guides. however. the message was clear: become accepted within these networks of exchange or become marginalized from the local community and. with this. prepare for individual failure. Thus while there were a wide range of power relationships at work within these "systems" – a storekeeper might very well refuse to extend credit to an individual or accept particular barter for cancellation of debts. for example – such elements were silent

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[92] French. *Information for Intending Settlers.* 18.

[93] Hutton. *Canada: Its Geographical Position.* 19.

[94] Anonymous. *Canada: The Land of Hope: For the Settler and Artisan. the Small Capitalist. the Honest. and the Preserving.* 2nd ed. (London: n.p.. 1857). 15.

in the guides.[95] This silence was also pronounced in discussions of the family and the family economy where notions of power were simply incongruous with the "natural" feelings of love and affection that dominated domesticity. Instead. explicit in the guides was the instruction to settlers that they had to conduct themselves in such a way that accrue the benefits of "normal" and "routine" family and community life.

This emphasis on the conduct of the individual played an integral role of effecting what scholars might call a particular governmentality among settlers. Unable to observe frontier settlers on an everyday basis. the state required that governance be projected by the self on the self and on others around them through the practices of family and community. Edmund Burke captured this art of governing when he wrote: "Manners are of more importance than laws. Upon these in great measure the law depends."[96] As scholars of governmentality have argued. the ability of a culture and a governing state to inscribe the rules of "good" conduct in both the conscious and the unconscious of individual citizens was to effect rule over these persons to a remarkable depth and to see this governance reproduced across generations within the contexts of family and

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[95] Compare Rusty Bitterman. Robert A. Mackinnon. and Graeme Wynn. "Of Inequality and Interdependence in the Nova Scotian Countryside. 1850-70." *Canadian Historical Review*. 74 (1993). 1-43 against the more-recent studies of Douglas McCalla. "Village Stores and Rural Consumption in Upper Canada. 1808-1854." paper presented at the Canadian Economic History Meetings at Kananaskis. Alberta. April 23-25. 1999 and *Consumption Stories: customer purchases of alcohol at an Upper Canadian country store in 1808-1809 and 1828-1829* (Quebec: Centre interuniversitaire d'études québécoises. 1999). Wilson. "Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood." 440-454 offers compelling evidence power relationships and tensions within local economies of exchange.

[96] Quoted in Kasson. *Rudeness and Civility*. 62. As Kasson points out. this was a popular citation in nineteenth-century etiquette manuals in the United States.

community.[97] Readers of the emigrant guides were expected to follow the 'hints' and 'suggestions' offered to them on a literal level. but they were also expected to absorb the larger field of Christian ethics and values that imbued these teachings with their moral power. It was not a case of seeking to imprison citizens or deny them basic freedoms: it was. rather. an effort to see that these freedoms were exercised in a particular way. Such. one might well argue. has been liberalism's most important legacy.

The emigrant guides of the 1850s and 1860s produced by the Canadian state were a part of this larger process. They offered narratives of actual settlement that sought to liberate the individual while at the same time directing the conduct of this liberty to a specific set of goals. This was accomplished by making normal and routine a wide range of practices and aesthetics about family. community. landscape. and the self. Together. these guides also came to constitute another significant contribution to the history of expectations that were placed on individual settlers before they even reached their homes. By adopting a language and form that was direct. plain. and pragmatic. these guides reduced the diverse experiences of settlement to a simplified set of prescriptions and suggestions. This simplification was intended. the guides claimed. to educate the reader: it also worked. however. to make the specific problems. challenges and obstacles facing any individual conform to one set of abstract solutions.

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[97] See Michel Foucault. "Governmentality." in Graham Burchell. Colin Gordon. and Peter Miller. eds.. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1991). 87-104: Rose. *Powers of Freedom*: Mitchell Dean. *Governmentality* (London: Sage. 1999): Dean and Barry Hindess. eds.. *Governing Australia: Studies in Contemporary Rationalities of Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1999). For Canada. see Tina Loo. *Making Law. Order. and Authority in British Columbia. 1821-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1994) and Ian McKay. "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History." *Canadian Historical Review*. 81 (2000). 617-645.

The materials covered in both this chapter and in Chapter 4. have sought to broaden our historical understanding of the politics of settlement. While questions of economic production. land. and property have been covered here. we have read these questions. and the answers provided to them. as those in the 1850s and 1860s did. This has necessitated two forms of analysis: first. we have tried to expose those processes of governance that produced emigrant guides and the rules of settlement:. second. we have used this study of production to examine the discourse expressed through these texts. By grounding the study of these texts within the politico-bureaucratic and politico-cultural processes that made them. it has been argued here that the discourse of 'actual settlement' was an articulation of early-Canadian citizenship. Its key themes were permanence. productivity. and discipline. These themes. it was suggested. were given a great deal of specificity through a political discourse that was focused on a series of relationships: the settler and the region's système agro-forestier: the settler and the land: the settler and the family: the settler and the local community.

The 'politics of settlement' has a history difficult to divorce from the very institutions. processes. and culture that sought to capture it and preserve it within written and preserved documents. Indeed. the politics of settlement were caught up in a history of expectations and a history of fantasy where the 'real' was that which was written and recorded and not necessarily the same 'real' as was experienced. What we have emphasized here. and indeed throughout the thesis thus far. is that the history of a Canadian state-in-formation cannot be eliminated from the very histories it sought to write. While this is most certainly a problem of historical method. it was also a problem of history lived and experienced.

This chapter therefore closes the first set of analyses we promised in the introduction. Thus far we have focussed exclusively on colonization as a *strategy* and *tactic* of a modern Canadian state-in-formation. To return to our central metaphor of the gardener state. we have examined how the garden was imagined to look. in the past. in the now. and in the future. We have also raised a number of questions and problems about how "the state" complicates our relationship with historical evidence. Indeed. there is perhaps a predicament from which we have yet to free ourselves: where does a history of colonization begin and a history of a Canadian state formation end? Or is it possible. or even desirable. to look for this break? At the very least. our research to this point suggests these are questions worth asking even if the answers appear to be unfulfilling.

These questions are still of great relevance. however. as we now shift our gaze to colonization as a *practice* of governance: we have hinted at this dimension with several elliptical and undeveloped references to such things as inspection. surveillance. observation. and evaluation. Over the next two chapters. however. we must now ask a new series of questions: what happened once colonization was put into motion. when roads were built and rebuilt. and when settlers were recruited and placed on the land? How did the history of expectations confront the history of what-was-happening? To answer these questions it is imperative that we follow colonization through a different collection of power-knowledge practices. to explore how the gardener state cultivated and tended those seeds of expectations. hopes. and dreams we have unpacked thus far through chapters two. three. four. and five.

Figures 5.1 and 5.2: "As I Was" and "As I Am"

Source: Vere Foster. *Work and Wages: or. The Penny Emigrant's Guide to the United States and Canada.* 5th edition (London: W. & F. G. Gash. 1855

AS I WAS.

AS I AM.

Figure 5.3

Source: Richard S. Lambert with Paul Pross, *Renewing Nature's Wealth: A Centennial History of the Public Management of Lands, Forests, and Wildlife in Ontario, 1763-1967* (Toronto: Hunter Rose Co., 1967), 109.

A settler's hut on the Opeongo colonization road, Muskoka 1901

Figure 5.4: "The Emigrant's First Home in the Backwoods of Canada"

Source: [Reverend Henry Hope]. *Letters From Canada. with numerous illustrations*. 11th ed. (London: Frederic Algar. 1863)

Part III   Politics of Population and Place: Enacting Colonization

The transition from colonization-as-strategy to colonization-as-practice revolved around two primary programs: immigration and colonization roads. In the first chapter of this section. we will examine the ways in which population was managed with an explicit focus on the practices involved with immigration. We shall see how many of the attributes usually associated with late-nineteenth-century immigration to Canada (especially the Prairies) were extensions and refinements of a system established. albeit somewhat crudely. in the 1850s and 1860s. These early efforts at population management are significant because they demonstrate. again. how an activist state sought to regulate and order the production of a Canadian 'society' through a system of agencies and agents. While there is a concern in this chapter with immigration policies. what is of much greater concern is how these policies were enacted. what practices of governance gave them a form and. finally. what significance this translation (of 'policy' into 'practice') held for the political identity of the thousands of immigrants made subject to it.

The roads were used to prepare the frontier lands of the Ottawa-Huron Tract for systematic settlement but they also produced a new political space in which the state was confronted with a number of challenges and disruptions. In the second chapter of this section. we will explore how this new. produced. and contested space laid bare the dynamics and tensions of a Canadian state-in-formation. The colonization roads were spaces in which social histories. economic histories. environmental histories. and political histories collided. producing moments of both conflict and co-operation. We shall also explore how all of these histories came to be recorded in the state's colonization archive.

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and reflect on the significance (both then and now) to the cultural and intellectual distance produced between history as lived experience and history as represented experience. This will then lead us into the conclusion of the thesis where we will pull together all the interpretive strands offered in the previous seven chapters.

Chapter Six

New Futures, Old Worlds:
Colonization, Immigration, and 'Population', 1848-1866

We begin our study of colonization as a practice of state formation by travelling a well-worn path of Canadian historical investigation: immigration. Chapters 4 and 5 critically assessed how and why the state spent so much administrative energy on trying to define and teach 'proper' personal qualities of habit that would allow a settler to become 'actual' and therefore permanent and successful. It was argued that the ramifications of this educative discourse were quite significant: the 'actual settler' was nothing less than the ideal citizen. In the late 1850s and early 1860s, a comparable amount of administrative effort and concern was invested in finding and then locating the 'type' of immigrant who could meet the physical and moral requirements of actual settlement. For the state, the right 'immigrant' was a necessary corollary to the formation of a disciplined, productive, and loyal citizenry of 'actual settlers' in the Ottawa-Huron Tract. The new futures the state envisioned for both the region and the province needed the 'best' of the old world.

Immigration became situated within the state's colonization project of the Ottawa-Huron Tract because the political landscape of imperial-colonial relations shifted following the worst years of the Irish famine migration in 1846 and 1847.[1] The exchanges between the British colonial secretary Lord Grey and the Governor General of Canada, Lord Elgin, were (and are) especially revealing for *how* they interpreted the

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[1] Donald Harman Akenson. *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 28-34.

significance of this event.[2] For Elgin. the Canada deserved both respect and remuneration

for the way in which the colony dealt with the migrants and the high incidence of disease

that the migration brought. He sympathized with requests from the Canadian government

for both more money and more legislative control to avert any future debacles. By

contrast. Grey was angry that the colony blamed England for the migration and was trying

to shame the mother country for financial compensation. In fact. Grey claimed. Canada

should have been grateful for the influx of so many people. What Canada needed to do.

he claimed. was to be far more systematic about colonization in order to reap the benefits

of its windfall of Irish immigration.[3] "The wild western Irishman." Grey wrote. "now

goes out to Canada utterly ignorant of every useful kind of labour. and until he gets

gradually instructed. is fit for no employment requiring more than brute strength. But he

is a singularly teachable animal. and one very easily brought under discipline if well

managed."[4] Even the most ignorant and 'backwards' immigrant. Grey seemed to be

saying. could be made 'useful' if subjected to the necessary and proper forms of

governance. This. he wrote. had been sadly lacking in Canada where "by long usage

men's minds [have] become habituated to the irregular and unsystematic methods of

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[2] The relevant materials can be consulted in two convenient collections: A.G. Doughty. ed.. *The Elgin-Grey Papers 1846-1852* (Ottawa: Secretary of State. 1937). vol. 1. 26. 35-36. 50. 52-53. 58-59. 62-66. 76-80. 103. 115-117. 122. 125-126. 128-129.132-133. 146-147 and vol. 4. 1309-1348. 1361-1375. 1427-1457: "Despatches from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. on the subject of the Emigration of last year." *JLAC*. 1848. App. W. This second source is an important reminder of how 'public' the imperial-colonial relationship was in this era.

[3] One of Grey's first directives to Elgin was to see a Wakefieldian program of 'systematic colonization' directed to Canada. Grey to Elgin. 02 February 1847. *Elgin-Grey Papers*. vol. 1. 10-12.

[4] Grey to Elgin. 22 March 1848. *Elgin-Grey Papers*. vol. 1. 126.

occupying the public territory which have hitherto prevailed."[5] Grey was thus not

opposed to more Canadian governmental responsibility for immigration provided that

they were prepared to manage it properly.

Grey's stance received much support from Stephen E. De Vere. who undertook

the Atlantic crossing in steerage and then reported on his experiences for the British

colonial office. His report. as J.E. Hodgetts points out. was especially graphic and

emotive when describing the horrors involved with the crossing under the then-current

conditions.[6] And yet. De Vere was also careful to preface his remarks by saying: "I shall

not regret the disasters of the past two years if their warning voice shall have stimulated

and Enabled us to effect a system of Emigration *leading to future Colonization* which

shall gradually heal the diseased and otherwise incurable state of Society at home: and at

the same time infuse a spirit into the Colonies which shall render them the Ornament. the

wealth. and the bulwark of the Parent Country."[7] De Vere then used his concluding

remarks to prescribe a future course. While more state control should be exercised in the

departing ports. De Vere also said. "Government must not stop there – something must be

done for the profitable employment of the Emigrants – To support them [with charity] is

but a temporary shift. -- they must be enabled to become valuable citizens to the

Colony."[8] To 'enable' required the Canadian colonial state to guide immigrants into the

right situation for them to 'learn' how to succeed. In doing so. the Irish (and other

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[5] Grey to Elgin. 01 April 1847. *JLAC*. 1847. 113.

[6] J.E. Hodgetts. *Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of the United Canadas. 1841-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1955). 246.

[7] Report of De Vere. 30 November 1847. *Elgin-Grey Papers*. vol. 4. 1341. (emphasis in original)

[8] *Ibid.*. 1345.

immigrants) would "become the mainspring of social improvement and extensive Civilization. and Canada will open her Eager arms to embrace the Thousands whom she would now reject. who from being the Locusts of the old world. will become the honeybees of the new."[9]

Nine months after De Vere's report. Lord Elgin was able to report quite favourably to Lord Grey that the colonial state was preparing to solve the problems exposed by the famine migration. "It is proposed to open up roads through the unconceded lands and to make free grants in small lots upon them to actual Settlers on the principles and conditions adopted in the Owen's Sound Settlement. Each individual thus located on land when not himself an Immigrant. provides for one by creating a gap in the labour market which the latter may fill."[10] He concluded by saying that criticisms of this plan. and here Elgin had in mind the provincial secretary R.B. Sullivan. "hardly apply to a measure so carefully guarded. or to the peculiar condition of a Community which has the means of supplying from a source which is practically inexhaustible...."[11] All sides seemed to have been pleased with this resolution. British officials were happy to cede administrative responsibility (and after 1854 all costs) for managing immigrants and confident that the Canadians would actively and wisely govern new arrivals. For their part. Canadian officials were anxious to take advantage of the possibilities that a more

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[9] *Ibid..* 1346.

[10] Elgin to Grey. 28 June 1848. *Elgin-Grey Papers.* vol. 4. 1374. The "unconceded" lands Elgin mentions were those of the Ottawa-Huron Tract. and they did become ceded and thus 'public' lands with the negotiation of the Robinson's Treaty in 1850.

[11] *Ibid..* 1374-1375. The criticisms of Sullivan were published in R.B. Sullivan. *Address on Emigration and Colonization. delivered in the Mechanic's Institute Hall* (Toronto: Brown's Printing Establishment. 1847).

carefully exploited immigration might mean to the financial health of the Province and its north-westward expansion.

The new Canadian stance on immigration was laid bare in the December 1848 memorandum of Francis Hincks. The Hincks' memorandum. we saw in Chapter 2. argued that immigrants had to be attracted. kept. and allocated in such a way that they would enrich the value of public lands. contribute their labour to the construction of new public works. and become important consumers of manufactured goods. Only three weeks after preparing this plan of action. Hincks sent in a claim for financial compensation to the British Colonial Office for the outlay of Canadian public moneys required to house. shelter. and care for indigent immigrants in 1847 and 1848.[12] In other words. Hincks' prepared a solution for a problem he then detailed soon thereafter. Perhaps most significantly. the ideas and strategies advocated in the memorandum were palatable to Lord Grey. Lord Elgin and other British officials who were strong advocates of a plan for systematic colonization in which the state would manage all the essential elements of this process.

State Formation and the Problem of 'Population' in Mid-Victorian Canada

Within the historical context of state formation. the concept of 'population' is far more problematic than is generally recognized. Indeed. 'population' is a construct. an abstracted and often simplified picture of both society as a whole and individuals as

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[12] Francis Hincks to Provincial Secretary. 16 January 1849. *JLAC*. 1849. App. E.E.E. With his claim. Hincks submitted a very specific table of expenses incurred not just at ports of entry but also at various towns which received some of the immigrants. This included amounts as small as 81 pounds sterling for Trent and almost 22 000 pounds sterling for Toronto.

citizens. It is. as Bruce Curtis argues, "not an observable object, but a way of organizing social observations."[13] The making and display of 'population' is also an expression of power, an effort at organizing the imagined community of a nation.[14] It is therefore useful to think of 'population' as another expression of nationalist fantasy, much like an 'imagined geography.' Each has historically been products of desire. yearning, and need projected onto some other material reality. Still, it is not necessary to see 'population' as detached from demography (the statistical study of 'population'), but rather to acknowledge that 'population' seeks to define the truth-value and meaning of demography, in other words to make its own demographic 'reality.'

In the mid-Victorian era, the major problem of 'population' was demographic instability. Thus it was that themes of 'permanence' and 'stability' were paramount in the construction of the 'actual settler' and the discourse of citizenship, our focus in chapters four and five. In Canada East, young French Canadians were leaving for the United States and while many in English Canada had mixed feelings about their departure, for French-Canadian politicians the situation was culturally and politically apocalyptic.[15]

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[13] Curtis. *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2001). 24. See also. however. Ian Hacking. *The Taming of Chance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1990), esp. 105-149; Mary Poovey. *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1995) esp. 98-131; Poovey. *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); James C. Scott. *Seeing Like a State* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998). esp. 90-93.

[14] This was the essential point in the revised edition of Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso. 1991) in which Anderson added the critical chapter "Census, Map, Museum."

[15] Much of this angst was expressed in "Report of the Special Committee on Emigration." *JLAC.* 1857. App. 47. See also the earlier angst in "Report of the Select Committee appointed to Inquire into the Causes and Importance of the Emigration which takes place annually from Lower Canada to the United States." *JLAC.* 1849. App. A.A.A.A.A.

While less of a widespread problem, the threat of exodus also plagued Canada West. This was especially the case in the decade prior to the American Civil War when Chicago became a powerful metropolis of the American West and used its urban mite to facilitate extensive settlement and intensive industrial and agricultural production.[16] The American 1862 Homestead Act further accelerated this process by making tracts of land available for both individual and also group settlement. Besides residents leaving for the United States, there was the problem of immigrants using Canada and its favourable conditions as a causeway to the American west. The so-called "St. Lawrence route" was the fastest, safest, and usually least expensive way for European migrants to get to the American frontier.[17] The sum total of all these factors was that within Canada, single men, single women, and families of all shapes and sizes, were all on the move.[18] How to control, manage, and exploit all this movement of "population" was a pre-occupying problem for the mid-Victorian state.

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[16] See William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991).

[17] "Emigration Report," *JLAC*, 1857, App. 47, provides a table of prices that shows how the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway, in combination with the St. Lawrence River, made Canada an ideal route to Chicago.

[18] Bruno Ramirez, *On the Move: French-Canadian and Italian Migrants in the North Atlantic Economy, 1860-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991). Social historians have long recognized the fluidity of demography in the mid-Victorian era and it was especially the focus of important research in the 1980s. Among others, see A. Gordon Darroch, "Migrants in the Nineteenth Century: Fugitives or Families in Motion?" *Journal of Family History*, 6 (1981), 257-277; David Gagan. *Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Chad Gaffield, *Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 31-61; Yves Roby. "Quebec in the United States: A Historiographical Survey," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly*, 26 (1987), 126-159; Bruce Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).

In this regard. 1848 was a watershed year. It was a key moment for the history of

responsible government in Canada and. most significantly for our concerns. it was also an

important year for the history of Canadian state formation. 'Traditional' and 'new'

political historians have both pointed to the election of a Reform government in 1848 and

the emergence of a powerful Francis Hincks. as a turning point in Canada's maturation as

an independent nation-state.[19] Both groups of scholars would also agree that the Irish

famine migration of 1846 and 1847 made possible many of the changes introduced in

1848. It not only made conservative politicians appear woefully incompetent but it also

exposed the peripheral position of Canada as a colony in the British Empire.

Furthermore. the hue and outcry that accompanied the arrival of the Irish. stirred up

passions that immigration required far more governance to protect the social body from

contaminants (both physical and moral) introduced by the sick and the poor who were

perceived as trying to 'escape' Ireland for Canada.[20] The famine migration. both as a real

event and as an imagined construct. made the voices of reform more powerful than at any

other time since the union of the Canadas in 1841.

The significance of the famine migration to the processes of Canadian state

formation has not. however. received the kind of critical attention from historians than

one might expect. For example. the collection of essays in *Colonial Leviathan* speak to a

[19] Compare J.M.S. Careless. *The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions. 1841-1857* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1967) and Michael Piva. *The Borrowing Process: Public Finance in the Province of Canada. 1840-1867* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press. 1992).

[20] G.J. Parr. "The Welcome and the Wake: Attitudes in Canada West toward the Irish Famine Migration." *Ontario History*. 66 (1974). 101-113. See also the petitions. from the towns of Cornwall and Brockville. to the provincial state for "protection" from immigrant disease. *JLAC*. 1854. App. O.O.

wide range of processes and elements of mid-Victorian state formation but say very little

about immigration. despite the work of earlier generations of scholarship which saw

immigration as a key factor in political management. [21] Aside from Wesley Turner's

dissertation on overseas immigration agents in London. earlier scholars appear to have

been more interested in cataloguing Canada's qualities as an independent nation than they

were in exploring the significance of immigration to the larger governmental concerns of

'population.' [22] Recently. though. Bruce Curtis has made immigration. understood more

broadly as 'population management.' an important part of the research agenda for critical

analyses of Canadian state formation. Most importantly. Curtis situates Canada's post-

famine management of immigration as an indicator of the bureaucratic state's larger shift

to a "relatively autonomous regime of colonial knowledge / power." [23] And yet while

Curtis' insights open up a new approach to the importance of immigration to the study of

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[21] To be fair. the volume made no pretence to be comprehensive. Yet the omission of a study of immigration. when the editors of the volume made special emphasis (p. 5) on how the movement of peoples into. across. and out of the colony was a defining element of mid-Victorian Canada. is nonetheless surprising. Allan Greer and Ian Radforth. eds.. *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1992). Among the older works were Paul W. Gates. "Official Encouragement to Immigration by the Province of Canada." *Canadian Historical Review.* 25 (1934). 24-38 and J.E. Hodgetts. *Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of the United Canadas. 1841-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1955). 240-256. One of the ironies of this oversight is that one of the first and most significant studies of the "revolution in government" that occurred in England dealt with the Passenger Acts and the administration of British emigration. Oliver MacDonagh. *A Pattern of Government Growth. 1800-1860: The Passenger Acts and their Enforcement* (Dublin: MacGibbon and Kee. 1961).

[22] Wesley Turner. "Colonial Self-Government and the Colonial Agency: Changing Concepts of Permanent Canadian Representation in Canada. 1848 to 1880." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (Duke University. 1971). Turner does not. however. direct much of his analytical attention to Canadian and British state formation as an index of changing imperial-colonial relations.

[23] Curtis. "Official Documentary Systems and Colonial Government: From Imperial Sovereignty to Colonial Autonomy in the Canadas. 1841-1867." *Journal of Historical Sociology.* 10 (1997). 406. Of course. Curtis' research agenda is not completely antithetical to previous generations of

state formation, more critical reflection is required on the depth and significance of this relationship.

There were at least three critical issues in which the famine migration led to important changes in the Canadian state's relationship with immigration in the mid-Victorian era. One, it resulted in greater colonial control over immigration and with this the writing and passing of an Immigrant Act designed to systematize the management of migration at point-of-departure, travel, and then arrival.[24] Two, it identified immigration (and colonization) as problems of 'population' that required direct, interventionist state action: how should Canada take advantage of immigration? Where should the immigrants go? What locales needed immigrants and for what purposes? How could immigrants be made to meet this local demand? Three, it intensified the degree to which all immigrants were subjected to the evaluative gaze of their new homeland: do they look sick? Are they paupers? Can they and will they work? In short, are they the right 'type' for a progressive Canada? For the colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract, these last two sets of questions were of particular significance.

In fact, the colonization project of the Ottawa-Huron Tract challenges one of Bruce Curtis' more salient arguments. Despite the efforts of A.C. Buchanan, who was a technocrat *par excellence* in his direction of the emigrant office in Quebec City and who produced an immense amount of data on arriving ships and immigrants, Curtis has argued that "the subsequent fate of immigrants was less well known because colonial state agencies lacked the technical capacity, and perhaps the political interest as well, to track

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scholarship; his emphasis, though, on the techniques of governance and their implications on both 'the state' and 'society' are a dramatic departure.

people beyond the point of entry."[25] As we shall explore in this chapter. attempts to

manage and regulate immigrants were. at least with respect to the colonization of the

Ottawa-Huron Tract. more extensive than Curtis has recognized: beside Buchanan. who

was a towering figure in the administration of colonization. there were interpreters. in-

land agents. and overseas agents. all of whom were part of an effort to find. situate. and

regulate the movement of migrants.[26] That their efforts were not always successful. and

featured at times a mixture of administrative folly and personal corruption. belies two

critical points. First. at least within the context of colonization. there was in fact much

"political interest" in tracking migrants beyond the point-of-entry. Second. the "technical

capacity" of the state generated more knowledge about migrants than is generally

acknowledged.

Indeed. while the federal census has been historically the apotheosis of

"population." the Canadian colonial state also used a wide range of statistical-making

offices and practices in all its departments.[27] For example. in the 1840s. right through the

famine migration. statistics relating to immigration were particularly detailed and

thorough. although they tended to be almost exclusively devoted to the point-of-entry

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[24] 11 Vic.. c.1 (1848) was the original legislation and it was amended with 12 Vic.. c.6 (1849).

[25] Curtis. "Official Documentary Systems and Colonial Government." 410.

[26] I am not "discovering" these agents. See. for example. Hodgetts. *Pioneer Public Service.* 241-256: Gates. "Official Encouragement." 30-32: Norman Macdonald. *Canada: Immigration and Colonization: 1841-1903* (Toronto: Macmillan. 1966): Turner. "Colonial Self-Government and the Colonial Agency." How I examine the practices of these agents. however. is quite distinct from these earlier treatments.

[27] On the Canadian census see Curtis. *The Politics of Population.* Compare the treatment of the American census in Matthew G. Hannah. *Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory in Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2000). See also Anderson. *Imagined Communities.* 164-170 and Bernard Cohn. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996). esp. 1-17.

where state agents could enumerate new arrivals with some systematic rigour.[28] The challenge after the experiences of the famine migration was to know with more certainty where these immigrants ended up and what they were doing, a desire much stronger with the Canadian colonial state than it was with the British imperial state. In some cases, the immigrants already knew where they were headed and told the agent at the port. In other cases, though, it was seemingly an impossible task, especially as private railway interests began their own projects of settlement and selling "forwarding" (or "through") tickets overseas.[29] As immigration agent A.B. Hawke complained as early as 1853, "[t]he revolution which has taken place during the last year or two in the forwarding business renders it impossible to keep any account of the arrival and departure of immigrants at this [Toronto] or any other of the principal ports in Upper Canada that could be depended upon...."[30]

Despite the challenges, political demand for numbers remained high. Knowing how many were arriving, from where, and in what condition, were questions of prime importance. So, too, however, was knowledge of how many arrivals were staying, where they were locating, and what they were doing.[31] Only from this knowing, could the state

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[28] With respect to the famine migration, see the report of Buchanan in *JLAC*, 1849, App. E.E.E. and the use of his statistics (on immigrant mortality) by the British colonial office in *JLAC*, 1848, App. W.

[29] A "forwarding" or "through" ticket could be purchased from an agent of the railway stationed at the major ports of debarkation, such as Liverpool. Sold at a "special" price, or so they were told, immigrants were able to arrange all their travel ahead of time. After arriving in Quebec City, immigrants would be registered by A.C. Buchanan's office but then by-pass any other in-land immigration office. These tickets seemed to be of particular interest to immigrants using Canada as a route to the American west.

[30] AO, RG 11-1-0-3, Hawke to A.C. Buchanan, 17 December 1853.

[31] A fact revealed by the detailed statistical tables of Buchanan's annual reports as well as those of his in-land deputies.

properly govern and regulate the movement of this new "population" to enrich and not burden the province. Indeed. for the state. and for many others in the public sphere. the famine migration had laid bare just how vital these statistics could be for the health and well-being of all Canadians.[32]

The state was also concerned to ensure that "the immigrant" as a social category was better known. This was a "new" problem of "population" towards the end of the 1850s when immigration from Great Britain. including Ireland. Scotland. and England. had declined dramatically. Just as French-Canadian nationalists fretted over the exodus from their imagined community. so too did English-Canadian nationalists become alarmed over how to properly "stock" their expansionist fantasies. Shifting their gaze from the imperial mother country. these English-Canadians looked to the continent. especially to Protestant Nordic peoples in Norway. Sweden. and the various German states. But the rigours of pioneering in frontier environments like the Ottawa-Huron Tract also established other criteria that immigrants would have to meet were they to become successful. permanent settlers. All of this combined. to produce a thorough profile of "the immigrant". one that was as much qualitative as it was quantitative.

To make sense of all this political knowing of "population". however. we must first map out the bureaucratic structure and administrative practices through which so much of this process occurred. The changes in the Canadian state's relationship to immigration occurred through a bureaucratic network of offices. agencies. and

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[32] This can be seen in newspaper editorials from Hamilton. Quebec City. and Montreal in *Elgin-Grey Papers*. vol. 1. 80-84. Bruce Curtis. "Social Investment in Medical Forms: The 1866 Cholera Scare and Beyond." *Canadian Historical Review*. 81 (2000). 347-389 provides another example of how public demands for protection from infectious immigrants could intensify the production and distribution of vital statistics.

personalities. The state wished to generate. in Benedict Anderson's apt words, specific

"traffic-habits" that, with time, would subject all immigrants to the gaze of the state.[33]

Indeed, the more an immigrant appeared within an institutional space, such as an

immigrant shed, office, or hospital, the better he or she could be directly governed. While

this experiment in bureaucracy never involved more than a fraction of all immigrants to

Canada, a fact that officials themselves recognized and bemoaned, this should not

minimize the significance of the time and energy committed by the Canadian state to

intensifying its institutional administration of immigration.[34] As well, identifying what

this bureaucratic network was, why it was created, and how it operated, will allow us, in

the last section of this chapter, to make better sense of what was involved with the

political construction of 'the immigrant.'

Administering Immigrants

More than a by-product of high-political brokering. the creation of the Bureau of

Agriculture in 1852 and then the formation of the Bureau of Agriculture, Registration,

and Statistics in 1857. signalled a turning point for the governing of population.[35]

Among the department's many tasks, it assumed bureaucratic responsibility for

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[33] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 169.

[34] Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 43-60 is aware of the experiment in immigration management but treats the pre-Confederation era in little more than broad, simplistic strokes in order to get to the later decades of the nineteenth and then twentieth centuries. In much the same vein, although more cognizant of this era's relevance for later efforts in immigration policy and practice, is Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1997* revised ed. (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997).

[35] Curtis, *The Politics of Population*, 139-141 and 159-162.

immigration. both its management at the major points-of-entry and the promotion of immigration overseas.[36] Most critically. the work of Alexander Carlisle Buchanan. who had been the chief emigrant agent at Quebec for the British government since 1838. became part of the daily business of the colonial state. The surviving correspondence reflects how William Hutton. the Secretary of the Bureau. and A.C. Buchanan worked closely together on the administration of immigration.[37] Together. these two men assembled the corpus of emigrant guides that were distributed to would-be settlers. advocated the first overseas immigration agents. and sought to systematize the movement of immigrants from Quebec City to their final points of destination.

Hutton and Buchanan oversaw an identifiable network of offices and agents through which the state sought to regulate the movements of immigrants. Figure 7.1 offers a schematic of this network's constitutive parts and the organization of its communication and bureaucratic power. Much of this was inherited from the British imperial system of in-land immigration agencies. except that now information and directives went through colonization's chief administrator. William Hutton.[38] Another important difference was that A.B. Hawke. a long time agent for the British colonial

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[36] While the formative legislation of the Bureau. 16 Vic.. c.11. had prescribed that it assume administrative responsibility for the promotion of Canada as a destination for immigrants. it was only in 1862 that legislation was passed that 'officially' put all facets of immigration management in the Bureau's mandate. This later legislation simply confirmed practices that were already well underway.

[37] NAC. RG 17. A.1.2. vol. 1490. Letterbooks. 1852-1862. Unfortunately. much of the correspondence into the Bureau has been lost for the years prior to 1865. Finding Aid 17-1 in the NAC is. however. a file-by-file inventory for the correspondence that has survived and it is an invaluable tool for researchers.

[38] On the imperial organization. see Hodgetts. *Pioneer Public Service*. 241-243.

office and a voice of authority in Upper Canada, was now a subordinate of Buchanan's.[39]

Throughout the later 1850s. Hawke's perceived usefulness declined and when he was sent

to Liverpool in 1859 to open the first overseas office, it was thought he was no longer

physically capable to operate the Toronto offices.[40] Indeed, while Hawke had once been a

prominent voice among politicians, after 1852 he became less so.[41] Thus, it was Hutton

and Buchanan who each reported annually and directly to the Legislature, who controlled

finances, and who were charged with translating policies and objectives into practices and

results.

Buchanan saw to all the day-to-day operations at Quebec City and, with doctors

and translators, conducted ship inspections himself. Buchanan enumerated the new

arrivals, recording each individual's age, sex, occupation, place of departure, and

intended destination. Passengers were also asked about the passage: had anything

unusual occurred? How were they fed? Was fresh water readily available? How much

did they pay? During the peak season for immigration (roughly May to November)

Buchanan filed monthly returns of statistical data. In the 1850s, especially. Buchanan

also made much use of his translators. William Sinn (German) and Christopher Closter

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[39] Hawke's background as a Tory certainly did not help his relations with even a moderate Reformer like William Hutton. See Wesley B. Turner. "Anthony Bewden Hawke." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. IX, 377. Hawke's own belief that this arrangement was done for reasons of practicality belies the obvious differences in power and authority between these two men and their respective positions. "Report of the Select Committee on Emigration." *JLAC*, 1859. Appendix 19, testimony of A.B. Hawke.

[40] The slow, painful, tragic death of Hawke's eldest son, who had been an immigration agent in Kingston, had much to do with the elder Hawke's physical decline. This can be observed through personal correspondence in AO, RG 11-1-0-3. MS 6910. The "Hawke Papers," as they have been named, were microfilmed from the originals in Columbia University and 'returned' to Canada in the late fall of 2000.

[41] See, for example. Hutton's comments to Buchanan in NAC, RG 17. A 1.2., vol. 1490. 17 April 1860, in which Hutton describes Hawke as an old man losing his "vitality."

(Norwegian). Besides their traditional duties, both Sinn and Closter were directed to

recruit new arrivals to take up property, to escort the immigrants to their new homes, and

to later inspect their progress and report back to Buchanan.[42] Armed also with reports

from in-land immigration agents. Buchanan would then use all this accumulated

knowledge to structure his own view of the past season and prescribe what changes were

required for the future.[43]

Buchanan was an empathetic administrator. He was an advocate for the

protection of immigrants from the unscrupulous and greedy who were thought to prey

upon the newcomers' insecurity, fear, and ignorance.[44] He saw his duty as not only

political but also moral: Buchanan called for British reforms to the Imperial Passenger

Acts. and later the Canadian Immigration Acts. to safeguard immigrants on the long and

difficult passage. Furthermore. Buchanan sought to shelter and protect immigrants once

they left the ships by warning them about not only the 'dangerous' men hanging about the

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[42] The activities of Closter and Sinn gave way to a more restricted definition of duties applied to their successor. A. Jorgensen in the early 1860s. Contrast, for example. "Report of the German Assistant" and "Report of Norwegian Assistant" in *JLAC*, 1860. Sessional Paper 18, 21-25 and "Report of Mr. A. Jorgensen on Foreign Immigration." *JLAC*, 1865. Sessional Paper 6, 104-106. Sinn and Cloester were each active in trying to recruit and settle German and Norwegian immigrants. efforts that received administrative support from Buchanan and financial support from the Executive Council. Examples of the latter can be found in NAC. RG 1, E 1. State Book "R". 16 June 1857 and NAC. RG 1, E 1. State Book "S". 18 December 1858. Sinn. however. was chastised for conducting private business in the course of his duties and it led to his dismissal. NAC. RG 17. A 3.3. vol. 2398. "Report to the Governor General in Council re: investigation of illegal practices by emigration agents." 06 April 1862.

[43] He did this publicly through his annual reports to the parliament and more privately in correspondence with Hutton and the various ministers of Agriculture during the 1850s and early 1860s. Buchanan gave a thorough review of his activities in "Report of Select Committee on Emigration." *JLAC*. 1860. Appendix 4, 23-24. These duties were defined by Buchanan and his predecessor (his uncle) as neither received directives upon their appointment to Quebec City in 1832.

[44] This can be seen. for example in his emigrant guide. *Canada: For the Information of Intending Emigrants* (Quebec: J. Blackburn. 1864), 26.

docks but also the temptations of Quebec City. Thus it was that Buchanan was able to

instigate a policy whereby needy immigrants would be provided with tickets and

forwarded to in-land immigration agents for further assistance and direction. He was

particularly keen to forward immigrants to Ottawa.[45] The colonization project of the

Ottawa-Huron Tract. including its controversial policy of free grants. was an ideal

situation in which immigrants could be protected and provided for and thus also 'saved'

from moving on to the United States.

William Hutton. the chief administrator and 'official' booster of colonization in

the Ottawa-Huron Tract. was also an important voice in the management of immigration.

especially with regards to communication. In Chapter 5 we discussed how much time

and effort he put into the emigrant guides. which he saw as a manual for instruction and a

tool for promoting increased immigration and settlement in Canada. Besides his own

writings on immigration and settlement. which we also studied in chapter five. Hutton

also wrote a pamphlet comparing Canada and Illinois as fields for agricultural settlement

in response to what he (and others) perceived as a slanderous attack on Canada from an

American newspaper editor.[46] In addition. Hutton dealt with many requests and

questions. many from people interested in taking advantage of the new colonization

project with its free grants.[47] Finally. Hutton was the administrator through whom

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[45] In his report for 1856. Buchanan called special attention to ¨The excellent and judicious system...of free grants to actual settlers....¨ ¨Emigration Report. 1856.¨ *JLAC*. 1857. App. 47.

[46] William Hutton. *Canada and Illinois compared! being an answer to Caird's Slanders on Canada* (1859). a copy of which was reprinted in Reverend Henry Hope, *Letters From Canada. with numerous illustrations* (London: Frederic Algar. 1863). 55-66.

[47] See. for example. NAC. RG 17. A.1.2. vol. 1490. Hutton to ? (Hamilton). 03 September 1856: Hutton to F.T. Lewis (Ohio). 16 January 1857: Hutton to Kleiber (New Jersey). 09 March 1857:

directives were issued to all the local and overseas agents. Although Hutton seemed to be

less important as a maker of immigration policy than Buchanan, he was critical to co-

ordinating efforts between immigration and colonization in the Ottawa-Huron Tract.[48]

Hutton and Buchanan also sought to manage immigration through two groups of

field agents, the first assigned to in-land towns in Canada and the second to cities in

Europe. In continuing a practice established by the British colonial office, during the

early 1850s agents were stationed in Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, and Hamilton,

traditional entrepôts along the St. Lawrence.[49] With the advent of the colonization of the

Ottawa-Huron Tract, an agent was also considered for the city of Ottawa. Francis

Clemow was eventually appointed in 1857 despite the objections of the Governor General

but on the recommendation of A.C. Buchanan.[50] While the agents at Hamilton and

Kingston were directly responsible to A.B. Hawke in Toronto, the Ottawa office reported

directly to Buchanan. Placing the Ottawa office under Buchanan's oversight helped

coordinate the movement of immigrants from Quebec City through to the free grants and

other lands of the Ottawa-Huron Tract. Ottawa was favoured over Kingston for this

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Hutton to Kroezler (New York). 31 March 1857: Hutton to J. Schultz (Wisconsin). 16 February 1859: Hutton to C. Munch (Germany) 21 January 1860.

[48] About the political capital held by Buchanan. Helen Cowan writes: "So efficient and influential in settlement policy did Buchanan become in Canada that Colonel Thomas Talbot openly resented the power the government gave 'that Beast'." Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America: The First Hundred Years* revised and enlarged ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961). 224.

[49] This geography of offices was actually streamlined from the imperial system. As late as 1846, there were in-land offices and agents at Montreal, Kingston, Cobourg, Port Hope, Toronto, Hamilton, and Port Stanley. AO. RG 11-1-0-3, Hawke to Lord Marquis. 16 November 1846. Interestingly, the British continued to fund these in-land offices until 1854, even though they ceded administrative control over them in 1848. After 1854, these offices (including Buchanan) were funded by the head tax then applied to all new arrivals.

purpose because the major east-west artery, the Opeongo Road, was accessible from the

Ottawa River and it channeled immigrants further into the north and west of this region of

expansion. While all of the in-land agents received immigrants arriving by boat or train

who had already received free passage and direction from Buchanan's office in Quebec

City, the directed traffic to the Ottawa office was more intense than that of Montreal,

Kingston, Toronto, or Hamilton.[51]

The duties of these agents reflected the intensity with which the state wished to

regulate this new potential 'population' and establish them in the country. Besides

enumerating all the arrivals, agents were instructed "to attend at the wharfs and give

information to…Emigrants as to routes, distances, prices…as well as to point out to such

Emigrants as require employment the places where they will be most likely to obtain it."

The immigration agent was also expected to direct all arrivals to the relevant Crown Land

agent for information on purchasing property or taking up free grants of land.[52] Like

Buchanan, the in-land agents recorded data on age, sex, occupation, and intended points

of destination. These data enhanced the degree to which the state could track the flow of

immigrants: Was the Kingston area getting enough domestics? Was Ottawa receiving

the right type of immigrant to settle the rugged but arable terrain of the Ottawa-Huron

Tract? What 'kind' of immigrants were proceeding through Hamilton (and thus the

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[50] See the correspondence in NAC, RG 17, A.1.2, vol. 1490, Vankoughnet to Buchanan, 11 August 1856 and NAC, RG 1, E1, State Book "R," 16 April 1857.

[51] The annual reports of Francis Clemow and later W.J. Wills made more mention of forwarded immigrants than the reports of their colleagues. In no small part, this was because Ottawa's geographical position away from the St. Lawrence meant that immigrants who arrived in that office were intending to settle in the city or its hinterland.

[52] The quotation is from the directives issued by A.B. Hawke to his deputy in Hamilton, William Freehauf. AO, RG 11-1-0-3, 05 June 1854.

United States route)? While representing only a fraction of the total immigration into Canada, as not all new arrivals reported to in-land immigration offices, these data allowed A.C. Buchanan and his agents to make wide ranging commentary in their annual reports and to therefore contribute to the representation of 'the immigrant' in the official colonization archive.

Agents were also responsible for protecting new arrivals from those scam artists and hucksters looking to exploit immigrants for their money and / or labour. As William Hutton explained to a German correspondent, "Mr. Buchanan our Emigrant agent, and Mr. William Sinn our German Interpreter are studious to prevent the German Immigrant from being imposed upon by Runners and Sharpers."[53] In-land agents also ensured that immigrants went as quickly as possible to friends, family, or to appropriate ethno-religious communities who would take responsibility for the new arrivals and their care. In some cases, agents were even directed to inspect locales where immigrants had been forwarded and report back on their progress.[54] While they were permitted to offer some shelter and food, agents were discouraged from providing 'too much' charity.[55] A.B. Hawke, for example, instructed one deputy to allocate "a 4th loaf of bread for each adult and half that quantity to children under 12 years of age" and only then "in extreme

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[53] NAC, RG 17, A.1.2, vol. 1490, Hutton to C. Munch, 21 January 1860.

[54] See, for example, the directives given to Francis Clemow to travel up the Ottawa Valley and report on the progress of Irish settlers. He was expected to not only record his impressions, but also to gather statistics on clearance rates and crop production levels, as well as to record the actual names of settlers and their precise locations. NAC, RG 17, A.1.2, vol. 1490, Hutton to Clemow, 05 December 1860. See also the comments of W.J. Willis, Clemow's successor in the Ottawa office, in "Report of Mr. W. J. Willis, Ottawa," *JLAC*, 1863, Sessional Paper 4, App. 4.

[55] See, for example, the directives given Francis Clemow about the disbursement of aid in "Report of Select Committee on Emigration," *JLAC*, 1860, App. 4, 55.

cases...when you are fully satisfied that it is imperatively necessary."[56] The in-land immigration offices intended new arrivals to find work and a home as quickly and safely as possible. Immigrants were not to become wards of the state.

The forwarding of immigrants was aided by an improved knowledge of local need and demand for immigrants. While it had been a standard practice as early as 1841 to inquire of local officials of their region's needs for immigration. between 1856 and 1858 the Bureau of Agriculture systematized these efforts.[57] The Bureau produced a circular on immigration to be distributed to all county clerks in Canada West in which the clerks provided the expected needs of their individual counties for the upcoming immigration season.[58] The clerks were presented with fifteen columns in which to record their responses: farm labourers (male / female): boys over 12: girls over 12: ten columns of different trades (e.g. carpenters. masons, tinsmiths): a column that asked. "What, if any. increase in the population during the past year by Immigration?": and another column that was reserved for "Observations." The answers provided were then collated on a county-by-county table. The intent was not to understand each region on its own terms. but to 'see' each as comparable parts of a larger whole. the province. Thus, one 'saw' that Addington needed five coopers in 1858 while Simcoe required nine. Or. that Addington

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[56] AO. RG 11-1-0-3. Hawke to Freehauf. 05 June 1854.

[57] For the earlier efforts see NAC. RG 5. B 21. vol. 1. Sent to sheriffs and local agricultural societies. the "Emigration Questionnaire" asked 28 open-ended. general questions (mostly about land). requested various tables of prices and wages. and then asked 37 more specific questions about local practices (such as "Is beer the drink of the common labourer?"). The responses to such questions. such as that supplied for the Bathurst District by Sheriff Charles Treadwell. were highly discursive and often polemical. We discussed the differences from this questionnaire to those of 1856-1858 in Chapter One. ?-?.

[58] NAC. RG 17. vol. 2392. file "Emigration Correspondence. 1856-1858." Unless indicated. the remainder of this paragraph is based on the materials in this file.

needed only 12 male farm labourers while Simcoe demanded 179. The results of the

questionnaire were then forwarded to the immigration agents to allow them to make

better-informed decisions about directing new arrivals. especially those with trades. In

the spring of 1864. this process of collecting. organizing. and displaying local knowledge

into tables of provincial comparison was revived. only then it was done through the in-

land immigration agents who were instructed to travel their assigned regions and collect

for themselves the relevant data on the demand for immigrant labour.[59] The goal was still

the same. however. In-land agents were to be provided with the necessary local

knowledge through which to better implement policies and practices of provincial

significance.

The in-land system of immigration offices was given great emphasis in emigrant

guides. especially those "published by authority" and sold and distributed both in Canada

and Europe. The 'official' guides by Catharine Parr Traill. T.P. French. and Henry Hope

all directed their readers "to report" to Buchanan and the relevant in-land offices.[60] While

this was done to benefit the new arrival. in particular those whose plans were open-ended

upon getting to Canada. it was also another attempt to bring the immigrant within the

institutional regulation of the state.

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[59] NAC. RG 17. A.3.3. vol. 2398. ? April 1864. This enumeration was to be done in 20 days and a work diary was to be kept. including a recording of the names and offices from whom all the relevant data was collected.

[60] T.P. French in his *Information for Intending Settlers on the Ottawa and Opeongo Road. And its Vicinity* (Ottawa. 1857). 15. warned: "Arrived in Quebec Emigrants must be *particularly careful not to follow the advice of strangers of either sex. in regard to lodgings. employment. or modes of travelling.* When put on shore they go *at once* to the Chief Emigrant Agent...." (Italics in original.) See also Hope. *Letters From Canada.* 66-67 which was a reprint of A.C. Buchanan's *General Directions to Intending Emigrants* and Traill. *The Canadian Settler's Guide* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1969 [1855]). 29-30.

The system of immigration offices within Canada was supplemented in 1859 by

the appointment of overseas agents in Europe, a bureaucratic move intended to counteract

the recruiting of emigrants by Americans and Australians.[61] Like the successful

exhibitions of William Logan at London's Crystal Palace in 1851, these overseas agents

were to display 'Canada,' to demonstrate to Europeans the province's current capabilities

and its promising future.[62] Thus when A.C. Buchanan was sent to England, in an effort to

improve the overseas agent system, he was instructed to visit the "Canadian Chamber of

Exhibition in the Crystal Palace" and "report to this Department its condition and such

alterations or improvements therein as you may think desirable."[63] No single issue was

thought to plague immigration levels to Canada more than a general ignorance about what

Canada offered to emigrants, both 'the labourer' and 'the capitalist.' The exhibitions at

London, New York, and Paris in the early 1850s had struggled to correct this problem,

but much enlightenment remained to be brought to the imaginations of European

[61] The appointment of these overseas agents and even the in-land agents in Ottawa, Hamilton, and Kingston, were done at the objection of A.B. Hawke. Hawke saw this system of agencies as "embarassing the Government. Settlers coming out under the influence of such Agents fancy they have claims upon the Government higher than those of voluntary Emigrants." NAC. RG 17, A.1.2, vol. 1490, "Memorandum on the Encouragement of Immigration via the River St. Lawrence," ? January 1857.

[62] On Logan, see Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 78-82. For Canadian participation in international fairs in the nineteenth century, see Elisabeth Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace: Exhibitions in Canadian Society during the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 141-181. On the significance of 'display' as a communicative process, see Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 119-166 and Susan Buck-Morris, "Envisioning Capital: Political Economy on Display," *Critical Inquiry*, 21 (1995), 434-465.

[63] NAC. RG 17, A.1.2, vol. 1490, Hutton to Buchanan, 16 January 1861. This 'assignment' is one of the many examples of how Buchanan could shape policy. Two months earlier, Buchanan had submitted a "Scheme for the Establishment and Regulation of the Canadian Reference

emigrants.[64] For the state. the problem was not one of method. but of scale and scope.

As a result. and in some ways reproducing the permanent exhibit at the Crystal Palace. all

the immigration field agents in Europe were armed with promotional pamphlets and maps

and even agricultural specimens collected from places all across the Province of Canada.

These tools would display 'Canada' and all its 'natural advantages' and thus become far

more prominent in European. public discourse on emigration.

Of all these materials. perhaps no element of displaying Canada was more

important than the map. As William Hutton explained: "Where maps are accessible.

intending settlers universally select a locality. and *not unfrequently identify themselves*

with it...."[65] Hutton may have had in mind the similar sentiments expressed by the

French politician Talleyrand. and quoted approvingly by the Quebec *Mercury*: "The art

of putting men in their proper places is. perhaps. the first science of Government: but that

of finding the proper place for the discontented is assuredly the most difficult: and the

presenting to their imagination in distant objects. perspective views. on which their

thoughts and desires may fix themselves. is. I think. one of the solutions of this

difficulty."[66] As Hutton (and Talleyrand) understood. the challenge for Canada was to

take hold of the European emigrant imagination. The visual power of the map. especially

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Office" that. among other things. made this exact 'recommendation.' (Ibid.. Buchanan to Hutton. 20 November 1860).

[64] The connections between the 1851 exhibition in London and the 1855 fair in Paris and the problems of immigration to Canada were made most explicitly in the "Report of the Select Committee on Emigration." *JLAC*. 1860. Appendix 4. 7.

[65] Ibid.. 45. (emphasis added)

[66] Published in the Quebec *Mercury*. 01 March 1831. it also was re-printed in *Hints to Emigrants. Respecting North America* (Quebec: Thomas Cory & Co.. 1831). 23.

its capacity to display the country as a geographical field prepared for settlement. made it

an ideal technology through which to accomplish this colonization of the mind.[67]

It was also quite feasible in 1860. By the end of the 1850s. as we explored in

Chapter 3. Thomas Devine and his corps of surveyors had produced not only a much-

praised map of Canada. but also maps of all the townships 'open' for settlement. With

this. the possibilities of making a potential immigrant "identify" with a place in Canada

West seemed even greater and certainly more feasible. When holding hearings in 1859

and 1860. a parliamentary committee examining the issue of European emigration was

told repeatedly by its expert witnesses that these new maps. along with the field notes

prepared by the map's surveyors. were essential to the cause of promoting Canada as an

attractive field for European emigrants. The committee even called Thomas Devine to

testify about these township maps and notes. Devine echoed the testimony of the other

experts and he also pointed out how both England and the United States had a

lithographic department attached to their surveying branches. Advances in print

technology. he pointed out. meant that reproduction of map lithographs were now very

cost-effective (roughly five cents per copy).[68] Given all these facts. the committee

adopted the recommendations of Devine (and William Hutton. A.C. Buchanan. and

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[67] For fascinating case studies on how maps were used to re-orient geographical imaginations see Mark Bassin. *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East. 1840-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1999): Matthew H. Edney. *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India. 1765-1843* (University of Chicago Press. 1997): Anne Godlewska. *The Napoleonic Survey of Egypt. A Masterpiece of Cartographic Compilation and Early Nineteenth-Century Fieldwork.* vol. 25. *Cartographica Monograph.* 38-39 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1988): Katherine G. Morrisey. *Mental Territories: Mapping the Inland Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1997).

[68] "Report of the Select Committee on Emigration." *JLAC.* 1860. Appendix 4. 47-48.

Andrew Russell) that a lithographic department be created and maps made available to all overseas and in-land agents for both sale and. when necessary. free distribution.

Maps and other materials in hand. the agents in Europe opened offices. took out advertisements. posted handbills and posters. and gave public lectures. Agents were also expected to research their assigned countries and ascertain which regions would be most susceptible to hearing Canada's message. The intent of all this was. in part. to provide Europeans with a more accurate and truthful picture of what 'Canada' really was and for whom it would make an ideal home.

This system of overseas offices and practices was also to ensure that Canada only received the right 'type' of immigrant. Agents were told explicitly that Canada did not want paupers. the ill. the mad. or the criminal. The country did want the industrious. sober. and morally upright who were committed to making Canada their home. The state also preferred immigrants with enough capital to either purchase land or. if taking a free grant. to be able to hire the necessary labour to ease the clearing and settlement process.[69] By sending agents not only to Great Britain but also Germany. Norway. and Belgium. the state also demonstrated a preference for northern Europeans. the kind of 'stock' that would add to the Canadian mosaic in ways favourable to the political élite of both English and French Canada.

To get and then retain these desired immigrants. the greatest lure Canada offered was land. Even though the state preferred to see new immigrants become labourers and help others clear and cultivate before taking up their own property. it was thought that

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[69] NAC. RG 17. vol. 2392. Vankoughnet to Wagner. 11 February 1860: Buchanan to Wagner. 30 January 1860.

these were skills that could be learned.[70] When this acquired knowledge was combined with the right physical and moral habits. success was inevitable. both for the immigrant and the province. It was thus contingent on the state to make available public lands. surveyed and divided as units of property. to allow these 'winning conditions' to be expressed on the landscape. The importance of a liberal land policy to allow the poor to better themselves was explained by Sidney Smith. a strong advocate of a 'Canadian-style' colonization: "The Wakefield system of Colonization is. it is hoped. now universally exploded. The plan of compelling labourers to continue in the capacity of mere servants to capitalists by enhancing the price of land as to render its possession inaccessible to the poor. is clearly unjust and demonstrably impractical....Peasant proprietors are the life and marrow of every state. and all other objects should be postponed to the one great end of making labourers freeholders."[71]

A.C. Buchanan was also keen to see the free grants of the Ottawa-Huron Tract given much emphasis by the overseas agents. He wanted these agents to be given location tickets by the Crown Lands Department so they could allocate free grants to the emigrant in Europe. For a Canadian resident. he argued. the 100 acres of a free grant was "at best equivalent to 80 or 100 dollars. In the eyes of the European labourer it is an estate." But. Buchanan warned. "there should be connected with this arrangement a strict selection of recipients. The rejection of some of the applications on account of

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[70] "Reports of the Minister of Agriculture and the Chief Emigrant Agents. for Canada. for the Year 1857." *JLAC*. 1858. Appendix 45.

[71] Smith. *The Settler's New Home: Or. the Emigrant's Location Being a Guide to Emigrants in the Selection of a Settlement. and the Preliminary Details of the Voyage* (London: John Kendrick. 1849). 25. See also the more regionally-based sentiments in an editorial in the Ottawa *Citizen*. 03 April 1852.

unsuitableness in the physical or moral character of the individuals would probably tend only to heighten the value of the gift in the eyes of those fortunate to get it."[72] Much to the disappointment of Buchanan. the Crown Lands Department maintained control over the free grant location tickets with their own local agents in Canada. Even though that department was participating in the administration of the overseas agents. the logistics of administering this proposed practice seemed prohibitive.

Despite the promise that these overseas offices held. all were recalled in 1862 after only three years. because of the near-chaotic administration of their activities. The culprit may have been P.M. Vankoughnet who was. first. Minister at the Bureau of Agriculture and then. in 1860. the Commissioner of Crown Lands. Vankoughnet was more involved with the bureaucratic management of the overseas agents. at least initially. than he was with any other element of colonization.[73] Even when leaving Agriculture for Crown Lands. however. he appears to have continued his interest in these agents.[74] The resulting confusion on the part of the agents. no doubt made worse by the death of William Hutton in July 1861. saw them address reports and questions to both the Crown Lands Department and the Bureau of Agriculture. One agent. E.J. Charlton. even confessed to not knowing if anyone was reading his reports and expressed concern that he

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[72] NAC. RG 17. vol. 1492. Buchanan to Hutton. 20 November 1860. These suggestions were part of Buchanan's "Scheme for the Establishment and Regulation of the Canadian Reference Office."

[73] "Vankoughnet's signature appears on more correspondence related to the overseas agents than it did with any other element of colonization. in the letterbooks of both the Bureau of Agriculture and the Crown Lands Department.

[74] When the first agent. William Wagner. was sent to Germany his initial directives came from A.C. Buchanan but then subsequently he was given notice that he was being appointed by the Crown Lands Department. After that. Wagner received directives from Hutton at Agriculture and also Russell at Crown Lands!

had not heard any response to his questions. When this correspondence was made public

to the legislature. and subsequently published in the *JLAC*. it certainly made this system

appear ineffectual.[75] Little wonder that Thomas D'Arcy McGee. as chair of the new

parliamentary committee on immigration and colonization that published the

correspondence. called for an immediate recall of all the agents in 1862. But McGee did

not reject the principles and objectives that put these agents in Europe in the first place

and he therefore advocated that agents be re-deployed to Great Britain and the Continent

but under a more systematic and well-organized bureaucratic arrangement.[76]

Our rather detailed mapping of the bureaucratic network that was deployed in the

1850s and early 1860s is instructive for at least two reasons. First. it demonstrates that.

within the context of the colonization project of the Ottawa-Huron Tract. the state had a

great deal of political interest in trying to regulate the movement of immigrants. Indeed.

by the late 1850s the state was well aware that the best way to promote immigration to

Canada was in "establishing Settlements of those whose representations will induce their

[the immigrants'] countrymen to join them from abroad...."[77] Thus it was that the agent

sent to Germany. for example. was forwarded eleven different samples of wheat grown by

Prussians and Germans who had settled in the Upper Ottawa Valley. The agent. William

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[75] "Copies of Instructions given to Emigrant Agents abroad: Reports received from such Agents up to the latest date. and the amount of Salaries and Travelling Expenses allowed to them." *JLAC*. 1862. Sessional Paper 21. Agents Wagner. Charlton. Donaldson. and Verret all make mention in their reports of feeling isolated and all seem unsure of to whom and which office they should be reporting.

[76] "Second Report of the Select Committee on Immigration and Colonization." *JLAC*. 1862. App. 1.

[77] NAC. RG 1. E1. State Book "R". 16 June 1857. These was a comment attributed to the Minister of Agriculture regarding the need for the state to expand colonization as it was being

Wagner. was told that the "samples [were] truly excellent and by advertising that you
have samples grown by such and such men whose names are partially known it may have
an excellent effect."[78] The strategy of encouraging chain migration by Europeans whom
"the Canadian Government" considered to be "industrious and excellent settlers"[79] was
an effort at systematization.[80] Perhaps more importantly. all the practices of this
bureaucratic network reflected an activist and interventionist Canadian state that. under-
funded and understaffed. was wrestling with one of the most important social and
political problems of the mid-Victorian era.

All of this leads to the second issue of importance to be taken from our study so
far: immigrants. as 'population'. were being subjected to observation and evaluation by
the state. Indeed. besides the many reports and reams of correspondence they produced.
William Hutton. A.C. Buchanan. and their local agents were all called to testify to various
parliamentary inquiries. to share their views and opinions with elected officials and the
interested public. By the end of the 1850s in particular. as immigration to Canada
continued to decline and the demographic crisis appeared to be worsening. 'the

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practised in the Ottawa-Huron Tract to the north shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior in
order to attract more Norwegian immigrants as settlers.

[78] NAC. RG 17. A.1.2. vol. 1490. Hutton to Wagner. 05 December 1860. Three years earlier.
Hutton had tried to promote chain migration by requesting Jacob Hespeler of Waterloo County to
distribute 500 translated copies of T.P. French's *Information for Intending Settlers on the Ottawa
and Opeongo Road. And its Vicinity* (Ottawa. 1857) among his "German friends and neighbours
to read and send to their Friends in Germany." Hutton even had all 500 copies of the pamphlet
delivered with pre-paid postage so they could be forwarded to Europe at no expense to Hespeler
and his "friends and neighbours." NAC. RG 17. A.1.2. vol. 1490. Hutton to Hespeler. 20
February 1857.

[79] NAC. RG 17. A.1.2. vol. 1490. Hutton to Thomas Kleiber. 09 March 1857.

[80] While perhaps it is more a question of scale. the production and use of emigrant guides within
the context of the colonization project also seems to challenge Bruce Curtis' assertion that the

immigrant' as a social type took on a more prominent place in political discourse. While still very much a quantitative 'fact'. 'the immigrant' was also a moral and physical person who might solve Canada's problems of 'population.' The colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract would give a strong focus to the resulting political discourse that would seek to define the meaning. truth. and importance of 'the immigrant' to both the present and future of Canada.

'The Immigrant' and the Colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract [81]

One of the more interesting attempts by the state to know 'the immigrant' was the assignment given Alex MacLachlan of Scotland in the summer of 1862. MacLachlan was hired to "prepare a report on the state and condition of the Emigrating classes there. their knowledge of Canada. and the best means of bringing home to them the advantages of the province as a field of settlement." But rather than leave it to MacLachlan to prepare the report in any manner he saw fit. the directives went into much detail and specificity. These included two elements of particular interest to us here:

> Your report is to consist. firstly. of the existing total amount and
> rate of population per square mile throughout Scotland giving
> each principal district separately. also giving the variety of
> origins. language. and religion of people in each district. In
> short. a synopsis of the census. Second. you will inquire and
> report on the nature of the employment. the means of
> subsistence. the agricultural. mineral. and manufacturing
> pursuits of the population of each District: giving the value of
> land while rented per acre (or reduced to acres): the daily.

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political projects in which the Bureau participated "were not pursued systematically." Curtis. *The Politics of Population.* 156.

[81] This next section relies heavily on published material from the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada (JLAC)* because a fire destroyed all of A.C. Buchanan's records and with this the manuscript materials that would be useful to the discussion that follows. While this is certainly an impediment. I do not think it prevents such a study.

weekly, or monthly wages of agricultural and artificial labour in Canadian money: the population of pauperism in each District supported by voluntary or state aid, and the average duration of human life as shown by the last vital statistics.[82]

Primarily, MacLachlan was to present 'the immigrant' as a statistical representation, as a series of numbers arranged in tables for purposes of comparison and contrast. He was to prepare a detailed description and mapping of 'the Scots' using 'Canadian' concepts and concerns to form his arrangement of the facts.[83] Indeed, the state was not interested in knowing Scottish *emigrants* as Scottish residents but rather Scottish *immigrants* as Canadian citizens. Could they speak English? Were they Protestant or Catholic? Were they accustomed to living in cities or dispersed in the countryside? What skills might they possess? What kind of wages would they expect? Were they accustomed to relying on the state for relief? In short, could the Scottish immigrant be relied upon to fill the needs of Canada as they then existed? Was he or she therefore useful?

The utility of immigrants, one of the perennial themes in the history of Canadian immigration policy, was given an acute focus in the mid-Victorian era by the demands of systematic colonization. Frontier living required commitment and both a physical and moral disposition 'suited' to the hardships that would inevitably accompany everyday living. "We must ever keep in mind," a parliamentary report on French-Canadian emigration extolled, "that the brave man who plunges into the forest for the purpose of creating for himself fields and a homestead, has before him many weary days of labor and

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[82] NAC. RG 17. A.3.3. vol. 2398. Department to Alex MacLachlan. 25 July 1862. MacLachlan was to be paid 100 pounds sterling for his work.

[83] While MacLachlan's report has gone missing – probably a victim of the fire that torched Buchanan's office and records – see the report prepared on Ireland, with the same directives, in "Report of E.J. Charlton, Ireland," *JLAC*, 1863, Sessional Paper 4. App. 8.

many disappointments. under which no legislation nor aid from the state can afford him solace....."[84] Such deprivation excluded many those who belonged to the middle class then emerging in the North Atlantic world.[85] A.B. Hawke described these ill-fitting immigrants as "belonging to a class who would do better in almost any part of the World than in North America. I mean Shopmen. Clerks. School Teachers and persons who have been comfortably brought up who could 'do nothing in particular.' but who were willing to do anything."[86] Similarly. A.C. Buchanan told his European readers that "clerks. shopmen. or persons having no particular trade or calling and are unaccustomed to manual labour. should on no account be persuaded to emigrate. for to this class the country offers no encouragement at present."[87] While such a class was to be admired for their personal character and virtue. they added little to the transformation of the wilderness into cultivated landscape. While this was a class to be emulated in conduct and habit. it was also one that was simply unable to handle the physicality of frontier living. These people belonged in cities and in an 'old' countryside such as rural England or along the north shore of Lake Ontario in Upper Canada. They did not belong in the forests.

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[84] "Report of the Special Committee on Emigration." *JLAC*. 1857. App. 47. n.p.

[85] On the middle class. see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class. 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1987): Mary Ryan. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County. New York. 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1981): Cecelia Morgan. *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada. 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1996).

[86] AO. RG 11-1-0-3. Hawke to Buchanan. 04 March 1857.

[87] Buchanan. *Canada: For the Information of Intending Emigrants* (Quebec: J. Blackburn. 1864). 23.

If the state was not interested in white collar. bourgeois emigrants for its frontier neither was it interested in "the pauper." As Mary Poovey explains. the New Poor Law in Britain in 1834 consolidated the socio-political distinction between poverty and pauperism. Whereas poverty was confined to the economic realm. pauperism was applied to "all of the components of the social domain: criminal tendencies. bodily health. environmental conditions. education. and religion."[88] Pauperism was thus both a physical and a moral state of being. A.C. Buchanan explained the difference with respect to Canadian immigration when he said that the immigrant must "possess capital or the means of labour. and those means must comprehend physical ability. supported by industrial habits."[89] While the health of "the immigrant" was a constant source of concern. for both the state and the general public. Buchanan was able to report that by the late 1850s. as a crippling economic depression was unfolding in Canada. the most pressing concern was not disease and contagion (which statistics showed had abated since the late 1840s) but the moral and physical condition of emigrants with respect to their "habits": were they willing to work? How would they act once away from the everyday supervision that existed in cities and at the ports where immigrants first arrived? Would they keep themselves healthy and active? Would they send their children to school? In other words. could they be trusted to be self-regulating?

These questions were of particular concern because of the Poor Law in England that had identified and even segregated those deemed to be "paupers" from the British

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[88] Poovey. *Making a Social Body*. 11.

[89] "Annual Report of the Chief Emigrant Agent." *JLAC*. 1859. App. 19. n.p.

social body.[90] The fear was that England would continue to simply dispose of these

'problems' by putting them on ships bound for Canada. much as they also did with the

'class' of persons sent to Australia.[91] In fact. much of A.C. Buchanan's "mission" to

England in 1863 was intended to fix what had become an almost perennial fact of

Canadian immigration since the 1830s: the arrival of British (mostly Irish) paupers exiled

by Poor Law officials.[92] Buchanan was thus instructed to approach the administrators of

the Poor Law and tell them "of the great impudence of sending out to this country any

inmates of the 'Unions' of either sex unless trained for some useful lot or labor to

Domestic Service."[93] Canada. they were to be told. was simply not interested in those

"inmates" who were prisoners of their own moral and physical degradation.

From these Poor Law unions. however. the humble. honest. hard-working poor

immigrant. who possessed "the means of labour" was most welcome. A.C. Buchanan

was of the opinion that. as long as they had been carefully selected by union officials.

"both as regards their health and moral character." and forwarded to Canada early (May-

July) in the season. then Canada could only gain from their arrival.[94] Still. Buchanan was

[90] On the historical geography of the Poor Law see Felix Driver. *Power and Pauperism: The Workhouse System. 1834-1884* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1993).

[91] British 'paupers' were not the only problem as by 1860 Buchanan was complaining that "[a]mong the immigration from Germany. for several years past. we have annually received a large number of very destitute families.... [T]o protect the Province from the burden of their support. [I deemed it advisable] to forward the entire party to the German settlements in the Western States." "Annual Report of the Chief Emigrant Agent at Quebec." *JLAC*. Sessional Paper 18. 1860. 9. Indeed. Buchanan's annual reports began producing separate tables showing the arrival of assisted emigrants from German states.

[92] "Report of Mr. Buchanan's Mission to England in the Spring of 1863." *JLAC*. 1864. Sessional Paper 32. App. 5a. See also Rainer Baehre. "Pauper Emigration to Upper Canada in the 1830s." *Histoire Sociale Social History*. 14 (1981). 339-367.

[93] NAC. RG 17. A.3.3. vol. 2398. Campbell to Buchanan. 05 January 1863.

[94] "Report on Emigration." *JLAC*. 1855. App. D.D.D.

also very explicit in his annual reports to highlight the spectacle created by what he perceived as morally degenerate, young Irish women who had no interest in following Buchanan's offers of domestic employment. Instead, these young women chose to loiter in towns, "preferring a life of idleness and vice, to that of honest industry."[95]

The problem of such young women became a major incident in spring of 1865 when the steamship *St. David* landed at Quebec City with 70 young Irish girls who had been sent to Canada by the Limerick Union.[96] Upon landing at midday, the "Limerick Girls" (as they were subsequently referred to) informed Buchanan that they were each promised a pound sterling upon their arrival. With no such instructions from Poor Law officials, Buchanan did not give them money but instead told the girls they would be put on an evening train for the St. Patrick's Home in Montreal. Once there they would receive some assistance and shelter for a few days at least. After giving the girls some food, Buchanan instructed them to make their 7:00 o'clock evening departure. "[B]ut I regret to say," Buchanan reported, "that in the interval [between lunch and evening] the conduct of a great many of them [the Limerick Girls] was most disgraceful, they sold their boxes, bonnets, combs, and any articles of clothing that they could dispense with, to procure drink, and became not only shamefully intoxicated but were guilty of the most depraved acts of immorality."[97] Things did not improve even after some girls were sent to Montreal and others to the in-land immigration offices in Ottawa and Kingston. All the agents reported to Buchanan that the Limerick Girls had caused havoc and were both

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[95] Ibid.

[96] "Report on the Immigration into Canada for the Year 1865," *JLAC*, Sessional Paper 5, App. 6 is a copy of all the relative correspondence connected with this incident.

[97] Ibid., Buchanan to Richard Bourke, Poor Law Commissioner, Dublin, 19 May 1865.

unwilling and unable to meet local demand for domestic servants.[98] Father O'Brien of the Montreal St. Patrick's Home also protested to Buchanan the arrival of some of these girls at his door and he thought it "very strange that the Government of this country does not protest against this wholesale influx of pauperised corruption into the land."[99] Little did Father O'Brien realize that the Canadian state had. especially since the famine migration of 1846 and 1847. voiced these very objections to Poor Law officials. They shared both his frustration and outrage that immigrants like the Limerick Girls would be sent to Canada. For the state. there was nothing honest. humble. or hard-working about this 'class' and theirs was always an unwelcome presence in Canada.

Besides their moral degeneracy. the Limerick Girls and others of their 'type' angered officials by their preference for the city. Demand for domestic labour was high in the Ottawa-Huron Tract. and was considered by officials as critical to the progress of colonization.[100] Furthermore. there was already in Canada much concern for the social disorder bred by various elements of the city. such as the tavern and the gambling hall. The addition of an undesirable underclass of "lazy" and "idle" young women (or men) only exasperated a problem that. for many contemporaries. was already precipitating decline in the United States and had already proven itself to cause great social problems in London.[101] Although of a wholly different class of immigrant. the distaste shown for

[98] Ibid.. Daley (Montreal) to Buchanan. 17 May 1865 and "Extracts of Reports of Immigration Agents at Ottawa and Kingston."

[99] Ibid.. M. O'Brien to J.H. Daley. 16 May 1865.

[100] One example of this appeared in Francis Clemow's annual report for 1860: "Great distress prevailed in every locality in this District for want of capable female servants. "Appendix to Annual Report of the Chief Emigration Agent. 1860." *JLAC*. 1861. Sessional Paper 14. App.6

[101] Clemow targeted taverns. "kept by emigrants" as being guilty of tricking new arrivals into hanging around the city of Ottawa instead of moving into the rural and frontier hinterlands in his

'gentle' middle-class men was also a by-product of the fundamental belief that Canada's

future lay in the extension of the countryside and the conversion of 'empty' wilderness

into pastoral landscapes of rural production. While towns and cities were invaluable as

markets and centres of finance. they were also potential social threats to this manifest

destiny.

While all immigrants had to be willing to work. the emphasis on ability was very

much tied to the issue of gender. Women were always recognized as fulfilling an

essential. supportive role in the work of frontier living. and they were also to be

responsible for seeing that "the retrograde tendency which the solitary pursuits of the first

settlers exercise" was retarded by the re-introduction of culture.[102] Their political identity

as 'useful' immigrants on the frontier was also tied most strongly to their identity as

wives. mothers. and daughters. as members of a nuclear. two-parent family. For example.

when A.C. Buchanan and Francis Clemow presented their statistical tables on immigrant

traffic through the Ottawa office in 1858. men were classified under 37 occupational

headings while women appeared under 3. the most prominent of which was "with

husbands" or "wives."[103] As well. when a group of widows with children arrived in

Quebec City and were then forwarded to Ottawa by A.C. Buchanan. their presence

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annual report for 1858. "Report of the Chief Emigrant Agent." *JLAC*. 1859. App. 19. See also
the comments of J.H. Daley about the continuing emigration of mechanics and clerks who come
to places like Montreal where there is no demand for the services and they become "idle and
dissipated" while loitering around town. "Annual Report for Montreal Emigration Agency."
JLAC. 1861. Sessional Paper 14. App. 7.

[102] AO. RG 11-1-0-3. Hawke to Reverend Henry Hope. 25 March 1855. This was also. as we
saw in chapter five. one of the lessons Catharine Parr Traill sought to teach in her *The Canadian
Settler's Guide* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1969 [orig. 1855]). See also. Adele Perry. "
'Fair Ones of a Purer Caste': White Women and Colonialism in Nineteenth-Century British
Columbia." *Feminist Studies*. 23 (1997). 501-524.

constituted an "incident." one that drained the resources of the state and Canadian society.

Yet within the same report. by contrast. when women and children arrived who were en

route to join husbands and fathers. such arrivals were celebrated.[104]

The silence accorded the political identity of women immigrants owed much to

the belief that 'the frontier' was a masculine space. "Sunnier climes there may be." said a

pamphlet boosting immigration to Ontario. "but a fitter habitation for a manly. vigorous

race...we may safely challenge the wide world to produce."[105] Indeed. the frontier

required a manly immigrant. one who possessed a strong back and body. and one not

tainted by excessive drink or by sins of the flesh. Young men were especially favoured.

such as the nine boys sent to Canada by the London Ragged School in 1856. all of whom

carried letters of recommendation attesting to their individual character. As "active. stout

lads" they were sure to find employment. A.C. Buchanan argued. and would enrich the

Ottawa Valley for years to come.[106] These boys stood in stark contrast to a group of

elderly Prussians who arrived in Ottawa in 1858. Their arrival. agent Francis Clemow

bemoaned. was "to be regretted...to a part of the country. that above all others. requires

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[103] "Report of the Chief Emigrant Agent." *JLAC*. 1859. App. 19.

[104] "It was pleasing to find among the arrivals this present season. so many women and young families proceeding to join their husbands who had preceded them the year previously." This was unlike the unhappy situation of "several widow women. each having a number of young children" who arrived in Ottawa and "to a certain extent must become dependents on the community that may receive them for (at any rate) a partial support." Francis Clemow. in "Report of the Chief Emigrant Agent." *JLAC*. 1859. App. 19.

[105] *Emigration to Canada: The Province of Ontario* (Toronto: Hunter. Rose & Co.. 1869). 6.

[106] "Emigration Report." *JLAC*. 1857. App. 47. Return 9.

that youth and vigor should be the predominating characteristics...."[107] As much as the

frontier required masculinity. it also demanded an immigrant of youth and energy.

Such energetic. young men were preferred. in part. because they were clay that

could be molded into the ideal citizen.[108] They would eventually farm through scientific

knowledge in combination with a less formal *savoir-faire* taught to them by experience at

the hands of a seasoned farmer on the frontier.[109] Through other institutions. such as

schools. agricultural societies. and churches. these young men would also learn that

agriculture was an expression of the soul. a virtue of the mind and spirit.[110] Collectively.

such men would help form "a race of country gentlemen" which the Reverend Henry

Hope called "one of our most pressing wants in Upper Canada."[111]

For others. though. this new "race" of a propertied. Canadian middle class would

nonetheless have to be one suited to the 'hard' rigours of living in frontier Canada rather

than the 'soft' life of a British clerk. The "blessings" of life in the Ottawa-Huron Tract.

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[107] "Report of the Chief Emigrant Agent." *JLAC*. 1859. App. 19. report of Francis Clemow.

[108] Educational historians have made this point in a number of different and compelling ways. Their research has been given an invaluable synthesis in Paul Axelrod. *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada. 1800-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1997).

[109] This was the "dreamscape" envisioned in "Report of the Committee on Colonization." *JLAC*. 1860. App. 5. esp. 6-11.

[110] See the metaphysical and spiritual comments of William Hutton. "On Agriculture and its Advantages as a Pursuit." Paper read to the Agricultural Society of Upper Canada. 25 September 1851. and re-printed in Gerald E. Boyce. *Hutton of Hastings: The Life and Letters of William Hutton. 1801-1861* (Belleville: Hastings County Council. 1972). 232-235. Hutton's conclusion read. in part: "And finally I may observe that the very nature of the farmer's occupation. which leads him daily and hourly to contemplate the surpassing beauty of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. and their striking adaptation to the wants and requirements of man. lead him more than the townsman. more than the mechanic. more than men of any other occupation. to look through Nature up to Nature's God: to admire his works and to look with grateful dependence to Him for the continued supply of his bounty."

[111] Reverend Henry Hope. *Letters From Canada. with numerous illustrations* (London: Frederic Algar. 1863). 12.

advised one booster pamphlet. were "not to be enjoyed without labour. anu ...e worn-out

artizan. the sickly and delicate bankers'. merchants'. or lawyers' clerk need not hope to

obtain by inefficient labour in the new country those rewards which are granted only to

the vigorous and energetic...."[112] Indeed. this Canadian frontier was. in the words of a

Provincial Land Surveyor. "a very poor country for the species of persons called 'a

walking gentleman'."[113] Few would have disagreed with this sentiment. Even romantic

nationalists such as the Reverend Henry Hope conceded that a Canadian middle class.

cultivated from immigrant settlement in frontier regions such as the Ottawa-Huron Tract.

had to possess tastes and habits that were both aesthetically 'respectable' and materially

pragmatic.[114] Only then could such a "race" provide the foundation for an expanding

imagined community of greatness. The vision of the 'social body' that was imagined

within the context of immigration was thus dependent on both a sensibility of the

individual as well as a particular set of beliefs embedded in the landscape.

From where. though. might Canada locate the right immigrant to build its ideal

"race" of a pragmatic. rural middle class? Which countries might be a valuable source

for 'population.' especially for those 'new' regions of expansion such as the Ottawa-

Huron Tract. the Red River District. or the Eastern Townships? These questions became

intensified for the state at the end of the 1850s. as immigration levels from Great Britain

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[112] *Ottawa. the Future Capital of Canada: Hints to Emigrants* (London: Algar and Street. 1858). 18.

[113] "Report of the Select Committee on Emigration." *JLAC*. 1860. App. 4. 69.

[114] This mixture of refined. educated tastes and pragmatism also dominated the emigrant guides we studied in Chapter 5. but especially Traill. *The Canadian Emigrant Guide*. William Hutton. *Canada: Its Present Condition. Prospects. and Resources fully described for the Information of Intending Emigrants* (London: Edward Stanford. 1854). and Sidney Smith. *The Settler's New Home.*

dropped dramatically. They were also complicated somewhat by competing English- and

French-Canadian nationalisms struggling not only for control in parliament but also the

manifest destiny of Canada. Perhaps unsurprisingly, in 1859 and 1860 this

competitiveness resulted in two separate parliamentary committees being formed to

address the question of a 'new' immigration.[115] A committee of French-speaking

politicians pointed to France. Belgium. and Switzerland as sources for renewal. while

another. mostly English-speaking committee. targeted. along with traditional sources in

Britain and Ireland. Norway and the German states. Despite their competing agendas.

both committees believed that the problem of declining immigration did not lie in

Canada. but in Europe. In fact. each was quite clear Canada and certain regions of

Europe were bound by both a shared history and a shared future. As Thomas D'Arcy

McGee explained it: "In these latter days. the sons of Adam. and daughters of Eve. renew

the ancestral experience – obeying the Divine ordinace – 'go forth and fill the earth and

subdue it.'"[116]

Such conclusions rested. at least in part. on a belief in primordial. ethno-religious

attraction. on a common ancestry and 'blood' that united Canadians with certain

Europeans. "The ties of descent. conformity of religious belief. identity of manners and

traditions. and. above all. a common language...are the advantages afforded to French

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[115] "Report of the Select Committee Appointed to Consider the Expediency of Inviting Emigration from France. Belgium and Switzerland to Canada." *JLAC*. 1860. App. 15 and "Select Committee on Emigration." *JLAC*. 1860. App. 4. The latter committee sat for over two weeks and interviewed far more witnesses: its report was far more detailed and under the direction of Thomas D'Arcy McGee. it sought to initiate reform in the state's management of immigration.

[116] McGee. *Emigration and Colonization in Canada: A Speech Delivered in the House of Assembly. 25 April 1862* (Quebec: Hunter. Rose & Lemieux. 1862). 24.

emigrants by Canada." declared the committee of Canada East politicians.[117] The need to

refresh the rapidly depleting 'stock' of French-Canada, especially its youth. with people

of like-minded "beliefs", "manners", and "traditions", represented 'the immigrant' as not

only a product of culture but also nature. It was also tied to the immediacy of the

problem of 'population' as it appeared to political leaders in Lower Canada. There

simply was not enough time. politically, to develop the sort of ethno-cultural bonds that

were considered necessary to establish loyalty and commitment to the 'national' interests

of Lower Canada. Such connections, rooted in culture. could only be strengthened in

Quebec by importing them from their ethnic brothers and sisters in Europe.

While not necessarily disagreeing with such beliefs, Thomas D'Arcy McGee's

committee of English-speaking politicians sought to minimize cultural arguments by

applying a scientific analysis of demographic 'facts' in an effort to advance its own

particular preferences for European immigration. With the testimony of A.C. Buchanan.

William Sinn. A.B Hawke. Francis Clemow, as well as several Crown Land surveyors

and agents. McGee's committee offered what it considered to be an expert reading of two

statistical tables contrasting the population density of major European regions with the

immigration figures of Canada, Australia. South America, and the United States. In

doing so. McGee's committee established a table of "natural attractions or laws" that.

they claimed. was then governing the migrating patterns of Europeans:

    I. The attraction of a Kindred Race
    II. The attraction of Gold
    III. The attraction of cheap or Free Land
    IV. The attraction of Higher Wages

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[117] "Report of the Select Committee Appointed to Consider the Expediency of Inviting Emigration from France. Belgium and Switzerland to Canada." *JLAC*, 1860. App. 15. 2-3.

V. The attraction of Climate
VI. The attraction of Cheap and Convenient Access
VII. The attraction of a Familiar Language
VIII. The attraction of Free Institutions [118]

Such "natural laws" rested on a pre-conception of a particular type of immigrant: one

who was emigrating by choice to better their current socio-economic situation. Indeed.

this progressive-minded immigrant. while as much a fiction as it was a truth. was a

rational. liberal-minded economic man.[119] He was drawn by the prospects of gold. cheap

land and travel. and. once here. better wages: it was only "natural" that he would take

advantage of these opportunities. Issues of culture. especially language. were given less

emphasis. McGee's committee saw cultural difference as relatively unimportant. Once

in Canada West. all immigrants would eventually adopt English through a "natural"

process of what Chad Gaffield has described as "voluntary assimilation."[120] This

assimilation would occur because the 'type' of immigrant the McGee committee

recommended. including the non-English speakers of the German states and Norway.

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[118] "Select Committee on Emigration." *JLAC*. 1860. App. 4. 7.

[119] As a wide range of social-historical research has demonstrated. emigration from Europe was often embedded in issues of family and community. neither of which were deemed to be of much importance to the "natural laws" deduced by McGee's committee. Among other studies. see Royden Loewen. *Family. Church. and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and the New Worlds. 1850-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1993); Catharine Anne Wilson. *A New Lease on Life: Landlords. Tenants. and Immigrants in Ireland and Canada* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994); Bruno Ramirez. *On the Move*. I use the word "man" and the pronoun "he" in what follows because it was quite clear that the committee's "natural laws" were derived from the behaviour and beliefs of men who. it was assumed. made important decisions (such as the one to emigrate) for families.

[120] Gaffield. *Language. Schooling. and Cultural Conflict*. 5-30. Gaffield challenges the historiographical orthodoxy that 1840-1876 was an era of linguistic tolerance in Ontario schools by situating the issue of language-of-instruction into broader political. bureaucratic. and cultural contexts. He points out that Egerton Ryerson. the long-time superintendent of public education. was consistent in his belief that Canada West would mould French- and German-speaking students to become uniformly 'British' in their habits. customs. and 'domestic feelings'.

were "kindred races." Indeed, almost exclusively Protestant, these 'others' were also socio-biological brothers and sisters who would become invaluable settlers and, with time, equally valuable Canadians.

Working from a position of political strength, unlike their colleagues and rivals from French Canada, this committee saw the biggest immediate problem that of the material transformation of Canada's frontier wilderness. From immigration, it sought soldiers to carry out what Arthur Lower most famously called "the assault on the forests."[121] Unlike the case in Lower Canada, there was both time and, with 'British' schools and municipal government, opportunity to colonize the colonizers. The McGee committee did not exclude culture, for it was certainly a critical part of the "natural laws" that governed emigration. Rather, the McGee committee worked within a larger, contemporary climate in Canada West of cultural arrogance and institutional development in which everyone would be exposed to and embrace the superiority of Anglo-Irish values, customs, and beliefs.

Narratives of Immigration and Identity

The processes of state formation translated all this qualitative 'knowing' of 'the immigrant' into power relations through the work of its agents. Through the offices and practices described earlier in this chapter, agents subjected immigrants and their movement to the evaluative gaze of the state. The reporting of agents on these immigrant geographies was both descriptive and analytical; immigrants were both counted and they

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[121] Lower. *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest: A History of the Lumber Trade between Canada and the United States* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1938).

were also judged. Judgement on the quality and character of immigrants. about both their physical bodies and their morality. were embedded in the larger political and cultural context described above. a context in which concerns for the right 'type' of immigrant were undergoing change in light of declining emigration from traditional countries of origin. economic depression. and the continuing problems of 'population' within Canada. All of this became manifested in what we might rightly call the first immigration histories involving the region and colonization. Appearing as the annual reports of local agents (including translators' reports). and published as appendices to the annual reports of A.C. Buchanan. these narratives of what new arrivals looked like and what they were doing were critical in establishing the political identity of immigrants as 'worthy' and 'desirable' additions to Canada's 'population'.

As a case study of this process at work. consider the following extracts related to the observation. inspection. and evaluation of German immigrants becoming participants in the state's colonization of the Ottawa-Huron Tract:

> Mr. Clemow. the Agent at Ottawa. reports that 489 immigrants reached his Agency. against 1829 during the season of 1858. They arrived *via* Quebec. and a few by the route of the United States. They were remarkably healthy. and in appearance respectable: but. generally of the laboring class. a number of whom came out to join their friends. 202 persons received assistance to proceed to their destination. chiefly on the Upper Ottawa. Of the immigrants arrived 212 were foreigners. Germans and Poles. A number of Germans also had removed from Berlin. Canada West. and settled on Government Lands. in the Townships of Alice and Wilberforce. They are doing well and appear satisfied with their prospects. and will. from their industrious habits. prove a valuable addition to the population of that district.[122]

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[122] "Annual Report of the Chief Emigrant Agent at Quebec." *JLAC*. Sessional Paper 18. 1860. 7-8.

...95 Prussian or German families have actually settled on the
Upper Ottawa within the last eighteen months. They are
scattered through the townships of Alice. Wilberforce. Bromley.
Admaston. North and South Algona. and along the Free Grants
of the Opeongo Road: besides, some 30 families made
payments on land in Wilberforce and Alice...[and] about a
dozen families have settled in Petawawa and Westmeath...there
is also a further increase of some 60 families expected. who
have advised their friends that they will emigrate from Germany
during the next Spring....These people have advanced so far as
that it would be a loss to them to give their labors to others: they
have nearly all more than sufficient provisions until another
harvest. and can therefore spend their energy and strength
altogether upon the improvement of their own farms: they have
reached the first step where a man feels the sweetness of
independence! What a contrast! Two years only. when they
were yet the servants. or nearly slaves. of hard and exacting
landlords in the old country.[123]

How are we to read and understand such reporting? For some historians. the data

on how many arrived. from where they departed. how they traveled. and even their

physical condition. are invaluable as the evidence required for constructing their own

socio-historical narratives on immigration. The enumeration provided by William Sinn.

which accompanied the second extract above. would even allow for a micro-level

reconstruction of the socio-economic behaviour of the immigrants. But such data. and

the judgements that accompanied them. were also important to the political history of

immigration. Specifying exactly how many immigrants traveled through their offices.

how many were granted charitable aid. from where the immigrants hailed. the destination

to which they were headed. and the exact amounts they were producing. was critical to

establishing the fiction that the state was managing its population with a social scientific

understanding of the facts. But this was a veneer. a false front of sorts that belied a much

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[123] William Sinn to A.C. Buchanan. 20 October 1861. "Appendix to the Annual Report of the
Chief Emigration Agent." *JLAC*. 1861. Sessional Paper 14. App. 5. With these written

more impressionistic and intensely cultural representation and understanding of immigration: after all, Buchanan rested on an ecological fallacy to tell his readers that the German "foreigners" enumerated in Clemow's annual report will "prove a valuable addition to the population" because of "their industrious habits." When the specificity of the facts about individuals were situated within ethnic generalizations, a potentially limitless number of conclusions could have been drawn about the identity and fate of these immigrants as individuals. When we read the reports of the local agents as texts produced by the processes of state formation, and situate them within their broader cultural and political contexts, their meaning and significance thus transcends the literalness of the facts they present.

The reports can be read as monuments to the emergence of a set of characteristics that defined the ideal immigrant 'type' for the frontier and the application of these criteria to the demographic reality that passed through the institutional space of the immigrant shed and office. Nothing was more important than immigrants who were perceived as 'useful'. This utility was defined by a combination of the immigrant's physicality and their moral character. Secondly, the concern was for immigrants who would become self-sufficient, through their individual conduct and habits as well as the nurturing support of their ethnic brethren who would, through "natural laws" of kinship and community provide for new arrivals and ease their transition to life on the Canadian frontier. A third key characteristic was the immigrant's fitness, desire, and willingness for a life of humble hard work in the forests and on farms. Agents' reports were careful to talk about

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observations was a household-by-household enumeration of all Germans mentioned, plus a testimonial from these settlers signed by 40 men.
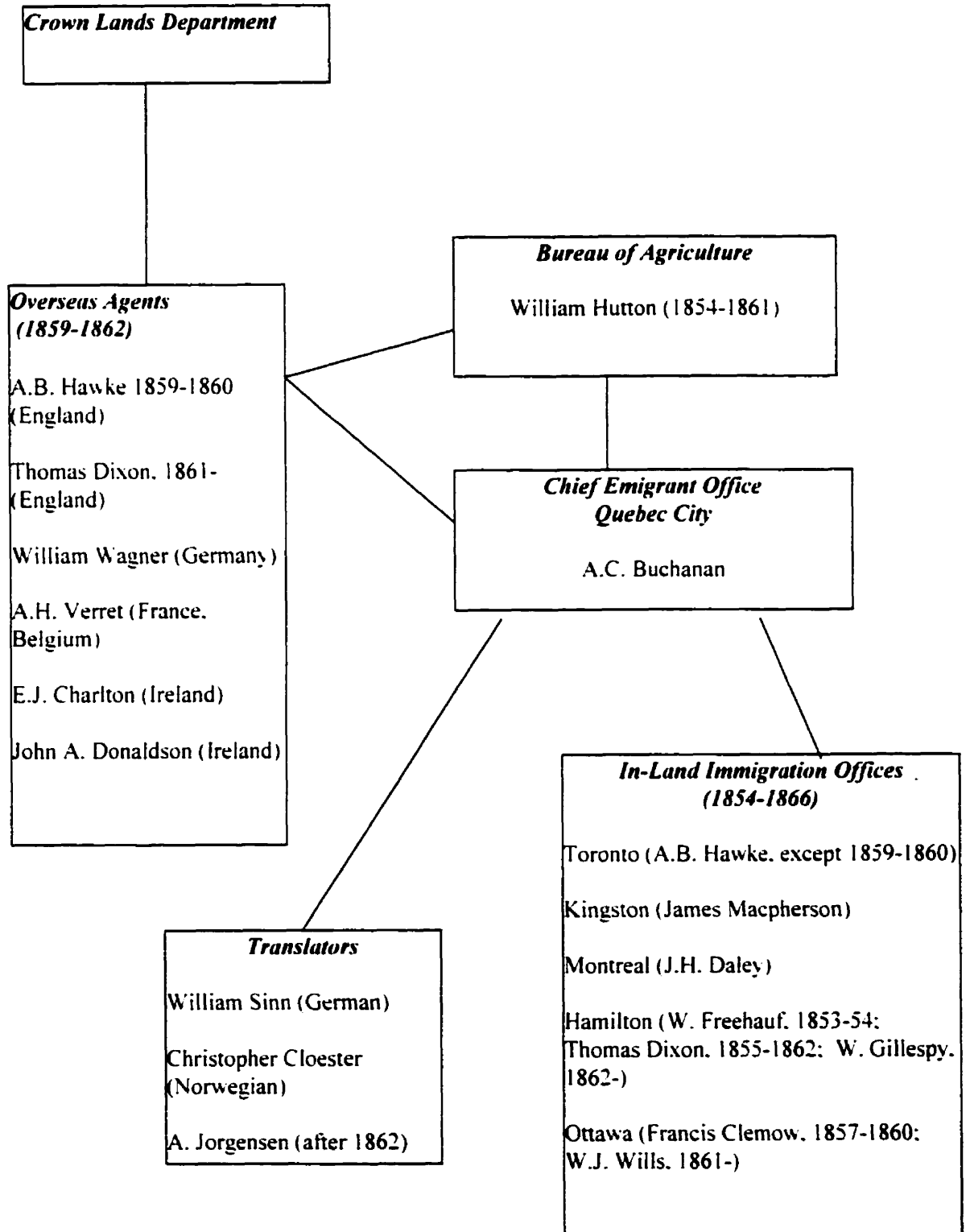
immigrants' preferences for city or country. and often associated these preferences for the extension of a stable social order in Canada. A fourth and final characteristic of these reports was their unwavering belief in the innate traits of immigrants based on their ethnic and religious identity: the English were sober and serious. the Scottish capable of hard work. while Germans and Norwegians were industrious and frugal. The Irish. however. while recognized as a source of much value were also singled out repeatedly for their tendencies to drink and disorder. for laziness and idleness and for their unwillingness to take direction. In short. it was from the Irish that the worst examples of 'the immigrant' were drawn. Indeed. the 'good' Irish were often overshadowed by the rhetorical constructions of the 'wild' and thus 'bad' Irish.

Following the era of Irish famine migration. the Canadian state's relationship with immigration began a phase of bureaucratic experimentation. The state attempted to impose greater regulation of the flow of people from certain regions of Europe to permanent settlement in rural and frontier Canada. Much of the failings and limitations of the system described in this chapter would nonetheless become critical elements of the work of the post-Confederation federal state and the settling of Prairies. Indeed. there is more than a passing similarity between the work of Clifford Sifton at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century and that of A.C. Buchanan and William Hutton in the 1850s and early 1860s.[124] Besides the institutional similarities. in both cases. the working of the state. its agents and its practices. were embedded in nationalist fantasies of

[124] D.J. Hall. *Clifford Sifton.* vol. 1 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1981). 253-269: Hall. *Clifford Sifton.* vol. 2 ((Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1985). 63-76. See also the suggestive ideas in Doug Owram. *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West. 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1980). 103-106. 118-119. 129-130.

destiny and imagined communities of loyal. dedicated citizen-settlers. Indeed. as much as any element of the colonization project. the politics of immigration expose the complex relationship between nationalism and the power-knowledge practices of mid-Victorian Canadian state formation.

Figure 6.1
Bureaucratic Organization of Immigration Offices, with Key Personnel, 1854-1866

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┌─────────────────────────┐
│ Crown Lands Department  │
└─────────────────────────┘
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Crown Lands Department

Overseas Agents
(1859-1862)

A.B. Hawke 1859-1860
(England)

Thomas Dixon. 1861-
(England)

William Wagner (Germany)

A.H. Verret (France.
Belgium)

E.J. Charlton (Ireland)

John A. Donaldson (Ireland)

Bureau of Agriculture

William Hutton (1854-1861)

Chief Emigrant Office
Quebec City

A.C. Buchanan

Translators

William Sinn (German)

Christopher Cloester
(Norwegian)

A. Jorgensen (after 1862)

In-Land Immigration Offices
(1854-1866)

Toronto (A.B. Hawke. except 1859-1860)

Kingston (James Macpherson)

Montreal (J.H. Daley)

Hamilton (W. Freehauf. 1853-54:
Thomas Dixon. 1855-1862: W. Gillespy.
1862-)

Ottawa (Francis Clemow. 1857-1860:
W.J. Wills. 1861-)

Chapter Seven

Intersections and Exchanges:
Governance, Experience, and Identity on the Colonization Roads

In the 1850s and 1860s. a network of colonization roads. providing 100 acres of

free grants to eligible settlers. signaled the state's intent to transform the so-called 'empty

waste lands' of the Ottawa-Huron Tract into lived-in places of commerce and culture.

(See Map 2.1) Fronting the roads. these grants took settlers away from older settled

areas. in some cases two days' travel from the nearest towns or market centres. (See Map

7.1) Many of the settlers were from older areas of Canada West and Canada East: unable

to provide enough land for their growing families they took to the free grants with an eye

on the nearby tracts of public lands soon to be surveyed and made available at affordable

prices. Other settlers arrived from Europe. sometimes directly from Quebec City. and

often came in groups. These settlers went to work on their grants. cutting down trees.

burning underbrush. and planting crops. In doing so. they began transforming the

landscape in ways that can still be observed today.[1]

The colonization roads project was distinctive. however. because it produced an

intersection between the local and the provincial. between the needs and desires of a

society and political-economy based in the region and the goals and concerns of a nation-

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[1] A.R.M. Lower. "The Assault on the Laurentian Barrier. 1850-1870." *Canadian Historical Review*. 10 (1929). 294-307: J.H. Richards. "Land Use and Settlement on the Fringe of the Shield in Southern Ontario." Ph.D. Thesis. University of Toronto. 1954: Brian S. Osborne. "Frontier Settlements in Eastern Ontario in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Changing Perceptions of Land and Opportunity." in David Harry Miller and Jerome O. Steffen. eds.. *The Frontier: Comparative Studies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1977). 210-226 and Geoffrey Wall. "Nineteenth-century Land Use and Settlement on the Canadian Shield Frontier." *Ibid..* 227-242: Graeme Wynn. "Notes on Society and Environment in Old Ontario." *Journal of Social History.* 13 (1979). 49-65.

building state. From the perspective of the state. as we have seen in previous chapters. a population was placed along the colonization roads whose duty it was to convert the surrounding wilderness into pastoral fields of grain. fruit. and livestock. Besides being economically productive. the settlers were also to introduce a progressive culture. in the form of institutions. a property-based social order. and honourable personal habits and manners. In return. the colonization roads worked to help solve what Cole Harris has called the local challenge of distance.[2] Farmers could move surplus goods to market. shopkeepers in turn could sell goods to these farmers. children could get to school. and families could go to church. The roads also permitted a more-regular system of mail and thus enhanced the sense of connectedness between those settlers (and their culture) living inside the region and those outside.

For lumber merchants in the region. the colonization roads were welcomed as support for the demands of moving timber. supplies. and labour. While fast-flowing rivers were most important to moving timber to mills. the roads fulfilled a crucial secondary role in connecting the otherwise isolated work camps to each other. their bosses. as well as the local farms and towns which provided so many necessary supplies and foodstuffs.[3] The roads also made the lumber industry more exposed to the gaze of

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[2] Harris. *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographic Change* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1997). 179.

[3] This the interpretative thrust in Keith A. Parker. "Colonization Roads and Commercial Policy." *Ontario History.* 67 (1975). 31-38. Neil S. Forkey. "Segmented Frontiers: A Socio-Environmental History of the Areas of the Trent Watershed. Ontario. 1818-1867." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Queen's University. 1996). 6. and J.M.S. Careless. "The Place. the Office. the Times. and the Men." in Careless. ed.. *The Pre-Confederation Premiers: Ontario Government Leaders. 1841-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1980). 20. both share this view.

timber agents who monitored production. assessed duties and taxes. and enforced timber limits.[4]

The colonization roads made it possible for the state to observe and judge both lumberers and settlers through regular inspection. and for local agents of the state to act as mediating influences when problems or disputes arose. These acts of governance were to ensure that the promise of the roads was being met. One of the local agents assigned to the roads. Ebeneezer Perry. described this promise as follows:

> We are just emerging into manhood. untrammeled by customs or manners made venerable by antiquity: there is no arena here that the prejudices and usages of a sturdy race of men could not combat inch by inch on the ground sought to be occupied by the improvers of our age....A decade will suffice to perform what formerly consumed a century – in ten years the rich valley of the Madawaska. and the no less rich tuffs or valleys that lie scattered among the granite range between here and there. will teem with life and the bustle of commerce. The stroke of the axe. the noise of the shuttle. and the ring of the anvil. will commingle with the bellowing of the herds and bleating of flocks – villages will rise. having churches whose tinned steeples reflect the rays of the morning sun: and as each succeeding Sabbath appears. call forth. by the reverberating sounds of their bells amongst the valleys and hills. well dressed youths. the children of the present race. to worship the God of their fathers.[5]

By helping collapse distance. the roads made an active contribution to fulfilling such magnificent socio-economic changes. But as we shall see here. the roads also produced

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[4] While this issue is not given much attention here. see an example of this enhanced governance in AO. RG 1. E-6. vol. 9. "Report of A.J. Russell on Clashing Boundaries of Timber Limits in the Mississippi Branch of the Madawaska Area. 1869." In this report. Russell describes how the new road network allowed him to fix egregious errors (up to five miles) in earlier surveys of timber limits in both the Ottawa Valley and in the Kawartha Lakes region near Peterborough. It was hoped that re-asserting the "true" boundaries would help alleviate much of the confusion and tension over competing timber limits.

[5] Perry made these remarks in the *Journal and Transactions of the Board of Agriculture of Upper Canada* in 1858 and were reproduced in their entirety in Walter S. Herrington. *History of the County of Lennox and Addington* (Toronto: Macmillan Co.. 1913). 336-341. The passage above appears on 340.

new spaces in which the labour and behaviour of settlers was scrutinized by state agents committed to fulfilling colonization's vision.

Indeed. among their many characteristics. the colonization roads were *governable spaces*. Nikolas Rose has argued that "[g]overnable spaces are not fabricated counter to experience: they make new kinds of experience possible. produce new modes of perception. invest precepts with affects. with dangers and opportunities. and saliences and attractions."[6] Governable spaces are not static. and in fact it is important to see them as fluid constructions. as spaces-in-the-making. Working from such a conceptualization of the colonization roads. this chapter asks three key questions: how were the roads governed? How was this governance reported? What were the implications of these practices?

To provide answers. we are compelled to analyze the work of a fairly anonymous group of governing 'middle-men.' the local field agents who were instrumental in translating colonization road policy into practice. It was through these agents. their offices. and their routines. that the bureaucratic centre was represented to the peripheries and. equally important. the peripheries represented to the centre.[7] Indeed. it would be a mistake to underestimate the role of the field agents in the exercise of governmental power simply because of their own place in the bureaucratic margins of the state. The

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[6] Nikolas Rose. *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1999). 32.

[7] See Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper. "Between Metropole and Colony." in their edited collection *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1997); Nicholas Thomas. *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology. Travel and Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994); Bernard Cohn. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996); Peter Pels. "The Anthropology of Colonialism: Culture. History. and the Emergence of Western Governmentality." *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 26 (1997). 163-183.

local field agents we will meet in this chapter were certainly not brokers of high politics. scattered as they were throughout the Ottawa-Huron Tract. They were in fact well aware of their own marginality to the 'centres of power' that existed in the offices of the capital.[8] Acting instead as brokers in the small worlds produced along the colonization roads. the agents were point-men for the state's authority in the hinterlands of this frontier region and. at times. a voice for the concerns and interests of the people under their local administration. Equally significant. these agents were also manufacturers of knowledge and provided much of the data that would be used to see and judge colonization by its central administrators.

To study these agents and the governable spaces they helped produce. requires us to 'visit' the Ottawa-Huron Tract. Unlike the produced spaces of 'imagined geographies' that were explored in Chapter 3. we need to focus more analytical attention here on the materiality of governable spaces-in-the-making.[9] To do this. there is much emphasis on moments of exchange between local agents. central officials. and the settlers. and how

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[8] After six years as an agent. T.P. French requested John A. Macdonald to find a better appointment for him. preferably in Ottawa (by then the permanent capital city). "I have given the country six of the best years of my life. During that period I have worked hard. I have lived in seclusion and positive misery. It has taken also my earnings to build a house and office in the very midst of the wilderness." AO. RG 1. A-1-7. vol. 14. env. 2. French to Macdonald. 16 December 1861. Despite his pleading. French stayed on for two more years and even became a reeve of a local township.

[9] In some ways I am responding to the important critiques of "imagined geographies" that appear in Neil Smith and Anne Godlewska. "Introduction: Critical Histories of Geography." in Smith and Godlewska. eds.. Geography and Empire (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. 1994). 7 and Derek Gregory. "Imaginative Geographies." Progress in Human Geography. 19 (1995). 463. Although in quite different ways. both critiques challenge scholars to explore the material and ethical dimensions of imagined geographies. to move beyond. in the words of Smith and Godlewska. the "ambivalence towards geographies more physical than imagined. [and] a reluctance to transgress the boundaries of discourse and to feel the more tangible historical. political and cultural geographies...."

these exchanges came to be represented in the colonization archive.[10] In doing so. this

chapter compels us to reflect again upon both the historical and ethical dimensions of

bureaucracies and states-in-formation.[11]

Geographies of Communication and the Colonization Roads

The colonization roads of the Ottawa-Huron Tract descended from an earlier

project that owed much to the utilitarian Governor General Lord Sydenham. In the early

1840s. two main 'Sydenham' roads appeared: one built in the corridor between the

northwest shore of Lake Ontario and the southern rim of Georgian Bay and the other an

appropriated line that was then developed in the Eastern Townships of Quebec. While an

advocate of systematic colonization. Sydenham had rejected one of its basic tenants:

unlike Wakefield. Durham. and Buller. the Governor General thought it totally

unreasonable to expect settlers of means to move to the frontier. pay for land. and then

provide paid employment to poorer settlers to enable them to earn enough money to

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[10] The importance of 'exchange' is one also drawn from anthropological and historical-geographical studies of colonialism. Among Canadian historians. John S. Lutz. "Work. Wages and Welfare in Aboriginal-Non-Aboriginal Relations. British Columbia. 1849-1970" (Unpublished Ph.D.. University of Ottawa. 1994) discusses and utilizes to great effect the metaphor of exchange in both material and cultural relations.

[11] A word is necessary about the unbalanced attention given in this chapter to the Opeongo Road and its administration. The preservation of documentation produced by the colonization roads project. as the footnotes will show. has become scattered in several collections. The process of reconnecting these materials is exhausting and perhaps a little disorienting at times. However both of these problems are solved somewhat by the sad fact that the documentation is woefully incomplete and fragmentary for roads other than the Opeongo. Most surprisingly. the Hastings and Addington roads. which constituted the other two of the original three colonization routes in the Ottawa-Huron Tract. are poorly represented in the existing collections. As a result. there is far more reference in this chapter to events. people. and places along or near the Opeongo. which as Map 2.1 shows. started at the Ottawa River and ended where today we find Algonquin Park. I have thus. at times. extrapolated from the available documents to speak to a much larger area than the Upper Ottawa Valley.

eventually purchase their own property.[12] Instead. Sydenham advocated free grants of 50

acres to place settlers (in Quebec. British settlers in particular) along the roads

penetrating into the back townships and unsurveyed territories.[13] These road settlements

were intended to provide the necessary front-line from which systems of commerce and

institutions of culture could be introduced to the "waste lands" of the frontier. Although

these early efforts were hardly "successful". they nevertheless instituted a program of

settlement that would become central to the larger. more broadly-based colonization

roads projects in both Quebec and Ontario.[14]

As a bold initiative. the Sydenham roads created debate within the Canadian state.

Perhaps most significantly. the Owen Sound road and settlement became a focal point for

the criticisms of R.B. Sullivan. provincial secretary and a key figure in the administration

of the colonial state during the 1840s. Sullivan travelled the Owen Sound road and used

this experience to make several critiques of any colonization road project. especially one

that spent the state's precious revenues. "Nothing is so wasteful and extravagant." he

wrote. "as the attempt to make good roads through the forest...." Such roads. he claimed.

would never prosper without a population to sustain and maintain them: "It is thin

settlement and scattered inhabitants which make roads so bad and difficult." But. he

promised. "[g]ive me a tolerably thick population who have real use for roads. and I will

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[12] For more on "systematic colonization" see Chapter Two.

[13] J.I. Little. *Nationalism. Capitalism. and Colonization in Nineteenth-Century Quebec: The Upper St. Francis District* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1989). 64-100 focuses on the Quebec efforts.

[14] Little. *Nationalism. Capitalism. and Colonization.* offers a scathing indictment of the state with respect to the Sydenham roads in Quebec. pointing out that limiting grants to 50 acres exasperated the poverty and hardships of the settlers. On page79. though. Little also makes the important point that this debacle nonetheless "established a precedent for the nationalist-inspired. government-sponsored colonization projects" that followed.

furnish you with mail coach roads. macademized roads. plank roads. nay even railroads. from the Gaspe Bay to the Rocky Mountains." "You may proceed by making roads first." Sullivan concluded. "and it is not a bad plan where there is plenty of time and money. but the way I have seen succeed best. is, to find the people first. and let the roads come after."[15]

Sullivan's comments on the usefulness of a roads-first policy of colonization were undone somewhat by the prevailing logic of the 1850s and 1860s which saw roads. of all types. as belonging to a much larger network of communications in the Ottawa-Huron Tract. This logic was at work. for example. when the Bureau of Agriculture submitted its first formal report on colonization roads in September 1853. The report recognized that colonization roads could not alone fulfil the demands of increased trade. communication. and settlement. Such responsibility would have to be shared with the waters and the railroads while land (or "common") roads were thought to act as feeders to these larger communication lines. Thus in arguing for a large budget to build the feeding colonization roads. the report suggested "[t]hese roads and the new rural districts connected with them might be made tributary to our rivers and railroads and contribute their share to the general prosperity."[16] Similarly. an Ottawa newspaper editorial in 1851 argued:

[15] R.B. Sullivan. *Address on Emigration and Colonization. delivered in the Mechanic's Institute Hall* (Toronto: Brown's Printing Establishment. 1847). 37. J.H. Hodgetts misinterprets the significance of Sullivan's opposition to the program advocated by Francis Hincks. Lord Sydenham. Charles Buller. and others who were advocates of a colonization built upon a foundation of public works like roads. See his *Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of the United Canadas. 1841-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1955). 259-263. Hodgetts relies far too heavily on the Elgin-Grey Papers and gives the imperial government too much credit for shaping colonial practice.

[16] NAC. RG 17. A.1.2. vol. 1490. 97-105.

> It is supposed by some that making of good common Roads
> should be the first step, and that Railroads should be attended to
> afterwards. They stand in the same relation to one another that
> Rivers do to their branches, or that a great leading Road has to
> the numerous cross Roads and branches that lead to it. The
> Railroad opens the outlet, then the Common Roads like so many
> tributaries pour in a constant supply The one increases the
> necessity for the other.[17]

The railway in Canada was in its infancy in the late 1840s and early 1850s. but already

there was little doubt that an effective communications network in the Ottawa-Huron

Tract would have to feature railroads. No single technology collapsed time and space

more effectively than the railway, and the government of Canada was an active promoter

of its particular utility for forging both intensive and extensive growth. Government

translated its enthusiasm into three key pieces of finance legislation: the 1849 Guarantee

Act: the 1851 Main Trunk Act: and the 1852 Municipal Fund Act.[18] The timing of the

colonization roads coincided with this railway-mania, and while the connections between

them remained theoretical rather than material, the project's legitimacy was certainly

enhanced.

Especially valuable was Canadian railroads' most important philosopher of the

mid-nineteenth century. Thomas Keefer, who believed that the Ottawa-Huron Tract was

important to the formation of an east-west railroad that would link Montreal, and

therefore London, with Chicago and its vast hinterland in the American Midwest.[19] More

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[17] *Bytown Packet.* 08 February 1851.

[18] Douglas McCalla. *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada. 1784-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). 201. Den Otter. *The Philosophy of Railways.* discusses political policy in its larger economic. social, and cultural contexts.

[19] See his comments in Thomas Keefer. *"Montreal" and "The Ottawa": two lectures delivered before the Mechanics Institute of Montreal. in January. 1853 and 1854* (Montreal: J. Lovell. 1854) and his testimony in "Report of the Select Committee on the Management of Public Lands." *JLAC.* 1855 and "Report of the Committee of the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Territory." *JLAC.* 1864. Appendix 8.

than a mere passageway. however. Keefer. like other boosters of colonization. saw the multitude of river valleys as offering enough level and fertile ground along which to lay lines and allow vibrant towns to grow around station stops. This idea of what the Ottawa-Huron Tract *might* look like with railways was particularly useful for advancing the cause of a colonization roads' project which would act as "branches" and "tributaries" to this awe-inspiring technology.

As such language would suggest. strategists and promoters also praised the potential of the rivers and lakes of the Ottawa-Huron Tract to move goods and people into and through the Ottawa-Huron Tract. a belief crystallized in the never-realized but much-studied Ottawa-Georgian Bay Ship Canal.[20] In the mid-nineteenth century. two massive. hydrological surveys were conducted of the Ottawa River-Lake Nippissing-French River route and a major parliamentary inquiry was devoted to the canal's possible construction.[21] The "Ottawa route." as many called it. was championed as strategically safe from American-based threats and its chief engineer. Walter Shanly. even prepared a detailed table of distances to demonstrate that the route was the shortest and most cost-effective link between Chicago and Montreal.[22] Despite the best efforts of many

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[20] See the overview of this project's shadow-like history in Robert Legget. *Ottawa River Canals and the Defence of British North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1988) which. perhaps appropriately. appears as a chapter-length appendix ("D") isolated from the history of the canals that were built along the Ottawa River.

[21] The first survey. by Walter Shanly. was published in 1858. 1863. and again in 1900: *Report on the Ottawa and French River Navigation Project* (Montreal: John Lovell. 1863). The second survey. which challenged some of Shanly's calculations. especially the cost of building locks to navigate the rapids along the upper part of the Ottawa River. was prepared by T.C. Clarke in 1860. Their differing evaluations were highlighted in "Report of the Select Committee on the Ottawa Ship Canal." *JLAC*. 1863. Appendix 5.

[22] Shanly. *Report on the Ottawa and French River Navigation Project*. 43-44. On Shanly see Richard White. *Gentleman Engineers: The Working Lives of Frank and Walter Shanly* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1999). 140-178.

politicians. businessmen. and other boosters. however. the Ottawa-Georgian Bay canal was never able to emerge as a project of national interest. unlike the Welland and Tay canals. As one opponent expressed it in 1865: "The Ottawa route will not enlarge the commercial relations of the Province as a whole and it is injurious to the west. It can be regarded in no other light than as a local improvement. and must give way to the adoption of the true provincial policy of making the Saint Lawrence navigable for ocean going vessels."[23] While never built. the canal nonetheless was invoked by the proponents of colonization as a key element of the transportation network that would help fix the problems of distance posed by the Ottawa-Huron Tract and contribute to the region's emergence as both a place of economic success and a vital link in the North Atlantic flow of goods. commerce. and people.[24]

For all their importance in legitimizing a state-run colonization project in the region. the railroads and canals belonged to the imagined geography of the mid-nineteenth-century Ottawa-Huron Tract while it was the colonization roads which would become central to producing the region's material landscapes. a fact that Sullivan may have bemoaned but which others saw as a necessary element of the civilizing process. "In all civilized countries the Roads. or means of internal communication. are. in the highest degree. deserving of especial attention." began an editorial by the publisher and retired land surveyor Robert Bell. and "in all ages of the world we find that the nations

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[23] W. Kingsford. *The Early Bibliography of the Province of Ontario* (Toronto. 1969). 90 as cited in Legget. *Ottawa River Canals and the Defence of British North America.* 252.

[24] The first poster advertising the opening of the Opeongo. Hastings. and Addington roads. for example. spoke of Parliament granting charter to a company to build a railway from Lake Huron to the city of Ottawa as well as the hydrological survey then being conducted for an Ottawa-Georgian Bay Canal. A copy of this poster is available in AO. RG 52. Series V-b. Box 1. vol. 1. 25 July 1856. See also the comments of William Hutton. the colonization roads' chief administrator. in NAC. RG 17. A.1.2. vol. 1490. Hutton to Roney. 15 January 1857.

which had advanced the farthest in civilization were the most attentive to the construction of good Roads." Towards the end of the same editorial. Bell fixed his argumentative gaze on the particular concerns of Canadian state builders. "Here the opening up and improving the country not only benefits the population at present in it. but it also brings in a new population." he wrote. "Without Roads our immense tracts of waste lands will lie uninhabited and valueless. Instead of being filled up with an industrious and thriving population. they are now. for want of Roads to get to them. almost without an inhabitant."[25]

Bell's allusions to the trans-historical significance of roads to the cause of "civilization." as well as the more pointed critique that an absence of roads kept Canada's frontier in a state of "waste" and "valueless." resonated with the logic and arguments of the discourse of systematic colonization as it appeared in both the Durham Report and Francis Hincks' 1848 memorandum on nation-building. In the Durham Report. for example. one of its chief architects. Charles Buller. stated as a matter of fact: "The opening of roads is the one thing without which it is impossible that a new country can thrive."[26] Buller would have found no disagreement with the parliamentary committee devoted to the problem of out-migration from the Province of Canada (especially Canada East) which. in their final report. concluded that "[w]hen the inhabitants of a township are too feeble in numbers and in resources. to open a road and construct bridges. the work of colonization moves heavily. Though blessed with a fertile soil. a wholesome climate.

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[25] *Bytown Packet.* 05 January 1850. Besides this example. see also Bell's comments in editorials on 19 January 1850. 23 February 1850. 17 August 1850. and 17 May 1851. In February of 1852. the *Packet* was re-named the Ottawa *Citizen.*

[26] *Durham Report.* vol. III. Appendix B. 84. See also Buller's proposal for the funding of these roads in *Ibid..* 115-116.

the finest of timber, such a place will remain a stumbling block, an insurmountable impediment to the march of colonization."[27]

Such a place could not be tolerated, and it is significant that in this phrase we see that local "feebleness" was blamed for getting in the way of the "march of colonization." Part of the critique of roads as it appeared in the speeches and writings of R.B. Sullivan was that the Owen Sound road had been neglected and allowed to deteriorate to a point where it was almost of no use.[28] Even though it was incumbent on the settlers who took up free grants on the Sydenham roads in both Canada West and Canada East to keep them in passable condition, this was never enforced. Indeed, what these roads lacked was management and governance.

The Bureaucratic Roads

The Hincks' memorandum, we saw in Chapter 2, was a blueprint of utilitarian activism: it distinguished 'colonization' from 'emigration' by citing the fact that the former was a managed, regulated, and directed process while the latter was more chaotic, a product of chance and will that lay outside the controls of the state. The modest progress of the Sydenham roads, what Sullivan perhaps rightly judged to be failure, was in part attributable to a lack of state management over the road's maintenance and its settlement. This was decidedly not the case in the early 1850s, when the administration of the colonization roads was consolidated not with Public Works or Crown Lands

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[27] Report of the Special Committee on Emigration, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada*, 1857, Appendix 47.

[28] Little, *Nationalism, Capitalism, Colonization*, 77, describes the decay of the Lambton Road in Quebec.

Department. but in the newly-created Bureau of Agriculture and its enthusiastic secretary.

William Hutton.

The administrative system applied to the colonization roads project was a by-

product of broader institutional workings of the bureaucratic Canadian state. Consider.

for example. the process of selecting appropriate routes and then building roads: "The

Bureau [of Agriculture] selects such parts of the country as from the reports of the

Provincial Land Surveyors may be considered most suitable for settlement: it applies to

the Finance Minister to bring its annual grant before Parliament: it apportions the grant

when made: receives estimates: enters into contracts: pays contractors and appoints

superintendents."[29] While the colonization roads were public works. and sought to settle

public lands. it is significant that they were placed under the administrative responsibility

of the Bureau of Agriculture. a bureaucracy created at the same time as the colonization

roads of the Ottawa-Huron Tract became a state project.[30] An internal government study

summarized the administrative history of the colonization roads as follows:

> Colonization roads...were first authorized by Order in Council
> of 26th August 1848 to be constructed by the Commissioner of
> Crown Lands. who continued to exercise supervision over them
> until 14 September 1853. when an Order in Council was passed
> authorizing the Minister of Agriculture to construct certain
> roads. and the first Superintendent of Colonization Roads was
> appointed. who continued to act as such...until the summer of
> 1862. when the charge was transferred back to the Commissioner
> of Crown Lands. with whom it has ever since remained. The
> Department of Public Works has never exercised any control
> over them.[31]

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[29] "Report of the Select Committee on Emigration." JLAC. 1861. Appendix 1.

[30] Bruce Curtis. The Politics of Population. 140-145 discusses the emergence of the bureau and the controversy that surrounded it.

[31] AO. RG 1. A-VIII. vol. 16. "Newspaper Clippings and Regulations re: roads and timber. 1794-1909." 49.

Although technically accurate. this memorandum failed to point out that while the Bureau of Agriculture was responsible for the roads' construction and management, settlement along the roads was complicated by the fact that the free grants were public lands and they were surrounded by other public lands. The Crown Lands Department thus retained an active interest in the administration of these roads because its officials were responsible for issuing location tickets and deeds. (See Figure 2.2) Responsibility for managing this population once it was settled on public lands, however. remained a shared activity between the Crown Lands Department and the Bureau of Agriculture. Despite this muddled administrative structure, there was nevertheless a clear emphasis on the careful regulation of this population.

The Roads as Practice (I): Governing the Social

The first three main lines of colonization roads. the Opeongo. the Addington. and the Hastings. were assigned agents who lived on (or near) the roads and saw to the day-to-day management of the roads' surveyed property lots. (See Map 2.1) These agents have been described by J.E. Hodgetts as keeping "a parental eye" on settlers who took up the free grant lots. a description supported somewhat by the correspondence from these agents.[32] It was M.P. Hayes. agent assigned to the Hastings Road. who wrote to his political masters that. "to be a good and successful agent over a settlement of this kind a man must completely identify himself with the people and their concerns, he must be ready at all times to enter into consideration of their difficulties and to help them by advice and assistance from point to point in their progress. He must encourage them

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[32] Hodgetts. *Pioneer Public Service.* 121.

when they are disappointed and desponding...."[33] Ebeneezer Perry, agent assigned to the

Addington Road, was also quite empathetic to the plight of settlers along his road,

especially when they faced hardships from bad weather and poor yields. For example, at

the end of 1860, a year plagued by horrible weather. Perry wrote to Andrew Russell: "I

was fearful that some [settlers] would have to move from the new settlements...but their

moral courage and reliance in their ability to work and knowledge of the good fitness of

the soils to produce the staff of life induced them to persevere...."[34] Such praise of the

settlers, we shall see later, was far more rare from others who traveled or inspected the

colonization roads but Perry. Hayes, and T.P. French (agent of the Opeongo Road)

demonstrated what might be called 'parental pride' at the achievements of 'their' settlers.

The benevolent paternalism of the agents was also displayed, to some degree,

when they acted as advocates by advancing petitions and making arguments to the central

office on the settlers' behalf. One issue of particular significance was making allowances

for settlers who wanted to purchase land next to their own free grants in order to provide

for their maturing families.[35] As Ebeneezer Perry told his friend and political patron.

David Roblin: "If the sale of the new surveyed lands is combined with the gift lands this

will aid the settlement of each other for I find the love of society is so strong in most men

[33] AO. RG 1. A-1-7, vol. 13, env. 7, "Roads: Hastings. 1862-1864." Hayes to Vankoughnet, 17 March 1862.

[34] AO. RG 1. A-1-7, vol. 12, env. 1, Roads: Addington. 1856-1860. Perry to Russell, 08 December 1860.

[35] As rural historians of nineteenth-century Canada, especially Gérard Bouchard. Bruce Elliott. David Gagan, have made abundantly clear, providing land for children was a dominant theme of family strategies and social reproduction. A synthesis of this research which suggests one important connection with the strategies and practices of state formation appears in Chad Gaffield. "Children. Schooling, and Family Reproduction in Nineteenth-Century Ontario." *Canadian Historical Review*. 72 (1991), 157-191.

that they would rather pay for land than go far back and have it given to them...."[36]

Similarly. T.P. French made repeated requests to allow him to sell lots next to free grants along the Opeongo Road. and even warned that he "hoped [there would be] no objection to allowing them [the settlers] this privilege. as of it be deemed. much confusion and dissatisfaction will ensue."[37]

Besides acting on the best interests of the settlers. agents were most desirous of retaining the settlers across generations for less noble and more pragmatic reasons. Establishing a productive and permanent population was the most important duty of the agent and the agent's worthiness in the eyes of his political masters was enhanced by having successful settlers. As well. agents stood to profit (through commissions) from the selling of regular (i.e. not free grant) lots. While this did not necessarily denote corruption. self-interest cannot be discounted when examining the paternalism of the agents.[38] Finally. Marilyn Miller has called attention to the fact that for at least one agent. Ebeneezer Perry. the settlement along the roads was a potentially valuable field for electoral politics. Perry told his patron. member of parliament David Roblin. that he wished to "get if possible the full control of the settlement that must go into the backwoods so they [the settlers] can be molded politically."[39] And yet. however complex the motives of the agents may have been. Hodgetts' description of them as casting "a

[36] Lennox and Addington County Archives (hereafter LACA). Roblin Papers. file "Eadie II – Ebeneezer Perry." p. 15876. Perry to Roblin. 30 March 1857.

[37] See AO. RG 1. A-I-7. vol. 14. env. 1. Ottawa and Opeongo. 1853-1859. MS 892. 23 January 1857.

[38] Hodgetts. *Pioneer Public Service*. 136.

[39] LACA. Roblin Papers. Perry to Roblin. 25 May 1855 as cited in Marilyn Miller. *Straight Lines in Curved Space: Colonization Roads in Eastern Ontario* (Toronto: Ministry of Culture and Recreation. 1978). 19.

paternal eye" is an apt one. especially when we consider the term 'paternal' to refer to issues of superintendence and regulation.

Governance of social life along the free grant roads was part of a larger governmental concern for the construction and preservation of a stable social order. It was expected that the agents assigned to the roads would act to preserve the 'normal' workings of everyday life by modifying any unruly elements that might appear. a threat of particular concern in the Ottawa-Huron Tract.[40] This was certainly the case when A. N. Morin wrote Joseph Cauchon that he considered T.P. French to be an excellent candidate as a local road agent because: "A part de son mérite personnel il pourrait. en cas de difficulté parmi la nouvelle population de l'Outaouais. comme cela arrive quelquefois. expener une influence pacificatrice parmi ses compatriotes."[41] Once placed in his office. French also wished to be "une influence pacificatrice" as he craved the legal powers to punish those who would disrupt the social order along the road.[42]

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[40] As Michael Cross. Richard Reid. and Chad Gaffield have shown. the Shriners' War and Stony Monday riots in Bytown (Ottawa) as well as the perceived violent masculine culture of shantymen had already become a well-known component of regional identity. See Cross. "The Shriners' War: Social Violence in the Ottawa Valley." Canadian Historical Review, 54 (1973). 1-26: Reid. The Upper Ottawa Valley to 1855 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press. 1990). xxxii-xl: Gaffield. "Scorpions. Solitudes. and the Process of Communication." Zeitschrift fuer Kanada-Studien. 13 (1993). 39-51.

[41] AO. RG 1. A-I-7. vol. 14. env. 1. Ottawa and Opeongo. 1853-1859. Morin to Cauchon. 08 September 1855. The "mérite personnel" of French that impressed Morin was contained in the 17 recommendations of French from bankers. religious leaders. and politicians that French submitted with his application in the form of a pamphlet. "Testimonials Received by Thomas P. French when about to leave the Provincial Bank of Ireland. and enter the Bank of British North America." which can be found preceding Morin's letter to Cauchon.

[42] Ibid.. French to Russell. 24 March 1856. In a letter dated 10 February 1857. French said that the county (Lanark-Renfrew) government had appointed him magistrate but that he could not meet the requirement of being a property-holder of 300 acres. He asked the department to see if the department could have him appointed him as a special magistrate since "Magisterial powers [were] essentially necessary to enable [him] to conduct satisfactorily the affairs of [his] Agency." French was told. however. in a letter dated 24 February 1857 that the Governor General did not have the power to dispense with the qualification.

This was made clear when French became especially frustrated by the activities of an old squatter named John Beckett who had taken up a free grant but was transgressing the boundaries of his assigned lot and claiming land and trees that were surveyed on neighbouring lots. French requested he be appointed a magistrate to deal with Beckett's disruptions. Otherwise. he feared. "it is useless to expect that I can be answerable for the peace or progress of the Settlements as no new Settlers will come in and I believe many of the old ones will leave if such bad characters as these Bicketts (sic) are permitted to pursue their present outrageous conduct unpunished."[43] The Crown Lands Department was sympathetic to French's plight but asked their agent to work within the confines of his office. Thus. French was instructed to warn Beckett that:

> unless he acts in conformity with your wishes and confines
> himself to the Lots for which he is located. his free grant will be
> cancelled and his possession as a Squatter disregarded. You will
> then be at liberty to dispose of the Land as you may think proper
> leaving the Locatee to eject Beckett by legal means. ... Should
> any disturbance ensue **it will be your duty** to see that the
> offenders are Summoned before the nearest Justice of the Peace
> and punished as the Law directs.[44]

The significance of this episode lies less in the story it tells. but rather in the various processes and histories that it displays. Here we have theoretical space. an imagined geography in the guise of surveyed and marked property lots with rules of settlement that had to be obeyed. as well as a localized system of administration (the Crown Land agent and the Justice of the Peace) to supervise and regulate individual conduct. In becoming a material landscape. however. a squatter who showed little regard for rules of property. and who was apparently unfazed with the threat of never receiving title. was able to

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[43] *Ibid.*. French to Russell. 05 March 1857.

[44] AO. RG 1. A-1-4. MS 1939. Commissioner's Letter Books. Russell to French. 30 January 1857. (emphasis added)

disrupt and unsettle this 'normal' social order. Beckett showed little interest in the

formal rules of property or in being a 'good citizen' who would honour and respect the

boundaries that were expected to define what was and what was not 'his.' Such

behaviour and disrespect for property was not. in the eyes of the state. rational. As a

result. Beckett's actions created a sense of disorder that could not. and were not. recorded

in the property ledgers kept by administrators despite the fact that Beckett's

transgressions were a very real element in the everyday lives of those who had to live

with them.[45] When French was instructed that "it was [his] duty" to see the social order

restored by bringing Beckett to face the Justice of the Peace (should Beckett continue to

defy the rules of settlement) he was being told in effect to make what appeared in the

ledger also appear 'on the ground'.[46]

Seeing that order was maintained along the roads required that settlers be

watched. For M.P. Hayes. the agent assigned to the Hastings Road. the settlers who

could be seen. and who were the 'type' to respect the rules of property. were settlers who

could be trusted to do the work of colonization. "They [the settlers] are constantly

working under the personal supervision of the agent and are much more amenable to his

control than those who either squat in the ordinary way or make small money payments."

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[45] A reminder that when space becomes committed to representations like the map and the ledger it is unable to deal with history except in a very schematic. abstract. and simplified way.

[46] This is one area where the incompleteness of the colonization archive in its present form frustrates. In a report to Andrew Russell. Ebeneezer Perry (agent on the Addington Road) makes mention of lumber men often transgressing the boundaries of free grant lots and poaching trees. The situation got so bad that a very public showdown between a group of free grant settlers and the poachers ensued. Just as Perry's narrative began to talk about the resolution to this event. the remaining documents disappear. It did not appear in local newspapers. in no small part because the events happened far north on the Addington Road and not closer to the town of Napanee. The Perry-Roblin correspondence is also silent on this event. What we do learn is in AO. RG 1. A-1-7. vol. 12. env. 2. Perry to Russell. 12 March 1862.

The result. Hayes argued. was that "a Free Grant Road in full operation under active supervision becomes a regularly organized system of pioneering into the otherwise unavailable tracts. paying its own way and returning a large surplus annually to the Provincial purse. not subject to the many causes of delay and failure incident to the desultory and irregular settlement of the country by isolated and uncontrollable individuals under the ordinary system."[47]

Hayes' mention of "active supervision" is instructive. Besides working within their offices and administering the allocation of information and location tickets. the agents were expected to travel along the road. These journeys were usually a result of one (or more) of three situations: in response to a problem or crisis that required the agent's intervention: to pass on information or directives to the settlers that emanated from the central office: and. finally. to undertake regular tours of inspection. the most important of which was the annual census-taking of settlers and their progress. Travel was essential because the geography of settlement along the roads was immense. Ebeneezer Perry. for example. had to travel 124 miles (approximately 200 km) to conduct his census in 1862 and T.P. French walked the fifty miles then-built of the Opeongo Road when he assumed its management in 1855.[48] These distances were covered on foot and by horseback. and the agents often stayed with settlers while on their journeys as trips ranged from a couple of days to as long as two weeks. Travel provided the settlers with access to the agents and to make demands of them: in a settlement where literacy was apparently limited and language could also act as a barrier to written communication (for

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[47] AO. RG 1. A-1-7. vol. 13. env. 5. "Roads: Hastings 1855-59." 10 January 1859.

Polish-. German-. and French-speaking settlers in particular). the opportunity to see the

agent in-person was significant.[49] Of course. travel also had the reciprocal effect of

making these settlers and their conduct subject to the gaze of the agent.

We should not underestimate the seemingly innocuous historical moments that

were produced by the travelling agent. When he observed and spoke to settlers. listened

to gossip. intervened in disputes. delivered orders from his political masters. and issued

location tickets or perhaps even title deeds. the local agent was producing a micro-level

expression of much larger processes of modern governance. It was through these

moments. sitting in a settler's kitchen. leaning on a fence. holding court in a local tavern.

when 'state' and 'society' interacted on a most intimate. informal. but no-less profound

level. For the settler. the local agent was more than a symbol of government. he was in

fact the very embodiment of government. One example illustrates this point in terms that

resonate in our own time. In his first year as an agent. T.P. French saw some (it is not

clear how many exactly) of the settlers under his charge meet the requirements to permit

them to receive the title to their free grants. In the spring of 1856. French duly listed their

names. their assigned lots. and requested the deeds be sent to him for disbursement. By

late fall. French had received no deeds. The settlers had performed their duty and

fulfilled the obligations assigned to them when they were first issued location tickets for

their free grants. When French. who had been the person who gave them their location

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[18] AO. RG 1. A-1-7. vol. 12. env. 2. "Roads: Addington. 1861-1865." Perry to Russell. 24 December 1862: AO. RG 1. A-1-7. vol. 14. env. 1. "Ottawa and Opeongo. 1853-1859." French to Bureau of Agriculture. 04 December 1855.

[49] As suggested by the paylists. levels of literacy among those settlers who worked in the road camps was quite limited. Required to sign for their pay. most of the men (90% of the 12 paylists I sampled from different road camps) left their mark and even among those who signed. many look rehearsed rather than learned. See. for example. the paylists in AO. RG 52. Series 1-a. Box 1-A which cover the period 1860-1866.

tickets and who instructed them as to their duty as settlers, could not provide them with their deeds it was to him and not some abstract 'state' that they expressed their confusion, frustration, and anger.[50] Indeed, it was through him that the settlers turned their gaze back on the state.[51] How the settlers perceived the state, their loyalty to it, and their respect for its authority were invested, at least in part, in these micro-level exchanges.

Concern for a social order of progressive, competent, and loyal settlers was also important to the practices of those people assigned to building and maintaining the roads as public works. There were two groups of agents that worked in this area. The first was composed of trained surveyors who were expected to offer expert opinion and advice to William Hutton while the second group of agents acted as foremen on the work teams that did the actual labour on the roads' construction and maintenance. Among the first group, David Gibson, J.W. Bridgland, A.B. Perry (brother of Ebeneezer Perry, agent assigned to the Addington Road), and A.J. Russell were the key figures who travelled along the colonization roads of the Ottawa-Huron Tract in the 1850s and 1860s. (See Figure 2.2) In the only other study of these agents, J.E. Hodgetts reliance on published materials (almost all of it from the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*) has caused him

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[50] AO, RG 1, A-1-7, vol. 14, env. 1, "Ottawa and Opeongo, 1853-1859, " French to Russell, 05 May 1856 and 14 November 1856. In the latter, French bemoaned that the "many of the settlers believ[ed] the delay" to be his. Considering it had been six months since French first requested the deeds, it is little wonder the settlers were vexed. Even today, a glance at the letters-to-editor page of a local newspaper or a listen to a phone-in talk radio program will abound with stories of bureaucratic horror such as this one.

[51] William Harris even blamed "the public eye" for precipitating his ultimate downfall as a crown lands agent. AO, RG 52, Series I-a, Box 6, Harris to Russell, 02 August 1865. Andrew Russell, however, was clearly frustrated by Harris as an employee at least one year earlier. Not only was Harris negligent with his duties but he seems to have displayed a clear lack of ability (or interest) to see that repairs to the Opeongo Road were done as the department ordered. See AO, RG 1, A-1-7, vol. 14, env.3, Russell to Harris, 19 July 1864 and 09 December 1864. Harris was fired on 20 June 1865.

to over-emphasize the significance of Gibson.[52] Unpublished correspondence to and

from William Hutton suggests that it was Perry and Russell who were far more active in

the Ottawa-Huron Tract. who were called upon to act as special investigators on Hutton's

behalf and to generally attend to the construction and maintenance of the roads.[53] While

each of these men reported their financial statements to him. David Gibson was a much

more minor figure in the Ottawa-Huron Tract as his energies were devoted more to the

dispersion (or lack thereof) of Improvement Fund monies to municipalities seeking to

build their own roads. Indeed. Hodgetts' focus on Gibson is perhaps one of the reasons

why his study has glossed over the significance of the colonization roads' project as an

exercise of early-Canadian state formation.

In any respect. especially valuable for William Hutton was A.J. Russell. the

Crown Timber Agent in Bytown. whose expertise as a surveyor. knowledge of the region.

and deep loyalty to the cause of Canadian expansionism made him an ideal comrade-in-

arms.[54] While Russell's title at the Crown Lands Department was Timber Agent. he

devoted much of his time in the late 1850s to Hutton's colonization efforts during the

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[52] Hodgetts. *Pioneer Public Service*. 264-265.

[53] Consider. for example. a directive given David Gibson by the Crown Lands Department: "A complaint having been made by the settlers on the Opeongo Road respecting the manner in which the works on it have been performed was referred to A J Russell...under whose general Superintendence the works were carried on. He has recommended that you be appointed to examine the works and report on them for the information of this Department. I have therefore to request that you will visit the road and make the requisite examination of the works thereon." AO. RG 1. A-1-4. Andrew Russell to Gibson. 11 November 1858. This letter reveals two key things. First. Gibson was not involved with the road's construction. Second. A.J. Russell (through his brother. Andrew. who was Secretary of the Crown Lands Department) was able to call upon Gibson to verify the quality of the work done under his charge.

[54] It should be noted that A.J. Russell was one of the first surveyors sent out to the Red River District in the early 1860s to evaluate its fitness for agricultural settlement. See Doug Owram. *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West. 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1980). 41. However. Owram suggests it was only with his involvement with the Prairies that Russell "caught the fever" of expansionism.

years when the roads underwent their most intensive period of construction. In spring

(March-May) when the timber began to be moved from the backwoods down to Ottawa

and Quebec City. Russell was required to devote the bulk of his energies to minding the

timber slides so he could enumerate the harvest and levy duties to the lumber companies.

While this was Russell's primary duty as an agent of the state. in theory. he still felt

compelled to apologize to Hutton in March of 1856 for not writing more regularly about

the progress of the roads.[55] Russell was instrumental in many ways for Hutton: he

selected foremen to lead the work teams: he inspected the progress made by these work

teams as well as the settlers living along the roads: he undertook trips to investigate

complaints made to Hutton: and. perhaps most importantly. Russell offered much advice

about the direction of policy and practice of the roads' administration. sometimes in

response to questions from Hutton and at other times unsolicited.[56] Russell never suffered

from much self-doubt about his abilities to do all these tasks for Hutton. As he explained

in a letter. he felt his "knowledge of the subject [road building] and the country enables

me to make shorter work of such matters than others would without my advantages – and

at the same time with more certainty of being right."[57]

These convictions made Russell an opinionated correspondent. When combined

with his authoritative and trusted position within the administration of the colonization

roads. his was a particularly powerful and forceful voice within the colonization archive.

[55] AO. RG 1. F-I-8. vol. 28. Letterbooks 1855-1859. Crown Timber Office. Ottawa.
Russell to Hutton. 11 March 1856.

[56] This summary is based on several different groups of correspondence. but especially:
AO. RG 1. F-I-8. vol. 28. Letterbooks 1855-1859. Crown Timber Office. Ottawa: AO. RG 52.
Series V-b. Box 1. vols. 1-2. indexed correspondence. 1853-1861: AO. RG 52. Series I-a. Boxes
2-4. Colonization Road Papers. 1862-1864.

This was vividly demonstrated in the later months of 1858 when Russell, who was an avid supporter of the colonization roads project, believed the positive benefits of the free grant settlement system had been reached. In a report to William Hutton, Russell adopted what we would identify as a Wakefieldian approach to colonization: "But now that settlement has successfully commenced," he wrote, "I would respectfully submit...it is neither necessary nor desirable that free grants of land should be made...but that on the contrary it would be more advantageous to the Country in every respect to sell the lands on them...as by doing so a better class of settlers would be obtained."[58] For Russell, this "better class of settlers" were "English Protestant emigrants" who were then beginning to come to the Upper Ottawa Valley and yet he was most concerned that this worthy group not face any more "discouragement – especially as they pay for their land and not get it for nothing like the settlers on the Opeongo Road...."[59] Later that year, Russell expressed much concern that T.P. French, the agent assigned to the Opeongo Road's settlement, was not able to meet the demands of these English emigrants for information and guidance. While he went out of his way not to blame French but rather the lack of resources put at French's disposal, Russell was also irate about the activity of French's fellow Irish Catholics located along the Opeongo Road who, he claimed, were also a source of much discouragement to the English settlers. When these Irish settlers petitioned Hutton for improvements to be made to the Opeongo, Russell used the occasion to allow his ire to show:

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[57] AO, RG 52, Series V-b, Box 1, vol. 1, indexed correspondence, 1853-1857, Russell to Hutton, 25 November 1856.

[58] AO, RG 1, F-1-8, vol. 28, Letterbooks 1855-1859, Crown Timber Office, Ottawa, Russell to Hutton, May 1858.

> The object of the Petition is easily understood…First. a <u>dishonest</u>
> attempt on the part of the Irish Catholic settlers on the road who
> got their lands <u>free</u> to get rid of the obligation to <u>keep it in repair</u>
> which the English Protestant settlers who have <u>to pay</u> for their
> lands and make roads for themselves for miles back in the rear
> would have been glad to have had the opportunity of doing.
> Second. it designs to get the road business under Irish Catholic
> management entirely and particularly to get rid of my overseer –
> David Bremmer who has been making himself so serviceable in
> directing and conducting in emigrants in this and the previous
> season (including a very respectable class of English Protestants)
> that Mr Clemow the Emigrant Agent at Ottawa insists that he is
> much more use to him in securing the location of settlers
> (immigrants) than Mr French.[60]

While Russell saw these settlers as a threat to his own authority ("my overseer") he was

also angry that these settlers were seemingly ungrateful for the opportunities afforded

them by the free grants and unwilling or too lazy to meet their obligations as free grant

settlers.

For Russell (and others) the ramifications of these settlers' general unworthiness

was high: a progressive "class" of settlers was being lost to the disruptive activities of a

backward. retrograde "class." Much like the squatter John Beckett we saw earlier. this

group of petitioners were portrayed as 'bad citizens.' as individuals who were corrupting

normal social relations and thus the progress of colonization. Yet while he observed

these settlers on his travels. Russell rarely interacted with them face-to-face. His anger at

the Irish Catholics on the upper Opeongo road. for example. was predicated on the

reports he received from his foreman and from Francis Clemow. the in-land immigration

agent assigned to the city of Ottawa. about their exchanges with the settlers. Still. Russell

felt quite qualified to comment upon the situation in no small part because he 'knew' the

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[59]AO. RG 1. F-I-8. vol. 28. Letterbooks 1855-1859. Crown Timber Office. Ottawa.
Russell to Hutton. 04 September 1858. (emphasis in original)

[60]AO. RG 52. Series V-b. Box 1. vol. 2. Russell to Hutton. 11 November 1858.

Irish-Catholic type ("class") and was well aware of their 'otherness' to the norms of the respectable. English-Protestant.

Russell's strong opinions are a pointed reminder that, as Ann Laura Stoler has cautioned, we must not think of 'the colonizers' as an undifferentiated group but that we need to attend to "the cultural politics of the communities in which colonizers lived."[61] Variables such as ethnicity, religion, and social class, were not only elements of social experience and identity but they were also political categories by which the state 'saw' population. While this was expressed quantitatively through the production of categories on the decennial census, it was also given a qualitative dimension through more impressionistic forms such as Russell's correspondence. When Russell's report and letters are read as constructed texts, it is possible to see how he utilized as a series of dichotomies to make his point about 'good' and 'bad' citizens: free / pay, Irish / English, Catholic/ Protestant, dishonest / respectable. This episode is important because it demonstrates how the colonization roads acted as a space which localized a much broader pattern of cultural politics. We cannot lose sight of the fact, however, that Russell's vitriol was given expression by practices of state formation (petitioning, inspection, reporting, evaluation) but in such a way that was removed from the sight of those people who were being made subject to it. This is a important point to which we will turn in the next section of this chapter.

Before that, though, we need to discuss the practices of the roadwork foremen who, much like the local road agents, interacted with the settlers on an intimate level.

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[61] Stoler. "Rethinking colonial categories: European communities and the boundaries of rule." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 31 (1989). 135. This same passage is cited with much approval in Thomas. *Colonialism's Culture*. 13.

While each free grant settler was required to maintain the upkeep of the section of road

that passed his lot as a condition of their settlement. they were also provided with

opportunity to earn money by working on other sections of the roads.[62] Working in the

late spring and early summer. after the planting season and before the harvest. the

foremen were responsible for making up the work teams. dividing up and then

supervising their labour. paying them. and making provisions for their food and shelter

when out on location. Their work teams were drawn up from free grant settlers and

favour was afforded settlers in need. While this did not always happen. as foremen

would sometimes bring in trusted friends from away to work on their teams. existing

paylists demonstrate that. in fact. workers were usually drawn from the grants.[63]

Furthermore. correspondence from the foremen suggests that they made some effort to

ensure that needy settlers were provided with an opportunity to work.[64] Indeed. work on

the roads was seen by administrators as a form of charity. For example. when a group of

[62] Labourers usually earned $1 per day and would be required to be away with the team for three to four weeks.

[63] These paylists recorded the worker's name. job title (almost all were listed as "labourers"). rate of pay. the number of days worked. The last column was reserved for the worker's signature to confirm he had received his pay from the foreman. Using paylists from the Opeongo Road and the manuscript census of the roads performed annually between 1857 and 1863. I was able to identify over 80% of all the names appearing on the paylists. While the record of these paylists is not complete and scattered in different files. I used those in AO. RG 52. Box 1A. "Opeongo Road 1860-1866" and AO. RG 52. Series 1-a. Box 2. Colonization Road Papers. 1862-1863. The manuscript census returns for the Opeongo can be found in AO. RG 1. A-1-7. vol. 14.. envs. 1-2.

[64] An example is provided in the next paragraph but see also reports filed by William Harris and S. O'McGuin in AO. RG 52. Series 1-a. Boxes 5-6. Along the Addington Road. agent Ebeneezer Perry reported a "scarcity of money and high provisions has forced a large number of the able bodied men into the Road Camps and out into the older settlements to earn the means to supply their families until the harvest comes in." AO. RG 1. A-1-7. vol. 12. env. 1. Perry to Russell. 04 July 1859. Although she never provided a citation to show the evidence upon which she based her conclusion. Pauline Ryan also commented. "[m]ost of the Irish settlers along the Hastings Road worked on repairs during the summer." Ryan. "A Study of Irish Immigration to North Hastings County." Ontario History. 83 (1991). 29.

twelve Polish families in a seemingly dire and desperate situation approached T.P. French for help. French was sympathetic enough to their need and appealed for material assistance on their behalf to William Hutton. Hutton's response was brief and unequivocal: "If there is to be a Grant for the extension of the Opeongo Road they could find employment upon it for fair wages."[65]

Hutton's response to the plight of these Poles was consistent with his ethical and moral stance about the individual in society, one that emerges vividly in Hutton's professional and private correspondence.[66] One could locate Hutton's liberalism as emerging from his upbringing in a devout Unitarian family as well as his own experiences as an apprentice farmer. Irish leaseholder, and then immigrant and settler. Once in Canada. Hutton's modest successes as a farmer and small landowner were supplemented and then superseded by his professional activities as a town clerk. Justice of the Peace. teacher. school inspector. and then Secretary for the Bureau of Agriculture. In these professional capacities. Hutton strove to affect change in society through the regulation of the individual: the criminal. the student. and then the immigrant and settler. As he also believed with respect to his own children. discipline. knowledge. experience. and industry would allow the individual to better themselves. and thus society.[67] Thus it was that when a young Irish immigrant from Hutton's old village disappeared in Canada.

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[65]AO. RG 52. Series V-b. Box 1. vol. 2. French to Hutton. 27 March 1860. (emphasis in original) Hutton's response was hand written across the bottom of French's letter

[66] Wesley Turner has aptly called Hutton an "ideal *laissez-faire* mid-Victorian: a believer in self-help. a constant pursuer of personal and community improvement. and a supporter of public education as a means of personal and social betterment." Turner. "Hutton. William." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. vol. IX. 405.

[67] See his comments to his mother about the children in Gerald Boyce. ed.. *Hutton of Hastings: The Life and Letters of William Hutton. 1801-1861* (Belleville: Hastings County

Hutton assured his own mother. who had known the young man in Ireland. by saying: "He will turn up some time, all the better for being left to himself. It is not wise to supply young men with money in Canada, when they can earn it, if they choose to be steady and industrious. Canada is a place...where self-reliance can be safely taught, because there is no fear of want if there be industry. The only plan is to keep the purse strings tight and never send any aid, especially to a single man."[68] Such sentiments were also a significant element of Hutton's implementation and understanding of government policy. In 1856. for example. Hutton told Henry Kolbe of Massachusetts that Kolbe's request for 2000 acres to settle a small community of unhappy German-Americans could not be granted as "the Canadian Government does not grant lands to colonists of particular classes or nations. but leaves it open for every individual to come and chose land for himself and take responsibility of his choice and of his future successes upon himself."[69] That Hutton should show little pity for the condition of the Poles along the Opeongo Road was thus hardly surprising. nor. however. was his insistence that struggling settlers be afforded the opportunity to earn money by working on the road's construction and repair.

Composing work teams with needy settlers did not always translate. however. into effective or efficient results. In the fall of 1863. J.W. Bridgland. a surveyor who had just been appointed the new chief of the colonization roads construction and maintenance. undertook a tour of inspection of all the existing roads in the Ottawa-Huron Tract. The very best of these he considered to be the Hastings. a fact he credited to the hiring of

Council. 1972). 84. Hutton to Mother. 14 February 1841. See also the biographical discussion of Hutton in Curtis. *The Politics of Population.* 145-147.

[68] Boyce. ed.. *Hutton of Hastings.* Hutton to Mother. 17 August 1855.

[69] NAC. RG 17. A.1.2. T-112. 655. Hutton to Kolbe. 09 December 1856.

labourers who were experienced road builders and not only needy settlers.[70] Almost all

of the other roads he saw. however. gave Bridgland much concern for he discerned in

them sloppy workmanship and an unimpressive level of cost efficiency.

The experiences of Thomas Johnson. a foreman assigned to the Pembroke –

Mattawan Road. lend much credence to Bridgland's assessment. The year 1863 was a

tragic time for many settlers in the Ottawa-Huron Tract as a horrendous growing season

in 1862 had depleted the already-meagre resources of families and the local markets.

German-speaking settlers in the Upper Ottawa Valley were among those particularly hard

hit by these circumstances because their inability to speak English or French made them

unattractive as workers for the lumber companies where communication was so critical to

the labouring process. These settlers were suffering terrible hardships and they were also

perceived as a lurking danger by local merchants and politicians who feared an invasion

of poverty into their towns.[71] Thomas Johnson. who was a surveyor and a Justice of the

Peace. offered the state a solution. He asked that monies appropriated for the Pembroke

– Mattawan route be used to hire the men from these German families in construction of

the road. Johnson promised that with an experienced overseer. such as himself. real

progress would be made.[72] The Crown Lands Department. now administering the roads

completely. gave Johnson permission to carry out his plan and assigned him. as he had

requested. as foreman. A few weeks later. however. Johnson confessed that he had "been

obliged to refuse the proffers of many more of them [German settlers] than is strictly in

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[70] AO. RG 52. Series V-b. Box 2. file 6. Report of J.W. Bridgland. 16 November 1863.

[71] See the letter and petition in AO. RG 52. Series I-a. Box 2. C. Luke to Russell. 23 April 1863.

[72] Ibid.. Thomas Johnson to Russell. 21 April 1863.

accordance with the rules of economy. and I could not refuse the earnest appeals of several more whom I have promised to employ this week. I find them orderly and diligent. but very awkward. and fit only for clearing off. grubbing. and digging...."[73] When he filed his final report on the work done on the road. Johnson admitted that the "poor starving Germans [whom he was instructed to employ] were not fit for a day's work when they first commenced. It took them time to get them immune to strong food and to become acquainted with the work."[74] Considering he was hamstrung with workers who were physically exhausted and depleted. not to mention quite inexperienced with "the use of the Ax."[75] Johnson felt he had "pretty well accomplished" the repairs that the road required. When he inspected the repairs later that year. J.W. Bridgland did not share Johnson's mildly optimistic assessment.[76]

Johnson's experience with the despairing German settlers is an important reminder that both within and without the context of the work teams. foremen were provided with ample opportunity to observe the society that was emerging on the colonization roads. Within the dynamics of the work team. where the labouring was long and hard and the nights were spent together as a group. there was much opportunity for the foremen to interact (at least where language allowed it) with the settlers on their team. Even when away from the team. the foremen travelled the roads. visiting markets and settlers in an effort to find the necessary provisions for the work team. All of this interaction meant that settlers who were frustrated by the condition of the road. and there

[73] Ibid.. Report and Paylist from Thomas Johnson. 18 May 1863.

[74] Ibid.. Final Report and Paylists from Thomas Johnson. 29 June 1863.

[75] AO. RG 52. Series I-a. Box 2. Colonization Road Papers. 1862-1863. Report and Paylist from Thomas Johnson. 11 May 1863.

[76] AO. RG 52. Series V-b. Box 2. file 6. Report of J.W. Bridgland. 16 November 1863.

were many who watched with dismay as the heavy loads of the lumber camps tore up the roads every spring. would have ample opportunity to express this to the foreman.[77] A.J. Russell recognized how intimate relations were between the foremen and settlers. and he warned his foreman on the Opeongo Road. David Bremner. to "avoid as much as possible any discussions with the people of a nature to irritate their prejudices...."[78]

In their capacity as state agents. the foremen not only represented the state to this local society but also. through their reporting. were able to exercise judgement on the people. their character. and their abilities. In doing so. these agents made a number of contributions to the colonization archive that contributed to the ways in which central administrators "saw" the material landscapes being produced in the Ottawa-Huron Tract. Indeed. the reporting of the foremen. like that of the local agents and A.J. Russell. are important as examples of how power-knowledge practices of state formation permeated the political history of colonization and the emergence of the roads as governable spaces-in-the-making.

The Roads as Practice (II): Governing through Knowledge

The manner in which the state observed and evaluated micro-level exchanges between agents and settlers on the colonization roads was determined by the power-knowledge practices of modern. democratic state formation. These practices generated a range of materials through which officials in the state. who were far removed from the region. were able to gain insight into the various peoples and places being made subject

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[77] See. for example. the petition and covering letter sent to the Commissioner of Crown Lands by residents of five townships (Grattan. Algona. Wilberforce. Brudenell. and Sebastopol) for a new line linking the town of Eganville to the Opeongo Road. AO. RG 52. Series 1-a. Box 4. 01 October 1864.

[78] AO. RG 1. F-I-8. vol. 28. Russell to Bremner. 18 July 1855.

to their policies. Two sets of material were particularly significant. The first was the
reporting of state agents. the details of which we provided above. The second were the
petitions prepared by settlers and other forms of correspondence from them.[79] Much of
this correspondence was of complaint or protest. but there were a few instances when
testimonials in praise of a local agent or state institution were sent to the central offices of
the state and it was part of the strategy of petitioners to gain favour by demonstrating
their support of and loyalty to the state's colonization project.[80] While it is clear that
newspaper reports and published pamphlets by private citizens were also of use to the
central administration of the colonization roads. their significance was lessened
somewhat by the political nature of these publications. Such reporting was perceived as
highly contentious and subjective. a situation heightened when newspapers were
extracted and forwarded to the appropriate state office by an elected member of
parliament.[81] With respect to the colonization roads. these materials received less critical
attention from officials. For Victorians. modern governance required sober. objective

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[79] There are dozens of petitions related to the roads available in AO. RG 52. Series I-a.
Boxes 2-9. These petitions are from the 1860s. There is also reference to over fifteen petitions
during the early years of road construction (1853-1855) and settlement in NAC. RG 17. A.1.2..
vol. 1490. T-112. 235. 289-290. 366.

[80] See. for example. the petition from the "Residents of Renfrew Village" in AO. RG 52.
Series I-a. Box 7. 31 May 1866 and another from the "Residents of Pembroke" in AO. RG 52.
Series I-a. Box 2. July 1862.

[81] See. for example. AO. RG 52. Series I-a. Box 12. Thomas Murray to Crown Lands
Department. 14 January 1870. in which Murray enclosed an editorial from the Ottawa Times in
support of Murray's request for more investment in the then-decaying colonization roads of the
Upper Ottawa Valley. Clippings can also be found in various files in AO. RG 52. Series I-a.
Boxes 2-9.

fact or. if required. reasoned opinion.[82] For the colonization roads project. the most important sources for this knowledge were the agents assigned to work 'on the ground.'

The reports from the local agents constituted the most thorough description and explanation of everyday life on the colonization roads. When encountering these reports. however. one should not lose sight of the fact that they were produced from moments of exchange between the agents and the settlers. In these reports. the evaluation. judgement. and opinion that accompanied 'the facts.' compel the researcher to consider these materials less as windows into the social history of the roads but rather as intensely *political* texts. as artifacts from the roads as governable spaces-in-the-making. Their political character is only heightened when one considers the very processes that produced them and the people (departmental secretaries and ministers) who read and considered them.

The road agents were required to file regular reports about the number of new settlers arriving on their roads as well as to mention how many of the free grants had been abandoned by disheartened settlers. In the late 1850s and early 1860s. this reporting was intensified as the agents were directed to generate an annual census of their roads. Bruce Curtis has pointed out that the "production of statistical knowledge acquired heightened importance as colonization and settlement schemes figured more heavily in colonial finance and as a new government statistics office promised to investigate an

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[82] Thus the appeal of statistics and. as Suzanne Zeller has shown. the logic of the inventory sciences in Victorian Canada. Zeller. *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of the Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1987). See also Theodore M. Porter. *Trust in Numbers: The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995); Mary Poovey. *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation. 1830-1864* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1995).

array of colonial conditions."[83] The road censuses and the practices that produced them. occurring in the years just before and after the federal census of 1861. need to be read within this larger context. Like the decennial census of 1861. the roads' censuses wrote socio-economic biographies of the heads of settler families: when they settled: what occupation they practised: where they were from: the size of their family with them: the amount of cleared land: the level of agricultural production (crops. livestock. and sundry items such as potash).

Aggregates were produced from all these figures to generate a 'big picture' for each road. but. equally important. individual settlers could also be tracked: was a settler clearing enough land each year? How much was he producing? How did this compare to his neighbours? What "type" of people were making the best progress? At the same time. the production of statistics enabled the state to map the progress of each of the roads in order to compare their successes and failures. In this regard. the statistics exposed the individual agents as well as the settlers to the evaluative gaze of administrators. politicians. and interested members of the general public.

Instructed to collect data on the settlers. both personal and agricultural. the agents were told to document how they carried out the enumeration in the form of a work diary. As the enumeration was done in November and December of each year. the diaries were careful to document the weather and how it hampered the collection of data. They also recorded how far the agent travelled on each day and what interaction he had with the settlers. The following extract from T.P. French is typical:

> 1862 Nov 21. Left home this day for my third inspection of the
> Opeongo Road. Some three inches of snow having fallen last

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[83] Curtis. *The Politics of Population.* 134.

night causes this travelling to be very difficult. It is almost
impossible to walk especially up & down the several hills. Met
several settlers along the road & spoke to them about the fence &
crops. Got to Foy's tavern at 5 very much fatigued owing to the
state of the road & the weight of my knapsack. Travelled 9
miles. Met Mr. Marshall at Foy's & explained to him conditions
upon which settlers are permitted to cut timber on their lots & to
dispose of it. Met a new Settler named Curry at Foy's & heard
from him that he & his brothers (3) had taken land on the town
line between Sebastopol & Brudenell about 3 miles north of the
[Opeongo] road. He reports some excellent land there & that he
has built a chantier & undertook some four acres. Will work
there during the winter.[84]

While the diaries were intended to track the travels of their agents, and thus act as a

means of disciplining and regulating the agent in the field, they also provided insight into

the particulars that defined each of the roads as a local place, as a landscape distinct from

the other roads. While the tables of statistical data allowed all of the roads to be

(re)presented as constitutive elements of a single core project, the work diaries introduced

elements of locality and place that numerical data could not. The diaries, however, were

of little interest to administrators for this quality, as officials were much more interested

in tracking how the enumeration process was being conducted. Given this, it is not

surprising that unlike statistics, which were published in aggregate form, the diaries

remained silent contributions to the colonization archive.

The diaries require our attention as political texts, however, because they reveal

much about the processes involved with constructing the census data: the use of oral

testimony from settlers about other settlers and about the landscape: the brutal working

conditions: and, perhaps most importantly, the high levels of guess-work and abstraction

involved with recording farmers' production levels. In 1863, for example, French's diary

entry for 21 December complained: "These Prussians deceived me in regards to their

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[84] AO, RG 1, A-1-7, vol. 14, env. 2. Ottawa and Opeongo, 1860-1866.

crops. The girl interpreting for me told me so."[85] French expanded on this diary entry in

his annual report for 1863: "Several persons on whose statements I can rely told me that

those people [the Prussian settlers] never before had as good crops as they have had this

past season and the daughter of one of them who acted as my interpreter told me they

were not replying truthfully to my questions...."[86] As this story reflects, establishing

how much a farmer actually harvested in a particular year was more complicated than

going into his barn or cellar and counting bushels: surplus would already have been

taken to markets in nearby towns or, more likely, sold to the lumber camps. The only

means to get this data was to ask the farmers. Barring the existence of an accounts book

(highly unlikely) it was up to the farmer's memory and disposition to establish just how

much had been produced.[87] These figures could be checked, and they were, with

neighbours. Still, the end result was a collection of data far more frail and susceptible to

contamination than the statistics they generated would have indicated.[88] Most

importantly, for all the questionable accuracy of the statistics generated through this

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[85] *Ibid.*

[86] AO, RG 1, A-1-7, vol. 14, env. 2, Ottawa and Opeongo, 1860-1866, 04 January 1864.

[87] Even then, the process seems to have been more complicated than counting bushels. In a letter to William Hutton, T.P. French wrote: "...I have endeavoured to obtain from the Free Grant settlers something like a correct statement of the crops raised by them this year...but without success. They almost invariably replied to me that they cannot give me anything like a correct idea of their crops until they have got them in their barns and tested the quality and yield." AO, RG 52, 1-A, Box 1-A, "Opeongo Road 1860-1866," French to Hutton, 01 October 1860.

[88] Consider, for example, that in 1859, settlers along the Opeongo Road were reported as producing 3722 bushels of wheat, 1660 of oats, 8826 of potatoes, and 2440 of turnips. With reference to an average price / bushel (never explained) these production levels were then used to establish the productivity of the settlers and the mean yield of each cleared acre. See *Journals of the Legislative Assembly (JLAC)*, 1858, Appendix 45, "Reports of the Minister of Agriculture and the Chief Emigrant Agents, for Canada, for the Year 1857."

process. they were nonetheless "trusted" and became the foundation upon which the local

field agent produced his annual report.[89]

The annual report was the most significant monument produced by the agent for it

provided him with an opportunity to offer what Clifford Geertz would call a "thick

description"[90] of the small worlds produced along the colonization roads.[91] Indeed. one

might go as far as to describe these reports as constituting the first social histories to be

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[89] Even with respect to the episode reported by French. he pointed out "that although the above figures show a fair paying return for the farmers' labour it would still be larger if not for the reluctance of the Prussian settlers to speak the truth as to their crops." AO. RG 1. A-1-7. vol. 14. env. 2. Ottawa and Opeongo. 1860-1866. 04 January 1864. I use the term "trusted" much as Theodore Porter has employed it in his *Trust in Numbers*. While I am not interested in declaring such data invalid for socio-historical research. I think researchers would be better served to work with the manuscripts rather than the published aggregates. For example. when the published reports spoke of "settlers" this often referred to the head-of-family who had taken a free grant. While some were single. unmarried men. most had families. Indeed. family reconstitution made it difficult for the agent to accurately determine how many people were living along the roads. Furthermore. without mapping settlement one does not do justice to the settlement patterns (kinship and ethno-religious chain migration in particular) that evolved along the roads. Reliance on the published aggregate data has been used. however. in Graeme Wynn. "Notes on Society and Environment in Old Ontario." *Journal of Social History*. 13 (1979). 56-57 and Parson. "The Colonization of the Southern Canadian Shield in Ontario." Neither Wynn nor Parson's general arguments are undone by their use of the published aggregates but in both cases they minimize somewhat a more complex history of settlement.

[90] See Geertz. "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." in his *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books. 1973). especially page 6. While he borrowed the term "thick description" from the philosopher Gilbert Ryle. Geertz makes it very much his own. The work of the academic ethnographer. as Geertz describes it. and the colonization road agent had a great deal in common.

[91] These reports can be studied in two forms: in some cases. but not all. the original manuscripts have been preserved in departmental records: more conveniently. the reports were also published as appendices to or extracts within the annual report of the Bureau of Agriculture and. later. the Crown Lands Department in the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*. In this more public form. however. the reports of the local agents were edited for 'superfluous' or 'unnecessary' information by the departmental secretaries who prepared the annual reports to Parliament. In at least one case. the Crown Lands Department admonished one of its agents. William Harris. who was charged with managing the sale of Crown Lands in the Upper Ottawa Valley. to restrain himself in his reports: "I take however. with reference to your report of the 29th ultimo that it is deemed quite unnecessary to indulge in the reflections and harsh expressions which you in this case use towards individuals. The Department would prefer a simple report of facts in as few words as will convey them." AO. RG 1. A-1-4. Commissioner's Letter Books. Vankoughnet to Harris. 30 November 1859.

written about life on the roads. Besides providing demographic and economic profiles of the settlers. the reports also sketched the contours of everyday life along the roads by making mention of various elements of community. T.P. French. for example. in the spring of 1858 was "happy to state that two Schools have been put into operation on the Free Grants. two Churches are being erected. a store has been opened in the very centre of the settlement and a Post Office will be established immediately on a point of the road 28 miles west of the village of Renfrew."[92] Similarly. in 1863 M.P. Hayes celebrated the existence of four schools. five post offices. and two saw and grist mills along the Hastings Road.[93] Making mention of these early indicators of community was important because it was meant to convey that the 'emptiness' of the Ottawa-Huron Tract was being 'filled' by civilization. It also provided the local agent with more evidence that he was performing his duties successfully.

Still. it was the produced statistics which provided the interpretive foundation from which the agents wrote these 'histories.' The data displayed who and how many the settlers were. from where they came. and what they produced. The agents then described the experiences that lay behind these numbers. In his annual report for 1859. T.P. French. with reference to a table of data that showed the demography of the road by nationality. celebrated the ethnic diversity that was then appearing on the Opeongo Road. "The foregoing classification entails a most gratifying blend of men of various

[92] AO. RG 1. A-1-7. vol. 14. env. 1. Ottawa and Opeongo. 1853-1859. French to Russell. 08 March 1858.

[93] JLAC. 1864. Sessional Paper 5. app. 29. Also cited in Helen E. Parson. "The Colonization of the Southern Canadian Shield in Ontario: The Hastings Road." Ontario History. 79 (1987). 270.

nationalities upon Canadian soil." he wrote. "and the presence of Poles and Germans

form a new and pleasing feature on the progress of the Settlement." He continued:

> In the Summer of 1858 these people were attracted to Canada by
> the report of Free Grants and they came direct to Renfrew.
> When they arrived here however they found that they had much
> to learn before they could venture with but little means upon
> uncleared lands and consequently they and their children hired
> out as Servants wherever they could find employers. By this
> means they have succeeded in acquiring a partial knowledge of
> the English language – also the experience necessary to enable
> them to use the axe with some effect and to become permanent
> and prosperous settlers themselves.[94]

This narrative of emigration and settlement would be pleasing to central administrators

because it reflected the state's own conviction that newly arriving immigrants. especially

those lacking the necessary funds to hire experienced bushmen. would be best served by

hiring themselves out as labour and gaining the necessary experience to become a

successful settler of wilderness lands. This was a 'fact' that they seem to have learned

from the experience gleaned from earlier reports from the agents.[95] Little wonder. then.

that the story of German and Polish immigration and settlement as told by French above

should also appear in the annual report of the Crown Lands Department.[96]

The annual reports of the local field agents were provided with the means and

authority to speak for the experiences of the people and places that were under their

charge. At the same time. however. the settlers themselves were not provided with a

voice in representing their own histories within the context of these 'official' documents.

The question of voice and authority is a crucial one because the annual report allowed the

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[94] AO. RG 1. A-1-7. vol. 14. env. 2. "Ottawa and Opeongo. 1860-1866." Annual Report of French. 07 January 1860.

[95] See. for example. the comments of William Hutton in *JLAC*. 1858. Appendix 45. "Reports of the Minister of Agriculture and the Chief Emigrant Agents. for Canada. for the Year 1857."

local agent (and the department) to celebrate and emphasize statistics that appeared to denote progress and also to explain away statistics that seemed to reflect a slowing down or even regression in the rate of colonization. In some cases, the harsh weather of the Ottawa-Huron Tract was singled out for blame but other times it was on the settlers and their conduct on whom responsibility was placed. T.P. French, for example, sought to minimize the significance of some deserted free grants that occurred in the winter of 1857-1858 by saying that he "did not regret [this] as the persons referred to are evidently deficient in those qualities which invariably characterize the courageous and persevering pioneers of the forest, and consequently their presence in a new Settlement such as this, would be no advantage whatsoever."[97] In either case, the colonization agent and the department had to be careful to ensure that their own culpability was clearly defined. Bureaucratic well-being depended on being favoured by political masters.

The final emergence of the reports, as appendices to the annual departmental reports of the Crown Lands and Bureau of Agriculture, was also significant to their political history. Assembling and presenting the individual reports into one whole was essential to making the colonization roads appear as a coherent, managed, and controlled project. As well, when accompanied by a list of figures charting the expenditures made on the roads, the roads project could also be demonstrated to be fiscally responsible. This was, as Michael Piva has shown, a situation of particular significance to the Canadian

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[96] *JLAC*, 1860, Sessional Paper 12, 64.

[97] AO, RG 1, A-1-7, vol. 14, env. 1, "Ottawa and Opeongo, 1853-1859, report of French, 08 March 1858.

state in the 1850s and 1860s as an unsettled economy and questionable financial management seemed to precipitate crisis after crisis for the Province.[98]

Even though it was the settlers who were being observed, evaluated, and judged, their voice rarely appeared in published state materials such as the annual departmental reports in the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*. This does not mean, however, that settlers did not have a voice. While settlers could express political protest at the electoral box, at rallies, through newspapers, or during those moments of exchange with state agents, their voice made its appearance in the colonization archive most often in the form of petitions. While petitioning was an important and widely practised element of democratic state formation in Canada, as in Britain, it is of particular interest to us for two reasons.[99] First, petitions reflect (within limits discussed below) how the settlers perceived "their" roads as governable spaces-in-the-making. Were their dreams, hopes, and expectations being met? And if not, what did they want bettered? The second reason petitions concern us here is that they expose how settlers were (and were not) able to exert influence on the roads' governance. Indeed, how these petitions were read by state officials and agents provides us with another opportunity to see bureaucracy at-work.

The petitions must be considered with some care, however. Even though they represented the voice of settlers, they were given their specific form by the literate. In some cases, this reflected a very narrow base of the local population, usually from the merchant class or the local political élite. Other times, though, petitions were received that bore a mark (an "X") with the name of the petitioner written beside it. In these

[98] Piva, *The Borrowing Process: Public Finance in the Province of Canada, 1840-1867* (Ottawa, 1992).

instances the petitions seemed to cut across class lines and reflected concerns that belonged to a larger politics of place.[100]

While they may have acted as moments of community. it is equally true that such petitions. when appealing for new road construction. were often dismissed because of their inherently 'local' nature. Indeed. the more a petition was rooted in place. the less likely it was to receive a sympathetic reading by state officials. An example of one of the many unsuccessful petitions included an 1859 petition from the residents of Wilberforce township. Featuring signatures of the literate and marks from the less literate. the petition asked for a road to connect them with Pembroke as "there [was] no market for the new and poor Settler to dispose of their produce" and that Pembroke represented "the only market that can be depended upon for the sale of two thirds of the produce raised in this Country and where a ready sale can at all times be affected. and reasonable prices obtained."[101] The petition failed in no small part because it was a request for investment from a project that was explicitly national and not local in focus. A.J. Russell was adamant in his correspondence with William Hutton that such petitions should never have been accepted because while it was "very natural that the inhabitants of old and new settlements alike should wish" for the monies. the colonization funds were intended for

[99] See Carol Wilton. *Popular Politics and Political Culture in Upper Canada. 1800-1850* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2000).

[100] J.I. Little makes extensive use of petitions in his study of state formation in the Eastern Townships. While his use of these writings is rigorous. he is quite interested in their contents as he is pursuing a different set of questions than we are here. See his discussion of the materiality of the petitions as political texts in *State and Society in Transition: The Politics of Institutional Reform in the Eastern Townships. 1838-1852* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1997). 14-15.

[101] AO. RG 52. Series V-b. Box 1. vol. 2. 12 April 1859.

"roads to open up or head into vacant public lands not already accessible."[102] By

contrast. Russell was in much favour of a petition that requested the Opeongo Road be

extended eastwards from Renfrew to the Ottawa River. thus making it an ideal conduit

for the movement of immigrants in-land to the central and western regions of the Ottawa-

Huron Tract. As Russell explained: "The Opeongo Road does not owe its importance to

the scope for settlement which it may offer immediately upon but to the magnitude of the

settling region it leads to beyond the country it passes through. In this respect the making

of it into a good cart road is of more importance than that of any other road I know of."[103]

In other words. colonization road funds were for extensive rather than intensive

development. The road project's monies were to be spent on initiatives that would better

the entire province and not a small sub-region of the Ottawa-Huron Tract.

The belief that regional growth and development in the Ottawa-Huron Tract was

the responsibility of local governments was a relatively new but significantly different

approach to Canadian governance. As discussed in Chapter 2. Francis Hincks' 1848

memorandum castigated 'local improvements' as vestiges of an older and more corrupt

program of nation building and state formation. With the support of both the Canadian

colonial government and the British imperial authorities. Hincks then confirmed the

differences between the national and the local in legislation such as the 1852 Municipal

Funds Act.[104] More than a mere division of responsibility. such policies removed local

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[102] AO. RG 1. F-I-8. vol. 28. Russell to Hutton. 17 February 1858. See also Russell's discussion of the issues in AO. RG 52. Series V-b. Box 1. vol. 2. Russell to Hutton. 16 February 1858. In both cases. Russell was especially concerned to see that colonization funds remain focussed on expansion in the Ottawa-Huron Tract and not diverted to Old Ontario.

[103] AO. RG 1. F-I-8. vol. 28. Russell to Hutton. 13 March 1856. (emphasis in original)

[104] See J.H. Aitchinson. "The Municipal Corporations Act of 1849." *Canadian Historical Review*. 30 (1949). 107-122 and the essays of G.P. de T. Glazebrook and C.F.J. Whebell in F.H.

challenges and problems as objects of national concern. The gaze of state builders was decidedly outward.

This political context had ramifications for the Ottawa-Huron Tract's primary 'local' interest. the lumbermen. who fared poorly when petitioning the state for new roads. As one official noted. the Commissioner of Crown Lands "declined repeatedly complying with the suggestions of applicants on the grounds that further expenditure upon the road would not be warranted in the interest of farm settlers and that other sections legitimately demanded the outlay of the Col. Roads funds."[105] For J.W. Bridgland. by then the chief administrator of the roads project. "legitimately" clearly meant being "in the interest of agricultural settlement" and not "the Lumberers."[106] Like Russell ten years before him. Bridgland was adamant that the roads project be used for extending the boundaries of Canada by introducing a permanent settlement of farmers and capitalists who would build towns. mills. and shops. and assume political responsibility for other forms of local infrastructure. Both Russell and Bridgland saw the colonization roads project as providing tremendous benefit for lumbermen by offering them enhanced connectedness to rivers. local farmers. and the markets in local towns. But the lumbermen were. like the farmers. part of the local landscape and their needs and wants were of a local concern.[107] This process of deciding what was in the 'local' or

Armstrong. ed.. *Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Essays Presented to James T. Talman* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1974).

[105] AO. RG 52. Series I-a. Box P. Memorandum of J.W. Bridgland. 19 February 1868.

[106] Ibid.

[107] These petitions support H.V. Nelles' contention that the lumbermen were becoming tenants of the landlord state. Nelles. *The Politics of Development: Forests. Mines & Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario. 1849-1941* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada. 1974). 14.

ˈnationalˈ interest relied on expert opinion by state agents who belonged to the roadsˈ

bureaucratic field rather than a simple ministerial directive.

A similar process of evaluation occurred for petitions that complained about

maltreatment or neglect by local agents. When such petitions were deemed to have some

prima facie merit. William Hutton or Andrew Russell would then have the complaints

investigated. Such investigating. however. never left the parameters of the administrative

network. Thus. when complaints were issued about T.P. Frenchˈs management of settlers

along the Opeongo Road. it was A.J. Russell who was asked to investigate the claim.[108]

When roadwork done under A.J. Russellˈs name was dissatisfying to residents. it was

David Gibson who was sent to judge if the road had been constructed properly.[109] Such a

system of investigation allowed the bureaucratic field to police itself. Not surprisingly.

the impact of such a system could be quite pronounced on petitioners.

Petitions of complaint that were given much attention often saw the petitioners

come under personal attack. In some cases. the reaction would come from the agent

accused of misdeeds. When T.P. French had complaints levelled against him. he attacked

the motives of the complainants claiming they were ˈˈa Scotchman & an Orangemanˈˈ

who were angry to be subject to an agent who was ˈˈa d___d Papist and a foreigner.ˈˈ[110]

He then told Hutton that these same men had complained of other agents working in the

area and were thus not to be trusted. Similarly. when David Gibson was sent to

investigate roadwork done by A.J. Russell his report claimed that it was the petitioning

settlers who. by dragging logs and trees lengthwise across the road had caused it to

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[108] AO. RG 1. A-I-4. Andrew Russell to A.J. Russell. 22 April 1858.

[109] AO. RG 1. A-I-4. Russell to Gibson. 11 November 1858.

[110] AO. RG 52. Series V-b. Box 1. vol. 1. French to Hutton. 03 September 1856.

crown. were the real culprits. In fact. Gibson wrote. he took "much pleasure in bearing

testimony to the skill. prudence. and economy shown by Mr. Russell in [the road's]

construction."[111] On the basis of this report. T.P. French was thus directed to tell the

petitioners that not only were their complaints dismissed but that they would be expelled

from their lots if they did not repair the road themselves immediately.[112]

While these petitioners suffered from a highly subjective adjudication of their

complaints. and in neither case in their favour. their petitions were unique in as much as

they even elicited a response from state officials. The absurdity of the state's approach to

resolving settler-agent disputes was not lost on one of its participants. J.W. Bridgland:

> Such complaints [by settlers] are of course referred to the
> responsible officer in charge and are generally as might be
> rationally expected. explained as the grumbling of some
> unreasonable settler whose ideas of Government Colonization
> roads were entirely too elevated and who had magnified ordinary
> bush road obstructions into insufferable nuisances. The
> Department usually concludes that the people are so exorbitant
> in their demands that instead of being grateful for what they have
> got they have become pampered by indulgence. and pigeonhole
> their complaints with dignified silence.[113]

Bridgland here touches upon the essential element of these petitions as political texts:

silence. Repeatedly. petitioners were marginalized by the bureaucratic practices

associated with the colonization roads project. As we saw. the English-Protestant A.J.

Russell attacked one group as scheming. regressive Irish Catholics intent on undoing the

colonization project while the Irish-Catholic T.P. French blamed another group as anti-

Catholic and parochial whose motives were selfish and antithetical to progress. In both

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[111] Excerpts from Gibson's report appear in AO. RG 1. A-I-4. Russell to French. 10 December 1858.

[112] Ibid.. Russell to French. 30 December 1858.

[113] AO. RG 52. Series I-a. Box P. Memorandum of J.W. Bridgland. 19 February 1868.

cases. the responding agent attempted to undermine the truth-value of the petition by attacking the character of the petitioners. A more-subtle marginalization of petitions. and petitioners. occurred when they were charged with acting in the 'local interest'. While there is no way for us to establish if the petitions had merit and were unfairly dismissed from the materials in the colonization archive. we can observe how their truth-value was assessed.

Bureaucracy, Intersections, and Exchanges

This chapter began with three fundamental questions and it seems only appropriate that we now provide some clear answers to them. *How were the roads governed?* The roads and the free grant settlers along them were subjected to regular inspection. evaluation. and judgement by a network of agents and offices. Of primary importance was the role of local agents. Through them state. society. and landscape intersected and moments of exchange occurred. As well. it was these agents who were essential in making visible the small worlds of the roads to state officials and policy makers in the centres of political power. At the same time. when travelling the roads or leading roadwork teams. the agents exposed the Canadian state-in-formation to settlers. More than some abstract idea. 'the state' for settlers was embodied in both the bodies and offices occupied by these agents. Indeed. even when they petitioned for change. settler requests had to go through these agents. or their elected members of parliament (perhaps the most obvious symbol of government). in order to have their voices heard. Though some of these local agents and elected officials were empathetic and even sympathetic.

they lacked the final authority to solve the settlers' problems. That power lay in the centre. at a great distance from everyday life in the local peripheries.

How was this governance reported? The production of statistics. reports. correspondence. work diaries. paylists. and petitions were by-products (or 'artifacts') of the Canadian state-in-formation as it manifested through the roads project. These texts reflected the production of a governable space: as we studied these texts-in-the-making we were also confronting governable spaces-in-the-making. Significant in all this were the different ways in which the these spaces were represented. The specificity and complexity of everyday life on the roads was of little interest to central state officials except as it deviated from the series of 'norms' and expectations they had for colonization. Local knowledges provided by agents in their reports were only made public in a selective manner: the majority of it remained unpublished in correspondence and work diaries. Local knowledges provided by petitioners was also treated with little regard except when these knowledges were deemed to have value in the 'national interest.'[114]

What were the implications of these practices? Our study of the roads as governable spaces-in-the-making suggests that the Canadian state-in-formation worked much like other mid- and late-Victorian colonizing states. From their own experience as researchers and a remarkably thorough interdisciplinary reading of other studies of colonialism. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler have warned their fellow

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[114] As Bruce Curtis has suggested. during the middle years of the 1850s in the Province of Canada. "the 'local knowledge' of the notable gave way to the social science of the bureaucrat." See his "Administrative Infrastructure and Social Enquiry: Finding the Facts About Agriculture in Quebec. 1853-5." *Journal of Social History*. 32 (1998). 325. Our analysis here supports such an observation although we have placed more emphasis on the bureaucratic processes through which 'local knowledge' was filtered. translated. and silenced.

anthropologists. "the colonial archives on which we are so dependent are themselves cultural artifacts. built on institutional structures that erased certain kinds of knowledge. secreted some. and valorized others."[115] Here we have sought to understand what these institutional structures were. why and how they erased certain kinds of knowledge. and privileged some forms of knowledge over others. In other words. we have made the 'problem' of the Canadian state-in-formation. and thus the 'problem' of the archive-in-formation. the focus of our analysis.

In doing so. our research reveals that a combination of classical liberalism and expansionist nationalism. working through a defined bureaucratic field. made little allowance for localities or for the needs of individual settlers. Indeed. as the colonization roads became governable spaces-in-the-making they also had their locality. their identities as places. degraded and marginalized. In other words. the small worlds created by the colonization roads were simplified and abstracted in order to be 'understood' and governed. While very much a political and cultural process. this had a very real and powerful impact on these small worlds. Indeed. even as some local agents displayed much empathy and often sympathy for the struggles of settlers. these agents were unable to meet the settlers' needs. They were. however. required and able to satisfy the needs of their political masters. As a result. while bureaucratic power became firmly entrenched in the centre. its impact was felt in the most remote places in the peripheries.

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[115] Cooper and Stoler. "Between Metropole and Colony." 17.

Map 7.1: The Opeongo Road in the Upper Ottawa Valley, 1861

Source: "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands," *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada.* Sessional Paper 15
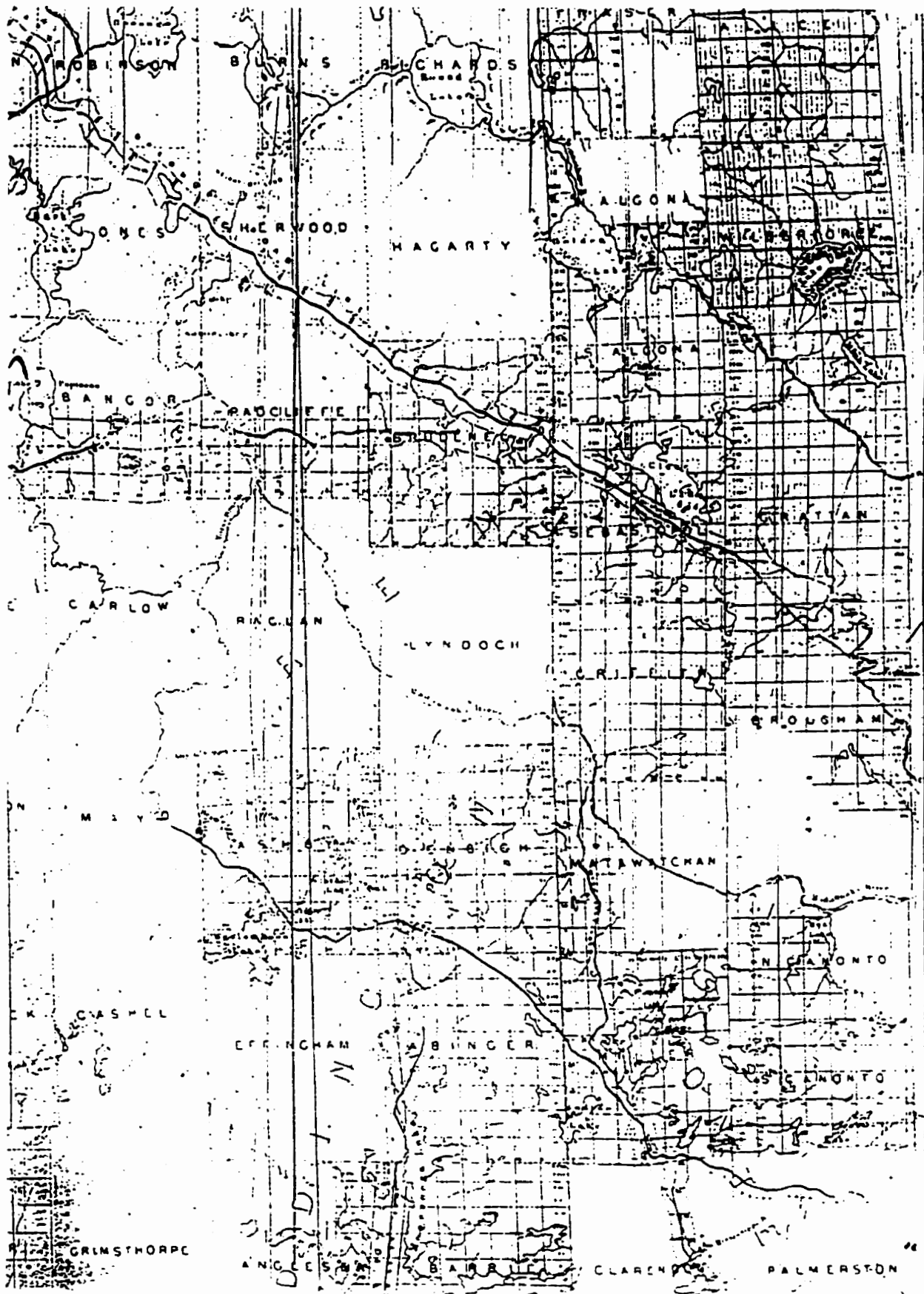
Conclusion

Landscapes of Longing:
Colonization and the Problem of State Formation

By the time of Confederation in 1867. the Canadian ˙gardener˙ state-in-formation demonstrated a pronounced desire and willingness to intervene. to educate. and to regulate. all in an effort to ˙civilize˙ the people and places subject to its rule. Between 1848 and 1867 in particular. the institutions of the Canadian state assumed an identity that would dominate projects of state and nation building for the next half century. These pioneering state institutions and their power-knowledge practices. while imperfect and prone to mistakes. were nonetheless the mechanisms from which the modern. liberal Canadian state was and would continue to be formed.

Within the colonization project studied here. the state was constantly striving to ensure that the people and places of the Ottawa-Huron Tract were utilizing all of Canada's ˙natural˙ advantages. This was not only a short-term goal. The gardener state was looking to effect permanent change by constructing the necessary conditions – via educative and punitive practices – in which people and places would continue to reproduce the ˙correct˙ habits. practices. and beliefs that would encourage ˙progressive˙ growth and development. The irony and. for many of the free grant settlers. the tragedy of all this. was that such activism by the gardener state was infused with a moral and ethical sensibility. a governmentality. that was classically liberal. Indeed. at least within the context of the colonization project studied here. the Canadian gardener state intervened to make the individual ultimately responsible to ˙the nation˙ and. simultaneously. for his or hers˙ own fate.

To cultivate this liberal change, the gardener state needed to establish a sense of order and normalcy to both 'territory' and 'population' through its impressive knowledge-making capacities. These practices hardly rendered the state "blind to the reality of the land" as much as it offered a thoroughly different vision of what the land and its settlers 'really' looked like. Important questions ask why and how these alternate visions were produced and invested with so much political authority. When we ask these kinds of questions, we are able to begin the deconstruction of 'the state' and increase our critical understanding of the means through which it has historically worked towards its political ends.

As we saw in this thesis, the power-knowledge practices of the gardener state consistently simplified and abstracted the geographical and social complexity of the small worlds of the Ottawa-Huron Tract. Such processes were necessary to allow administrators to 'see' and 'know' the region and the progress of colonization. But there was also a double movement that could be observed in this knowledge-making process. In one way, the deployment of local agents and experts, and their resulting practices of inspection and evaluation, brought 'the state' and its governance into 'the region'. In another way, however, the consumption and use of this knowledge by officials actually intensified the cultural separation of 'the region' from 'the state'. This double movement is what Timothy Mitchell rightly calls "the state effect."[1]

The state effect in this instance denigrated 'the local' by insisting that the specifics and uniqueness of places and people in the Ottawa-Huron Tract be 'fitted' into

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[1] Timothy Mitchell, "Society, Economy, and the State Effect," in George Steinmetz, ed., *State / Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 76-97.

larger geopolitical and sociopolitical categories. Furthermore. the state also denigrated 'the local' through its marginalization of locally based voices and locally produced knowledge. In claiming to speak for the Ottawa-Huron Tract. for both its geography and its peoples. the state instituted a number of policies and practices that would resonate in the ultimate fate of the region but over which the region had little or no control. At the same time. the people and places were held responsible for their own fates because. as the state claimed repeatedly. all of the necessary 'conditions' for successful. permanent settlement had already been provided: arable land had been identified and parceled into property: the region's *système agro-forestier* and roadwork teams provided waged labour: roads facilitated communication and movement: local institutions. including municipal government. had been provided: information and direction for immigrants and would-be settlers were readily available from state agents: and individuals could rely upon the 'bonds of community and kinship' for assistance if necessary. No wonder the state believed that settlers who struggled. who requested aid. and who otherwise demonstrated an inability to transform their individual lots into thriving farms deviated from the 'norm' and were mentally. physically. or morally corrupted.

This is not to deny the resistance of individuals. such as the squatter John Beckett of Chapter Seven or even the Limerick Girls of Chapter Six. who openly defied the state and its rules. It is. however. to suggest that. in their resistance. these individuals became politically and legally excluded from the imagined national community. confined to the margins of 'the social body' until such time as they could demonstrate a willingness to conform to the standards normalized by the state's rules of property and conduct. rules

that were defined and enforced through the power-knowledge practices of observation. inspection. and judgement.

This history can be read from the evidential 'traces' that remain of this process – correspondence. reports. statistics. maps, petitions. All of these texts were produced. used. and then preserved within the domain of the state's colonization archive. Of course. it is possible to read other histories from this archival material. A social historian. for example. could very well reconstruct the small worlds of family and community represented in these materials and by linking to other archival material. especially the federal censuses of 1851. 1861. and 1871. could offer a longitudinal study about the fate of those who actually did the work of colonization. For their part. environmental historians could well examine patterns of consumption that occurred within the Ottawa-Huron Tract and demonstrate how clearance and burning and other activities of settlement permanently altered the forests. waters. soils. rocks. and wildlife of the region. By contrast. however. this thesis has suggested that there is also a political history that can be read into these materials. one that provides some valuable insight into the ways in which the mid-Victorian state sought to rule and how this state-in-formation articulated a Canadian governmentality.

In doing so. this thesis is in many ways a study of political desire. of fantasy. of a world thoroughly imagined and longed for but never realized. It is about a great failure. about an episode in Canada's past that has sat quietly on the margins of our national historical consciousness. Indeed. this history does not belong to traditional narratives of expansion or nation-building except as a footnote. or as a sign that. by the time of Confederation. the agrarian and pastoral landscapes of Canada West had reached their

'limit' at the Canadian Shield. And yet this is also a thoroughly 'Canadian' story: it deals with the introduction and normalization of a liberal order by a Canadian state-in-formation. a civilizing process that was both sociopolitical and geopolitical. an ordering of both people (as 'population') and landscape (as 'territory').[2]

Perhaps the most significant contribution the research here makes to our historical understanding of mid-Victorian Canada is the myriad of ways that a state-in-formation and a liberal governmentality embedded population and territory into one another. In Chapter 3. for example. we examined how the landscape was 'seen' less as 'nature' but more as 'natural resources'. as commodities to be possessed and developed by the 'normal' workings of political economy (the *système agro-forestier*). This was most pronounced with the writing of the official geography and the survey of the 'waste lands' of the region into bounded units of property and townships. Yet the same process was at work in the much-discussed but never-built Ottawa-Georgian Bay Canal. The Ottawa River was represented in the archive not only as a historic and majestic site but also a means of moving goods and people within the dynamics of a North Atlantic economy. especially among the key metropoles of Chicago. Montreal. and London. In fact. no conception of the Ottawa-Huron Tract as an 'imagined geography' was done outside the parameters of its cultivation and consumption by society.[3]

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[2] Ian McKay. "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History." *Canadian Historical Review*. 81 (2000). 617-645: Tina Loo. *Making Law. Order. and Authority in British Columbia. 1821-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1994): Bruce Curtis. *The Politics of Population: State Formation. Statistics. and the Census of the Canadas. 1840-1875* (Univ. of Toronto Press. 2001): Patrick Joyce. "The Politics of the Liberal Archive." *History of the Human Sciences*. 12 (1999). 35-49.

[3] On the importance of this issue. both as a historical process and as a condition of our present-day environmentalism. see the essays in William Cronon. ed.. *Uncommon Ground: Towards Reinventing Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton. 1995).

A comparable set of conclusions was drawn in those areas of the thesis which focussed on the state's governance of population. The 'worthiness' of the free grant settlers we studied in Chapter 7 and that of the immigrants we studied in Chapter 6, was consistently defined by the perceived willingness and fitness of immigrants and settlers to generate value from the land through their labour. A nearly identical sensibility could be observed in the emigrant guides we studied in Chapter 5, where much of the education of settlers was based on their relationship to the transformation of the 'wild' and forested frontier into a pastoral landscape. In all these instances, 'the social' was consistently observed and evaluated within a framework of concerns for the 'problems' of geography.

Such conclusions suggest that the processes of state formation and governmentality, at least with respect to mid-Victorian Canada, should be conceptualized to include historical geographies, as processes that worked though both time and space. Thus, the geopolitical dimensions of state formation, especially the construction of territorial and proprietorial boundaries, need to be reconceptualized as exercises in political power with ramifications for both the landscape and the 'form' of 'the nation' as well as the society compelled to lives with(in) this delimitation. In short, Canada's expansionism must be read as exercises in colonialism and not a 'natural' evolution of the nation-state.[4] For the sociopolitical dimensions of state formation, the conclusions of this

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[4] In this respect, historians would be well served to think of Canada's geographical 'development' within the international quest for empire, a key feature of modernity. I have in mind studies such as R. Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997); Daniel Clayton, *Islands of Truth: The Imperial Refashioning of Vancouver Island* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000); John Lutz, '"Relating to the Country': The Lekwammen and the Extension of European Settlement, 1843-1911," in R.W. Sandwell, ed., *Beyond the City Limits: Rural History in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999); Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government*

thesis suggest that historians need to think more seriously about the significance of the state's production of governable spaces. The study of institutional architecture (such as hospitals. prisons. schools. factories) is one means to this end. however there is still too little known about the state's organization of rural and urban spaces. both 'public' and 'private'. which might expose some of the strategies and practices utilized by the state to construct a normalized. liberal social order.[5] Still. these studies must study the production of these spaces and resist the temptation simply to read their final products as unproblematic wholes with a metaphysical 'essence' or 'meaning'. How these spaces were made. and why they were made. is as important as the question of what was made.

Perhaps the second most important contribution of this thesis is that it may be read as an answer to 'the problem' of state formation for historical thought and analysis. The power-knowledge practices utilized by the state were fraught with challenges and problems connected with the production of their texts. The physical making of things such as the land survey and the census required a wide range of decisions to be made by the state agent 'in the field' as well as the state official in the central office. All of this

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(Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994); Peter Sahlins. *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1989); Mark Bassin. *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East. 1840-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1999); Ann Godlewaska and Neil Smith. eds. *Geography and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell. 1994); Matthew H. Edney. *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India. 1765-1843* (University of Chicago Press. 1997).

[5] There is certainly no one single approach to this problem. Consider. for example. the analyses offered in such diverse studies as James C. Scott. "Taming Nature: An Agriculture of Legibility and Simplicity." in his *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1998). 262-306; Matthew Johnson. *An Archaeology of Capitalism* (Oxford: Blackwell. 1996); Rhys Isaac. *The Transformation of Virginia. 1760-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1982); and several essays in David Arnold and Ramachandra Guha. eds.. *Nature. Culture. and Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 1995).

decision-making. which is only hinted at in the colonization archive and is most often

found in private correspondence between the agents and their bureaucratic masters. stood

in opposition to the positivistic nature of the final. published representations that

appeared. Despite all of these problems. these final representations were and are so

important because they defined ˙the facts˙ from which policies were drawn and

judgments made.[6] These representations were represented as the only means to ˙see˙ the

Ottawa-Huron Tract as a geographic and social whole.

Is it. however. appropriate for historians simply to see these representations as

˙facts˙? Can a historian simply look beyond the rhetorical surface of these

representations and find the ˙true˙ history trapped somewhere beneath? Or. perhaps.

should historians be more interested in the very ˙ordinariness˙ of such representations?

What about the possibility that in texts like the census. the survey. or the parliamentary

inquiry. one can observe the state's desire to become. in the words of Cohn and Dirks.

˙˙the natural embodiment of history. territory and society˙˙ and thus ˙the nation˙?[7] For the

historian of state formation and. as we argued in Chapter 4. for any historian concerned

with the politics of settlement. the answer to these questions requires us to consider how

these pieces of evidence – parliamentary inquiries. maps. statistics – were produced. how

they were involved with the very history that they sought / seek to represent. To do

otherwise is to allow these texts to speak for history. to frame our historical imaginations.

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[6] On the larger implications of ˙imperfect˙ fact-making see Mary Poovey. *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1998).

[7] Bernard Cohn and Nicholas Dirks. ˙˙Beyond the Fringe: The Nation State. Colonialism. and the Technologies of Power.˙˙ *Journal of Historical Sociology*. 1 (1988). 224.

and to frame the scope of our analyses.[8] The danger in all this is that historians may adopt the same simplified and abstracted strategies, tactics, and language that the state used. In doing so, historians may inadvertently contribute to the reproduction and normalization of the liberal order that the state-in-formation sought / seeks to construct.

For those who look to the past to inform our understanding of the present, such a methodological issue can also become a profound ethical challenge. Indeed, within Canada, as elsewhere, the liberal state has been tremendously successful in its ability to make its presence in our everyday lives and our collective unconsciousness appear normal, routine, and thoroughly unremarkable. In doing so, the nature of political power has become as much about quantitative questions of political economy as about qualitative questions of human rights, the dignity of the citizen, and our collective 'national' memory. Understanding how the state has done so, through both time and space, is a conceptual and methodological challenge for all historians.

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[8] See the complementary but also quite distinct discussion of these issues in Robert Berkhofer, Jr., *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Dominick LaCapra, *History and Reading: Tocqueville, Foucault, French Studies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); Clayton, *Islands of Truth*.

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