

113. Locke, *Toleration*, p. 12.

114. See, for instance, Marcuse, “Repressive Tolerance.”

115. Locke, *Toleration*, p. 39.

116. Christian sects, both from primitive times and of the seventeenth century, were frequently accused of “lustfully pollut[ing] themselves in promiscuous uncleanness,” as Locke remarks. Locke says the accusation about the primitive Christians was false (*Toleration*, p. 39), though modern historians might disagree, claiming, for example, that the Corinthian sect’s incestuous deeds were “ideological act[s] done openly with the approval of at least an influential sector of the community” (Collins, “Excommunication,” p. 253). There were similar incestuous heretics in seventeenth century England. Abiezer Coppe, a member of the Ranter sect, argued that through the intermediation of Jesus sin was “made to disappear”; promoting “sexual license,” he praised the Pauline state beyond “good” and “evil,” or chastity and incest (Carey, Foreword, in Nigel Smith, ed., *Collection of Ranter Writings*, p. 7, and Cohn, “The Cult of the Free Spirit,” p. 68).

117. Locke, *Toleration*, p. 13.

118. In 1689, William and Mary were crowned as joint sovereigns in England; one of the new sovereigns’ first bills was the “Act of Toleration,” which granted freedom of worship, on certain conditions, to Dissenting Protestants. See James Tyrrell’s letter to Locke of May 6, 1687, in which Tyrrell says that “your Discourse about Liberty of Conscience would not do amiss now to dispose people’s minds to pass it when the Parliament sits” (cited in Laslett, *Introd.*, p. 67, from Locke, *Two Treatises*).

119. It is important to ask ourselves whether the cruelty of the relatively tolerant American colonists toward the black slaves within their own borders—and of the relatively tolerant Dutch toward the indigenous peoples of Africa and the Malay Archipelago—was based on greed, as Locke might have liked to believe, or on a racialism that follows from a potentially intolerant universalist creed conflating family and species (“only my brothers—my generation, or *race*—are men worthy of humane treatment”), or on both. In this context, we might consider specifically Christian arguments for apartheid (“apartness”) and Muslim arguments for slavery in Africa (cf. Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East*).

### Chapter 3

1. Darwin, *Descent of Man*, pt. 1, chap. 2, p. 59.

2. See Wright, “Quest,” p. 64; and Ross, “Hard Words”; cf. Gen. 4:20: “The man called his wife’s name Eve, because she was mother of all living things.”

3. Acts 17:26; cf. John 3:16.

4. See Shevoroshkin, “Mother Tongue.”

5. For the early history of the idea of “Adamic” language, see D. Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, esp. chap. 2.

6. Cited in Wright, “Quest,” p. 48. On the racialist quality of German romantic linguistics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Bernal, *Black Athena*, pp. 224–72.

7. The Québec government’s Parent Act of 1964 introduced a few supposedly non-confessional schools—there had been none earlier—and various governments since then have tried to secularize the entire school system.

8. In the early 1960s Montréal’s publicly supported primary schools were run either by the Protestant or the Catholic school board. Jews counted as Protestants and paid taxes to the Protestant school board. In previous decades some members of the Jewish community, including the Bundists, had favored the assimilationist tendencies of this arrangement.

9. On the issue of the routing of Montréal’s “ethnic minorities” into French language schools in the wake of Bill 101 (1977), see *Vivre la diversité en français*. For an analysis of

“immigrant anglicization” and the Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal in the 1980s (as seen from the viewpoint of the Italian community), see Taddeo and Taras, *Le débat linguistique*. On Montréal’s efforts concerning the trilingual education of “Néo-Canadiens,” see Behiels, “The Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal.”

10. See Vallières, *Nègres blanc d’Amérique*; Mezei, “Speaking White”; and Lalonde, “Speak White.”

11. For the term, see Etiemble’s study of the Anglo-Saxon influences on the French language of France, *Parlez-vous français?*

12. The language of public signs was already a specific legal issue in Québec in 1910 when the Lavergne law required the use of French in limited commercial circumstances. Articles condemning the CNR are collected in Bouthillier and Meynaud, eds., *Le Choc des langues*. Rumilly, *Histoire de Montréal*, 5:177–78, discusses the Ligue’s petition. Marc Levine’s “Language Policy” is a good source for these and other references.

13. Laporte, “Queen Elizabeth?,” p. 74; my translation.

14. Léger, writing in *Le Devoir* (1959), cited in Levine, “Language Policy,” p. 4. Cf. Léger, *Francophonie*.

15. Eventually the Consumer Protection Act (1971) and the Companies Act (1973) were passed.

16. Levine, “Language Policy,” pp. 6–7.

17. Bouthillier and Meynaud, *Le Choc des langues*, p. 32.

18. This phrase is Camille Laurin’s. For an overview of Bill 101, see Plourde, *Politique linguistique du Québec*. Bill 101’s provisions 58 and 69 concern the language of signs.

19. Levine, “Language Policy,” p. 2.

20. Gouvernement du Québec 35; Laurin et al., *Politique québécoise de la langue française*, Gouvernement du Québec 21.

21. Levine, “Language Policy,” p. 2.

22. For the view that Bill 101 meant a French *reconquête* to follow the English conquest of the eighteenth century, see Miron, “Chus Tanné,” pp. 178–79.

23. For one use of this racialist term, see Lochner, “La minorisation des anglophones au Québec,” p. 522.

24. For this term, see “Les autochtones et nous: vivre ensemble.”

25. Colonel John Winslow, at that time commander of the English colonial militia, wrote in his *Journal* that “we are now hatching the noble and great project of banishing the French Neutrals from this Province. . . . If we accomplish this expulsion, it will have been one of the greatest deeds the *English in America* have ever achieved. . . .” (Cited in Clarke, *Expulsion of the Acadians*, p. 29.) For an account of the expulsion of the Acadians, see Casgrain’s *Un Pèlerinage au pays d’Évangeline* and Parkman’s *Montcalm and Wolfe*.

26. See Clarke, *Expulsion*, p. 31.

27. Clarke, *Expulsion*, p. 3.

28. For *cajun*, see Barbaud, “Parlerons-nous Cajun?” According to Miron, “bilingualism in institutions is merely the antechamber of assimilation” (Miron, “Chus Tanné,” p. 194; my translation).

29. “Je suis un chanteur à deux pattes / qui jappe ses belles chansons / pour une race en voie d’extinction” (Jacques Michel, “If I was a cat”); quoted by Roy, “Ce dur Désir de chanter,” pp. 30–31).

30. “Le jour s’en vient où tous les Westmount du Québec disparaîtront de la carte” (*Manifeste du Front de libération du Québec*, p. 360). Westmount was a wealthy, predominantly English section of Montréal. For an overview of the October Crisis of 1970, when the federal government of Canada used force to respond to the kidnappings of James Richard Cross and Pierre Laporte, see the various essays collected in *Focus on Québec: 1970 and Its Aftermath* (*Québec Studies* 11 [1990–91]).

31. Gendron (“Evolution de la conscience linguistique,” p. 437) traces the focus on “culpabilité linguistique” at least as far back as 1841.

32. Barbaud, complaining about the “état de diglossie” in Québec (“Parlerons-nous Cajun?,” p. 67), gives myriad examples of jòal informed by English syntax.

33. Godin, “Le jòal politique,” p. 57; cited in Gauvin, “From Octave Crémazie to Victor-Lévy Beaulieu,” pp. 38–39.

34. “Quand je lisais: *Glissant si humide, je croyais que c’était du français, je comprenais parce qu’en même temps je lisais Slippery when wet, alors que c’est de l’anglais en français, c’est l’altérité. Pendant dix ans j’ai emprunté des centaines de fois sans tiquer au sujet de la signalisation: Automobiles avec monnaie exacte seulement/Automobiles with exact change only—Partez au vert/Go on green, etc., et je constate que des milliers d’usagers en font autant, jusqu’au jour où j’ai ressenti un étrange malaise, presque schizophrénique. Je ne savais plus dans ce bilinguisme instantané, colonial, reconnaître mes signes, reconnaître que ce n’était plus du français. Cette coupure, ce fait de devenir étranger à sa propre langue, sans s’en apercevoir, c’est une forme d’aliénation (linguistique). . . .” (Miron, “Décoloniser la langue,” p. 12).*

35. Godbout, *Réformiste*, p. 195; cited in Gauvin, “From Octave Crémazie to Victor-Lévy Beaulieu,” p. 43.

36. Cholette, *Commission de surveillance*, p. 18.

37. Cited in Plourde, *Politique linguistique du Québec*, p. 61.

38. Richler, “Oh! Canada!,” p. 44.

39. Le Cours, “Bourassa.”

40. See esp. Proulx, “Bilinguisme,” on Bill 178.

41. Lochner, “La Minorisation des anglophones au Québec,” p. 528. Lochner points out that between 1976 and 1983 the English population lost 2.5 per cent of its membership every year. He argues that the anglophone population, which numbered around 13 per cent of the population in 1976, will continue to diminish rapidly to stabilize itself in the year 2003 at between 6 and 7 percent of the population.

42. See Miron’s complaint that Meech Lake lacks such provisions (Miron, “Chus Tanné,” p. 193).

43. The banner’s overtones are both Anglo-American and ecclesiastical, hence unsuitable for the quintessentially nationalist Saint Jean-Baptiste Day Parade, where it was first unfurled. See Roy, “Ce dur Désir de chanter,” p. 31. Cf. the Christian will to build the church on the “rock” that is the apostle Peter (Matt. 14:17–19).

44. Miron, “Chus Tanné,” p. 185, complains about “cette langue franco-bilingue” in the Métro. Such signs as “Bouton de cas d’urgence” are especially irksome to him.

45. See Beauchemin, “Le Français au Québec,” esp. p. 147.

46. Woehrling, “Réglementation linguistique de l’affichage et la liberté d’expression,” makes useful comparisons to other countries, including Switzerland (on which see Marti-Rolli, *La Liberté de la langue*).

47. Cited in Levine, “Language Policy,” p. 14.

48. Québec is often tolerant of its minorities in the generous yet “haughty” way that Kant describes in his criticism of Muslim *convivencia* (“What Is Enlightenment?,” p. 9). Thus the province decides on a year-by-year basis whether it will grant to any group other than English-speaking Protestants the “privilege”—as opposed to the “right”—to receive funds to support non-Protestant or non-Catholic schools.

49. On the “laïcisation de la société” in Québec, see Maheu’s *Les Québécois*, pp. 175–83.

50. Coleman, “Class Basis of Language Policy.”

51. In the 1940s, as most of us learned only in the 1980s, Paul de Man wrote collabo-

rationist academic journalism in a Belgium verging on Nazi totalitarianism. Coming to the United States in the 1950s, he preferred not to wake the furies. He never acknowledged the collaborationist writing of his past. He lied outright even about his wartime whereabouts. (De Man invited me to a German restaurant in New Haven in the spring term of 1973. During dinner I looked up from my roast lamb and asked him, “Where were you during the war?” De Man answered, “In Zurich, mostly.” He answered in such a way that I could not believe him.) It was partly to explain how this academic journalist “outfoxed the fox” by a clever “distancing of all the facts” that led me to publish “The Lie of the Fox” in 1974. For my interpretation in 1974 of de Man’s view of Rousseau’s dictum, “Commençons donc par écarter tous les faits,” see my “Lie of the Fox,” p. 123, n. 34.

52. Shek, “Diglossia and Ideology.”

53. Mezei, “Speaking White.”

54. Monette, “Mon Français mais Montréal,” p. 115. Monette, author of *Traduit du jour le jour*, points out that “la plupart des écrivains majeurs sont des transfuges.”

55. As of 1988 there were several anthologies of French Québec poetry in English translation but none of English poetry in French. However, there is a growing interest among French critics in Irving Layton, Bellow, Kerouac, and other writers somehow from Québec (Morisset, “La face cachée de la culture Québécoise”).

56. See the bilingual journals *Vice Versa*, *Montréal Now*, and *Ellipse*, among others (Morisset, “La face cachée de la culture Québécoise,” p. 537).

57. On code switching in Québécois literature, see Hodgson and Sarkonak, “Deux hors-la-loi québécois.” On code switching among immigrants in the United States, as “the alternate use of two languages—including everything from the introduction of single unassimilated words up to complete sentences or more in the context of another language”—see Haugen, “Bilingualism,” esp. p. 21.

58. Poulin, *Volkswagen Blues*, p. 110. The first French sentence may be translated: “He himself translated the phrase in hesitant French.” The second may be translated: “When you’re looking for your brother, you’re looking for everybody!” Saul Bellow, the character in Poulin’s novel, is modeled on Saul Bellow, the eminent Montréal-born novelist now a member of the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago.

59. “An epigraph [epigram] is a poem in which . . . our attention and curiosity are aroused with reference to one particular object, and more or less held in suspense in order to be gratified at a single stroke” (Hudson, *Epigram*, pp. 8–10, citing Lessing).

60. “The true inscription is not to be thought of apart from that whereon it stands or might stand” says Lessing (Hudson, *Epigram*, pp. 8–10).

61. I photographed all signs discussed in this article in Montréal in 1973.

62. In this and the following examples, the translative medium is underlined.

63. Prévost, *Dictionnaire*.

64. See Van Rooten, *Mots d’heures: gousses, rames*.

65. See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 5.5.14.

66. On the ventriloquistic language of commodities (*Warensprache*), see Marx, *Das Kapital*, in Marx and Engels, *Werke*, 23:66–67, 97 (trans. Moore and Aveling, *Capital*, 1:52, 83); and Marx, “Auszüge aus James Mills Büch *Eléments d’économie politique*,” in Marx and Engels, *Werke*, 3(1):545–40.

67. Turgot, in his “Valeurs et Monnaies,” discusses the *langage de commerce*. Marx, in an ironic discussion of the relative form of value and the fetishization of commodities, hypothesizes that commodities speak a *Warensprache* when they come into contact with each other, and that they sometimes speak through the mouths of economists (*Capital* 1, 52, 83). Neither Turgot nor Marx, of course, intends to signify the words of advertisements, but these words are part of the alienated language of material values which men have borrowed, so to speak,

from the formal relations between commodities. For a discussion of the *Warensprache* contemporary to the period when these signs were photographed, see Faye, *Colloque de Cluny*, p. 191.

68. Cf. Ellul, *Propaganda*. Bilingual advertisements may help to teach French to the English and English to the French, but this is hardly their principal social or economic effect.

69. See, for example, the Québec Food Regulations Act of March 15, 1967.

70. See, for example, Sheppard, *Law of Languages in Canada*, who ignores interlinguistic mediation.

## Chapter 4

1. Elizabeth I, *Poems*, p. 3. During the period of religious and political upheavals the greatest danger to Elizabeth's life probably occurred in 1554, when Sir Thomas Wyatt headed a rebellion in Kent and Elizabeth was summoned to London and sent to the tower for two months, after which she was sent to live at Woodstock (cf. *Letters*, p. 4).

2. Partridge's review ("Good Queen Bess") of Stanley and Vennema's *Story of Elizabeth I of England* is an example.

3. "But thou, which hast made separation of My bed, and did put thy false lovers in My place and committed fornication with them, yet, for all this, thou mayst come unto Me again, for I will not be angry against thee. Lift up thine eyes, and look up, then shalt thou see in what place thy sin had led thee, and how thou liest down in the earth" (Elizabeth, "Glass," Folio 36v; in Shell, *Elizabeth's Glass*).

4. The poem also appeared in 1538 and 1539; in 1547 and 1548 it appeared as part of Marguerite's *Marguerites*.

5. For the view that Anne Boleyn entered the service of Marguerite of Navarre (then Duchess of Alençon), see Ames', introd. to Elizabeth, *Mirror*, p. 31. The two queens knew each other as early as Queen Claude's coronation in 1516; both attended a banquet in France in 1518 and the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 (Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, pp. 38–42).

6. Anne Boleyn and Marguerite of Navarre had a well documented correspondence in 1534–35. In October of 1535, moreover, the English were anxious to interest the French envoys in the young princess Elizabeth (Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, pp. 41, 341).

7. Ames (introd. to Elizabeth, *Mirror*, p. 31) writes that "we may conclude that the copy . . . had belonged to her mother, who may have obtained it from her former friend and mistress [Marguerite of Navarre]."

8. Salminen (*Miroir*, p. 253) says Elizabeth used the edition of December 1533 printed by Antoine Augereau in Paris; but Prescott, p. 66, "Pearl," says Elizabeth used the edition of 1539.

9. For the letter, see *Letters*, pp. 5–7. On Elizabeth's needlework, see Neale, *Elizabeth*, p. 12.

10. Elizabeth asks her stepmother to "rub out, polish, and mend (or else cause to mend) the words (or rather the order of my writing) the which I know in many places to be rude, and nothing done as it should be" (Elizabeth, letter to Catherine Parr, December 31, 1544, Folio 4r, in Shell, *Elizabeth's Glass*).

11. On Bale, the ardent reformer and nationalist scholar and playwright, see my "Bale and British Nationalism," in *Elizabeth's Glass*.

12. This portrait is ascribed by some to H. Holbein. Yet it was probably designed in 1547 by an unknown artist (Ames, introd. to Elizabeth, *Mirror*, p. 7—Holbein died in 1543 of the plague.) John N. King says that Elizabeth's kneeling before Christ with the Bible in hand suggests Protestant learning (*Tudor Royal Iconography*, pp. 209–10) and he draws our attention to Bale's *Illustrium majoris Britanniae scriptorum*, which contains a comparable woodcut