WHEN NATIONALISMS COLLIDE
MONTREAL'S ITALIAN COMMUNITY AND THE ST.LEONARD CRISIS, 1967-1969.

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ABSTRACT

During the language debates of the 1960s, Montreal's Italian community found itself in the middle of a conflict between Anglophones and Francophones. Forced to chose, the Italian community aligned itself with Anglophones.

The portrait which has been cast by numerous authors evokes the image of an Italian immigrant used as a pawn in a fight which generally was not his and which he could not understand.

An examination of the Italian press gives us a different image. St. Léonard represented more than a fight over the language issue. It was as much a dispute over the status of ethnic minorities in Québec as it was over the language question. This study examines the immigrant's "Italianità" and how it helped shape his response to the ethnic tensions in St. Léonard.

RESUME

Pendant les débats linguistique des années 1960s, la communauté italienne de Montréal s'est trouvée au milieu d'un conflit entre anglophones et francophones. Forcée à choisir, la communauté italienne s'est alignée avec les anglophones.

Le portrait qui a été émis par de nombreux auteurs évoque l'image d'un immigrant italien utilisé comme pion dans un combat qui généralement n'était pas le sien et qu'il ne pouvait pas comprendre.

Une étude de la presse italienne nous donne une image différente. Saint Léonard représente plus qu'une lutte sur la question linguistique. C'était autant une dispute sur le statut des minorités éthniques au Quebec qu'une dispute sur la question de la langue. Cette étude examine "l'italianità" des immigrants et comment elle a formé sa réaction aux tensions éthniques à Saint Léonard.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

An old Italian saying states that a person who emigrates knows what he leaves behind yet knows not what he will find. When I started this thesis, I felt very much that way, not knowing what workload to expect and where to begin my research. I had hoped to write a charming little story on the Italians in St. Léonard one which would have been delightful, witty, and of course, a literacy masterpiece. With pen in hand, I set forth, eagerly awaiting whatever inspiration Clio would bestow upon me, waiting ever patiently for that one big first sentence which would announce to my peers the arrival of a bright energetic young historian! I waited and waited but no sentence ever came; no sudden dash of inspiration, no literary achievement. Instead there slowly came the awful realization of the tedious amount of work which lied ahead.

The writing of this thesis proved to be a grueling exercise, one which would not have been possible without the generous aid of many people around me. Many deserve special thanks.

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CHAPTER I

The Historiographical Problem

Towards the end of the 1960s, two cultures - the Italian and the French Canadian - lived side by side in a state of anxiety and suspicion. Tensions centered on Québec's language question were most manifest in the municipality of St. Léonard, where the local Catholic School Board undertook the policy of phasing out English education in its school system. This decision provoked heated reaction from both the Italians of that municipality as well as those throughout the City of Montreal. When the Italian parents decided to act in defiance of the school board's directive (of having all immigrant children attend French classes) the Saint-Léonard Crisis was born.

From the records of that era come different accounts of the crisis. Some are sympathetic to the position taken by the immigrant community while others are critical of the stubborn resistance shown by what they characterized as "foreigners". While consent as to which group was at fault in the municipality is lacking, all seemed to agree on the following point: Québecers were living through a dramatic moment in their history whose fallout would affect Québec's position on language policies for generations to come.

Twenty years later, we have yet to witness any serious historical inquiry into these events. St. Léonard, the

focus of so much attention by contemporaries, seems all but forgotten in an age where ironically, language debates and constitutional accords still dominate the political firmament. Much of the rhetoric with respect to language rights has changed little, and perhaps this has added to the feeling that the St. Léonard Crisis is too recent, not yet vintage material for historical investigation. For whatever reason, historians have yet to give a vigorous analyze to these events. As such, lacunas exist leaving researchers with much new ground to break.

Primary sources abound especially because this topic was a much debated issue in its own time. Of invaluable assistance are contemporary newspapers, their editorial sections in particular, recreating much of the intellectual flavor of the period. These sources are also buttressed by oral accounts of the events. One's range of sources may further be extended by doing field work, gathering testimonies from the very people who lived through those events. There is also empirical evidence which must not be overlooked: statistical data as to population movements, settlement patterns, social income levels, and the like. For these facts a historian can rely on what has been referred to as the "auxiliary sciences" of history (archeology, chronology, urban planning, economics and so forth).[1] A researcher in current history thus has at his disposal an arsenal of sources from which to draw his facts, facts which will prove vital when defending a particular

interpretation or thesis.

The St. Léonard Crisis was well documented by its contemporaries. This storm which lasted nearly two years left in its wake massive amounts of written material, records which give a historian an "embarras de richesse" enjoyed by few other colleagues. Court decisions, policy papers, political tracts, commission reports, essays, together with a sea of editorials provide excellent sources from which to draw upon. Much of this material will be examined in detail yet at this point, these sources can support some primary observations.

To begin, the written record testifies to the enormous public involvement that the Crisis provoked, one which was not merely limited to Québec's intellectual elites and politicians. On the contrary, it was a populist affair.[2] Because the Crisis was so zealously debated it soon became object of extensive media coverage. St. Léonard, if not on everybody's mind appeared to be on everybody's lips. The public was entranced by the affair, mesmerized by the degree of importance the Crisis was taking. Street demonstrations attracting thousands were a common occurrence. Even the young, no doubt encouraged by the rebelliousness of the age, held student sit-ins and school walk-outs in an effort to pressure the provincial government into extending the "St. Léonard experiment" throughout the province. As the impasse grew older, reason gave way to passion, rhetoric to action,

and peace ultimately to violence.

The contemporary sources on the St. Léonard Crisis also describe the events within the context of the Quiet Revolution. The re-emergence of French Canadian nationalism and the demands in the province for language legislation to protect and promote the use of the French language serve as a backdrop to most discussions on the Crisis. What made it especially serious was the symbolic importance given to it by contemporaries. For Québec nationalists, St. Léonard became a rallying cry to defend the French language and culture from the perceived threat of English assimilation. It also demonstrated the need for their "nation" to assume direct control of immigration into the province. On the other hand, the English media portrayed the issue as a denial of minority rights and as an attack on English rights in the province. It was symbolized as the fight of individual rights against those of the collectivity. The reports and comments found in these English records thus speak as much to the fears and anxieties experienced in the Anglophone populations of Montreal as to the issues debated in St. Léonard.

There is a third theme running through many of these sources, namely the place of immigrants within the province of Québec. Overwhelmingly, the St. Léonard Crisis brought to national attention the Italian communities of Montreal. Here was an ethnic group whose numbers had increased more

than five-fold since the Second World War.[3] Montreal was experiencing its largest influx of Italian immigrants in its history, and Italian communities (referred to as Little Italies) were spreading across much of the Island. This demographic phenomenon caught the attention of many nativists and contributed to feelings of Italophobia amongst many French Canadians.

Ironically, while English Canada was opening up to the new idea of Multiculturalism, French Canada was traveling in the opposite direction. Rather than celebrating the cultural diversity of its resident populations, many Québecers deplored the ever increasing plurality which threatened nationalist aspirations. The records point to a hightened period of nativist and racist attitudes. The Italian was scorned and ridiculed, and hated by many. Newspapers like L'Entant and pressure groups such as the Movement pour L'Integration Scolaire (MIS) and the League pour L'Integration Scolaire (LIS) took intemperate stances toward immigrants, at times openly citing Italians as unwelcomed foreigners. Nor was this attitude limited simply to extremists. Nativist comments are to be found in many of Montreal's major Francophone dailies, albeit in more subtle forms.[4]

The St. Léonard Crisis pitted Francophone nationalists against Italian immigrants. This being the case, any general study of the Affair ought to examine both of these

groups. Getting information on French Canadians is somewhat easy yet what about the Italian immigrants? Who in fact were these Italians in St. Léonard and what does our historiography tell us about them? Answers to the first part of this question are vital for our inquiry into the Crisis. Unfortunately we are met with another lacuna; no historian has yet produced a local history of this group. One could then turn to a more general inquiry, that of examining the historiography of Italian immigrants in Montreal. Surely with a population of over 200,000,[5] this community should have received ample historiographic coverage! Once again, our search brings in disappointing results.

Although the state of ethnic historiography in North America has benefited tremendously by the tireless work of many scholars in these last twenty years, Montreal's "Little Italies" have received minor attention. With the exception of a few scholars,[6] this Montreal minority has been ignored as a focus of detailed study. Moreover, our ethnic historiography has tended to concentrate on the pre-war period. In St. Léonard, we are dealing with a new generation of immigrants. These people who migrated to Canada in the 1950s and 1960s not only found a different urban environment, but were themselves significantly different from their co-nationals who had sojourned and settled in Canada before them.

What the above observations make evident is the enormous amount of ground-breaking that still needs to be done to recreate an adequate portrait of the immigrant experience during the St. Léonard Crisis. Our methodology will follow those lines taken in those works which have been characterized as the "new ethnic history".[7] The creation of St. Léonard's Italian community will be examined and concepts developed to explain the pre-war immigrant experience will be applied to this post-war community. The results of our investigation will yield certain hypotheses reflecting not just Italian perceptions of what was occurring throughout the Crisis but also lead to conclusions about the Crisis itself, for if this "new ethnic history" is to have significance, it ought not be viewed as a segregated part of Canadian history.

While historians have yet to examine the Crisis, academics from various other disciplines have discussed the Affair, sometimes at great lengths in essays and full length texts. In particular, several popular histories of contemporary Québec have reviewed events in St. Léonard. What emerge from these sources are often distorted pictures of the Crisis. Some demonstrate unmistakable nationalist biases and portray the Affair in the familiar struggle of an oppressed group story, struggling against the "English Establishment" for linguistic and cultural survival. Others are apologetic and either diminish the severity of the Affair or appear too concerned with explaining Francophone

positions to an Anglophone audience. While these two positions do not account for all the writings, they represent a set of dominant themes in many of the deliberations which have discussed the Crisis. Rather than re-examining the Crisis as a micro-study of ethnic relations, most have treated it as an appendage to the broader issue of French-English relations in the province, or simply as a step in the development of French Canadian nationalism in the late 1960s. It is at this level that the lacuna in historical scholarship is most missed, allowing nationalist interpretations to go unchallenged. Clearly, a cleansing of the Augean Stables is in order.

NATIONALIST PORTRAYALS

Québec nationalism has been a powerful force in Québec society, affecting not only its politics but also its cultural and intellectual development. In the 1950s there emerged a neo-nationalist school of thought consisting of a group of intellectuals, mainly from the l'Université de Montréal who believed that an independent Québec was necessary in order for their Francophone society to develop more fully. The "decapitation thesis" was offered in which the British Conquest of Canada was portrayed as having interrupted the "normal" process of development of the French colony into a French state.8 If the British had prevented their emancipation into full nationhood, then by extension, Canadian Confederation was a betrayal of their

interests, and an association which had to be terminated.

Within the province of Québec, nationalists focused on the disparity of wealth, power and education between Québecers of French and British origin. French Canadians appeared always to be the ones on the bottom of the vertical mosaic. They had a lower standard of living compared to their British counterparts. They had poorer educational systems, and had their economic institutions dominated by Québec's English minority who discriminated against them in employment practices.[9] Nationalists generally loathed English Québecers, at times referring to them as White Rhodesians, and themselves as the "White Niggers of America".[10] Peter Desbarats refers to the affluent English as the "Anglostocracy". The caricature he suggests ordinary French Canadians had of the "drawled bastard English Anglostocrate" ran as follows:

> Born of wealthy parents of English or Scottish origin on the upper slopes of Westmount, he attended private schools before entering McGill University, where he frittered away his undergraduate years in fraternity houses and at the Ritz; afterwards he toured the Old Country prior to assuming his rightful place behind his father's roll-top desk on St James Street, where he devoted the rest of his life to screwing the French Canadians.[11]

The analysis by nationalists of the St. Léonard Affair is, for the most part, set up with the above background in mind. One of the earliest studies to appear after the conclusion of the Affair was Henry Egretaud's <u>L'Affaire</u>

Saint-Léonard. For Egretaud, St. Léonard represented a place where Québecers had been fearful of becoming Franco-Manitobans. It represented:

> le symbole de l'infériorité des francophones au Québec et de la rébellion contre cette infériorité. Pour ces mêmes personnes, Saint-Léonard représente un espoir déçu. Une petite commission scolaire authentiquement québécoise tenait tête à l'establishment. L'establishment l'écrasa.[12]

In his popular book, Quebec in Question, sociologist Marcel Rioux paints the Crisis as a noble attempt by nationalists to prevent the assimilation of their society into the Anglo-American mainstream. His work is an appeal to the nationalist emotions: "The Saint Leonard movement was not initiated by political parties or ideologists but by 'fathers and mothers who had never demonstrated in their lives'".[13] Once again the villain is English Canada:

> St. Léonard wanted to prevent the anglicization of its immigrants, and of its French-speaking people as well. This affair did not leave English Canadians unmoved. The St. Léonard controversy echoed in every quarter, in every part of Canada; it involved matters so relevant to the survival of Quebec that it figured in some of the predictions regarding the province's economic growth in the coming year, 1969. The English-speaking people of Quebec were not menaced by it; still, they were wholeheartedly opposed to the St. Léonard school board, which wanted its immigrant children to receive their schooling in the language of the country (ie:Québec).[14]

Oddly enough, Rioux hardly mentions the Italian immigrant's point of view and like Henry Egretaud, omits to make any mention of the riot of September 10, 1969 when thousands of Francophones rampaged through St. Léonard's Little Italy,

taunting local immigrants into street fights and shattering their store-front windows. Were these adherents of mobocracy those same respectable "fathers and mothers" earlier mentioned?

This nationalist literature has recently been augmented by Michel Plourde, La politique Linguistic du Quebec: 1977 - 1987. It begins with an analysis of the St. Léonard Crisis and shows how it affected the province's later language policies. His conclusions are similar to those of the other nationalists:

> L'histoire de St. Léonard et de la Loi 63 apparaît finalment comme le symbole de l'infériorité francophone. La langue française en sort dévalorisée.
>
> La minorité anglophone, ou, si l'on veut, "l'establishment", a remporté la partie. Et, chez les francophones, commence à se faire jour l'amère déception d'un peuple que le père de la Révolution tranquille a déclaré "maître chez lui" mais qui, en réalité, ne l'est pas ...
>
> Le souvenir de ces événements pèsera lourd dans la mémoire collective lors des débats linguistiques des années 70.[15]

What should also be noted from these writings is the way the behavior of the Francophones towards the Italian immigrants is characterized. The St. Léonard Affair raised the question of linguistic rights for "des immigrants écartelés entre une majorité française qui les accueille et une minorité anglaise qui les attire"[16] (emphasis is my own). What Plourde conspicuously omits to mention is the quality of that "accueille"; and instead focuses his criticism on the "English" for having pressured Italian

parents to boycott French classes. The picture which emerges is one in which Italians were being inflamed by Anglophones to fight against Francophone interests. The excesses by the nationalists is excused as understandable given the desperate situation of the time.[17] Thus, by a curious twist of logic, it is the Francophones and not the Italians, who are portrayed as the victims at St. Léonard.

Most analysis of the Italians by nationalists demonstrate short-sightedness and are tainted by nativist biases. Take for instance, the study by Egretaud in a chapter in his book on "Les Immigrants". Here, Egretaud selects individuals whom he sets up as representatives of their ethnic group. The reader is assured that "Son histoire est authentique. Seuls les noms et les dates ont été modifiés."[18] The standard bearer for the Italian immigrants is "Antonio G..." who arrives at Dorval airport the 21st of August, 1969 (some twenty days before the infamous September 10 riot) with his wife and two children. By the end of the month, Antonio is installed in a three room apartment on Jean Talon street, where he finds work as a plasterer for an Italian contractor. He rapidly makes friends in this "coin d'Italie" while his children "... ont fait connaissance avec les ruelles." Telling his friends that he had just signed up his children into French elementary classes, these respond in a storm of protests: "Tu es fou! Tes enfants à l'école française, ils n'apprendront rien!" Confused, Antonio changes his mind and

sends his children to English school !"[19]

What this example is supposed to illustrate for Egretaud is not clear. Perhaps he wished to point out that peer pressure from local Italians was forcing new arrivals to send their children to English schools. Perhaps he wished to underscore a perception that Italians had, of the inferiority of French schools as compared to the English. Whatever his reasoning, this thinly veiled analysis precedes a discussion of the undesirability of extensive Italian migration to Montreal. Whereas eighty per cent of applications by French citizens to immigrate into Canada were refused, Italian immigrants were flooding into Canada, settling in the world's second largest French city where they were being anglicized.[20] Little by little, French Canadians were becoming a minority within their own city. St. Léonard represented the sign of things to come:

> Il n'y a qu'a se promener dans la ville et regarder les panneaux placés a l'avant des deuplex neufs pour s'en convaincre. Les citoyens d'origine italienne se sont si bien implantés a St-Léonard qu'ils ont pu faire élire à l'hotel de ville l'un de leur représentants les plus connus, Mario Barone, et à la commission scolaire, deux commissaires (sur cinq) dont le propre frère de Mario Barone, Luigi ...[21]

Not all nationalist analysis of the Crisis have been as cavalier with the Italian resident population as the above works. A major study of the Italian community of Montreal is to be found in Poulin and Painchaud's Le phenomene migratoire italien et la formation de la communaute

italo-Québecoise. These authors focus on the intense resistance given by the Italian population to the process of francisization in Québec which was begun in the 1960s. The Italian is criticized for his vision of Québec's Francophone society, a vision which is reputedly attached to prejudice and stereotypes. Their critique of the Italians is biting. While admitting that these people were the principle victims of Québec's political and cultural affirmation, they nonetheless brought much of this abuse upon themselves:

> ... les positions défendues par les porte-parole, élus ou non, de cette communauté convergent donc dans le sens d'une opposition acharnée face à l'affirmation de la primauté de la langue française, et en général du fait français au Québec. Plus encore, en s'identifiant comme 'Canadiens' plutot que 'Québécois', ceux-ci se démarquent politiquement face aux révendications historiques et aux aspirations autonomistes ou souverainistes des francophones du Québec. Ils se confondent donc et s'allient avec la minorité anglosaxonne du Québec et avec la majorité anglophone du Canada. Mais ce faisant, ils scellent leur ghettoisation sociale et leur marginalisation politique au Québec et se coupent de touté possibilite de participation à la résolution de la question nationale en encouragent l'ethnocentrisme du movement nationaliste et la division de la classe ouvrière dont la majorité des Italo-québécois font partie.[22]

How does one challenge the interpretations offered by the nationalists? To begin with, we can use contemporary sources as a means of verifying the fidelity of these portrayals with the factual record. Ordinarily, one need not mention the obligation scholars have in ensuring that their facts be accurate and that the arguments flowing from such data be well reasoned; modern scholarship demands it.

How regrettable then that works which are praised as scholarly achievements turn out to have handled the factual record carelessly! Take for example the well known work, Quebec: The Unfinished Revolution by one of Canada's highly acclaimed political scientists, Leon Dion (himself a nationalist). The St. Léonard Crisis is raised "en passant" as an example to buttress Dion's argument that by the end of the 1960's, Quebec's population had become disenchanted with the slow pace of the Quiet Revolution. Note the following argument:

> Discontent also became rife in the cultural field ... the Québec government long delayed recognizing the language issue as a very sore spot, in spite of the fact that a growing number of groups, increasingly self-assured, were pressing for French unilingualism in Québec. The incidents surrounding the school dispute in the Montréal suburb of Saint-Léonard (where the local school board dominated by citizens of Italian origin, decided to opt for English as the language of instruction, which caused indignation among the French Canadian parents) gave a sign of the times.[23]

Let us for a moment analyze Professor Dion's use of the factual data in his above argument. The St. Léonard School Board is described as being dominated by citizens of Italian origin and is reputed to have opted for English as the language of instruction. These constitute two separate statements of fact, statements which we would naturally assume to be correct. Upon verification with the written record though, a researcher is confronted with the situation that Dion has made two serious factual errors. In the first place, citizens of Italian origin did not at any time

dominate that particular School Board nor did they ever comprise the majority of school counselors (the School Board was dominated by francophones).[24] Secondly, the local board did not opt for Bilingual instruction; quite on the contrary it was opting for the phasing out of English instruction and for a French unilingual school system! That decision was the very reason for the Crisis to begin with. Leon Dion is thus wrong! Francophone indignation could not have been caused by the fictional events he invokes.

Cambridge Historian E. H. Carr warns of the dangers which might befall a researcher if a proper balance between the facts of an event and our interpretations of them is not maintained. Separating these two or giving priority to one over the other, will lead a writer into one of two heresies:

> Either you write scissors-and-paste history without meaning or significance; or you write propaganda or historical fiction, and merely use facts of the past to embroider a kind of writing which has nothing to do with history.[25]

These "errors" are found in many works that have dealt with the St. Léonard Crisis. The scissors-and-paste variety ought not evoke too much concern and we can dismiss as being simply bad history. The second one, on the other hand, is most damaging. Our nationalists appear to have selectively sorted through the factual data to find evidence which supports a particular interpretation which they wished to advance. The bias of these authors is allowed to dictate both the parameters and the conclusions of their works. As

in a kangaroo court, the verdict precedes the tribunal, documents are selected to sustain a conclusion which has already been settled, and disputing evidence is brushed aside and omitted. The effect, as we have seen, is often propaganda, which not surprisingly in Québec, was used to justify the political agenda of the Parti Québécois government.[26]

Counter-Nationalist Portrayals

A few studies appeared in the early 1970's which challenge the portrayals of the Crisis as offered by the nationalists. Two are particularly noteworthy. The first is an unpublished manuscript by Ronald Lamontagne deposited at the St. Léonard Municipal Library. The second is a published work by University of British Columbia sociologist, Paul Cappon. Each study make a genuine attempt at describing Italian attitudes towards the Crisis, and each, in turn, are critical of the tactics used by the nationalists.

Ronald Lamontagne's "Monographie Sur Saint-Léonard: Un Cas Se Conflict Social," employs an Urban historian's methodological approach to the Crisis. Its aim was to analyze the Crisis by studying the rapid demographical, ethnic, occupational and educational changes that were occurring in the municipality. Moreover, it sought to outline the differences in "mentalité" with respect to the groups involved in the conflict. The Italian is portrayed

as essentially co-operative and desirous of being members of Québec society so long as it remain a part of Canada.[27] Within the Francophone community, this study distinguishes between two particular mentalities: the nationalist mentality, and that attitude whose historical origins date back to Louis H. Lafontaine, which was formed:

> au contact de la vie quotidienne et des exigences nord-américaines. Elle tient compte à la fois de l'unité et de la diversité de la province de Québec et du Canada.[28]

For Lamontagne, the struggle was essentially between the nationalists and Anglophones. His work portrays the nationalists as being the instigators of much of the violence which occurred in St. Léonard. Their militancy during the 1968 federal election campaign, punctuated by "de 'violence verbale', (qui) n'était sûrement pas de nature à apaiser les ésprits, à Saint-Léonard."[29] In short, Italian and Anglophone resistance in the Crisis is seen as understandable.

Paul Cappon's Conflict entre les Neo-Canadiens et les francophones de Montreal seeks to elucidate the relationship between nationalism and linguistic and inter-ethnic conflict in Québec and focuses in particular on the ethnic tensions between Francophones and Italians during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The work echoes the Gendron Report which found that French Canada was a "closed society" whose influx of "foreigners" into Québec was perceived as a threat.[30]

Cappon suggests that Francophone aggressiveness towards Italians was not based simply on the language question but also on economics. The frustration caused by their economy being dominated by a small but powerful Anglophone minority was transferred to the Italian immigrant who was viewed as an economic competitor and a brigand who robbed native French Québecers of their jobs.[31]

Cappon's harshest attacks are reserved for what he describes as the "culturalist nationalists". Essentially described as a group expounding unilingualism and independence, Cappon accuses this group of trying to use the immigrant as a scapegoat for Francophone inferiority in Québec's business economy. It was amongst these people that Cappon noted the highest level of xenophobia. While these nationalists were generally careful to maintain "the myth of contestation of Anglophone dominance" in St. Léonard (namely that they were not attacking Italians but the English establishment that was using the Italians as pawns for their interests), Cappon pointed to the hollowness of such declarations. The following opinion he found to be representative of much of their sentiments:

> Je n'accuse pas les immigrants mais les immigrants se sont trompés de pays. Ils doivent aider les francophones en s'alliant à eux...Je ne blame pas les immigrants de vouloir la paix. Mais je ne blame pas les francophones qui ne veulent pas leur laisser la paix. Pourquois les immigrants auraient la paix et moi j'habite mon pays depuis 200's ans et je ne l'ai pas eue parce qu'il a toutes sortes de circonstances qui m'empechent de l'avoir. Je ne vois pourquoi ils auraeint la

> conscience tranquille alors que mois je ne l'ai pas.[32]

Besides examining nationalist attitudes during the St. Leonard Affair, each author attempted to examine the Italian community reaction to the linguistic situation. Lamontagne's study made use of a handful of editorials in two Italian language newspapers, namely Il Cittadino Canadese and La Tribuna Italiana, to represent the Italian position in the late stages of the conflict.[33]

Cappon on the other hand gathered his material on Italian attitudes to the language crisis through field work. The methodological tool employed was that of the "discussion group method" in which an attempt was made to recreate within discussion groups (of approximately ten people) the dynamics of the school crisis. By recreating an atmosphere of tension similar to that which existed in the municipality but two years before, the author was able to prevent his participants from exercising the cool detachment typical of questionnaire responses. Cappon noted that the commentaries which prevailed during the discussions on inter-ethnic relations between them and Francophones in general focused almost exclusively on the topics of xenophobia and discrimination, Italians in particular charging that they were the recipients of such attitudes from their Francophone neighbours.[34]

Despite certain weaknesses, these works challenge the

nationalist assertions of the events and the reasons behind them. If for nationalists the action of the school board represented an attempt at stemming off the anglicizing threat of English Catholic schools, Lamontagne and Cappon's works draw attention to the inter-ethnic conflicts which neo-nationalists produced. Moreover, the immigrant is once again given a central place in the linguistic conflict.

APOLOGETIC DEPICTIONS

For the greater part of Canadian history since Confederation, the French-English division of Canadian society has been one of this nation's single most visible cleavage. As a result of the tensions produced by such issues as the Manitoba School Question, the Riel Uprisings, the Boer War, and the 1917 Conscription Crisis, many Canadian intellectuals became alarmed at the rift that developed between Canada's two linguistic communities. This state of affairs gave rise to a tradition of English Canadian literature on Québec which has been prominent since the turn of the twentieth century, the "bonne entente" tradition, that "endeavored to reconcile differences and promote understanding through sympathetic interpretations of its history and culture".[35] Carl Berger describes the phrase "bonne entente" as denoting a conviction that racial conflicts between English and French Canadians usually resulted from misunderstanding, a lack of knowledge, and a

failure in sympathy.[36]

Sympathetic interpretations of Québec history and culture from English Canadians have followed major clashes between French and English Canada. It isn't surprising then that the Quiet Revolution and the separatist threats of the 1960s and 1970s should also have produced sympathetic works aimed at explaining Québec aspirations to the broader Canadian public. Rather than directly challenging Québec Nationalist writers, and thus raise contentious issues, many portrayals of contemporary Québec appear more interested in explaining the legitimacy of certain of Québec's grievances. Thus, rather than pick up on Lamontagne's or Cappon's analysis, the St. Léonard Crisis is either minimized or ignored.

A notable example of this apologist trend is Quebec: Social Changes and Political Crisis co-written by Kenneth McRoberts and Dale Posgate. Although this work focuses on Québec's Quiet revolution and spends considerable time on the Language question, the St. Léonard Crisis is mentioned only briefly.[37] Instead, part of this work is focused on Paul Cappon's assertion that French Canadians were xenophobic. To this charge by Cappon, McRoberts and Posgate answer that:

> this argument is belied by the fact that, in the past, immigrants were successfully assimilated into French Canadian society. Any xenophobia was not sufficiently strong to impede acceptance of Italian immigrants, who became the primary focus of nationalist agitation.[38]

Their reasoning ends there and such a curt response to Cappon's work is disappointing. Equally displeasing is the fact that the riots, the ethnic tensions, and the Italian community are never discussed, this in spite of the fact that Bills 63, 22, and 101 are examined.

A second work which falls under our apologetic category is Crisis in Blanc and White: Urbanization and Ethnic Identity in French Canada by American Anthropologist Richard Dalton Basham. The author pleads for "a long delayed understanding" of French Canada by English Canada, urging that nationalists such as Marcel Rioux and Réne Lévesque not be discounted as members of a "lunatic fringe" but as spokesmen for a patriotic movement loyal to their people's history and sense of destiny. Basham's stated goal was to attempt to analyze the situation of ethnic conflict in Canada, with "concentration upon the peoples of Montreal and Québec, as it concerns the French, English, and immigrant populations of that nation."[39] With reference to the conflict existing between the English and the French, Basham generally succeeds in offering a well balanced discussion; such cannot be said of his analysis of Franco-immigrant conflict.

Unlike McRoberts and Posgate, Basham accepts the assertion that French Canada formed a rather closed society. The results of his study lead him to conclude that Québec's xenophobic attitudes "are successfully transmitted to the

degree that most immigrants are well aware of a generalized French hostility toward them."[40] This he admits was a contributing cause leading a majority of immigrants to integrate into Québec's Anglophone population. Unfortunately, rather than furthering his analysis on those ethnic tensions, Basham embarks on a series of explanations designed to demonstrate that, "General xenophobia aside, French hostility [towards immigrants] is quite rationally based..."[41]

For Basham, French resentment towards the immigrant was grounded not only in a feeling that their province was being overrun by them, but also in the concrete reality of their day to day contacts with them. A series of general assumptions on immigrant behavior towards Francophones colours much of this work, and the reader is left with the impression (as in Poulin and Painchauld) that much of the immigrant's woes were caused by his own intolerance. It is here that we can witness the apologist at his best. Immigrants opening restaurants and shops would allegedly refuse to serve customers in French.

> ... in an immigrant establishment, it is not unusual to find a French Canadian's request made in French responded with: "What did you say?" forcing him to place his order in English. Sometimes a Québécois will make a futile attempt to stand his ground. In one incident I witnessed in a Greek pastry shop, located in a region populated primarily by French Canadians and immigrants, a middle-aged Québécoise ordered pastry in French, only to be responded with: "Which one?" Unyieldingly, she continued in French, pointing and using her fingers to further the immigrant's education,

> until the end of the transaction, in which the shopkeeper asked "Is that all?" Visibly angry at this point, she snapped: "C'est Tout!" and another xenophobe left the shop.[42]

One must also note the complete absence of a discussion of the St. Léonard Crisis, this in spite of the fact that the research on ethnic conflict for this work was conducted in 1971! In short, what occurs in apologetic writings is an uncanny omission of some of the worst civil rights offences which were endorsed by such overwhelming numbers of Francophones. The topic almost seems taboo, and unlike nationalists who at least defend their actions, many authors writing in this "bonne entente" spirit seem more willing to overlook the Crisis than to raise the ugly incident.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE OBSERVATIONS

In a prominent historiographical article on French Canada, historian Ramsay Cook reminds us that general histories are often only as strong as the secondary works on which they are based. Because of the lack of historical analysis on the St. Léonard Crisis, it is not surprising that some of the latest textbook histories of Québec should either gloss over the incident or echo some of the nationalist preoccupations with the incident. One text written for Québec Anglophone High school students, shows a graph which dramatizes the movement by immigrants away from the Francophone School system into the English in the post war period. Having provided students with this single piece

of data, it asks them the following question:

> Do you think that Francophones were justified in fearing that their position in Quebec would be threatened if this trend continued?[43]

Given the context of the question, the inevitable answer has to be yes! Unfortunately, the discussion ends there and the only other piece of information provided is a picture of enraged Italian parents swinging chairs during the September third riot in Jerome LeRoyer school.[44]

What is most lacking in all these studies is an analysis of the Italian immigrant position throughout the Affair. Too often, we witness a marginalisation of the Italian group in the accounts on the Crisis. Rather than to portray them as major players in the debate, nationalists generally prefer to view these immigrants as little more than marionettes for their English mentors. The Italians are assumed, for the most part, not to have possessed an independent voice of their own. While it is generally admitted that these Italians formed a community, we are given very little sense of what this community was or how it behaved or reacted in the face of a perceived external threat. Even the anti-nationalist portrayals of the incident fail to capture the ethnic "ambiente" of the Italian community.[45] What thus often emerges is a one-dimensional picture of this immigrant group, a kind of outer-shell devoid of its cultural context.

A few excellent works have emerged that examine the

particular Italian situation during the long series of linguistic debates throughout the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s. Donat Taddeo and Raymond Taras' The Language of Education Debate: A Study of the Political Dynamics Between Quebec's Educational Authorities and the Italian Community is a scholarly "tour de force" which is extremely informative. Its' examination of Saint Leonard though is regrettably short, serving more as a background to the enormous debates over Bill 22 and Bill 101 which were also to involve the Italian community.[46]

An important Master's Thesis to have examined the Saint Leonard Crisis is John E. Parisella's Pressure Group Politics: Case Study of the St-Leonard Schools Crisis. This work examined the two rival pressure groups which emerged during the Crisis. Its stated objective was to examine the structure, leadership, cohesion, and attitudes of both the Movement Pour L'Integration Scolaire and of the Association of Parents of St-Leonard. While this study is invaluable for the insights it has of the Saint Leonard Parents Association, its concentration on pressure group politics ignores much of the developments going on within the Italian community. The immigrant experience, which has become a central focus of the "new ethnic history" school is hardly discussed by Parisella. As a result, the Italian community appears in a one dimensional-framework.[47]

Roberto Perin's analysis[48] of the state of ethnic

history is still valid, and what emerges are studies that are still largely dominated by analyses of public attitudes to immigration, government policies, mobility, and voter behavior patterns. Not that these studies are not important; on the contrary, with respect with our analysis of St. Léonard, they will prove to be indispensable. Nonetheless, the immigrant has yet to be considered on his own terms. The ethnic press itself provides a tremendous window into the world of the Italian immigrant during the 1960s, and in Montreal, The Italian community could boast three excellent Italian weeklies: Il Cittadino Canadese, Il Corrierre Italiano, and La Tribuna italiana, and could also boast an Italian monthly magazine, Vita Nostra.

In the following chapters, we shall examine the historical background of Italian immigration to Montreal and trace out the rapid development of Montreal's Italian community. As the community expanded, we will take notice of the developments of the Municipality of St. Léonard and the factors which transformed this rural community of less than a thousand people into a suburb of over thirty thousand in less than ten years. We will then examine Italian settlement patterns and analyze the birth of one of Canada's largest "Little Italies" and attempt to recreate the "ambiente" within which this Italian community was developing.

Our analysis will bring us to a discussion of

neo-nationalism and the effect it was having on Italians in general. In fact, Italian communities in Montreal were deeply affected by two contrasting notions, those of Québec nationalist who advocated a type of melting pot for Québecers, and the notion of multiculturalism which was being promoted by the federal government in the late 1960s. The notion that Canada was a land of immigrants, or rather, that all Canadians were descendents of immigrants was seized upon by many Italians. We must also note the appearance of a few important works by Italian community intellectuals, often referred to as the writings of "filiopietists".[49] These works emerged just prior to the ethnic conflicts in St. Léonard.

CHAPTER II

The Pre-War Community

Early Considerations

In our last chapter, we expressed concern about the absence of an historical perspective in studies dealing with the St. Léonard Crisis. In particular, we noted how the Italian community has been rendered a disservice by the often narrow focus which commentators have taken vis-à-vis the Crisis.

If history can be said to have been abused in this incident, for the Italian, it was denied. Since the arrival of the Italian population in St. Léonard had been so recent, it was commonly assumed that Italians had no local history. Whatever their history had been was irrelevant to the Canadian context and surely much less to the St. Léonard Affair. What seemed relevant was the history of the local host society. An interesting irony thus occurred. While writers felt the need to explain Francophone grievances in the Crisis by tracing their history as far back as the French Colonial period and the tragedy of the Conquest, the Italian situation was examinable by simple reference to the immediate present. The analysis of Francophones was steeped with historical analogies, the Italian was not. So prevailing was this attitude that the dominant work still standing on the Crisis dedicates its opening chapters to a historical sweep of Québec's emerging nationalism.[1]

Italians have an important local history, one which helped shape its response to the St. Léonard Affaire. Much of the history of the early settlement periods has been outlined by several Canadian historians and several "Little Italies" have come under careful examination by scholars (often grouped under the term "new ethnic historians").[2] One would thus assume that placing a date on the beginning of Italian history in Canada would be a simple task. Like so much of ethnic history though, this task is problematic. There are two separate dimensions to Italian local history. One could examine the Italian presence in Canada or one could take the narrower field of investigation, namely that of the development of the Italian community in this country. The former is naturally older and began almost four centuries before we could speak of any Italian community in Canada yet for reasons which will become obvious, the latter period has become the preferred subject of ethnic research in North America.

In the migration of peoples to North America, Italians are relative latecomers. Although the first explorers to lay claim to this continent for European sovereigns were in most cases Italian navigators (Cristoforo Colombo, Americo Vespucci, Giovanni Caboto, and Giovanni Da Verrazzano), Italian immigration to the New World achieved noticeable significance only in the last decades of the nineteenth century. It is therefore difficult to speak of an Italian presence in Canada prior to those years.

Unlike the later migrants who established distinguishable immigrant communities, the Italians who trickled into Montreal before the mid-nineteenth century formed no visible community. It is safe to assume that since their numbers were small, the few that did settle in this city were quickly assimilated into either the local English or French culture. For the most part then, their importance in the evolution of our "Little Italies" has been seen as minimal, and drawing parallels between "early heroes" and present day "immigrants"[3] has been regarded by many commentators as a vain exercise shedding little insight on the Italian experience in America.[4]

Although these early Italians had little impact on later migration patterns and community developments, they are not altogether insignificant. On the contrary, they became important symbols for a post-war Italian community that found itself snubbed and disdained by a local populace. As North Americans were rediscovering their ethnic roots, Italians in Canada were learning about earlier ancestors who had played important roles in Canadian history. For the ethnic revivalist eager to canvass the historical record for Italians who had left a mark on Canadian history, the pickings were rich. Not only were Italians involved in the original explorations of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, they were also present in the expansion, administration and defense of New France. The list of names in this latter period was so impressive that

one writer could brazenly state that, "In those days of exploitation, tragedy, heroism, cowardice and stormy passions, the Italians were everywhere..."[5]

What is one to make of this early period? Does it warrant our attention? There exists two extremely divergent treatments. On the one hand, the search for roots to this new land led to what has been termed a "retrospective falsification" of the early Italian experience in America. The scene is dominated by heroic missionaries, explorers and mercenaries, whose exploits, have the flavor of epic sagas.[6] On the other hand, there developed a school which denied any real Italian experience in America before the arrival of the massive waves of Italian peasants in the final decades of the nineteenth century. It regarded the early works of community intellectuals as being filio-pietist and stressed that a greater emphasis ought to have been placed on the struggle of the Italian immigrant for economic survival and personal dignity in the "Little Italies" rather than on "greater than life figures".[7]

Regrettably, the tendency of the present "ethnic" historiography has been to belittle the works of early Italian immigrant chroniclers. It has been suggested that Italian-American writers, in writing about their past, were responding to North American bigotry with their own form of bigotry and unfounded assertions. To the accusation of being new to this land, they had responded with "long and

inventive accounts of the antiquity of the Italian presence in America". The tone of the modern critic has been to snub these works and to cavalierly dismiss them as "silly genuflections on the part of filio-pietists to their ethnic ancestors", while perhaps ignoring the full extent to which these works can serve as an invaluable window into the Italo-Canadian world of the 1960s.[8]

When examining the treatment that Spada, Mingarelli and Vangelisti have given to early Italian history in Canada, we are faced with a portrait cast in Montreal at a time which coincided with the re-emergence of Québec nationalism. These works mirror the concerns of their generation and through them, we are permitted to witness how important local personalities perceived their people's "history". Much of that perception is undeniably affected by the rhetoric of the day, a rhetoric which was chauvinistic and intolerant towards other ethnic groups.

Definition of Québecer

In the 1960s, Québec nationalism was at the forefront of Canadian politics. Many French Québecers felt that their people had been betrayed by Confederation and that the time had come for them to create an independent French state in North America. These nationalists often claimed that there existed a Québec nation and described it as a "monolithic collective leviathan" that spoke with the united voice of

six million Québecers. For many poets, Québec had a soul and unlike Canada, an organic and natural existence. Sociologists Jacques Dofny and Marcel Rioux went so far as to claim that "Québec is a society united by class and ethnicity."[9]

To suggest the Québec had no class cleavages borders on absurdity, yet the second notion, that of a society united by ethnicity deserves particular attention. With almost twenty per cent of this province's population classified as non-francophone, the question is begged: did nationalists consider the designation "Québécois" as applying to all Québec residents or did they see it as one restricted only to their ethnic group? Pierre Bourgault, one time leader of the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance National (RIN) appears to support the later view. While reminiscing about Québec in the 1960s, Bourgault in a public address stirred his audience with the following words:

> On se souvient ... qu'il y aura ces grands movements de masse contre la Loi 63 passée par Bertrand à Québec pour le McGill français, pour l'intégration des immigrants à St-Léonard, etc., etc., ... C'est par milliers qu'on descent dans les rues à cette époque-là, par dizaines de milliers et pour réclamer toujour la même chose; un Québec qui <u>nous</u> appartient.[10]

Note the use of the term "nous". Neither the English nor the immigrants are treated as part of that society which Bourgault sees as "owning" Québec.

More damaging were some of the terms used in the nationalist rhetoric of the 1960s. Popular slogans and

expressions used by such organizations as the RIN, the Saint Jéan Baptist Society and the Parti Québécois pointed to an exclusionary definition of the term Québecer, one which was emphatically ethnocentric. "Le Québec aux Québécois", "Québécois pure laine" and "Québécois de vielle souche" all depict a society where Québecers descendent of French colonists were the rightful residents of this province with what amounted to a birthright to the land. Minorities, often referred to as the "Neo-Québécois" were outsiders. One nationalist author summed up much of this sentiment when he stated that ethnic communities formed an "alien penetration" which threatened a nation "...united by a common language and culture, a common religious heritage, and a sense of common destiny."[11]

Given this ambience, it is not surprising that Italians, in writing the history of their community, would have the rhetoric of the nationalists in mind. The litany of contributions their co-nationals made to Canada's history reads almost as a rebuttal to the nationalist's portrayal of Quebec's early history. Jacques Cartier's title as "Father of Canada" is challenged by arguing that it ought to befall on John Cabot instead. This point seems trivial, and certainly debating the relative merits of which man deserves the title, a waste of time. Such, though, was not the attitude of the times. The suggestion that an Italian and not a French citizen be given such a title was of enormous symbolic importance. Filio-pietists could also point out

that France's first claim in the America's was staked out by another Italian, Giovanni Da Verrazzano. It was on a map made by his brother Girolamo Da Verrazzano, the new land was designated as "Nova Gallia" or New France. It was a name that stuck and once again, Italians could claim that New France had been given its name by one of their own. Verrazzano is used to overshadow Cartier again when it is pointed out that this sailor from Saint Malo had been a subordinate on Verrazzano's voyages to the New World.[12]

The richest source of symbolism though, was found in the development of the colony of New France itself. Italian heroes were rediscovered, and Italians living in Montreal during the 1960s could look back at the accomplishments of these men and state that Québec history was as much their heritage as anyone else's. Among the inhabitants of New France, numerous Italians were found who played instrumental roles in the French expansion into the American interior. For instance, La Salle's chief aide-de-camp was an Italian by the name of Enrico Tonti; the commander of Fort Detroit was at one time Alfonso Tonti (Enrico's brother), and Alfonso's son, Carlo served as Governor at Fort Saint-Louis in Illinois.[13]

Italians were also present in military campaigns against the British and Indians. Most students of Canadian history would recognize the Carignan-Salières regiment as the French royal regiment sent to New France in 1665 to

pacify the Iroquois. A student may even recall how the whole of the colony, prior to the arrival of this regiment, was threatened with destruction at the hands of the Iroquois. Less known is the fact that the said "veteran French regiment" was in fact an Italian one! "Il Regimento Carignano", named after its founder, the Prince of Carignano of the House of Savoy, had been organized by him while he commanded French troops in Italy. Filio-pietists could not ignore this auspicious news and made much of the fact that one of the standard bearers of the La Freydiere company was Giovanni de Grandis, a native of Torino.[14]

Other Italian men contributed to the defence of New France. Near the start of The War of the League of Augsburg, it was a Sicilian Captain who in 1691 saved Montreal from an Iroquois attack. It was another Sicilian officer who led a 700 man expedition against the English and Iroquois near Albany during that same war and who served as Governor of Trois Rivières from 1703 until 1709. Another famous Italian led the French forces into the Ohio Valley in the early 1700s. Italians were also found who served as justices, missionary priests, and seigneurs. Even in the final struggle against the British in the Seven Years' War, Italian men were found leading French Armies or shouldering muskets with Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham.[15]

The French Colonial period had provided writers with a set of heroic Italian individuals. The period following the

British conquest yielded no such dashing heroes yet it provide a far larger amount of Italian men at the service of the British sovereign (all be it, in humbler positions). Two Swiss mercenary units, the De Meuron and Watteville regiments, were transferred to Canada during the war of 1812 and in 1816, when they were disbanded, the mercenaries were offered homesteads near the America boarder where they could act as a vanguard against future American hostilities. Of the approximately 2000 soldiers forming these regiments, as many as 300 were Italians and many of these settled in Quebec's Drummondville and Montreal area and intermarried with the local inhabitants. For ethnic revivalists, the image of these Italians fighting for the defense of Canada did not go by unnoticed and served as a further example of Italian contributions to Canadian history. Yet the importance of these men is not only symbolic. Although they formed no discernable Italian neighbourhood, their presence, together with that of the few immigrants that trickled into Montreal up until the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, ensured that there would be people in Montreal that could act as intermediaries for later Italian migrants.[16]

It was not until the migrations of the 1880s that Italians became numerically significant in North America. Over four million landed on this continent's shores, settled in American cities, raised families and formed their own communities between 1880 and 1920. The demographic impact of this migration was felt in large parts of urban America.

City areas across the United States and Canada which had never seen Italians had suddenly become, in the space of a few short years, home for thousands of Italian immigrants. Montreal itself which could only boast some 131 Italian born residents in 1881 would become home to thousands of Italians by the turn of the century.

The 1880s marked a new period in Italian immigration to the "New World" for reasons other than its numerical weight. The very character of Italian migration had been transformed. If earlier nineteenth century Italian immigration was characterized mainly by Northern Italian professionals, musicians and skilled craftsmen, this latter migration was dominated by a largely unskilled work force from Southern Italy. The 1881 census revealed that most of the 131 Italian born residents of our city were married, either to Italian spouses or to French-Canadian wives. The early stages of the post 1880s migration movement brought Italian males into the city usually not as settlers but as sojourners who were either bachelors or who had left wife and children back home with the intention of returning to them at the end of a work season. Finally, most of the early Italians in Montreal prior to the 1880s appear to have been well integrated into their new host society and well placed to act as intermediaries between the newly arriving immigrants and local Montrealers. It was in fact amongst these people that many of the emerging Italian community's "prominenti" (or notables) would arise and becomes its

leaders.[17]

Who were these new Italians and why were they to come to North America in such large numbers? To understand the immigrant communities that were to develop, it is crucial that we briefly examine the reasons that motivated millions of single Italian men into becoming migrant workers. Many became sojourners, men who temporarily worked abroad in the hope of raising money to bring back with them to their native towns and villages. It was this migration which characterized the early stages of the development of Montreal's "Little Italies". Their migration experience determined the very character of the immigrant communities that were to host their stay in America. For many migrants, it would be a stay that was part of a long cyclical chain which began and ended with their villages back home. Their place of departure was Europe, and the story of these immigrants likewise begins in the "Old World".

Conditions at Home

A number of reasons compelled Italians to emigrate in the late nineteenth century, the most common one being economic necessity. Large portions of the farmlands of southern Italy were devastated by centuries of over-farming. Much of the lands which had once been dubbed the "granary of Europe" lay in ecological ruin. The Unification of Italy brought on national tariff duties making goods more

expensive for the poorer elements of Italian society. More demanding still were the taxes levied by local communes, and placed on such necessities as flour. To complicate matters, the Italian population was exploding, adding additional millions of mouths to feed to a nation with an industrially stagnant economy. The decades between 1880 to 1910 alone witnessed on average a net increase of three and a half million Italians. This phenomenal rise in population strained the resources of a nation that was largely unindustrialized and whose agricultural lands were largely exploited by primitive methods of cultivation. During periods of unemployment, it was not uncommon to have families living in hunger. Natural calamities, such as the 1908 earthquake of Messina added to the misery. Conditions couldn't seem riper for a massive exodus from the peninsula.[18]

Sojourners on the Move

A popular image of nineteenth century Europe was that of a continent composed of static societies where people moved little. The home village was the center of the peasant's universe, the city the centre of the citizen's. This pastoral setting stands in vivid contrast to the enormous internal migrations of seasonal labourers taking place within Europe itself. In fact, Europe was buzzing with its own internal migrations. Between 1876 and 1929, some seven and a half million Italians alone migrated not to

the Americas but to other European and Mediterranean nations.[19]

A second image concerns European immigration to the Americas. European immigrants were often portrayed as uprooted peasants fleeing either persecution or hunger. In particular, the crossing of the Atlantic Ocean was portrayed as a decisive event in the life of the new American settlers, a kind of a Rubicon upon which the immigrants had cast their lots.[20] While it is true that, for many, their migration experience fitted such a mold, for others, the experience was substantially different.

Much of the migration within Europe by Italian workers was seasonal. France was a major area of immigration for Italian sojourners, particularly Northern Italian. The same held true for Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Wherever there was work, Italian men went and the movement back and forth between their homes and their destinations constituted an important migration pattern. It was not uncommon for Italian workers to migrate first to France, then perhaps to the coal fields of Luxembourg or railroads in Germany for a few months and, perhaps hearing that salaries were higher in Switzerland, travel there for an indeterminate amount of time before returning home with their savings.[21]

These temporary immigrant workers often supported their families back home by sending them their savings through the mail. Remittances became an important source of income for

many families within Italy. It was the sacrifice of these workers abroad, often living in the most frugal of circumstances that enabled families to survive back home. In some regions of Italy, such as Basilicata and Friuli, boys grew up expecting to emigrate learning trades and crafts that would be important to them in either Europe or the Americas. Often, immigrants went abroad in order to raise money to buy or enlarge their landholdings in Italy. Sometimes they needed to emigrate in order to raise money to meet the credit payments on strips of land they had bought on credit. The point is that many migrants did not travel abroad with the intention of becoming settlers in the new land.[22]

An important contribution towards migration studies has been made by historian Frank Thistlethwaite. Rather than viewing immigration to the New World as an essay in the peopling of the United States, Argentina or Canada, Thistlethwaite argues that it ought to be seen as an extension of migration patterns which existed in the Old World. The Atlantic Ocean was no formidable barrier in the days of the steamship ocean-liners and historians were called upon to recognize the existence of an Atlantic economy which recognized not only a condition of international trade between Europe and the Americas, but one in which there was such freedom of movement of goods and of people that the two worlds could hardly be treated as having existed in separate closed economies. For example,

Thistlethwaite points out that in North America, some 30% of late nineteenth and early twentieth century migration was transient and temporary while in South America, the percentage was as high as 53%. Prior to the First World War, some five to ten thousand Italians were entering the United States each year from countries other than Italy. In Canada, most Italian migrants in the late nineteenth century were coming from American cities. In short, the migration of Italian workers (for that matter, of many European migrants into America) was an extension of the European and Mediterranean basin migratory phenomenon.[23]

The process which transformed many migrant workers into immigrants has also been the focus of much scholarly attention. What is interesting to note is that this process is not simply limited to the Canadian or American experience but is in fact an international one. W.R.Bohning's study on the migration of labourers in Great Britain and the European Community pushes this point and raises a model which is applicable to the migratory experience of vast numbers of Italian economic migrants. Lured by the promises of riches, the migrant sees himself as a "target worker", or simply put, one "who goes abroad in order to earn as much money as possible, in order to return home." For many though, this strategy eventually proves unsatisfactory, and the migrant soon realizes that his short term participation in his host's high-wage economy does not eliminate his deprivation back home. The advantages of the host society eventually

convince many migrants not only to delay their return home but to settle in the receiving country and send for their families. The migrant worker thus becomes an immigrant.[24]

With the general expansion of the Canadian economy at the turn of this century, Canada became a choice destination for both immigrants and the migrant workers discussed above. Due to its commercial position, the city of Montreal became a focal point for much of the sojourning activity within the country. Montreal acted as a gateway; its access to Canada's major rail, river and sea transportation network allowed migrant labourers to exploit the numerous opportunities within the nation's hinterland. Because of the seasonal nature of their employment (one which usually lasted from the spring to the fall), many opted to winter in Montreal until the beginning of the next working season. Apart from the access it provided to Canada's hinterland, the city itself shared in the economic expansion of the nation and as such, needed a cheap supply of manual labour which migrant workers were only too happy to provide.[25]

In spite of the significant growth of the Italian communities in both Montreal and Toronto that were to occur at the turn of the century, when we compare it to the settlement of Italians in cities south of the boarder, these expansions seem rather small. Part of the reason involves the disparity between Italian migrant workers in the United States as compared to those in Canada. It is estimated that

from 1901 to 1910, while over two million Italians arrived in the United States, fewer than sixty thousand Italians entered Canada. This relatively light movement of Italian immigrants to Canada also compares rather poorly with the total number of immigrants arriving into Canada at this time, a period which incidentally witnessed this nation's largest influx of European immigrants in its history. It is estimated that between 1896 and 1914, some three million immigrants had entered the country. Few Italians entered Canada and fewer stayed. Part of the reason no doubt lies in economic factors in the commerce of migration yet one can not escape the conclusion that at least part of the reason for such slower settlement in Canada by Italians lies with the local attitudes of the host society.[26]

Italians Need Not Apply?

The argument that nativist attitudes directed towards south European labourers had some influence in tampering the development of large scale Italian immigration into Canada has been advanced by a number of Canadian scholars. In particular, some have noted strong ethno-phobic attitudes directed specifically at Italians. Ethnic prejudice has in fact played a large role in shaping Italian-American history, one which the Italian community in Montreal could not escape, and one which was to re-emerge most frightfully during the St. Léonard Crisis. Nor was this prejudice a random phenomena limited to only a small portion of Canadian

society. Anti-Italian feelings appear to have been widespread at the turn of the century as can be witnessed by the attitudes of the Canadian government and of many prominent Canadian citizens who helped shape public opinion in this country.[27]

Rather than promoting Italian settlement in Canada, the government, large employers of unskilled labour (such as the rail companies), and general public opinion strove to keep these people from becoming permanent settlers in Canada. Contemporary racialist attitudes worked against the recruitment of immigrants from southern Europe. The dominant ethos of English-Canada was that Canada should remain an Anglo-Saxon nation, and it was a commonly held view that northern Teutonic races and northern civilizations were superior to those of southern Europe.[28] Moreover, immigrants coming from eastern and southern Europe were often seen as threatening the social makeup of the nation. Italians in particular had a poor image. In his book Strangers Within Our Gates, J.S.Woodsworth, then superintendent of Winnipeg's All Peoples' mission, summed up contemporary attitudes towards Italians.

> An Italian! the figure which flashes before the mind's eye is probably that of an organ-grinder with his monkey. That was the impression we first received, and it is difficult to substitute another. Italian Immigrants! The figure of the organ man fades away, and we see dark, uncertain figures, and someone whispers, "The Mafia -- the Black Hand".[29]

The Italian immigrant was suspect and the Canadian

government's policy was one of discouraging Italian immigration into Canada. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior from 1896 to 1905, appears to have had a particularly low opinion of Italian immigrants. Writing to his deputy minister, Sifton informed him that "No steps are to be taken to assist or encourage Italian immigration to Canada ..."[30] Nor were these sentiments limited solely to Sifton. W.F.McCreary, Canada's Commissioner of Immigration, is known to have prevailed upon the then Minister of Railways to exert pressure upon the Canadian Pacific Railroad to stop importing Italian navvies from the United States. His justification appears to have been that Italians were birds of passage who went into a country with no intention of settling on the land or of making any positive contribution to their host country.[31]

If government officials and general opinion can be characterized as having wanted to keep Italian migrant labourers out of Canada, the opposite holds true for Canadian employers. In labour intensive industries such as the railways, the need for a seasonal work force willing to tolerate a harsh environment tended to make employers eager for south and east European migrant labourers. The fact that such men would be unwelcomed by native Canadians added an additional advantage: this migrant could be relied upon to feel alien in his new environment and not abandon his workplace for a more settled life on a farm or neighbouring town. Canadian employers appeared to view these migrants as

"guest workers" who presence in Canada was a temporary economic expedient and who, once the labour demands in the country had dropped, would return to their home country. As a result, it was easier to exploit such workers by offering them low wages, poor living conditions and social discrimination. They were not Canadians nor were they likely to become so, and as such, the employers who hired them could justify a different set of employment standards for them. Their exploitative practices upon these labourers appear to have solicited little outrage, let alone interest, from Canadians at large.[32]

In the heydays of multiculturalism, it was common to hear the expression, "this is a nation of immigrants" or even "this is a nation built by immigrants". At the heart of this was the notion that at some point, all Canadians have an ancestor in their not too distant past who had immigrated to this land. As such, a kind of equality status is invoked. We noted how Québec nationalist rhetoric seemed to reject this in favour of the Québecer versus Neo-Québecer distinction. What is interesting to note is that prominent English-Canadians also seemed to reject this at the turn of the century. The rhetoric in fact is very similar to that which would be employed by many Québec nationalists in the linguistic debates of the late 1960s and 1970s. For instance, Woodsworth, in speaking about America's old colonial settlers refers to them as "immigrants" from England. It is interesting that the term immigrant is

placed in quotation marks and as he latter explains, it is done so to distinguish these peoples from the contemporary ones coming at the turn of the century. These early "immigrants" he argues "ought rather to be distinguished as colonists" since they had set forth for unknown lands to found colonies which "were dearer to them than life itself."

> ... How different they and their coming from the immigration of to-day! They made great sacrifices. They had to undertake a long, expensive and perilous journey. They came to an unexplored wilderness inhabited only by savages. They had to create a civilization. To-day our immigrants, or their friends, pay a few pounds, passage money, and in a week or so are safely transported to a land with institutions similar to their own, and in which they hope at once to 'do better' than they did at home.[33]

This distinction between colonist and immigrant, founding people and subsequent beneficiaries, served as an important rhetorical ploy for nativists. This distinction between immigrant and colonist though, can easily become a matter of perspective. If we can view the beginnings of Montreal's Little Italy as a terminal or a "way station for a variety of colonies serving the transatlantic networks of many small towns in Italy", then, the ethnic enclaves that developed resemble little outposts for Italian workers.[34] Such enclaves not only offered workers cheap boarding, but it also offered considerable security in a socially and economically hostile environment.

Settlement patterns of Italian Immigrants

We noted that in 1881, the Federal Census accounted for 131 Italian born citizens in the city of Montreal. With the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, begun in the spring of 1881, thousands of migrant workers from Europe and Asia poured into the Canadian Northwest to work as navvies. The demographic effects of this migration on the Italian population of Montreal is not clear as no official statistics are available. Moreover, since most appeared to have been navvies and as such, not permanent residents, estimates on how many Italians were present within Montreal at any given time are hard to come by. One estimate by Vangelisti for 1885 (the year in which Montreal and Vancouver were linked by rail) places the Italian resident and transient population at just under 2000.[35]

As the nineteenth century was drawing to a close, the city of Montreal was servicing thousands of Italian migrants yearly. This traffic was in large part regulated by the emergence of what became known as the padrone (an intermediary who acted as a labour recruiter for labour intensive industries). As recruiters, these middlemen were exceptional. Antonio Cordasco and Alberto Dini could each attract thousands of Italian migrant workers via sub-agents from either Italy or the United States.[36]

The early development of the Italian community is in large part a reflection of the needs of these migrant

workers who often used the city as a boarding station for work on the railway. With the end of the work season, many opted to winter in the downtown districts of Montreal. The boarding houses along St. Timothée and Ste Agathe accepted so many Italian boarders that the area became known as the "quartier italien". It was an area which also had the advantage of being situated near Montreal's main commercial centre, where most Italian employment agents, ethnic food suppliers, travel agencies and bankers were located.[37]

With the turn of the century, the city of Montreal underwent a period of tremendous growth as a commercial and industrial city. The employment opportunities this created in the unskilled trades attracted many Italians to settle in Montreal. The phenomenal growth in Montreal's Italian population from 1900 to 1930 in fact co-incided with this city's economic expansion. It was a period which also witnessed a transition within the Italian community of a sojourning character to a settled one, where the dominant Italian resident in Montreal was an immigrant, not a migrant, and where the sex ratio was no longer heavily characterized by single males. The Canadian Census figures capture the rather spectacular growth in the number of Italians in Montreal. While the 1901 Canadian Census figure revealed a total of 2,109 within the city, by 1911, the number had more than tripled, bringing it to 7,460. In 1921, in spite of the temporary halt in immigration brought about in the years of the Great War, the population almost

doubled, reaching 14,679 Italian residents. By 1931, the figure reached 22,196. No other Canadian city had as many Italians and it would seem that within the Canadian context at least, Montreal had become a favorite destination for Italian immigrants prior to the Second World War.[38]

What the above figures do not reveal is the important number of Italian migrants passing through the city, particularly in the early stages of this turn of the century migration. While statistics are lacking with respect to this movement of sojourners, a sense of its magnitude can be achieved with reference to reports on the overcrowding in Montreal's boarding houses. In the weeks and months preceding the opening of the work season, thousands would arrive and seek boarding in Montreal. Many were drawn by the promises of work publicized in Italian newspapers by Cordasco and Dini. In 1904, for instance, each had placed advertisements for ten thousand jobs, a number which they were apparently unable to live up to with the start of the work season. As a result, many arrived in Montreal in the spring of that same year, and many failed to get the promised employment. The mayor of Montreal, H. Laporte, estimated that the city was harboring no fewer than 1,200 unemployed Italian migrants.[39]

A look at the changing Italian residential concentrations during this period traces, in part, the evolution of Montreal's Italian community. Approximately

half of the 2000 or so Italian residents living in the city in 1901 lived in the St. Louis, St. Lawrence and St. James wards. These wards covered the area within which the largest concentration of Italian households were situated, namely, the households south of Sherbrooke Street in between Saint Lawrence Boulevard and Saint Denis Boulevard. The area, which included the "quartier italien" was characterized as a typical down-town slum, but it had the advantage of providing low cost housing.[40] By 1931, the old sector was clearly overshadowed by concentrations of Italians in several parts of the city, the most important being the Little Italy formed in the Mile End district (this area co-incided in part with the Laurier Ward which was centered on Clarke Street, located one block west of St. Lawrence). Many had left the downtown area in favour of other residential areas.[41]

Amongst the most important determining factors influencing the choice of residence for immigrants appear to have been cheap housing and proximity to the work site (or at least good transportation services). For example, the "Little Italy" which developed in the Ville Emard area, was situated near two large local factories which employed a number of Italian workers. The cluster of Italian households situated along Papineau street benefited from both bus and tramway services. It is to be noted that many of the emerging clusters of Italian households which later developed into "Little Italies" were located near the

railways, namely within the proximity of both the Bonaventure and Windsor stations, and the largest one, just north of the Mile End Station. In virtually all cases, the areas in which these clusters developed had the advantages of providing affordable housing.[42]

A factor which contributed to the location of these clusters was the Italian's desire for a vegetable garden. One of the earliest scholarly studies to have noticed this phenomenon was a 1934 M.A. Thesis by Harold A. Gibbard. Gibbard found that Italians had a noted preference for settling in the periphery of the city where the typical Italian sought fringe homes and garden plots. Nor was this settlement limited only to the northern sections around the Dante Street and Papineau Street areas. The clusters around Ville Emard also benefited from vacant lots and open fields in the area. For Ramirez, this pattern of settlement showed a collective determination by Italians to combine the advantages of an urban labour market with those resulting from the use of free cultivable land in the outskirts.[43]

Adaptation to Local Socio-economic Life

A summary of Italian-Canadian life in Montreal would not be complete without some mention of their adaptation to both the social and economic world which surrounded them. We noted that the early migrants usually found work as navvies and that as Montreal's demand for cheap labour

increased, Italians increasingly found work within the city. Regrettably, our knowledge of Italian wage labour prior to the Second World War remains superficial. We know for instance that a large number of Italians continued to find employment with the Canadian Pacific Railroad, this time not as navvies working out in the Canadian wilderness but as labourers in various terminal stations and railway yards (such as the Angus Works and at Glen Yard). Such employment though seems for the most part to have been temporary and very few were ever able to make such employment a life time career.[44] Others were employed in industries along the Lachine canal, on the city's docks, or on such urban projects as the building of the city roads, sewers and railway tunnels (such as the Mount Royal Tunnel). The urban construction projects which employed many immigrants usually involved pick and shovel work which was both physically exhausting and low paying. Their experience was further complicated by the harsh Canadian winters, an experience which most had been unprepared for and which in some instances lead to personal tragedies.[45]

If we summarize the economic situation of most Italians in Canada (and for that matter in the United States) prior to the Second World War, we could safely state that for the majority, economic hardship was the norm. Of course, much of their economic fortune was determined by the general economic trends within the nation (work during periods of prosperity, unemployment during recessions and depressions)

yet even in the best of times, low wages and arduous labour conditions was sure to make life difficult. This community never achieved the prosperity that the post-war wave of Italian immigrants attained in the 1960s. An epitaph for this period was perhaps best phrased by Robert Foerster:

> It is no view of general comfort that the history of Italians reveals. The pictures that cut across the years are somber. If brightness and cheer show in them, it is as candles scattered, impotent to make the darkness day.[46]

Thus far, we have concentrated on some of the economic factors which influenced the selection of housing areas by Italian immigrants in the decades following the turn of the century. Of equal importance were social considerations. The desire by Italian immigrants to live near family or "paesani" tended to concentrate members of the same home village or town into one locality. The desire of many immigrants to live in an area in the proximity of Italian shops and businesses also influenced the residential choice of migrants. "Campanilismo"[47] together with chain migration, it is argued, "contributed to an almost unconscious drive in the immigrant to recreate an ambience of his own, a buffer against the new environment".[48] What resulted was more than a set of neighbourhoods with large concentrations of Italian immigrants; there developed distinct immigrant communities with their own particular institutions.

A Distinct Community Takes Shape

A problematic term which is often encountered in social history is "community". In its narrowest sense, we can identify it as referring to a body of people living in one common area; a broader definition may have us group people together that share similar traits or values, such as religion, race, profession, and so on. When the community involves an ethnic minority, definitions become significantly more complex as they must often reckon with both the question of ethnicity and that of seeing the community as a subgroup of a larger society. A problem thus presents itself. On the one hand, there is the need to define what the group is that is being studied, and on the other, one is faced with the realization that to attempt an explicit definition of an ethnic community would result in the opening of a Pandora's box. Explicit definitions have thus had to make way for more flexible and impressionistic ones that are better suited towards capturing the more ethereal elements of the group.[49]

The examination of an ethnic community through the looking glass of the "ambiente" has perhaps offered one of the most insightful techniques in examining the "Little Italy" phenomena. The "ambiente" tries to recapture the "mentalités" of immigrant communities and the psychic worlds which they inhabited; it tries to understand the group's sense of group, its sense of identity not only with respect to the often hostile world against which they tried to

buffer themselves, but with respect to their own internal world, to what some have referred to as "the stuff" of ethnic history. Moreover, it also attempts to capture the immigrant's sense of space. The ambience of the neighbourhood was not restricted to clear geographical boundaries surrounding the ethnic enclave; it usually spread outward.[50]

If the concept of community presents difficulties, the same holds true for the term "Italian". Did our pre-second World War immigrants see themselves as Italian nationals or were they hopelessly divided over regionalism and local town loyalties? Much of the literature on Italian immigration both here and in the United States has stressed the theme of the hometown or regional loyalty. It has correctly pointed to the problematical aspect of labeling these immigrants as Italian when the Italy as a nation state was still such a recent creation and where the regions had developed such distinct dialects and cultures. We know that the immigrant who came from Italy in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries strongly identified himself with his "paese", and would easily view Italians from other regions as foreigners, or "forestieri". It was this "campanilismo" that various scholars often spoke of as an almost insurmountable cleavage prohibiting unity within the broader Italian community, a view which perhaps has also been overstated within the Canadian context.[51]

If the Italian immigrant arrived in Canada as a representative of his hometown or region, his experience in the New World quickly brought him into contact with other Italians from different regions who shared the same socio-economic status as himself. Upon arriving into Canada, most, if not all, had at least a vague idea of being co-nationals with Italians from other regions. Eventually, two loyalties were to dominate many of these immigrants' lives, that of their hometown, which was natural, and that of his "italianità" which, perhaps ironically, was forged by his new foreign environment. This process of double loyalties, what Robert Harney has termed the "chiaroscuro" of local and national loyalties was not so much a struggle between local and national loyalties, (or what Jeremy Boissevain would portray as a great source of cleavage) as it was a case of expanded loyalties.[52]

This process whereby a sense of nationality, or "italianità", emerged within Montreal's Italian community was not achieved overnight. To some extent, it had to be promoted by local Italian notables and businessmen whose interests it was to have a united community. To some extent it was also fostered by the local nativism which immigrants encountered. Ultimately though, it was his ability to identify with the larger body of Italians living around him combined with their collective isolation which provided the catalyst for this national identity.[53]

One last point must be made about the emerging Italian community. To view the Little Italy as a direct importation of Italian culture from the mother country is a serious error. Simply put, the ethnoculture which developed was largely an immigrant culture, or one which was a compromise between their home experience and that of their new environment. This does not mean that once this compromise was achieved, the ethnoculture was set and frozen in time. On the contrary, the Italian community was in a constant period of change and adaptation, where Italians were constantly re-negotiating their ethnicity.[54]

The first signs of some institutional developments amongst the Italian population dates back to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As early as 1875, Italians founded their first association, the "Società Nazionale Italiana" whose modest goal, we are told, was to have the various Italians of the city meet together and discuss their mutual interests. A few years later, Italians formed a mutual aid society, "La Fratellanza Italiana", which also went under the name of "La Società dei Bersaglieri". Beyond serving as a mutual aid society, the organization also organized social events for the growing Italian community, such as the balls given at Montreal's old Empire Hall.[55]

If we examine the early membership of these associations, we note that these people were atypical of the

Italians residing in Montreal at the turn of the century. Most were long time residents of the city, fully integrated into their local community. Most were either professionals or skilled labourers, and many had married French-Canadian wives. Their residences were spread throughout the city, and yet this did not appear to diminish their sense of "italianità".[56]

The impact that these early associations had on the Italian population at large appears to have been rather minimal, except perhaps for the personal influence wielded by certain members of these associations.[57] As far as community life went, with the exception of a few picnics in the summertime, the average Italian in Montreal appears to have had little. For one observer, Montreal at the turn of the century had, "no churches, no associations, nothing to bind the Italian immigrants together in any way. There were only the travel agents and their miseries."[58]

Perhaps one of the most important institutions to develop which helped bind Italians into a community during the first few decades of the twentieth century was their own local Italian parishes. In 1905, Canada's first Italian parish, "La Madonna del Carmine", was established in the downtown sector. The church, built on what was then 479 east Dorchester street, was a fairly small building with a seating capacity of only 240 people. This was soon followed by the creation, in 1910, of a second Italian Parish,

"Madonna della Difesa" located in the Mile End sector. Besides dispensing sacraments and meeting the spiritual needs of its parishioners, these two churches also performed important social functions, such as taking an active role in the primary education of the Italian children. In the Mile End district, the first school of the "Difesa" was begun in 1910. By 1912, it could already boast 243 pupils, by 1921, it reached the 770 mark.[59] The church also opened the "Orfanatrofio italiano San Giuseppe", a local orphanage situated along St. André street near Dorchester, which cared for orphaned or abandoned Italian children.[60]

The Italian press was also an important institution within the community. Montreal's first Italian weekly, Corriere del Canada, began publication as early as 1895. La Patria Italiana -- Giornale Indipendente was founded in 1903. By 1905, a third weekly appeared on the scene, L'Araldo del Canada. While these papers were certainly small operations by today's standards, they nonetheless provided the emerging community with a much needed source of information on local as well as national events. More importantly, they acted as a forum discussing such issues as were relevant to its readership.[61]

The emerging "ambiente" also included the local Italian grocery store, the café, eventually the restaurant and the club house. As the Little Italy grew, many Italians could make a living servicing members of their own community.

Barbers, tailors, bakers, all added to the ambiance with their shops and stores. For an Italian immigrant in neighbourhoods such as Mile End, it became possible to live his life within the Italian community and not be required to assimilate into either the local Francophone or Anglophone cultures.

The community's evolution was also affected by developments in Europe, particularly the advent of the First World War and the rise of Fascism in Italy. Italy's participation in the Great War affected Italians in Montreal in two important ways. In the first place, there was a virtual freeze in the amount of Italians entering Canada from 1915 up until 1919. Secondly, as a result of Italy siding with the Allies and her correspondingly being a victor in the war, it affected perceptions both within the Italian community and the image of Italians from without. During the War, many Italian immigrants responded to the Mother country's call to arms. Trains loaded with Italian reservists and volunteers streamed across the American interior to ports where they could return to Europe and fight the common Germanic foe. In Canada, a special train, "il treno degli italiani" (the train of the Italians) left Vancouver for Montreal on May 24, 1915, picking up Italians at various train stations for the journey to Europe. With Italy now an ally, a growing favourable sentiment developed across English Canada. More importantly, this sense of new-found patriotism helped increase group solidarity within

Italian communities.[62]

It is difficult to measure the strength of this developing sense of ethnic solidarity within the Italian community. It would appear that in the years following the Great War, the community's development and nationalist sentiment had an analogous relationship. The Order of the Sons of Italy, which had been founded in the United State in 1905, and which had its first Canadian branch formed in Sault Ste. Marie in 1915, established itself in Montreal in 1919. The 1910 church building which serviced the Madonna della Difesa Parish had only nine years later become inadequate due to the rapid growth of the Italian community in the second decade of the twentieth century. As such, on November 24, 1918 the corner-stone for the new church building was laid. The construction of the church was largely completed by the following year and by August, 1919, the new building was inaugurated and blessed by Montreal's archbishop Paul Bruchesi. One of the first major functions performed within the new building occurred on September 21, 1919 when the Italian community in Montreal offered a sword of honor to Italy's Marshal of the Italian Army, General Armando Diaz, for his part in the victory over Germany and Austria.[63]

The community in Mile-End also organized to open another school in their neighbourhood since the old parish building which hosted the school of Madonna della Difesa was

by the 1920s inadequate. The school was Santa Giuliana Falconieri, opened in 1925 (and in 1932 renamed San Filippo Benizi). Three Italian schools were thus in operation by 1925 (La Difesa, Santa Giuliana Falconieri in Mile-End and Mont Carmel school in the downtown area). Some further developments occurred in the 1930s. With the constant increase of school enrollments, it was decided that the old school of Madonna della Difesa would no longer do, so in 1932 it was torn down to make way for the new school of Notre-Dame-De-La-Defense. This new modern building was to serve as an Italian all girls school while San Filippo Benizi was transformed into an all boys school.[64]

The argument has often been made that Italians, because of their Latin heritage and Catholic religion were more susceptible to integrating into Montreal's Francophone community than its Anglophone one. Much in fact has been made of the similarities of language and culture between Italians and French Canadians and studies have tended to conclude that the Italian community, during the inter-war period, leaned towards assimilating into this city's Francophone society.[65] As evidence of this trend, authors have pointed to the higher proportion of marriages of Italians with French Canadians as opposed to marriages with English Canadians. More importantly, they make reference to statistical evidence showing the marked preference Italian parents had for French schools (during the inter-war years) as opposed to English schools. For example, the enrollment

statistics of the Montreal Catholic School Commission (MCSC) registered 2607 Italian students as attending French schools out of a total of 4343 (the 1736 others attending English schools) in 1931. The figures suggest that an even 60% opted for French schools while only 40% opted for English schools.[66]

One can understand the agitation on the part of many nationalists who in the 1950s and 1960s were witnessing what they considered an about face on the community's choice of language. The Montreal Catholic School Commission enrollment statistics were suggesting that Italians had turned their back on an earlier pattern and were by the 1960s decisively opting to send their school children to English schools. Were we to take such statistics at face value, one would have considerable difficulty disputing the magnitude of that trend.

A closer analysis of the above enrollment statistics points instead to another portrait. Donato Taddeo and Raymond Taras have recently noted that the figures tabulated by the MCSC included under the French statistics the 1,054 pupils enrolled in Mont Carmel, Notre-Dame-de-la Defense, and St. Philippe Benizi schools. To characterize these as French schools, they point out, is erroneous since in fact they were trilingual schools. For example, between 1918 (date in which the Italian parish schools joined the MCSC) and 1931, both in La Defense and Benizi, Italian was used to

teach catechism in all grades. Moreover, a minimum of one hour of Italian language lessons per day were given in all grades. The rest of the school day was divided between French and English classes. If the 1,054 students enrolled in these schools is subtracted from the 2,607 figure offered by the MCSC, the result gives a figure of 1,553 Italian pupils enrolled in regular French schools. A more accurate set of figures thus reveals the following: 1,736 Italian pupils attended English schools (40%), 1,054 attended bilingual schools (24%) and only 1,553 (or 36%) attended French schools. As such, Taddeo and Taras concluded that during the inter-war period, the school enrollment figures do not indicate so much a desire on the part of Italians to assimilate into the Francophone community as integrating into a bilingual environment. In fact, the Italian community seems even at this early stage to have strongly valued learning both official languages. This trend was to continue well into the 1960s.[67]

The Fascist Period

A period which has lately come under some investigation in Little Italies across America is one that has been termed "The Fascist Period". Generally the focus has been on recreating the Italian social environment and on examining how prominent members of the community either encouraged the spread of Fascist ideology within their communities or attempted to resist it. Regrettably, the period is still

heavily under-researched and suffers somewhat from an anti-Fascist bias which often tends to confuse "nationalism" and "Fascism" as though they were interchangeable terms. As such, exclamations of patriotic sentiment within the community have often rather erroneously been mistaken as Fascist manifestations.[68]

This sense of national pride was already particularly strong within the community in the early 1920s. The Order of the Sons of Italy, was becoming well established in many Canadian cities by the early 1920s. If Italians seemed to accept certain Fascist propaganda in the 1930s, it was simply that much of it touched a sensitive chord amongst many immigrants who had found themselves despised by local inhabitants for being Italian. Little wonder then that the rise of Benito Mussolini and Italian Fascism was to generally receive a sympathetic hearing in Montreal's Italian community. Italian Fascism promised Italians a glorious future and a return to national greatness. Moreover, Benito Mussolini, the champion of the middle classes against Bolshevism, had himself received a favorable image in much of the Western Democracies. Many prominent Canadian and American personalities were captivated by the dictator's charisma and his emerging corporate state.[69] He was reputed to have saved Italy from Bolshevism and anarchy, restored state relations with the Vatican (Lateran Pact of 1929), and revitalized Italy's economy. For Italians living in Canada until at least 1935 (with the invasion of Ethiopia

by the Italian Army), the perception appears to have been that there was no contradiction between being a good Fascist and a good Canadian.[70]

Fascist propaganda to North America's Italians was spread through Italian consular agencies. As early as 1923, in an attempt to export Fascism to Italian immigrants living abroad, the propaganda agency "Fasci all'Estero" (Fascists Abroad) was organized. Together with the Italian Foreign Office, the above agency sought to organize and oversee the activities of hundreds of Fascist clubs in Little Italies around the world.[71]

Since Montreal had Canada's largest concentration of Italian immigrants, it soon became a target for the implementation of an Italian Fascist club. The impetus for the creation of the first local "facio" apparently came as a reaction to an editorial in Montreal's Italian weekly L'Araldo del Canada which blamed Fascists in Italy for a series of riots which occurred in Florence in 1925. The article supposedly reached the attention of Mussolini himself who responded personally to the charges of the Montreal editor through his own newspaper, Il Popolo d'Italia. That same year, the first Italian Fascio opened in Montreal.[72]

By the 1930s, Italian Fascist movements had well penetrated Italian communities abroad and many community leaders had become affiliated with Italian Fascist lodges.

Italian Fascism at the time lacked much of the pejorative image that it now evokes and it was natural to find many members of the Italian community members of Fascist lodges not so much out of political convictions as out of social interest for the activities that these centres offered. The Casa d'Italia was built in 1936 on land donated by a Municipal administration which obviously perceived Italian Fascist organizations as posing no danger. Canadian politicians regularly attended feasts organized by local "Fasci" and the painting of Mussolini and members of his Fascist cabinet on the inner dome of the Madonna della Difesa in 1933 appears to have solicited little objection outside the Italian community. In fact, an English-Canadian senator, Lawrence A. Wilson, was amongst the most generous patrons whose financial contributions helped make the internal decorations of the church possible.[73]

Earlier in this chapter, we noted that discriminatory attitudes amongst Canadian government officials and prominent English Canadians in general were prejudiced against the arrival of Italian immigrants in Canada. Numerous have been the studies focusing on Italophobia within North America's Anglophone world, and the typical stereotype of the Italian focused on his alleged criminality and poor hygiene.[74] Fewer have been the studies which focused on French-Canadian attitudes towards Italians prior to the Second World War. It would appear generally that French Canadians shared much the same stereotypes as the

rest of English Canada concerning the Mafia and the Italian's dirt. A short survey of a well respected paper such as La Presse in the early nineteen hundreds appears to confirm this.[75]

The Catholic Church in Quebec, ironically, also hurt the image of Italians by its constant attack on the newly formed nation state which had despoiled the Papal States of its lands in central Italy. Until the signing of the Lateran Treaties in 1929, the Québec's Catholic Church generally depicted the Italian state in pejorative terms, describing it as a nation filled with "antichristical revolutionaries" and "atheist Piedmontese monarchists". Such references towards the Italian state did not help the image of Italian immigrants in Montreal.[76]

The argument has been made that Italians were socially better accepted in French North America than in its Anglophone counterpart. In comparison, French Canadian attitudes toward Italians seem tamer and less racist than those of Anglophones both in Canada and the United States prior to the Second World War. Living in a Catholic province, they also escaped much of the disdain other Italian immigrants experienced on account of their religious confessionality (even if they were at times looked upon with suspicion).[77] Better off though he may have been, the Italian resident in Montreal still had to contend with a local nativism which often had the Italian identified as an

immigrant and an outsider whose presence apparently threatened French Canada's ability to survive in an Anglophone continent.

A Conflict of Nationalisms

The year 1921 marked the six hundredth anniversary of the death of Dante Alighieri. To commemorate this man, a movement was begun by the then pastor of La Madonna della Difesa Parish to have a small street, Rue Suzanne, upon which the main doors of the new church opened, renamed in honor of that Italian. The apparent conflict that such a demand caused in Montreal's City Hall over the incident is quite revealing. The street itself ran only a couple of hundred meters and this, through the heart of the Italian community. The initial petition, after what appears to have caused a lively debate, was turned down, and as a token gesture, a new road in the outskirts of Montreal (in Ville St. Michel) was named Dante Avenue. This location it should be noted, not only contained no Italian community in its vicinity, but lay in the rural periphery of the city. Rather insulted by the affair, a second petition had to be launched by the pastor which gave rise to more debating within City Hall as to whether la rue Suzanne should have its name changed. From Vangelisti's writings, it is not altogether clear what opposition he met this second time around. The end result was that his petition was granted and that the street name was changed to la rue Dante in

1922.[78]

As far as the community's history was concerned, the above incident in and of itself is certainly trivial. What makes it significant is that it appears to follow a recognizable trend; whenever the Italian minority's nationalism, or sense of ethnic collectivity, was expressed beyond the confines of their immediate community, it was bound to meet with local resistance. More particularly, whenever Italians would seek to have their contributions to this nation's development recognized, Francophone hostility was sure to be incurred. No example in the inter-war years is more vivid than the Giovanni Caboto incident.

In 1897, in order to commemorate the 400th anniversary of John Cabot's voyage, the Royal Society of Canada had a plaque installed in Nova Scotia's Legislative Assembly commemorating this explorer's achievement. On a more grandiose scale, the English city of Bristol, from where the expedition had been launched, erected a large monument to commemorate that voyage. Montreal had no such plaque or monument in honor of this discoverer who at least in the English speaking world was recognized as having been the discoverer of North America.[79]

In 1925, a movement began within Montreal's Italian community to honor the Venetian explorer who had discovered Canada and laid claim to it for the English Crown. A statue would be commissioned and paid for by Italian-Canadians and

donated to the city of Montreal. The idea of commemorating the exploits of this Italian discoverer seems to have been launched by the Montreal chapter of the Order of the Sons of Italy on June 24, 1925. The organization most closely associated with the raising of the $11,000.00 necessary for the statue was the newly formed Italian weekly, Il Cittadino, edited by two young Montrealers, Biagio Farese and Giulio Fantacci. The newspaper solicited donations on the part of Italians throughout Canada, and in the late 1920s published articles aimed at sensitizing Italian-Canadians not only to the achievements of Giovanni Caboto, but also to the contributions that earlier co-nationals had made to Canadian history.[80]

What shocked Il Cittadino was the lack of recognition in French Canadian textbooks to the contribution of Italians to Canadian history. In particular, affirming that Jacques Cartier had discovered Canada was to these editors a denial of historical truth. Moreover, Il Cittadino could not understand why their French Canadian confrères alone, in the Dominion, ignored the accomplishments of Cabot.[81]

What was clearly unfolding was a debate over historical figures whose importance was more symbolic than real. Cabot had landed in the New World on June 24, 1497. In the province of Québec, June 24 also happens to be the feast of St. Jean Baptiste (now also known as La Fête Nationale). Italians would clearly have to demonstrate their nationalism

very cautiously. The traditional June 24th parades in Montreal revealed some of the ensuing tensions. In 1925, much to the disappointment of some Italians, the float dedicated to Caboto came after the one dedicated to Cartier, while the opposite order was respected in the 1927 jubilee celebrations held in Ottawa.[82]

A recent essay by Roberto Perin on Italian Consular propaganda in Montreal during the 1930s has made the case that in their campaign to raise funds for the Caboto monument, the editorials appearing in Il Cittadino were "aggressively anti-French Canadian". The newspaper had used words such as "ingratitude" and "forgetfulness" to describe the attitudes of French Canadians towards their historical contributions, had mocked French Canadians for cherishing the belief that Cartier had discovered Canada, and were generally cultivating a sense of kinship with English Canada while stressing the "otherness of French Canada". Not only was this campaign anti French Canadian, but was itself orchestrated by Montreal's Italian Fascist movement.[83]

What Perin's essay plays on are the Fascist implications of the Caboto movement and in so doing gives a rather pejorative picture of Italian nationalists at Il Cittadino. In the first instance, it is not clear that the Caboto movement was orchestrated by local Fascists, and to assume that since the movement was begun the same year that the first "fascio" opened in Montreal is little more than

co-incidental evidence. Moreover, many of the personalities involved in the movement were non-Fascists. Il Cittadino itself won the praises of one of Montreal's most outspoken anti-Fascists, A. V. Spada.[84] On his second point that Il Cittadino's rhetoric was anti-French Canadian, one must place it within the context of what was being said within Montreal's Francophone papers.

On December 5, 1929, Le Devoir began a regular series entitled "Nos enquêtes" which would examine the relative merits as to which explorer, Jacques Cartier or John Cabot, was the discoverer of Canada. The editor responsible, Emile Benoist, began the series by comparing the controversy to an important judicial trial:

> Un procès qui devrait susciter un intérêt autrement grand, autrement général survient, non pas devant les tribunaux judiciaires mais devant un tribunal de bien plus haute juridiction, celui de l'histoire, à propos de la découverte de notre pays. Il s'agit de savoir quel a été le découvreur du Canada.[85]

For Benoist, the answer was evident; history text books, at least those which were being used in Québec schools, stated clearly that Canada had been discovered by Jacques Cartier. All French Canadians had known of the exploits of Cartier who planted a cross in Gaspé, and claimed the territory in the name of the King of France. Such a fact, Benoist remarked "semblait incontestablement acquis à l'histoire".[86] The challenge that Il Cittadino had launched against this entrenched view for Benoist appeared

as a provocation:

> Voici qu'à la veille de la célébration du troisième (sic) centenaire de cet événement, juste au moment où, pour honorer le découvreur, l'on va decider de donner au nouveau pont qui relle l'ile de Montréal avec la rive sud du Saint-Laurent le nom de Jacques-Cartier, l'on se met à contester à celui-ci le mérite de sa découverte.[87]

As far as the exploits of John Cabot were concerned, Le Devoir stated that they were little more than mythical. "Rien ne prouve que Cabot soit venu en Amerique", headlined an article denouncing the Cabotian claims. According to Benoist, no undisputable evidence existed to prove that Cabot had ever accomplished his voyages to North America, or for that matter, which proved that Cabot had ever lived. The documents upon which the Cabot expeditions were based, (three letters written by Italians to notables back home) the paper claimed were no more than forgeries.[88] Even conceding that such a man did exist and made such voyages, the paper stated that Cabot probably travelled no further than the shores of Labrador (which, was then not part of Canada).[89] Benoist went so far as to suggest that the alleged exploits of Cabot were all part of a British conspiracy:

> C'est en effect sur la prétendue découverte de Jean Cabot que la Couronne d'Angleterre a voulu fonder son droit de souveraineté sur le continent nord-américain. De là sont autrefois surgies toutes les difficultés à propos des limites de l'Acadie.[90]

If Le Devoir had decided to enter the "historical debate" as to who was the discoverer of Canada, Benoist

claims that it was as a result of the propaganda at Il Cittadino:

> Le litige historique à propos de la découverte du Canada serait resté dans l'ombre, n'aurait préoccupé que les seuls historiens, si un journal italien de Montréal, comme il était question de préparer la célébration du troisième centenaire de la venue de Cartier au Canada, n'avait revendiqué pour le Vénitien Jean Cabot l'honneur d'avoir précédé le Malouin. Ce litige mérite maintenant d'être soumis à l'opinion publiqué.[91]

To public opinion, Le Devoir certainly submitted the debate. Throughout the months of December 1929 and January 1930, over a dozen front page articles were published which took issue with the Caboto campaign. On December 18, 1929 Benoist explained to his readership the campaign being organized by Montreal's Italian community to have a statue erected in the city with the inscription "A Jean Cabot, découvreur du Canada". Besides attacking Biagio Farese's arguments, Benoist warned that it would be foolish to have such a monument erected in the city when no evidence existed to prove that Cabot ever travelled to Canada. In fact much of the debate seemed to be accented on the displaying of such a statue. In a latter article, Benoist sounded an ominous warning:

> Il reste cependant à savoir si un monument à Cabot, "découvreur du Canada", pourra être élevé à Montréal. Nous espérons bien que les autorités municipales ne permettront pas une telle chose à moins qu'il ne soit d'abord démontré que Cabot a bien droit au titre que Il Cittadino réclame pour lui.[92]

Given the tone and position of Le Devoir, one can

certainly understand the tone of Il Cittadino. Faced with a constant denial by papers of the contribution which one of their ancestors had made to Canadian history (when most English speaking historians had no problem recognizing Cabot's achievements) must surely have been frustrating. Being mocked in editorials did not make it any easier. Reassurances from Emile Benoist that he and his people wanted to be sympathetic towards their compatriots of Italian origin must have appeared rather hollow when alongside the "Nos enquêtes" series would be articles denouncing Canada's immigration policy which was allowing too many "strangers" into their country.[93]

The debates between Il Cittadino and Le Devoir illustrate two different nationalist visions not only of Canadian history, but also of the place of cultural minority rights in Canada, and more particularly, of those within the province of Quebec. From Il Cittadino, the vision was not very different from that which would be voiced in the 1960s:

> ... all we ask is that it consider us not 'as Italians living in our midst' but that it consider us for what we are - Canadians - on an equality (sic) with those of other ethnic groups living in the Dominion.[94]

What was being asked from French Canadians was that Italians be treated as Canadians who could be as proud of their Italian origin as French Canadians were of their French origin.[95]

An analysis of the debates which occurred between 1930

and 1934 with respect to this Cabot - Cartier controversy is still unavailable as a result of the serious lacunas which exist in the history of Montreal's Italian community. Opposition to the erection of such a statue was apparently strong enough that certain modifications to the original intentions of the Caboto movement occurred. The statue, which was sent out to be cast in Italy was back in Montreal and ready to be exposed by 1934, a year which marked the 400th anniversary celebrations of Cartier. Rather than incurring French Canadian hostilities, the Italian community appears to have decided to suspend the unveiling until 1935. Moreover, the original epitaph which was to have read "To John Cabot, discoverer of Canada" was changed to "To Giovanni Caboto, The Italians of Canada", and inscribed in three languages (Italian, English and French) apparently to avoid further problems with nationalists. Here we find no example of an aggressive anti-French Canadian attitude but rather, of a cautious and accommodating one.[96]

A final note may be said on our Caboto story. It would appear that there was considerable reticence on the part of Montreal's City Hall to authorize a site where the Caboto monument could be displayed. The location which was finally decided upon lay in the westernmost corner of the city, namely near the corner of Atwater and St. Catherine streets. The symbolic significance of such a location, away from any French section of Montreal and just a stone throw from the city of Westmount, was quite powerful and did not go

unnoticed within Montreal's Italian community.[97]

Conclusion

One of the most important studies conducted on Italians in Montreal in the 1970's was that of the Gendron Commission. While generally sympathetic to the linguistic problems faced by Italians at the time, its analysis of the factor behind the St. Léonard Crisis revealed the commissioners fundamental lack of awareness regarding the history of this ethnic group. As the argument goes, Italians arriving in Montreal were faced with two co-existing dominant cultures. As immigrants, Italians found two societies accustomed to living side by side with their respective institutions, engaging in very few mutual exchanges. These immigrants thus had to adapt to an "institutional world" where they created their own separate institutions, forming in Montreal what it referred to as a third solitude.[98]

There is an implication in the Commission Report that the Italian Community had formed this so called third solitude as the result of some abnormality which existed in Québec society. What the commission ought to have noted is that the phenomenon of Little Italies and other ethnic enclaves was not only restricted to the city of Montreal with its particular social situation, but was common in most North American cities with significant immigrant

populations. If Italians had developed their own institutions or had their own separate identity, it was not because of some failure from the part of the host society for not having integrated. Immigrants had staked a place of their own in the city and had recreated an ambience in which they could live comfortably. Theirs was a community with a long local history whose institutions and distinctive neighbourhoods dated back to the turn of the century, and whose post war immigration was but a continuum of what had occurred before. It was also a history which revealed a rather important collective desire to foster a separate Italian identity. Be it with the question of education and bilingual schools (which also taught Italian) or of filiopiest historical symbols, "l'italianità" was alive and well prior to the Second World War.

The Second World War proved devastating for Italian communities throughout North America. Since Italy had entered the war on the side of the Germans, Italian immigrants and their descendants living in Canada and the United States quickly became "enemy aliens" and soon after Italy's declaration of war against Great Britain, some 900 Italians in Canada were rounded up and interned in concentration camps.[99]

The 1940s proved to be very difficult years for the Italian community in Montreal. With the war drawing to a close, and the new decade of peace about to dawn on the

horizon, conditions were preparing themselves for a newer and more spectacular growth within Montreal's Italian community.

CHAPTER III

The Post-War Years

With the close of the Second World War, Italians in Canada set out to rebuild their shattered communities. This task was made difficult by their wartime experience, one which had conditioned many to de-emphasize their ethnicity. Throughout the war, Italians had been the target of considerable hostility from both federal authorities and local civilians. Community centres had been seized, citizens perceived as threats, interned, and many businesses vandalized. The average Canadian of Italian origin often found himself blacklisted as far as job opportunities were concerned. Under such pressure, it was only natural that community development would suffer. Many preferred hiding their ethnic origin by changing their names in the hope of sheltering themselves and their families from the public hostility which being an enemy alien entailed.[1]

For many, it appeared that the Italian community had been delivered a debilitating blow from which it would never fully recover. Gone seemed the days when they, as Canadians of Italian origin, could proudly proclaim their nationalism and demonstrate as much pride in their roots as Canada's two "founding peoples" could.

With the demographic explosion that Italian communities experienced in the 1950s and 1960s, defeatist attitudes were

quickly replaced by optimistic ones. Communities that had languished during the Depression and War were suddenly rejuvenated with a new generation of young energetic workers eager to earn a place for themselves in the New World. In 1951, Census Canada reported a total of 152,245 Italians living in this country. By 1961, Canada's Italian population had almost trebled reaching the figure of 450,351. Whole new neighbourhoods emerged to accommodate this enormous influx of Italian immigrants entering our Canadian cities. The city of Montreal, while overshadowed by Toronto with respect to the number of Italians it was to attract, nonetheless witnessed a tremendous growth in its Italian population. If in 1951 this city's Italian population numbered only 31,000, by 1961 it had climbed to approximately 101,000.[2]

The aim of this chapter is to reconstruct part of the "ambiente" of the Italian community just prior to the St. Léonard Crisis and to demonstrate the enormous vitality that the community had developed for itself. Once again we find many of the familiar themes present in the first half of the twentieth century. Italians were leaving their country in search of better economic opportunities; "paesani" networks and chain migration attracted many into Canadian cities. Many began their lives in Montreal as boarders, eventually raising enough capital to buy a home in the city's periphery. Old ethnic neighbourhoods generally continued their expansion while new ones were created in the city's

expanding periphery. The growth of these communities helped rekindle a sense of ethnic identity. More importantly, the constant attempts by community notables to revive the community's "italianità" (or sense of ethnic nationalism) was to bring it into full conflict with Québec's re-emerging neo-nationalism during the Quiet Revolution.

Certain historiographical difficulties present themselves. As with the inter-war period, post-war Italian-Canadian historiography is meager at best. This is particularly true with regards to the local history of Italians in Montreal. Fine demographic and sociological studies exist on this city's post-war community but these works are to few and far between to give an adequate picture of what was taking place within Montreal's Italian community. Such lack of basic material is sorrowfully missed since it was in these years, namely the 1950s and 1960s that the Italian community experienced its most important expansionist phase. Thankfully, enough exists to give us a framework, even if only rudimentary, of those twenty years prior to the linguistic problems of the late 1960s. As with the previous chapter, many of the answers that unlock keys to understanding the post-war immigration wave lie in the Old World, and it is there that our attention must first focus.

Italian Immigrants on the Move

With the end of the Second World War, European nations began the slow and painful task of rebuilding their war torn economies. In Italy, the fierce fighting between the Allied invading forces and the German army had ravaged much of the countryside and left the nation in economic ruin. As such, the years following the war witnessed considerable economic distress, and in such times, the resumption of emigration was sure to become a popular alternative for many. In 1946, the Fascist policies that had restricted both internal and external emigration were lifted by the new Republican government and the right of citizens to leave their nation was reaffirmed. The response was quick. In the last four years of the 1940s, over 900,000 Italians emigrated.[3]

Italians were leaving an economically depressed nation, one with "... the worst unemployment in Western Europe."[4] While the economic picture was certainly poor, one must temper it with some perspective shading. Care must be taken not to exaggerate the degree of economic turmoil that most of these post-war immigrants to Canada were leaving behind. It is not uncommon to have studies speaking of post-war Italian immigrants fleeing "... the disastrous economic conditions and the appalling misery then prevailing in large areas of Italy".[5] While post-war Italy certainly experienced tremendous economic hardship, characterizing Italian immigrants as coming from a nation which lay "... in

a state of total economic and political chaos"[6] is both exaggerated and misleading. Several studies demonstrate that the Italian economy in the 1950s was in fact staging a remarkable comeback. Italian scholar Eugenia Malfatti demonstrates that even "Il Mezzogiorno" from 1951 to 1971 was gradually reaping the benefits of regional industrialization and witnessing an improved average standard of living.[7]

Italians were not leaving the same Italy that their ancestors had left at the turn of the century. The socio-economic conditions in the country had changed significantly. While sixty per cent of the peninsula's population was classified as rural in 1901, by 1961, it fell to only thirty per cent.[8] Gone were the days of "la miseria" where a majority of Italian immigrants lived in illiteracy and where starvation was forcing many "contadini" to emigrate. It was usually not so much to escape misery as it was to advance economically that many seem to have emigrated to Canada in the post-war period. These immigrants were not "economic refugees"; on the contrary, these were often people on the make, who in ways not unlike their ancestors, contemplated working "a l'estero", save money and either bring the rest of their family over or return home.[9]

Millions of Italians were ready to emigrate but was Canadian society ready to accept any part of this migration

movement? It would appear not. In the first years of post-war Italian immigration, Canada did not host a significant number of Italians, this in spite of many applications to immigrate there. Many families wished to renew the chains of migration that had weakened since the Depression but were initially prevented from doing so because of the "enemy alien" designation Canadian law gave to Italian nationals. This designation placed on them during the war did not begin to be rescinded until 1948.[10] A look at some immigration statistics will help to illustrate its effect.

In 1946, the year following the war, several countries began to accept Italian immigrants. Switzerland accepted 48,808 immigrants, France 28,135, the Benelux countries 24,653, the Unites States 5,442, Argentina 749, Brazil 603, and Venezuela 127. Canada took in no Italian immigrants that year. In 1947, the picture was not very different. The top five countries that accepted Italians were Switzerland with 105,112, France with 53,245, the Benelux countries with 29,881, Argentina accepted 27,379 and the United States 23,471. Canada accepted only 58 immigrants from Italy.[11]

As the designation of "enemy alien" was gradually rescinded, the number of Italians arriving in Canada increased. In 1948, the number had risen to 2,406; in 1949 it climbed to 5,991. Although the figures denote a considerable increase, they remain rather low. In 1949 for

instance, Argentina alone accepted 98,262 Italians. Of the over 900,000 Italians who had left Italy from 1946 to 1949, less than one per cent, (8,455) had immigrated to Canada.[12]

Italian immigration to Canada in the 1950s witnessed a sizeable increase. Although it never reached the proportions of either Switzerland, France or Argentina, Canada became an important destination in its own right, even surpassing the United States. In the 1950s, while the United States accepted 187,249 Italians, Canada accepted 217,456 or a full sixteen per cent more.[13] A change of policy had occurred. Various studies have noted that the origin of Canada's somewhat favourable stance towards Italian immigration in the 1950s lay in its domestic need for both unskilled and semi-skilled labour. Canada's domestic manpower shortage forced it to look to Europe for a much needed labour pool. Pressure from Canadians with relatives abroad also had some effect on the government's immigration policy. Franc Sturino points to another reason which at times goes by unnoticed; international political pressure. As part of the Atlantic Alliance, Canada was pressured into accepting immigrants from war torn Italy. The presumption seems to have been that Canada could help Western Europe's reconstruction program by acting as a safety valve for such countries as war torn Italy, where the high levels of unemployment were seen as a potential recruiting ground for communism.[14]

One of the myths which was to emerge within the Italian community was that the federal Liberals had traditionally held a generous policy for Italian immigration to Canada. While much can be said for their more generous policies of the 1960s, in the late 1940s, Mackenzie King's immigration policy was not quite so benign. Sociologist Anthony H. Richmond argues that one of the cardinal assumptions underlying Canadian immigration policy in the post-war period was that British immigrants could be more easily absorbed within Canadian society than immigrants of other nationalities. By giving preferential treatment to certain countries and by restricting immigration from others, Canada's immigration policy could not but be attacked as discriminatory. King responded to such criticism in the House of Commons:

> With regards to the selection of immigrants, much has been said about discrimination. I wish to make it quite clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a "fundamental human right" of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege. It is a matter of domestic policy.[15]

The department of immigration was making special efforts to encourage immigration from such countries as the United States, France, Ireland, and nations within the British Commonwealth. In the United Kingdom for instance, there were large immigration offices, prospective immigrants faced fewer formalities and speedier procedures for collecting visas but more particularly, had a more active

promotional campaign than anywhere else in the world. Immigration from Italy, on the other hand, faced greater restrictions and was often viewed with concern from Ottawa.[16]

The admittance of such large number of Italian immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s was more a matter of circumstances than a matter of design. A bilateral agreement between Canada and Italy signed in 1950 made possible the migration of healthy individuals from Italy to Canada so long as they passed basic political and legal checks and so long as employment in Canada could be assured. Canadian government officials in Italy carried out the recruitment of bulk labour both for agricultural employers and for the railroad, mining and forestry industry.[17] As such, these Italians were able to enter Canada as contract labourers. The intention was to streamline Italian immigration for particular Canadian domestic needs. Overseas recruitment accounted for only a minority of the total amount of Italians entering Canada during the 1950s and 1960s. The majority that entered did so outside of the scope of close government regulation; they entered Canada as sponsored immigrants.

What the Canadian government had apparently not counted on was the snowballing effect that chain migration would produce. Italian-Canadians could themselves sponsor relatives from Italy so long as they could guarantee that

the immigrant would not become a public charge. Moreover, landed immigrants themselves, such as the thousands of recruited Italians arriving in the early 1950s, could sponsor relatives. Whole new family chains were established and by the mid 1950s, it became evident even to government officials that a majority of Italians were entering Canada as a result of chain migration.[18] In 1955, a special Committee on Estimates expressed concern at the increasing number of sponsored immigrants from Italy. Alarming statements were made to the effect that entire villages in Italy had become completely depopulated as a result of immigration to Canada. The then minister of immigration himself expressed the view that if the number of Italians entering Canada became "disproportionate", it would create a "shift" which he thought the public would not want. In 1958, Italians became the single largest national group to immigrate into Canada, replacing the British for the first time since the war. Alarmed, officials in Ottawa began looking for ways to limit this migration.[19]

If Italians were coming to Canada in such large numbers, it was not as a result of government promotion. Chain migration had become the driving force behind this movement. A prospective immigrant wishing to leave Italy for a foreign destination usually received his information on his target country from fellow townsmen who had either been there before or who were presently living there. Such important information as what the country was like, what

local living conditions were, what kind of work one could expect to find, how much money one could expect to earn, and most importantly, what kind of people lived there and what kind of hospitality existed would all be answered by what the immigrant could trust, his "paesani" network. If reports were favourable, requests for sponsorships from either relatives or friends would follow.

Besides the paesani networks, Italians had other sources of information on what life in Canada was like. Vast areas of Southern Italy had been "liberated" by the Canadian armed forces during the war and numerous contacts were established between Italian civilians and Canadian forces of occupation.[20] More importantly, educational standards in Italy had significantly improved in the mid-twentieth century and generally speaking, the average Italian was better informed than his turn of the century ancestor. One can even find references of Canada in Italian popular culture. A hit song in the 1950s was "La Casetta in Canada". Its lyrics speak of an Italian migrant resettled in Italy who nostalgically remembers his small picturesque home in Canada.[21] The point which becomes evident is that the preconceived notions that Italian immigrants had as to what they could expect to find in Canada were arrived at from sources largely independent from Canadian government propaganda overseas. Their own network was providing them with all their necessary information.

Montreal's Expanding Italian Community

The economic expansion of the late 1940s and 1950s was most visible in Canada's major urban centers. The city of Montreal, like that of Toronto, attracted thousands of migrants rural areas, other Canadian towns as well as from overseas. The manufacturing sector, aided in part by the newly accessible "continental market", large foreign investments, and the "baby boom" underwent tremendous expansion. As thousands of people flooded in to fill these jobs, the city of Montreal itself experienced a tremendous urban explosion. Suburban areas which had but a generation before been agricultural zones suddenly made way for enormous housing and industrial projects. As a result of all this economic activity, the construction industry boomed and needed a work force.[22]

It was in this cycle of economic expansion that Italians began arriving in Montreal. Approximately half of these immigrants had either been small farmers or agricultural labourers in Italy. Having little specialized training suited for an urban environment, many settled for whatever unskilled labour was available. Many found employment in local manufacturing near the Lachine canal, others in the north end of the city where much of the garment industry was located. More importantly, with whole new construction projects in the city core and vast residential neighbourhoods springing up in the suburbs, many

Italians sought work as skilled or unskilled labourers in construction. The construction industry in particular was to provide many Italians with the social mobility that had been largely missing for most pre-war Italians. Numerous Italian contractors, often starting with little more than a pick and shovel were to fulfill that proverbial rags to riches transformation which America seemed to symbolize. By the 1960s, the construction industry was the single-most important source of employment for Italians in Montreal.[23]

The constant arrival of Italians to Montreal in the 1950s and 1960s also provided an enormous market for "Italian service industries". Italian immigrants that settled in Montreal could seek employment in sectors which catered directly to their ethnic group. Others tried their luck by opening their own businesses. Soon, a profusion of Italian bakeries, grocery stores, barber shops, shoe stores, furniture stores, tailor shops, vegetable markets, cinemas, wedding halls, bars, restaurants, club houses and funeral parlors sprang up across the community adding to the Italian "ambiente" of the neighbourhoods. Italian immigrants would also, at various times, need the services of accountants, notaries, lawyers, doctors, dentists, insurance salesmen, real estate brokers, travel agents, photographers, musicians, and a whole slew of other professional and tradesmen services. What wonderful opportunities this presented for the more educated second and third generation to have an ever growing number of Italian immigrants seeking

the services of middlemen whom they could understand and trust! Now more than ever, a large section of Montreal's Italian community drew its livelihood both directly and indirectly from its own ethnic group and had a vested interest in both the preservation and expansion of their own community.[24]

What of the individual attitudes of Italian immigrants themselves? What views did Italian immigrants have towards life in North America? An illuminating study which ought to be of interest is Boissevain's The Italian of Montreal, not only for the conclusions it reached but also because of the time frame in which this study was set. The author completed his study in 1969, just prior to the outbreak of violence between Francophones and Italians in St. Léonard. As such, this work becomes a valuable primary source in understanding ethnic relations in the Crisis.[25]

One of the most enduring legacies of the Italian immigrant was his work ethic. His willingness to accept any type of work, coupled with a proverbial drive towards saving money and building for a future allowed many to improve their family's economic situation rather quickly. This rapid rise in economic fortune astonished many observers. Boissevain, who was commissioned by the federal government to direct a study on Montreal's Italian Community, was apparently intrigued by the following question: "How do immigrants who arrive penniless manage to save such large

sums of money in such a short time?" He noted that 26 per cent had purchased houses in less than five years since their arrival from Italy. Another 60 per cent purchased them in a period from five to ten years after arrival. The following account collected by Boissevain helped explain these remarkable figures:

> All feel that a family with more than one person able to work can purchase a house between five and eight years after their arrival The family's financial policy is to live on 50 per cent of what its members earn ... Italian families do not try to save on food. They eat well; their children are well fed. They do, however, save not by having a car and not by going out to eat. Only when the house is paid for will the family consider going out on Saturday or Sunday evenings.[26]

Most Italian immigrants appeared to be very successful in the post-war years, even if this success came at great toil and sacrifice. As a result of this experience, many developed a set of values that embodied both a materialistic outlook as well as a rather conservative economic philosophy.[27] If others did not "make it", it was because they were lazy. Such sentiments were well expressed by a restaurant owner:

> It's all right now. We're doing all right. But we have to work hard and we sacrificed many things. And if you want to do it, you can get ahead. But the ones that are coming now, they don't want to be treated like dirt. They expect to be treated like real Canadians from the first day. They have to learn that it doesn't happen that way. You take the dirt, you take the low jobs, but you don't let go. After a few years, you have proven you are as good as they are. When you've got money, too, then they start to show you respect. A lot of blacks and Columbians, even the Italians coming

> now, they want it easy. It doesn't happen that way, if you are an immigrant.[28]

What is particularly fascinating is the degree of confidence that many within the Italian community had developed. Boissevain noted several examples of it in his study, particularly with reference to the social mobility which second generation Italians were demonstrating. Moreover, he noted a strong degree of nationalism which was developing within the community.[29]

The neighbourhood "ambiente" was further complimented with the revitalization of pre-war Italian institutions and the creation of new ones. Some sixty Italian associations were in operation in the 1965. Some were regional associations representing parochial regional groups of Italians. Others, particularly those organized along professional or occupational categories were representative of economic interest groups. A number were opened to the whole community. For example, the Sons of Italy, an organization we noted in the pre-war period, attempted to group as many organizations as possible under its banner. What we should keep in mind is that these Italian associations not only acted as the organizers and focal points for much of the social activity within the community; they also acted as pressure groups which made known to agencies and authorities outside the community the problems and thoughts of their members.[30]

While an examination of the function of these associations lies outside the scope of this thesis, a short look at some of these more prominent associations is indispensable. It was in these institutions that many of the community's notables were to be found and it was to such notables that the Italian community would turn for guidance, particularly in times of crisis.

One of the most influential societies within the community was the Canadian Italian Business and Professional Men's Association (CIBPA). Established in 1949, this association was composed of relatively wealthy Italians with important status within the community. With a membership in the mid-1960s of some 400, this association claimed to speak on behalf of the whole of the Italian community to both federal and provincial governments. This claim was strongly opposed by other members of the community who criticized it as representing the interests of an older Canadian-born elite. In the early 1960s, a group of Italian educated professional men and business executives left the CIBPA to found their own organization, the Association of Italo-Canadian Professional Men (Associazione dei Professionisti Italo-Canadesi -- APIC). Most of its membership was composed of post-war immigrants.[31]

The largest organizations were the mutual aid societies. Two were particularly important, the Order of the Sons of Italy and the Order of Italo-Canadians. Each

had a membership of well over a thousand Italians. These societies functioned in ways not dissimilar from insurance companies, providing a measure of collective security for individual members.[32] It is to be noted that the president of the Order of the Sons of Italy was one of the Italian community's most prominent members, Alfredo Gagliardi, of whom we will have occasion to speak of later.

Perhaps the single most important institution within the Italian community was the Italian national parish. If the Italian ethnic parishes had been important during the early stages of Italian community development, they were no less so in the post-war period. With the tremendous increase of this community's population, Montreal witnessed the establishment of a series of new Italian parishes and missions throughout the city. In 1949, the third Italian parish in the metropolitan area, San Giovanni Bosco, was established in Ville Emard. In 1953, a small mission operated by La Madonna della Difesa, was transformed into the fourth parish, La Madonna del Carmine and its church was built on the corner of Jean Talon and Papineau streets. In 1961, a fifth Italian parish was created in the north eastern end of the city, La Madonna di Pompei, on the corner of Sauvé Street and St Michel Boulevard. These five parishes, together with three missions established prior to 1970 employed some 31 clerics. Moreover, the Italian Catholic community had grown large enough by the 1960s to justify the appointment in 1964 of an Italian auxiliary

bishop of Montreal, Monsignor Andrea Maria Cimichella.[33]

The role played by the Italian Church within the community has justly been portrayed as one of tremendous importance by a number of scholars. Boissevain argued that the church served as a kind of cultural and spiritual refuge which dampened the shock experienced by the newly arrived immigrant into the new world.[34] Moreover, because of their location so near the center of Montreal's major "Little Italies", the parishes and missions often served as the major gathering places for Italians in the neighbourhood. One could witness the importance these places of worship had on such important days as Christmas and Easter, or generally on Sundays when the Italian church was often transformed into the center of social life in the Italian community.[35]

The role of the parish priest himself in the Italian parishes and missions went far beyond that of his fellow clerics in the mainstream parishes. According to Giuseppe Castelli:

> Dans les bureaux paroissiaux, les prêtres font un travail qui ne se limite pas au seul domaine religieux, mais qui va bien au-dela jusqu'à embrasser tous les aspects de la vie de l'emigrant. Leur insecurité les pousse à aller la, ou, selon eux, ils peuvent trouver de l'aide, c'est-à-dire chez le prêtre qui "sait tout" et qui "peut tout".[36]

His numerous social functions such as translator, interpreter, social worker, marriage counselor, master of ceremonies at various feasts, and general counselor made him

an important figure within the community. For Castelli, the period following the Quiet Revolution, namely, the period of linguistic battles of the late 1960s and 1970s saw these priests assume a more aggressive role in this province's political arena. Declarations were often addressed from the pulpit to both this province's public and religious authorities in an attempt to defend against what they perceived to be an affront against the dignity of the members of their community. These interventions would provoke a certain embarrassment within Montreal's local Catholic hierarchy which itself, during the linguistic debates would be split along ethnic lines.[37]

The Italian Church remained heavily involved in the social welfare of the community. Italian clerics maintained a strong presence within their parochial school system and continued to operate the "Orfanatrofio italiano San Giuseppe". With the growth of the community during the 1950s and 1960s, the rapid influx of immigrant children meant a commitment towards expanding education facilities. Health care was also an important area involving the Italian church. In the 1950s, a decision had been made to build a hospital that would offer health services to its members in their native tongue. Out of this desire to build an Italian hospital would be born the Santa Cabrini Project.[38]

The Italian Press

The Italian press continued to be an important institution for the community. A number of newspapers and periodicals emerged during the 1950s and 1960s and played a crucial role. Not only did it inform Italians as to the state of national politics both in Canada and in Italy, it also kept its readership in contact with the various events taking place within the community. Their influence though did not end there. While these papers were certainly recording much of the intellectual and social mood within the community, they were also molding it. The editorial sections often resembled political tracts and in spite of all the talk of having "unbiased reporting", articles usually exposed a clear vision of what their community ought to be like and how it ought to be treated by both federal and provincial authorities.[39] While considerable differences existed with respect to internal community matters, and while papers would at times enter periods of open animosity with each other,[40] their views on the Quiet Revolution and the rights of Montreal's Italian community vis-à-vis nationalist rhetoric were similar. It is in these papers that one can examine some of the thinking which occurred within the Italian community, and the most important were Il Cittadino Canadese, Il Corriere Italiano and La Tribuna Italiana.

The man behind Il Cittadino Canadese was Antonio V.

Spada. In 1924, at the age of twenty-three, Spada immigrated to Canada because of what he claimed was a dissatisfactory political climate in Italy. He was soon considered a political refugee. In Montreal, he quickly became involved with the anti-fascist movement and in 1926 began the publication of a small weekly Il Risveglio Italiano - The Italian Awakening, which viewed as its principle role the exposure of the "truth about Fascism". The Risveglio was surprisingly suppressed by the immigration department and Spada was nearly deported apparently at the request of the Italian government. Spada was also heavily involved, during the inter-war period, with the Order of Italo-Canadians. His rise to prominence occurred with Italy's declaration of war against Britain. It was in 1941 that he founded Il Cittadino Canadese.[41]

Il Corriere Italiano emerged in 1952 and quickly became a leading competitor to Spada's Cittadino Canadese. This weekly was founded by an emerging giant in the community, Alfredo Gagliardi. Born in Montreal the son of Italian immigrants in 1920, he first made his mark by becoming a radio announcer on a local radio station, CHLP. In 1950, he was elected Montreal's first city counselor of Italian origin. He was subsequently re-elected in 1954, in 1957 and in 1960. Between 1957 to 1960, under mayor Sarto Fournier, Gagliardi was part of the City's executive and in the 1960 election, headed a newly formed municipal party, La Reforme Municipale. The Corriere Italiano was begun while Gagliardi

was in municipal politics and served as his mouthpiece during his electoral campaigns. Gagliardi was also a founding member of the CIBPA and was elected president of the Sons of Italy in 1961 (a position which he retained until the early 1980s).[42]

La Tribuna Italiana emerged rather late in the community's development. It was co-founded by two popular Italian journalists, Ciro Volpi and Camillo Carli in 1963. Camillo Carli was an Italian immigrant who arrived in Canada after a six year stay in Brazil. Once in Canada, Carli became the director of Il Cittadino Canadese from 1956 to 1957 and like Gagliardi became involved in radio broadcasting. La Tribuna Italiana, although smaller than the two above weeklies, was often recognized as the most intellectual of the three newspapers, (a Devoir of the ethnic press) and during the St. Léonard Crisis remained one of the most vocal papers defending English educational rights for immigrant children.[43]

A number of other Italian newspapers and journals made their appearance on the Montreal scene. La Verità was founded by Alfredo Gattuso in 1948 (later to become Il Corriere del Quebec) but appears to have had only limited success. It went out of print in the early 1960s. In 1955, there also appeared the Canadian edition to Il Progresso Italo-Americano, an Italian daily directed by Josafat Mingarelli. A number of publications in the 1960s also

fell under what we can call Catholic newspapers and journals.[44] A particularly interesting illustrated monthly review was Vita Nostra, founded by Monsignor Andrea Cimichella in 1961. This review reflected the views of the Italian national church towards issues facing Montreal's Italian community in the 1960s. It was complemented by another review also founded by Cimichella in 1961, Orizzonti, and by the appearance in 1966 of an Italian Catholic weekly, Domani, published and edited by Father Anastasio Paoletti. These three Catholic papers unfortunately discontinued publication at the end of 1967.[45]

What is clearly evident by the 1960s is that Italians in Montreal had developed a considerable level of institutional completeness. It was not the ignorant community of duped peasants, as outlined in a number of nationalist texts on the St. Léonard Affair, who were being directed by Montreal's English community. Nor, as we shall see, was this such a leaderless community. They were adapting and coming to an understanding of their new surroundings largely through their own institutions. In a sense, the Italian community of Montreal had become part of the third solitude described within the Gendron Commission reports. Moreover, as the community continued its rapid growth and development throughout the 1960s, its sense of confidence and ethnic pride were enhanced, and this at a time when Québec Francophones were experiencing their own cultural revival. The stage was being set for a clash of

two different sets of nationalisms, one with its pro-French Québec movements, the other, with it emphasis on developing its own "Italianità" and becoming an integral part of Canadian society.

From Nationalism to Neo-Nationalism

During the first half of the twentieth century, one of the dominant ideologies in Canada was traditional French Canadian nationalism. Generally speaking, traditional nationalism viewed French Canadians as a people set aside by their race, their language, and their Roman Catholic faith. Often described as anti-liberal, it idealized an organic French Canadian community whose life was centered around the family, the school and the parish. A central notion was that their "nation" was essentially agrarian, embodying values which rejected urbanism and industrialism in favor of a traditional rural ideal. Moreover, given the dominance of religious institutions in the province's infrastructure, large scale state involvement was deemed unnecessary.[46]

One of the most powerful notions within traditional nationalism was that of "la survivance". Its central premise revolved around the idea that the French Canadian community faced continual external threats from English Canada. The popular theme which it advances is that the history of French Canada since the Conquest has been one of a constant struggle for cultural survival. Much of the

quintessential character of "la survivance" was captured by Louis Hémon's famous novel, Maria Chapdelaine:

> '... We traced the boundaries of a new continent, from Gaspé to Montreal, from St.Jean d'Iberville to Ungava, saying as we did it: Within these limits all we brought with us, our faith, our tongue, our virtues, our very weaknesses are henceforth hallowed things which no hand may touch, which shall endure to the end.'
>
> 'Strangers have surrounded us whom it is our pleasure to call foreigners; they have taken into their hands most of the rule, they have gathered to their selves much of the wealth; but in this land of Québec nothing has changed. Nor shall anything change for we are the pledge of it. Concerning ourselves and our destiny, but one duty we have clearly understood: that we should hold fast--should endure. And we have held fast, so that, it may be, many centuries hence the world will look upon us and say: These people are of a race that knows not how to perish ... We are a testimony.'[47]

The defence mechanism that "la survivance" gave French Canadians was to have a social cost. A "culture under siege" quality existed within traditional nationalism. In guaranteeing its survival, traditional nationalism led French Canadians to create psychological and institutional barriers against outside influences considered threatening.[48]

With respect to immigration, French Canadian nationalists had traditionally been opposed to aggressive immigration policies because of the belief that immigration was a serious demographic threat to their language and culture. As such, the immigrant was often looked upon as an enemy. Jean-Marc Léger explains this attitude in his book French Canada vis-à-vis immigration.

> French-Canadians have a long-standing and deeply-rooted tradition of opposing immigration. It should be noted that this is in itself a sound reflex, the defensive reaction of a community which feels threatened. It can not be repeated often enough: in our present circumstances, all immigration of any extent acts against our interests ... It must be said that most of our population generally shows indifference towards the immigrant and his family and sometimes even a hostility incompatible with the Christian way of life on which we pride ourselves and incompatible with our most basic interests.[49]

While traditional nationalism remained the prevailing ideology in Québec well into the late 1950s, a somewhat different philosophy was developing in the post-war period which would soon displace it. This ideology became known as neo-nationalism. In essence, it rejected the notion that French Canadians must find their identity in an idealized agrarian society and instead spoke of the need for modernizing Québec and the need for a greater interventionist provincial government. Moreover, what neo-nationalism preached was a re-affirmation of the authenticity of Québec culture. Socio-economic development coupled with cultural affirmation formed one important element within neo-nationalism, the other was the growing desire of political sovereignty for the province of Québec.[50]

The proposal that Québec separate from Canada had been echoed by a number of French Canadian separatists throughout Canadian history yet only in the 1960s did it actually become a significant factor in Québec politics. This new

wave of nationalism which swept Québec in the late 1950s and 1960s, penetrated the universities, teachers' associations, a good part of Québec's trade union movement, professional associations, co-operatives, and a section of the French middle classes. It expressed itself in the formation of countless patriotic associations, leagues, fronts, nationalist magazines, and political parties. A nationalist revival of enormous proportions was taking place, and many neo-nationalists called for the creation of an independent, sovereign and Francophone state.[51]

Voice of Little Italy

When examining the content of the Italian ethnic press during the late 1950s and 1960s, one is immediately struck by the degree of nationalism which Italians themselves were developing. The picture which emerges is very similar to that which we noted in the Caboto controversy of the early 1930s. Italians were proud Canadians who wished to retain as much of their culture as possible. The multicultural ideal was particularly attractive because it offered Italians the possibility of retaining (and developing) their "italianità" and becoming full partners in Canadian society. This multicultural vision, as often understood, told Italians that Canada was an immigrant society where most Canadians were but a few generations removed from ancestors who had themselves immigrated. As such, all Canadians were on an equal footing and the Italian Canadian could identify

with this new land through his own immigrant experience.[52]

Another important point needs to be raised with regards to the Italian community. Because of the nature of their migration process (where a large portion would return to Italy after a few years work "a l'estero") many within the Italian community kept close ties with the motherland. Many not only had families and friend back in Italy, they themselves were often not sure whether they would eventually become "rimpatriati". As such, events in Italy were often as important to Italians living in Canada as events on the Canadian political scene. This concern for what was taking place in the homeland, arguably, reinforced "l'italianità" of Montreal's Italian community.

We can see the above attachment for the Italian socio-political scene in many series of articles which appeared in Il Cittadino. For example, the upcoming Italian elections on May 25, 1958 were a source of considerable concern for many because of the threat of a Communist victory. The week of April 11th, 1958, Il Cittadino began a series entitled "Movimento Pro-Patria" designed to inform its readers on the danger their relatives faced if they voted for non-democratic parties. Canadian readers were urged to send copies of these series to relatives in Italy.[53] Other series regularly featured in the paper included one entitled, "Come Si Sta in Italia" (How one Lives in Italy) which outlined the social and economic conditions of

Italians in the late 1950s.[54] On a cultural note, Il Cittadino helped organize Montreal's first Italian Song Festival which ran for three successive nights and which was organized along the lines of the famous San Remo Song Festival (to be sure, on a more modest scale).[55]

The promotion of nationalist sentiment within the Italian community is clearly seen in numerous editorials of Il Cittadino Canadese. While this paper did its part in promoting public participation in festivities organized by mutual aid societies and parishes,[56] most of its energies seem to have been spent in "awakening" its readers to the need for organizing unity within the community. It's new editor, a young immigrant by the name of Nick Ciamarra, became one of the most outspoken voices of Montreal's Italian community, always ready to attack injustices perpetrated against his co-nationals. Fully aware of the growing size and potential demographic muscle of the Italian community, Ciamarra would embark upon public campaigns calling upon Italians to show more unity and political leadership. His paper demanded that the Canadian government appoint Italians to the Canadian Senate so that they could be represented in Parliament's Upper House. It also demanded that the Federal Government return La Casa D'Italia (which it had confiscated during the war) to Montreal's Italian community, its rightful owners.[57]

There was much boldness in Il Cittadino, particularly

when it felt injustices were being served upon the Italian community. Any important change within Canadian society which could affect their community would usually receive quick commentary by its journalists. Beyond the role of informing readers of the relevant news in the country, Italian papers had become self-appointed watchdogs and for good reason; the late 1950s and 1960s saw several outbursts of nativism directed against Italians.

"Fewer Italians, Please"

On the national level, the challenge facing the Italian community centered around the immigration restriction debates of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Attempts at placing restrictions on the sponsorship system would be viewed by community leaders as an attack against Canada's Italian community itself. We've already noted that as a result of chain migration, Italians were arriving in Canada in numbers which raised considerable concern with many Canadians. What the Federal Liberals had been willing to tolerate in the 1950s, the Conservatives could not accept. During the election campaigns of the late 1950s, Diefenbaker's party made it abundantly clear that they would introduce legislation restricting Italian immigration into Canada.[58]

Two major spin-offs would result from the immigration restriction debates of the late 1950s. Firstly, the Italian

community was to throw its support solidly behind the Federal Liberal party of Canada,[59] a party which during its years in opposition would articulate a more generous position on immigration. Secondly, by setting themselves up as antagonists, the Conservatives became ideal targets for Italian journalists. By portraying Diefenbaker's government as Italophobic, journalists were ensuring that Italian nationalist sentiment would be rekindled.

One of the most vocal opponents of the Diefenbaker government in the Italian press was Ciamarra. The government claimed that because Canada was entering an economic recession, immigration restrictions were in order. It was a rhetoric that Il Cittadino challenged vigorously. Ciamarra raised the popular argument that in order to sustain economic growth, Canada had to increase its domestic market. This country was underpopulated and the only practical way of increasing its population was to have an aggressive immigration policy. That immigration would lead to prosperity, Ciamarra did not doubt. He supported his view with the American experience to the south:

> Between 1880 and 1912, under the symbol of the Statue of Liberty, the United States built their industrial empire. Canada can build hers in thirty years and plant at the entrance to the port of Halifax, the biggest and most beautiful table of human brotherhood, helping to build a free and prosperous Canada for a more prosperous and happy humanity.[60]

The level of immigration the paper envisioned is revealed in a series of editorials by Ciamarra, and the

numbers contemplated were nothing short of spectacular. Il Cittadino claimed that between natural increase and immigration, Canadian industry could absorb some 500,000 new people a year! That astounding figure was shared by various Canadian industrialists, none the least of which was the president of the Ford Motor Company of Canada who did not fail to make public declarations to that effect.[61]

This confidence in the nation's ability to absorb such large number of immigrants was unfortunately not shared by many within Canada's English and French communities. In fact, public hostility towards the increasing presence of immigrants within Canada was on the rise. The Cittadino's campaign to have more immigrants enter the country coincided with the public disclosure of what proved to be two sensational set of statistics. The immigration department figures for 1958 revealed that, for the first time in Canadian history, Italian immigration to Canada outnumbered that from Great Britain. More importantly, as of March 1959, the department had 131,000 applications waiting to be processed of which a record 63,000 applications (or 48%) were from Italy![62]

On April 1, 1959 by way of a ministerial decree, a set of severe restrictions on immigration came into effect. Generally speaking, Italians would no longer be able to sponsor their brothers or sisters as immigrants. Sponsorship would be restricted to parents, wives, children

and in certain cases, brides.[63] What was particularly offensive for members of the Italian community was that these new restrictions in the sponsorship system did not apply to the United States, France, Ireland and the British Commonwealth countries. As such, their national group was specifically being discriminated against.[64]

To this ministerial decree, Il Cittadino reacted with vigor. The front pages throughout the months of April and May, 1958 were filled with cries citing discrimination.[65] The Conservative Party itself was presented as an anglophile political organization more interested in maintaining Imperial ties with Great Britain than in fostering a sense of Canadian nationalism.[66] Under a front page column entitled "I Guai Dell'Immigrazione" (the woes of immigration) excerpts from English papers were reprinted and translated into Italian. One was a Time article entitled "Fewer Italians, Please". The article stated that to immigration Minister Ellen Fairclough, "a member of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire and a United Empire Loyalist", the 1958 figures which showed British immigration trailing the Italian by 26,662 to 28,564 were "frankly disturbing". The article continued as follows:

> For the first time since World War II, Britons failed to lead the list of immigrants ... This went against the preference for Britons which is supposed to prefer Canada's political and ethnic makeup. Immigration officials looked for ways to restore the old pattern, and they soon found one.
>
> "It seems that immigrants from Italy" explained Minister Fairclough, "immediately they come (sic)

> to this land, want to bring out their brothers and sisters and other relatives". From the cabinet last week came an order in council designed to upset this old Italian custom: the new rule suspended the free immigration of Canadian residents' nondependent relatives from Italy...[67]

The harshest words from Il Cittadino were often saved for those Italians who seemed to "collaborate" with the perceived enemy, (in this case, the Immigration Ministry). Alongside the above Time article, Il Cittadino reprinted a column from United Press International. According to that column, the Federal government's new immigration restrictions were winning public support even from within Canada's Italian community! It claimed that Arturo Scotti, editor of the Toronto weekly Corriere Canadese, "hailed new immigration regulations restricting the inflow of people from his homeland". Scotti was quoted as saying that since Italians were being exploited by many Canadian employers, the new restrictions would put a stop to it, "because the type of people who have been forced to accept such jobs will find it more difficult to get into this country". Bewildered, the editor of Il Cittadino responded by asking Scotti if the article had accurately described his views. If those were in fact his views, Il Cittadino asked with little subtlety "Perchè non cambi lavoro" (why don't you find another job). Nor was it pleased to end there. Scotti was warned that unless he responded publicly to their concerns, (and perhaps recant!) Il Cittadino stood ready to blast him repeatedly for what it characterized as a

shameless stand.[68]

Factional Divisions

The Scotti incident is indicative of another important theme which haunted the Italian community: factional infighting. Numerous cleavages existed between various Italian organizations[69] yet perhaps the most visible one was between Il Cittadino Canadese and Il Corriere Italiano. The relationship between Spada and Gagliardi was often one of mutual animosity. One of the more violent confrontations between the two men occurred during the October 24, 1960 municipal election. The political stakes for both Spada and Gagliardi were high. Gagliardi formed his own political party, the Municipal Reform Association, to run against Jean Drapeau's Civic Party of Montreal. Spada on the other hand was a candidate for the Civic Party.

Editorials prior to the 1960 municipal elections in both Il Cittadino Canadese and Il Corriere Italiano embarked on a series of vicious smear campaigns designed to destroy their opponent's credibility. Il Corriere charged that Spada had been directly involved in supplying the R.C.M.P. with information leading to the arrests of hundreds of supposed Italian Fascists in Montreal and Toronto on June 10, 1940, most of whom it claimed were innocent of any wrongdoing. This charge in itself was damaging enough. What followed was even more spectacular. According to

Gagliardi, Spada had been sent to Canada as an agent of Italy's secret police l'OVRA to infiltrate Canada's anti-fascist organizations![70] In response, Spada charged that Gagliardi had gone insane: "From cretins, one can expect everything except something intelligent"; "fa schifo e pietà" (he's pitiful and he makes me sick); "this mean demagogue of the most squalid species".[71] Il Cittadino, in the name of the community's honor and dignity, called upon Italians to terminate Gagliardi's political career. Amazingly, since both men ran in different districts, both were elected (although non of the MRA's other 48 candidates secured a seat).[72]

Sociologist Clifford Jansen observed that despite the high degree of institutional completeness, internal fragmentation within Italian communities "impedes the ability of leadership and membership to unite and co-operate in order to take concerted action in the interests of the ethnic category as a whole." [73] Boissevain's study also took issue with the various cleavages within Montreal's Italian community and noted that while many of the Italians he had interviewed deplored the fact that there was no one leader who could speak for the whole community, these same people "... would be among the first to challenge the right of any individual who did assume the role of spokesmen."[74] These observations were essentially correct. Disunity and inter-regional, inter-associational, and a host of other rivalries certainly existed

Where the arguments go somewhat afoul is with the conclusions that were often drawn from such observations. For example, professors David Hughes and Evelyn Kallen, in emphasizing the divisions within Toronto's Italian community (which by extension generally applied to all Italian communities in North America) are led to the conclusions that little community consciousness existed:

> ... Italians have no historical, ethnic or religious tradition of collective responsibility upon which to build community-wide institutions geared to ethnic-group preservation. Italian sense of collective responsibility constitutes, as traditionally, to be limited largely to the family circle, and ethnic identity among Italians in Toronto rarely extends beyond the traditional, local or regional Italian community level. Accordingly, Italians tend to belong to few voluntary ethnic organizations and those they do belong to tend to have a kinship, local or regional-Italian basis. This persistence of traditional Italian factional interests ... prevents co-operation between members of the various ethnic institutions at the community level, and impedes the development of a common sense of ethnic community consciousness ... [75]

The above assertions by Hughes and Kallen illustrate a certain assumption that run through numerous studies of Italian life in Canada. The "Italianness", or the parochial dilution of that "Italianness", was a kind of baggage which the immigrant transported with him from his place of origin. Regional cultural variations were such that Italians from one region of Italy would find it difficult to identify with Italians from other regions. He would maintain his links almost exclusively with his "paesani" and as this immigrant became integrated to life in North America, this baggage

would erode, and eventually, the immigrant or his descendents would become assimilated into the culture of the host country. The manifestation of strong parochial ties coupled with the inability to produce a single spokesman for the whole Italian community was viewed as evidence that little effective community consciousness existed. It is to wonder whether regional cleavages were ever as dominant as has been suggested yet this assumption begs another question: does the lack of united leadership within a community imply a lack of community consciousness?

The positions held by various notables suggests that this was not the case. In spite of the animosity between Spada and Gagliardi and between the Sons of Italy and the Order of Italo-Canadians, all agreed on the fundamental need to unite the community under one banner. The national church spoke of the need for unity, the various associations spoke of unity, Ciamarra, Spada, Carli, Gagliardi each repeatedly called for greater unity. All agreed on the fundamental need for uniting Montreal's Italians into one vast association under one charismatic leader. The only hitch was the question of who would be the chief, and who would be the Indians. Moreover, even the platforms on which these "candidates for leadership" differed little on essential questions relating to the community as a whole. One was as likely to see both Spada and Gagliardi present at such events as the Caboto Day celebrations honoring the memory of the man whom Italian regarded as the discoverer of

Canada.[76]

The rise of "italianità" did not hinge upon any central leadership. Shared cultural values together with a shared immigrant experience was forging this sense of shared identity. The lyrics to American-Italian Nicola Paone's hit song, "Uei Paesano!" (Hello Countryman) served as much to capture as well as to promote this sense of "italianità":

....

Uei Paesano, Uei uei uei paesano
You know that what I'm saying is truth.

If you migrate though the highways of the world
And should you meet someone who is Italian
Go offer him your hand
Who knows what his heart feels.

Uei Paesano, Uei uei uei paesano
Uei paesano how are you.

....

Perhaps you are Piemontese
Lombardo or Genovese
Veneto-Giuliano
Tridentino, Emiliano
From the Marche, or Toscano
Perhaps Umbro, my paesano
From Abruzzo, from la Materna
Or from our Rome eterna?
Are you from Napoli, Pugliese
Perhaps Sardo or Calabrese,
Lugano, Siciliano!
What does it matter, you're Italiano
You're Italiano, enough!

Because all of Italy is beautiful
And this is truth
Without any distinction
Take my hand and come on over!

Say Uei Paesano, Uei uei uei paesano
Uei paesano how are you.[77]

A Question of Demographics

The absorption of some 70,000 Italians from 1951 to 1961 into the Montreal area was to alter the demographic picture of many Italian neighbourhoods. While urban expansion generally occurred throughout the island of Montreal and while Italian ethnic neighbourhoods were expanding in many areas of the city, the area which attracts most attention is the north-eastern end of the island. As with our pre-war community, many Italians appeared to prefer settling near the city's periphery where they could exploit the advantages of accessibility to urban labour, affordable housing and land for garden plots. In fact, Harold A. Gibbard's observations on the settlement patterns of this earlier generation are still largely applicable. This rapid expansion and movement towards the north-east was captured by the Census Reports of 1951 and 1961.

Within the city itself, the Italian population went from 27,332 in 1951 to 79,841 in 1961. The most important concentration of Italians lay in two specific districts, Park Extension (which includes the old Mile End district) and Jean-Talon. Each of these areas experienced enormous growth and lay near the frontier between the city and the countryside. These two districts alone account for 33,356 of the 79,841 Italians in the city of Montreal, or some 42 per cent of the 1961 population.[78]

This demographic movement towards north-eastern section

of the island is also seen in the statistics of two municipalities bordering the Jean Talon district. In 1951, the cities of Saint Michel and Montreal North had 459 and 240 Italian residents respectively. By 1961, after a period of intensive urban development, the city of Saint Michel's Italian population jumped to 8,599 and that of Montreal North reached 1,873.[79]

Although the Deifenbaker government had withdrawn its formula for restricting immigrants,[80] the number of Italians who entered Canada experienced a severe drop. In 1959, the total number dropped by 4,768 giving a total of 23,734. In 1960, the number dropped to 19,011; 1961 to 13,461; 1962 to 12,528; and in 1963 it rose slightly to 12,912. In but a few short years, the yearly intake of Italian immigrants to Canada had been reduced by over fifty-five per cent.[81]

In spite of this, the Italian community in Montreal continued to grow rapidly. Natural increase was becoming such an important factor that in the first few years of the 1960s, births within the Italian community averaged some 2,400 while deaths averaged only 250.[82] By the mid 1960s, Vita Nostra estimated that some 30,000 Italian children were attending schools in Montreal.[83]

The further east Italians settled, the further they got into areas unaccustomed to the presence of large numbers of foreigners. Moreover, Italians found themselves moving into overwhelmingly Francophone neighbourhoods. More

importantly, many French Canadians, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, migrated into Montreal from the countryside and often settled in these new neighbourhoods. Often as unskilled as the average Italian immigrant, Francophones and Italians found themselves competing for many of the same jobs.[84] As one could expect, the ensuing racial tensions were considerable.

Racial Tensions and Discrimination

While Italians suffered discrimination from English Canadians on a national level during the 1950s and 1960s, in Montreal, their greatest problem was with Francophones. Surveys conducted in the mid-1960, by Boissevain concluded that 38 per cent of Italian immigrants held favourable opinions of French Canadians, 36 percent were unfavorable and 26 per cent expressed no opinion or claimed to feel indifferent. These surveys also yielded some other interesting statistics. Eighty-two per cent of these immigrants felt that French Canadians were the ethnic group which discriminated most against them. Only 9 per cent felt the same about Montreal's "British" group.[85] Boissevain and his co-workers proceeded with a survey of French Canadian opinion towards Italians. Of a good many which had some contact with Italian immigrants:

> ... we learned that they considered Italians dirty and noisy. Many said they thought it disgusting the way Italians were willing to do even the most menial tasks, and it was dishonest the way they accepted less pay than the French

for the same work.[86]

The level of French Canadian xenophobia towards Italians in this period was immense. Jean-Claude Lenormand, an intellectual from the group Parti Pris and author of Québec-immigration: Zero, noted that " ... lorsqu'il s'agit du groupe ethnique italien, la discrimination à leur égard est plus prononcée que pour les autres immigrants" and that for many people in Québec, "l'italien reste 'le maudit italien voleur de job qui va chez les Anglais'."[87]

For the Italian on the receiving end of this hostility, it mattered little whether this xenophobia was "a cultural atavism" with the French Canadian or an "ideological reflex" which stemmed from "the vicious side effects of colonialism".[88] Xenophobia was manifesting itself in numerous street fights. Boissevain collected many accounts from older members of the Italian community who bitterly recalled groups of French youths going on weekend searches for "les maudits italiens" on the streets around Jean Talon, particularly in the area between Saint Laurent and Papineau streets. Jarry Park was also a notoriously popular area where these youths "would ask an innocent question and if the accent of the respondent betrayed him as an Italian they would beat him up".[89]

Not all signs of discrimination were as violent. In the 1950s, several landlords were known to post the following signs on their doors, "Maison A Louer -- Pas

D'Italiens". For many within the Italian community, such a practice was viewed as an attack on their dignity. Camillo Carli often made reference to this flagrant affront and his editorials denouncing such discrimination usually stirred up considerable sentiment within the Italian community.[90]

With such attitudes of hostility from so many Francophones, it was natural that many Italians would harbor ill feeling towards French Canadians. Boissevain noted that many Italians had come to believe that French Canadians were jealous of them. Several made statements which revealed some of the social tensions which they felt vis-à-vis French Canadians:

> Most French Canadians are nothing more than crummy snobs. So many detest us Italians as we are practi-cally replacing them at work ...
> All evil and badness that's thinkable. They are extremely vulgar ...
> The French Canadians are very unsympathetic because they think everything is theirs ... they would gladly strangle us because we are such good workers.
> Very bad workers, bad fathers, mediocre friends, extremely well qualified in drinking and doing nothing. The French Canadians think of themselves as the bosses and too many try and impose their authority on us ... they don't look kindly towards us. But when they are respected, they also know how to respect others.[91]

This distrust which so many Italians had acquired is understandable given the social tension which was developing between Francophones and Italians. An already tense situation was to be made worse with the arrival of the Quiet Revolution.

The Clash of Nationalisms

The election of Jean Lesage's Liberals in 1960 marked the beginning of a period of rapid social and economic change in Québec. Generally speaking, the Liberal administration was dedicated to the modernization of their province. The term "rattrapage", embodied much of the spirit of the new reform-minded government; it aimed at equipping the province with the institutions, resources, and skills necessary for a progressive western community. The reforms proposed were so impressive that a Globe and Mail reporter called the change in government a "Quiet Revolution". The phrase stuck. Agreeing that changes were necessary was a relatively easy task; agreeing on how far certain changes were to go, and in this case, how far the Revolution ought to go was another matter. Later commentators often viewed Lesage's Quiet Revolution not so much for what it accomplished, but for what it set in motion.[92]

The advent of the Quiet Revolution brought about a re-examination of many of the fundamental values and principles on which Québec society rested. The question of the place of the French language soon captured center stage, particularly when census figures coupled with demographic studies suggested an accelerated assimilation of Francophones across Canada as well as within Québec itself. The relationship between French and English Canadians as

well as the attitudes with regard to immigrants were called into question. Large numbers of statements, surveys and publications began appearing in the early 1960s sensitizing public opinion, several of which expressed the fear that French Canadians were in danger of becoming a minority in Montreal as a result of the precipitous fall of the French Canadian birthrate. Moreover, the massive integration of immigrant children within the English-speaking community accentuated this demographic threat. Movements ensuring the predominance of the French language gained momentum throughout the 1960s.[93]

As early as March 1961, the new Liberal government of Jean Lesage was coming under criticism from Il Cittadino Canadese. While the paper generally supported most of the economic changes proposed for the province, it had some sharp criticism for the newly created ministry of cultural affaires, which sought to make this province into the center of French culture in North America. What was objected to were Lesage's remarks that efforts ought to be made to assimilate immigrants into the French Canadian culture. Il Cittadino called upon the Premier not to forget minority rights within the province and that while Francophones were a majority in the province, some 20 per cent were non-Francophones. Francophones were encouraged to develop their culture as much as they wanted so long as this did not impede upon the rights of minorities.[94]

More worrisome developments in Québec were to soon attracted the attention of the Italian press. A public opinion poll conducted by La Presse and radio station CKAC in the winter months of 1961 revealed a spectacular level of support for separatism. Approximately 45 per cent of 11,400 people surveyed responded that they supported the separation of the province of Québec from the rest of Canada. A more disturbing poll released by Le Devoir in the spring found that 69.76 per cent of its respondents considered Québec independence both desirable and possible.[95]

This rising number of Québecers agitating for a sovereign Francophone state raised the concern of many within the Italian community. Two distinguishable responses to Francophone nationalism were popular. The first involved non-involvement. Nationalists claimed that they were attempting to remove the shackles that English Canada had imposed upon them since the conquest. The time for the decolonization of the Québec nation had come and in the struggle against "the English", Italians would have to pick sides. To this line of argumentation, Italian notables responded that their people had nothing to do with the tensions between Québec's two main linguistic groups and as such preferred not to get involved.[96]

The second response was considerably more assertive. Italo-Canadians formed a distinct community within Canada and were to be respected on an equal footing with any other

cultural community, including the French. They had their own history, their own culture and their own contribution to make to their province. Vita Nostra was as adamant as Il Cittadino in insisting on the right of Italians to retain their culture.

In this climate of growing nationalist sentiment, the use of historical rhetoric became most important. Just as the Abbé Lionel Groulx had attempted to give legitimacy to French Canadian nationalism by digging for its destiny in its past, Italian notables searched Canada's past for signs that they too had a long Canadian heritage. Vangelisti's Gli italiani in Canada served this purpose well. Throughout the 1960s, Vita Nostra printed excerpts from Vangelisti's book and made the point that at various times in the history of New France and beyond, Italians had lived side by side with Francophones.[97] Il Cittadino went further, using the example of Caboto to silence anti-Italian rhetoric (to the effect that they had no right to immigrate to Canada) which at various times appeared in La Presse.[98]

Dialogue between nationalists and various members of the Italian community had become impossible. Il Cittadino was soon convinced that meaningful discussions with most French Canadians with respect to the place of cultural minorities were futile. This sense of deadlock was captured by an editorial discussing the seriousness of the separatist threat:

> We accept them (French Canadians) but a dialogue on their position is impossible. We came to America to build our future ... If it were not for passions, perhaps we could reason but we don't know if it is worth the effort. Today, part of Quebec is separatist and it is logically so. This is one of the recurring phenomenons in Quebec history and as such, we must accept it ... All dialogue is useless. They do not understand us ...[99]

Examples of discords between nationalists and Italian community leaders were numerous in the mid 1960s. A rather sensational incident occurred in the local provincial riding of Montreal-Laurier. Spanning over much of the Mile End district, this riding contained a heavy concentration of Italian voters. The local Liberal representative addressed the Association of Italo-Canadian Professional Men in November 1963. During his speech, he made the error of telling the Association that French Canadians respected the cultural heritage of all Québec citizens whose ethnic origin was neither English nor French, but went on to state that French Canadians could not respect their nationalism. Being the majority in Québec gave the French the right to self-determination and Québec's independence would be similar to Italy's liberal revolution during the Risorgimento. Italians had to integrate into the French Canadian majority.

His Italian audience was stunned and angered. One person shouted that he feared an independent or even nationalistic Québec would treat new Canadians as second-class citizens. He concluded by saying that "after all, we have come to Canada and not just to Québec. We want to

remain Canadians." The audience gave the heckler a round of applause and the Liberal MNA had to endure continuous keckling from his audience. The Liberal member for Montreal-Laurier was non other than René Lévesque.[100]

Prelude to the St. Léonard Crisis

Pressure from nationalists to have immigrants assimilate into their linguistic community continued to grow into the late 1960s. Large numbers of statements, surveys and publications aimed at sensitizing public opinion. Several expressed the fear that French Canadians were in danger of becoming a minority in Montreal as a result of the increasing numbers of immigrants, who in addition were being integrated into the English-speaking community. A letter to Le Devoir by Dr. Lomer on August 5, 1966 averted the public of the serious risk that French Canadians might become a minority in Montreal by the year 1980. There developed a virtual obsession with figures. Michel Brunet's book Québec Canada anglais, was filled with them. Brunet claimed that, "Basically numbers are what count: numbers first, numbers second and numbers third. Then it will be possible to tackle other problems."[101]

This sudden paranoia of becoming a minority within their own city prompted many to ask what immediate steps should be taken to ensure the survival of the French language. What added fuel to the fire seems to have been a

report delivered to the provincial government on January 27, 1967 by the Interdepartmental Committee on the teaching of languages to new Canadians which gave statistics regarding the school choices of Neo-Canadians in Québec. The statistics revealed a strong movement of immigrants towards English schools and in particular, it demonstrated that Italians, who until the Second World War had been largely integrating into the French community were now going over to the English.[102]

The Quiet Revolution had also shifted much of the attention of French Québecers away from national politics to provincial politics. Many Francophones now considered themselves no longer a Canadian minority but a Québec majority who could use their demographic weight to change social conditions within this province. The time had come for Francophones to assert themselves. The cry was raised to coerce immigrants through provincial legislation to send their children to French schools.

It was in this climate of fear and mutual hostility that the St. Léonard Crisis began. The struggle itself would be over language yet the existence of linguistic tensions themselves are not enough to explain the intensity a conflict which was to last well over two years. Factors such as the rapid growth of the city of St. Léonard, a clash of national visions and the intense racial tensions which erupted between the two groups are key to understanding the

Crisis. Our next chapter will examine this most unfortunate nadir in Franco-Italian relations.

Chapter IV

The School Crisis

The St. Léonard Crisis reflects the conflict between two different cultures over what each believed were vital interests for their respective communities. For many Francophones, their very survival as a distinct linguistic and cultural society was seen as riding on the outcome of the Crisis. For Italians, "the social and economic advancement of their children and the right for everyone to ensure it" was for them, another form of survival.[1] On the surface, the arguments that were to rage centered over the question of whether immigrants had the right to educate their children in English, yet not far from that surface were other important issues.

What is perhaps most shocking was the sheer length of the Crisis. Technically it began on November 20, 1967 with the controversial decision by the "Commission Scolaire Catholique de Saint-Léonard" to phase out the bilingual schools in the municipality. A full twenty-four months were to pass before the conflict would be resolved on November 20, 1969 with an equally controversial decision (this time, by the National Assembly in Québec). Throughout this period, only rarely was the attention of the province to shift away from the School Crisis. Pressures within the municipality and the whole Montreal area in general were left to escalate until the climactic eruption of two

specific riots in the early days of September, 1969.

Naturally, the conflict did not just suddenly appear in 1967. In our last chapter, we noted some of the general factors leading up the Crisis. There were also a number of important local elements. A short analysis of the municipality's development will help illustrate this.

Saint-Léonard-de-Port-Maurice

Saint-Léonard-de-Port-Maurice lies in the north eastern section of the Island of Montreal. It is bound to the north by the City of Montreal-North, to the west by St. Michel, to the east by Anjou and to the south by the City of Montreal. Although the population of this city is now well over 80,000 in 1945 it had only 555 souls, almost all of whom were French Canadians. That year, most of its five square miles consisted of open fields with a small built up core located around Jarry Street. The majority of these residents earned their living as farmers, selling their goods in the nearby Montreal markets. As with so many rural communities, St. Léonard showed signs of considerable poverty. In 1951, a journalist for Le Devoir deplored areas where the citizens "... n'ont pas d'aqueduc, pas d'égouts et pas d'écoles. Un grand nombre vivent dans des cabanes et la misère y règne en maître."[2]

Already one notes the presence of xenophobia. On March 7, 1944, the city council adopted the following resolution:

> ... que ce conceil est fortement opposé aux tentative faites en certains milieux pour déverser dans notre pays des flots d'immigrants européens, et qu'il est d'intérêt économique et national de songer avant tout aux centaines de millions (sic) des nôtres à qui il faudra assurer des emplois après la guerre.[3]

This attitude is hardly surprising given the general mood in French Canada with respect to immigration. A study conducted in 1953 revealed that 77 per cent of French Canadians had negative attitudes towards immigrants and of these, 58 per cent would have liked to have seen Canada almost completely closed to immigration.[4]

One also notes a tradition of considerable violence within the small city. The July 1955 municipal election witnessed such violence that it made the headlines. Le Devoir's report is in fact more reminiscent of the type of violence found in the late nineteenth century American West than of a Montreal suburb:

> De bonne heure, lundi matin, l'organization du maire élu, M. Florian Desormeaux, s'est emparée de Saint-Léonard. Une centaine de policiers spéciaux, assermentés par le secrétaire-trésorier de la municipalité agissant comme président d'élection, ont bloqué les entrées du village, arrêté et incarcéré le chef de police, fouillé les gens circulant à pied ou en voiture, mis en prison une centaine de personnes, dont des journalistes, des reporters de radio et des cameramen de la télévision.[5]

In spite of the enormous construction boom occurring to the north, east and south of the city soon after the war, no significant housing development occurred in St. Léonard until 1955. In fact, the population had risen to only 800

people, of whom many still farmed their fields. The thorny question of supplying this "land locked" municipality with an adequate aqueduct appears to have been the major stumbling block to city development. In any case, the resolution of that problem combined with the creation of a rapid transit express way (the Metropolitan Boulevard) enhanced the potential for this city's development.[6]

The arrival of the Montreal Housing Cooperative (COOP) in 1956 radically affected the future development of the community. The COOP had chosen St. Léonard for an experiment in the construction of low cost private houses. Its membership was generally recruited from middle class nationalist circles. When in 1963 it had ceased it operations, the COOP had built 655 homes thus attracting an important number of nationalists into the city. Many of these original COOP members became the elite of the Francophone community in St. Léonard. In fact, Paul-Emile Petit, who served as Mayor for the city from 1961 to 1967, was a leading member of the COOP. Others, such as Rheal Therrien were involved in the formation of a local nationalist monthly newspaper, <u>l'Entente</u>.[7]

An examination of <u>L'Entente</u> helps us understand some of the tensions which were to emerge in this city. In its first issue, <u>L'Entente</u> outlined its goal of promoting "chez les gens l'amour de leur localité, créer un patriotisme de region."[8] No sooner had the monthly been established that

it embarked on a campaign to sensitize the growing Francophone community of the need for protecting their language. Articles appeared in the early 1960s attesting to that fact that in St. Léonard, "We speak french (sic)". In November 1961, it stated:

> Bon nombre de citoyens de St-Léonard s'explique mal le fait que plusiers constructeurs et spéculateurs se servent exclusivement de la langue anglaise sur leurs panneaux réclame. Ignorent-ils que le français est la langue parlée par près de 100% de la population et ça depuis 250 ans? Ne savent-ils pas que les personnes qui voient ces panneaux sont de langue française dans la même proportion.[9]

Throughout the 1960s, the city developed at a dizzying speed. In 1961, Census Canada placed the total population at 4,893. In 1966, it was estimated at 25,328 and by 1971, it doubled to reach a population of 52,000 people. The question of estimating the number of Italians in this city during this period is difficult. The 1961 Census reported approximately somewhat less than 450 Italians. By 1971, it sky-rocketed to 14,710! The opening of an Italian hospital near the south-west corner of the city coupled by the promotion of duplexes and triplexes by the Barone Brothers (in response to the strong Italian demand for housing) were certainly responsible for attracting many Italians into the municipality. Key dates in the Italian community's history were the election of the city's first Italian municipal counselor, Mario Barone in 1963 and the decision by Montreal's religious authorities to move Montreal's first

Italian parish, Madonna del Carmine, to St. Léonard in 1965.[10]

The Bilingual School Controversy

Once established in the city, Anglophones and Allophones began requesting the creation of English schools in the municipality. The city's first English school was opened in 1962 at Jerome Le Royer School. The experiment was to be short lived. On July 10, 1963 the "Commission Scolaire de Saint-Léonard" adopted a resolution whereby it would replace its English school with bilingual ones geared towards the city's English and immigrant communities. The model proposed was similar to the bilingual schools experiment that was taking place in the city of Montreal.[11] Half the courses would be taught in French while the other half would be taught in English.

What apparently motivated the school commissioners was not so much the desire of immigrant parents, (notably the Italians) to have their children educated bilingually but the desire to stem the tide of Neo-Canadians assimilating into the Anglophone community.[12] By exposing Neo-Canadians to schools where half the day was spent in French, it was hoped that they would integrate into Francophone society. This logic was denounced by L'Entente, who found it ridiculous that bilingual schools were being suggested for immigrants "alors qu'on se bat avec frénésie au Québec pour

faire triompher le français!"[13] Bilingual schools would do nothing to stem that tide. An editorial by Simone Gelinas summarized much of the sentiment of the paper.

> Alors que dans le Québec, notre gouvernement, nos institutions, font une campagne désespéré pour que le français soit reconnu comme langue nationale, nous dans une ville de langue française, nous imposerions aux enfants de nos concitoyens de langues étrangères, de faire la moitié de leurs études en anglais? C'est tellement insensé qu'on pourrait croire qu'il s'agit d'une blague.[14]

Commentators in L'Entente were split as to whether to hold Italians responsible for the establishment of bilingual schools in St. Léonard. Many, such as the editor of the paper preferred to speak of the tragedy of the poor Italian child who would be forced to simultaneously learn two languages. In this view, the Italian was a victim of the school commission which was segregating him into bilingual schools. "C'est pauvres enfants de nos Néo-Canadiens devront donc non pas apprendre une langue nouvelle, mais en apprendre deux! C'est presque trop effrarant (sic) pour y penser." Statements to the effect that "Nous n'en voulons aucunement aux néo-canadiens" were often repeated in these editorials. L'Entente even went so far as to regularly publish a small section of the paper in Italian where it would explain to its co-citizens the advantages for them to demand French schools for their children. The paper insisted that to have Italians learn English in the Québec context was as logical as having them learn Spanish![15]

Other commentaries in L'Entente though belied more hostile feelings. One open letter addressed to all citizens of the city lamented the demographic changes that were taking place.

> Jusqu'à ces derniéres annèes, notre ville comptait une population 100% canadienne-française. Les anciens résidents l'ont bâtie depuis plusiers décades et l'on croirait presque qu'ils la réservaient comme un lieu de prédilection pour l'expansion française. En 1956, ils ont accueilli la Coopérative d'Habitation de Montréal et depuis, tous travaillent à promouvoir divers organismes coopératifs ou autres pour sauvegarder nos propres intérêts et notre patrimoine national.
> ...
> Un de ces graves problèmes leur (la Commission Scolaire) vient de la requéte des néo-canadiens installés depuis peu dans notre municipalité. Ils réclament pour leurs enfants l'enseignement de l'anglais dans nos propres écoles.[16]

Generally speaking, a large portion of Italians in Montreal were in favor of bilingual schools, at least in principle. The idea behind the bilingual school system was to have immigrant children educated in both of Canada's official languages during their elementary school years. Having mastered both the English and French languages, students would graduate from grade seven and then enter a unilingual high school of their choice.[17]

The Italian Roman Catholic magazine Vita Nostra was an ardent defender of the "bilingual experiment" which was to take place in Montreal from 1960 to 1963. Journalist Ralph Pirro in particular gave extensive coverage to the bilingual school debate within the community. For those who were in

favour of that school system, the arguments generally boiled down to the fact that they wanted their children to learn both English and French as fluently as possible.[18] One commentator of Vita Nostra, Giuseppe Turi, president of "L'Union italo-franco-canadienne" warned of the serious backlash to which Italians were exposing themselves if too many were to send their children to English schools. Bilingual schools had the advantage of integrating Italians into the Francophone community while allowing them to master the English language which, for practical business reasons, was indispensable.[19]

While many community leaders were in favour of bilingual schools, some important exceptions were to be found. Il Cittadino Canadese came out strongly against the bilingual school program. What sounded beautiful in theory it claimed was next to impossible in practice. Nick Ciamarra and Camilo Carli both denounced the schools as a serious error in judgement and agreed with much of the Anglophone criticism that the program was a "pedagogical monster."[20] More specifically, Ciamarra charged that of the 18 school teachers hired to work in the bilingual schools of the Montreal Catholic School Commission (M.C.S.C.) only five had a reasonable knowledge of French and only three of English! The quality of education was poor and to insist that Neo-Canadians be forced to send their children to a bilingual school if such a school existed in their area was a fundamental breach of the parent's right to chose the

language of instruction for his child. Moreover, because the provisions in the bilingual school program was only for children of Neo-Canadians, Il Cittadino claimed that the School Commission had no right to use their children as guinea pigs in that ill conceived experiment.[21]

How many Italians agreed with Il Cittadino's position in the early to mid 1960s is difficult to ascertain. The leaders of the Italian national parish were solidly behind a bilingual system as were the journalists with Vita Nostra. In fact, the rather vicious sparing between Ralph Pirro on the one hand and Ciamarra and Carli on the other suggested that Il Cittadino held the minority opinion.[23] In St. Léonard itself, the Italian community's most prominent man, Mario Barone, was in favour of the bilingual school system.[24]

While the bilingual school program was abandoned by the M.C.S.C. in 1963, the St. Léonard School board remained committed to their bilingual school program until the fall of 1967, and this in the face of considerable local opposition. Confidence in the system was openly questioned by nationalists with the local paper L'Entente. If the intention of the bilingual program had been the integration of Neo-Canadians into the French community, figures were demonstrating that the overwhelming majority of children who left the bilingual elementary schools were enrolling in English high schools. In a "Cri D'Alerte" published in May,

1965 L'Entente sought to rouse up the sentiment of Francophones within St. Léonard.

> Le moment est venu, à la population de Saint-Léonard de prendre ses responsabilités. Ensemble, parents, éducateurs, échevains, membres d'associations locales, commissaires d'écoles; sortons de notre léthargie, et luttons pour l'abolition des écoles bilingues dans notre ville.[25]

In a surprise move, one of the five commissioners, Léo Pérusse on November 20, 1967 proposed to the St. Léonard Catholic School Commission that their bilingual classes be phased out. In its place, starting with the September 1968 school year, French would be the primary language of instruction in grades one, two and three and that English would be taught as a second language. Their rational appears to have been that the bilingual schools had become "too English". Since no English public Catholic schools existed in the municipality, their action effectively denied Italian children the opportunity of an English education. The resolution also included the appointment of a ten member study committee to examine the effects of such a phase out. By approving the resolution, the commission unleashed a chain of events which was to polarize the city.[26]

Reaction from the non-Francophone community came quickly. In the month of February, 1968 a group of discontented Allophone parents formed the Association of Parents of St. Léonard (Association) and elected Frank Vatrano as president. The Association initially supported

the proposition that bilingual schools not be touched. Pressure from the Association coupled with the release of a preliminary report by the Study Committee suggesting that the status quo be maintained for at least one more year led the School Commission to revise its earlier decision. On March 19, 1968 it backtracked and extend the bilingual school system for a further year.[27]

In reaction to this move, forty-two French speaking parents of St. Léonard met on March 28 and formed le Mouvement pour l'Integration Scolaire (MIS). It's stated goal was to ensure that bilingual classes be gradually eliminated starting with the September 1968 school year. Most of these founding members had been associated with the COOP movement and L'Entente quickly endorsed the MIS. No sooner had it been launched that the MIS launched a campaign bent on sensationalism. It estimated that the French Canadian portion of the population in 1968 had dropped to only 53 per cent of the total, Italians represented 27 per cent, other Neo-Canadians 18 per cent and English Canadian only 2 per cent. The March 19 decision of the School Commission not to go ahead with the immediate phasing out of the bilingual classes was portrayed as suicidal:

> La Commission Scolaire de Saint-Léonard est par essence canadienne-française. Elle se doit en principle de veiller sur la culture française de ses adhérents. C'est sa mission première de se tenir à l'écart de toute politique de suicide à l'égard de la jeunesse canadienne-française placée sous son égide. ...
> Nous accueillons au pays de nouveaux canadiens qui veulent bon gré mal gré, instaurer dans nos

> moeurs, leurs propres lois, sans se soucier le moindrement d'observer les exigeances de leur patrie d'adoption et avoir recour à la plus élémentaire courtoisie.
>
> JE ME SOUVIENS [28]

The creation of the MIS was greeted by enormous support amongst different sectors of Francophone society. CJMS radio station on March 28, 1968 issued an editorial which was guaranteed to inflame passions amongst the Italian community:

> ... les Italiens mécontents répliquent que l'anglais étant au Québec la langue de travail, ils préparent ainsi l'avenir de leur enfant (sic). S'ils sont convaincus de cela, CJMS leur dit à ces Italiens, qu'au lieu de choisir le Québec, il n'avaient qu'à immigrer dans l'une ou l'autre des provinces anglophones et qu'il est encore temps pour eux de déménager Car (sic) nous ne sacrifierons certainment pas la survie de la langue française même pour un million d'Italiens venus s'installer au Québec. C'est à eux à faire un choix et non à nous. Le Québec et le français ou les provinces anglophones et l'anglais. C'est aussi simple que cela et les néo-canadiens d'origine italienne devraient être les premiers à le comprendre. CJMS ne démordra pas de cette position.[29]

The very same day of that editorial, the Société Saint Jean Baptiste (S.S.J.B.) called a press conference where it would announce its position on the emerging School Crisis. No sooner had the conference begun that a shouting match erupted between journalists from different Italian papers and members of the S.S.J.B. executive. Le Devoir described the conference as having degenerated into "un debat survolté". Racial tensions were becoming evident.[30]

The Crisis intensified when both the Association and the MIS decided to run their own candidates for an upcoming election. Two out of five seats on the School Commission were to be disputed on June 10, 1968. The MIS candidates promised they would fight from within the Commission to eliminate the bilingual school system. The Association candidates promised that they would fight for the maintenance of a bilingual school system for the parents who wanted it and also introduce the option of an English school system in the municipality.[31]

For many within the Association, it was difficult to distinguish between French Canadian nationalists who simply wanted stronger protection for their language and nationalists who saw "Francization" as only a first step towards the eventual separation of the province of Québec. On June 5, 1968 the two candidates from the association called on voters to elect their anti-separatist slate. Frank Vatrano's slogan was "Votez pour nous, non pour le séparatisme".[32]

This fear of separatism is key to understanding part of the reason for the dogged resistance Italians were to show against the MIS. As early as 1961, L'Entente had shown strong support for such separatists as Marcel Chaput. The RIN also received much sympathetic coverage throughout the 1960s and the journal actively participated in the establishment of a local RIN chapter within St. Léonard.

The MIS was from its inception openly combining the issue of separatism and the protection of the French language on numerous occasions. Moreover, by having the presidency of the MIS filled by a young separatist named Raymond Lemieux, many within the Association could not but conclude that more than the simple question language was at stake in St. Léonard.

The gravity of the ethnic tensions developing in St. Léonard at the eve of the elections were captured by a Vincent Price, an editorialist with Le Devoir:

> On sait que le débat scolaire dans cette municipalité de la banlieue montréalaise fait rage particulièrement depuis quelque mois. L'entrée en scène de groupes opposés et hautement revendicateurs a passablement échauffé les antagonistes. On se regarde commes des ennemis, on veut s'abattre mutuellement alors que, en toute logique, le problème ne saurait être réglé que dans un dialogue fraternel et dans une commune refléxion.[33]

The election was won by the two candidates for the MIS. Its victory was to affect both the School Commission and the Association. With its two new MIS members, the School Commission passed a resolution whereby the bilingual instruction given to Neo-Canadians would be replaced by courses solely offered in French. The policy would go into effect in September, 1968 for those students entering elementary one and would be continued each year until all bilingual instruction would be phased out. Within the Association, the new president who replaced Frank Vatrano

was Robert Beale. The vice-president was none other than Nick Ciamarra.[34]

An Increase in Violence

The events that occurred in St. Léonard can not be understood outside the context of the rise in violence associated with separatist actions. The MIS along with other "liberation" groups were leading active and aggressive campaigns of protest throughout the province and particularly in the Montreal area. Events such as the Noranda Mines incident, (the alleged firing of a Francophone employee from an Anglophone company because of his "idée linguistique") and "Operation McGill" (a protest march for the Francization of McGill University) were directed by such groups. Moreover, the bombing set off by such organizations as the Front De Libération du Québec (FLQ) played on the nerves of many Italian community members.[35]

In St. Léonard itself, the November 7, 1967 municipal election between outgoing Mayor Paul-Emile Petit (backed by nationalist elements of the population) and Léo Ouellet (who captured much of the Neo Canadian vote) had been marred by unpleasant incidents. Tony Marciano, President of "L'Association des hommes d'affaires et professionnels canadiens-italiens du Québec" wrote an open letter of protest to the Secretary-Treasurer of St. Léonard for their not having effectively intervened to stop the irregularities

taking place at the election polls:

> Sytématiquement, des citoyens canadiens, tant ceux nés à l'intérier du Canada que ceux originaires d'Italie de Pologne ou d'autres pays d'Europe, ont été intimidés, éconduits, écroués ou illégalement retenus. Plusieurs d'entr'eux se sont vus réfuser l'accès au poll et n'ont pu voter. Bon nombre furent amenés au poste de police sous le faux prétexte d'identification, dans des circonstance absurdes, dans le plus évident dédain des principles les plus élémentaires de démocratie et, ce qui est encore pire, au détriment de ces personnes même qui ont le plus soif de démocratie, les néo-canadiens.[36]

One of the most famous incidents in Canadian electoral history was the "Saint Jean Baptiste" riot in which separatists associated with Pierre Bourgault threw "Molotov cocktails" at Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau. What is perhaps less remembered is the association of the RIN with the St. Léonard Affair. From June 6, 1968 to the riot on June 24, not one issue of Le Devoir failed to mention, at length, developments in the St. Léonard conflict. The RIN was often mentioned. On June 21, Le Devoir reported that the RIN was preparing to confront Trudeau in his election tour of Montreal:

> ... à quelques jour de la fête nationale des Canadiens français et des élections fédérales, ont applaudi frénétiquement à l'invitation de 'creer d'autres Saint-Léonard' partout à Montréal. Les independentistes se préparent à recevoir Pierre Elliot Trudeau.[37]

One of the speakers at the meeting made an impassioned plea in which she did not rule out the use of violence in solving the linguistic problem:

> Il faut créer d'autre Saint-Léonard. Les écoles anglaises ne manquent pas, partout à Montréal. Il faut les occuper pour forcer le governement à agir.
> Il ne faut pas craindre les affrontements, mais les chercher, les susciter, les amplifier ...[38]

Il Cittadino Speaks Out

It was only natural that in this climate of suspicion and fear that the Italians of St. Léonard would turn to their most outspoken leaders. In the early stages of the Crisis up until the election of the two MIS school commissioners, many prominent Italian leaders had remained silent or had measured their comments rather carefully. This was not the case with Il Cittadino who had been denouncing separatists and racist commentaries from at least the late 1950s. The election of Ciamarra as vice-president of the Association of Parents of St. Léonard effectively turned Il Cittadino into an official spokesman of the Italian community.

In its March 28, 1968 edition, Il Cittadino remarked that the time had come for the Italian community to address the problem of minority rights for ethnic communities. The newspaper boldly struck out against Francophone nationalists who would deny Italians the right to have their children educated in English. Journalist Sergio Lanzieri criticized the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendence National (RIN), the S.S.J.B., radio station CJMS for their views on forcing

Italians to assimilate into the local French culture. Lanzieri found it strange how many of the same people who did not want Italians in their communities would suddenly turn around and want them to send their children into French schools! He, together with Ciamarra and others at Il Cittadino, called upon the community to unite behind the Association of Parents of St. Léonard to defend the interests of all Italians.[39]

If there was one argument that most aggravated Il Cittadino, it was the hackneyed nationalist argument that Italians were not native to Québec. The argument was simple, "Les Néo-Canadiens n'ont pas été témoins, n'ont pas participé à l'histoire du Québec." To this, Il Cittadino responded with its typical outline of historical contributions that Italians had made to this land, yet, this time with a twist. On April 17, 1969 appeared the official review by Il Cittadino of Spada's book, The Italians in Canada. A large portion of the early chapters of the book were serialized for its Italian readers. Italians belonged as much to this land as French Canadians and they had as much the right as any other Québecer to chose the political and social destiny of the province and of the country.[40]

One classic argument used by the MIS and its sympathizers was that if a French Canadian immigrated to Italy, his children would have to go to public Italian school. No French public schools existed in Italy. The

same held true for any country in Europe and for that matter, in the world. Immigrant children had to adopt the language of the country. Why then should Italians resist integration into Francophone schools. Was it therefore not logical that French Canadians demand from the immigrant that he send his children to French schools!

This argument literally baffled Il Cittadino. Italians had immigrated to Canada where the majority of the population were English speaking. Québec was not a country, it was a province and nothing more. Why should it have the authority to deny them the right to educate their children in the language of the majority of the nation as well as that of the continent? Moreover, was it not French Canadian nationalists who in the past had refused children of Neo Canadians in many of their schools. Why were they suddenly so eager to have Italian children assimilate into their culture? How could the Italian parent be assured that his children would receive a fair and non-discriminatory reception in the French schools? Many within the community had arrived at the conclusion that French nationalists wanted their children not because they cared to educate them but in order to score political points with the English. English was the language of work and they would rather become Protestants and send their children to English schools rather than to remain Catholic and compromise the future of their children.[41]

Position by the Association

One of the first actions taken by the Association was to challenge the decision by the School Commission to eliminate bilingual schools in provincial court. An injunction was sought that would recognize the Commission's regulation as illegal since it impeded the teaching of one of Québec's official languages. Much to the surprise of the Association, the Superior court decision upheld the right of the St. Léonard School Commission to phase out bilingual schools and not to offer English public schools in the municipality. The court declared that "... il n'y avait aucune base juridique pour l'annulation de la résolution. La Constitution canadienne ne garantit que le choix d'école d'après la foi religieuse et non d'après la langue." The Association filed an appeal. [42]

The seriousness of the school conflict escalated when in September, 1968, Italian parents refused to send their children to school. An estimated 1,700 elementary school pupils were kept at home and parents threatened to "keep them out indefinitely if they are forced to take lessons in French only."[43]

As the Crisis simmered down over the rest of the year, most school children returned to their classes. Only grade one had been affected by the school regulation so children already enrolled in the 1967-68 school year were unaffected. The problem was with the children scheduled to enter first

grade. Parents were faced with an uncomfortable position. Either they give in and send their children to French classes or they keep their children at home and face legal sanctions for not sending their children to school. Some three hundred Italian parents decided to break the law as 300 of their children boycotted the French classes.[44]

The Association had organized for the education of these children in private homes. They became known to the media as the "basement children", since they were usually taught in basements of these homes. In the meantime, an appeal was being taken to the courts by lawyer Claude-Armand Sheppard whose task it was to demonstrate that the regulations passed by the School Commission were discriminatory against Neo-Canadians.[45]

The months between September 1968 and September 1969 saw a number of meetings and pressure tactics employed by both sides. The Association organized a number of peaceful protests. This ranged from small scaled picketing of the Ecole Jerome Le Royer were a few dozens would chant "we want English classes" and carrying placards which read "are we Canadians or Québecers?" to massive demonstrations.[46] For example, on Monday September 9, 1968 the Association launched a giant support campaign for a march to Ottawa. The date picked for the demonstration was Thursday, September 12 to coincide with the opening day of parliament. A minor miracle occurred. Some 5,000 Montreal area parents

carrying placards and chanting "O Canada" arrived on the lawns of Parliament Hill and were met briefly by Prime Minister Trudeau who gave the group his government's moral support. This peaceful demonstration, described as "Canada's largest march for human rights", was accomplished in spite of the short time spent preparing for it. One must remember that this event took place on a working day and that most of those who attended had to forgo a day's wage. The Association had at least succeeded in attracting national attention.[47]

The MIS was involved in more aggressive demonstration tactics. The Commission Scolaire Régionale (which was in charge of post elementary schools in four Montreal suburbs, which included St. Léonard) decided to transform Aimé Renaud from a French to an English school. It claimed the ruling was a purely economic one and that the French-speaking students who had attended that high school in the previous years would be transferred to other nearby high schools. Many in the Francophone community did not accept that story. They saw it rather as a move to satisfy the demands of the Italian and Anglophone communities. As a result, on August 30, 1968, 80 French-speaking students barricaded themselves in Amié Renaud and organized a sit-in which received the moral support of a large segment of Montreal's Francophone population. Enough pressure was placed on that school commission that it reversed its decision and declared that "L'école Aimé Renaud demeurera française."[48] The MIS had

won another round.

It is easy to see why the St. Léonard dispute took on national dimensions. The issue was far greater that the rights of Neo-Canadians to chose the language of instruction of their choice. A Montreal Gazette editorial captured the perception of many Anglophones towards the crisis:

> ... Bound up with the fate of any minorities within Quebec is the fate of the others. The English speaking minority, now being very loosely described as "Anglo-Saxons" cannot rest indifferently or at ease in the enjoyment of their rights if other minorities are being denied theirs.[49]

Many French editorials came out strongly against the actions of the MIS and generally backed the Neo-Canadians in their fight to regain a right which they believed to be theirs. Renaude Lapointe of La Presse treated the members of the MIS as "d'exaltés" who "se prennent pour la loi et agissent comme s'ils étaient la loi".[50] Claude Ryan of Le Devoir presented the crisis as a tragedy which ought to have been strictly confined to a local quarrel. Instead, the exact opposite had occurred. Both sides wanted the conflict to take on a symbolic value, "to serve as some sort of prelude to a future linguistic policy in Quebec."[51] His paper's position was clearly stated in September, 1968:

> We understand the practical reasons which led the commissioners in St. Léonard to their decision. We quite admit that these reasons must be the object of close examination and an effective policy. In spite of this we believe that the political philosophy which inspired the commissioners is unacceptable. This philosophy amounts to making the political

> institutions the instruments in service of the majority. This is contrary to the true function of public institutions in a democracy, which is to take account of the legitimate diversities and not to look to mould them by force of a majority. Here is a case where tradition, from the beginning is nobler and more reasonable than what one presumes to put in its place.[52]

For Ryan, for Vincent Price (another editor at Le Devoir) as well as for numerous Québec intellectuals, St. Léonard had become a case which affected, at the same time, the policy of the Johnson government in Québec, the policy of the Trudeau government, the policy of other provincial governments and the very future of Canada itself. Because of the importance put on it, a clear position by the Québec provincial government had to be taken.

Unfortunately, as is often so common in recent Québec politics, no clear position was taken by the provincial government of the day. The Union National government appeared to be split over the issue with the premier stating that his government's linguistic policy was not going to be decided by a few radical in St. Léonard and his education minister, Cardinal, openly sympathetic to the decision taken by that municipality's School Commission.[53] With no clear stance coming from Québec city, local organizations were left to fight it out amongst themselves.

One could well imagine what effects the linguistic tensions within the municipality were to have on ethnic relations. The situation had ground down to a deadlock.

The MIS would not give what Neo-Canadians were now demanding, English schools, while Neo-Canadians were breaking the law and refusing to send their children to French schools.

As the September 1969 school year approached, the language debate centering on the School Crisis heated up again. The MIS had expanded beyond the confines of the city of St. Léonard and had become a provincial wide organization under a new name, the "League pour L'Integration Scolaire" (LIS). According to Parizella, the LIS had become so radical that many of the MIS's original membership had disassociated themselves from active involvement in the movement.[54]

Meanwhile, group solidarity was increasing within the Italian community. Italians who were seen as being soft on ethnic rights were criticized (Il Cittadino on one occasion attacked its arch-rival, Il Corriere Italiano for doing little for the Italian community in its hour of need yet already we note much less animosity there than in the late 1950s and early 1960s).[55] It was more critical of the old director of the then defunct Vita Nostra, bishop Cimichella himself, for showing little leadership. When the crisis had originally erupted, Cimichella had made his disapproval of the actions of the Association of Parents fairly well known and, in the tradition of the old Vita Nostra, remained supportive towards the idea that Italians ought to be

integrating the Francophone society.[56]

As the crisis progressed, it was becoming rather clear that the Italian clergy were in fact split over the language question and that a majority were in disagreement with Cimichella. Some agreed that Italian parents had the fundamental right to choose the language of instruction for their children while others sympathized with the view that Italian children had to be integrated within the Francophone population while maintaining their own Italian culture. A compromise position was reached with a "communiqué" published by the Italian clergy of Montreal. It stated that no one had "le droit d'imposer à nos familles et leurs enfants l'école française à la seule fin d'intégrer nos familles et leurs enfants dans le complex canadien-français à physionomie nationaliste."[57] The more radical the tensions within St. Léonard were becoming, the more the clergy was coming on side with the views of the Association of Parents (even if in their view, bilingual schools were still the ideal solution).

By late August, 1969 tensions within the municipality had reached its breaking point. The Association of Parents claimed that it would continue to hold private instruction for their children in the basements of their homes throughout the 1969-1970 school year if the government did not approve their plan of opening up a public English Catholic elementary school in St. Léonard. Education

Minister Jean-Guy Cardinal refused, claiming that the Québec government had no right to interfere with an essentially local matter.[58] On August 29, 1969 the Minister unveiled a compromise whereby parents could set up a private English school under Bill 56. If the school would conform to provincial standards, the government was willing to subsidize it up to 80 per cent. Cardinal also made it clear that he would no longer tolerate the basement classes which were illegal. The Association's president rejected it out of hand, stating that Neo-Canadians would not accept 80 per cent of their rights.[59]

Raymond Lemieux also rejected the Cardinal proposal. He stated that the LIS would not tolerate the establishment of any English schools in their city, be they public or private. On September 1, 1969, Lemieux issued a stern warning at a LIS press conference, "We will go all the way to ensure that St. Léonard stays what it is -- a symbol, the last chance for French culture in Québec."[60]

Landlords verses tenants?

Before discussing the violent turn which the crisis was to take, one last point must be raised with respect to the demographic situation in St. Léonard. During the development stage of the city, much of the construction that Italian contractors had involved themselves with was on the south side of the municipality. The Metropolitan Boulevard

runs across St. Léonard, effectively splitting the municipality into two sections. To the south of the boulevard lies approximately one third of the city and it was here that the most visible part of the Italian community was to be found.

The typical homes bought by many Italians were the duplexes and triplexes build by such contractors as the Barone brothers. The first floor was usually reserved for the family while the apartment or apartments upstairs were rented to tenants. An interesting residential phenomena occurred in St. Léonard as well as in Ville St. Michel and Montreal North. The landlords of these buildings were usually Italians while the tenants were usually French Canadians. Figures released by the city of St. Léonard suggested that the majority of properties owned in the municipality were in Italian hands.[61]

A significant number of French Canadians became resentful of this situation. Was not Québec "chez nous"? A number began asking why a Francophone should pay rent to an immigrant for living in his own province. Incidents of French Canadians holding back on their rent because of this line of reasoning were few yet in the tense climate that already existed, such occurrences became highly publicized and discussed within the Italian community. What made it worse was the proposal that floated around radical left wing separatists that, in a free Québec, Italians would see their

homes and businesses expropriated and turned over to the French Québecer. Part of this left wing attitude was captured by Leandre Bergeron's Why there must be a Revolution in Quebec:

> ... Those guys are all screwed up. They come here to take our jobs. If they didn't agree to work for less than us, okay. But they'll take 75c an hour! Us guys, we've got more self respect than to work for peanuts in some sweat shop. We're unemployed while the Italians are picking up their crummy pay cheque (sic) and buying their duplexes and renting us their third floor! Shit! [62]

The First Riot

The St. Léonard Crisis took a violent turn on Wednesday September 3, 1969. The LIS made the provocative move of calling a meeting to take place that night inside Jerome Le Royer High School. This school was located near St. Léonard's "Little Italy". A number of Italian parents attended the rally. As the hall filled, Italian-Canadians began trading insults with French unilingualists and before the meeting could get under way, the two groups were firing insults at each other. When Raymond Lemieux rose to speak, the Italians booed him off the stage. Radio and television men were present in the hall and Lemieux approached them agreeing to grant an interview. At that point, the details become less clear. According to the Montreal Star, Lemieux called the Italians "babies", the Italians retorted by calling him "chicken", the LIS began shouting back "Le Québec aux Québécois", someone let loose a stink bomb and

chairs began to fly.[63] The frustration which had been bottled up for close to two years burst out in the open. One constable got hit in the stomach while an Italian got some teeth knocked out. Chairs as well as anything which could serve as projectiles streamed back and forth across the hall until the St. Léonard police arrived with reinforcements and attempted to separate the two groups. Order proved impossible to keep.[64]

Enough constables eventually arrived to clear the Italians out of the school. A number of them left the area rather pleased with themselves. One of their chairs had found its mark by hitting Mr. Lemieux on the head, a wound which later required that he spend a night at, ironically, the "Italian Santa Cabrini Hospital". Provincial policemen were dispatched to the area in a desperate attempt to restore order outside the school grounds where Italians were gathering to jeer and threaten unilingualists left inside the building.[65]

Back inside the school, the LIS settled down and resumed their meeting. Lemieux, with blood streaming down his head, returned to the stage to issue a defiant speech. His friends acclaimed him, chanting "Vive Lemieux" and as the LIS chanted "Vive le Québec libre", rocks began flying through the school's windows. Tempers got the better of numerous Italians surrounding the school building; more reinforcements, more violence. As the LIS adjourned so as

to allow Lemieux to go to a hospital, a police escort had to be arranged to get LIS members out of the area.[66]

Around the school, many groups of Italians and Francophones continued to argue and come to blows. One French Canadian told a group of Italians, "If you come to Quebec, you should expect to speak French", to which an Italian replied:

> We speak French and English and Italian. We're civilized, not like you! ... If there is no English schooling here, there will be a revolution by all Italian-Canadians.[67]

The vivid details of this violent incident serves as an example of how far the situation in St. Léonard had degenerated. To be sure, the Italians had initiated the violence at the aborted LIS meeting. For months they had waited patiently for a solution from either Québec or Ottawa. Having been the object of discrimination for such a long time, certain members of the community lashed out at the LIS who had been provoking them for too long. The French papers were rightly critical of what the Italians had done, all three Italian papers called for restraint while both English dailies were apologetic. All agreed on one essential point: the Québec government had to get involved and settle the dispute once and for all.

Robert Beale was interviewed by La Presse the day following the incident. He explained that his association was doing everything in its means to calm the spirits of the

Italian parents. The violence that had occurred was regrettable, yet the fault Beale claimed lay with the LIS:

> La violence qui a explosé mercredi soir à Saint-Léonard ... est due à des citoyens irresponsable comme Raymond Lemieux et ceux qui ont loué a la LIS la salle d'une école située juste en face de notre Association, en plein coeur du cartier italien. C'était de la provocation ... il y a une limite jusqu'où vous pouvez pousser les gens. Nous avons reçu une gifle au moment où la commission scolaire de Saint-Léonard a adopté la résolution de l'unilinguisme, maintenant (que) nos deux joues ont été souffletées, nous ne pouvons plus tendre "l'autre".[68]

Renaude Lapointe of La Presse backed the analysis of Beale. In his September 5 editorial, Lapointe came out very strongly against the activities of Lemieux. What enraged her further was the way the nationalists were playing up the incident as though they had been the victims of aggressive anti-Francophone forces. Lapointe wrote:

> Il est fort regrettable que les Canadiens et Québécois d'origine italienne qui ont le malheur d'habiter Saint-Léonard aient perdu patience et fourni au chattemiteux Raymond Lemieux l'occasion de poser au martyr, avec sa "pinte de sang irlandais" répandue pour la cause de la langue française. Prétexte commode pour masquer ses sympathiers envers d'autres causes qui expliquent d'ailleurs la présence -- à une assemblee de la Ligue d'intégration scolaire de Saint-Léonard, -- des Chevaliers de l'Indépendance, du président du conseil de la légitimité nationale, d'Andrée Ferretti et d'autres amants passionnés de la langue française ... criant "Le Québec aux Québécois". Quels Québécois? Tous ceux qui sont installés legalement au Québec ne sont-ils pas des Québécois? [69]

The violence forced the government in Québec to call an emergency cabinet meeting. On September 5, Mr. Cardinal

announced that the St. Léonard Catholic School Board and his ministry had decided on a compromise solution in which a course in English lasting fifty minutes a day would be initiated in Grade one French-language classes. The commission would also offer a special class for those Grade two children who had illegally attended the basement classes. The LIS found the plan acceptable and agreed to it. Mr. Cardinal gave this compromise program his full approval; the Italian community did not. Robert Beale stated that the new plan was "out-and-out fascism", and nothing more than a "shoddy compromise" which had been issued to make the minister look as if he were doing something concrete. The city's Anglophone papers backed Beale fully, La Presse did likewise.[70] The same could not be said for Clause Ryan and Vincent Price of Le Devoir. For Ryan, although the compromise was far from ideal, it was a positive gain for the Italian community and a proposal at least worth examining. Vincent Price held the same opinion yet fell into a silly numbers game. Reminding his readers that Italians had always claimed they wanted a bilingual education for their children, Price calculated that there were roughly 200 school days in a year. At fifty minutes a day and in seven years, an Italian would receive approximately 1200 hours of English instruction by the time he graduated from elementary school. Surely, he claimed, this was enough time for any child to pick up that language and become fully functional in it.[71]

It was no longer worthwhile presenting these facts to the Italian community. For the average Italian, figures no longer mattered. After all that had happened, he no longer had any faith in the proposals by Cardinal. The question of accepting a compromise had long since passed. Italian parents held firm on regaining their right to the freedom of choice in education so that they could send their children to English schools.

The situation in St. Léonard was deteriorating daily. Raymond Lemieux had announced that the LIS would organize a "march to liberation" which would cut through heavily populated areas of St. Léonard (where most Italians lived and held their businesses). The front pages of every Montreal daily was covered with the latest developments of the crisis since the night of September 3. Tensions mounted. Italian leaders, as well as the media, cautioned Italians to remain indoors on September 10, the night the LIS planned to march through the city, so as to avoid more serious violence. On Monday September 8, the children of approximately 1,900 parents boycotted elementary school classes, On Tuesday September 9, the St. Léonard Police Director Sylvio Langlois formally denied the LIS permission to demonstrate in his city. He claimed that the veto of that public demonstration was in the interest of the public safety. Consultations with Lemieux over a change in the proposed route came to naught. Later that night, Lemieux

angrily declared at a council meeting that the LIS would march regardless of what the Police Director said.[72]

On Wednesday, September 10 St. Léonard braced itself for the expected demonstration. The Québec government was trying hastily to mediate the conflict but with no success. In the hope of temporarily solving the crisis, The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal made a good-will offer to accept the 400 or so Catholic students that were being deprived of an English education. Nick Ciamarra informed the Montreal Star that Italian parents would do everything to avoid violence. At meetings held the night before, several hundred Italian parents had assured Ciamarra that they would stay home with the doors locked and let the LIS march through. Yet some had warned that "... if the LIS or any of the separatist groups go on a rampage in our area, we won't sit still. And if they go looking for an Italian boy to beat up, then it will be all over. Those were prophetic words for the worst that could happen was in fact to happen.[73]

The Second Riot

The LIS began its march at 8:00 p.m. that evening. Surrounded by bodyguards, Lemieux led the procession. Upon arriving at the municipal boundary of Jean Talon and Pie IX, the demonstrators were met by 22 policemen of the city of

St. Léonard. The officers warned them that their action was illegal and they demanded that Lemieux order the demonstrators to disperse. Lemieux refused and the demonstrators simply walked around the police lines and regrouped on the other side. The policemen took no noticeable action. Approximately one hundred yards behind the St. Léonard force, some fifty Québec Provincial Police officers dressed in full riot gear waited. Once again, the demonstrators simply walked around them and regrouped on the other side of the police line. No violence having as of yet occurred, the police chose to exercise restraint and do nothing but call in more reinforcements. As the demonstrators approached the section on Jean Talon street which was banked on both sides by Italian shops, the policemen again formed ranks in an attempt to prevent the demonstrators from getting through.[73]

Violence started when a brick thrown at a QPP car smashed though the side window injuring the constable inside. Pandemonium quickly erupted. A Molotov cocktail was thrown at the officers and the riot squad responded by tossing tear gas into the crowd. In the furry which erupted, demonstrators rushed the area and initiated a window smashing spree which resulted in broken windows along almost a mile of Jean Talon Street. Seeing their homes and businesses vandalized, small groups of Italians descended onto the streets to challenge the demonstrators. Heavy fighting occurred between Italians and demonstrators while

the police apparently were unable to establish any order.[74]

Mayor Léo Ouellet arrived at the scene of the conflict and took an extraordinary measure which had not been used in Québec since the Asbestos Strike in 1949: at 9:05 p.m. he invoked the Riot Act. This act empowered the police to make on-the-spot arrests of anyone who did not disperse within thirty minutes of its reading. Those arrested under such an act would face Criminal Code charges rather than charges under a municipal bylaw. The mayor read the following proclamation to the crowd:

> Her majesty the Queen charges and commands all persons being assembled immediately to disperse and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful business upon the pain of being guilty of an offence for which, upon conviction, they may be sentenced to imprisonment for life.
> God save the Queen.[75]

The demonstrators gradually dispersed but not after having caused significant material damage to the area. Fifty-one persons, forty-nine adults and two juveniles were arrested in the dying moments of the riot. More than 100 people were reported injured in the fighting. La Presse estimated that upwards of 2,500 people had joined the LIS demonstration. Throughout the demonstration, these people had chanted such slogans as "Le Québec aux Québécois" and "Saint-Léonard aux Français", waved Quebec fleur-de-lis flags and carried placards which read "non aux écoles anglais", "vive le Québec libre", "Mon Pays, c'est Québec",

"Pas des Wops anglais", "Saint-Léonard Francais", and some simply "Jobs". Just before it was all over, cheering crowds acclaimed their leader Lemieux and the later issued a statement which was echoed throughout Canada, "Nous avons atteint notre but".[76]

Reaction by police authorities the next day were as swift as they were effective. Raymond Lemieux along with other leaders of the LIS were arrested and charged with sedition, refusing to comply with the Riot Act, and among other charges, refusing to circulate after ordered to do so by police. The Québec Justice Minister, in a vehement outburst, vowed that "for better or for worse, society will see its rights protected from whoever attacks these rights."[77]

The riot left serious scars on the Italian community which went beyond the broken windows along Jean Talon street. Waves of anger and dismay swept through the community. Some made plans to move out of St. Léonard or out of the province, others talked openly of reprisals against French communities across Montreal.[78] Several rumors circulated that guns were being gathered if the demonstrators ever came back. One thing was clear, for many, any talk of compromise was now definitely finished.

Italian papers played an instrumental part in advising the Italian community to keep calm and not over-react. The September 18 edition of Il Cittadino, for example, ran a

full page communique addressed to the Italian students of J.F.Kennedy high school (located in Ville St. Michel).[79] It asked them to stay calm and to demonstrate an exemplary conduct so as to show the people of this province that Italians, unlike the followers of Lemieux, were a peaceful and respectable people.

The Solution Long Awaited For

That reprisals and shootings were ever going to take place happily remains but speculation. The simple fact was that it did not happen in large part because the Provincial government was finally prompted into action and began drafting what became known as Bill 63. Meanwhile, On November 18, 1969, the five judges of the Québec Court of Appeal unanimously overturned the lower court decision. It declared that the St. Léonard Roman Catholic School Commission "had no right to embark on a program of gradually eliminating English-language education in 1968." This action greatly encouraged the Italian community. Final victory came with the adoption of Bill 63 by the Québec National Assembly on November 20, 1969 (ironically two years to the date that the St. Léonard School Commission had initiated the conflict).[80]

Bill 63 was in itself a controversial piece of legislation. The law was entitled a "law to promote the teaching of the French language in Quebec." It recognized

French as the official language of the province yet it also entrenched parent's rights to chose their children's schools. Effectively, Bill 63 confirmed the Québec Court of Appeal's stance that St. Léonard had to provide English public schools for those citizens who wanted it.[81]

The St. Léonard Crisis was a shameful page in the history of ethnic relations in Canada. It had taken years to develop and generated such animosity between the Francophone and Italian community that years would pass before those scares could be forgotten. In seeking to force Italians to assimilate into their culture, nationalists alienated a group which did not want to get involved in a dispute which many had felt was strictly a French-English debate.

The Crisis also destroyed the possibility of returning to the old bilingual school program. While most parents prior to the crisis had been willing to consider a bilingual system so that their children could integrate into a bilingual society, the crisis effectively destroyed any chances for a bilingual school.

To suggest that language problems were over for the Italian community and for Neo-Canadians generally had come to an end is far from being accurate. Language tensions were to keep simmering throughout the early 1970s up until the introduction of Bill 22 by the Bourassa Liberal Government. This time, it would be a provincial law which

would attempt to eliminate the right of Neo-Canadians to have access to English schools. The Bill 22 controversy and the havoc it was to cause the Italian community is another story.

CONCLUSION

The Quiet Revolution was a period of tremendous social change and one where many French Canadians were re-discovering a strong sense of national pride. The language question of the 1960s was part of that Revolution, and within that language issue was St. Léonard. If the events of 1968 and 1969 are to be characterized as a struggle between French Canadians and English Canadians, then that leaves little place for the Italians in the story. By characterizing everything as an English-French debate, as is often the case, we miss an enormous part of the picture of what really happened in that municipality.

Recently, Paul-André-Linteau wrote that during the conflict of St. Léonard, Italians had their own positions to defend:

> They entered the debate on the basis of what they considered to be their own interests and they became important participants in it. But it must be recognized that Italians also became pawns in a battle between French and English Canadians and that they were used in a conflict that was not necessarily their own.[1]

That they had been used is not in doubt. The magnitude which an essentially small school crisis took by the summer of 1968, when it was being echoed across the whole province went beyond the local level. Moreover, the presence within the municipality of fanatics made for a very explosive situation.

What is often missed though is the ethnic voice itself. St. Léonard was more than just a linguistic battle ground. Ethnic tensions over housing and employment had their part to play in the Crisis. There was one further point and it dealt with a clash of nationalisms. Whether one looks at the debates over the changing of a street name in Mile End, or the debates over a statue to Caboto, one finds some of the same tensions that were to be found in St. Léonard. Italians were developing their own sense of history and were demanding their own space where they could live as Italian Canadians. Such demands, at least in the late 1960s had become unrealistic.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Edward Hallett Carr, What is History (Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books, 1961), p. 11.

[2] Marcel Rioux, Québec in Question (Toronto: James Lormier & Company, 1978), pp. 114-121, 143, 147.

[3] In 1951, the population of Italian origin in Montreal was estimated at 30,722. By 1971, it had increased to 160,600 thus representing roughly a 523 percent increase in twenty years.

[4] Such Francophone dailies as Le Devoir and La Presse will be canvassed.

[5] There is a great disparity in figures as to how many Italians live in Montreal, and for that matter in Canada and the United States. The difficulty lies in the definition of the term "Italian" and whether it includes simply first generation immigrants, their second generation children born in their adopted land and subsequent generations of Italians. Statistics Canada itself placed the 1971 figure of people of "Italian origin" at about 160,600 while a study conducted by a socialist nationalist group, Parti Pris, placed the 1968 Italian population at about 210,000. Il Cittadino Canadese estimates today's Italian population in Montreal as approximately 250,000 while Census Canada actually notes a decrease. While Census Canada estimated the 1971 population of Italian origin in Québec to number at 169,655 , the 1981 Census reported only 163,735 representing a net loss of 5920 people or an approximate drop of 4 per cent.

It should be noted that the 1981 Census have come under some criticism. Historians Paul-André Linteau, René Durocher, Jean-Claude Robert and François Richard have noted that the 1981 Census figures are not perfectly compatible with those of 1961 and 1971. See Paul-André Linteau et al., Le Québec Depuis 1930 (Montréal: Les Editions Du Boréal Express, 1986), pp. 538-541.

[6] The most prolific historian to have written on the Italians of Montreal is Bruno Ramirez. His works include "Montreal's Italians and the Socio-Economy of Settlement, 1900-1930: Some Historical Hypotheses," Urban History Review X, 1 (June 1981), 39-48 ; Les Premiers Italiens de Montréal: L'origine de la Petite Italie du Québec (Montréal: Les Editions Du Boréal Express, 1984); "Brief Encounters: Italian Immigrant Workers and the CPR, 1900-1930," Labour/Le Travail 17 (Spring 1986), 9-27. Note also the article co-written by Bruno Ramirez and Michael Del Balso, "The Italians of Montreal: From Sojourning to Settlement, 1900-1921" in Harney and Scarpaci, eds., Little Italies in

North America (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981), pp. 63-84.

Montreal's Italian community is also examined in Robert Harney, "Men Without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada, 1885-1930" in B. Caroli, R. Harney, L. Tomasi, eds, The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America (Toronto: MHSO, 1978). The infamous Italian padrone Antonio Cordasco and the immigration of Italian workers to Montreal is examined in Robert F. Harney, "Montreal's King of Italian Labour: A Case Study of Padronism", Labour/Le Travailleur vol. V (1979): 57-84.

The activities of the Italian Consulate in Montreal during the inter-war period has been examined in Roberto Perin, "Conflits d'identité et d'allegeance: la propagande du consulat italien à Montreal dans les années trente," Questions de culture vol. II (1982), pp. 81-102. Also to touch upon Montreal Italians during the inter-war period is Luigi Bruti Liberati's Il Canada, l'Italia e il fascismo (1919-1945) (Rome: Bonacci Editore, 1984).

[7] A discussion of the "new ethnic history" is to be found in Roberto Perin, "Clio as an ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography," Canadian Historical Review LXIV, 4 (1983): 441-467.

[8] The "decapitation thesis" was eagerly adopted by what historians John A. Dickinson and Brian Young characterize as "the youth of the 'Quiet Revolution'" and helped shape their outlook on English Canada. See John A. Dickinson, Brian Young, Diverse Pasts: A History of Québec and Canada (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1986), pp. 114-115.

[9] Perhaps the most famous sociological enquiry which has dissected the structure of élite groups and related income, wealth, and influence to ethnicity is John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965). See also chapter 4 of Richard Dalton Basham, Crisis in Blanc and White: Urbanization and Ethnic Identity in French Canada (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenman Publishing Company, 1978). For a nationalist portrayal of the disparities between French and English Canadians during the late 1950s and early 1960s, see chapter one of Marcel Chaput's Why I am a Separatist (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962).

[10] A number of nationalist texts use this rhetoric, the most notable being Pierre Vallières, White Niggers of America (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971).

[11] Peter Desbarats, The State of Québec: A Journalist's View of the Quiet Revolution (Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965), p. 21.

[12] Henry Egretaud, L'Affaire Saint-Léonard (Montreal: La

Société D'Education Du Québec, 1970), pp. 6-7.

[13] Rioux., p. 117.

[14] Ibid., p. 117.

[15] Michel Plourde, La Politique Linguistique Du Québec: 1977-1987 (Québec: Institut Québécois De Recherche Sur La Culture, 1988), p. 12.

[16] Ibid., p. 11.

[17] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

[18] Egretaud., p. 21.

[19] Ibid., pp. 19-20

[20] Ibid., p. 20.

[21] Ibid., p. 18.

[22] Poulin and Painchaud "Le phenomene migratoire italien et la formation de la communauté italo-québecoise," unpublished manuscript, as quoted in Donat J. Taddeo, Raymond Taras, Le débat linguistique au Québec: la communauté italienne et la langue d'enseignement (Montréal: 1987), p. 32.

[23] Leon Dion, Québec: The Unfinished Revolution (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), p. 139.

[24] Out of the five elected school commissioners for the municipality of St. Léonard, between 1967 and 1970, Italian commissioners never numbered more than two out of the five.

[25] Carr., p. 29.

[26] The Parti Québecois was a conveyor of many of the nationalist ideas on immigration and the French language which existed in the 1960s. Just prior to the 1980 referendum on Sovereignty-Association, a conference was held in the city of Milano entitled "Québec: oggi e domani" in which a delegation from the then Parti Québecois was invited to answer the many inquiries of Italian professors and journalists at the Università di Milano. Much of the nationalist rhetoric in the historical analysis of Québec history is offered, and one of the delegates was none other than Claude Morin, Minister of Intergovernmental Affaires. One of the Questions asked the Minister was what ethnic relations in the Province were like. Besides pointing to the hospitality of Québec people, the Minister pointed to the close ties that Italians and French Canadians traditionally had in the province. The Minister then

admitted that there were some tensions in the post-World War era between Francophones and the newly arrived Italian immigrants over the language question. His explanation is typical of the nationalist interpretation of the events. The immigrants had been mislead by Canadian Federal authorities overseas into believing that Québec was not any different from the rest of Canada and that the Federal Authorities had not explained to the immigrants that in this province, the majority language was French and not English. Therefore, the tensions between the Italian community and the French community could be summed up as a result of immigrant being ill informed and misguided by Federal immigration authorities. Needless to say, the ethnic riots between nationalists and Italians were not raised during the Conference. Agnelli, Aillaud, Albertoni et al., Québec: oggi e domani. Atti del Colloquio (Milano: Instituto Editoriale Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1980), pp. 21-22.

[27] Ronald Lamontagne, "Monographie Sur Saint-Léonard: Un Cas De Conflit Social," (unpublished paper held at the St. Léonard Municipal Library writen circa 1970), pp. 66-68.

[28] Ibid., p. 67.

[29] Ibid., p. 27.

[30] Gendron, La situation de la langue française au Québec. Rapport de la Commission d'enquête sur la situation de la langue française et sur les droits linguistiques au Québec (Rapport Gendron) vol. 3 (Québec: 1972), pp. 67-69. The Gendron Commission had been formed by the Union National Government in 1968 to examine the status of the French language in Québec as well as the question of linguistic rights in the province. It was headed by linguist Jean-Denis Gendron, and produced its report towards the end of 1972. The value of this commission is twofold. Not only does it provide a clear synopsis of the linguistic debate in the province but, having been formed during the St. Léonard Crisis, it naturally turned to one of the burning questions of the day, the question of linguistic rights for immigrants. While this report urged the provincial government for stronger language legislation, it also gave a critical look at the question of why immigrants were more prone to sending their children to English schools. It concludes that part of the problem was one of xenophobia amongst French Canadians towards immigrants in general. See the first three chapters of Volume 3 of this report.

[31] Paul Cappon, Conflit entre les Néo-Canadiens et les francophones de Montreal (Québec: Les Presses De L'Universite Laval, 1974), pp. 33-39.

[32] Paul Cappon, "Nationalism and Inter-Ethnic and Linguistic Conflict in Québec" in Leo Driedger (ed.) The

Canadian Ethnic Mosaic (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), p. 336.

[33] A hand-full of articles from these two papers are translated into French and appear in chapter 3 of Lamontagne's work. The selection of articles which are translated range from September to October, 1969.

[34] While the above two works make significant inroads in studying the St. Léonard Crisis and position of the Italian community within this conflict, the Italian community experience remains largely unexplored. Rather than seeing a multidimensional community at work, what emerges is a one dimensional picture of this immigrant group, a kind of outer-shell devoid of its cultural context. Moreover, some of the methodology employed remains suspect. Cappon's "discussion group method" could only judge the reactions of select Italian immigrants under a stressful situation. How much can be learned from the immigrant when he is placed in an intimidating environment where he is expected to defend himself in a language which he is not the master of. Moreover, this methodology may reveal that which the immigrant is willing to express to an outside community, one which it should be added he may have been suspicious of (due to the hostility which was directed towards it). What did Italian immigrants say amongst themselves and how did they express this in their own native language? Lamontagne translates a few editorials found in Italian papers during the outburst of violence in the first weeks of September, 1969. Can these few article be representative of the whole experience (one which it must be reminded, lasted well over two years)?

[35] Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History. Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing: 1900-1970 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 16-17.

[36] Ibid., p. 17.

[37] Kenneth McRoberts, Dale Posgate, Québec: Social Changes and Political Crisis (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), p. 162.

[38] Ibid., p. 133.

[39] Basham., p. 236.

[40] Ibid., p. 121

[41] Ibid., p. 121.

[42] Ibid., pp. 122-123.

[43] Dickinson and Young., pp. 355-356.

[44] Ibid., p. 356.

[45] The Italian word "ambiente" can be roughly translated as ambience. One of the goals of this study is to capture the "milieu" of the Italian immigrant in St. Léonard, as well as their cognitive sense of their community. For a discussion of "ambiente" refer to Robert F. Harney, "Ambiente And Social Class in North American Little Italies" Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism vol. 2 (Spring, 1975): 208-224.

[46] Donat J. Taddeo, Raymond Taras, Le débat linguistique au Québec: la communauté italienne et la langue d'enseignement (Montréal: 1987).

[47] John E. Parisella, "Pressure Group Politics: Case Study of the St-Léonard Schools Crisis", unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Economics and Political Science, McGill University, July, 1971, pp. 33-44.

[48] Perin, Clio as an ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography., pp. 450-451.

[49] Filiopietism is a term employed to describe the disposition community intellectuals have had in describing their ethnic communities and their history. These works usually echo ethnic triumphalism, pointing to members of their ethnic groups who have made their own important contribution to their host society.

Three such works appeared on the Italians in the 1950s and 1960s. These are Guglielmo Vangelisti Gli Italiani in Canada (Montreal: Chiesa italiana di N.S. della Difesa, 1956); Antonio Spada, The Italians in Canada (Ottawa: Riviera Printers and Publishers Inc., 1969); and Giosafat (Jos) Mingarelli, Gli Italiani di Montreal: Note E Profili, 3rd edition (Montreal: C.I.A.C.A., 1980). His first edition was published in 1957.

CHAPTER II

FOOTNOTES

[1] Parisella, op. cit., pp. 33-44.

[2] One of the best collections of articles examining the "Little Italy" phenomenon is Harney and Scarpaci, eds., Little Italies in North America, Toronto: MHSO, 1981.

[3] The term "immigrant" is often an ambiguous term which at times refers simply to first generation arrivals or is sometimes extended to include their descendents. This thesis will use the term in the latter sense, and often use it interchangeably with the term Neo-Canadian. Although pejorative, it none the less captures the sense that even amongst second and third generation Italians, they often neither felt nor were made to feel as fully integrated Canadians.

[4] Perin, "Clio as an Ethnic" loc. cit., 441-67.

[5] Spada, op. cit., p. xvii.

[6] Robert Harney, Italians in Canada, Occasional Papers on Ethnic and Immigration Studies, OP 78-1. (Toronto: MHSO, 1978), pp. 1-2.

[7] Perin, "Clio as an Ethnic" loc. cit., p. 448.

[8] Ibid., p. 448.

[9] Jacques Dofny and Marcel Rioux, "Les classes sociales au Canada français," Revue française de Sociologie III:3 (Summer, 1962).

[10] Pierre Bourgault, Le Québec Des Années 1960 video 1982.

[11] Filippo Salvatore, "Le métissage: le défi d'avenir du Québec," Vice Versa II:3 (March/April 1985) 19-20.

[12] This theme is well expounded in Spada, The Italians of Canada, chapter 2, in Vangelisti, Gli Italiani in Canada, chapter 3, and in Mingarelli, Gli Italiani di Montreal), pp. 7-36.

[13] Spada, The Italians of Canada, chapter 3; Vangelisti, Gli Italiani in Canada, chapter 3.

[14] John Murray Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1938) pp. 380-393.

[15] Spada., Chapter 3. See also Harney, Italians in Canada., pp. 2-3.

[16] The Lists of Italian soldiers who fought with the Watteville and Meuron regiments and settled in Canada can be found in Vangelisti., pp. 92-96.

[17] Bruno Ramirez, Les premiers italiens de Montréal: L'origine de la Petite Italie du Québec (Montreal:Boréal Express, 1984), pp. 13-21.

[18] For examples of the appalling misery in turn of the century Italy, see Robert F. Foerster, The Italian Emigration of Our Times (London: Oxford University Press, 1924) particularly pp. 85-92. Statistical information on emigration is also found in Gianfausto Rosoli, ed., Un secolo di emigrazione italiana:1876-1976. Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1978.

[19] Luigi Favero and Graziano Tassello, "Cent'anni di emigrazione Italiana (1876-1976)" in Gianfausto Rosoli, ed., Un secolo di emigrazione italiana:1876-1976. Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1978. pp. 9-64.

[20] One of the most important work expounding this view was Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migration that Made the American People. Boston, 1951.

[21] This migratory process is examined in Robert F. Harney, "The Commerce of Migration," Canadian Ethnic Studies IX:1 (1977) 42-53.

[22] Robert F. Harney, "The Padrone and the Immigrant," The Canadian Review of American Studies V:2 (Fall, 1974), 100-118.

[23] Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries". XI Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Rapports, Vol. V: Histoire Contemporaine (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1960), pp. 32-60.

[24] Donald Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners': European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada 1896-1932, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1979) chapter 1.

[25] Bruno Ramirez and Michael Del Balso, "The Italians of Montreal: From Sojourning to Settlement, 1900-1921" in Harney and Scarpaci, eds., Little Italies in North America, (Toronto: MHSO, 1981) p. 63.

[26] Harney, Italians in Canada., p. 5.

[27] Several prominent Canadians at the turn of the

century questioned the wisdom of allowing Italians into the country. See Robert F. Harney, "Italophobia: An English-speaking Malady?", Studi Emigrazione LXXVII (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1985) 6-43.

[28] See the introduction by Marilyn Barber in J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers within our Gates, ed. by Michael Bliss (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. vii-xxiii.

[29] Ibid., p. 132

[30] Harney, Italians in Canada., p. 5.

[31] Donald Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Foreign Navy, 1896-1914, CHAR, 1972. pp. 135-56.

[32] Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners., pp. 16-18.

[33] Woodsworth., p. 163.

[34] Robert F. Harney, "Ambiente and Social Class in North American Little Italies", Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism II:2 (Spring 1975) 208-224. See also John Zucchi The Italian Immigrants of the St. John's Ward, 1875-1916: Patterns of Settlement and Neighbourhood Formation, Occasional Papers on Ethnic and Immigration Studies, OP 81-10. Toronto: MHSO, 1978.

[35] Ramirez, Les premiers italiens de Montréal., p. 13.

[36] Vangelisti., p. 115.

[37] Ramirez and Del Balso, loc. cit., p. 65.

[38] Ramirez, Les premiers italiens de Montréal., p. 13.

[39] Ibid., chapter 2, see also Spada., chapters 5 and 8.

[40] Ramirez and Del Balso, loc. cit., pp. 67-73; see also Robert Harney, "Montreal's King of Italian Labour: A case Study of Padronism", Labour-Le Travailleur V (1979), 57-84.

[40] Bruno Ramirez, "Montreal's Italians and the Socioeconomy of Settlement, 1900-1930: Some Historical Hypothesis", Urban History Review X:1 (June 1981) 39-48. For a detailed description of the movements from the downtown wards to the Mile End district, see chapter 2 in Charles M. Bailey, The social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities: Montreal, 1935-1937, Master's Thesis, McGill University, 1939. See also part two chapter two in Harold A. Gibbard, The Means and Modes of Living of European Immigrants in Montreal, Master's Thesis, McGill University, 1934.

[41] Gibbard., pp. 45-71.

[42] Ramirez, "Montreal's Italians and the Socioeconomy of Settlement," loc. cit. pp. 39-48.

[43] Ibid., pp. 39-48. See also Gibbard., p. 51.

[44] Bruno Ramirez, "Brief Encounters: Italian Immigrant Workers and the CPR, 1900-1930," Labour/Le Travail, XVII (Spring 1986), 9-27.

[45] Father Vangelisti describes a moving example of an Italian Immigrant who had recently arrived in Montreal and suffered from exposure while working with a pick and shovel. His hands had to be amputated. Vangelisti., p. 17.

[46] Foerster., p. 376

[47] Campanilismo is a term which generally refers to the localism of the Italian. The term comes from the word "campana" which signifies the church tower of the Italian village and is used symbolically to describe the cognitive area in which a villager felt attached to (ie: as far as one could see or hear his village bell).

[48] Harney, "Ambiente and Social Class in North American Little Italies", loc. cit., p. 211.

[49] For a discussion on some of the difficulties of employing such terms as "ethnic", see Wsevolod W. Isajiw "Definitions of Ethnicity", Occasional Papers in Immigration and Ethnicity, OP 79-6 Toronto: MHSO, 1979, pp. 1-25.

[50] John E. Zucchi, Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), p. 48.

[51] David R. Hughes and Evelyn Kallen, The Anatomy of Racism: Canadian Dimensions (Montreal, 1974), pp. 176-177.

[52] Robert F. Harney, "Chiaroscuro: Italians in Toronto 1885-1915" Italian Americana I:2 (1975) 147-67.

[53] See introduction in Zucchi, op. cit., pp. 1-10.

[54] Harney, "Ambiente and Social Class in North American Little Italies" op. cit., pp. 208-224

[55] Vangelisti., 118; See also chapter 6 in Spada., pp. 96-109.

[56] See Spada., chapter 6; see also chapter 1 in Ramirez, "Les premieres italiens de Montréal", op. cit., pp. 11-23.

[57] The most important member appears to have been Alberto Dini who in 1883 became president of "La Società dei Bersaglieri" of whom Vangelisti states was considered by many as the "Father" of the Italian colony. See Vangelisti., p. 118; Dini is also examined in Ramirez and Del Balso, loc. cit., pp. 67-73; and Harney, "Montreal's King of Italian Labour: A case Study of Padronism", loc. cit., pp. 57-84.

[58] Spada., p. 89.

[59] For an eye-witness account of much of the developments of these two Italian parishes and their schools, see part two in Vangelisti., pp. 143-296.

[60] Ibid., pp. 160-168.

[61] See chapter 7 in Spada., pp. 110-119.

[62] Harney, "Chiaroscuro: Italians in Toronto", loc. cit., pp. 162-163.

[63] Vangelisti., pp. 202-203.

[64] Ibid., pp. 214-217.

[65] These conclusions were reached in both studies by Gibbard, op. cit., and Bailey, op. cit.,

[66] An excellent examination of the inter-war educational situation within the Italian community is to be found in chapter 3 of Donat J. Taddeo and Raymond C. Taras, Le débat linguistique au Québec: La communauté italienne et la langue d'enseignement. Montreal, 1987.

[67] Ibid., pp. 48.

[68] A useful overview of Italian Fascism is chapter 7 in Zucchi, Italians in Toronto., pp. 166-192.

[69] For a discussion on the American perception of Mussolini and Italian Fascism, see John P. Diggins, Mussolini and Fascism: The View From America (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972). For the Canadian reaction, see Luigi Bruti Liberati, Il Canada, l'Italia e il fascismo 1919-1945 (Rome: Bonacci Editore, 1984).

[70] Perin, "Conflict d'identité et d'allégeance," loc. cit., p. 82.

[71] Zucchi, Italians in Toronto., chapter 7.

[72] Spada., pp. 111-115.

[73] Vangelisti., pp. 222-225.

[74] One of the most vivid accounts of Italian discrimination in the United states is Salvatore LaGumina, Wop: A Documentary History of Anti-Italian Discrimination in the United States. San Francisco, 1973. See also A. De Conde, Half Bitter Half Sweet: An Excursion into Italian-American History. New York, 1972.

[75] Ramirez and Del Balso, loc. cit., p. 66; See also Harney, "Italophobia: An English-speaking Malady?", loc. cit., pp. 13-14.

[76] Harney, "Italophobia: An English-speaking Malady?", loc. cit., p. 14.

[77] John E. Zucchi, "The Catholic Church and the Italian Immigrant in Canada, 1880-1920: A Comparison Between Ultramontaigne Montreal and Hibernian Toronto," in Scalabrini Tra Vecchio e Nuovo Mondo, Gianfausto Rosoli ed., (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1989) pp. 491-508.

[78] Vangelisti., pp. 212-214.

[79] Ibid., p. 20.

[80] Spada., pp. 114. See also Emile Benoist, "La propagande en faveur de Cabot" Le Devoir (December 17, 1929), sect. 1, p. 1, cols. 4-5-6.

[81] Perin, "Conflict d'identité et d'allégeance," loc. cit., See also the reaction in Emile Benoist, "La polémique s'engage", Le Devoir (December 18, 1929), sect. 1, p. 1, cols. 2-3-4.

[82] Benoist, "La polémique s'engage", loc. cit., col. 3.

[83] Perin, "Conflict d'identité et d'allégeance," loc. cit.

[84] Spada., p. 114.

[85] Emile Benoist, "Jacques Cartier est-il le découvreur du Canada?", Le Devoir (December 5, 1929), sect. 1, p. 1, cols. 5-6.

[86] Ibid., sect. 1, p. 1, col. 6.

[87] Ibid., sect. 1, p. 1, col. 6.

[88] Emile Benoist, "Rien ne prouve que Cabot soit venu en Amérique", Le Devoir (December 13, 1929), sect. 1, p. 1, cols. 5-6-7-8.

[89] Emile Benoist, "A la decouverte de la decouverte de Cabot", (December 23, 1929), sect. 1, p. 1-2.

[90] Benoist, "Jacques Cartier est-il le découvreur du Canada?", loc. cit., col. 6.

[91] Ibid., col. 6.

[92] Benoist, "La propagande en faveur de Cabot" loc cit., col. 6.

[93] Georges Pelletier, "Vingt ans de trop, En marge de la loi d'immigration", Le Devoir (December 17, 1929), sect. 1, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

[94] This quote from Il Cittadino is reproduced in Perin, Good Fascist and Good Canadian". loc. cit. part 2.

[95] This notion of ethnic pride was to re-emerge strongly in a new newspaper which was to be founded in Montreal during the war, Il Cittadino Canadese. Although the rest of this thesis will often use the short term, Il Cittadino, reference will be not to Farese's paper which folded prior to the war, but to Spada's paper.

[96] The statue of Caboto still stands near the corner of Atwater and St. Catherine streets. The inscriptions were carved into marble slabs and placed at the bottom portion of the statue. Although the ravages of time have taken their toll, these inscriptions are still visible. The French inscription reads "A GIOVANNI CABOTO, LES ITALIENS DU CANADA"; the Italian one reads "A GIOVANNI CABOTO GLL'ITALIANI DEL CANADA".

[97] Spada., pp. 114-115.

[98] Jean-Denis Gendron, The Position of the French Language in Quebec (Québec, 1972), p. 12. The official title of the report was, La situation de la langue française au Québec. Rapport de la Commission d'enquête sur la situation de la langue française et sur les droits linguistiques au Québec. The report was commissioned by the Union National government in 1968 and was headed by linguist Jean-Denis Gendron. As the title suggests, the mandate of the commission was to examine the position of the French language in this province as well as the situation of linguistic rights. It issued its report in 1972, and among other things, recommended that the French language be made the common language of work for the province of Québec. It was on this report that the Bourassa government was to base its famous Bill 22. For further reading, see Paul-André Linteau et al., Le Québec Depuis 1930 (Saint Laurent, Québec: Boréal, 1986), pp. 550-555.

[99] Harney, The Italians of Canada., pp. 20-22.

CHAPTER III

FOOTNOTES

[1] Harney, Italians in Canada, pp. 19-21.

[2] Boissevain., pp. 2-4.

[3] Clifford J. Jansen, Italians in a Multicultural Canada (Queenston, Ontario, 1988), pp. 92-96.

[4] Franc Sturino, "Post-World War Two Canadian Immigration Policy towards Italians," Polyphony: The Bulletin of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, VII:2 (Fall/Winter 1985) 68.

[5] Boissevain., pp. 1-2.

[6] Joseph Loperato, Peasants No More (San Francisco: Chadler Publishing Company, 1967), pp. 29-32.

[7] Eugenia Malfatti, "L'emigrazione italiana e il Mezzogiorno", in Gianfausto Rosoli ed. Un secolo di emigrazione italiana: 1876-1976 (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1978), pp. 97-116.

[8] Francesco P. Cerase, "Economia precaria ed emigrazione", in Gianfausto Rosoli ed. Un secolo di emigrazione italiana: 1876-1976 (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1978), p. 143.

[9] Robert F Harney, "How to Write a History of Postwar Toronto Italia" Polyphony: The Bulletin of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario VII:2 (Fall/Winter 1985) 65.

[10] Anthony H. Richmond, Post-War Immigrants in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 9.

[11] Statistics are found in the appendix of Gianfausto Rosoli ed., Un secolo di emigrazione italiana: 1876-1976 (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1978), pp. 352-355.

[12] Ibid., pp. 352-355.

[13] Ibid., pp. 352-355.

[14] Sturino., p. 68.

[15] King's address is reproduced in Spada., p. 128.

[16] Richmond., pp. 13-14.

[17] Sturino., pp. 69-70.

[18] Richmond., p. 13.

[19] Richmond., p. 15.

[20] Jansen., p. 63.

[21] As testimony to the popularity of the song, in northern Friuli, near the "passo di Monte Croce" lies a hotel set in a stretch of the Italian Alps whose scenary is reminiscent of the Canadian Rockies. The hotel is named "Casetta in Canada".

[22] A good general discussion on the economic expansion of Montreal in the post-war period is found in chapters 14, 15, 16, and 20 of Paul-André Linteau et al., Histoire du Québec contemporain: Le Québec Depuis 1930. Saint Laurent, Québec, 1986.

[23] Boissevain., pp. 14-17.

[24] This theme of an Italian "middle class" can be found in Robert F. Harney, "Ambiente and Social Class in North American Little Italies," Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism, II:2 (Spring, 1975) 208-224.

[25] Boissevain., op cit.

[26] Boissevain., p. 17.

[27] Ibid., p. 17.

[28] Gloria Montero, The Immigrants (Toronto, 1977), p. 15.

[29] Boissevain., p. 63.

[30] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[31] Ibid., p. 23.

[32] Ibid., p. 22

[33] Giuseppe Castelli, Integration des Allophone: Tache prophetique pour l'Eglise, unpublished PhD thesis, Faculté de Theologie, l'Université de Montréal, 1980. pp. 118-120.

[34] Boissevain., pp. 18-21.

[35] Castelli., p. 131.

[36] Ibid., p. 131.

[37] See in particular chapter 9 of Castelli., op. cit.

[38] Vangelisti., pp. 166-168.

[39] Spada., pp. 115-116. We will be looking at Il Cittadino Canadese closely to outline some of these demands.

[40] Italian papers were often at war with each other in an attempt to discredit their opponents. Two periods of strife are particularly noteworthy. The first involves Il Cittadino Canadese and Il Corriere Italiano with respect to the municipal elections in 1960. The second involves the often spirited debates between Il Cittadino Canadese and Vita Nostra over the question of bilingual schools, which was to flare up at various times in the early 1960s. See text below.

[41] Spada., pp. 111-115.

[42] Giosafat Mingarelli, Gli italiani di Montreal (3rd ed.: Montreal, 1980), pp. 260-262.

[43] Spada., p. 117.

[44] The most notable were Vita Nostra and Domani, both publications which were directed by the Italian National Church and which were often a reflection of the opinions of Cimichella.

[45] Mingarelli., pp. 175-176.

[46] François-Pierre Gingras and Niel Nevitte, "The Evolution of Quebec Nationalism" in Alain G. Gagnon, ed., Quebec: State and Society (Toronto: 1984), pp. 4-5.

[47] L. Hémon, Maria Chapdelaine, translated by W. H. Blake (Toronto, 1921), pp. 259-260.

[48] Jean-Denis Gendron, The Position of the French Language in Quebec (Québec, 1972), p. 12.

[49] Gendron., p. 67.

[50] For a discussion on the rise of neo-nationalism, see Denis Monière, Ideologies in Quebec: The historical development (Toronto, 1981), pp. 250-286. See also Linteau., p. 332-334.

[51] Herbert F. Quinn, The Union Nationale: Quebec Nationalism from Duplessis to Lévesque (2nd ed.: Toronto, 1979), p. 239. See also Monière., p. 262.

[52] This view is strongly articulated in the opening pages of chapter 18 in Spada., pp. 228-230.

[53] Il Cittadino Canadese (April 11, 1958) p. 3, cols.

1-2. Several readers of the paper also responded to the "Movimento Pro-Patria". See Il Cittadino Canadese (May 2, 1958) p. 3, cols. 1-4.

[54] Nick Ciamarra, "Come si sta in Italia", Il Cittadino Canadese (March 21, 1958) p. 2, cols. 1-2. See also the article by Gianni Desiderio "Il miracolo economico italiano," Il Cittadino Canadese (July 1, 1960) p. 3, cols. 1-4.

[55] Several articles appeared either promoting or reporting on the festival. Among these was "Primo Festival Della Canzone Italiana in Canada," Il Cittadino Canadese (September 28, 1958) p. 4, cols. 1-4.

[56] One of the more famous was the Italian day festival given yearly at Pelmont Park. Il Cittadino Canadese (July 21, 1961) p. 4, cols. 1-2. Note that much of the gossip of that was taking place within the community in the early 1960s was published in Il Cittadino Canadese under a weekly series "The Secret Journal of Dr. Burston & Bros."

[57] Nick Ciamarra, " Un Vecchio Ritornello: Papa Diefenbaker Facci Diventare Indiani," Il Cittadino Canadese (April 25, 1958) p. 2 col. 1. See also Nick Ciamarra, "Papa Diefenbaker questa volta vogliam essere ucraini!," Il Cittadino Canadese (January 30, 1959) p. 2, cols. 1-2.

[58] Il Cittadino Canadese (March 28, 1958) p. 1, cols. 5-6.

[59] Nich Ciamarra urged his co-nationals to vote massively for the political formation which best demonstrated interest in the protection of minority rights. That party was the Federal Liberal party. In the last two issues prior to the March 31st election, (ie: March 21 and March 28) Il Cittadino Canadese had several half page adds taken out by the Liberal party. The profiles of two local Liberal candidates were followed and several of Pearson's electoral campaign promises were made the object of sympathetic editorial commentary. Moreover, the Liberals were credited with having reopened the gates of immigration in the post war period and were painted as the defenders of minority rights. No adds appeared on behalf of the Conservative party.

[60] Nick Ciamarra, "Immigrazione Libera Per L'Aumento Dei Consumi," Il Cittadino Canadese (April 18, 1958) p. 2, col. 1. The translation is my own.

[61] Il Cittadino Canadese (March 13, 1959) p. 1. cols. 3-5.

[62] Il Cittadino Canadese (April 10, 1959) p. 1. cols.

2-4.

[63] Il Cittadino Canadese (April 17, 1959) p. 1. cols. 3-6.

[64] Il Cittadino Canadese (April 24, 1959) p. 1. cols. 5-6.

[65] For an example of a strong editorial reply to the Government's Ministerial decree, see Nick Ciamarra, " Immigratione e Discriminazione," (April 24, 1959) p. 2 cols. 1-2.

[66] Ibid., p. 2 col. 2.

[67] Il Cittadino Canadese (April 17, 1959) p. 1. col. 1.

[68] Il Cittadino Canadese (April 17, 1959) p. 1. col. 2.

[69] These cleavages are well illustrated in chapter 3 of Boissevain, op cit., pp. 27-36.

[70] This article from Il Corriere Italiano was reprinted in Il Cittadino Canadese (October 14, 1960) p. 2. cols. 5-6.

[71] Il Cittadino Canadese (October 21, 1960) p. 2 cols. 5-6. Translations are my own.

[72] Il Cittadino Canadese (November 4, 1960) p. 2 cols. 1-6.

[73] David R. Hughes and Evelyn Kallen, The Anatomy of Racism: Canadian Dimensions (Montreal, 1974), p. 177.

[74] Boissevain., p. 35.

[75] Hughes and Kallen., pp. 176-177.

[76] Il Cittadino Canadese (July 1, 1960), p. 7, col. 2.

[77] Nicola Paone, Uei Paesano! Kosmophon Records (MG-4810). Translation is my own.

[78] Castelli., pp. 79-86.

[79] The census data for these two north-end municipalities comes from J. M. Hogg, "Series from B & B Report." Study conducted by the Department of Geography, McGill University for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Text vol. II, p. 9.

[80] Richmond., p. 15.

[81] Gianfausto Rosoli ed., Un secolo di emigrazione

italiana: 1876-1976 (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1978), p. 355.

[82] Boissevain., p. 2.

[83] P. Leonardo Valdiserra, "La Scuola ... argomento enorme per la coscienza cristiana," Vita Nostra VI:9 (September, 1966) 241.

[84] Boissevain., p. 45-48.

[85] Ibid., p. 59.

[86] Ibid., p. 60.

[87] Jean-Claude Lenormand, Québec-immigration: Zero (Montreal, 1971), p. 81.

[88] Monière., p. 219.

[89] Boissevain., p. 59.

[90] Camillo Carli, "Maison A Louer -- Pas D'Italiens," Il Cittadino Canadese (May 2, 1958) p. 2, cols 5-6.

[91] Boissevain., pp. 79-80.

[92] Marcel Rioux, Quebec in Question (Toronto, 1978), pp. 73-80.

[93] Gendron., p. 71.

[94] Il Cittadino Canadese (March 10, 1961) p. 1, cols. 1-3.

[95] Richard Howard et al., A New History of Canada XIII (Montreal, 1973), p. 1197.

[96] Boissevain., pp. 60-64.

[97] The following are some of the articles in which a strong sense of Italian-Canadian history is evoked from Vita Nostra. "L'Emigrazione Italiana Ha Cen'tanni," Vita Nostra I:2 (February, 1961) 8-9; "Gli Italiani in Canada," Vita Nostra II:5 (May, 1962) 129; "Per il bene della communita italiana," Vita Nostra II:6 (June, 1962) 150-153; "Perchè l'America si chiamo 'America'," Vita Nostra II:10 (October, 1962) 228-229; "Gl'Italiani in Canada...," Vita Nostra III:4 (April, 1963) 101; "Il Gesuita Padre Bressani: Tra I Primi E Piu Grandi Missionari Del Canada" Vita Nostra III:5 (May, 1963) 123; "L'Emigrazione italiana in Canada" Vita Nostra III:10 (October,1963) 207-209; "Perchè studiare anche in Canada la lingua materna?" Vita Nostra V:5 (May, 1964) 112-113.

[98] Il Cittadino Canadese (April 7, 1961) p. 4, col. 1.

[99] "Il Separatismo é una Cosa Seria" Il Cittadino Canadese (December 22, 1961) p. 1, cols. 1-4. Translation is my own.

[100] Il Cittadino Canadese (November 8, 1963) p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[101] Gendron., p. 71.

[102] Ibid., p. 72.

CHAPTER IV

FOOTNOTES

[1] Gendron, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

[2] This article is quoted in Hélène-Andrée Bizier and Jacques Lacoursière Histoire de Saint-Léonard (Montreal, 1986), p. 73.

[3] Ibid., p. 69.

[4] Gendron., p. 75.

[5] This article is partially reprinted in Bizier and Lacoursière, op. cit., p. 74.

[6] Ibid., pp. 70-73.

[7] Parisella, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

[8] L'Entente (January, 1961), p. 1.

[9] "We Speak French," L'Entente (November, 1961), p. 6.

[10] Bizier and Lacoursière., p. 86. Mario Barone had become one of Montreal's most famous and successful Italian contractor. His regularly advertised his duplexes and triplexes in La Tribuna Italiana, Vita Nostra, Il Cittadino Canadese, and in such local community papers as L'Entente. A typical ad in Italian read "Why pay rent when with only $4,000 cash you could be the owner of a duplex or triplex of any size." See Il Cittadino Canadese (December 27, 1963), p. 15.

[11] For a discussion on the operation of bilingual schools, see Taddeo and Taros, op. cit., chapter 3. See also Michael D. Behiels, "The Commission des Ecoles catholiques de Montreal and the Neo-Canadian Question: 1947-63," Canadian Ethnic Studies XVIII:2, 1986, 38-64.

[12] Behiels., p. 38.

[13] Simone Gelinas, "Nous faisons des Anglais de nos Néo-Canadiens," L'Entente (May, 1963), p. 1.

[14] Simone Gelinas, "Bilinguisme A L'Ecole," L'Entente (June, 1963), p. 2.

[15] "I Nostri Bambini alla scuola," L'Entente (May, 1968), p. 5.

[16] "Lettre ouverte à tous nos concitoyens," L'Entente

(July, 1963), p. 2. The bold face is the original; the underlined is my emphasis.

[17] For a brief overview of the bilingual school system and how it operated in St. Léonard, see Parisella., pp. 47-51.

[18] Ralph Pirro, "A proposito Della Scuola Bilingue," Vita Nostra II:2 (February, 1962), 40.

[19] Ibid., p. 41.

[20] Nick Cimarra, "La Sciola Bilingue E' Un Errore," Il Cittadino Canadese (September 1, 1961), p. 2, col. 1.

[21] Il Cittadino Canadese (September 1, 1961), p. 2, col. 2.

[22] Ralph Pirro, "A proposito Della Scuola Bilingue," Vita Nostra II:2 (February, 1962), 47.

[23] In fact, Mario Barone would find himself at odds with Ciamarra on this issue. Ciamarra charged that Barone was too timid on the language issue because of his business interests. See Parisella., pp. 80-81.

[24] Parisella., p. 48.

[25] L'Entente (May 15, 1965), p. 7.

[26] Parisella., pp. 49-50.

[27] Ibid., p. 52. See also L'Entente (February, 1968), p. 3.

[28] "Suicide à la Commission Scolaire," L'Entente (April, 1968), p. 2.

[29] "Une conférence de presse tourne au débat entre Québécois et Italiens," Le Devoir (March 29, 1968), sect. 1, p. 3, col. 3.

[30] Ibid., p. 3, col. 2.

[31] Le Devoir., sect. 1, p. 9, cols. 4-6.

[32] Ibid., p. 9, col. 4.

[33] Le Devoir (June 7, 1968) sect. 1, p. 4, col. 1.

[34] Nick Ciammara's leadership was instrumental in the Association of Parents. The problem with Beale's leadership of the Association of Parents stemmed from the fact that he was not Italian. This left the Italian community open to

the criticism that they were being exploited by Anglo-Saxon interests. It was a charge which was repeatedly made and one which was repeatedly deflected by Ciamarra. See Parisella., pp. 71-73.

[35] "Terrorismo A Montreal," La Tribuna Italiana (August 13, 1969), p. 1.

[36] L'Entente (December, 1967), p. 2.

[37] Jean-Claude Leclerc "Le RIN se prépare à affronter Trudeau," Le Devoir (June 21, 1968), sect. 1, p. 9, col. 1.

[38] Le Devoir (June 21, 1968), sect. 1, p. 9, cols. 3-4.

[39] Il Cittadino Canadese (March 28, 1968), pp. 12-13.

[40] Il Cittadino Canadese (April 17, 1969), pp. 16-17.

[41] This was one of the larger themes in the linguistic battles. Spada also suggests that since most other Italians in North America were speaking English, it was necessary that Italians in Montreal master that language so that they could communicate with their cousins in other parts of America. Racial attitudes also played a key factor. See Il Cittadino Canadese (October 3, 1968), p. 1.

[42] Paul Cappon, Conflit entre les Néo-Canadiens et les francophones de Montréal (Québec, 1974), p. 11.

[43] The Montreal Gazette (September 6, 1968), sect. 1, p. 1, col. 3.

[44] The Montreal Gazette (September 6, 1968), sect. 1, p. 1, col. 3.

[45] Cappon., p. 11.

[46] The Montreal Gazette (September 6, 1968), sect. 1, p. 1, col. 3.

[47] The Montreal Gazette (September 13, 1968), sect. 1, p. 1, col. 1.

[48] Cappon., p. 11.

[49] The Montreal Gazette (September 6, 1968), sect. 1, p. 6, col. 1.

[50] Bizier and Lacoursière., p. 88.

[51] The Montreal Gazette (September 13, 1968), sect. 1, p. 7, col. 1.

[52] The Montreal Gazette (September 13, 1968), sect. 1, p. 7, col. 1.

[53] Le Devoir (June 22, 1968), sect. 1, p. 1, cols. 6-7.

[54] Parisella., pp. 100-102.

[55] Il Cittadino Canadese (September 26, 1968), p. 3.

[56] Il Cittadino Canadese (March 13, 1969), p. 21. See also interview with Cimichella in La Tribuna Italiana (March 12, 1969), p. 3.

[57] Cappon., p. 10.

[58] There was considerable disagreement within the Union National government with respect to handling of the St. Léonard Crisis, particularly after the death of Premier Johnson. See Pierre Godin, Daniel Johnson: 1964-1968, la difficile recherche de l'égalité (Montreal, 1980), pp. 366-370.

[59] For two particularly harsh responses to the Cardinal proposal, see Ermanno Lariccia, "L'On Cardinal Non Mantiene Le Promesse," La Tribuna Italiana (September 3, 1969), p. 1, and Serio Lanzieri, "Un Rimedio Che Lassia L'Amaro in Bocca," Il Cittadino Canadese (September 4, 1969), p. 1.

[60] Canadian News Facts: the indexed digest of Canadian current events (Toronto, 1969), p. 315.

[61] A report issued by the city of St. Léonard showed that, in the southern section of the municipality, only 32.5% of properties were in French Canadian hands. Cité of Saint-Léonard, Recensement 1969, Statistiques.

[62] Leandre Bergeron, Why there must be a Revolution in Quebec (Toronto, 1974), p. 114.

[63] The Montreal Star (September 4, 1969), sect. 1, p. 1, col. 6.

[64] The Montreal Star (September 4, 1969), sect. 1, p. 2, col. 2.

[65] The Montreal Star (September 4, 1969), sect. 1, p. 2, col. 2.

[66] The Montreal Star (September 4, 1969), sect. 1, p. 2, col. 2.

[67] La Presse (September 5, 1969), sect. 1, p. 2, col. 4.

[68] La Presse (September 5, 1969), sect. 1, p. 6, col. 1.

[69] The Montreal Star (September 6, 1969), sect. 1, p. 1, col. 5.

[70] Le Devoir (September 5, 1969), sect. 1, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

[71] The Montreal Star (September 8, 1969), sect. 1, p. 1, col. 5. See also The Montreal Star (September 12, 1969), sect. 1, p. 1, col. 1.

[73] The Montreal Star (September 12, 1969), sect. 1, p. 2, col. 1.

[74] The Montreal Star (September 11, 1969), sect. 1, p. 2, col. 2.

[75] The Montreal Star (September 11, 1969), sect. 1, p. 2, col. 2.

[76] The Montreal Star (September 11, 1969), sect. 1, p. 2, col. 4.

[77] La Presse (September 11, 1969), sect 1, p. 1, col. 1. See also The Montreal Star (September 11, 1969), sect. 1, p. 2, col. 1.

[78] The Montreal Star (September 12, 1969), sect. 1, p. 1, col. 5.

[79] The Montreal Gazette (September 12, 1969), sect. 1, p. 4, col. 1.

[80] Il Cittadino Canadese (September 18, 1969), p. 1, cols. 1-6.

[81] Canadian News Facts., p. 357.

[82] Kenneth McRoberts and Dale Posgate, Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis (Toronto, 1980), p. 162.

CONCLUSION

[1] Paul-André Linteau, "The Italians in Quebec: Key Participants in Contemporary Linguistic and Political Debates" in Arrangiarsi: The Italian Immigrant Experience in Canada (eds.) Franc Sturino and Roberto Perin (Montreal, Guernica Press, 1989) p. 196.

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