LACHUTE, QUEBEC, FRENCH-ENGLISH FRONTIER; A CASE STUDY IN LANGUAGE AND COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

LACHUTE, QUEBEC, FRENCH-ENGLISH FRONTIER; A CASE STUDY IN LANGUAGE AND COMMUNITY

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This is a study of Lachute, Quebec from its beginnings with a focus on the dimension of language use. The function of language as an ethnic label in the domains of Work, Church, Voluntary Association, Media and School are examined and the lines of cleavage or cohesion assessed. Using various research methods, census data, documents, participant observation, interviews and a questionnaire, French-English relations are analyzed from a Weberian conflict perspective. Community is defined in terms of locality, interaction, and solidarity. While solidarity is not necessarily a function of ecological residence, the location of Lachute in the Bilingual Belt is significant for French-English relations in Quebec. The monopolization of resources by the English community and their dominant position as a minority is no longer assured as the French community gain political and economic power and, concomitantly, social esteem. This study provides the basis for further inquiry into the conditions of community conflict where language is salient.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study encompasses two fields of inquiry, language and community. In the early 1960s I became impressed with the impact and use of language in everyday life. My interest has ranged from philosophical considerations of the meanings of language to historical and temporal interpretation theory. Language, a unique human phenomenon, is rich and complex. Yet, it is at the moment when I wish to express a deep felt sentiment or a developmental process of great significance for me, I fully realize the limitations of language as a tool and a means of expression. I can only say simply thank you to those "significant others" who have helped in this project.

I am most grateful to the three members of my advisory committee, Professors John D. Jackson, chairman; Kurt Jonassohn, and Hubert Guindon.

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My thanks to Professor Hubert Guindon for his contribution, particularly in the reading of the text. His background of experiences and perspective offered a balance

to my own Anglophone one. I am grateful too for his "positive reinforcement".

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Also, special thanks to Irene Makuch who did the typing. Her world view and patient qualities kept us both going.

This work is dedicated to Saul Zinman, my husband. It would not have been possible without his love and commitment. He has facilitated my efforts and shown great sensitivity to my need to actualize some potential. To my sons, Howard and Darryl, my love for their encouragement, patience and help.

This study would not have been possible as well without the co-operation of the people of Lachute. They gave their time, their interest, and their concern. I have been most sensitive to the fact that I was an outsider looking in for a very brief period. I hope this account is faithful and does not distort the actual reality. As an exploratory study in the sociological tradition whatever claims I have made are open and subject to refutation and revision.

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Introduction

French divided . . . English opposed to language plan.

. . . language and cultural survival, which have become an overwhelming political issue, are now having a brutal impact on the educational system. . . .

Language plan called 'psychological' ploy.

Language not really education issue. . . .
Like the fight over busing in the United States the language battle in Quebec is a symbol, a symptom and a semantic concealment rather than an issue per se. . . .

Language policy 'immoral'

'Genocide' bill factor raked by QTC

Bill 22 is divisive--PQ chief

Language Bill 'threat' to English culture

Boards differ, Verdict same: Dump Bill 22[1]

Conflict, controversy, and confusion is the message reflected in the news media headlines and excerpts prior and subsequent to the passage of Bill 22, Quebec's Official Language Act, 31 July 1974. Stereotypes are promoted and abound: "the French", "the English", "genocide", "threat".

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[1] Montreal Star, 22 February, 19 March, 15 April, 8 June 1974, 23 July 1975; Gazette (Montreal), 22 February, 5 April, 17, 20, 24 June 1974. The acronyms in the headlines refer as follows: QTC stands for Quebec Teacher Corporation; PQ for Parti Quebecois; and Bill 22 for Quebec's Official Language Act, 31, July 1974.

Just what is the language issue? What does the language issue symbolize? What is it a symptom of? What is it concealing? How is language as a political issue having a brutal effect on the educational system? How divided or unanimous are the French and English groups among and between themselves? These and many such questions are raised with respect to language as an issue in Quebec society. Entangled with the conflicts over the official status of language, language rights, the language of instruction in the schools, and the language of work are economic, political and social interests that are rooted in the history of Quebec society and French-English relations.

This study is an inquiry into the conditions of French and English populations living in close proximity over many years within the context of Quebec society. Of significance is the fact that the English population is no longer in an unquestioned dominant position of power and influence in Quebec. Specifically, this is a case study of Lachute, Quebec, from its beginnings to 1974, with a particular focus on the dimension of language use in the various day-to-day activities such as work, school, church, and leisure. The lines of cleavage and/or convergence, association and/or dissociation in the interaction patterns of the Francophone and Anglophone populations at the local community and extralocal levels are examined.

This chapter provides a contextual background for the study of Lachute and the dimension of language. In this introductory chapter there is a concise summary of French-

English relations from the time of Conquest to the present decade with respect to economic, political and social aspects. Chapter II presents various approaches in the literature of community study, their contributions and limitations. This study draws on one of these research traditions. It is a view of "community as society", and provides some basic concepts for analytical purposes. The methods used in gathering data for this work are discussed in Chapter III. These aspects are considered in Chapter IV: the location of intergroup contact, Lachute, Quebec, and its significance linguistically in relation to Quebec and Canada; who came and settled from the beginning to the present decade, and the basis of settlement; the characteristics of the population, such as ethnic origin, religion, and language (Official Language, Mother Tongue and Language Most Often Spoken at Home) in 1961 and 1971. Language use patterns in various domains are examined in relation to "community" processes in Chapter V. The focus is on the dimensions of language use in the activities of work, church, voluntary association, school and communications. Each of these domains of language use is considered developmentally, and in relation to processes of ethnic community formation, and community closure. The lines of cleavage or cohesiveness, association and dissociation, that are drawn by language use in various activities is of the essence. Chapter VI deals with efforts at both the extralocal and local levels with respect to language retention or change in a single domain, the school. The impact of language

legislation from extracommunity sources on language use and on "community" is of concern. Also relevant is the day-to-day on-going overt behaviour between persons, i.e., administrators, teachers, and pupils, interacting within the school domain.

In general, this is an exploratory study with the stress on French-English relations in an on-going situation of co-habitation. For the first time in the history of French-English relations in Quebec generally, and in Lachute specifically, the position of dominance of the Anglophone minority is in a state of flux, and as such, a novel subject of study. Neither the English population nor the French population can be accounted for in isolation, or as a mere statistical category. Subordination-dominance, minority-majority, association-dissociation are factors of relations within historical and temporal context.

The Historical Context

In reviewing the history of French-English relations, English domination has been a most critical factor in economic, political, and social terms from the time of the Conquest to the present era.[2] Along with Anglo economic and

[2] Ossenberg notes that, "The social history of French-English relations in Canada has not yet been written. . . . Conventional histories of relations between the two groups have been marred by considerable ethnocentric biases", Richard J. Ossenberg, "The Conquest Revisited: Another Look at Canadian Dualism", The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology (1974): 123-140. This briefest review is largely based on Stanley B. Ryerson, The Founding of Canada: Beginnings to 1815 (Toronto: Progress Books, 1971).

political hegemony has been a corresponding attitude, that of social supremacy. Ryerson depicts the situation after the conquest:

> . . . the colonial condition of the King's "new subjects" was that of inhabitants of an occupied country: their identity and survival as a community were in suspense. On the other hand, the British settlers in the North American provinces were colonists with a difference: they were the co-hiers to a conquest. Their Britishness was not only a mark of identification with a great empire; it was an assurance of superiority vis-a-vis the conquered French. This illusion--was nurtured by the very character of colonialism. The state structure brought into being by the Conquest placed political power in the hands of British military administrators; it made possible the assumption of economic supremacy by British mercantile capitalist, who within a quarter century of Wolfe's victory took possession of the fur trade, fisheries, and timber trade that French entrepreneurs had built up under the old regime (1973: 17).

Economically, the English merchant class took over the fur trade in which the French had first exploited the coureur de bois and Indian labour.[3] An extractive economy developed. Timber and then grain were the staples of the early St. Lawrence trade system. Banking, land speculation, and transportation further laid the economic basis. Since the 1920s, the Anglo-Americans began drawing on the primary resources, such as the non-ferrous metals and water. Capital accumulation has been based mainly on merchant, and not on industrial enterprise. The stimu-

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[3] For an exposition of the mercantile capitalist basis, see R. T. Naylor, "The Rise and Fall of the Third Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence," in Capitalism and the National Question in Canada, ed. Gary Teeple (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 1-41.

lation of the Second World War did little to alter the economic basis of merchant capitalism and the subsequent development of Anglo-American corporation capital.

Political interests closely parallel the economic. Political and juridicial power has been both effected by and has served those at the top of the economic hierarchy. This is exemplified in the economic and political links of key personages and their various interests which are served by the political structures. As R. T. Naylor elucidates,

> The list of eminent financiers and railwaymen of the period (1867-1918), is a veritable 'who's who' of Canadian politics for two generations. And without exception, the linkage runs from merchant capitalism to finance, transportation, and land speculation. The Maritime timber merchant Cunard founded a trans-Atlantic steamship company that still bears his name. The Molson family branched out from breweries into banking and a St. Lawrence steamship company. Sir Hugh Allen commenced as a grain merchant and subsequently moved into steamships, railways, and insurance. John A. Macdonald was one of the incorporators of the Kingston Fire and Marine Insurance Company in 1850 and of the Trust and Loan Company of Upper Canada; he subsequently became president of the Manufacturers' Life Assurance Company. . .
>
> The example of Cartier is particularly revealing of the historical lineage. His grandfather had been a merchant dealing in early staples--salt, fish, and wheat. His father was a founder of the Bank of Montreal and of the railway company St. Laurent-[illegible] Champlain. Cartier himself rose to prominence th[illegible] the Grand Trunk and as Macdonald's right-hand m[illegible] (1972: 17, 18).

A particular political and juridical structure developed from 1763, when the Province of Quebec became a British Crown Colony, to Confederation in 1867. The Quebec Act, 1774; the Constitutional Act, 1791; the Act of Union, 1841, and the British North

American Act, 1867 are key legislations which laid the basis. In 1791, the French Canadians gained their first legislative assembly through the Constitutional Act which divided the colony into Upper and Lower Canada, each with a Lieutenant Governor, a Legislative Council appointed by the king, and an assembly of fifty deputies. As Ryerson points out,

> The colonial state structure brought about by the Constitutional Act of 1791 answered the requirements of the local ruling merchant-landlord group and of the mercantile imperialists in Britain--On the assumption that the representative institutions they had won were indeed such as they imagined them to be, the colonists expected that the decisions of the elected parliamentary majority would have the force of law, and that administrations would be formed which would be answerable to the peoples' representatives. They were in for a rude awakening (1973: 422-423).

Soon after, in 1792, an Executive Council appointed by the king was added. This did little to ameliorate the situation. There followed years of dissatisfaction and political crisis. Finally, English-speaking members and French-speaking members clashed in what has become known as the "guerre des patriotes", in 1837. Naylor claims that,

> As a consequence of the rebellions of 1837-8 against the Mercantile classes, the Act of Union was pushed through. Behind the Act of Union and the merging of the debts of the two provinces were the machinations of the merchant oligarchy who needed access to further funds to complete the St. Lawrence canal system, and of the Baring Brothers, a merchant banking house in London which saw in the Union a means of ensuring the value of Canadian securities by redistributing the burden of the debt over the more populous Lower Canada (1972: 9).

The Act of Union, in 1841, united the Provinces under a

single Governor, an Executive Council that was not responsible to the legislature, a Legislative Council appointed by the King, and a Legislative Assembly. After much governmental instability and conflict, the coalition government of John A. Macdonald and George-Etienne Cartier called the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences and ultimately brought about the British North America Act, on 1 July 1867. As Naylor asserts, "Confederation and the national policy were the work of the descendants of the mercantile class" (1972: 16). The federal union must be viewed in the context of the economic structure. It, too, was designed to meet the needs of those in power. Naylor adds, ". . . Growing out of merchant capital, Canadian banking, railway and financial interests created Confederation to extend their intermediary activities across the continent" (1972: 36; also see, Ryerson, 1973: 344).

The social counterpart of the economic and political dominance of the English throughout Canada is manifested and amplified by the esteem value of the so-called "Anglo-American culture", its music and literature, clothes, food, television programs, and language. Rock and jazz, blue jeans, hot dogs and hamburgers, Bonanza and Sesame Street have become pervasive. The English language is foremost at the international level, and in technical and scientific literature. It is well to recall that,

> When New France was founded, France stood upon the threshold of its greatest age. Its population of some

> 14,000,000 was three times as large as that of England and Wales. . . Louis XIV was the master of a military establishment as great as that of the Roman Empire in its prime. . . French civilization was the model of all Europe. Latin at last yielded to French as the language of scholarship and diplomacy; the proud Spanish diplomat was forced to yield precedence to the Frenchman; French authority was supreme even in such minute matters as dress, cooking, and dancing (Wade, 1968: 2).

As the cycle goes, French culture on this continent was forced to yield precedence to the English.

In Quebec, the antithesis to Anglo dominance began to emerge both in quiet and explosive terms. The end of the Duplessis era in 1959 marks the end of a two hundred year period of the French succumbing to the English in the economic, political and social competition. Dale C. Thomson notes that,

> In a static world, this balance between internal and external forces, carefully inscribed in the Canadian Constitution, might have continued for several centuries more. However, as early as World War I new factors intervened. The loyalty of English Canadians to the British Empire led them to impose compulsory military service on French Canadians, most of whom did not consider their interests warranted such a measure. The industrialization and consequent urbanization of Quebec, the economic crisis of the 1930s, and World War II had a similarly disruptive effect. Although the old models of Quebec society and politics endured relatively intact until 1959, the seeds of its destructions were sown decades earlier. In 1948, the painter Paul-Emile Borduas issued his manifesto, "Le Refus Global", rejecting the constraints of a society that inhibited his artistic creativity. In 1949, a strike in the asbestos mines of Asbestos and Thetford Mines turned into a confrontation between the trade unions and a new, reform-minded elite on the one hand, and the traditional leadership on the other. . .
>
> By the time Premier Duplessis died in the summer of 1959, the conservative, paternalistic type of government

> associated with his name was irremediably undermined (1973: 13).[4]

As Thomson indicates there were voices of discontent much before the 1960s. Lionel Groult in the 30s and 40s, Michel Brunet in the 50s, and Rene Levesque in the 60s did much to articulate the nationalist perspective. In October 1959, some penetrating reflections by a most unlikely author were made public in the Devoir. Under the pseudonyms of Frère Pierre Jérôme and Frère Untel, Jean Paul Desbiens jolted some of the seeming complacency. Increasingly perturbed with the quality of language use, Frère Pierre Jérôme wrote

> Joual, this absence of language, is a symptom of our non-existence as French Canadians. No one can

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[4] From the time of Confederation there have been vast changes. Two indications are the movements of population from rural to urban centers, and the shift in occupations from primary occupations such as agriculture, fishing, hunting and mining to the emergence of "white-collar" workers. At the time of Confederation, the 1871 Census classified 80 percent of the population of Canada as rural. In Quebec, 47 percent, and in Ontario 49 percent of all gainfully employed workers were farmers. Between 1871 and 1901 the proportion of population residing in incorporated cities, towns and villages increased from 18.3 to 34.9 percent. In 1966, 73.6 percent of the population of Canada were classified as living in urban centres; in Ontario, 80.4 percent, and in Quebec 78.3 percent. With respect to occupations, the decline in the importance of primary occupations from 1901 to 1961 coincided with occupations associated with manufacturing, mechanical and construction work. The size of the labour force associated with primary occupations reached a peak in 1941, when 30.5 percent of the population were associated with fishing, hunting, trapping, logging, mining, and agriculture. During the post World War II period this dropped to 15.8 percent. In 1901, 15.3 percent were white collar workers; in 1961 there were 37.9 percent. See Warren E. Kalbach and Wayne W. McVey, The Demographic Bases of Canadian Society (Montreal, McGraw-Hill, 1971), pp: 22, 70, 95, 214, 220, 237-341.

> ever study language enough, for it is the home of all meanings.
>
> Our inability to assert ourselves, our refusal to accept the future, our obsession with the past, are reflected in joual, our real language. . . . (1962:28).

Language was not merely a means of expression, a tool, but for Frère Jérôme, language mirrored the disintegration of French culture and life under conditions of subjugation. He called out for a rejuvenated spirit, for morale, and for language protection:

> I hear of a Provincial Office of Linguistics. I am all for it. The language is public property and the State should protect it as such. It protects moose and trout, it protects the national parks, and it does well; those are all public property. The State ought to protect the language just as strictly. An idiom is as good as a moose; a word is worth as much as a trout (Desbiens, 1962: 31, 32).

Another shock wave disturbing the quietude came when Marcel Chaput, president of the Rassemblement pour l'Independence Nationale tendered his resignation in 1961 as employee of the National Research Council. Chaput, leader of the separatist movement, announced that he would no longer express himself in any other language but his mother tongue, French. Terrorist incidents in 1963, further broke the surface quiet with the explosions of the first FLQ bombs

By 1967, the year of the centenary, there was finally the acknowledgement that "Canada was facing a national crisis", (Ottawa, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967: Book I, xvii). It was a crisis arising from "the

French Canadians' historical disenchantment with their place and status, and the English Canadians' apparent failure to perceive the situation" (Innis, 1973: Forward). The discontent with the political structure of Confederation and its economic basis was now being expressed by a new middle class , a group of artists, writers, film makers, reporters, social scientists, professional and semi-professional white-collar workers that had begun to develop after World War II.[5] The burst of expression, "Vivre le Québéc libre!" by Charles de Gaulle in the midst of the centennial celebration in July 1967, resounded throughout the continent, and signalled to the world what was largely the aspirations of this new middle class. In the middle of the twentieth century the BNA Act of 1867 was an anachronism.

The changes in sentiment and belief, values and life-style that have emerged since the decade of the sixties are accompanied by some far-reaching institutional changes. Raymond Breton has identified some of these changes within the various sectors of Quebec society, such as education, health and welfare, in the federal-provincial relations, labour organizations, citizen groups, mass media, church, and political parties. One of the most fundamental aspects

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[5]The growth of a new middle class and the political conditions in Quebec is analysed by Hubert Guindon, "Social Unrest, Social Class, and Quebec's Bureaucratic Revolution", in Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives, eds. Bernard R. Blishen et al, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 469-477.

of the change is the power shift from local to provincial bureaucratic power and influence. The shifts in the educational system best exemplify the reorganization and redistribution of power in the other sectors. As Breton points out,

> . . . The most extensive institutional transformation has taken place perhaps in the field of education. Power and influence have been almost completely transferred from the Church to lay teachers and administrators, and to the government bureaucracy; and a similar shift has also occurred from the local authorities to the provincial bureaucracy. This phenomenon can be observed at all levels of the educational system; and of course, it has produced considerable tension and conflict between the provincial bureaucracy and the local elites, between the bureaucracy and teachers and their associations, and between the bureaucracy and particular schools. The transformations also generated apprehension among the public at large (1973: 214).

This shift in the locus of decision making from local school boards to provincial authorities has far-reaching implications. For the first time since the Conquest the English are not in the position of authority in their own school system. The tensions within the educational system are overlaid with the conflict over language.

Much of the conflict in Quebec over language has centered in the arena of the school. In 1968, in the Montreal suburb of St. Leonard, the attempt to make French the language of instruction in the formerly "bilingual" classes sparked a riot between the French who sought to maintain and develop the French language, and the Italians, who preferred English as the language of instruction for their children. With an increasing number of Francophone,

as well as immigrant parents opting for English as the medium of instruction in the schools, coupled with a declining birth rate for the French population and the domination of the English language and culture throughout the rest of the continent, the fear of further erosion of the French language and culture in the mind of a segment of the French population persists as a political force. Bill 63 (1969), Regulation 6 (1971), and Bill 22 (1974) are responses by those in power to these pressures. The British North America Act of 1867, which authorizes denominational schools, Roman Catholic and Protestant, does not guarantee French or English language schools, or serve to protect French or English language rights.[6]

Education generally, and language competence specifically, are recognized as the means to economic, political and social power. The "linguistic distribution of the population is closely linked to the distribution of power" (Breton, 1973: 217-218). And, as Porter has pointed out, "With the complex division of labour of modern industrial societies, education has come to be one of the most important social functions" (1965: 165). In terms of costs, time and money, education is a scarce resource. In the context of

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[6] While there are no language stipulations with respect to education in Section 93 of the BNA Act, Section 133 is precise in its specifications with respect to the use of languages in the debates in the federal and Quebec legislatures, in the written record of those debates, in the federal courts, and in the printing of federal and Quebec statutes.

the history of French-English relations, language, as both a means and a subject of the educational process, as well as the mark of group identity, is a prime target of the conflict over scarce resources.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature, Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

From a sociological perspective, the competition for economic, political, or social interests is viewed as a source of community, that is "community formation and communal relationships" (Neuwirth, 1969).

This particular formulation of community serves as a basis of the conceptual framework of this study. It follows a particular line of research that has been identified as, "community as society" (Effrat, 1973: 1-34). Before proceeding to define and elaborate the concepts used, various approaches to the study of community will be reviewed. The review will be organized around two main issues in the field of community research. These are: (1) whether or not a community must be grounded or can exist among people who do not share the same territory; and (2) whether community involves many different functions or only a few (Effrat, 1973: 4).[7]

[7] Effrat (1973: 1-34) outlines four main research traditions. These are categorized as 1) The Compleat Territorial Community, 2) The Community of Limited Liability, 3) Personal Community, 4) Community as Society.

Community--Territorial Grounding Relevant

Researchers who consider territorial grounding as necessary include those who, over the years, have examined whole villages, towns, and cities which serve people in many ways, as well as those who have studied small-scale neighbourhoods or subareas within larger urban centers with few functions provided for the dwellers there. These two approaches are summarized under the rubric (1) the Holistic Community, and (2) the Area Community respectively.[8]

The Holistic Community has a long tradition of research and may be differentiated according to the basic paradigms used. These are: Human Ecology; Community as Microcosm; Rural-Urban Continuum; Mass Society; Community Power; and Community as Social System.

The studies which are labelled Area Community focus on small-scale neighbourhoods, or particular urban residential subareas within cities, rather than whole villages, towns, or cities. While territory is still considered relevant, functions serving the inhabitants within the neighbourhood or area are few.

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[8] I am drawing directly upon Effrat's review (1973). I use the term "Holistic" in preference to the more archaic one "Complent" which she uses. Also, the category "Area Community" corresponds to what has been labelled as "The Community of Limited Liability" for the purposes of this study.

Community--Non-Spatial

In contradistinction to the conceptions of community that are territorially circumscribed are two traditions of community study: Personal Community and Community as Society. In these two approaches, it is the non-spatial ties of sociation that are the subject of inquiry.

Within the approach taken by theorists of Personal Community there is both theoretical and empirical research. Two types of empirical research which have developed are (1) Social Participation and (2) Social Network Theory.

Scholars who use the Community as Society approach have much in common with those who take a "Holistic" view, with one main exception. There is disagreement about the necessity for territorial grounding.

Community-territorial grounding relevant: holistic community; area community

Human ecology

In the 1920s and 1930s, under the direction of Robert E. Park the analogy of plant and animal ecology stimulated much creative research on human and spatial organization. As Park writes,

> There are forces at work within the limits of the urban community...within the limits of any natural area of human habitation, in fact...which tend to bring about an orderly and typical grouping of its population and institutions. The science which seeks to isolate these factors and to describe the typical constellations of persons and institutions which the co-operation of these forces produces, is what we call human, as distinguished from plant and animal ecology. (1952: 14).

Two important concepts emerged from the studies of the city of Chicago, the natural area, and the urban zone. Land use was not a random distribution, but was clearly related to patterns of human organization, and to the market system. According to Bernard,

> The areas of the city were natural in the sense that they resulted from the unconcerted decisions of thousands of individuals and families under a given market system. And that they were natural in some sense or other was shown by the fact that whatever index one used--income, education, ethnic origin, or occupation--people did tend to settle in more-or-less homogeneous clusters (1973: 36).

These natural areas of the city were seen as important sociological units and became the focus of studies such as Louis Wirth, "The Ghetto" (1929), and Harvey W. Zorbaugh "The Gold Coast and the Slum" (1929). The urban zone concept, which encompassed a much larger geographic territory, was used to describe Chicago in terms of five concentric zones. Emanating from the "Loop" or a central business district was a zone of residential deterioration, a zone of Workingmen's Homes, a Zone of Better Residences, and a Commuter's Zone. Each was found to differ significantly from each other and became the basis for further studies in crime and mental illness.

The ecological and natural community model was essentially a dynamic one, focussing on important social and ecological processes, such as the concentration and dispersion of people, centralization and decentralization of

functions, segregation, invasion, and succession. The findings that described Chicago well, however, were not applicable to other cities (Warren, 1972: 28). Cities do not, necessarily, follow a concentric zone or any other pattern. Other change factors such as urbanization, bureaucratization, and industrialization could account more adequately for a city's growth and development (Stein, 1960).

Community as microcosm

Studies with the model of "Community as Microcosm" are best exemplified by the Lynds' study of "Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture" (1929), and the restudy, "Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts" (1937). This approach draws on a broad anthropological framework and examines the totality of social, political and economic organization. Studies such as the Lynds' and those that have developed under the direction of W. Lloyd Warner (see Arensberg, 1939; Arensberg and Kimball, 1940; Warren and Hunt, 1941; also, Frankenberg's study in Wales, 1966) tend to be holistic and carry with them an implicit assumption that a particular village, town, or city is a representation of society as a whole, or at least an important part of it.

Rural-urban continuum

Redfield, in "The Folk Culture of Yucatan" (1941), introduced the rural-urban continuum. This was a popular

community conception in the 1940s and 1950s. As types, and polar opposites, "folk" or "rural", and "urban" follows the formulations of Tönnies, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. However, as Bernard notes,

> The terms 'Gemeinschaft' and 'Gesellschaft', as Durkheim had regretfully noted are really not translatable. Gemeinschaft does not imply community in the sense of mere locale--and Gesellschaft, when all the modifications, circumscriptions, exceptions, and qualifications are duly noted, turns out to be urban capitalism (1973: 91, 92).

The use of ideal-typical constructs presents a particular problem, either for the researcher and/or for the reader. There is a tendency for the "ideal" to merge with the "real", and for the concepts to be reified.

Another problem associated with research using a rural-urban model, is the tendency to romanticize the "folk" or the "rural". The "folk", represents all that is "good", i.e., a cohesive life based on shared values, tied to the "good" land. The "urban", is "bad", i.e., all the negative connotation of our fragmented, alienating, hostile city life. Criticism by Lewis (1951), and Bell and Newby (1971: 44), suggests that these dangers lie in the very formulation of folk society. Redfield and others had emphasized certain features rather than others. In so doing, folk society appears to be more organized and stable than urban society.

Mass society

Picking up on the theme that urbanization destroys the "folk" in society, are theorists in the 1950s and 1960s who have concentrated on "mass society". Vidich and Bensman (1958), for example, in their study of "Small Town in Mass Society; Class, Power and Religion" (1958), have found that, despite the seeming cohesiveness of a small town, decisions affecting the town are often made outside the town in centralized government or other bureaucratic offices. This may mean a loss in power and authority for local people. The implication is that mass society has destroyed "community".

Kornhauser (1968), on the other hand, finds the effects of mass production and mass media to be an egalitarian one. As Bernard notes, the "massification" of society has a "contra-class" effect (1973: 181). She finds that "all members of mass society are equally valued as voters, buyers, spectators" (1973: 65). All the young wear jeans, rich and poor; all kinds of strata live in suburbia.

A shortcoming on the part of "mass theorists" is that they also tend to fall into an either/or logic with the consequence of reifying the "urban". In contrast to rural-urban advocates, mass theorists tend to lose sight of the "folk" or the gemeinschaft elements that are to be found in urban centers.

Community power

In the 1960s "power" burst onto the city streets. As Bernard has phrased it,

> . . . the explosion of black power, student power, poor people's power, flower power, youth power, and female power--challenged the "powers-that-be" (1973: 85).

The sit-ins, demonstrations, marches, walks, vigils became a legitimate means of exercising power. A decade previously, Floyd Hunter (1953) stimulated much fruitful research of power relations. For Hunter, "the community is a primary power center--it is a place in which power relations can be most easily observed" (1953: 2). While almost innocuous in relation to the power explosion of the 60s, Hunter's analysis challenged the ecological approach which tended to view power in functional terms. For example, power had been acknowledged in the ecological tradition as essential to the co-ordination of economic functions. The emphasis was not on super-subordination relationships, nor on the implications that power has for class. For the most part, American sociologists did not see power in Marxian terms of "bourgeois-proletariat", but rather in terms of "ruling" or "governing" working class.

The Lynds perceived the exploitative aspects of power, and linked the economic class to the distribution of power.

In "Middletown"(1937), the Lynds look at the influence that members of a leading industrial family had on the institutional life of the city. It was some twenty years later that C. Wright Mills (1956) drew the links that associated the industrial, military, and political power corporations.

Dahl (1961), some years later, questioning the value of the reputational technique of Hunter, used historical data as well, to find out "Who Governs". He recognized the existence of a plural power elite and developed the importance of political resources: jobs, popularity, access to press, radio and television, social standing, etc. (Bernard, 1973: 76-77).

Whether power is exercised by a single core elite, by specialized or differentiated elites, by conflicting group interests, or in democratic process has been the subject of much research. Also, the biases inherent in research methodology or in the structural characteristics of places studied have come under close strutiny (Walton, 1966; Clark et al, 1968). Though the concept of power can be traced to classic thought, Plato, Machiavelli, Marx, Mosca, Pareto, it remains a current and important substantive field of community research.

Community as social system

Social system analysis is a most recent approach to holistic community study. Scholars using this model tend to draw on the "general systems theory" of von

Bertanalaffy (1962).

Roland L. Warren analyzes the basis of social systems theory, and applies it to community. He depicts a social system in this way,

> A social system is a structural organization of the interaction of units which endures through time. It has both external and internal aspects relating the system to its environment and its units to each other. It can be distinguished from its surrounding environment, performing a function called boundary maintenance. It tends to maintain an equilibrium in the sense that it adapts to changes from outside the system in such a way as to minimize the impact of the change on the organizational structure and to regularize the subsequent relationship (Warren, 1972: 136).

This main thrust of social systems analysis is a structural-functional one, and has come under sharp critique, in the 1960s, by radical, critical theorists, and others who perceive an inherent conservative bias. The "boundary maintenance" function, the tend toward "equilibrium", "minimizing the impact of change" are the conceptual tools of the "system". In the context of the United States, this is seen as a scientistic justification of the status quo. To follow the logic: the class structure or exploitations, the wide discrepancies between the rich and the poor are functional in the American Capitalist "system". Conflict, disharmony, antagonisms, contradictions are, by definition, dysfunctional, i.e., "abnormal".

In another vein, the cutting critical edge of social systems analysis is a dull one if any unit can be designated as a "social system". Significant variables that differentiate the systems as well as differences in levels of systems are blotted out. Qualitative differences in different societal systems according to the economic basis, or vast differences between a biological system and a social system tend to be obscured.

Warren himself acknowledges some of the difficulties of the social system model and of relating his vertical-horizontal schema to it. He points to a tautological danger when he writes,

> By definition, the community is comprised of social units and systems. Is this not begging the question to define the community in systemic terms and then to proceed to discover that it operates in the manner of a social system. The question is a justifiable one" (1972: 153).

While the question is indeed justified, I do not find Warren's "answer" so. One relevant example is his attempt to stretch, so to speak, his vertical-horizontal schema into the framework of the social system. He admits that

> There is a clear--though not perfect--correspondence between the community's vertical pattern and the performance of task functions and the horizontal pattern and the performance of maintenance functions. It will be recalled that both types of functions are essential to a social system" (1972: 243).

Warren's vertical-horizontal schema is in itself a good tool that depicts local and extra-local relations without the necessity of carrying along with it the social system's baggage.

Area community

The focus of this research tradition is on the urban neighbourhood or area. This kind of research has been first termed "the community of limited liability" by Janowitz (1952). He found the urban neighbourhood to be "a more specialized, a more voluntaristic, and a more partial institution" (Effrat, 1973: 15). The neighbourhood or area was not, as some researchers of the "Holistic" tradition believed, a remnant of a whole community or in the process of disintegration.

Various studies (Suttles, 1972; Merton, 1966; Gans, 1962a) have found factors such as life cycle, life style values, social class, and ethnic origin affect participation in the neighbourhood or area. Likewise, the range and kinds of facilities as well as population characteristics are factors of participation (Greer, 1956; Lee, 1968). Researchers that have concentrated on suburbs, working-class, or inner-city residential areas in or near big city centers such as Boston (Gans, 1962b), London (Young and Willmott, 1957), Chicago (Whyte, 1955; Suttles, 1968), New York (Gans, 1967), Toronto (Seeley et al, 1956; Lorimer, 1971), have generally used an ethnographic approach, and examined

neighbouring patterns, social involvement, and social organization.

Studies of "limited liability" have filled a gap of the holistic tradition by concentrating more on the relationship of the physical and social, and on the social organization that does exist in the urban centers or in mass society. Social area analysis and factorial ecology have developed as subfields which attempt to delimit the area that can be considered a neighbourhood.

Two main problems are an "environmental determinism", and "individualization" (Effrat, 1973: 17). Physical, environmental aspects, density of housing, maintenance of housing, the layout and busy streets are taken to account for crime, juvenile delinquency, drug use, etc. A social problems approach tends to account for social behaviour patterns in terms of individuals rather than aspects of the social structure. While this kind of research may offer oversimplified explanations, it has proved valuable in recognizing that urban life is not totally disorganized or disintegrating, even though it differs from the conception of a holistic community.

Community--non-spatial: personal community; community as society

Personal community

Both theoretical (Nisbet, 1953; Mayhew, 1971), and empirical forms of solidarity are examined in this research

tradition. Personal community is the "quest" (Nisbet, 1966) for social bonds; functions are limited. Two types of empirical research have developed, Social Participation and Social Network Theory.

Social participation. Social participation literature has generally focussed on the relation of rates of participation in voluntary organizations, friendship or kinship groups and such variables as social class, age and sex. How people select or are recruited, the meaning and the kind of solidarity provided by membership is most currently under investigation (Tomeh, 1973).

Social network. Social network studies have concentrated on cliques and communication structures in the fashion of social anthropological approaches. Rather than being isolated, individuals are found to be enmeshed in a variety of networks. What social network theorists have not done is examine the relation of social networks and social institutions (see Craven and Wellman, 1974).

These various theories, methods, and ideas form the main body of research on community, largely on this continent. While some approaches and findings are complementary, others are opposing. Rather than viewing one theory as "right" or "wrong", and fall into the poverty of either/or logic, Effrat moves toward a unification of community theory. She proposes that community as a construct is a

multidimensional ordinal variable. As a variable community or communities are to be defined by empirical investigation; as an ordinal variable, community is a matter of degree. It would be fallacious to argue that one conception is community; the other is not. Effrat suggests the need to rank the wide range of factors of community "from a minimum degree in order to call a collection of people a community" (1973: 21) to a totality, ad infinitum.

Though, ranking may not be possible even if it is desirable, the notion of community as a multidimensional ordinal variable is valuable. It suggests moving out of strict and narrow conceptualizations of community and utilizing concepts that are best applicable to the object of study.

Community as society

The approach of "Community as Society" has been found to be particularly applicable to studies of minority groups including, ethnic and racial groups (Neuwirth, 1969; Breton, 1964; Lapointe and Lee, 1975); those sharing a common lifestyle (Gans, 1962a); occupation (Goode, 1957); sex or deviant group. Community formation, community closure, ethnic community, negatively privileged status groups are salient Weberian concepts particularly applicable to Quebec society. These will be elaborated in the discussion of the concepts used in the following section. However, as Neuwirth points out,

> If we accept Weber's assertion about the efficacy of power in its economic, political form and the idea that dominant communities utilize ethnic attributes as a pretext for excluding potential competitors, then we can readily perceive how ethnic labels conceal the underlying struggle for the appropriation of certain economic, political and social advantages in American society (1969: 152).

Language, in Canadian society, is such an "ethnic label". The focus on the dimension of language in this study is for the express purpose of revealing its function and the underlying power struggle.

Sociology and Language

The topic of language has been gaining prominence generally, and in Canada particularly.[9] In their paper "Issues and Trends in Bilingualism in Canada"

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[9] An overview of the field of language in society is found in Hertzler (1965). In a survey essay, A. D. Grimshaw notes that "as many books on sociolinguistic topics have been published since 1970 as had ever been published previously". A. D. Grimshaw, "On Language in Society", Contemporary Sociology (November 1973; January 1974). See also, J. H. Fishman, The Sociology of Language (Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House, 1972). A distinction between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language is made by Fishman. He writes, "The term 'sociolinguistics' is often used interchangeably with the 'sociology of language' . . . . Although particular studies in this field of inquiry may more appropriately view either language behavior or social behavior as the independent or dependent variable for their own immediate purposes, it is my fundamental bias to view society as being broader than language and therefore, as providing the context in which all language behavior must ultimately be viewed. It seems to me that the concept 'sociology of language' more fully implies this bias than does the term 'sociolinguistics', which implies quite the opposite bias" (1968: 6). The use of the sociology of language rather than sociolinguistics in this study is with this understanding.

(1975), F. G. Vallee and J. de Vries point out that the studies in Canada where language is the topic of study tend to be of two types: demographic and non-demographic. The research on demographic analysis generally deals with broad fields of interaction and large units of study, such as provinces, regions, countries as a whole, and makes use of census or survey data. The work of Maheu (1970), Lamy (1974, 1975), Lieberson (1970), Joy (1972), as well as reports for both the Gendron Commission (1972), and the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1968) exemplify this type. The other trend, the "non-demographic", focuses, generally, on small experimental laboratory design, which is exemplified in the psychosociological work of Wallace E. Lambert and associates. Both types share the inherent danger of being far removed from on-going day to day interaction and reality, though for vastly differing reasons. In large-scale demographic study, there is the danger of the reification and thus obscuration of data, as Jackson and Spiliadis (1975) so well point out; whereas, at somewhat the other extreme, experimental laboratory studies which may control for intervening variables, are often far removed from the context, and flux of everyday, on-going interaction.

Studies in locale which focus on language and community are rare. There are a few studies that are concerned with the ethnicity at the local level of community that are somewhat relevant. However, in these studies, the phenome-

non of language is not the central focus. Generally, language is treated as but one element of ethnicity, or intergroup relations; the prime interest is on intergroup relations or ethnicity.[10] Everett C. Hughes' study on "French Canada in Transition" (1943) is a classic. He deals with the interplay of ethnicity and language in Cantonville, Quebec before the "Quiet Revolution" of the 60s. A. B. Anderson (1974) is another who, in "Ethnic Identity Retention in French Canadian Communities in Saskatchewan", illustrates that broad generalized statements that may be applicable to the country at large or even to the province are not applicable when one examines smaller locale units such as "bloc settlements". Here too however, language is one aspect of ethnicity. Also, in the studies of Jackson (1965, 1971, 1973, 1975) and Lapointe and Lee (1975) intergroup English-French conflict is the focus, not language per se. In these studies language is considered, "as symbols of group membership" (Jackson, Spiliadis, 1975: 14).

Within the field of the Sociology of Language is the sub-field of "Language Maintenance and Language Shift" in which the topic of language change in relation to social, psychological and cultural processes is the object of in-

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[10] Generally, I find Vallee's definition of ethnicity illustrative of the treatment of the relation between language and other factors: "ethnicity is ascribed to, or assumed by, persons and is determined by descent from ancestors who shared a common culture based on national origin, language, religion, or race, or more commonly a combination of these. In short, ethnicity is determined primarily by kinship" (1971: 152).

quiry. Fishman has defined three major topical subdivisions of the field and suggested lines of study. These are, (1) habitual language use at more than one point in time or space under conditions of intergroup contact; (2) antecedent, concurrent or consequent psychological, social and cultural processes and their relationship to stability or change, and (3) behavior toward language in the contact setting, including directed maintenance or shift efforts (1966: 424-458; 1972a: 107-154).

For topic one, ascertaining the habitual language use is a question of ascertaining the older question of bilingualism. The concept of bilingualism has been so overworked and broadened in its definition that the concept of "language use" is a more vital and realistic one.[11] In examining language use either quantitatively or qualitati-

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[11]The terms bilingual or bilinguality have a history of scientific linguistic definition. Mackey points out, for example, that: "The concept of bilingualism has become broader and broader since the beginning of the century. It was long regarded as the equal mastery of two languages. Bloomfield (1933) considered bilingualism as the "native-like control of two languages". This was broadened by Haugen (1953) to the ability to produce "complete meaningful utterances in the other language". And it has now been suggested that the concept be further extended to include simply "passive-knowledge" of the written language or any "contact with possible models in a second language and the ability to use these in the environment of the native language" (Diebold Jr., 1961). This broadening of the concept of bilingualism is due to the realization that the point at which a speaker of a language becomes bilingual is either arbitrary or impossible to determine. It seems obvious, therefore, that if we are to study the phenomenon of bilingualism we are forced to consider it as entirely relative" (Mackey, 1968: 555). See also Stern (1971), and the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book I, 1967, p. xxviii for a distinction between individual and institutional bilingualism.

vely, variation in media (speaking, writing, reading), role, situation, and domain are important considerations. In short, "who speaks (reads, writes) which language to whom, when, and where" is the object of inquiry (Fishman, 1972b).

Topic two is so generalized as to be meaningless. For example, Kloss (1966) identifies six prime factors or pressures related to language change, and nine ambivalent factors in German-American maintenance efforts. To make the point, the Prime Factors are: (1) religio-societal insulation, (2) time of immigration, (3) existence of language islands, (4) parochial schools, (5) pre-immigration experience with language maintenance efforts, (6) former use as the only official tongue during the pre-Anglo-American period; Ambivalent Factors: (1) high educational level, (2) low educational level, (3) numerical strength, (4) smallness of group, (5) cultural and linguistic similarity to Anglo-Americans, (6) cultural and linguistic dissimilarity to Anglo-Americans, (7) suppression of minority tongues, (8) permissive attitude by majority, (9) sociocultural characteristics (in Fishman, 1966). Weinrich (1953), Haugen (1956), and Mackey (1968) provide still other variables. Clearly what is needed are comparative studies of the conditions, circumstances, and contexts of language change or retention.

The third topic is concerned with attitudes, feelings, or cognitive behavior which affect language use

(Lambert, 1969), as well as directed efforts, such as legal language legislation, and planning. The work by Lambert and associates is exemplary in this area.

Though Fishman indicates that "Language Maintenance and Language Shift" study is usually concerned with macro change and macro processes, such as the change from Spanish to English by populations in America; the use of English and French in Africa and Asia; and the use of Russian in the Soviet Union, this study is focussed on a relatively smaller unit of analysis, i.e., a particular locale. For this level of analysis, it has been useful to consider the integration of the three distinct subdivisions outlined above. In general, the three major topics have served to guide this study initially in a sensitizing and orienting fashion. The conceptualization, however, is too generalized for definitive purposes.

Language change is also the subject of some Canadian studies. J. G. Reitz focuses on language as an independent variable in his study "Language and Ethnic Community Survival" (1974; see also, Lieberson, 1970; Vallee and Shulman, 1969; Lamy, 1974). Using survey data and interview techniques, Reitz examines four ethnic groups, Italian, German, Ukrainian and Polish, residing in five urban centers in Canada, and finds support for the Sapir hypothesis that language retention supports ethnic group cohesion. He concludes, that,

> Language is important to ethnic communities not merely as an expression of traditional ethnic culture; the data suggest that ethnic language retention is a cornerstone of the ethnic communities themselves. Failure to learn the ethnic language leads to failure to participate in the ethnic community, and this to a large extent explains reduced participation in the second and third generations (1974: 120).

Reitz's interest is in the degree of language and ethnicity retention in face of the tendency towards assimilation by ethnic groups in the larger Canadian context. There is a general expectation that non-British and non-French Canadians will assimilate into one or the other of the two linguistic groups. This expectation has been noted by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. It reports that,

> . . . linguistic duality remains the basic characteristic and foundation of the Canadian community. The integration of Canadians of non-British and non-French origin into the two linguistic groups gives each a pluralistic character even if assimilation to English is more strong and more marked than assimilation to French (Ottawa, Book I, 1967: 39).

This is quite different from the changes of language use on the part of either the French-speaking or English-speaking populations. The "equal partnership" of the two founding peoples is an empty phrase if the French, for example, are assimilated into the English language and culture. As Lee and Lapointe question

> Is Canada a federation of two cultures both of which have a moral choice to equality of linguistic, religious and civil rights from coast to coast . . . . or is it a federation of provinces which limit the rights of Francophones within the boundaries of Quebec? (1975: 10)

As they point out, according to historical fact, it has been the second option that has been in effect. The school crisis in Manitoba and in Ontario are cases in point. Language and ethnic retention are now the focal points of tension in the French-English language controversy in Quebec. At one level, there is the perceived change in the degree of French language use in the country at large. Outside of Quebec, as Joy indicates, "French-speaking minorities are rapidly fading away and could virtually disappear within another generation or two. . ." (1975: 1).[12] The prospect of a decreasing birthrate, and a significant part of the immigrant population opting for the learning of English rather than French increases the fear on the part of the Quebecois of the erosion of the French language and culture. At another level, there is the use of language in the English-French battle for economic, political, social power and hegemony. Underlying the contentions over language rights, status, and instruction are the processes of "community".

Basic Concepts

In this study the concept of community is defined in terms of (1) locality, time and space, (2) interaction along two axis, horizontal and vertical, and (3) solidarity

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[12] In Quebec and in contiguous areas of Ontario and New Brunswick this is not the case at all. In fact Joy notes that, "Within Quebec, there has been a very obvious long-term downtrend in the use of the English language" (1975: 1).

as a function of competition.

Locale

The unit of study is the city of Lachute. It is here at the local level where day-to-day life, living, and interaction is. As Warren has written,

> It is the inescapable fact that people's clustering together in space has important influences on their daily activities which gives us perhaps our best clue to a definition of the community as a social entity. . . The systematic study of the community has grown up around the general focus of shared living based on common locality. In a sense, the community is the meeting place of the individual and the larger society and culture. It is in his own locality, characteristically that, throughout most of mankind's history and to a very great extent today, the individual confronts his society's institutions, its manner of religious expression, its ways of regulating behavior, its ways of family living, its ways of socializing the young, its ways of providing sustenance, its ways of esthetic expression. Fresh eggs in the local store, services at the local church, places to amuse oneself, a source of employment, streets and roads to get to these facilities, a school for one's children, organizations to which to belong, friends and relatives with whom to visit--all these and many other basic ingredients of everyday life remain largely a function of the local area (Warren, 1972: 9, 21).

In Warren's view, there is a functional rationale for the study of community which is based on a common locality. More recently, Bernard (1973), who has pointed out the limitations of studies based on locale, asserts that the concept of locale persists as a meaningful one (see also, Suttles, 1968; Janowitz, 1968; and Greer, 1962). She writes,

> . . . so long as locale means anything for many people, the concept of the local community has validity. Thus

> despite the vehemence with which some observers were conceptualizing the local community out of existence, whether at the neighborhood, city, or national level, there were others who were still finding it indispensable. . . . At the local community level there is confrontation, visual if not tactile, emotional if not intellectual. People still live next door to others, they eat, sleep, love, hate, avoid, or seek one another in a given locale. Whether or not they have much to do with their neighbors, they use the same grocery store or supermarket, attend the same movie houses, and patronize the same beauty parlors or barber shops. Owners or renters, they depend on the same community services such as, humble as they may be, garbage collection, street cleaning, and police protection. However emancipated from spatial barriers and however independent of locale the elite may be, it is still on the community scene that for most human beings' interaction takes place. These phenomena cannot be just read out of the discipline (1973: 185, 187).

Bernard calls for a paradigm revolution, or at least, a reformulation of the locale concept of community. In a most recent paper, "Language and Community: On the Need for a New Perspective" (1975), Jackson and Spiliadis move towards a more vital and relevant formulation of locale. Jackson and Spiliadis state,

> Between the analytical types and empirical reality, between the abstract and concrete, between locally specific and the broader national scene, there is a constant movement. It is precisely the capturing of this movement that necessitates reference to locality (1975: 13).

While geographic boundaries are not a necessary defining characteristic of community in the "Community as Society" research approach, its use is not precluded. Neuwirth suggests that ecological variables may assume importance under certain conditions, "if for instance, the

choice of residential area by community members is an expression of their social power" (1969: 148). The saliency of location has also been put forth by Joy. He writes,

> The true extent to which the two major language groups in Canada are becoming segregated is seldom fully appreciated. This is, in large part, due to the fact that Census figures are hardly ever discussed other than on the basis of provincial totals.
>
> The sheer size of Canada's political units makes such a basis unreasonable. Although there is practically no similarity between, for example, the town of St. Isidore de Prescott and the metropolitan area of Toronto, the figures for both are bulked together in one total labelled "Ontario" (1972: 17).[13]

Joy points to the territorial segregation of the Canadian population in numerical terms along linguistic lines (1972). Significant differences within various regions, which if not taken into account, distort the actual situation.

There are important distinctions to be drawn in assessing various units, i.e. the country, province, region, city, town, village, and various features of each unit. A comparison made by Joy of the metropolitan area of Chicoutimi-Jonquière, Quebec and the town of Bagotville, an Armed

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[13] The term "bilingual belt" was first introduced by R. J. Joy in 1967. He posited seven regions in Canada according to the degree that French is the language of use. Disregarding the provincial political units the "bilingual belt", according to Joy, runs from Sault Ste. Marie in the west to Moncton in the east. F. G. Vallee and A. Dufour (1974) note the usefulness of the concept for descriptive, analytic and comparative purposes. They would alter the belt so that Sudbury, rather than Sault Ste. Marie, is the western cut-off point, as French language use west of Sudbury sharply declines. Vallee and Dufour also would include bordering areas in the United States, such as New York, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine.

Forces Base, reveals the possibility of gross error:

> The dissimilarity between Bagotville and the rest of the Chicoutimi-Jonquière area is so complete that no serious study could be based on a pooling of the two sets of figures into a single set of meaningless totals. The personnel at the base come from all over Canada and continue to use English at Bagotville as they have in Toronto or Halifax or Vancouver, regardless of their ethnic origin and mother tongue (1975, Appendix, B-3).

Likewise, it is suggested that there are important differences to be assessed in Quebec City, Montreal, Trois Rivière, Lachute, or Shawville; in the eastern or the western borders of the Province or in its heartland. The location of Lachute in the "bilingual belt" in Quebec, and its proximity to the Ontario border are significant aspects to be considered. In Lachute there is a history of French-English contact, and co-habitation. Both the French and English languages are in daily use. Lachute is a nexus of French-English interaction, historically, and temporally.

Interaction

Community has long been defined as interaction and the existence of close relationships (Bell and Newby, 1971; Minar and Greer, 1969; Kaufman, 1966: 88-103). Community in the sense of interaction: social actions, social relations, social institutions, takes into account the various

activities that people engage in on a day-to-day basis.[14] The "urban community" as interaction can no longer be conceived as an isolated and independent unit.[15] Mass media, mass transportation, increasing centralization and bureaucratization, have changed the patterns of social interaction.

The conceptualization of a horizontal and a vertical axis is useful (Warren, 1966; 1972).[16] It permits one

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[14]The meaning of interaction I have in mind is consistent with concepts formulated by Weber. Don Martindale provides an outline of the concepts in their comparative abstractness and complexity: "(1) Social actions, the ultimate units of analysis for the sociologist. These are inter-human behaviors having a meaning to the parties involved. (2) Social Relations. One may use this term to speak of the stable arrangement of elements appearing in social action. They do not exist outside social actions, they merely represent the abstractly conceived arrangements or patterns on action displays. (3) Social Institutions. A similar way to abstractly conceptualize the social relations in a whole network of social actions. Social institutions bear the same relation to patterns of action that social relations do to single actions. . . . (4) Community . . . the concept of the urban community as a total systematic unit of inter-human life distinguished not by a single institution but by an order of institutions. . . . To constitute a full urban community the settlement had to represent a relative predominance of trade-commercial relations with the settlement as a whole displaying the following features: 1. a fortification, 2. a market, 3. a court of its own and at least partially autonomous law, 4. a related form of association, and 5. at least partial autonomy and autocephaly (Weber, 1947: 54-55).

[15]It should be noted that the "urban community" is not synonymous with "ethnic community" and "community formation" which will be elaborated in the next section on Solidarity. I use "urban community" to refer to a city as a whole.

[16]The paper "Toward a Reformulation of Community Theory" by Roland L. Warren (1966) was reprinted from Human Organization 15 (Summer 1956) 2: 8-11. A critique on Warren's concept formation is in the previous review of "social systems" literature.

to grasp the interplay of forces at the local and extra-local levels of human interaction. In Warren's schema,

> The horizontal axis emphasizes locality. It involves the relationship of individual to individual or of groups within the locality. . . . . The vertical axis emphasizes specialized interest. It involves the relationship of the individual to a local interest group and of that interest group to a regional, state, or national organization (1966: 70).[17]

In examining social interaction, both horizontal and vertical relations must be taken into account, and the impact of vertical relations on the local "urban community", assessed. If in fact there are two "communities", one French, one English living within the same territory, the assessment is complicated. Certain affiliations, or decisions taken outside the "urban community" affect the city as a whole. Other decisions or affiliations may have a differential impact on each "ethnic community". Interaction does not assure solidarity under ordinary circumstances, i.e., an "urban community" with a relatively homogeous population. Solidarity, in terms of belonging, warm feelings of closeness, cohesion, is even less assured where two collectivities living together are distinct in ethnic origin and heritage, language and religion.

Solidarity

Community in the sense of solidarity is viewed from

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[17] I have put the emphasis on the terms horizontal axis and the vertical axis in this quotation from Warren.

a conflict perspective. Conflict over economic, political, and social resources, antagonisms, and competition become the basis of "community formation", and "communal relationships".[18] In this perspective communities are defined,

> . . . in terms of the solidarity shared by their members which forms the basis of their mutual orientation to social action. Solidarity is not seen as a function of ecological residence but rather as a response to 'outside' pressures. It is manifested in those relationships and communal actions which are relevant to the members' positions within the larger society or relative to other communities (Neuwirth, 1969: 149).

This type of social action is exemplified by Neuwirth in her analysis of Black Americans (1969). Sharing a common residential location, sharing a common background or heritage, is not sufficient. It is a "mutual orientation to social action", that is, feelings of belonging together, getting together, planning, talking and so forth that is significant for solidarity. In the case of the Black American, ". . . the content of Negro idioms and humour contain subtleties of meaning which are inaccessible to whites. To the extent that these relationships, idioms, and humour indicate mutual feelings of belonging together,

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[18] The meaning of conflict and competition in this discussion has been put forth by Weber. He writes: "A social relationship will be referred to as 'conflict' in so far as action within it is oriented intentionally to carrying out the actor's own will against the resistance of the other party or parties. . . . A peaceful conflict is 'competition' in so far as it consists in a formally peaceful attempt to attain control over opportunities and advantages which are also deamed by others (1947: 132, 133).

Negro Americans constitute a community" (Neuwirth, 1969: 154).

The formation of "communal relationships" is the basis for "community closure". Neuwirth notes that,

> Once communal relationships have been formed, the community members will tend to monopolize economic, political, and/or social advantages. The process aiming at such monopolization is called "community closure" (1969: 149, 150).

The monopolization of business or work opportuniites, political offices, and the accompanying claims of social esteem are a means of effecting "community closure". This is manifest in the range and number of organizations and associations, the "institutional completeness" of an ethnic community, its group resources; institutional activity; participation; and representation (Vallee and Shulman, 1969: 87; Vallee and Dufour, 1975).[19] Networks of social relations and the extent of "associative relationships" facilitate the process of "community closure". In Neuwirth's terms,

> The process of community closure is usually concomitant to a rational pursuance of economic, political, or social interests, that is, communal relationships are combined with associative or contractual relationships (1969): 150).

Lapointe and Lee point out that for Franco-Ontarians, "a

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[19] The notion of "institutional completeness" was elaborated by Breton (1964) who used it in a study of the integration of immigrants into Canadian society. (See also, Driedger, 1974; Anderson, 1974; Vallee and Shulman, 1969).

high degree of organizational capacity should help a community to effect closure, i.e. to monopolize economic, political and social advantages" (1975: 20). Various dimensions of organizational capacity include,

> . . . the extensiveness and formal structuring of relevant social mechanisms, the structure of authority, the means of social control within the community, the degree of autonomy in the organization of action, the consensus among the segments of the ethnic collectivity, and the existence of an institutionally differentiated political function (Breton, 1974: 2-11).

These various structural and processual dimensions of organization capacity along with two other factors, agreement/disagreement over goals and cost for the majority, have been used by Lapointe and Lee to study the conditions of manifest conflict in Timmins and Sturgeon Falls where the French community is a minority.

A possible outcome of the inability to effect "community closure" is an underprivileged position, i.e. "a negatively privileged status group". The monopolization of economic and political power by one group mitigates against another group's opportunity to attain political and economic advantages, and concomitant social esteem.

A vital aspect of community formation and community closure is the function of a "differentiating characteristic". In order to monopolize economic, political or social resources, and limit the numbers of competitors,

> . . . one segment of the competitors may seize upon an easily ascertainable and differentiating characteristic of any potential and actual contenders--such as

> local or social descent, racial or ethnic origin, lack of property or educational qualifications--and use it as a pretext for excluding them from competition (Neuwirth, 1969: 149).

Language is such a differentiating characteristic of ethnicity. It functions in society as color does for the Blacks, or religion, for the Jews. Language is not only a symbol or mark of ethnic identity, a shorthand "ethnic label", but is used in community formation and closure. Language serves to bind people together and facilitates "mutual orientation to social action", thus strengthening the basis of solidarity. Conversely, language demarcates relations and draws group boundaries. Furthermore, Neuwirth points out,

> According to Weber's basic assumption, a common system of linguistic and nonlinguistic symbols makes social actions meaningful and directly understandable. When such a common system of symbols is absent or inadequate (as, for instance, in a society comprised of various ethnic groups), only a limited amount of meaningful interaction can occur. This situation provides fertile ground for the emergence of ethnic stereotypes, which serve as additional means for blocking ethnic groups from access to economic and political opportunities (Neuwirth, 1969: 151).

Ethnic stereotyping is evident in some of the press reports, as the introductory abstract convey. In large city centers such as Montreal, Quebec City, or Ottawa the lack of a common language inhibits meaningful French-English interaction. The "two solitudes", "duality", "biculturalism" characterizes the lack of "mutual orientation to social action" and the separateness of the two groups. What the

conditions of meaningful interactions are at a local level is basic to this study.

CHAPTER III

Research Method

Various research methods and techniques have been used to explore and gather data for this study of Lachute in terms of community and language. Each aspect of community, locality, interaction, and solidarity necessitates different information and sources of information; consequently different techniques. The following is a brief resume of six techniques used and their limitations: Census data, Historical sources and documents, Newspapers, Reports, Participant observation, and Questionnaire.

An Overview

The project began with the collection of census data in February 1974 and was carried through to July 1974. The months March and April were spent in reviewing the literature, and in preliminary observations in Lachute once weekly. A subscription to the French and English weekly newspapers was obtained. The period of mid-May to mid-June was spent in Laurentian Regional High School on a daily basis in a participant as observer capacity. During this time interviews were conducted and a questionnaire administered to pupils. As soon as the school term ended, interviews were arranged with school officials and key people in local government, industry, religious and voluntary organi-

zations. The months of July 1974 and July 1975 were spent in writing the thesis. A two-day return visit to the city was made in July 1975 to observe and verify some details.

Census data

A profile of Lachute was sought from its beginnings to the present. Both census records and historical materials provided this information. A base line date in the past was considered desirable, but information in the Census of Canada is particularly lacking in historical data for cities or towns with populations under 10,000. Lachute did not have this number of inhabitants until 1961. A comparison between 1961 and 1971 was possible, though not perfect, for in the year 1971 a new question was added, "Language Most Often Spoken in the Home". Total numbers of populations are for every decade since 1891.

The variables particularly relevant to this study are: Mother Tongue, Official Language, Language Most Often Spoken in the Home, Ethnic Group, and Religion. For the years 1961 and 1971 they are defined in the following way:

Mother tongue

> Mother Tongue was defined in 1971, 1961, 1951, and 1941 as "the language first learned in childhood and still understands". In 1931, the definition was: "the language learned in childhood and still spoken

by the person" (Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-773, Bulletin SP-3, December 1972).

Official language

This refers to the number of persons who reported that they were able to speak either one or both of the official languages of Canada. It should be noted that persons who indicated that they speak "English Only" or "French Only" may also speak other languages and have a "Mother Tongue" other than English of French (Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-733, Bulletin 1.4-5, January 1974).

Languages most often spoken in the home

This refers to the language presently being used most frequently by the person in his or her home (Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-733, Bulletin 1.4-5, January 1974).

Ethnic group

A person's ethnic group is traced through the father. In 1961 and 1971, the respondents were asked: To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent? If applicable, the language spoken at that time by the person or by the paternal ancestor was used as a guide in determining the person's ethnic group (Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-774, Bulletin SP-4, May 1974).

Religion

Respondents were asked "What is your religion," and to report a specific demonination rather than such terms as Protestant, Christian, etc.), even if they did not attend a place of worship. Census figures do not measure church membership or indicate the degree of affiliation with a particular religious body, but rather, indicate the one to which each person stated he or she belonged, adhered to, or favoured. Provision was made for the response "No Religion", and/or "Other" (Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-774, Bulletin SP-4, May 1974).

Some of the weaknesses of the census categories have been pointed out by Joy (1975), Vallee and de Vries (1975) and Lamy (1974). For example, ethnic origin may be used as a reference point in attempting to gauge the degree of assimilation. However, with the condition today of "mixed ethnic stocks" a person may report ethnic origin by the criteria given but, in fact be closer to another group in language and culture (Joy, 1975). With respect to the category of "Official Language", no test is given. There are no standards to judge against, and the data is self-report.

"Mother Tongue", since 1941, is defined as the first language learned and still understood, even though it is no longer spoken. The concept is rather meaningless if the "Mother Tongue" language is no longer used. The "Language Most Often Spoken in the Home" is an attempt to get at the dominant language of the respondent. It is used in 1971 for the first time on a sampling basis only. Because the sampling basis of "Mother Tongue" and "Language Most Often Spoken in the Home", is different, it would be faulty to make comparisons (Joy, 1975). Lamy (1975: 3) finds that "language spoken best" is the meaning of dominant language and the best predictor of the linguistic group to which the individual belongs. This question is not one asked in the Census. The label French Canadian, English Canadian is more truly a national identification that is commonly used and misused. For the purposes of

this paper the terms "English or French-Canadians, group, population, persons, collectivity, etc. or Anglophone, Francophone," are used to indicate the language category and does not necessarily refer to the ethnicity. No attempt has been made in this paper to empirically determine the English or French populations by asking them as, Lamy (1975) has done, to which group they feel closer. Even with these shortcomings, census data remains the most extensive survey that is available.

Historical sources and documents

Much of the historical data of Lachute's past was drawn from G. R. Rigby, "A History of Lachute" (1964). He has relied on such sources as F. C. Ireland, "Sketches of Lachute" (1888), and C. Thomas, "History of Argenteuil" (1896), as well as newspaper files from the Watchman. Though a straightforward and valuable account, it is lacking in detail of the French population. A French-Canadian perspective is provided in Gaetan Valois, "Memories of Gaetan Valois" (1952), and some background material in Raoul Blanchard, "L' Ouest du Canada Français" (1954). A visit to the Argenteuil Historical Museum provided a view of primary sources, artifacts and documents.

Some Government reports and documents were used. These included the Dunton-Laurendeau, "Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism" (Ottawa, 1967); the Parent, "Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province

of Quebec" (Quebec, 1963); and the Gendron, "Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language and On Language Rights in Quebec" (Québec, 1972).[20] The circumstances of Government Reports, the climate of the times, the mandate and auspices under which each report is undertaken must be taken into account.

The historical account by Rigby (1964) was a prime source of data for the development of the City and the activities in the areas of Work, Church, Voluntary Association, School, and Communication from the earliest times to 1964. Census data (1971) supplemented information concerning labour force, occupations, income, religious affiliation (not degree), and school attendance.

Newspapers

Both the English language "Watchman", and French language "L'Argenteuil" weeklies were scanned for local news, events, issues, personalities, and other items that could be relevant to this study. No attempt was made to do a systematic content analysis, though a comparison of French and English differences in coverage and stress would be

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[20]Each of these commissions will be referred to subsequently in the text by their chairpersons. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Canada, 1967), as the Dunton-Laurendeau Report; Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec (Quebec, 1964), as the Parent Report; and the Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language and On Language Rights in Quebec (Quebec, 1973), as the Gendron Report.

most interesting. Notice of a survey, the CESAM, Commission D'Enquete Sur L'Adulte et son Milieu (1974) was found in a news item.

Reports

Along with various reports undertaken by the federal and provincial governments (Laurendeau-Dunton, 1967; Parent, 1963; Gendron, 1972) the CESAM report, a PIL (Local Initiative Program) was particularly relevant to this study. This was the CESAM study undertaken in collaboration with SEAPAC (Service Education des Adultes) and provided data about the Lachute population that would not have been accessible otherwise. The survey focussed on the needs, tastes, and aspirations of the adult in Lachute and neighbouring towns in work, leisure, media and education. Differences between the Anglophone and Francophone populations were included.

Using the provincial electoral list, revised October 1973, the CESAM sample consisted of 1,142 adults, aged 18 years and over, of which there were 802 persons (70.22 percent) who responded to the questionnaire either over the telephone or in face-to-face interviews. A limitation of the study for these purposes is that Lachute City is not considered as a separate unit. In many cases, the data provided includes Lachute; Brownsburg and Roussillon; Whisseltown, St.-Philippe, St.-Andre, and Carillon.

Participant observation

In Chapter IV, the emphasis is on dynamic day-to-day interactions in a single domain of language use, the school.[21] The impact of decisions taken extralocally on the local level; the ongoing interactions and relations of persons at the local level; questions of "solidarity", "ethnic community formation, community closure"; actual, rather than potential language use cannot be assessed on the basis of statistics or surveys alone. Participant observation is the most effective means of gaining an insight into and understanding of "what is going on", so to speak. The school was chosen as the locus for more of an in depth study for several reasons. Not only is the school a prime domain of language use and instruction, the central arena of the language controversy, but also the

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[21]The concept of "domain" has a specified meaning and use in sociolinguistic literature. Fishman explains that, "domains and social situations reveal the links that exist between micro and macro-sociolinguistics. . . . They attempt to designate the major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings. Domains enable us to understand that language choice and topic . . . are . . . related to widespread socio-cultural norms and expectations" (1972: 19; 1972b: 19, 29).

"Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When" is a shortscript referring to the construct domain. It is in these terms that I refer to domain in this study.

most accessible to me, given my background in the field of education.

Before the period of participant as observer had been a period of observations in the City. The spring months of March and April were spent once weekly in Lachute for the express purpose of mapping the area and getting general impressions.

I walked the streets of Lachute, or drove around in the car. Residential areas were located, as were the schools, churches, industries and other institutions. I ate in various restaurants, hot-dog stand; stopped for ice-cream at the popular local dairy; shopped in the supermarkets, drugstores, and small boutiques on Rue Principale, and visited the library, arena, and art museum. Conversations with people during this time were most casual.

The phase of participant as observer began on 7 May 1974 with an interview of the principal of the English Protestant secondary school. A telephone call the week before arranged for the interview time. Subsequently, 33 face-to-face interviews were conducted in the schools and the community at large. This is not considering the numerous occasions when I was engaged with groups of people in discussions or observations throughout this period.

The initial interviews with officials of the school and the city were felt to be critical. The strategy of the field work was to participate as observer first in the

school setting. After the schools would close for the summer holiday, the plan was to move into the community at large. Careful consideration was given to the approach to be used, as well as the language I was to interview in.

During the first interview with the principal of the English Protestant secondary school, I made my purpose explicit, and offered to do some reciprocal teaching service. I had some apprehension before the interview, as I was fully aware that this time of the school year is, or can be a particularly pressing one for administrators. Nevertheless, not only was I graciously received, but there proved to be great co-operation and involvement in each phase of my endeavor. The Director General was called to this first meeting (The board offices happen to be in the same building as the school). My purpose and daily presence in the school was ratified. It was to be noted in the Board minutes so that there would be no question of my daily appearance in the school. I was formally introduced to key staff members; provided a map of the school, several statistical documents, and a private office. It was mutually decided that part of each day would be given in some service and part would be taken for my own purposes of observation and interviews.

I had offered to do some one-to-one remedial teaching, knowing that this was always a tremendous need. This suggestion was very much welcomed. In addition, I was asked if I could undertake to research and provide the

principal with a bibliography of the latest reading tests and materials. I was most pleased to do so, and spent one day at the McGill reading center with the head of the program for this purpose. In the meantime, several pupils were being considered for the one-to-one remedial work. This aspect was not too successful. By the time the pupils were selected, only two lessons were possible. I was then asked if I could assist in administering basic skill tests to all the Secondary I students. This was a particularly positive task for me. By that time, I had decided to administer a language use questionnaire to this same segment of the school population. It was an occasion to interact with the students as well as free a staff member at a busy time.

I relate these events in some detail as they were most important in achieving a role for myself. I began to feel a member of the school. There was a valid reason for my daily presence. During the first week of participation, I had to combat the feeling of being out of place, even though the norms of the school setting are very familiar to me. Once engaged in the tasks, I felt much freer in sitting and chatting with the teachers in the staff room during their spare periods, eating lunch with them, and/or talking to students in the classrooms and corridors. Though the principal had gained cooperation of the teachers and apprised them of my presence through the teachers' council, I met with varying degrees of interest among the

teachers, ranging from detached apathy to covert hostility. Those that I did arrange to interview, however, were most co-operative. Interviews were sought, particularly with language department heads, or teachers involved in TESL programs (Teaching English As A Second Language). The recording of interviews was not carried out in the presence of the respondents. I did not wish to inhibit the flow of communication with the appearance of pen and paper. I made use of the privacy of the carrells in the school's library to record each face-to-face interview or period of observation immediately.

After I had established myself in the English school, I arranged for an interview with the principal of the French Secondary School. The interview was conducted in French, at the risk of my feeling some inadequacy. Though fluent I do not have "native command" of French. It was the first time I felt the kind of risk that the Francophone is subject to in an English milieu. In the initial interview, after my few introductory remarks, the School Administrator said that he could speak English but if I would not mind we would carry on in French. This put me at ease and we carried on.

My request to administer the language use questionnaire was turned down. There was much skepticism on the part of the Principal. He felt that the level of the French was not the best and he was doubtful if the teachers

would co-operate.[22] The administration of the questionnaire to Francophone students, though desirable for comparative purposes, was not critical. The purpose of the questionnaire was to ascertain the degree of bilinguality in the school domain. From other statistical sources it was clear that there was a high degree of unilingual French use in the French sector. This was not the case in the English sector, where both Francophone and Anglophone students attended.

In both French and English schools the following information was sought: students--number, sex, mother tongue, age, religion; staff--number, background, curriculum goals, practices (particularly linguistic ones); program exchanges; attitudes and relations between the English and French; parent committees; Board structure--area of jurisdiction, decision-making, relations with other Boards, with Quebec, relations with the rest of the community, effect anticipated of Bill 63 and Bill 22 (based on Mackey, 1972).

Interviews

Interviews with key people in each of these areas provided another source of information which statistical or historical data could not convey. In the process of inter-

[22]The questionnaire was translated into French by a Francophone student in the MA program at the University of Montreal. I had the Questionnaire verified by one of the French language teachers and there proved to be some minor errors in plural forms as well as some awkward literal translations.

viewing, two respondents developed a continuing relationship with me and were extremely helpful and informative. The interviews conducted were largely open-ended, since they were intended as exploratory. A schedule was prepared prior to the interview period of the study, so that there would be consistency in the approach.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire schedule was developed and adapted from the one used by William F. Mackey (1972). It is a "wide-mesh" instrument designed for ascertaining the degree of bilinguality. Questions pertained to "language-in-use" in three dimensions, home, school, neighbourhood. The concept of "language use" is used by Mackey in preference to bilinguality. While the general framework of the Questionnaire is consistent with the perspective of this study, the form of the schedule was not suitable for the pupils in this context. With the aid of the Principal, Advisors and Colleagues a revised Questionnaire was designed, and administered to all the students of Laurentian Regional High, Secondary I.[23] Its value in this study, given the

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[23]Special mention to Professor K. Jonassohn, J. D. Jackson and B. Reimer for their aid in the preparation of the Questionnaire. Professor B. Reimer and colleague Michael Benjamin did the necessary computer programming. Mr. G. R. Morrill, principal of Laurentian Regional High, was particularly helpful in reviewing the questionnaire, suggesting changes that would be in keeping with the nature of the student population and facilitating every possible means to ensure successful administration.

focus of the thesis, is limited. It would be useful in a comparative study of bilingual schooling.

As soon as the school term closed, I began to set up interviews with persons in key positions in the city. Once again, I found a high degree of willingness to inform me, and one interview led to another. I was particularly pleased that personal relationships with two respondents have continued to develop and contact has been maintained during the following year.

The limits of this study are typical of limits in any field research endeavor or case study. The study is an exploratory one and limited to a six months time period.

There are particular shortcomings in each of the techniques used. In the Census, there is a lack of data adequate for comparative basis along with the problems inherent in the collection of census statistics. The historical documents are limited in the detail of the Francophone community. Government documents are subject to the bias of the interest and conditions of those under whose aegis a particular commission is undertaken. Interviews have particular limitations. As Effrat has noted:

> In field research, much of the material gathered is impressionistic, difficult to quantify, and subject to filtering by the researcher's own predilections before the perceived data are recorded; different researchers also organize their material differently, focus on different issues, etc. Moreover, each researcher's personality, sex, ethnicity, social class, etc., give that person more access to some segments of the population than to others, and make some pieces of informa-

> tion or some interpretations more believable to him or her than others (1973: 13).

Yet another hazard of case study in particular is the generality of the findings. How unique is Lachute or the conditions one finds there? Some of the limits imply the need for further research, comparative study, more indepth inquiry into various domains, hypothesis to be tested, and continual sensitive awareness and scrutiny on the part of the researcher. One approach to offset the bias in a single study is comparative analysis. This was done to the extent possible, and lays the basis for further study.

CHAPTER IV

Location and Settlement--Geographic, Linguistic

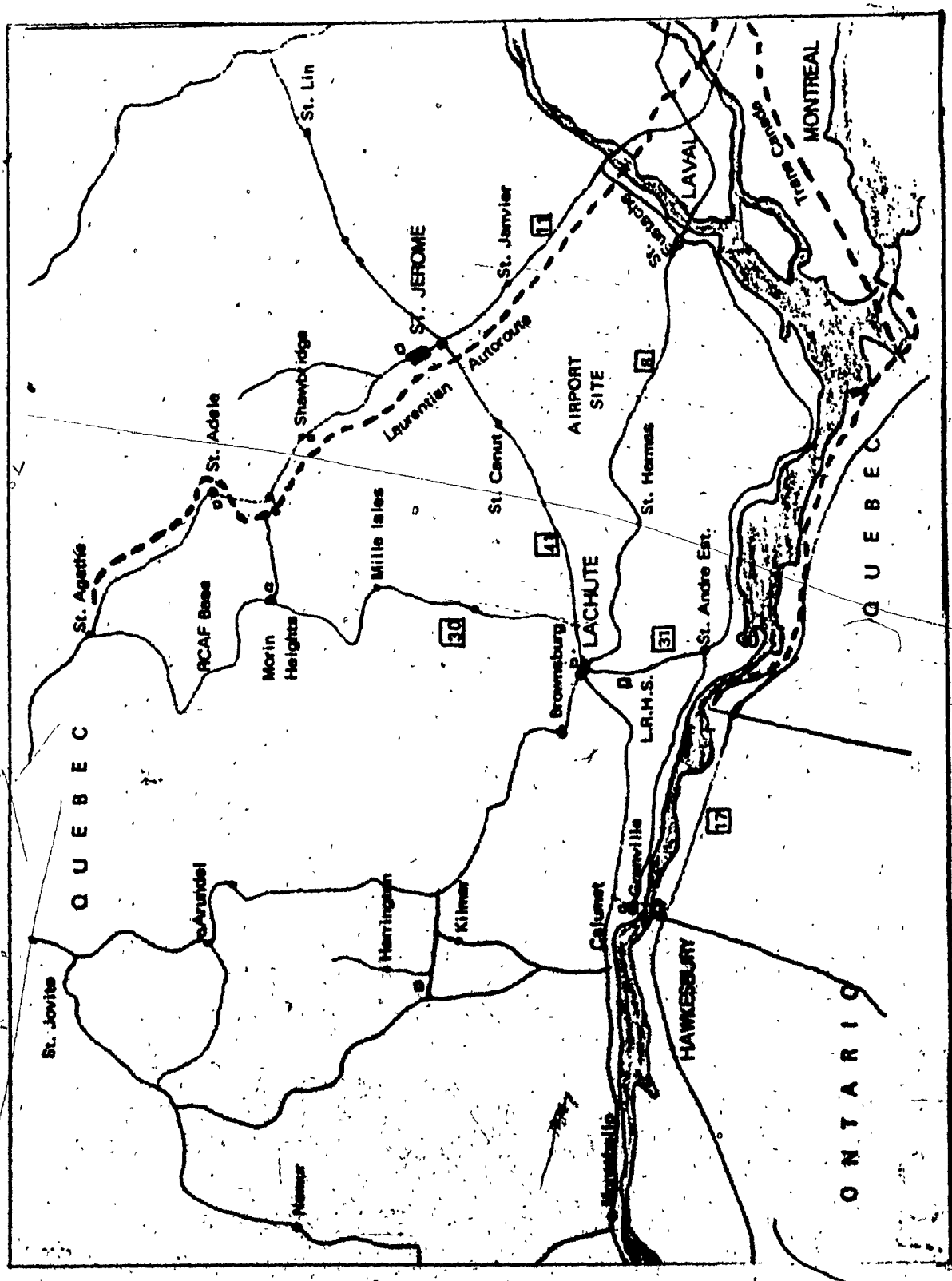
From a geographic perspective, the city of Lachute is located in a fertile plain at the foothills of the Laurentian Mountains, forty-nine miles from mid-town Montreal, forty miles from Montreal-Dorval airport, and ten miles from the site of Mirabel, the new Montreal International Airport presently under construction. Lachute is an intersection point for provincial highways 8, 30, 31, and 41 (See Map 1, p. 68).

Coming from Montreal, the secondary road northwest along route 41 winds its way through the flat countryside. The visual contrast between "the rustic and the urban, the agricultural and the industrial" (Everett C. Hughes, 1943: 1) is sharp. It is still true, as Everett C. Hughes observed some years ago about a similar scene that the physical change from town to country seems abrupt and complete. The cities still do not cast long shadows, neither Montreal, nor Lachute.

A thirty mile speed zone and a rising church steeple mark the only village on the way, the village of St. Canut.[24]

[24]Since this project began one year ago, a roadway bypassing the village of St. Canut has been built, thus eliminating the need to enter the village center.

MAP I LACHUTE REGION



As one approaches Lachute City, the breadth and space of each farmland narrows and the flat land begins to roll. Shortly, the Laurentian foothills and the Riviere du Nord appear on the right, the excavation site of Mirabel on the left. Modern bungalows of brick and stone with neat and shrubbed lawns begin to spot the countryside. The occasional billboard as well as the cemetary announce the city limits (Map 2, p. 70). This secondary two-lane route leads directly to the heart of Lachute City, to the boulevard and bustle of the main street, Rue Principale. The forty square miles that constitute Lachute are urban only at their core. Twenty percent of the city is designated as urban, that is, residential, institutional and commercial. The other eighty percent constitute six hundred industrial acres, as well as rural farmland and summer resorts (Lachute, Economic Survey, 1974).

Linguistically, Lachute is located within the Bilingual Belt of Canada, in the Ottawa Valley region, the border area between Quebec and Ontario just seventy miles from Ottawa. The population at present is approximately 13,000 within Lachute itself, and 35,000 in the immediate area. It is estimated that the total population will be 60,000 by the year 2000 (Lachute, Economic Survey, 1974). In 1971, as indicated in Table 1, the census reported 11,780 persons in Lachute City, 54 percent of whom registered their official language as French; 11.2 percent, English; and 35 percent as both English and French.

MAP II LACHUTE CITY

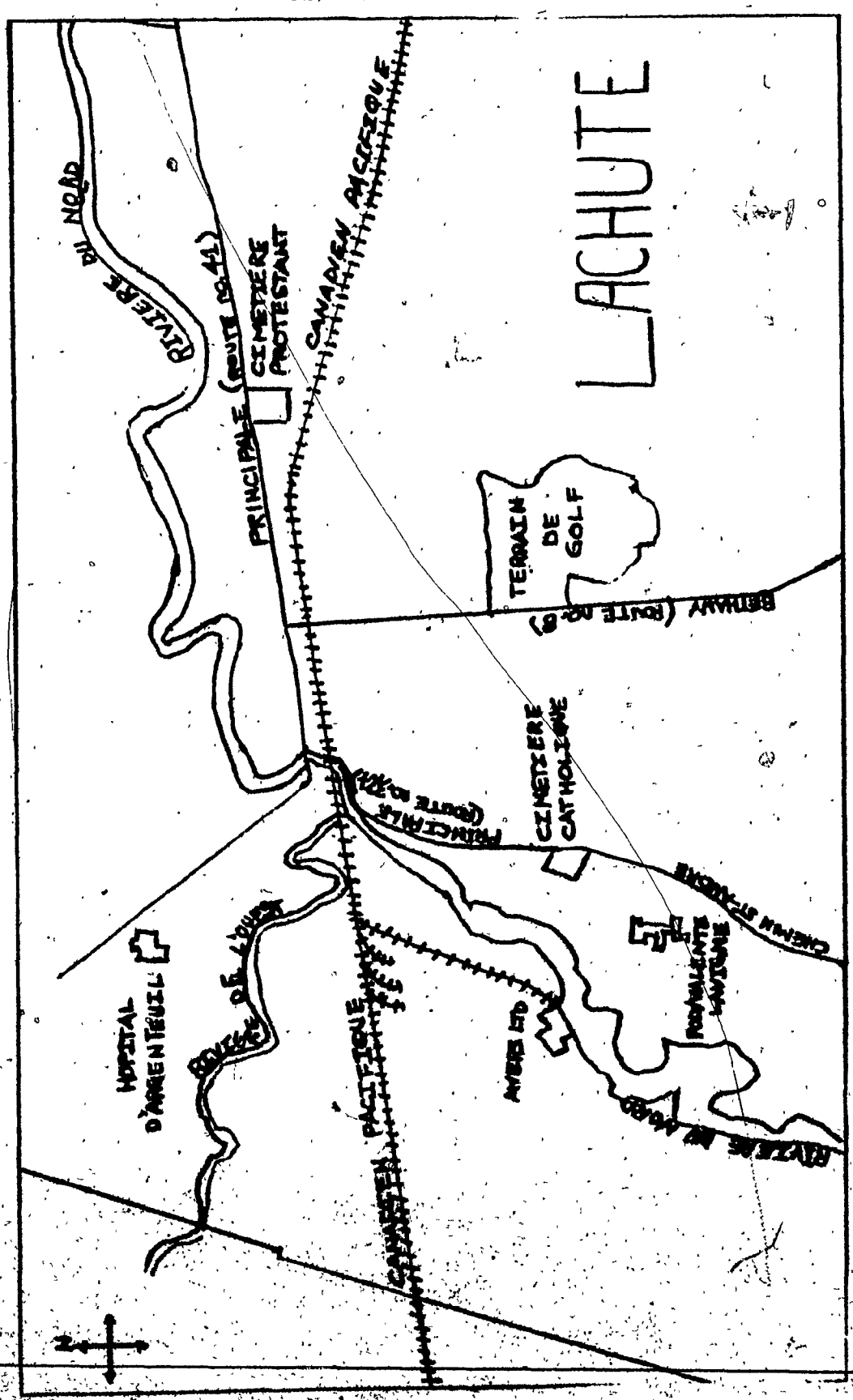


TABLE 1

POPULATION, LACHUTE, 1971, OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

	Total (N)	Percent
English only	1,325	11.2
French only	6,325	53.7
Both	4,125	35.0
Neither	5	-
Total	11,780	

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-726, Bulletin 1.3-5, August 1973.

Lachute Settlement--Population

The settlement of Lachute and its demographic profile may be compared with the pattern found in other Quebec centers within the Bilingual Belt such as Montreal, Sherbrooke or Three Rivers. As Joy points out,

> Through the census figures we can follow the outward movement of the French Canadians from their old parishes along the St. Lawrence, a movement facilitated by the concurrent departure of many persons of British origin from those areas of Quebec Province and Eastern Ontario, which had been originally settled by English-speaking families (Joy, 1972: 1).

As it was, the first resident in the Lachute area was neither British nor French, but an American. Hezekiah

Clark came in 1796.[25] Some of the early settlers, numbers of families, place of origin, location in or around Lachute, and their religious affiliation are indicated in Table 2. Clark, coming from Vermont, purchased what was part of a seigniorial tract of land given to Charles Joseph d'Ailleboust in 1682 by Louis XIV of France. Charles Joseph had originally named his seigniory, "The Seigniory of Argenteuil", after his chateau in Argenteuil, France. Timber was the main attraction for the very first settlers to the Lachute area. One, whose ancestors were among the first to settle, reported,

> The first people came for logging. Let no one tell you any different. The trees were felled and cut into blocks, and floated down the river to Quebec along the St. Lawrence where they were shipped across the ocean. These pioneers soon found that the land was arable and wrote home for other members of the family to leave the troubled home lands and settle here. That was after the eighteen-fifties (Interview 740524F).

Just after the Napoleonic Wars, potash was in great demand for the manufacture of gunpowder especially, as well as fertilizer, soap, and glass. The Americans who first came were Methodists. They were largely nomadic, moving from tract to tract seeking suitable timber for the conversion to potash, and did subsistence farming. However, by the early eighteen-hundreds, the Americans had become dis-

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[25] Unless stated otherwise, the information on Lachute's early history is drawn from G. R. Rigby, A History of Lachute, From Its Earliest Times to January 1, 1964 (Lachute: Giles, 1964).

TABLE 2

EARLY SETTLERS, 1796-1853

Year	Settler	No. of Families	Place of Origin	Location	Religious Affiliation
1796	H. Clark (3 sons, 2 daughters)		Vermont	Both sides of the river from "Lachute"	
1798	J. S. Hutchins	5	Vermont		Methodist
1800	W. Powers	15			
		3		St. Eustache Road	United Empire Loyalists
1803		30		Both sides of the river, "Upper Lachute"	
1809	T. Barron		Scotland		Presbyterian
1810		81			
1820	J. McGibbon		Scotland		Baptist
1821	J. Macdonald		Scotland		
1822	T. Morrison		Scotland		
1825	W. McOuat		Scotland		
1826	McGregor		Scotland		
1829	Pierre Robert		Fr. Canada		Roman Catholic

TABLE 2--Continued

Year	Settler	No. of Families	Place of Origin	Location	Religious Affiliation
1832	J. Walker		Scotland		
1833	Rodgers		Scotland		
1834	J. Hay		Scotland		
1853	Antoine Brunet		Belles Riviere		Roman Catholic

couraged. The year 1809 marks "the ascendancy of the Scottish and the decline of the American influence" (Rigby, 1964: 10). The Americans experienced a succession of hard winters and a severe famine during the years of 1810 to 1811. The war of 1812 further discouraged them, and they began to leave the Lachute area.

After the war of 1812, the British government was anxious to establish a loyal population and suitable applicants were each given two hundred acres of Crown Land adjacent to and just west of the Seigniory. Thomas Barron was the first of the Scottish Presbyterian settlers. A number of Scottish Baptists also emigrated to the area, and soon after a group of Paisley weavers, driven out of Scotland by the high costs of rents as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, came and settled in 1818. By 1835 some Irish Catholic families had come to the area. While potash

was still a source of income, Scottish settlers began to work the land on a more permanent basis. As Thomas noted in 1896,

> Tous ces nouveaux venus sont des colons de choix, excellent cultivateurs, zélés et pieux. . . . (in R. Blanchard, 1954: 63).

With the introduction of the Scottish plough, which replaced the more primitive hog plough first used, hard work and persistence, the land began to yield more substantially and permanent settlement without the threat of famine was now possible.

It was between 1812 and 1835 that Lachute began to emerge as a community, with stores, a Post Office, a hotel, and an annual open-air cattle market. Lachute, then, was spread over a two-mile stretch. Before 1818, that is, before the first mill was built north of Lachute Falls, Lachute did not have a nucleus. In 1843, Lachute was still a community without a core. At the west end near the falls, were grist mills, a sawmill, a carding mill, two stores, a hotel, a few wooden houses, and a log school; at the east end was a Presbyterian Church, a store and a school. In 1885, Lachute was finally incorporated as a town with its own mayor and council.

The French Canadian settlers did not come west to Lachute to settle until mid-eighteen hundred. The first French-Canadian farmer in the area is reputed to be Pierre Robert in 1829. In 1851, only 8 percent of the

population was of French origin. Antoine Brunet came to Lachute in 1853 from Belles Rivière, and Aquila Bedard was the first of French descent to be born in Lachute in 1872. It was in 1879 that a news column in the French language was inserted regularly in the local newspaper. Between the years 1876 and 1900 the French population increased rapidly. Rigby reports that,

> On the north side of Main Street was the Great Northern Railways just completed in 1900 with many small wooden houses between the track and Main Street mainly occupied by French families (1964: 93).

In 1894, the first two French-speaking mayors were elected, one succeeding the other. It became the custom, until the present decade, that French and English-speaking mayors would alternate terms of office. By 1900, approximately one-third (35 percent) of the population were French Canadians. In 1961, there was 77.2 percent. Just recently, in 1966 with the town developing westwards, the Township of Ayersville and its Francophone population was amalgamated with Lachute Town as Lachute City (Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-702: 2-127). Figure 1 illustrates the increase in French population, the time of the institution of French language news items in the English newspaper and the election of French-speaking mayors. Today, according to the most recent census, over eighty percent of the population in Lachute are Francophone.

Demographic--Linguistic Profile

In summary, Lachute emerged as the county center by 1900 with the core of its present pattern becoming crystallized. In Table 3, the pattern of population change over the years may be followed.

TABLE 3

POPULATION, LACHUTE, HISTORICAL: 1891-1971

Year	Total Population	Percentage Population Increase Each Decade
1891	1751	
1901	2022	13.4
1911	2407	16.0
1921	2592	7.1
1931	3906	34.0
1941	5310	26.4
1951	6179	14.0
1961	7560	18.3
1971	11,790	35.9

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, 92-702, p. 2-22.

Industrially, the period of 1866 to 1900 was a time of prime expansion for Lachute. Along with industry and,

> . . . the advent of the railways the population increased rapidly after 1866. In 1800, Lachute was a village with about 650 people; in 1885 this had increased to 1311; in 1891, to 1751; and in 1895 to 2000 (Rigby, 1964: 61).

The decade between 1911 and 1921 indicates the lowest ebb in population increase, that is, 7 percent. In general, the first half of the twentieth century were times of consolidation and difficulty for Lachute (Rigby, 1964: 95-125). The wars, World War I, 1914-1918; World War II, 1939-1945, and the years of the Depression in between clearly had its impact on Lachute. However, while during the 1930s there were unemployment problems everywhere, in Lachute the war industries, temporarily at least, solved the problem. The wars greatly stimulated mill production and the need for labour. The percentage increase in net population in 1931 (34.0%) and in 1941 (26.4%) reflect the munitions activities. As Rigby writes,

> Nothing in Lachute compared with the expansion of Brownsburg in the Second World War, the munitions plant of which rocketed from about 450 employees before the war to a peak employment of 4,800 in 1943 (1964: 137).[26]

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[26]Lachute experienced serious unemployment problems in the 1930s in common with other communities during these years. In general, the mills began to slacken. Public relief works were organized. The increase in population indicated in the Census of 1931 may be due to the fact that Lachute's three major industries continued to develop during this time. A new dam and power house was built; Dominion Shuttle moved their plant from St. Jerome to Lachute; and in 1926 Canadian Explosives Ltd. increased its capacity by acquiring Northern Explosives. It was in 1927 that Canadian Explosives became Canadian Industries Ltd. (CIL) with chief shareholders ICI, Britain and DuPont, America (Rigby, 1964: 125-148).

During the latest decade, boundary changes account for the large increase in population in Lachute, and not migration. Between the years 1961 and 1971, the population increase of 35.9 percent is due largely to the amalgamation of Ayersville and Lachute Town as Lachute City. Part of St. Jerusalem-d'Argenteuil was taken to form St. Scholastique City, and part Lachute City. A summary of population with respect to language characteristics for the year 1971 is presented in Table 4. Four categories are illustrated in the table, Official Language, Ethnic Group, Mother Tongue and Language Most Often Spoken At Home. For each category the French language dominates with approximately 80 percent of the total. It must be noted that the figure of 54.0 percent for the population who report French as their "Official Language" does not include those persons who have indicated that their language is both English and French (35 percent, see Table 1).

This pattern of language that exists in Lachute is more meaningful when related to the larger context. Lachute does not exist in a vaccum. For Lachute and other centers of Quebec in the Bilingual Belt, a pattern noted by Joy developed over the years. He points out that,

> Sixty years after the end of the French rule, Quebec was English-speaking to a degree hardly imaginable today. The French-speaking population of the colony, numbered less than half a million and were almost all living along the St. Lawrence while those of British origin were an indisputed majority in the Eastern Townships, the Ottawa Valley and at Montreal (Joy, 1972: 85).

Changes in population, in Lachute as elsewhere, are a function of three basic factors, migration, mortality, and fertility. Fluctuations in migration patterns are a consequence of many complex interrelated economic and political processes such as wars, depressions, as well as technology. In spite of great expectations with respect to the development of Lachute this just did not materialize.

> In the 1880s, with the tremendous upsurge of business and population, it was confidently predicted that Lachute would soon rival Montreal in importance. In those days, it had two great advantages, water power at the Falls, and a location on the only railroad linking Montreal and Ottawa. In 1898, it lost the one by the construction of the 'Short Route' on the south side of the Ottawa River and it lost the other when water power began to drive the wheels of industry through the medium of electricity. In the 20s it was again predicted that if the power of the Long Sault Rapids on the Ottawa could be harnessed, the electricity generated would presage a great influx of industries into the St. Andrews-Lachute area. This has now come to pass, but ironically, all the electricity has been requisitioned to feed power-hungry Montreal (Rigby, 1964: 173).

The growth of large urban centers, such as Montreal with its tremendous needs of power, both electric and human, had its impact on the predominately rural areas. This was the case in Lachute, a very small urban core in a large rural field. Kolbach (1971: 241) further points out the trend throughout Canada of the decline in importance of primary occupations between 1901 and 1961, and the emergence of white-collar workers as the dominant occupational category, a trend which certainly coincides with the industrial-technological urbanization of large centers, and the move of labour into the big cities.

TABLE 4

POPULATION, LACHUTE, 1971, REPORTED OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MOTHER TONGUE, ETHNIC GROUP, LANGUAGE MOST OFTEN SPOKEN AT HOME

	Total	English		French		Other	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Official Language (1)	11,790	1350	11.2	6325	54.0	5	-
Mother Tongue (2)	11,810	2265	19.2	9425	80.0	120	1.0
Ethnic Group (3)	11,785	2180	18.5	9400	79.8	205	2.0
Language Most Often Spoken at Home (4)	11,790	2275	19.3	9470	80.3	103	1.0

Note:

Definitions used by the Census on Language categories are discussed in the chapter on Methods. For "Official Language", the Census provides data for persons using "Both" English and French. In 1971, 4125 persons (35 percent) of the total report using English and French. For the category "Ethnic Group", the Census refers to "English", as British Isles.

The difference in totals for the various categories is due to difficulties in the survey approach. There are a number of persons either away from home when the interviewer calls or, for the self-report style used in 1971, a number of persons do not return the questionnaire.

Source: (1) Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-726, Bulletin 1.3-5, August 1973.

(2) Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-773, Bulletin SP-3, December 1972.

(3) Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-774, Bulletin SP-4, May 1974.

(4) Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-726, Bulletin 1.3-5, August 1973.

It has been noted that today the Francophone population of Lachute is the undisputed majority numerically. In Montreal, too, English-speaking citizens are no longer the majority as they were in 1865 (Joy, 1972: 85).[27] According to Joy's recent calculations (1975: 4,5), five out of six persons in northern and eastern part of Quebec province reported that they were unilingual Francophones (82.7 percent of the total population). In the southern and western region of the province 46.9 percent of the population are reported as unilingual Francophones. As Joy indicates,

> The interior of Quebec is overwhelmingly French, by all three criteria, and it should be noted that this is the only region in which the number of persons of English mother tongue is less than the number who reported British origin. . . . In the south and west of Quebec, the French language is perhaps not as strong

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[27] Joy reports (1972: 104) that "During the period 1830-1865, citizens of British origins were in the majority at Montreal and the Census of 1851 found only 26,020 French-Canadians among a total population of 57,715. . . ." However, "Between 1851 and 1871, the relative strengths of the two language groups reversed completely; by 1901, almost two-thirds of Monteal's citizens were French-speaking. For the year 1971, 23.7 percent (Mother Tongue) reported English-speaking; 61.2 percent, French-speaking (Quebec, Gendron, Book III, 1973).

> as in the northeast, but it is still able to hold its own and even to make some net gains from the other ethnic groups (1975: 6).[28]

This is evident in the case of Lachute. Furthermore, if one uses the year 1971 as a reference point, a measure of language retention can be obtained for heuristic purposes by calculating the proportion of those who report French or English as their "Mother Tongue" relative to the total reporting French or English origins.[29] A "language retention index" can be obtained thus, (Table 5) for 1971, which indicates 100 percent retention for the French and 93.7 percent for the English.

On the other hand, Lachute and its surrounding region differs significantly from that of Montreal or the northeast region of the Province. With regard to "Mother Tongue", both in Lachute and in the Province as a whole, 80 percent of the population registered as French, whereas in Montreal only 61.2 percent registered as French (Quebec, Gendron Report, Book III: 154; Joy, 1975: 8). Montreal has a larger proportion of persons with English as "Mother Tongue" than either Lachute City or Quebec Province (23.7 percent; 19.2 percent; and 13.1 porcent respectively).

This points to another significant difference in

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[28] The criterion Joy refers to are Mother Tongue, French Origin, and Language Use At Home.

[29] See the Dunton-Laurendeau Report, Book I, 1967, p. 33. It is regrettable that there are no comparative data for previous years.

TABLE 5

LANGUAGE RETENTION INDEX--LACHUTE, 1971

	French Origin		French Mother Tongue		Retention Index
Total N.		%	Total N.	%	
9400		79.8	9425	80.0	100.3
	English Origin		English Mother Tongue		Retention Index
1552		20.5	2265	19.2	93.7

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-774, Bulletin SP-4, May 1974; Catalogue 92-773, Bulletin SP-3, December 1972.

Lachute, and in the Province in comparison to Montréal with regard to "Others". This is represented in Table 6. In Lachute, there is only 1 percent of the population who have as their "Mother Tongue" a language "Other" than English or French. In the province as a whole the category of "Others" is 6.2 percent, and in Montreal, this is 15.1 percent. In most recent times conflict over this population of "Others" has come to the fore and the question as to which lingual group persons whose language is "Other" than English and French will be aligned has been fraught with much conten-

tion. In Lachute, there is no group of "Others" that is of significance in numerical terms. Whether or not this makes a difference in a conflict situation is an empirical question.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS REPORTING MOTHER TONGUE, FRENCH, ENGLISH OR OTHER FOR LACHUTE, MONTREAL, QUEBEC PROVINCE, 1971

	French	English	Other
Lachute	80.0	19.2	1.0
Montreal	61.2	23.7	15.1
Quebec Province	80.7	13.1	6.2

Source: Quebec, Gendron Report, Book III, p. 153; Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-772, Bulletin SP-3, December, 1972; Joy, 1975: 8.

In this chapter the use of census and comparative data has provided a basis for a linguistic profile of Lachute City. Important distinctions at this local level become evident, and broad generalizations with regard to language trends and patterns are brought into question. What is true of Montreal, or of the Province of Quebec as a whole is not necessarily generalizable to specific locales such as Lachute. It is at the local level, where people live and interact on a daily basis. Vallee and Dufour

assert,

> . . . an objective assessment of what is likely to happen to the French Fact in the Bilingual Belt cannot be based simply on census data on language usage and on vital statistics. Such an assessment must also take into account what is happening in the realm of institutions which have important effects on the lives of people (1975: 13).

For that matter, an objective assessment of what is likely to happen to the French Fact or to Quebec's Forgotten Fifth,[30] cannot be based simply on "census data, language usage, or vital statistics". It is with this understanding that community activities, and the bonds of solidarity and interaction are examined in the following chapters.

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[30] Joy refers to the English-speaking minority in Quebec as "Quebec's Forgotten Fifth". At the time of Confederation the non-French represented at least one-fifth of the total population (1972: 97).

CHAPTER V

Community Activities, Then and Now--Work, Church, Voluntary Association, Media, School

This chapter surveys the various activities of people living in the Lachute community in interaction with each other over the years. These activities have culminated in a proliferation of economic and political organizations, primary institutions such as church and school, and numerous fraternal, social, cultural, and leisure associations. Everett C. Hughes remarked some years ago that,

> Differences of language and religion between the French and English are the most obvious reasons why some of the communal institutions of either group are not acceptable to the other. Important as these factors are, they are but expressions of the existence of two consciously separate groups, each which has many usages and sentiments not shared by the other (1943: 84).

This remains valid in the analysis of the interaction patterns of the Lachute population over the years. In examining such community activities as work, church, voluntary association, and school in this study, the main focus is on the dimension of language and the extent to which it serves as a cohesive or separating force. In other words, within the geographic bounds of a community

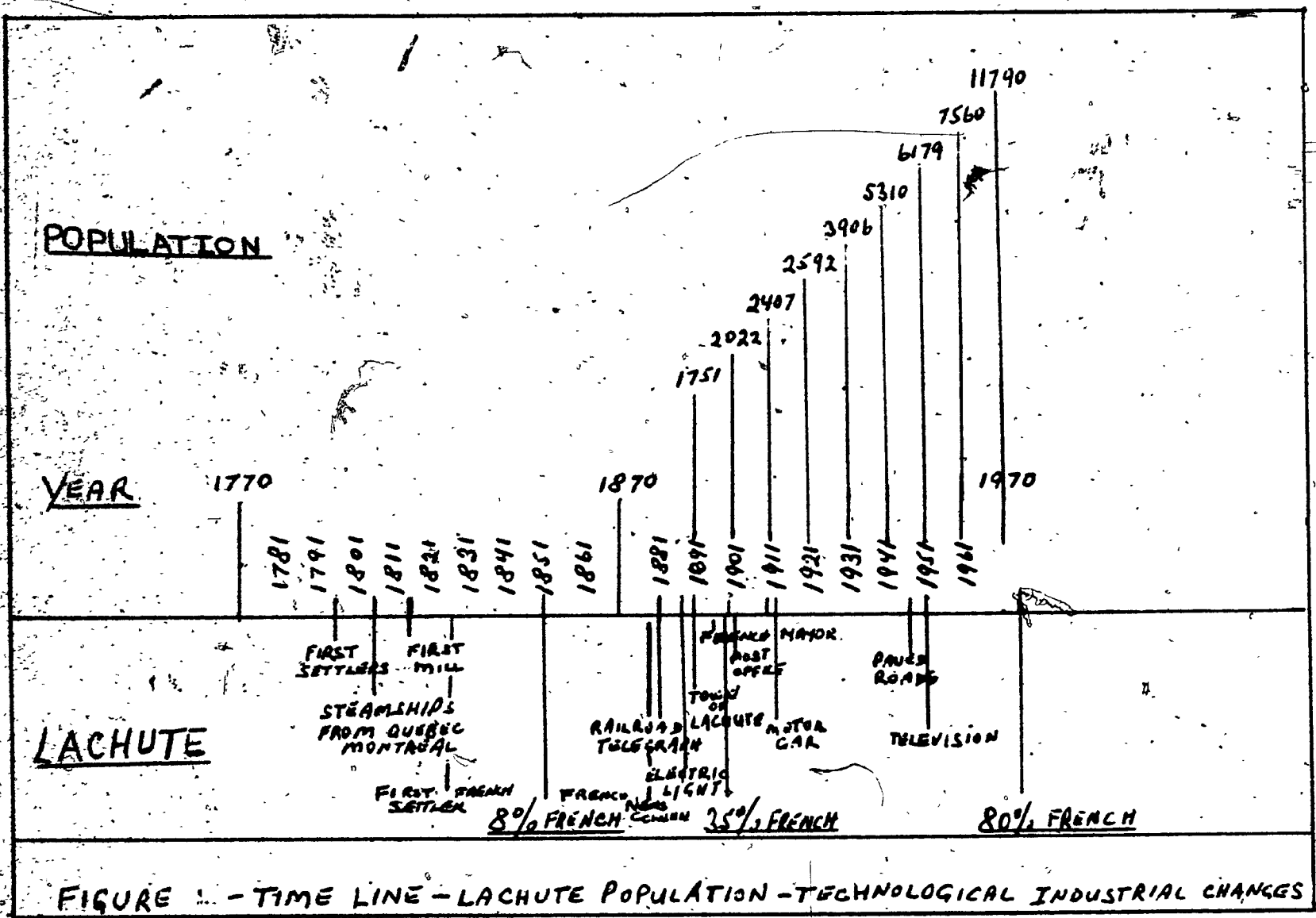

FIGURE 1 - TIME LINE - LACHUTE POPULATION - TECHNOLOGICAL INDUSTRIAL CHANGES

such as Lachute where two language groups have a history of contact, are various community activities marked by separation along linguistic lines, and conversely, at which point is there convergence? What differences, if any, between the two groups may be accounted for by virtue of language differences? These questions have guided this study of Lachute's community activities.

In review, the development of the City of Lachute has been as much a function of natural resources, personal enterprise, hard work and initiative as co-operative activities and endeavor. Lachute has also been affected by the scientific-technological changes that have taken place in the Province and the Country at large (See Figure 1).

In the first years of the settlement in Lachute, the introduction of the Scottish plough, which replaced the old hog plough, made great improvements in farming and a dependable food supply possible. The nomadic pattern of the first people to the Lachute area changed. The introduction to the area of tools and machines clearly had its impact. There was no actual Lachute settlement before the Lachute mill was built in 1818. From that point, a range of manufactures were developed. During the later part of the nineteenth century there was a proliferation of grist mills, sawmills, carding mills, as well as other industries such as shoe-making, carpentry, and needlework. The impetus, though, to the flourishing of the tiny "Chute" settlement was the railroad and the establishment of the

textile and paper industries. The peak of Lachute's growth was at the turn of the century. There was great activity in the twenty-five years from 1876 to 1900, and evidence of decline thereafter.

Scientific invention not only brought with it changes of implements and machinery, but improvements in mass communication processes. In the early years, communication flowing in and out of Lachute was long and arduous. In the early 1800s it took hardy souls two to three days to walk to Montreal. A line of covered stages drawn by four horses made two trips a week, with the driver carrying the mail in his hat. By 1900, a post office was established with Lachute. Around 1910, the motor car replaced the horse-driven vehicles, and it is reported that,

> . . . there were several incidents of ladies sedately riding in carriages being unceremoniously precipitated into the road because a motor car had terrified their horses (Rigby: 107).

In 1945, there were only two streets in Lachute that had asphalt surfaces, Main Street and Bethany. By 1959, all the residential streets were paved and laid out with water, sewage, and sidewalks. As one resident remarked,

> The better road system changed things. People are not so isolated (Interview: 740513F).

There still continue to be changes in the network of roads and highways and greater access in and out of Lachine. The

proximity of the new airport and Autoroute 50 brings Lachute into closer contact with the major centers such as Montreal and Ottawa.

The extension of the means of transportation, and hydro-electric power paralleled the revolution in industry. In 1885, electric light was first introduced to Lachute, and the impact has been described as sensational. Perhaps it is difficult to imagine but,

> In 1880, it was dangerous to walk in Lachute at night for the only illumination was that from the windows and doors of houses and taverns. Mrs. T. Jackson and Mrs. St. Quentin on their way from a prayer meeting lost their sense of direction in the dark and walked into the river, but still the town provided no oil lamps (Rigby: 67).

Telegraph came at the time of the railroads in 1881; and telephone in 1885. The television era, which came to Lachute in 1951, has further altered traditional communication networks. News from around the world is as instantly relayed to the television in the farmhouse as to the apartment in Westmount Square. Old dichotomies of rural and urban were shattered.

> In 1955, the newest form of transport came to Lachute, when work began on Ayers landing strip and this was made an International Airport in 1956 (Rigby, 1964: 156).

Instant communication and airways collapse old categories of time and place. Old patterns of language use are shattered too. The predominance of the English language in

Lachute at the turn of the century is no longer. The use of the French language now prevails.

Work

It is significant to note that English was the language of the early industrial elite in Lachute. As Lachute developed from an agricultural settlement to a fully developed town with an expanding industrial base, there was an increase in population, particularly French-speaking population. This is a familiar pattern which was also observed by Hughes. Everett C. Hughes might well have been speaking of Lachute when he wrote some years ago,

> . . . whenever in the past, there has been industry, English people have had an important hand in it. From time to time in the latter half of the nineteenth century English-speaking entrepreneurs established industries which made the town grow. But the growth was always French rather than English (1934: 31).

English-speaking entrepreneurs created the economic basis of the community in the early years. Rigby reports,

> Between 1874 and 1876, two factors of the greatest significance occurred to Lachute, firstly the railroad from Montreal was being laid and secondly two gentlemen named Felix Hamelin and Thomas Ayers were surveying the district with a view to starting a woolen mill (Rigby, 1964: 60).

In 1879, the first woolen mill was built by Ayers and Hamelin. The Ayers who had emigrated from Cornwall, England

were soon producing a variety of tweeds, flannels, and blankets.[30] By the turn of the century Lachute's first paper mill was founded by J. C. Wilson from Ireland. In later years, even though these companies expanded, ownership remained in English hands. Wilson paper mills was amalgamated with the Ratcliff Paper Company of Toronto in 1948. The Dominion Cartridge Company was set up in 1885 when A. L. "Gat" Howard came to Canada from New Haven, Connecticut and persuaded the Canadian Government to set up an ammunition plant. In 1910, Nobel of Britain and DuPont of the United States became principal shareholders of Lachute Dominion Cartridge (CIL-Brownsburg). La Compagnie General de Radiologie (CGR), one of Lachute's newest industries, reflects the growth and development of Francophone interests. Its parent company is CGR, Paris. Nevertheless, as Table 7 indicates, the three largest industries in Lachute and immediate area in terms of numbers of employees are, CIL Brownsburg, Canadian Refractories, and Ayers.[31]

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30 "It is noted by Rigby that, "At first, blankets and felts were traded for farm products, mostly wool, but business grew and in 1857, a large four-storey woolen mill was built--which doubled the capacity of the old mill. . . . In 1871, T. H. Ayers married Miss Olive Paquette and when he decided on his new venture to manufacture felts for the rapidly growing paper industry, his wife found out how to splice the felts which was a closely guarded trade secret of the feltmakers in England (1964) 73).

31 See Appendix I for data on Occupations and Industry Divisions in Lachute.

TABLE 7

MAIN INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYERS, LACHUTE, 1973

Employer	Type	Employees		
		M	F	T
Ayers Ltd.	textile	300	75	375
Price Wilson Ltd.	paper	243	90	333
Scierie Carrier Lachute Lumber Co. Ltd.	wood	103	23	126
Lowe Dairy Ltd.	milk and plastic bottles	41	5	46
Goodman-Staniforth	wood	42	97	139
Whissel Inc.	concrete products	49	3	52
Mackimmnie, J. P. & Sons	bottling works	44	1	45
C & G Ltd.	ladies wear	1	58	59
Giles Publishing Inc.	printing	9	8	17
Orange Crush Lachute Ltee.	bottling works	7	1	8
Desjardins Transport Ltee.	trucking	18	-	18
Barson Products Ltee.	soaps and detergents	7	2	9
Tower Co.	pre-fab houses	14	-	14
Thundercraft Industries	plastic fiber-glass boats			10
Electromould Engineering Ltd.	nickel alloy moulds for plastic boots			60
CGR (Canada) Ltd.	X-ray tubes and other medical equipment			120

TABLE 7--Continued

Employer	Type	Employees M	F	T
B. M. Aviation Ltd.*	airplane repair			
General Magnetic Products Ltd.	electronic and electric components			100
CIL-Brownsburg	ammunition	657	360	1017
Canadian Refractories - Marelan & Kilmar	bricks	580	20	600
C. G. E. - St. Andrews	plastics	9	7	102
General Magnetic Products - Grenville	precision instruments	15	90	105

Note:* The number of employers at B. M. Aviation was not given.

Sources: Lachute Economic Survey, 1974 (Revised May, 1974).

With regard to the language of work, the use of the English language coincides with the ownership of the means and forces of production of Lachute's three prime industries, Ayers, Price Wilson and CIL-Brownsburg. In general, French language use predominates in the labour force by virtue of the French population's numerical strength. This situation is analogous in its general terms to Hughes' "Cantonville". In his assessment,

> In Cantonville's major industires the English hold all positions of great authority and perform all functions requiring advanced technical training. They are in the majority in the middle and minor executive positions numerous among the clerical workers and skilled mechanics, less so among skilled operating hands, and hard to find among the semiskilled and unskilled help. Altogether, they form but a small minority of all persons employed in industry--so small, in fact, that if they were proportionately distributed among all ranks and specialties they would be scarcely noticeable. It is their concentration in certain ranks that makes them of importance.
>
> The French constitute a large majority of all persons employed in industry. In the ranks of labour they predominate most strongly. They thin out as one goes in from the shop to the office, and eventually disappear as one goes up the authority scale (1943: 46).

One particular distinction in Lachute is noted in a recent survey. In general, the French and English populations use both languages at work. CESAM reports that,

> Pour la majorité des anglophones et des francophones la langue de travail est le français et l'anglais. Quant à ceux qui ne font usage que d'une seule langue au travail, pour les francophones c'est le français et pour les anglophones c'est l'anglais. Il n'y a pas proportionnellement un plus grand nombre de francophones qui doivent parler anglais seulement que d'anglophones qui doivent parler français seulement du travail (Lachute, CESAM, 1974: 30).

As Table 8 indicates, 45 percent of the Francophones use "French Only", 1 percent use "English Only", and 54 percent use "Both". For the Anglophones, 20 percent use "English Only", 2 percent, "French Only", and 78 percent use "Both". There is a higher percentage of Anglophones who use English and French, than Francophones who use French and English in their work. A very small percentage of Francophones use "English Only" (2 persons); likewise, a very small percent-

age of Anglophones use "French Only" (2 percent).

TABLE 8

LANGUAGE OF WORK, FRENCH, ENGLISH, LACHUTE REGION, DISTRIBUTION IN PERCENT

	Language Used		
	French	English	French and English
	%	%	%
Lachute Region Francophones	45	1	54
Lachute Region Anglophones	2	20	78

Source: Lachute, CESAM, 1974, p. 30.

Another distinction between the French and English with respect to work is a difference in active labour force. According to the CESAM survey,

> Il y a des differences significatives entre les anglophones et les francophones pour la population active. 59.9% de la population francophone est active contre 43.5% de la population anglophone (Lachute, CESAM, 1973: 33).[32]

[32] In Lachute, the total labour force is given as [illegible],480 male and female over 15 years of age, with a participation rate of [illegible] percent. ([illegible] is the total given for [illegible] of Canada, 1971, Catalogue [illegible], November 1974).

This means that among Francophones active participation is higher than among Anglophones by 16.4 percent. In addition, the Francophone population is younger than the Anglophone population. The study reports,

> Il y a proportionnellment plus de francophones qui se situent entre 18 a 35 ans et, beaucoup plus d'anglophones entre 36 et 45 ans. La moyenne d'age "estimée" est de 40.0 pour les francophones et de 46.7 ans pour les anglophones (Lachute, CESAM, 1974: 13).

Secondly, there is a difference between the Francophone and Anglophone groups with respect to retirement. This is realted to the age factor. There is 7 percent of the total Francophone population retired; and 19 percent of the Anglophone population.

Differences in two commonly used indicators of socio-economic status, education and income, for Francophone and Anglophone populations are also to be noted. Income levels are typical of the trend in the Province, in the respect that the Anglophone average estimated income is higher ($7543) than the Francophone level ($6973). With respect to education, CESAM report indicates,

> Les différences ne sont pas importantes entre la proportion des Anglophones et des Francophones pour les niveaux secondaire 1er cycle et collegial mais elles le sont aux niveaux elementaire, secondaire 2e cycle et universitaire. Il est a noter que proportionnellement moins d'anglophones que de

> francophones ont termine--a l'elementaire alors que l'inverse se produit aux niveaux secondaire 2e cycle et universitaire (Lachute, CESAM, 1974: 30).

A discrepancy appears in both aspects of socio-economic status, income and education, for the Francophones and Anglophones. Both aspects are higher for the Anglophones, income and education level.

Hughes has touched on another aspect of the dynamics of language use within a work situation. He points out that,

> The executive and technical language of industry in our community is English. Since in addition, the persons in authority are English, it is but natural that English should percolate downward among the French workers. The pressure is on the subordinate, whose mother-tongue is French rather than upon the superior, whose language is English (1943: 82).

The pressure has been on the Francophone to use English in the English milieu. This kind of situation existed in Lachute and is exemplified by one respondent's expression. He relates,

> I used to work for CIL in Brownsburg. I was a chemist. My boss you know, was English. I had many reports to make, and naturally I could explain things much better in French. So I once asked him why I couldn't make my reports in French. He said, "Don't you start going for that here" (Interview: 740524L).

There is evidence that this situation is changing. It is pertinent to note that CIL has now proposed to be one of the first companies to implement Bill 22. The weekly journal reported,

> C'est à la compagnie CIL, le plus important fabricant de produits chimique au Canada que revient l'honneur d'avoir été la première entreprise a prendre contact avec la nouvelle Régie de la langue français. . . . La CIL attache la plus haute importance à la planification tout aussi bien de l'implantation du français que de son activité commerciale ou son avancement technologique (L'Argenteuil [Lachute], 14 August 1974).

A particular configuration of language use in work forms as a result of these findings. English remains the language for the few at the industrial hierarchical top. A small percentage of Anglophones (20 percent) use "English Only" in their work. Over seventy-five percent of the English population use both languages. There are fewer English in the active labour force; more are retired, and the income average is higher for the English-speaking population.

Numerical strength is a factor in language use for the majority of the Francophone populatien in their work. Relative to the "English Only" language use, French unilingual use is double. In recent years there has been great pride in and encouragement of the development of industries with Francophone ownership. Efforts at implementing French as the language of work since the new legislation are in process. However, average income levels remain lower for the Francophone population.

Some implications may be drawn for French-English relations in the domain of work. They center around these key aspects, (1) an Anglophone industrial elite, (2) higher Anglophone socio-economic status, and (3) a smaller Anglo-

phone active labour force.

The language of ownership in the three largest companies is English. As an industrial elite this core is in a position to monopolize economic advantages for the English and effect community closure. Job opportunities for top managerial positions are in fact held by Anglophones. The higher income and education levels are a good indicator of effective monopolization of economic resources. There are more elderly Anglophones, and more who are retired. This, too, is some indication of the ability of the Anglophones to attain resources so that retirement is possible. The fact that 20 percent of the English population continues to use "English Only" in the work world is a further indication of the independence of the English ethnic community, despite their minority position numerically.

Aside from the fact of English industrial ownership, the bulk of the rank and file workers is Francophone. Two of the three largest companies have head offices in Toronto (Price Wilson) or in the United States and Britain (CIL), both English-speaking corporations. This means that there is the probability that decisions affecting the local companies are often made outside of Lachute by persons who do not share the same language, the same world view, the same heritage, and religion, as the majority

working at the local level. The interest of the owners is not the interest of the workers generally. Absentee ownership would exacerbate the situation.

The situation is particularly complex. A double class structure exists.[33] Not only is there a language barrier between owner and worker, but also between worker and worker. There are Francophone unions and Anglophone unions each competing over scarce opportunities and scarce resources. Conflicts over language tend to obscure the underlying basis of exploitation. Instead of class antagonisms, we have ethnic group antagonisms. Language as a mark of an ethnic group is used as a pretext to monopolize resources. Language differences are being used by both ethnic communities: the English to maintain the two-hundred years advantage; the French, to redress the imbalance of a dominant Anglophone minority, and to effect community closure by gaining economic resources.

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[33] Bourque and Laurin-Frenette discuss the relation between social class and the national question. They assert that, "The colonial situation of Quebec brought about the formation of two diversified and potentially antagonistic structures: class and nation. . . . The concept of ethnic class therefore cannot explain Quebec history; it merely serves as ideological coating for the independent struggle led by a new faction of the petite bourgeoisie. The nation--is the effect of certain economic, political, and ideological features of the structure of the capitalist mode of production. It therefore follows that when we make use of the concept of nation, we are referring to a class structure. . . . An ethnic group forming a single dominated social class cannot therefore constitute a nation" (1972: 192).

Church

While all industrial-economic activities constitute a single market system, "the two great separate institutions are the schools and churches. . . . The churches well illustrate the nature of the institutional divisions" (Hughes, 1943: 85) both in Cantonville in years past and in Lachute today. Religious differences cut deep cleavages in society, generally, drawing together people who share common beliefs, values, rites and rituals, and drawing apart those who do not. Religion serves group solidarity providing a "mutual orientation to social action" and sharply demarcating "others". Where language coincides with religion divisive lines are solidified. In Quebec and in Lachute, it is a fact of history that for the majority, the French language coincides with the Catholicism. There are small groups of English Catholic and French Protestant which modify the strict lines of cleavage.

Census data presented in Table 9 which indicates the pattern of religious affiliation in 1971, registers 9645 persons (81.8 percent) of the population as Roman Catholic. Historically, most of the early Roman Catholics were Irish. In 1829, there were 14 Catholic families in Chatham and Lachute. In 1822, St. Andrews was made a parish which embraced the entire Seigniory, and in 1852 the parish of St. Jerusalem was created out of St. Andrews. This covered the entire Lachute settlement. The Immaculate Conception, begun in Chatham in the mid-eighteen hundreds, formed the nucleus of the French town of Ayersville which has now become integrated with Lachute City. At present

TABLE 9

POPULATION, LACHUTE 1971, RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

	Total	Percent
Total Population	11,790	
Anglican	470	3.9
Baptist	245	2.0
Lutheran	5	-
Presbyterian	295	2.5
Roman Catholic	9,645	81.8
Salvation Army	5	-
Ukrainian (Greek Catholic)	30	.2
United Church of Canada	880	7.4
Other	115	.9
No Religion	85	.7
No Response	40	.3

Source: Canadian Census, 1971, Catalogue 92-775, Bulletin, SP.

there are three Catholic parishes, as well as a pilgrimage Shrine, the Lachute Grotto of Lourdes, serving both the Francophone and Anglophone Catholics. In Lachute, a Roman Catholic Anglophone priest serves the Anglophone Catholic congregation, in church services and in religious instruc-

tion in the secondary school. In one of the larger Catholic churches, one English mass and five French masses are held at different times. English and French is used alternately in other situations. For example, on 26 November 1974 "Près de 3000 diocesains participent du couronnement de l'Année Sainte. . . . Les lectures ont alterné en français et en anglais (L'Argenteuil [Lachute],4 December 1974).

From the beginning neither isolation nor rough terrain did deter the establishment of separate denominations. An account by a young lay missionary provides an insight into the various ecclesiastic enclaves.

> . . . while waiting for ordination, I was to proceed up the Ottawa to a place called the Gore of Wentworth, near the Village of Lachute, and there do the work of a lay reader. I penetrated into the wilds of Gore, then a very rough settlement inhabited by Irishmen of a pretty rude type, though possessing warm hearts. So primitive was the Gore in those days that I could scarcely obtain a lodging for myself. . . . The church, a plain and unadorned edifice was situated on the shore of a pretty little lake. There was a well attended service every Sunday morning. In the afternoon I went a few miles further through the forest--not always in the same direction--for service in a schoolhouse. This too was well attended. . . . I generally devoted the afternoon to visiting settlers. . . . The Gore men were all, or nearly all, very loyal Orangemen. They told me how, in 1837, they formed a volunteer company and fought for the Crown. In an adjoining township all were Romanists. Fortunately the two places were separated by dense wood for if the opposing parties chanced to meet a conflict was almost inevitable (The Watchman [Lachute], 18 December 1974).

The first American immigrants who came to Lachute were Methodists. In the early years a succession of itinerant Methodist preachers were sent from New York. They

would walk from place to place, L'Orignal, Hawkesbury, and Chatham. Services were first held in barns and then later in school houses. The first Methodist Sunday School started in 1811. Local lay preachers took over when the war of 1812 stopped these missionary preachers from coming. In 1852, the first Methodist Church was built in Lachute. By 1865 Lachute had become head of the Methodist Circuit instead of St. Andrews. Lachute was now the center of Methodist activity. Various Methodist factions decided to unite, and in 1881 a new Methodist Church was built on the site of the present Margaret Rodger Memorial Presbyterian Church. While, throughout Canada, there emerged the movement to unite the Methodist and Presbyterian denominations (this being debated in Toronto as early as 1904), it was not until 1925 that the Methodists and some Presbyterians formed the United Church. Today, United Church members form 7 percent of Lachute population, a total of 880 persons, while Presbyterian affiliation is 2.5 percent, some 295 people.

The majority of the first Scottish settlers were Presbyterian. For a short while and with great reluctance, it was necessary for the Church of England services, led by an Englishman, and the Presbyterian Services led by a Scotsman to share the same school. This was not to the satisfaction of either. The first Presbyterian Church was built in Lachute in 1833, and in the year 1836 the only church in Lachute was the Presbyterian. By 1875, despite

some years of debate and dispute, most Presbyterian bodies were affiliated into the Presbyterian Church in Canada. It was not until 1899 that the Lachute Presbyterian Church united.

Before 1876, there were no Baptist or Anglican Churches in Lachute. It is reported though, that baptisms were being held in the Ottawa River in 1836. The Baptist community had its Church ready for services in 1888. The Baptists form 2 percent (245 people) of Lachute population today, while in the county there is a total of 2305 Baptists.

The first Anglican Church was built in Lachute in 1881. In 1971 there are 470 persons (3.9 percent) who are still affiliated with the Anglican Church.

The pattern of church activity in Lachute, is reminiscent of Everett Hughes' description of Cantonville. Hughes writes that,

> The relative position of French and English just prior to the coming of the new order is reflected in the setting of their churches. St. Andrew's Anglican Church, a century-old stone chapel, nestled, and still nestles, beyond an elm-shaded graveyard whose crumbling stones dimly preserve the names of the founders and early settlers. . . . The huge Roman Catholic Church, St. Luc's faced and still faces boldly upon the public park (1943: 32).

This can be seen in Lachute, too. The Margaret Rodger Memorial Presbyterian Church, the Peoples' Church, the Anglican Church and the Lachute United Church are all on Rue Principale, the main street of business. The Roman

Catholic Church of Ste. Anastasie, large and imposing, was built on Bethany; the St. Julien on Princess Street. Rigby remarks that,

> The curé, the Rev. G. Picotte, proposed the construction of a central church on Main Street near Mary Street but the expense involved was considered too great so a chapel was constructed in the West End in 1916 and dedicated to St. Julien (1964: 116).

The church buildings reflect the English-French settlement pattern and the position of the French in the early years.

While a profile of affiliation can be obtained through census data or historical documents, several respondents in open-ended interviews conveyed that,

> Religion is still a key to understanding the town, its attitudes, its cleavages (Interview 740514D).

This point was emphasized by one of the school administrators who, upon reviewing the questionnaire I wished to administer to students, noticed that a question on the pupil's religion was lacking and strongly recommended its inclusion. He felt that religion continues to play a vital role in this community. On the other hand, there were indications of the opposite sentiment. A Francophone father, coming to register his daughter at the Protestant school, paused when he came to the question of religion on the form. He wished to make it clear that he did not "belong"; that he believed in God and not religion. In the 1971 Census there were 85 persons (.07 percent) who stated "no religion", as well,

40 persons who did not respond, in effect, 1 percent of the population. That there are changes in the importance of the church, as elsewhere in the world, was also conveyed in a conversation by two Francophone Catholic townspeople (Interview: 740823G). One respondent said,

> Respondent a. I used to go to church because my parents went.
>
> Respondent b. At least you knew why you were going. I didn't.
>
> Respondent a. Now, anyway, we don't impose this on our kids. We want them to understand. Ever since the church started changing things, they left it up to us. Well, if they leave it up to people's choice, I'd rather choose anything else to do.

Other changes, too, are indicated with respect to marriage within the faith which undoubtedly has repercussions for language change. One informant whose family was of the first settlers pointed out the many changes within his own family. For example, ten years ago, when a cousin from Montreal married a girl from a different religious background, the family was terribly angered and upset. He now has several cousins who have intermarried. One informant observed that intermarriage in this community was largely people of the same faith but with different language backgrounds. For example, he felt it was more likely that English Catholics intermarry with French Catholic, than English Protestant and French Catholic. While this observation may be in the realm of belief and certainly requires empirical study, an anecdote reported

in the Christmas edition of the local weekly adds to the speculation. The story reported refers back to Thomas Barron, the first Scottish settler in 1809.

> I met a young man recently, an asphalt contractor who lives in Lachute, by the name of Frank Barron. He is a French-Canadian who claims descent from the Barrons of Lachute. . . . The late Mrs. McGregor was a great aunt of Frank Barron's father. He didn't like to see the old home razed to the ground. "But what could I do?" he asked. This man was in the army, and learned his English in an army camp in Ontario.
>
> Sic transeat gloria mundi. In this manner the glory of the world passes away. Even the old home is no more. But once, there was a man who stood about Lachute like a giant, master of all he beheld. He was the baron, the unknighted "Baron of Lachute": Colonel Thomas Barron, 18-- (The Watchman [Lachute], 18 December 1974).

Since the time of Barron there have been many changes and interchanges. Today, it could be entirely erroneous to attempt to identify a person by his name.[34] Intermarriage with the result of altering both religious as well as linguistic boundaries has, no doubt, played its part in the history of intergroup contact and activity here.

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[34] A quantitative assessment of intermarriage is not within the scope of this study.

Religion plays a major role in defining groups. There are the various Protestant denominations, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Anglican, United Church, and Roman Catholics in Lachute. The co-occurrence and overlapping of religion and language strengthens boundary lines. Religion provides the essential ingredients for communal relations and community formation. Solidarity is achieved through the reinforcing of shared beliefs, warm feelings of belonging, through rite and ritual: communion and community.

On the other hand religious affiliation and participation has the potential to overcome linguistic barriers. This is exemplified in Lachute. One of the founding industrial families (the Ayers) is Catholic and has contributed much, both financially and socially, to the modification of the French Catholic-English Protestant dichotomy that is the general pattern.

Voluntary Associations

In Lachute there are a myriad of various types of voluntary associations, social, cultural, sport, charity, and so forth. Some are tied to associations at national or international levels, and some date back to the early years. It has long been remarked that language and ethnic-religious affiliation are chief divisors of associations, and/or cohesive forces. Class status and age are yet other factors. Hughes remains penetrating in his analysis when he suggests that

> One would expect the mixing of people of different ethnic and religious affiliations to be more common in associations which pursue secular interests than those devoted to sentiments. Where the very basis of organization is consensus as to the sacred values, mixing of strangers is scarcely to be though of. But it is not comfortable to mix socially, except on those rare and brief occasions when strangeness adds zest. . . . Easy sociability requires a common sense of what is to be said and what is to be left unsaid. . . . Even when pursuing secular interests--for which conscious agreement is wanted--it is safer to have some consensus about basic sentiments (1943: 123).

Speaking the same language is fundamental to achieving consensus and pursuit of interests. It is no wonder then, in a community where over eighty percent of the population is Francophone that French is the predominant language of use in voluntary associations. Voluntary associations clearly reflect a society's needs, interests, values, aspirations, population characteristics and history. For a selected list and dominant language use, see Table 10.

TABLE 10

ASSOCIATIONS, DOMINANT LANGUAGE USE

Type	French	English
Religious	SPV; Service de Preparation à la Vie	Catholic Women's League
Economic, Political, Mutual Benefit	ACEF; La Federation des Associations Corporative d'economie familial	

TABLE 10--Continued

Type	French	English
Economic, Political, Mutual Benefit	APICA: La Societe Gerante du Parc Industrial et Commercial Aero-portuaire de Mirabel	
	L'APSLL: L'Association des parents Substituts des Laurentides-Lanaudiere	
	CIAC: Comite d'Information et D'Animation	
	L'UPA: Union des Producteurs Agricole	
	Parti Quebecois	Liberal Party
	SAO: La Societe d'amenagement de l'Outaouas	Agricultural Society
	Caisse Populaire	
Patriotic	Chevaliers de Colomb	Orangemen Royal Canadian Legion Army Cadets
Communication	Radio Lachute CJLA L'Argenteuil (Weekly)	Watchman (Weekly)
	Lachute Carrefour du Livre	
Social--Cultural, Sport	Les Ouvroirs	Lions Club
	Club OXUS (gymnase)	4-H Club
	Groupe des Louvateaux	Rotary

TABLE 10--Continued

Type	French	English
Social--Cultural, Sport	Les Boy Scouts	Boy Scouts
	Richelieu Club	Girl Guides
	Shriners	Argenteuil Historical Society
	Argenteuil Art Center	
	L'Institut National Pour Les Aveugles	Shriners
	Snowmobile Club	Frontier Women's Institute
	Hockey	Canadian National Institute for the Blind
	Bowling	
	Golf	Golf
	Club de Judo d'Argenteuil	Branch of Canadian Red Cross
	Lachute Auto Club	
	Curling	Curling
	Les Colibris	Community Concert Society
	Le Club de Patinage Artistique	

Note:

The data on Voluntary Association has been obtained through interviews with various leaders, a person serving as a "judge", and newspaper content analysis. One leader in the community was given a questionnaire which listed a large selected number of associations. He was asked to identify each organization as to type, ethnic affiliation, religious affiliation, and dominant language used. After much deliberation he found he could not put the organizations into these rubrics. The Hockey club exemplifies the problem

Note--Continued (Table 10)
As I have indicated the Charter is written in English; two Board members are English; the Club communications are French. What is needed is an indepth survey of each organization which was not within the scope of this study.

In the early years in Lachute, societies were often church based or church inspired. Language use split generally along confessional lines, with the exception of the population that were English Catholic. The Young People's Christian Endeavor Society founded by the Methodist Church in 1895, and the Lachute Branch of the Montreal Auxiliary Bible Society of 1896, are exemplary. The Women's Christian Temperance Union and other temperance societies developed to "dampen the spirits of liquor" and became quite influential. Rigby writes that,

> There were a number of influential people in the parish who were opposed to liquor; in fact the town seemed to be sharply divided into total abstainers and habitual drunkards who made themselves a nuisance to everyone. . . . One of the contentious issues was that alcoholic beverages were sold by the licensees on Sundays. . . . Mayor Bedard said that no licensees complied with the law by not selling on Sunday. In 1900, there was a disorderly brawl at the one-time stronghold of temperance, the Victoria Hall which prompted Father Carrière to preach a sermon in the Catholic Church on the excessive drunkenness in the town caused by liquor being sold during prohibited hours (Rigby, 1964: 58, 90).

It appears that a predilection for drink blurs linguistic-religious lines, as well as the senses. Notwithstanding, the early Lachute English settlement brought into being a number of English Protestant organizations over the years that remain. Bible classes and church choirs continue to

be active in both Catholic and Protestant sectors, each in their own habitual language. Church auxiliaries also continue along language lines, with the exception of the Catholic Women's League which is largely Anglophone. In the French community, the SPV, Service de Preparation a la Vie is an organization for the enhancement of a Christian way of life, and for those desiring communal and community-sharing experiences.

Closely related to religious activities are various charity and mutual aid societies. The Rotary Club and the Richelieu Club have served the community for many years. As early as 1813, a Masonic Lodge was organized, and the Masonic Brethren opened their own hall in 1957. The Lions Club which celebrated its fortieth anniversary in 1974, remains predominately English. There are also a number of organizations that are national in scope whose prime function is fund-raising. There are chapters in Lachute of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind--L'Institut National Canadien pour les Aveugles and Le Societe Canadienne du Cancer to name just two. French use is prevalent in these associations, as it is in the government sponsored social services, such as the Centre Socio-Familial Laurentian. Les Ouvroirs, though non-sectarian as are the government services, represents French ladies who do work for the poor in Lachute.

Language sharply demarcates fraternal associations.

Ethnic and religious affiliation correlate with the linguistic cleavage. Associations of this nature in Lachute are the Orangemen, and the St. Jean Baptiste Society. As early as 1882, there were two Lachute Orangemen lodges who amalgamated. Named after William III of England, Prince of Orange, the Orangemen formed a secrat society in Northern Ireland in 1795, to support Protestanism. These staunch Anglophone Protestants continue to meet socially and enjoy such games as military whist. Most members are of the older generation, and are not attracting new younger members. At the other polar extreme, the French Catholics have a St. Jean Baptiste society which dates back to 1909 in Lachute. In 1914 the social club "Le Rendez-vous de Chevaliers" was organized by members of the French community. Today, there is an association of Chevaliers de Colomb.

One of Lachute's first associations, the Agricultural Society, has functioned since 1825 to promote interest in agriculture. Before 1876, it was the only society of note. Its language use pattern clearly reflects the demographic changes that have taken place over the years. Though in the beginning English was the predominant language of use, today it is French. Anglophone and Francophone members marked the 150th anniversary of the society in June 1975. There were the usual exhibits, contests and prizes for the best calves, marmalade, quilting, the longest beard, and best salad tosser. The threat of a rain storm did not deter the huge crowds who came to enjoy the Demolition

Derby and the motorcycle slalom races on the Saturday evening of the fair. The 30-odd rides of the new midway "Spectacular Amusements", a Hull operation, attracted a throng of people of all ages. What was more amazing than the speed of the mini-roller coaster was the speed with which some of the barkers switched their calls from French to Enlgish and vice-versa. The fair is a great attraction for all in Lachute and the surrounding region.

In the leisure and interest area of community activities there is a variety of cultural and sports oriented groups, clubs and associations. Activities in the cultural and leisure realm appear to be numerous, yet a recent survey (Lachute, CESAM, 1974: 92-105) indicates that the majority of the people of Lachute and surrounding region do not know of the recreational services available. Just about 55 percent of the Lachute population did not know at all of the recreation services in the community; about 35 percent knew a little; about 15 percent, well; and only about 5 percent very well. Most of the people indicated that they engaged in activities that were labelled as personal, such as lectures and movies. Of the adult population, 23 percent is engaged in organized sports activities, and another 23 percent in social clubs and associations. There are a myriad of cultural activities, music, theater, ballet and sport that are organized by both English and French groups. The pattern of language use has reflected the general population characteristics.

For example, in the late 1800s there was both a French and an English band organized. As Rigby records,

> For festive occasions, Lachute had organized a pipe and drum band as early as 1877 under John Calder, containing 9 pipes, a snare drum and a triangle. They practised assiduously in the West End, "making the night hideous or melodious according to one's musical taste. . . ." In 1896, J. E. Valois organized the Argenteuil Brass Band. . . . This was mainly for the French-Canadian Community (1964: 90, 91).

Today there is a very popular majorette group "Les Colibris". Their language use is entirely French.

Sports activities, for the most part, are organized by the city. While all sports activities are open to all citizens, the language of use is now predominately French. Crossing language lines is Lachute's golf and country club which attracts players and tourists from all over the world. There is also an interesting mixture of the language use in many of the associations. The hockey organization serves to exemplify the situation. The constitution of the hockey organization is English; two of its board members are English; French, however, is the language of all its communication. Language policy on the part of officials is to respond in the language that the communication is sent. The attempt is made to give job preference to bilingual instructors that are hired by the city for its varied sports programs.

Media

The availability of French language or English

language newspapers, radio, and television is an important feature of ethnic community solidarity and organizational capacity. Various media serve to reinforce language use, as well as to develop common interests and a basis for a "mutual orientation to social action". Media reflects and forms opinion; as such it is a means of community control.

There are two local weekly newspapers in Lachute; one in the French language and one in Enlgish. The English language "Argenteuil Advertiser" was initiated by Hickson in 1872. After 1879, a news column in French was inserted regularly in "The Watchman". Since 1897, "The Watchman", run by the Giles family has remained the only local English language weekly. It was only in 1952 that the French weekly "L'Argenteuil" was first published. Other local French publications, the "Courrier de Lachute", and the "Courrier d'Argenteuil" (1935) circulated for short times. It is notable that the survey (Lachute, CESAM; 1974) reports that, in general, the two weeklies please their readers to a great extent; that is, 89 percent of the population are pleased with L'Argenteuil, and 99 percent with the Watchman. Aside from the local weekly news, both French and English daily newspapers and journals arrive from Montreal, Hull, and Ottawa. In examining differences between the Anglophone and Francophone population, proportionally more time is spent reading on the part of the Anglophone population than that of the Francophone. However, when it comes to using library services a much larger proportion of Francophones (approx. 18 per-

cent) use the library than Anglophones (approx. 8 percent).

The radio and television are important media for Lachute and region. Approximately 81 percent of the population listen to the radio daily (90 percent for news; 88 percent for music). A local French-language radio station was just newly instituted in December 1974. Ontario, United States as well as Canadian television channels are received in Lachute.

In the municipal government, French is the language-in-use though the mayor and staff are bilingual.[34] The practice of alternating English-speaking and French-speaking mayors ceased since 1964. At the turn of the century, "English Only" mayors were in office. The pattern is consistent with the demographic changes: First, English Only; then, French alternating with English; now, "French Only". Perhaps symbolic of the trend in language use in Lachute City is the blue and white of the fleur-de-lis flag atop the city-hall building. In the year 1955,

> . . . At one of the first functions of the new town hall, a controversy arose as to which flag to fly and on what occasions. Finally, a compromise was effected by placing three flag pole holders on the building, one for the Red Ensign, one for the Quebec flag and a central one for any flag specific to the occasion (Rigby: 153).

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[34] It may be noted that two of the seven council members are Anglophone. All meetings are generally carried on in French. There will be times when it seems to important issues that the minutes are reiterated in English for the benefit of the Anglophone members.

The flag of Quebec now flies alone.

This section has focussed on the language use in an array of voluntary associations, communication activities and the municipal government. The particular pattern that forms has been of interest. Associative relationships are an important concomitant to community closure (Neuwirth, 1969: 159). Associative relationships, communal and contractual relationships form important interlocking networks of relationships which are instrumental for the monopolization of economic, political and social interests. Business associates, communal associates and interest associates which overlap form bonds of solidity and influence. These associations may also be used to effect interal community controls. We may see this in Lachute if, for example, a leading industrialist is also a brotherhood member of the Church, a member of the golf club, on the hospital board, a president of Cancer Research, a member of Lions Club and so forth.

Language is an important aspect of voluntary associations as,

> Community of language which arises from a similarity of tradition through the family and the surrounding social environment facilitates mutual understanding, and thus the formation of all types of social relationships, in the highest degree. But taken in itself it is not sufficient to constitute a communal relationship, but only for the facilitation of intercourse within groups concerned, thus for the development of associative relationships. If the first place this takes place between individuals, not because they speak the same language, but because they have other types of interests, orientated to the rules of a

> common language is thus primarily important as a means of communication, not as the content of a social relationship. It is only with the emergence of a consciousness of difference from third persons who speak a different language that the fact that two persons speak the same language, and in that respect share a common situation, can lead them to a feeling of community and to modes of organization consciously based on the sharing of the common language (Weber, 1947: 138-139).

Shared interests and values are the bases of associative relationships. Language serves to facilitate the understanding of and the mutual orientation to action. Except for a few "English Only" associations such as the Orangemen, the Canadian Legion, the Frontier Women's Institute, the Lions Club, the Women's Fellowships of St. Simeon's Anglican Church and the like, participation on the part of the English community is low. French is the language in use in associations in Lachute. This reflects the position and strength of the French community today.

School

Schooling in Lachute, as throughout the Province, is marked by a bifurcation along linguistic and confessional lines. The language of instruction coincides with the confessional nature of the schools, in this case, French Catholic and English Protestant. Education in Canada is the responsibility of each province according to the BNA Act of 1867 which legally established the confessional

character of the schools.[35] The heterogeneity of the school system in Quebec Province, based on a tradition of private initiative with an ecclesiastic foundation, stems largely from the decentralization and laissez-faire policy which was desired on the part of both the English and French. Schooling in Lachute reflects these general conditions and policies of the Province as a whole.

1800s

The first school in Lachute, a log building, was constructed in 1801 about half a mile up the river from the falls for twenty to thirty-five pupils. In Lachute, as elsewhere in the Province it was not necessary for teachers to have any qualifications. It was important to maintain discipline, and teach the basic three 'Rs', plus rudimentary geography and grammar. In these early years,

> Text books were very limited and even ink was made at home by boiling the bark of soft maple; turkey or goose quills supplied the pens. . . . The teacher was paid by the scholars' parents and since cash was scarce, it was common to pay a part of the stipend in such produce as wood for heating the school house, and the teacher was provided with free board at one or other of the parents' houses (Rigby, 1964: 29).

By 1829 eighty-four royal schools were established in Lower Canada, one of them in Lachute. Rigby reports that,

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[35] See Appendix 2 for a summary of the history education in Quebec.

> In 1810, at the request of the community, a school just east of the Protestant cemetary was established by the Governor General under the Royal Institution with J. D. Ely to teach at a salary of 60 (pounds) annum which was supplemented by fees to 100 (pounds) annum (1964: 29).

From the time of Confederation to the present, school expansion in Lachute coincided with the industrial development and general population growth. For the Protestants, Lachute Academy was founded in 1853. It began when,

> The Rev. Thomas Henry, being interested in education started classes for higher education in his own house but these were so popular that he moved them to the basement of the brick church of which he was a pastor. At a public meeting in 1853, parents were so appreciative of Henry's attempts in the realm of higher education that they established a "superior" school . . . and thus a new school, "The Lachute Academy" came into being (Rigby, 1964: 53).

Those were the "good old days" when "some teachers gave their time voluntarily so that the total cost of running the school was only 120 (pounds)" (Rigby, 1964: 54). Teachers were compelled to pledge themselves to total abstinence.

1900s

In the English sector, the Academy had 257 pupils in 1925. By 1945 it became the largest consolidated high school in the Province. A central school board was initiated in 1945 to operate all the Protestant schools in the counties of Argenteuil and Two Mountains. During the first half of the twentieth century,

> Student activities were at a high level; in 1926 a cadet corps was formed and a "Cercle Français"; a school bulletin was started in 1933; a band in 1939; a household science room added in 1941 and in 1945 the school glee club gave its first of several concerts. . . . (Rigby, 1964: 142).

For the French population, new schools to meet the demands of the increasing number of students were also initiated. Rigby reports that,

> In 1906, O. B. Lafleur et Fils completed the convent, a 4-storey building 100 x 56 feet on Grace Street--which accommodated 198 boys and girls and received boarders (1964: 117).

By 1915 the convent was too small to house both boys and girls and new schools were built. In 1927 there was the convent, a separate school for boys run by the Order of St. Viateur, and a large school in the West End. Until this time, lay teachers staffed the schools. In 1928, "W. H. Ayers built a residence on Mary Street to house the teachers of the Order" (Rigby, 1964: 141). By 1954, the Lachute Catholic school board served 1400 students the école Superior registered 600 boys; the Grace Street Convent, 425 girls' and the St. Julien school had 241 pupils.

These were the years when "sparing the rod meant spoiling the child". As some francophones recalled:

> ... When I was in grade one, the teacher walked around the class with a strap in her hand. I was so petrified, I never learned to read that year.
>
> ... We used to have walking drills. The teachers would drill the kids how to walk up or down the stairs. If you were walking up or down the stairs, and a teacher passed, you stood with your back against the wall in reverence.

> ...When I was little, there was no such thing as jeans. I wouldn't dare come to school with a button missing off my blouse. And, in the summer if my friends and I were wearing shorts and we would be passing the school, we'd go all around another block, rather than pass in shorts (Interview: 740603).

The severity of school days are memories of the past; strap and drill are gone today. It was inconceivable for the kids to smoke; now, smoke fills the air of the Place D'Acceuil, the central foyer of the French and English secondary schools. It's the "jean set" and subject promotion. There are graduated options, courses in refrigeration, car repair and computer. The revolution of the '60s hit Lachute City.

Three separate school boards have jurisdiction over schools in Lachute and the surrounding region. As Map 1 indicates the region served covers a 60 mile radius. Table 11 lists the three school boards, Commission Scolaire Du Long Sault, Commission Scolaire Regionale Dollard-Des-Ormeaux, and Laurentian School Board, their respective schools and school population for the 1974-1975 term.[36]

Since 1960, there have been significant legislative changes in the educational system. The lack of a uniform

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[36]The structure of the school system is still in a state of flux. As of July 1, 1975, Laurentian Regional School Board was changed to Laurentian School Board legally incorporating 8 other local boards (Grenville, Barrington, Arundel, Morin Heights, St. Adele, Shawbridge, Laurentia, and Laurentian Regional). The Commission Dollard-des-Ormeaux will cease to exist as of July 1976. The schools under its authority will be integrated under the Commission Long Sault, so that all schools in Lachute and the immediate region will be under one authority.

TABLE 11

LACHUTE AND REGION, SCHOOL ENROLLMENT 1974-1975

Board	School	Number of Pupils
Commission Scolaire Du Long Sault	Grenville	347
	St - Phillipe	236
	Brownsburg	363
	*Clement	329
	*Immaculate Conception	186
	*St-Julien	234
	*St-Alexandre	780
	St-Andres	311
	St-Hermas	100
	Total	2886
Commission Scolaire Regionale Dollard-Des-Ormeaux	*Roger Lavigne Polyvalente	1362
	Brownsburg	302
	*Mgr. Lacourse	578
	Total	2242
Laurentian School Board	*Laurentian Regional High	1364
	Morin Heights Secondary	134
	Morin Heights Elementary	215
	*Laurentian	542
	Grenville	155
	Harrington	40
	Laurentia, St Jerome	160
	Shawbridge	147
	St Adele	90
	Total	2847

Note:

*Located in Lachute City, student population 5375.

quality in the schools throughout Quebec, disparities in teacher training and qualifications, in salaries, educational philosophy, facilities and materials were felt to be due in large measure to the tradition of local autonomy and church control that had characterized the educational system from the outset. One of the first actions of the liberal party when it took office in 1960 was a series of legislative acts designed to ameliorate the inequities and insufficiencies of the system. Three separate pieces of legislation that were passed are: Bill 60, the "Act to Establish the Department of Education and the Superior Council of Education" (March, 1964); Bill 27, an "Act Respecting the Regrouping and Management of School Boards" (July, 1971); and Regulation 7 "Relative to the General Framework for the Organization" of Kindergarten and of Elementary and Secondary Education (April, 1971) which followed the Parent Commission in seeking to bring practices in the school in line with modern pedogogy. In addition, three Acts, Bill 63, "An Act to Promote the French Language in Quebec" (1969); Regulation 6, "Relatif a L'Enseignement du Francais a Certain Eleves de L'Elementaire et Du Secondaire" (1971); and Bill 22, "Official Language Act" (July, 1975) which are directed to language have been enacted since 1968.

Bill 63, the "Act to Promote the Teaching of the French Language in Quebec" (1969), was the first attempt by any Quebec government to pass legislation with regard to the

language of instruction. Bill 63 sought to ensure that the English-speaking and immigrant child of Quebec acquire a working knowledge of French. Parents were given the option of the language of instruction for their children. In Lachute, as a result of Bill 63, there have been significant transfers from both the Catholic and Protestant system, with Anglophone students going to the French Catholic school, and Francophone students going to the English Protestant school.

Bill 63 was followed by Regulation 6 (1969) making French as a second language compulsory in English language schools. The ultimate goal is that at least forty percent of all subjects content in the English system be taught in French. In order to obtain a secondary school leaving certificate students must pass oral and written tests in French.

Most recently, Bill 22, Quebec's "Official Language Act" (1975), once again changes the pattern set by Bill 63. Parents no longer have the option to choose the language of instruction. It will be conditional on the child's ability to pass a language test which is left to the local school boards.

With respect to the language-in-use in the schools at the present, French prevails as the medium of instruction and use throughout the French system. At the secondary level, the English language is taught as one of many other languages, such as Spanish or German. In the elementary

schools, English language instruction generally begins at the grade 5 level. There is a greater degree of homogeneity of language use in the French sector than in the English. In the English system, since Bill 63, there has been a significant increase of Francophone students, and a consequently greater degree of heterogeneity. In terms of curriculum, there is a minimum period of forty-five minutes of French language instruction provided by French language specialists for all students. At the secondary level, Anglophone students have the option of taking a subject, such as history, geography or methematics, with the language of instruction being French. Francophone students coming into the English secondary school are, in effect, in an English immersion program. By and large, the language of instruction in Lachute has not deviated from the provincial pattern. Separate schools co-exist with the medium of instruction coinciding with the confessionality of the school.

The focus in this chapter has been on mapping community activities over a long time perspective and in the present, and identifying features of French-English association and dissociation. The dimension of language use has been the guiding line in this probe. In examining various community activities such as work, church, voluntary association, and school, there is a presupposition that the social relations and institutions that are formed will be revealed.

A particular configuration does come to the fore. In the work sector, for example, in addition to the tension between owner-worker there is a language and ethnic component. Workers are divided along linguistic and ethnic lines. There is CEQ, the French teachers' Union and PAPT the English teachers' Union. Each are vying for the best working conditions, salary, and job security, possibly at the expense of the other. In general income and education levels are higher for the English. The fact that the industrial elite is not only English, but also that two key industries have headquarters in other large Anglophone centers does little for the local worker. It only increases the gap.

The sector of Church activities is not clear-cut. The dominant religious affiliation is Roman Catholic which includes members of the English ethnic community. A most prominent industrial family is one such member. In this case, there is not a strict French Catholic-English Protestant line.

French language use predominates in voluntary associations. The fact that the French are 80 percent of the population accounts in large measure for this. Aside from a very limited number of fraternal and patriotic associations, such as the Orangemen or the St. Jean Baptiste Society, associations are not "closed". Nevertheless, some groups have interests that are traditional. The English community, for example, were the founders of the

Argenteuil Historical Society and maintain its support. Sports interests tend to disregard language or ethnic ties. Language differences are not as relevant or crucial in the hockey team or figure skating group. There is, though, the human tendency to clique together with those with whom you can share the experiences or events.

The dual school system regime stems from the earliest times. The school as an instrument of society has served the needs of the two communities, English and French to the decade of the 60s. The inculcation of values, traditions, and beliefs, as well as skills are part of the secondary socialization process. Language is both the means and the object of instruction. Language use is also a mark of ethnic identity. In Lachute, until 1968 the two systems were autonomous, and entirely separate. Several events since 1968 have altered the traditional structure, both in physical and in human terms. Chiefly these are the building of a French-Catholic and an English Protestant school under a single roof on a joint campus, and the introduction of Bill 63 (1969) which gave parents the opportunity to choose the language of instruction for their children. For the first time in Quebec this meant that English Protestant pupils could enroll in French Catholic schools, and French Catholic pupils could enroll in English Protestant schools without special permission or without the trouble of transferring school taxes.

The situation in the domain of school is the focus

of the next chapter. Drawing lines of association and dissociation, convergence and divergence provides a map of the territory, so to speak. It does not reveal what actually happens in an on-going day-to-day situation. A closer examination of French-English relations within a single domain, the school, is the subject of Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI

Behaviour Toward Language, School Domain

In this chapter, behaviour towards language use in a single domain, the school within the community is examined. It is to be noted that by "behaviour" is meant those actions and expressions that are overt, in effect, what is said and done that reflects values, attitudes and beliefs. Also, direct efforts to change language use, in this case, by the Quebec government, are considered. It was noted in the previous chapter that since 1969, and the enactment of Bill 63 the "Act to Promote the French Language in Quebec", efforts by the government of Quebec to direct language use in the school have had considerable ramifications at the local level. Bill 22 the "Official Language Act" (1975) is the most current legislation and the subject of controversy. Local officials are required by law to implement decisions taken at the extralocal level. How the extralocal legal rules affect the normative rules of language use and relations is the question that is implicit in this chapter.

Prior to Bill 63, 1968

Separate school management, or separation as a

mode of management, was the most prominent feature of the school system in Quebec. It permeated every aspect of schooling and every school. In terms of school population each school was largely homogeneous, i.e., French Catholic and English Protestant. Pupil and/or teacher exchange, or program interchange was virtually non-existent. This characteristic of separate schooling is particularly highlighted in the secondary schools in Lachute. Here, Ecole Polyvalente Roger-Lavigne (French Catholic) and Laurentian Regional High School (English Protestant) share the same building and have the distinction of being the first common-campus school in the Province. Though the two schools are housed together, there is an actual property line that separates the English and French, administrators, teachers, and pupils both technically and psychologically.

Even though the two schools are under one roof, the original intention was not one of integration. It was simply a political and a financial move to erect one building. During the mid-nineteen sixties, the need for a regional polyvalente secondary school was determined by both French and English officials. The federal government was offering funds for the implementation of technical and vocational programs in the high schools to meet pressing industrial and occupational needs. A decision to build the schools was made quickly. The building started in mid-January 1968, and the schools were ready for operation by 16 September 1968. The French Catholic Board had purchased the land,

and then leased part of it to the Protestant Board. Two separate construction companies were hired for the building of each school. In the original plan,

> . . . it was never intended for the two schools to operate as one. The purpose of the single campus was an economic one so that there would be no duplication. For example, there was the hope that we would be sharing shops. Electrical and machine shops are expensive, but this has not worked out (Interview: 740507 M).

During the first year of the schools' operation it was planned that some of the shops would be shared, but this proved problematic. As respondents noted,

> Unfortunately, instead of trying again, it was decided to keep the two schools entirely separate (Interview: 740507 M).

Decisions are managed between the two Boards (English and French) in a formal contractual manner. One board will take complete responsibility for one facet or one facility, and then sell or lease it to the other. This kind of management at the administrative level was felt to be satisfactory to both the English and French. One administrator said,

> We share the auditorium, the cafeteria and we could share the library; but this is minimal. As far as the auditorium goes, each school wants use of it, and sometimes this conflicts, but this has nothing to do with English or French. Sometimes, both my history and music department want the auditorium, and this conflicts. The cafeteria is handled entirely by the English staff. They do all the planning, ordering and serving. There is no problem in the cafeteria since each sector has its own side. If one school

is dissatisfied, they can complain like anyone else (Interview: 740524 L).

Pedagogical and cultural differences were considered as factors that mitigate against sharing. A lack of experience on the part of both French and English administrators, and a lack of a central co-ordinating body were also viewed as contributing to maintaining separate services. One respondent said,

> Laurentian Regional High School and Ecole Polivalente Lavigne were the first single campus schools in the Province. Cowansville is the second, and has had certain advantages. All their facilities were set up in the initial building. This was not the case here. Our plans were projected in phases (Interview: 740611 D).

Problems thus arise when further facilities are needed. New arrangements have to be worked out each time. For example, the need for a track and a swimming pool has been decided upon. This involved the two Boards and the municipality. The city has certain resources, such as the land and an engineer. The building of the swimming pool and track would mean some coordination between the three parties, the French Catholic Board, the English Protestant Board and the municipality. However, there is no central body to initiate and to coordinate common interests.

Further exchanges were not viewed as desirable either, on both parts. Teacher exchange was limited to the number required for 'other' language instruction (i.e. English in the French School and vice-versa). Even so,

there were always a number of teachers within each system that were able to teach the second language making exchange unnecessary. Curriculum or program exchanges were virtually nil. Even inter-school sports activities were not planned. The avoidance of English-French conflict was the rationale for the lack of extra-mural activities. One respondent related that when he was a schoolboy and lived in this area both English and French students attended the same school. They had various matches, football, hockey, and the like. Inevitably, he said,

> One team would lose and the teams would end up fighting. Inevitably, the French and English would end up fighting, even though the teams were mixed. In the end the French and English would be throwing rocks at each other. At least, here, we don't throw rocks (Interview: 740524 L).

"At least here, we don't throw rocks", epitomizes the attitudes and the interrelations at the level of School Board management.

Interpersonal relations are described by both French and English officials as "cordial and separate". An actual property line establishes the boundary which maintains English-French separation in the domain of school. As one administrator remarked,

> The relation between Mr. _____ and myself is very good. But it is very funny. When he comes here we speak French, when I go there, we speak English (Interview: 740524 L).

Both sets of administrators concur with these norms and are

intent on continuing to provide parallel and separate services. This basic attitude with respect to language use permeates the rest of the system. Before Bill 63 went into effect the language-in-use at école polyvalente Roger-Lavigne was "French Only"; and at Laurentian Regional High "English Only" by intent and design.

Bill 63, 1969-1974

At the time of this inquiry, a five year period had lapsed since Bill 63 had been in effect. Bill 22 was still forthcoming. According to the Gendron Commission, even a tentative evaluation indicated,

> Bill 63s effect was the removal of religion as an obstacle which had limited the choice of parents as regards language. It was to be hoped that this would result in a more pronounced preference for French-language schools, but this was not the case (Quebec, Gendron Report, Book III, 1973: 228).[37]

In Lachute, only a few Anglophone students opted to go to the French Catholic sector. On the other hand, the flow of Francophone students coming into the English high school was considerable. Each year since 1969 there has been an

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[37] The difficulty in assessing the effect of Bill 63 has been noted in the Gendron Report (Quebec, Book III: 227). Though the remark is directed to immigrant enrollment it is applicable, generally. The report states: "It is hardly possible to evaluate the effect of Bill 63 on the behaviour of immigrants as regards schools because of lack of perspective and of comparable information, the great cultural and language diversity of the subjects, the unreliability of available statistics and so forth".

increase, so that by June 1974 one quarter of the school population at Laurentian Regional High was Francophone.[38] The change in the population of the English Protestant school has meant changes in the curriculum, new problems, and relations.

Students

In the English sector, there is now considerable heterogeneity in the school population.[39] As a result, changes in the curriculum design were necessitated, both in form and in content. In the first year or two after Bill 63, it was relatively simple for the Francophone student to be integrated within the program as it existed. The Francophone student, having no other option, had to learn the language of instruction for survival. As one staff member put it,

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[38] The number of English students opting for French language instruction were reported as 12 in the high schools, and 83 in the elementary schools. This number was the projection for the term 1974-1975, an increase over the past two years (Interview: 740611 MK; also, The Watchman [Lachute], 18 September, 1974).

[39] A statistical summary of Laurentian Regional High for the term 1973-1974 is as follows: The total student population is 1273. For Mother Tongue: English, 956; French, 303; Others, 14. Religion: Protestant, 757; Catholic, 516. Sex: Male, 644; Female, 629. School level: Secondary one, 233; Secondary two, 267; Secondary three, 267; Secondary four, 247; Secondary five, 213; Special Class, 56 (Québec, Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de L'Education, "Sommaire Statistique de L'Ecole 30 September 1973", 16 October 1973 (mimeographed). A report on the total student population at Laurentian Regional High for the term 1974-1975 indicates that there were 1,314 students. At Roger Levesque Polyvalente, there were 1,362 students registered (The Watchman [Lachute], 18 September, 1974).

> It seemed to work better when there were fewer French students. There seemed more need for the student to learn. Now the more aggressive ones translate for the quiet ones (740513 T).

As the numbers of Francophone students increased, so did the complexity. Some notion as to the situation is reflected in this staff member's evaluation. He said,

> There is a great deal of difference in standards. Pupils often come from the Francophone sector having finished Secondary 5, and would repeat Secondary 5 in English to learn the language. But, we find they really perform at Secondary 3 level. At first we decided that they would be put back two levels, but this caused a great uproar. The students gathered in the cafeteria and presented their views on the unfairness. We reconsidered and decided that they would not lose the years. By the same token, neither would our English students going to the French school (Interview: 740513 T).

Curriculum Program

As a result, various changes in the curriculum program have been attempted, such as streaming, workshops, special classes. "Streaming", as an alternative to pupils losing a year or more of schooling, has been implemented. This means that all students at a certain level of achievement are grouped together in the same class for various subjects. While this policy is preferable to the loss of a school year and is more manageable for the teacher, there are negative social and psychological repercussions. "Streaming" has the effect of segregating students according to levels of achievement. This means that, in reality, all poorer Anglophone students and all incoming Francophone

students are grouped together. Until Francophone students acquire a working knowledge of English they are placed in classes which are designed to meet the pace of the poorer Anglophone student. Since the students are grouped together for various subjects there is virtually no opportunity for mingling with others educationally and socially. These slower-paced classes carry a stigma. Just as negative as segregation is the other pole, assimilation. There has been the concern that eventually the Francophone student may not be able to resist the pressures of identifying as an Anglophone, of not retaining whatever qualities or pride there may be that are uniquely part of the French culture and heritage. To cope with some of these aspects, a conference on the "Integration of Francophones Into English Classes"[41] was held by the teaching staff. The conclusion by the staff was that there were no down to earth, practical solutions. Special classes to ameliorate the situation have been put into practice. One such program is designed to welcome the Francophone student and assist him or her to make the transition into the English milieu less painful. All first year Francophone students have a Francophone teacher in their "home room" period. During this period French is the language-in-use, and the subject content of the class is a decision taken by the pupils and

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[41] Laurentian Regional High School, "Integration of Francophones Into English Classes", Program G, Pedagogical Day, 8 February 1974 (Mimeographed).

teacher. Another program that has been implemented are TESL classes, that is "Teaching English as a Second Language". Instead of having to cope with regular English language instruction which places the non-Anglophone at a disadvantage, the newcomer is placed in these TESL classes, for which the teachers have special training and materials.

In general the long history of a separate school system is evident in pupil-to-pupil relations. Within the context of the schools there remains an English-French barrier that runs right through the central and common foyer. In fact, the Francophone student attending école polyvalente Roger-Lavigne has nothing to do with, and will not interact with the Francophone student who attends Laurentian Regional High. The Francophone student attending the English language school is not viewed favourably by the Francophone in the French sector, and is largely ignored. The Francophone who has come for English language instruction is considered "vendus". He or she is integrating into the English milieu by learning the English language and culture. The interpretation given is that the French student in this situation is forsaking his/her group, his/her language and culture. The student is abetting the erosion of the French language and culture. In this case, it is not language that is a barrier. There is an ecological and psychological boundary line right through the center of the school that divides the two ethnic communities.

Teachers

From a professional point of view, large classes, heavy work loads, and teachers' unions mitigate against interchange, and interpersonal relations other than informal and personal ones. Language classes, both English and French, are larger than interest subject classes. All pupils are required to take English and French whereas interest courses are optional. The problem, as one teacher put it,

> . . . is the number of pupils. If we were to have exchange programs or anything else, we should have smaller classes. We would need more teachers and where are they going to get more teachers out here? No one is going to leave the French system or come from Montreal to take on 27 periods when they have 20 (Interview: 740514 E).

While both French and English teachers in all schools face the same employer, the Quebec government, and some of the same problems (contract by decree, pupil-teacher ratio, salary, job-security), a certain latitude in past negotiations has meant that there remain inequities in workload at the local level. These expressions reflect some of the points of discontent:

> . . . with the number of teaching periods we have, and the number of pupils in each class, it is impossible to do more than we are doing. After all, they (the French teachers) start later. When they finish their work load they are free to leave. As a matter of fact, one teacher there, does not have any classes on Wednesday and he doesn't come in at all (Interview: 740514 E).

More crucially, teacher union differences are considered a

strong factor. Job security or rather, insecurity mitigates strongly against the free flow of teachers,[42] and works against the prospect or value that may be inherent in co-operative effort or interaction. The excuse for the lack of exchange is put to cultural differences. One staff member said,

> I find there is a difference in French-English attitude which is really a difference in life philosophy. You can see this even how the school day is structured. We can't get together, practically speaking. The French teachers prefer a slower and longer teaching day, more relaxed; whereas the English teachers prefer it shorter, even though it may be more compacted and intense (Interview: 740507 M).

The range of attitude of the teachers towards the pupils and French language use is wide. It varies from one polar extreme to the other. An Anglophone teacher expressed the view that,

> There is a great difference, an improvement in the tone and atmosphere of the school. The French pupils are livelier, more flamboyant. They contribute much (Interview: 740513 T).

On the other hand, the comment by a Francophone teacher indicates that a positive view of the French student is not shared by all English teachers. After all she pointed out,

> There are a few English separatists here, you know (Interview: 740522 T).

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[42] In the French sector, job security was not just an anxiety. In April 1975 the teachers at Roger-Lavigne went on strike until the end of the term when a number of teachers were not rehired for the 1975-1976 term.

There is the inference that the English Separatist is as unappreciative of the French point of view, as the French Separatist is of the English. Whatever the rationale, the fact remains that the pattern of separation that characterizes the system as a whole holds the same for the teachers in this single building, single campus school.

Administrators

Since Bill 63 the contractual and cordial relations remain. Two joint Catholic-Protestant committees were set up by the school boards. One is a parent's committee, also part of recent legislation; the other, for Catholic-Protestant educational matters of common concern. These committees are chiefly advisory, and their role is very specific and limited. The Catholic-Protestant committee, for example, has worked out a contract that concerns the placement of Catholic pupils in the Protestant school, and the Protestant pupils in the Catholic school.[43] The Committee also oversees the engagement of religious teachers in the respective schools and other confessional matters. This agreement means that pupil exchange would not necessitate a complicated change in the tax structure. Rather, each board simply pays the other per capita for the switch. There is

[43] Laurentian Regional School Board, "Agreement for the Sharing of Facilities of the Protestant Board by Roman Catholic Pupils," November 1972 (Mimeographed).

no joint central co-ordinating committee.

In general, while the goal of the English is to maintain whatever position, jurisdiction, and power its Board already has, for the French it is altering whatever imbalance in the social structures there exists by the enhancement and promotion of French language use.[44] The French Catholic administrator, has a somewhat "Guardian" attitude. Efforts are directed at improving the quality of the French language use, fighting the erosion of, and extending the periphery of use.[45] On the part of the English Administrators, implicit in their behaviour is a "Maintenance" attitude: "let us keep whatever we have". When Bill

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[44] It is in point to note a recent subtle change in attitude that has been remarked upon by others in open-ended interviews and was experienced in a face-to-face interview with an official at the French-Catholic School. I decided to conduct the interview in French. After I introduced myself, the official said: "You know, I can speak English, but if you don't mind we will carry on in French. I have the attitude now that I should talk French to the English speaker. In the past, I would speak English, but this didn't give the English person the chance to speak French, and the French person became bilingual" (Interview: 740524 I).

[45] A very concrete example of the "Guardian" attitude of the Francophone official was felt by myself to be in the rejection of a questionnaire form. I had asked permission to administer a "language use" questionnaire to students at Roger-Lavigne. After examining the schedule the school principal asked if I had done the translation. I said that I had not; that in fact, the form was translated by a Francophone who was working at the graduate level in anthropological linguistics at the University of Montreal. The principal found the questionnaire unsatisfactory to give to his pupils and the level of the French poor. Though one could possibly suggest other interpretations as to the rejection, at face value, the principal was exercising a guardian role.

63 was in effect, arrangements were made for the Francophone students in the English system. As soon as Bill 22 went into effect and it would appear that the English system would be under control for expansion, new plans were made. Prior to Bill 22, the attitude of the English administration was:

> Those who opt for French should go to the French school. After all, they are the experts. There is no sense in setting up an immersion French program here, when our pupils can go next door. It would be very costly. We are willing to pay for those who opt to have French (Interview: 740513 D).

This no longer is the case. In sharp contrast is the announcement that new French immersion programs are to be set up for the 1975-1976 school term in the English school. It is expected that the flow of Francophone students is to cease. Bill 63 which facilitated and legitimized the flow of students from one sector to the other has now been succeeded by Bill 22. Bill 22 limits the enrollment of Francophone or other non-English pupils to those who can pass a language ability test. Also, English language classes cannot increase in number unless there is ministerial approval. The behaviour exhibited towards language use at the local level may be interpreted as adaptive strategy on the part of English and French school officials. These strategies that are attempts to serve the interests of each ethnic group become the basis of school policy and in effect structure the language use and relations in the

day to day situation of the school domain.

Local, Regional Relations

The exercise of authority by the Quebec government since the establishment of the Ministry of Education has had further repercussions at the local level. The school at the secondary level is no longer tied to a single locale. The school may physically exist with the limits of the city boundaries, but has few other links to the city. It must be noted that the two schools that are exemplified in this study, école polyvalente Roger Lavigne and Laurentian Regional High are regional schools. It is a 60 mile radius that these schools serve, and students are bussed from that range.

Under "An Act Respecting the Regrouping and Management of School Boards" (10 July 1971), school boards which did not have at least 225 pupils under their jurisdiction were amalgamated, and one commissioner was to be designated among them. In the case of the Catholic Board, Dollard-Des-Ormeaux under whose jurisdiction is école polyvalente Roger Lavigne, there was the amalgamation of the school municipality of Lachute and St. Jerome. The Long Sault Catholic school board was unaffected by this act and retained its authority over its schools in Lachute. For the Protestants, however, nine school boards were amalgamated into one. In effect, what this bill did was to wipe out the power and authority of the smaller local

communities. One director general was needed, not nine; one commissioner, etc. Persons who were in key positions of responsibility in their small locality were integrated into the larger single board that was the result of amalgamation. Roles were changed in the process, as were positions of status and areas of responsibility. Problems were experienced in both the English and French sectors. In the French sector the problem was experienced in terms of different adjustments to be made on the part of pupils. All pupils in Lachute went to the Lachute Catholic elementary schools. Some of these pupils proceeded to be placed in polyvalente Roger Lavigne under the larger Dollard-des Ormeaux Regional Board; others, went to the high school in Lachute run by the Long Sault Board. Complaints and a brief to the Government about differences in expectations, levels of achievement, lack of local control induced the government to readjust the situation. In the term forthcoming, 1975-1976, plans are being made for the return of control at the local levels in Lachute by the Long Sault boards.[46]

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[46]A delegation from the Long Sault School Commission presented a report in November 1974 to the Ministry of Education. Their request was the unification of elementary and high school under the Long Sault authority. To this date elementary schooling in some schools in Lachute was under the jurisdiction of the Commission Long Sault and secondary schooling under the jurisdiction of the Commission Dollard-des Ormeaux. It was the conviction of the Long Sault Commission that teaching services could be better co-ordinated and continuity between the two levels assured if there was one Board management. As of 1 July 1975, the Dollard-des Ormeaux Regional will cease to exist after 10 years in operation (The Watchman [Lachute], 15 January 1975).

This bill of Regroupment has vastly different implications for the Protestants. Nine school boards were reduced to one. Bill 22 further legislated that expansion of any kind, hiring of more teachers, opening new classes, etc. is subject to government approval. The English Protestant power base is radically altered. For the pupils now under the jurisdiction of the Regional Board, there is relatively little difference. Elementary school children still attend school within their respective communities. High school students would have to be bussed to a central school in any case. In fact, there is probably better service for the smaller elementary school now. For students in the high school they are, incidentally, in a milieu where there are far greater numbers of Anglophones than they experienced in their elementary school days. In the region surrounding Lachute the Anglophone population is a minority. The child going to a neighbourhood school is in a very small circle of Anglophone students. Coming to the secondary school the diameter widens considerably. The Anglophone student is in a milieu of 1200 students, not 120 who speak the same language, have common values, beliefs and ideas. In this school arena, this number factor probably reinforces English language use and belonging.

Links between the schools and the muncipality are very limited. The city collects taxes and provides building permits. The lack of participation and/or consultation is

the subject of regret.[47] Perhaps it is of great symbolic significance that the single campus schools Roger Lavigne and Laurentian Regional are located far from the City Center.

In this chapter, two levels of interaction are examined: (1) the relation of the Ministry of Education and the school boards at the local level, and (2) the relation of the school boards and the schools at the local level.

It was noted that since Bill 60 (1964) the establishment of a Ministry of Education, and Bill 27 (1971) the reorganization of School Boards, there has been a shift in power and decision-making from the local level to the central government. The restructuring has meant changes in role and power for most people within each school board. The larger regional boards incorporate the smaller ones. Bill 63 (1969) giving parents the option of the language of instruction, and Bill 22 (1975) the Official Language Act also have had ramifications at the local level. The flow of students from one sector to the other which Bill 63 legalized will no longer be permitted under Bill 22. Non-English students may attend English language schools only if they pass a language test demonstrating sufficient proficiency.

French and English relations are described by administrators at the Board level as "separate but cordial". French Catholic and English Protestant schools function

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[47] City officials expressed some hostility at the fact that they were never consulted when the single campus schools were planned. They had no say in the schools' location.

entirely separately. Any joint venture, such as the provision of religious education or the use of any facility is formal and contractual. Teaching staffs are separate; there are virtually no exchange programs. Time schedules, teaching load, unions are different and separate. French students and English students do not mix within this structure. As I have pointed out, even French students who attend the English language school do not intermingle with French students who attend the French Catholic school, though all are under one roof. A clear-cut, legitimized boundary line separates the French and English in this domain. Dissociation is the chief characteristic of French-English relations in the school.

Dissociation, a most prominent feature in the school domain, is also manifest in other areas of the community. As I have indicated there are cleavages along language lines in the area of work, church, voluntary association, as well as the school. Simmel, in a classic statement, points out the meaning of dissociation in sociological terms. He says,

> . . . , and what at first glance appears in it as dissociation, actually is one of its elementary forms of sociation. . . . Where relations are purely external and at the same time of little practical significance, this function can be satisfied by conflict in its latent form, that is, by aversion and feelings of mutual alienness. . . . (1955: 19, 20).

Conflict in a latent form is at the base of the pattern of dissociation that runs throughout the community.

CONCLUSION

From the perspective taken in this study conflict, competition, antagonisms, and interaction are basic to community formation. The maintaining of a group boundary and the exclusion of outsiders is part of the process of community closure, that is, the monopolization of economic, political and social resources.

The English community that located in Lachute took the initiative in the early years. They worked the land hard, built mills, and established industries. For the most part there was solidarity in beliefs, in heritage and values, and in language. They were able to effect community closure at a local level. They managed to monopolize economic resources, and subsequently power and social esteem. The communal relationships were strengthened by an array of associative relationships. There were temperance societies, agricultural societies, historical societies, bridge, music, art, welfare and sport societies. Church and School reinforced shared values and beliefs, and a mutual orientation to social action . Language differences aided in excluding others from associative relations and most importantly, from the competition over limited resources.

Though the French came to the area in the 1800s, it has not been until the mid 1900s that they have been gaining

economically and politically. It is only recently that the French community has been gaining social esteem. Before the Quiet Revolution the French community had the attributes of a negatively privileged status group which meant they were denied economic and political opportunities and the concomitant value, social status. The French population still has both a lower education and income level than the English.

In the configuration that forms in the present, the English community is no longer the majority; nor is the English community dominant in all respects. While the English retains its interests economically, the English community does not have a monopoly politically. As the realm of the school exemplifies, the autonomy, power and influence of the English over their own school system has been greatly limited and minimized. Also, within the context of Quebec society the social esteem value of the English community wanes as the French community's influence economically, politically and socially strengthens.

This analysis of French-English relations and the concepts of community formation has been drawn from a conflict perspective. It serves to disentangle the conflict over language and political, economic, and social issues and provides a basis for understanding French-English relations. A further line of inquiry is indicated: if in Lachute, one finds latent conflict, what are the conditions

of manifest conflict? At which point does latent conflict change to manifest conflict?

These questions have been the subject of research by Lee and Lapointe (1975). In a recent study, they explore the conditions of manifest conflict in Ontario where the French are in a minority position. Lee and Lapointe specify three factors under which conflict becomes manifest in Timmins and in Sturgeon Falls. These are (1) agreement/disagreement over goals, (2) cost for the majority and (3) organizational capacity of the minority. Organizational capacity is analyzed along various dimensions: the structure of authority, the means of social control within the community, the degree of autonomy in the organization of aciton, the consensus among the segments of the ethnic collectivity, and the existence of an institutionally differentiated political function (Breton, 1974: 2-11).

In Lachute, particularly with respect to schooling, agreement over final goals of the relationship is indicated. There was no question of the survival of the French majority or the English minority. Both communities needed secondary polyvalent schools; both communities had the necessary resources. In fact, it was to the advantage of both the French and English to cut costs by building on the same piece of land and sharing more expensive facilities such as a cafeteria, auditorium, and a running track. For the English community, the cooperative effort meant a maximization of their advantages. The English community would

not have had the range of shops (electrical, mechanical) available were it not for the joint effort. The common effort, though, is a limited one. It is achieved largely through formal contract, which is really a form of conflict management. The autonomy and separation of each school is maintained.

While there is clear indication that there has been agreement over goals, and that there has not been an additional cost for the majority in the educational realm, the organizational capacity of the French and English communities require further and more elaborate study. The organizational capacity of the English community at the turn of the century and perhaps to the mid 1950s is indicated. The organizational capacity of the French community appears to be developing. Further study is necessary to assess the degree of organizational capacity of both communities and the condition of conflict that is implicated. Whether the fifth of the Lachute population, the English, will be able to maintain whatever organizational and resource strength it has garnered, whether there will be manifest conflict, or whether the English community truly becomes "Quebec's Forgotten Fifth" is a matter of conjecture, and will be known only in the future.

This study is important in several respects. Aside from the relevance of the topic of language controversy at this particular time in Quebec and the need for systematic careful study and penetrating analysis, there is a new

aspect in French-English relations. For the first time in two hundred years the English are no longer in an assured position of dominance. This has not been studied before. Obviously, it is because this has not happened before. This is an opportunity to study and understand intergroup tensions in process, and questions of dominance-subordination.

From another point of view, theoretical issues which are contentious in the area of community studies are put to test empirically. The concept of community: locality, interaction, and solidarity is probed for its explanatory power and relevance. Some insight into the phenomenon of language, a most fundamental aspect of human social action, and its relation to social processes has been sought, and directions for further comparative study are indicated. In the early years the Lachute settlement was a frontier for the English and French pioneers who came. It remains a frontier today in terms of French-English relations.

APPENDIX 1

OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRY DIVISIONS, LACHUTE, 1961

Occupations, Lachute, 1961

Occupation	Men	Women	Total	Percent of Total
All Occupations	1896	570	2466	-
Managerial	216	24	240	9.0
Professional and Technical	145	86	231	9.0
Clerical	114	136	250	10.0
Sales	115	36	151	6.0
Service and Recreation	124	115	239	9.0
Transportation and Communication	175	8	183	7.0
Farmers, Farm Workers	24	-	24	-
Loggers and Related	8	-	8	-
Fishermen, Trappers, Hunters	-	-	-	-
Miners, Quarrymen, Related	5	-	5	-
Craftsmen, Production, Process Related Workers	798	142	939	38.0
Labourers	121	9	130	5.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Catalogue 94-508. Bulletin 3.1-4, July 1963.

Industry Divisions, Lachute, 1961

Industries	Men	Women	Total	Percent of Total
All Industries	1896	570	2466	
Agriculture	18	-	18	-
Forestry, Fishing, Trapping	11	-	11	-
Mines, Quarries, Oil Wells	5	-	5	-
Manufacturing	734	191	925	37.5
Construction	255	10	265	10.0
Transportation, Communication, Other Utilities	246	16	262	10.6
Trade Commerce	296	80	376	15.2
Trade Retail	224	71	295	11.9
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	41	29	70	2.8
Community, Business, Personal Service Industries	205	221	426	17.2
Personal Service Industries	84	100	184	7.4
Public Administration and Defence	50	9	59	2.3

Note:

"Labour force" refers to non-inmates 15 years and over who, in the week prior to enumeration, worked for pay or profit, helped without pay in a family business or farm, looked for work, were on temporary lay-off, or had jobs from which they were temporarily absent because of illness

vacation, strike, etc. Persons doing housework or volunteer work only, are excluded from the labour force. Also excluded are female farm workers who indicated that they helped without pay in a family farm or business for less than 20 hours. It should be noted that there are indications that the labour force counts for Quebec may be somewhat underestimated due to response problems.

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Catalogue 94-522.

APPENDIX 2

HISTORY OF EDUCATION, QUEBEC, 1608-1960

1608-1760

During the French Regime (1608-1760) education was the work of the Church; a work of charity. Instruction was given by itinerant school masters, parish priests and religious orders. There was no administrative body concerned with education. Various village schools were scattered over rural areas. Boarding and day schools were run by various orders.

1760-1841

During the period 1760 to 1841, the British left educational matters to the Anglican Church. The Roman Catholic Church was permitted to maintain its own schools.

During this time, and subsequently, there were attempts to create a centralized system. In 1801 there was the Act creating Royal Institutions and the proposal for free elementary schooling, that would be non-Confessional, and subsidized. Opposition gave rise to the creation of a Catholic school system. The governor was authorized to appoint Commissioners in each county or parish to build and organize school. The Protestants began to build Royal Schools. The Catholics opposed Royal Schools; they feared assimilation.

The Fabrique School Act (1824) was the first to give authority to local agency. The parish was to be the basis of school organization. A system of subsidies were developed and Trustee Schools were established.

1841-1867

From 1841 to 1867 School Commissions were established. The Post of Superintendent of Public Instruction was created, although this was an honorary post; provision was made for religious dissent.

The Education Act of 1841, named two assistants to the Superintendent of Public Instruction. In 1845-1849 the Acts for Lower Canada incorporated separation into law by providing a Superintendent for each province. The Act of 1846 gave special status to schools in Quebec and Montreal. Schools were specified as both confessional and common by law.

1867-1907

Although there have been various pieces of legislation during this period, the main pattern was crystallized. The separation of administrative bodies in two autonomous systems was complete. The BNA Act, section 93 stipulated that each province was to have jurisdiction over educational matters. Rights and privileges were guaranteed by law with regard to confessional schools. There was a right of appeal granted for Roman Catholic or Protestant minorities.

The Education Act of 1869 reorganized the Council

of Public Instruction strictly along confessional lines. From 1875, the separate committees were wholly independent of the Council. There was no joint meeting held from 1908 to 1960. Between 1900 and 1960 the two religions had their own complete education system financed by elementary and secondary school taxes under the auspices of a Council of Education which heads the Roman Catholic Committee and the Protestant Committee.

1907-1961

Technical training and classical colleges developed. There was consolidation of school commissions. In 1925 the Central Protestant School Board in Montreal was established. After World War II, there was the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal and nine central boards for certain regions. In 1943 the Act for Compulsory School Attendance for children between the ages of 6 and 14 was passed.

APPENDIX 3

LACHUTE, QUESTIONNAIRE ON LANGUAGE USE

A questionnaire on language use was adopted from the instrument used by William F. Mackey (1972). The questionnaire was administered to all students of Secondary I at Laurentian Regional High, May, 1974. There were 180 of the possible 233 students who responded. The questions which pertain to the pupils' background are pertinent here. The pupils were asked:

(5) What is your religious background?

(8) Which of the following languages are used in your home by your family?

(8b) If more than one language is used in your home is one used a little more or much more than the other?

(9) Do you speak one or more than one language at home?

(11) Which language did you first learn as a baby?

(12) Does your mother speak_____?

(14) Does your father speak_____?

(14a) Relatives who speak English.

(14b) Relatives who speak French.

A variable for French or English (respondent) was constructed by combining Question 9; Question 10 (Do you feel you are using more English or French?); and Question 11.

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