McGILL UNIVERSITY

"THE EDUCATION OF ITALIANS IN MONTREAL, 1895 TO 1960"

M.A. THESIS

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BY

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ABSTRACT

The educational habits of Italians in the city of Montreal before the 1960's is a topic that has generally been neglected in the field of social and educational history. This thesis attempts to fill the void and also to identify areas where further research may be conducted. The thesis treats the educational habits of Italian children in the Catholic schools of Montreal between the years 1895 and 1960. The thesis looks at enrolment patterns and language instruction in the Catholic elementary schools of Montreal. It was found that language played an important role in Catholic schools frequented by Italian children. Italian children were educated in the English, French and Italian languages on and off from the beginning of the twentieth century to the late 1950's. Furthermore, a discernible shift in the attendance of Italian children from French to English Catholic schools occurred after World War II. So much so, that by the 1960's nearly 80% of Italian children were attending English Catholic schools.

RESUMÉ

Avant les anneés soixante, le choix de institutions d'enseignements pour les Italiens de Montréal est un sujet qui n'a pas été traité dans le sens social de l'histoire de l'éducation au Québec. Cette thèse tente de combler ce manque et aussi d'identifier des régions cibles pour effectuer la recherche. Cette thèse étudie les facteurs qui ont déterminés le choix pour l'éducation des enfants Italiens dans les écoles catholiques de Montréal entre les anneés 1895 et 1960. Cette thèse est un regard sur l'ensemble des fréquentations et la langue d'enseignement qui y sont reliées aux les enfants Italiens dans les écoles Catholiques élémentaires de Montréal. Il a été demontré que la langue a jouée un rôle primordial dans les ecoles catholiques fréquenteés par les enfants Italiens. Ceux-ci ont été éduqués en langue anglaise, française ou italienne de façon non-constante entre 1895 et la fin des années cinquantes. De plus, il y a eu une augmentation de la fréquentation des enfants Italiens pour les écoles catholiques anglaises après le deuxième guerre mondiale. Par conséquence, dans les années soixante, presque 80% des enfants Italiens fréquentaient des écoles catholiques anglaises.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Purpose and Scope of Thesis

The educational history of the Italian population of Montreal is an important topic that has, to a large degree, been neglected in the literature. As a matter of fact, until recently, the history of the entire Italo-Canadian population has not attracted much attention at all. Robert Harney, the late Professor of History at the University of Toronto, points out that:

> . . . both in historical literature and in contemporary social science, the immigrant to Canada, especially urban and economically motivated newcomers such as the Italians, have not been well served.[1]

Although the situation has greatly improved since Professor Harney made the statement in 1975, the statement is still valid as applied to specialized areas such as education in general and that of Italians in Quebec in particular.

Other ethnic groups have fared better in this respect. The education of Jews, Greeks, Blacks, and other ethnic groups in Montreal has been the subject of research studies.[2] The irony is

that the Italian community constitutes one of the largest ethnic groups in the city. Why the Italians have been neglected as a source of educational study is puzzling, and it is obvious that the gap needs to be filled in this area. It is hoped that this thesis will help to correct the situation.

This study will concentrate on the educational history of Italians in Montreal between 1895 and 1960. The thesis will confine itself to the Montreal region because the great majority of Italian immigrants to Quebec, just as with other ethnic groups, have settled in the city. Though some Italians have settled elsewhere in the province over the years, the number is not significant.

This study begins with the year 1895 as this is the first year that Italians are mentioned in the archival reports of the Montreal Catholic School Commission. Furthermore, before this date there were few people of Italian origin residing in Montreal. Most were Italian males who settled here on a temporary basis, working for a year or two and then returning to their families in Italy. It follows therefore that few Italian children were in attendance at Montreal schools before the turn of the century. It is in the twentieth century then that the great bulk of permanent Italian immigrants settled in Montreal. With an increase in the immigrant population came an increase in the school-age population in the city.

The thesis will cover the Italians' educational habits up to 1960. The reason for stopping at 1960 is because the year

constitutes a watershed in Quebec's history. In the 1960's Quebec underwent the Quiet Revolution as the state replaced the church in education and language increasingly became the dominant factor in the identification of the school population. Secondly, the Italian educational experience after 1960 has been adequately covered elsewhere as the review of literature will show. The St. Leonard crisis and the problems encountered by Italian children with Bills 22 and 101 have been fully treated in the contemporary literature.

The main objective of this thesis is to provide a survey of enrolment patterns of Italian children in Montreal in the first half of the twentieth century. During this period the great majority of Italian children attended schools under the authority of the Montreal Catholic School Commission, (MCSC). This is not surprising when one considers that most Italians were Roman Catholic in faith and that public education in the city and the province was divided along denominational, (Catholic and Protestant) lines. Accordingly, the emphasis will be on elementary schools.

Since little is known of the educational habits of Montreal Italians during this period, this study strives to answer some basic questions such as: What type of schools did Italians attend? Did any of them attend Protestant schools? What percentage of Italian children frequented school before education was made compulsory in 1943? On the other hand, this study does not treat curriculum except as it relates to the enrolment of

Italian school-age children at Montreal schools. For example, many Italian children attended Notre Dame de la Défense and St. Philippe Benizzi, two elementary schools under the MCSC. It is known that these two schools offered instruction in French, English and Italian at different times. Finally, this thesis will primarily treat the Italian children's educational experience in MCSC elementary schools. For the most part, Italian children did not attend school for a long duration and as such this study will concentrate on their experience in primary schools.

A second purpose of this study is to demonstrate that educational habits have changed through the years. Before World War II the Italian school population of Montreal was evenly divided between English and French Catholic schools . After World War II the percentage of youngsters attending English Catholic schools in Montreal grew substantially, so much so that by 1960 roughly 75 percent of the Italian school population were attending English Catholic schools. How do we account for this shift? Several explanations are possible.

Before World War II the number of English Catholic schools in Montreal was limited. Those few that existed were located in areas other than those inhabited by Italians. Put another way, most Italians lived in neighbourhoods where French Catholic schools predominated. This naturally led to a high percentage of Italian youngsters attending French Catholic institutions.

Furthermore, two French Catholic schools, Notre Dame de la

Défense and St. Philippe Benizzi, were at different times bilingual or even trilingual schools. Although these schools were officially French Catholic, they did not provide instruction solely in that language.

It is the view of Jeremy Boissevain, a social historian of the Italian community in Montreal, that before World War II the Roman Catholic Church pressured Italian parents to send their children to French schools.[3] While this may be true it raises the question as to why clerical influences did not continue after the war.

Finally, some of the documentary evidence suggest that the Roman Catholic Church was more concerned about the apostasy of their parishioners to the Protestant Church, (and therefore their attendance at Protestant schools) than Italian children's attendance at French or English Catholic schools. These then are some of the questions and issues that will be studied in the thesis.

Methodology

As the thesis focuses on the enrolment patterns of Italian children in Montreal schools for the period, the main source for the study is the archives of the MCSC. Among the documents on file is a dossier on attendance rates of various ethnic groups at Montreal Catholic schools from 1930 to 1970. Other dossiers deal with such matters as bilingual classes dating from 1895,

statistical data relating to school choices of Italians, and letters sent by Italian parents, parish priests and others to the MCSC, explaining why such and such a child should be enrolled in an English Catholic school. At the same time, the archives contain a collection of the correspondence and minutes of meetings between MCSC administrators, Italian parish priests, and others that deal with the question of the education of Italians in the schools of Montreal.

The second main source comprises the parish reports of the Archives de la Chancellerie de l'archevêché de Montréal. These reports are crucial to an understanding of the educational habits of Italian children in Montreal at the beginning of the twentieth century. Because the education of Italian children was pretty well established, at this time, if only on an informal basis, the parish reports are important in so far as they contain letters written by Italian priests and members of religious orders who taught Italian children. Also, the parish reports are useful in contributing to an understanding of the early social history of the Italian community in Montreal.

Finally, this study will rely on published materials as well, including books, articles and the like.

Literature Review

With the recent surge of interest in ethnic studies in Canada, a number of works has been completed on the history of

the Italian community in Montreal. The leading authority in this area is Bruno Ramirez who has written a number of social histories on the Italian community between 1875 and 1920. His two major works are Les premiers Italiens de Montréal: L'origine de la Petite Italie du Québec, and The Italians of Montreal. From Sojourning to Settlement, 1900-1921, (co-authored by Michael Del Balso). Unfortunately, education is not a high priority in Ramirez' works and as a result only a few pages are devoted to the topic. However, these few pages offer some information on Italian attendance at two schools, Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel and Notre Dame de la Défense. The references cited in this area by the author suggest that more information may be found by an examination of parish records located at the Chancellerie de l'archevêché de Montréal.

Recently Bruno Ramirez wrote a short social history of The Italians in Canada, as part of the Canadian Historical Association's series on Canada's ethnic groups. The study is useful as a handy reference guide and its bibliography is extensive. Further works on Italian social history in Quebec include Claude Painchaud's and Richard Poulin's Les Italiens au Québec. This is an exhaustive study on the Italian community's history in Quebec. From the birth of the province to the present, the authors provide a great deal of information on the Italian community's growth in Quebec, especially in the city of Montreal. Though the authors do not deal with education in a systematic way, there are references to it throughout the work.

Another important study of the Italian community is Jeremy Boissevain's The Italians of Montreal: Social Adjustment in a Plural Society, which looks at persons of Italian origin in Montreal after the Second World War. As with Ramirez, Boissevain devotes little time to educational developments, though he does show that Italians increasingly gravitated to English-language schools after the war and that the Roman Catholic Church pressured Italian parents to send their children to French schools before 1939.

The Italians' preference for English-language schooling in Montreal after World War II is also evident in Norman Sheffe's Many Cultures, Many Heritages. This work looks at many ethnic groups, including a chapter on the Italians. This chapter devotes a few pages to education, and uses Boissevain as its main source.

Guglielmo Vangelisti's Gli Italiani in Canada is an important source as far as the early educational experience of Italian immigrant children in Montreal is concerned. In essence, the work traces the development of the two Italian parishes, Notre Dame de la Défense and Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel and its respective schools.

Three theses written at McGill University also touch on the subject. Giuliano D'Andrea's "When Nationalisms Collide: Montreal's Italian Community and the St. Leonard Crisis 1967-1969", deals to a great extent with the early social history of the Italian community in Montreal. More than half of the thesis

is devoted to providing the reader with a background of the Italian community's history in this city before actually looking at the St. Leonard School Crisis. It is in this area that we see reference to early Italian schools, for example, Notre Dame de la Défense and St. Philippe Benizzi.

C.M. Bayley's "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukranian Communities" offers some valuable insights into the educational decisions of Italian parents in the 1930's. For example, the author describes the curriculum of Catholic schools and its relation to choice of schooling by Italian parents. Furthermore, he notes that the Italians were so intent on English as the language of instruction that some actually changed their religious affiliation to meet this goal.

Of lesser importance is Harold A. Gibbard's "The Means and Modes of Living of European Immigrants in Montreal", which deals in a limited way with Italian education during the early 1930's.

Finally, A.V. Spada's, The Italians in Canada, and Rocco Mastrangelo's The Italian Canadians are general works that offer some information on Italian schooling in Montreal on the eve of the Second World War. An example of some concepts dealt with is the Italian's desire for English language schooling due to economic reasons.

The 1980's saw the publication of several articles on the educational history of Italians in Montreal. A key article is Michael D. Behiels, " The Commission des écoles Catholiques de Montréal and the Neo-Canadian Question: 1947-63", which appeared

in Canadian Ethnic Studies. The importance of this work is related to its description and analysis of how the MCSC treated the many diverse groups of Catholic persuasion in Montreal. Although the author does not concentrate on the Italian ethnic community solely, he does deal with Italian educational habits after World War II. As such, the work is directly related to this thesis and is a valuable source especially in Italians' choice of schooling, (French or English schools) after World War II.

Michael D. Behiels has also written, "Neo-Canadians and Schools in Montreal, 1900-1970" in the Journal of Cultural Geography which looks at how Italian and Jewish communities were treated by Quebec's confessional school system. In several pages the author summarizes the Italian educational experience between 1900 and the early 1960's in Montreal.

Finally, Michael D. Behiels has produced Quebec and the Question of Immigration: From Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism, 1900-1985. This short work, in a series on Canada's ethnic groups published by the Canadian Historical Association, deals with different ethnic groups including the Italians of Montreal. Several pages are devoted to the Italian community, including their educational experiences in the city.

Of more depth is Donat J. Taddeo and Raymond C. Taras, Le débat linguistique au Québec: La communauté Italienne et la langue d'enseignement (1987), which is the first book to treat specifically the education of Montreal's Italian community during

the twentieth century. However, as the title implies, the authors concentrate on the language issue in education after 1960. Still, the book contains a considerable degree of information concerning the Italian community's relationship with the MCSC from 1918 to the present.

ENDNOTES CHAPTER I

1. R.F. Harney, "Frozen wastes: The state of Italian Canadian Studies" in S. M. Tomasi's Perspectives in Italian Immigration and Ethnicity, New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1977, p.119.

2. Some examples of educational theses on Montreal ethnic groups are:

   Bertley, June, "The Role of the Black Community in Educating Blacks in Montreal, from 1910 to 1940, with Special Reference to Reverend Dr. Charles Humphrey Este." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1982.

   Lam, Siu-Yuk, "School Achievement and Cultural Adjustment of Chinese Adolescents in Montreal, Canada." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1978.

   Ross, Harold, "The Jew in the Educational System of the Province of Quebec." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1947.

   Shore, Bettina, "Immigrant Perceptions of Canadian Schools: A Study of Greek Parents in Montreal." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1979.

   Melnyk, Iryna, "Ukranian Bilingual Education in the Montreal Public School System, 1911-1945." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1987.

3. Boissevain, Jeremy, The Italians of Montreal: Social Adjustment in a Plural Society. Ottawa: Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1970, p.39

CHAPTER II

Early Immigration to Montreal 1895-1918: The Birth of a Community

Characteristics of Early Italian Immigrants

Italian immigration to Montreal, and Canada for that matter, grew dramatically between the turn of the century and World War I. From a minimal number of 1,035 Italians in Canada in 1871 the population increased to 45,963 by 1911. A great percentage of this population settled in major urban areas, including Montreal. In 1881 there were less than 150 Italians living in Montreal. This figure climbed to a modest 2,000 by 1900. Most of the Italians lived in the St. Louis, St. Lawrence, and St. James Street areas.[1] The "average" Italian immigrant of that period had little in the way of formal education, knew little English or French, was Roman Catholic in religion and was less than 25 years of age. Interestingly, these early Italians were sojourners rather than permanent settlers. Seasonal migration was the predominant pattern at the turn of the century.[2] Thus, most Italians entering Montreal were young male workers who were employed for a short duration after which they would return to Italy. This fact is confirmed by the statistic which shows that of 4,000 Italians in Montreal in 1905 half were without

families.[3]

As with other immigrant groups to North America around the turn of the century, the Italians of Montreal were motivated by economic considerations. As Harold Gibbard explains, "Montreal with its phenomenal growth as a commercial and industrial city, has favored the immigrants because of its employment opportunities in the unskilled trades."[4] Another reason that has been suggested by many authors is that Montreal was predominantly a Catholic city. Moreover, the Italian immigrant was attracted to the cities of Montreal or Toronto rather than the rural Prairies, which appealed to East European populations. The Italian immigrant, for his part, was more suited to the urban centre, especially when employment opportunities are taken into consideration. Many Italian immigrants needed cash and their skills with a zappa, "... the primitive mattock that was the farm tool of the Italian South, prepared them for urban and railroad excavation work more than for the plough farming of the Prairies."[5] It is not surprising then that the Canadian Pacific Railway was one of the largest employers of the newcomers to Canada. However, the scenario of the sojourning Italian immigrant was soon to change, as early as the second decade of the century.

> The available statistical data on Italian immigration to Montreal does indicate that as one moves from the first to the second decade of the century the sojourning phenomenon gives place to a new immigration movement made up of people coming to Montreal to settle

permanently.[6]

Furthermore, many sojourning Italians ended up marrying French Canadians which further tied them to their adopted country.

The Establishment of Italian Roman Catholic Churches

Coinciding with the increase of the Italian population in Montreal was the rise of institutions to meet the needs of early immigrants. The first and most important institution to aid the Italians was the Roman Catholic Church. Initially, many Italians encountered difficulties in this respect because there was no Italian parish in Montreal. Consequently, Italians attended churches under the direction of French Canadian clergy which resulted in problems of communication. However, the Italians of Montreal were not the only ones to suffer in this respect. Practically all Italian newcomers to North America faced this problem. This is seen by a letter written to Rome by an American Roman Catholic prefect at the turn of the century.

> The lamentable condition in which thousands of Italian immigrants to America find themselves, and the grave perils which continually assail their faith, deprived as they are of priests who speak their language have often occupied the attention of this Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda and we would excite anew your well known zeal in their favour.[7]

The Italian population of Montreal lobbied for its own clergy as early as 1891. In that year 423 Italians signed a petition asking for a priest who could give a sermon in their mother tongue.[8] From asking for an Italian priest, the Italian population, in a letter dated February 26, 1898, petitioned Archbishop Bruchési of Montreal for its own church.[9] In 1900, Mr. Catelli, (the first Italian to be named to the Montreal Chamber of Commerce) pressured the Catholic leadership to accede to the Italian community's demands. Unfortunately, the time was not ripe for the erection of such a building as the Catholic hierarchy noted on January 7, 1900. The church project appears to have been rejected because of the substantial expenditures required. According to church officials,

> The project to construct a church for the Italians in Montreal is not new. The Archbishop himself has overseen such a project for a number of years. However, a great effort is needed to realize such a project and it should be noted that it would require a substantial amount of money.
>
> All in all, the Archbishop would be very happy if a church could be constructed today.
>
> If Mr. Catelli consults his compatriots and if he sees the possibility of raising enough revenue the Archbishop would gladly give his blessing to such an endeavour.[10]

However, in 1905 the Catholic leadership of Montreal responded to the demands of the Italian parishioners. The parish of Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel, under the guidance of the Jesuit Fathers, was designated to serve the Italians of Montreal. Accordingly, the parish church would exclusively serve the

Catholics of the Italian tongue and the mass would be conducted in Italian.[11]

The Italian community's good fortune increased in 1910 when a new parish church named Notre Dame de la Défense was founded with the authorization of Monsignor Paul Bruchési, Archbishop of Montreal. The church would play a key role in the Italian community for years to come.

The Italian parishes were not the only institutions that catered to the needs of the Italian community in Montreal. In 1902, the Italian Immigration Aid Society of Montreal was founded, one of whose purposes was to assist Italian immigrants to reach Canada, and specifically Montreal. The Society also assisted Italian immigrants in obtaining land for settlement in the city of Montreal from the Canadian or provincial governments. The Society also functioned as a social welfare agency, helping Italian immigrants who needed temporary shelter, and pertinent to this study, the Society assisted the newcomers by providing informal education, so that the Italians could become familiar with the language, customs, and laws of the country.[12] Finally, there existed the Orphanage of St. Joseph, a Catholic welfare society which instructed and trained Italian children of both sexes residing on the Montreal island.[13]

The preceding description is intended to provide the reader with a background knowledge of the early Italian community in Montreal. These institutions, especially the parishes of Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel and Notre Dame de la Défense, played a

leading role in the early informal education of Italian immigrants.

The church leaders of Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel and of Notre Dame de la Défense were interested in leading and protecting their flock. The Italian community was bent on protecting its culture, language and religion. To that end, it provided an education, albeit of an informal variety, to Italian children. However, such efforts did not reach many children,

> Similarly another important service provided by the parish, i.e. primary education, seems to have been very inadequate to the needs of the parishioners. We do not know how many school-age children made up the parish population, but clearly an enrolment record fluctuating between 95 and 154 (and a teaching staff of four) shows that a small minority of children only benefitted from this service. As the reporting priest put it in a note on the 1904 Pastoral Report, 'A large number (of children) frequent regularly the schools of the city and escape from my control.'[14]

It is difficult to ascertain exactly how many Italian children received their education elsewhere. But, from the above we may conclude that a fair number of Italian children attended the public schools of Montreal. But what type of schools could they attend? It behooves us at this point to provide the reader with information concerning the Quebec educational system of the time.

Quebec's Public Education System

In contrast to other western countries, Quebec's public educational system was unique in the sense that it was divided along religious lines, a Catholic school that catered to the majority French-speaking population and a Protestant school for the minority English-speaking one.

The dual denominational school system traced its origins to the bi-cultural nature of Quebec society. Ever since the military conquest of Canada in 1760, Quebec had been populated by two cultural groups, who differed in terms of language, religion and place of habitation. The numerically superior French-speaking Canadians were Roman Catholic and dominant in the county parishes. On the other hand, the English-speaking population was predominantly Protestant and urban based. This duality of society was reflected in the educational system. Any efforts by ruling authorities to establish a common school system failed as can be seen in numerous examples. First, in 1789 Chief Justice William Smith, a Presbyterian and Loyalist from New York State, presided over a commission that recommended a public school system capped by a secular university. Nothing came of these recommendations owing in part to the opposition of Catholic and Anglican leaders. Again, the Catholic leadership was instrumental in the failure of the next major attempt to create a public school system in the province. The public school system known as the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning

was created in 1801. This system's success depended mainly on the initiatives by the majority of the inhabitants of a parish or township. As such this system was doomed to fail as the French Roman Catholic clergy saw the Royal schools as an attempt by the British ruling authorities to anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadian population. As a result, most schools created were English and Protestant. Since the majority of the population did not participate in the system, the system's success was tenuous at best.

The next major attempt to create a common school system occurred with the arrival of Lord Durham of Britain. With the need to investigate the ills of the colony after the rebellion of 1837-38, Lord Durham believed that a common school system with the intent of assimilating French Canadians into loyal British subjects was in order. His Report aided by Arthur Buller's expertise in education, inspired the legislation of 1841 which created common school boards and schools in every area of the province except Montreal and Quebec City. The schools were public in the sense that anyone could attend them. However, this system was displeasing to the Roman Catholic clergy due to its assimilationist overtones. As such the Roman Catholic clergy fought long and hard to pressure the government to amend the 1841 legislation. This resulted in the ever important principle of dissent. This principle of dissent meant that in every area of the province where a common school board existed the Roman Catholic or Protestant minority was able to "dissent" and create

its own denominational school board.

This fact along with the realization that common schools became denominational for all practical purposes, led to the division of Quebec's public school system along denominational lines.

This division was further exemplified in the Education Act of 1846. This act created two denominational boards in the cities of Montreal and Quebec City. This meant a Catholic and a Protestant board in each town. Thus, on the eve of Confederation there were three types of school boards in Lower Canada. In the towns there were two denominational boards one Protestant and one Catholic. Outside the cities there were common school boards and dissentient school boards.

With Confederation in 1867, the British North America Act granted educational responsibility to the provinces. As such, the provinces were the sole authorities as far as education was concerned. However, each provincial legislature was limited in its powers over education as subsection (1) of Section 93 of the British North America Act specified,

> nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union.

Thus, the provincial legislature, which was granted responsibility of education by the Constitution had to respect the denominational divisions of the provinces as they existed at the Union. In other words, the rights of Catholics and

Protestants as "Class of Persons" were protected and enshrined in the Constitution and any provincial government would be hard pressed to alter the system in any significant way.

In Quebec, educational authority was centered in the Council of Public Instruction which was divided into Catholic and Protestant Committees. This arose after the 1875 Act replaced the Ministry of Public Instruction by the Department of Public Instruction which was essentially an administrative body headed by a Superintendent. As the same Act made the Superintendent of Public Instruction answerable to the Council of Public Instruction, the latter body became supreme in educational authority. Furthermore, this act gave the Catholic and Protestant Committees ultimate power in running their respective schools. Thus, the 1875 Act further widened the gap between the Catholic and Protestant communities and increased the denominational character of the public school system of Quebec.

On the Catholic side the Roman Catholic Church gained increased power in running the province's Catholic schools as all Catholic bishops were made ex officio members of the Catholic Committee. Furthermore, an equal number of laymen was appointed by the government. The Protestant Committee consisted of a number of members equal to the number of lay members of the Catholic Committee. Although religious representatives did not have ex officio rights on the Protestant Committee, the membership invariably included several clergymen.

The principal function of the committees was to establish

policy for Catholic and Protestant public education. Specifically, the committees determined curriculum, regulated the training and certification of teachers, granted diplomas, organized provincial examinations and certified school inspectors. In other words, each functioned as an education ministry with respect to the Protestant or Catholic schools of the province.

At the turn of the century public education in Montreal was under the governance of two denominational boards: the Montreal Catholic School Commission and the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of Montreal. The two boards and the schools under their authority differed in several respects. Catholic schools were highly religious in character and taught in French. As such, they were the schools of the majority French Canadian population. The religious bias of the school was ensured by the curriculum taught and the personnel administering and teaching in its schools. The Protestant schools, on the other hand, were mainly English and secular in nature, especially in curriculum and school personnel. In theory Italian families in Montreal could send their children to either school - Catholic or Protestant. Since religion was the dominant educational factor most attended Catholic schools. Italian children attended schools under the authority of the MCSC or attended classes in Italian church basements. Most Italian children gravitated toward the latter at the turn of the century.

Italian Children in MCSC Schools at the Turn of the Century

The earliest information concerning the education of Italians in Montreal schools appears in the MCSC reports of 1895. The commission's director-general was studying in collaboration with the principal of Montcalm School, the possibility of setting up classes for Italian children who were "running the streets". Both came to the conclusion that the establishment of these classes would considerably increase the progress and development of the Montcalm School due to the multicultural make-up.[15] This marks an important departure in educational development in Montreal since schools under the MCSC were largely of a French character. Historically, the commission had been somewhat indifferent in opening its doors to "newcomers" as was the case with the first major minority group, the Irish. Not only was the commission now willing to accept the "newcomers" or the Italians in this case, but it believed that the attendance of the Italians would be beneficial to the school. Thus the director-general of the MCSC and the principal of the Montcalm School demonstrated an openess towards non-francophones not normally seen.

The next bit of information concerning the Italian community's relations with the MCSC also appears in the 1895 reports, in which reference is made to a letter received from a parish priest, Father Leonardo, who requested funds to establish a school for Italian children.[16] Though the amount of money requested is not indicated, the importance here is that the

Italian community was now sufficiently large enough to justify making an appeal. In 1899, Father Leonardo petitioned the commission for financial aid to pay the rent and other expenses of a school that was under his direction. The MCSC responded by sending its director-general to visit the school.[17] Unfortunately, the documentary evidence is silent as to the outcome of the school leader's visit. An interesting aside to this affair is that Father Leonardo was teaching the Italian immigrant children in both French and English, which suggests that at this early date bilingualism was regarded favorably by the Italian community.

Although some Italian children went to MCSC schools at the turn of the century, it appears that most were instructed informally in church basements. The latter arrangement suffered from financial ills. There was a great shortage of funds with which to buy supplies and to pay teacher salaries. However, financial troubles were not restricted to the Italian community. The majority French-speaking Catholic population of Montreal was also plagued by financial woes in education at the beginning of the century. According to social historian Terry Copp,

> The Catholics of Montreal find themselves in one of the most trying positions that it is possible to imagine; their revenues are limited to the sum produced by the property tax, which is fixed at 1/4 of a cent on the dollar, but their obligations are unlimited, the population increases every year by a greater number of families. Coming from all parts, the schools of the ancient parishes become too small; in that now they are obliged to place the classes in the basement of temporary churches, and money fails even

to pay the meagre salary of the teachers.[18]

The educational situation of Montreal Italians improved modestly in the first decade of the new century. The MCSC records show that on January 14, 1908, an Italian delegation led by Reverend Father C.A. Ramello and Mr. Catelli, sought funding from the commission to the tune of $1,200 for an Italian school founded on 479 Dorchester East.[19] Additional requests for funding were made later in the year, as the commission was asked to give an additional $250 to pay for heating costs and teachers' salaries in 1908. These requests were acceded to by the commission.[20]

Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel

Unfortunately the MCSC records do not include the name of the school. However, it is fairly certain that this was the parish school of Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel as the church was located at the same address. Nevertheless, the Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel school did not gain official recognition from the MCSC until 1915. The school was founded and supervised by the Servants of Marie. The school was open to all Italians of the region and provided instruction largely in the Italian language. Finally, the school was comprised of lay as well as religious personnel.[21]

The school grew to such proportions that by 1918 it could boast an attendance of 277 students of whom none were of English

or French extraction.[22] The assumption is that the school's pupils were overwhelmingly Italian.

Until the early 20th century, the education of Italian children in Montreal had been conducted on a piecemeal and haphazard fashion. However, with the founding of two Italian parishes, Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel and Notre Dame de la Défense, we see the development of elementary education on a more permanent basis.

Notre Dame de la Défense

Founded in 1910, Notre Dame de la Défense was the first Roman Catholic parish that catered to the Italian community in the north end, (near the corner of St. Laurent and St. Zotique boulevards) of the city. The church basement was used to instruct Italian youngsters. In 1912 Mgr. Paul Bruchési, Archbishop of Montreal, conferred the direction of the "school" to the Franciscan missionaries of the Immaculate Conception. In 1913 the Servants of Marie, a Roman Catholic female missionary order, ran the school. An estimated 100 to 150 students attended the school, which was divided into four classrooms. Though some sources indicate that the school was attended by both girls and boys, this cannot be confirmed by the records.[23] In principle the church was opposed to co-education on moral grounds. However, co-education may have arose out of necessity, owing to

the shortage of space and the lack of funding.

The school taught the usual fare of reading, writing, arithmetic and religion with the latter being the most important subject. Of particular interest is the fact that the languages of instruction were French, English, and Italian. Notre Dame de la Défense was the only school in the province to offer a trilingual education at the time.[24]

The school under the Servants of Marie religious order was plagued by financial problems, as expenses surpassed revenues. Consequently, in 1915 Father G. Vangelisti, an Italian parish priest, appealed to Archbishop Bruchési for help. The Archbishop responded by providing a grant of $4,000.[25] However, the Roman Catholic Church was not the only institution to come to the aid of the school. Father Vangelisti also petitioned the MCSC for assistance. He reasoned that since 25 to 30 children had parents residing in the area administered by the MCSC, the commission should provide financial help to the school. The commission responded by allocating to the school one dollar a month per student whose parents lived in the MCSC jurisdiction in question.[26] In 1917, J.P. Labrosse, director-secretary of the MCSC's north district, announced a subsidy of $1,800 for lighting, heating and maintenance for the school.[27] In this manner the Italian church basement school gradually became absorbed into the MCSC system. It is here that we see the first steps towards educating Italian children on a larger scale.

Although the Italian community was grateful for the

financial aid provided by the commission to their schools, there were some drawbacks to the arrangement. First, the acceptance of funds from the MCSC meant a partial loss of autonomy. When the MCSC gave Notre Dame de la Défense a grant of $6.25 per student annually to subsidize lay teachers and others, the agreement stipulated that the school had to follow the program of study laid down for all MCSC schools.[28] One subject that was at risk was Italian since there was no provision for it in the MCSC program. Still, the schools continued to teach Italian at the early elementary level for some time even though it was not officially recognized by the MCSC. It was not until 1931 that an official policy on language of instruction was established by the Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction, which ruled that Catholic schools would teach only the two official languages of Canada.

Conclusion: The Situation by the End of World War I

We can see then that by the end of World War I the Italian community had laid the foundation for its existence in the city of Montreal. Parishes had been founded, institutions established and in the realm of education the Italians had two schools. Furthermore, in 1917 the director-general of the MCSC informed the commission of the setting up of three Italian classes in the new school of Saint Jean de la Croix in the Ville Emard section of Montreal.[29] Thus, in a matter of twenty years (1898-1918),

the Italians had moved from church basement schools to formal schools that had become a part of the MCSC and in the process were subsidized by the commission. However, if 1918 can be loosely considered as the year that Italians were established and relatively secure as a community, educational problems were also evident.

It would seem that most Italian children suffered from the same ills faced by most children at the time: a paucity of schools and the expenses associated with acquiring an education. It is well to remember that education was not compulsory in Quebec until 1943. Also, free education, at least at the secondary level on the Catholic side, did not exist. If one wished to attend a secondary school on the Catholic side, with the intent of pursuing higher learning, one needed to attend a collège classique. The collège classique was a private institution that generally offered a classical educational program from the secondary to the college level. The importance of the institution was that it was the main route to university studies in the (French) Catholic sector. The attendance at such a college was for the most part beyond the means of most Italians.

According to Terry Copp, an historian, the Catholic public schools of Montreal were dilapidated, overcrowded and in general in a messy state especially when compared to Protestant schools.[30]

School was seen as a place where children could learn

rudimentary knowledge but was not yet seen as a vehicle for social advancement . This phenomenon was more apparent with the Italian immigrants to Canada after World War II. Italian children were expected to enter the work force at an early age in order to contribute financially to the household. The family worked toward acquiring enough money to buy tracts of land in the northern area of the city, (at the time underdeveloped) where a house could be built and a garden set up so that vegetables and fruits indigenous to the home country could be grown locally. For these reasons many Italian children did not attend school and for those who did the stay was frequently a brief one.

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CHAPTER III

Italian Children in Montreal Catholic Schools, 1910-1931

Population Statistics

It was shown in the preceding chapter that the Italian community was relatively well established in the city of Montreal by 1918. As a community, the Italians were flourishing when one considers that at the beginning of the century there were hardly any permanent Italian settlers in the city. By 1921, 14,000 or 2% of the total Montreal population of 618,000 were of Italian origin. As we also saw, Italians had parishes, and social and educational institutions.

Although the Italian community grew substantially in Montreal from 1900 to 1918, this growth rate decreased after the war.

> After World War I the Canadian government changed its attitude to European immigration. New legislation was passed to reduce drastically the number of immigrants and as a result, few Italians entered Canada.[1]

Thus, the growth rate of the Italian population of Montreal in the 1920's would depend largely on immigrants who had arrived prior to the war. Regardless of this fact there was still enough

Italian children in Montreal to warrant two schools, Notre Dame de la Défense and Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel.

Notre-Dame de la Défense

In 1918, the central bureau of the MCSC agreed to sign a twenty year lease with the Notre Dame de la Défense parish at the cost of $65,000.00. The commission had the option to acquire the property at any time during the lease. All expenses including the cost of furniture, maintenance, lighting and heating were to be assumed by the parish. However, the commission was obliged to heat the presbytery that housed the Servants of Marie Sisters, who taught at the school.[2] With the lease signed and the prospect of a sounder economic foothold, enrolments in the parish school increased to 770 by 1921, an increase of 527 students in two years.[3] The MCSC archives indicate that in 1920 the enrolment of the Notre Dame de la Défense school included 338 girls and 302 boys.[4] Most of the students were concentrated in the lower grades of the elementary school, though there were a few students who were at the 4th and 5th grade levels. A curiosity is that the class lists of the school for 1923 include only boys. However, there is no evidence that girls stopped attending the school, leading one to conclude that the records for the period are incomplete. The 1923 records also show that enrolment was concentrated in the lower grades. Of 389 boys in attendance, 105 were in kindergarten, 112 in the first grade, 127

in the second, 37 in the third , 24 in the fourth grade, and finally 14 in the fifth grade.[5] These statistics demonstrate that for most Italian youngsters living in Montreal in the 1920's, school going was a short-lived experience. This is not surprising given the fact that education was not compulsory at the time and that Italian children were expected to contribute to the economic welfare of the family, which meant leaving school at an early age to go to work. Quitting school at an early age, however, was not unique to the Italian community. A report by the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers in 1905 revealed that less than 25% of Montreal children stayed in school past the second grade.[6]

The teachers of the Notre Dame de la Défense school were both female and male, lay and religious. For the most part, the lower grades were taught by nuns (mostly of the Servants of Marie), and the higher grades by lay male teachers. Also, a cursory look at the family names of the teachers reveals that most were either French or Italian, the latter making up the majority.[7]

The class lists for Notre Dame de la Défense in 1924 include statistics for both male and female students, ranging from pre-school to the 5th grade, though one female class was categorized as the 5th-6th grade. The enrolment figures for this year were 394 boys and 404 girls. The attendance of boys and girls was evenly distributed from the pre-school to the 6th grade with the bulk of the students concentrated in the lower grades. It is

difficult to determine if boys and girls were instructed apart since class lists were not separated by sex but by the location of the attendance of the children.

At this time the Italian children attended school in two different locations. Some students attended classes located at the old Notre Dame de la Défense Church, while others attended classrooms leased to the MCSC. It would seem that co-education may have arisen due to a lack of space.

The Italian community was not content in having their children educated in different locations and desired to have their children grouped in one school. But due to expanding enrolments and insufficient space, this was not possible. By 1921 these problems grew serious enough to be included in the MCSC reports. The director-general of the MCSC reported on the logistical problems associated with the Notre Dame de la Défense school.[8] In a committee meeting of July 25, 1921, the commission agreed to open three new classes for the Italians in buildings leased to the MCSC.[9] These halfway measures served more as a stopgap than anything else. Two years later, in 1923, Father Vangelisti, pastor of Notre Dame de la Défense, called on the commission to authorize the construction of a new school for Italians saying that,

> We foresee ever increasing enrolments and ask the commission to construct a school with enough classes to receive all the Italian children and to separate the two sexes.[10]

The commission responded to this plea with the usual call

for more studies, committee meetings, etc. It also pointed out that the construction of a new school could not be undertaken without the authorization of the provincial legislature in allowing for a new loan.[11]

Not much more was heard of this situation until a year later when again the deplorable conditions came to light in the MCSC committee's report of 1924. The report noted that the MCSC opened 14 classes in the old Notre Dame de la Défense church. According to the commission the classrooms lacked necessary hygenic conditions. The situation was even worse in other locations along Drolet and Henri Julien streets where classrooms were established. The commission remarked that not one of the 25 classes attended by 850 Italian children was "conducive to a sound education."[12]

This unhealthy learning environment was predominant throughout the northern area of the city of Montreal as the MCSC opened up many classes to accomodate the burgeoning Italian population.

Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel

The problems of overpopulation and underfinancing in the north side of the city were also seen in the south side, specifically at the Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel school. Though not much is mentioned in the MCSC reports the school was not without

its problems.

The major problem facing Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel was financial in nature. Father Augustin Tucci, pastor of Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel, complained to the MCSC on May 19, 1923, that the annual grant of $18.00 per student provided by the commission was not large enough to cover the expenses of running the school. As Father Tucci explained, the grant was not conducive to a "personal education" for the students. Furthermore, the school was having a difficult time in meeting maintenance, lighting, and heating costs.[13]

By 1924, the Italian population of Montreal had grown to such a degree that the MCSC had a hard time accomodating all the community's school-age children. For the most part, the great majority of Italians lived in the northern part of the city and attended Notre Dame de la Défense and its affiliated classes, while others remained in the southern reaches of the city and attended Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel. At the same time, a number of Italians were settling in other regions of greater Montreal, Ville Emard, for example. So much so that by 1924 the Italians of Ville Emard asked the commissioners to educate their children. The MCSC in this case was quick to comply as Mr. Gingras, the principal of Dollard-des-Ormeaux school in Ville Emard, allowed 35 children to attend a class under the direction of Miss Rosina Amatazzio.[14]

All in all, the Italian community was growing at a faster rate than the facilities provided, triggering new calls for the

building of schools for the Italian population.

The Hope of a New School

On May 2, 1924 Father Guglielmo Vangelisti of Notre Dame de la Défense and Father Armaderia, Superior of the Fathers of the Servants of Marie, presented themselves to the commission, calling for a new school. They both stated that the construction of a school should fit two criteria: one, that the school be in close proximity of the Notre Dame de la Défense Church; and that it be centrally located in the Italian community of Montreal. For this reason they opposed the commission's plan to build a school north of Isabeau street. A school situated in this area would not "... give satisfaction to the Italian population."[15] The Italian Church leaders explained that 1,200 to 1,500 Italian families resided south of Isabeau street while only 100 families lived north of the street. The commission took the Fathers' reasoning to heart by constructing a school at 6839 Drolet Street, in the north central part of the city. The school officially opened in 1924 and was named Ste. Julienne Falconieri. The school, which opened with 14 classes cost almost $100,000 to build and was entrusted to the Brothers and Sisters of the Servants of Marie.[16]

St.Philippe-Benizzi School

The school, which was renamed St. Philippe Benizzi in 1933, had an enrolment of 664 students in 1927. The school's classes ranged from the preparatory, (between kindergarten and 1st grade) to the 9th grade. Again, most children were concentrated in the lower grades as only four girls were in the 9th grade class, though overall the number of girls surpassed that of boys by a good margin, being 491 to 173.[17] As it turned out, Ste Julienne Falconieri (St. Philippe Benizzi) became, for the most part, the Italian community's school for girls of the region, whereas most boys remained at the "old chapel school" of Notre Dame de la Défense.[18] The teaching staff of the school was unusual for its time. Even though the school was administered by the Servants of Marie religious order, only lay teachers taught from the 3rd to the 9th grade.[19]

The curriculum offered by St. Philippe Benizzi school was of a trilingual nature. Although the language of instruction was officially French, the Italian and English languages were recognized. For example, the cathechism was frequently taught in Italian especially in the lower grades. Furthermore, spoken and written Italian was taught from grades 1 to 6.[20] More importantly though was the use of English in the school's curriculum. Beginning in grade 3 and continuing to grade 5, 1 hour a day was devoted to English instruction. This increased to 2 hours a day in the 6th grade, 2 1/4 for the 7th graders, 3 hours and 10

minutes for 8th graders, and 3 1/2 hours for 9th graders.[21] Furthermore, English was used as the language of instruction in other classes. For example, English was used in the teaching of mathematics, geography and book-keeping from the 6th grade on. In the 6th grade 5 1/4 hours of mathematics and 3/4 of an hour of geography per week were taught in English. The 7th grade statistics were almost identical with there being slightly under 5 1/4 hours of mathematics per week taught in English. In the 8th and 9th grades 6 1/2 and 7 hours a week were devoted to the teaching of mathematics in English.[22] Thus, English became an increasingly important subject for those Italian children who remained in school for a longer duration.

A Trilingual Curriculum

The trilingual nature of St. Philippe Benizzi's curriculum was also in evidence at Notre Dame de la Défense and Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel. Again, French was the official language of both schools. However, the use of Italian and English was not omitted in the classrooms. For example, in Notre Dame de la Défense, Italian was used as a language of instruction in the catechism classes, and was also taught as a second language for at least 1 hour a day.[23] Thus, the school offered a course in the Italian language while also using Italian as the language of instruction in other classes. As far as English was concerned it seems that Notre Dame de la Défense imitated St. Philippe Benizzi. Although

the records are not as detailed as in the latter case, it can be concluded that English was taught as a second language from grade 4 on and was used as the language of instruction in mathematics, geography and book-keeping from the 6th grade on.[24]

At Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel, Italian was limited to the preparatory classes up to and including the 2nd grade. The less time devoted to Italian in this case may be due to the fact that the school had a smaller Italian contingent than the other two schools. This is reflected in the fact that the MCSC reports for 1927 included the need for retaining a sister of the Servants of Marie to teach the Italian children in their mother tongue.[25] This need was not apparent in the other two schools since they had high Italian enrolments.

The trilingual nature of schools attended by Italian younsters had the support of the Italian community as evidenced by the remarks of Father Tucci to Mr. J.M. Manning, Director of Studies for the MCSC, on August 27, 1928,

> You will permit me to ask you to keep in the parish school of Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel all the professors engaged last year who are able to teach in all three languages. The Italians are very interested in learning the two official languages, English and French, while at the same time they do not wish to neglect Italian.[26]

One can see now how a teaching shortage arose since not only were the schools looking for teachers who spoke Italian, but teachers who spoke all three languages, as well. As the MCSC report for June 13, 1927 stated, "it is impossible to find in

Montreal a sufficient number of teachers who could teach in a foreign language and who have a teaching diploma from the province of Quebec."[27] It should be mentioned that this problem was not confined to the Italian, but also the Polish and Lithuanian communities in Montreal.

The Situation by the Mid-1920's

The mid 1920's were interesting times for Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel and its relationship to the MCSC. The commission questioned why it financially aided a school which technically remained independent. This fact was clearly in evidence in the commission reports of 1925. On February 16, 1925 the commission members recommended placing the school under the direct control of the commission.[28] A committee report of September 21, 1925 easily sheds light on the commission's uneasiness. The report stated that Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel received $36.00 a year for each student attending the school even though it was not under the direct control of the MCSC. This meant that the choice of instructors, the subjects taught, and the school regulations were not decided by the commission. The commission observed that the school "does not occupy the position that it should within the board."[29]

Because of this the school officially became a part of the commission by the 1927-1928 school year. In the academic year of 1927-1928 the MCSC opened 7 classes to accomodate the 217

children enrolled at the school. Even though the school officially came under the MCSC it still retained a fair degree of autonomy. For example, Italian was still used as a language of instruction in the teaching of catechism classes. Although this was not officially condoned by the commission, it was accepted that Italian was to be taught along with French and English.[40]

In 1928, the commission authorized the construction of a school 84 feet long by 72 feet wide adjacent to the Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel Church. The school named after the parish had 10 classes which were comprised mainly of Italian teachers and students alike. For example, all the children of the St. Joseph's Orphanage, mentioned in the last chapter, attended the school.

There is no mention on record as to the fate of the original Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel parish school. It would seem though that the parish could not have operated two schools at the same time and therefore the school probably was closed as the new school received all occupants.

Up to this point, the establishment and growth of Italian schools in Montreal and their relationship with the MCSC has been documented. We have looked at pupil numbers in such schools as Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel, Notre Dame de la Défense, and Ste. Julienne Falconieri, (St. Philippe Benizzi). We have also looked at class rolls, the curriculum, and the teachers of the schools. However, the 1920's also saw the beginning of a problem that would come to a head in the next decade, namely, a rise in the

Italian Protestant population.

Conclusion: The Apostasy Problem

The earliest reference to this "problem" appears in the archival documents of the archdiocese of Montreal for 1920. On May 28 of that year, Father Migliorini of Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel wrote to Archbishop Bruchési of Montreal, saying,

> The Protestants with their resources at their disposal are taking away our children. They place them at no cost in different establishments. Our youth is drawn by the attractions offered by these institutions.[31]

This problem was explained in greater detail later the same year when Father Vangelisti of Notre Dame de la Défense told the commission that Italian children of Marquette, Papineau, Fabre, and Chambord streets, (and the surrounding area) were without a Catholic school. As a result, most were attending the Protestant school of the region. Father Vangelisti implored the commission to build a school to rectify the situation.[32]

On August 27, 1928 Father Augustine Tucci of Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel wrote to J.M. Manning, Program Director of the MCSC, asking him to retain Italian teachers in the parish school to dissuade Italian youngsters from attending Protestant schools in the region.[33]

This was one problem that Italian church leaders and the

Italian community faced in the 1920's. The decade saw a rise in enrolment figures within the parish schools and those under the MCSC. The period was also one where schools were established after a long and deliberating process. Overall, the schools built and the classes attended by Italian children were plagued by several problems, including space and financial ones. Not only did Italian church leaders have to face these problems but they also had to contend with "losing their flock" to the Protestant faith. Overall, the decade was of a mixed blessing; schools were established but in general had many difficulties. Overcoming these difficulties became the main priority of the Italian community and the Italian Roman Catholic Church.

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CHAPTER IV

The Choice of Schooling of Italians in Montreal in the 1930's: A Question of Language Over Religion

Population Statistics

By 1931 there were 98,173 people of Italian origin residing in Canada. Of this number 20,871 or more than 1/5 lived in the city of Montreal. This figure represented 2% of the total population of Montreal. This is a relatively high figure when one considers that hardly any Italians immigrated to Canada, let alone Montreal, after 1927. The main reason for this was that the Fascist government of Italy, led by Benito Mussolini, severely curtailed emigration from that country. This fact coupled with the Canadian government's reluctance to accept Italian immigrants, made any increase in the Italian population of Montreal to come about by those families already living in the city.

The 1931 census also confirms the fact already alluded to previously in this study, that the majority of Italians entering Quebec settled in urban areas, Montreal in particular. In 1931 there were 24,845 Italians in the province of whom 23,917 were

living in urban centers, while only 928 were living in rural areas.

By 1941 there were 28,051 Italians in Quebec of whom 25,432 or 94% were residing in Montreal. This represented 2.23% of the total population of the city. Again this increase since 1931 was almost entirely due to the local birth rate of the Montreal community. Not only were Italians not permitted to leave their native land but by 1939 the Canadian government suspended immigration of "enemy subjects" to the country. In light of the stable Italian population of Montreal in the 1930's, the distributional pattern of the community remained the same. Educationally speaking, this meant that the three major schools populated by Italians, Notre Dame de la Défense, Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel, and St. Philippe Benizzi, again played a central role in the 1930's.

For example, of 4,550 Italian children attending schools under the authority of the MCSC in 1936, 25% were concentrated in the three aforementioned schools, but particularly Notre Dame de la Défense and St. Philippe Benizzi, as the Italian population continued to shift northward.[1] What may be said about the three schools in the decade?

St. Philippe Benizzi & Notre Dame de la Défense

In the 1930's St. Philippe Benizzi became the boy's school for the Italian community in the north of the city while Notre

Dame de la Défense was attended by girls only.[2] The co-educational accommodations mentioned in previous chapters no longer existed as the community had enough children to warrant two separate schools. More significantly, the two schools increasingly became bilingual rather than trilingual institutions. The language of instruction in the early grades was primarily French, but from the 6th grade, mathematics, geography and book-keeping were taught in English.[3] This meant in effect that English instruction accounted for half of the curricular time in the upper levels of elementary school. In addition, English was taught for more than was prescribed in the guidelines of the official program of the MCSC.[4] Thus, the days of a truly trilingual education subsided as Italian was taught only at the first two grades and in catechism classes. This was clearly stated in the MCSC reports of 1931.

> This was the state of things up to 1931 when the MCSC decided that only the two official languages of the country would be taught in the schools under its control. Meanwhile, the commission permits Neo-Canadians to learn the basics of their language as well as the elements of religious learning in their mother tongue, but only in the 1st and 2nd grades. Italian has been forcibly eliminated from the program since 1931.[5]

The Catholic Committee Bans Maternal Language Teaching

In reality, it was not the MCSC that initiated this policy but the Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction,

which was the provincial authority in charge of Catholic public education. The Italian community was critical of the new policy even though the schools affected were public. Italian community leaders were disappointed since trilingual education had been the norm since 1918 when Notre Dame de la Défense was placed under the control of the MCSC.

One such critic of this new policy was Father P. Manfriani, pastor of the parish of Notre Dame de la Défense. Father Manfriani pleaded with the commission to extend the teaching of Italian up to and including the fourth grade.[6]

The pastor pointed to the long tradition of having Italian as a language of instruction in the curriculum of the Notre Dame de la Défense school. This was the case even after the school was placed under the MCSC's control in 1918.

The commission was not swayed by Father Manfriani's proposal. The only concession it was prepared to make was to allow Italian instruction after school hours, it refused, however, to provide funding for this activity.

In 1932 the Royal Council of Italy wrote to the MCSC suggesting the introduction of night classes in Italian for those of Italian origin.[7] The commission's response to this was negative.

> ... that the regulations of the Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction declare primary schools bilingual, French and English, and it follows that this commission is not obliged to instruct the many Catholic minorities in their maternal language.
>
> We have resolved that we cannot accede

to the demands of the Italian consulate.[8]

Another organization or committee to get involved in the language squabble was the Neo-Canadian committee formed by the MCSC itself. The committee had been established to deal with problems experienced by ethnic groups attending MCSC schools. The committee argued that by teaching Italian and other foreign languages in the schools of the MCSC, the commission would discourage students from going elsewhere for their education, in particular Protestant schools.

> The Neo-Canadian committee formed by the commission in the beginning to hinder the attendance of Neo-Canadians at Protestant schools believes that the teaching of Italian during school hours and for the majority of the elementary program will be a good way to deter Italians from attending Protestant schools even if they do not teach in Italian during the school day.[9]

Being that the great majority of Italians were of the Roman Catholic faith, it would seem logical that Italian parents would send their children to Catholic schools. However, in the 1930's this was not always the case.

Italian Children at Protestant Schools

In comparison to their Protestant counterparts, Catholic schools and Catholic welfare organizations were at a financial disadvantage particularly during the Great Depression. Catholic welfare organizations like the Saint Vincent de Paul Society were hard pressed to compete with Protestant organizations who were

far better able to feed and clothe ethnic minorities.[10] Furthermore, J. Rod. Thibodeau, controller of taxes for the MCSC, remarked that French and Irish Catholic welfare organizations were not terribly interested in aiding other ethnic minorities of the Catholic faith.[11] As a result, Protestant associations were better able to aid the poor and destitute especially when considering the number of Protestant benefactors. For example, the Unemployment Relief Committee, a Protestant welfare organization, situated at 1027 rue St. Georges, summoned the Protestant ministers in the early 1930's to advise them of their favorable situation in comparison to their Catholic counterparts in their endeavors to help the downtrodden.

Following this meeting, the Protestant ministers assisted women missionaries, visited poor families, even Catholics, generously distributed food and clothing and took care of the sick at their hospitals free of charge.[12] At the same time, the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of Montreal decided to be less stringent in enrolment requirements and opened their doors to all those who desired to be admitted into their schools. This policy was a matter of grave concern for Italian church leaders but particularly the Catholic hierarchy.

The earliest documentary evidence of this is found in the MCSC meeting of November 3, 1936. In the presence of the Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Montreal, Canon Albert Valois, and the president of the MCSC, it was reported that many "foreign nationalities" were renouncing Roman Catholicism so that their

children could attend Protestant schools. It was stated that this was easily done since many parents cared little for the differences inherent in the two school systems except that they wished to have their children instructed in English. This development was perceived as both a spiritual and financial problem for the MCSC and the Catholic leadership.

> This constitutes for the Catholic element of Montreal a distressing problem in the religious and social point of view. Furthermore, the abnormal increase of children registering in Protestant schools as non-Catholic and non-Protestant, keenly diminishes the neutral taxes which by law comes to the commission.[13]

Not only was the commission losing students but also funds from the neutral panel. It behooves us at this point to explain how Quebec public schools were financed at the time.

The financing of public schools was derived from three sources of income : provincial government grants; school fees; and finally by city school taxes which were amassed by the taxes paid solely by property owners. The greatest proportion of money was raised by this last method. The allocation of school taxes was conducted on a panel system which was introduced in 1869.

The panel system was divided into three sectors: Catholic, Protestant, and neutral. The first panel included Catholic property owners; the second Protestant property owners; and the third comprised the real estate of incorporated companies and of individuals listed as non-Protestant, non-Catholic. The neutral panel's revenues were apportioned to Catholic and Protestant schools in proportion to their population. Since the Protestant

schools received more students who were listed as non-Protestant, non-Catholic, they generally received a greater share of the neutral panel's tax dollars and this reduced to some degree Catholic funding. For example, in 1936-1937 the MCSC's share of the neutral panel revenue was reduced by $60,000.00, a significant figure considering the era.[14]

However, at this time the Protestant Board of School Commissioners complained of the same fact.

> The disturbing feature of the year's financial expenditure and the cause of the deficit in revenue and expenditures accounts is the substantial reduction suffered in the yield of the neutral panel divided between the Protestant and Catholic boards in the proportion each religion bears to the total population of the city of Montreal based on the census. The 1931 census ... have had the effect of reducing by approximately 2% the proportion of the total yield of the non-Protestant accruing to the Protestant board.[15]

Regardless of who was suffering the most from a decline of revenues from the neutral panel this problem was deemed serious enough that Hector Perrier, Provincial Secretary of the Province of Quebec, (there was no minister of education at the time) asked J. Rod. Thibodeau, controller of taxes for the MCSC, to investigate the affair in 1941.[16]

Mr. Thibodeau's Investigation

The investigation by Mr. Thibodeau was directly spurred on by the concerns expressed by Father Vangelisti of Notre Dame de

la Défense. As Hector Perrier explained in a letter to Thibodeau on September 2, 1941,

> During the last week I received a visit from Father Vangelisti, pastor of Notre Dame de la Défense. He told me of a serious problem facing the Italian community in lieu of the great number of apostasies committed of late.
>
> Please communicate to me all of the relevant information concerning this case.[17]

The key word in that letter that worried Father Vangelisti was apostasy or the renunciation of the faith. In other words, the Roman Catholic hierarchy was concerned about the number of Italians renouncing Roman Catholicism and in many cases converting to Protestantism.

Thibodeau's investigation was thorough and unearthed some interesting information. First, it appears that the apostasy problem was not confined to the Italian community of Montreal. Between 1930 and 1938 the apostasy rate for the Montreal population were as follows: 1,797 French Canadians, 655 Italians, 246 East Europeans, 165 Irish and English and 2 Chinese.[18] Secondly, this problem had been in evidence since the beginning of the century. From 1912 to 1941, 3,352 apostasies occurred with 85% committed between 1930 and 1938.[19] The question that needs to be asked is why this became such a problem in the 1930's? One reason was discussed earlier in the chapter. This revolved around the Great Depression and the general disinterest of Catholic charity associations in regard to immigrants and their inability to aid these groups.[20] Because of this many "foreigners" turned to Protestant organizations and some

converted to the Protestant faith as well.

In his findings Thibodeau cited other reasons for the high apostasy rate. One reason was due to the insufficient teaching of English in French schools. Secondly, there were not a great number of English Catholic schools or classes in Montreal. Thus, any Roman Catholic ethnic minority wishing to have its children instructed in the English language found it very difficult. Faced with this situation Roman Catholic ethnic minorities were faced with two options: either send their children to French Roman Catholic schools or renounce their religion and convert to Protestantism. In a number of cases some chose the latter alternative. This was the case because in order to attend Protestant schools, students normally had to be children of Protestant or Jewish parents, or others who paid into the Protestant panel. Since many Roman Catholic ethnic minorities were not property owners and therefore did not pay school taxes they had no alternative but to convert to Protestanism or they had to pay a higher fee rate than others, and this was in many cases virtually impossible for Italian families. This is borne out by the high apostasy rate enlisted previously. Thibodeau went as far as to suggest that 90% of the apostasy cases during this period were not due to a true conversion to the Protestant religion but for the simple desire of Roman Catholic parents to educate their children in English.[21]

A case study of the Italian experience confirms Thibodeau's reasoning. The Notre Dame de la Défense parish

encompassed the Montcalm, Rosemount, St. Edouard and Villeray regions. The Roman Catholic population, excluding French Canadians, was 15,787 of whom 6,500 were of Italian origin.

The area had two English Catholic schools. One, St. Brendan's, was located at 5937 9th avenue in Rosemount. The school was first constructed in 1907 with reconstruction in 1930 and 1939. The second, Holy Family school, was constructed in 1930 at 7376 Lajeunesse in the Villeray district.

The Protestant Board of School Commissioners on the other hand had five schools in the area. Amherst school constructed in 1915 was located at 5767 Cartier in the Montcalm district. Drummond school constructed in 1931 was located at 5755 15th avenue in Rosemount. Rosemount school established in 1911 at 3001 Rosemount boulevard was located in the same region. This was also the case for Peace Centennial which was constructed in 1914 at 931 Jean Talon East in the Villeray area. Finally, Earl Gray school constructed in 1908 and again in 1924 was located at 1035 Bellechasse in the St. Edouard region.[22] The point to be drawn from these figures is that there were more English Protestant than English Roman Catholic schools in the area inhabited by Italians. This is especially true when considering that from 1930, St. Brendan's was the only school servicing immigrant children whose parents wanted their children instructed in English. Since this was only one school in a vast area, Thibodeau concluded that parents had no other alternative but to send their children to Protestant schools in order to receive an

education in the English language.[23]

In 1935 the Protestant school board became disenchanted with educating non-Protestant children, especially those of the Catholic faith, while not receiving an adequate amount of funding from school taxes. The Protestant Board of School Commissioners had already faced this problem at the turn of the century when a great number of Jewish youngsters attended its schools. The board was unhappy in educating the children while not receiving tax dollars as many Jewish parents were not property owners and did not pay school taxes. With the shortage of funding and the history of the Jewish example to bear in mind, the board laid down new regulations concerning the admission of Catholic children into its schools. These regulations, for the most part, placed a great deal of restrictions on parents who were left with two choices in their desire to send their children to Protestant schools. First, they could pay $8.50 a year to have their children attend Protestant schools. Considering that most immigrant parents were of a low socio-economic background, this was a difficult option. Alternatively, parents could sign a form renouncing their Catholic faith and convert to Protestanism. If the parents did not comply with one of the two aforementioned conditions they had no choice but to remove their children from the schools. Since most parents wished to keep their children in Protestant schools and were unable to pay the school fees, a number of parents signed the forms distributed by the board. For example, in September and October of 1935, 662 parents wishing to

keep their children in Protestant schools renounced their Roman Catholic faith.[24]

By 1939, the situation became serious enough for Catholic and Protestant school authorities to meet to discuss the apostasy question. It was decided that the Protestant schools would refuse to accept Catholic children and that it would cease the practice of having parents sign the apostasy forms.[25] Thus, the Protestant Board of School Commissioners reversed their earlier decision taken in 1935.

In his conclusion, Thibodeau noted that many parents did not in fact renounce the Roman Catholic faith and convert to Protestantism. Instead he believed that parents signed the forms for the explicit reason of providing their children with the opportunity to receive their education in English. As he noted,

> In a number of cases, the parents declared that they signed the forms provided by the Protestant Commission because they thought that the signing of the forms would admit their children to English schools.[26]

Thibodeau concluded his study by issuing two recommendations. He urged that English schools or classes be set up in all French districts where the foreign population was concentrated. He also recommended that another school be built in the Montcalm district to lighten the load of the overcrowded Holy Family school.[27]

Thibodeau's recommendations were taken to heart by the commission as the apostasy question was instrumental in leading to expanded facilities and services in the English Catholic

sector,

> ... as we saw the immigrant parents and the Catholic educators used the apostasy threat on a number of occasions to force the MCSC to place English schools for the use of allophone children.[28]

Conclusion

It may be concluded then that in the 1930's the language of instruction and religion were two vital factors in determining the choice of schooling for children of Italian parents in Montreal. It is difficult to determine how many Italian parents renounced their religion to send their children to English Protestant schools. As Thibodeau pointed out, many parents signed the forms handed out by the Protestant board with the idea that this would enable them to send their children to English schools. In other words they may have considered these forms to be solely registration papers. Thus, they may not have been aware that in signing the forms they were renouncing their Roman Catholic faith. There is no disputing the fact that the MCSC lost a number of students to the Protestant school board due to its lack of English Catholic schools coupled with its decision to disallow the teaching of maternal languages in 1931. This fact is borne out by the concern of Italian Roman Catholic authorities in losing their flock, by the concern expressed by the Protestant authorities in having to educate students officially designated as non-Protestant or non-Catholic and most importantly by the

apostasy rates for the period. Because of this the MCSC, faced with the pressure of the Roman Catholic authorities, enlarged its English Catholic network.

ENDNOTES CHAPTER IV

1. Bayley, C.M. "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukranian Immigration Communities." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1939, p. 256.

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3. Ibid.

4. CECM Dossier 1. Sujet Néo-Canadiens, Diverses Nationalités, 1930-1970.

5. CECM Dossier 7. Sujet Néo-Canadiens, généralités historiques des classes spéciales pour les Néo-Canadiens 1948-1970.

6. CECM Dossier 4. Sujet Néo-Canadiens, Classes Bilingues, 1895-1960.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. CECM Dossier 1, op. cit.

10. CECM Dossier 7, op. cit.

11. CECM Dossier 4, op. cit.

12. CECM Dossier 4, op. cit.

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14. Taddeo, Donat J., and Taras, Raymond C., Le débat linguistique au Québec: La communauté italienne et la langue d'enseignement. Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1987, p. 49.

15. Protestant Board of School Commissioners Annual Reports, 1929-1944, Volume 3.

16. CECM Dossier 4, op. cit.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Taddeo, Donat J., and Taras, Raymond C., op. cit. p. 50.

20. CECM Dossier 4, op. cit.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Taddeo, Donat J., and Taras, Raymond C., op. cit. p. 41.

CHAPTER V

The Growth of English Catholic Education, 1940-1960

Population Statistics

In the preceding chapter we saw the extent to which Italian parents went in order to have their children educated in English. The Roman Catholic Church and the Montreal Catholic School Commission were concerned with the rate of Italian families renouncing their Catholicism. One result of this was an increase in the building of English Catholic schools, especially in areas inhabitated by Italian families. The growth of English Catholic schools continued in the 1940's, 1950's and 1960's as the Italian population, and other Catholic ethnic minorities increased accordingly with the great wave of post World War II immigration.

In 1941 the population of the city of Montreal was 1,140,000, of whom 25,000 were of Italian origin. By 1951 the city's population was 1,395,000 with close to 31,000 of Italian origin. To a great degree the majority of Italians in Quebec resided in the city of Montreal. The following table, which divides Quebec into dioceses, confirms this fact.

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF ITALIAN ORIGIN IN QUEBEC BY DIOCESE, 1951

Diocese	Population of Italian Origin
Ile Jesus	356
Ile Montreal	30,221
Timmins	335
St. Jean	699
Amos	210
Quebec	529
Sherbrooke	338
Ottawa	172
St. Jerome	177
Ste. Hyacinthe	166
Valleyfield	148
Trois-Rivières	269
Chicoutimi	147
Mont Laurier	87
Joliette	87
Gaspé	78
Nicolet	34
Rimouski	45
Golfe St. Laurent	52
Ste. Anne	15

SOURCE: CECM Dossier 11. Comité des Néo-Canadiens, statistiques, 1931-1969.

The great surge of Italian immigration to Montreal and the rest of Canada for that matter truly began in the 1950's as confirmed in Table 2.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN ENTERING QUEBEC, 1946-1958

Year	Number
1946	38
1947	39
1948	713
1949	1,541
1950	2,729
1951	7,496
1952	6,175
1953	5,982
1954	6,061
1955	5,118
1956	7,509
1957	8,558
1958	7,655

SOURCE: CECM Dossier 11. Comité des Néo-Canadiens, statistiques, 1931-1969.

Over a span of twelve years (1946-1958), 59,614 Italians entered Quebec. This is a surprising figure when one considers that in 1941 only 28,051 Italians were in Quebec.[1] The Italian population of Quebec more than doubled in the 1950's and this can be directly attributed to the great surge of immigration to Quebec, as outlined in Table 3.

TABLE 3

TOTAL POPULATION OF MONTREAL AND POPULATION OF ITALIAN ORIGIN IN MONTREAL

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	ITALIAN ORIGIN	ITALIANS BORN OUTSIDE CANADA
1901	268,000	1,600	NOT AVAILABLE
1911	468,000	7,000	NOT AVAILABLE
1921	619,000	14,000	NOT AVAILABLE
1931	819,000	21,000	9,000
1941	1,145,000	25,000	9,000
1951	1,395,000	31,000	NOT AVAILABLE
1961	2,110,000	101,000	63,000

SOURCE: Jeremy Boissevain, The Italians of Montreal: Social Adjustment in a Plural Society, p.2.

Thanks to Italian and other immigrants, Quebec experienced its largest aggregate net migration ever between 1951 and 1961, a total of 195,000 people. In all, 20% of immigrants entering Canada during this time came to Quebec, settling primarily in Montreal.[2] What is of importance here is that many of these arrivals enrolled their children in English Catholic schools.

Before examining the increase of English Catholic schools and the high attendance of Italian children, we need to return to the apostasy question which was examined in the previous chapter.

The Apostasy Problem

As we saw before, many Italians in the 1930's converted to Protestanism in order to attend English schools. One result of this was an increase in English Catholic schools to counterbalance this phenomenon. However, the apostasy problem was not confined to the 1930's. An examination of committee reports in the 1940's and 1950's provides evidence that the problem was still in existence. For example, on February 3 1948, the Neo-Canadian committee of the MCSC was allocated $400.00 to study the attendance of Italian children at Protestant schools.[1]

The Neo-Canadian Committee

The Neo-Canadian committee, established by the MCSC in 1948, was set up to look into the apostasy problem. Its mandate centred on three aspects: to identify children of Catholic immigrants; to pass that knowledge on to parish priests; and to redirect these children into Catholic schools.[4] Basically, as the MCSC stated, the Neo-Canadian committee was established since the commission was not fully aware of the problems, especially the apostasy question, encountered by the Neo-Canadians. During the 1940's these problems came to the forefront when Monsignor Gauthier, archbishop of Montreal, wrote to Armand Dupuis, president of the MCSC, requesting an examination of the problems

experienced by Neo-Canadian children. As a result, Walter Bossy, a foreign language teacher, was requested to study this issue. This culminated in 1948 with the establishment of the Neo-Canadian committee, whose mandate was to,

> ... better respond to the situation and in lieu of the ever increasing number of immigrants a Neo-Canadian committee is formed which is directly under the MCSC. This committee will be headed by Canon Raoul Drouin.[5]

The reasons for the formation of the committee were also stated in a brochure written by the committee itself for immigrant parents a few years later.

> During the last twenty years, the commission has been particularly interested in Neo- Canadian children. In response to the intense immigration of the last few years, the commission has created a Neo-Canadian committee to profoundly study the problems encountered by the newcomers.[6]

In its first year of operation the Neo-Canadian committee proposed the creation of a Neo-Canadian sector within the MCSC. It is not entirely clear what the Neo-Canadian committee wished to create in its inaugral session. It may be speculated that the Neo-Canadian committee hoped to create a de facto separate sector of the MCSC with all the appropriate powers and privileges that were enjoyed by the English Catholic sector of the MCSC. It also recommended that Neo-Canadian children be grouped into special schools or classes close to their respective national churches. Its recommendations were designed to ensure that the majority of

Catholic Neo-Canadian children attended MCSC schools and that they integrated more readily into French Canadian society by allowing the children to learn French as well as English.[7] The apostasy question that was a concern of the MCSC and the Roman Catholic Church was also deemed to be of great importance to the Neo-Canadian committee. In March 1948, a Mr. Tozzi, (no first name specified) a Canadian citizen of Italian descent, and a Loyola College graduate, informed the committee that a certain number of Italians had apostasized mainly for economic and practical reasons.[8] This lends further weight to the belief that many Italians converted to Protestanism for other than religious or philosophical reasons.

In October of the same year, a committee report of the MCSC recommended the establishment of a school in the Belanger and Papineau street's district, (northern part of the city) the existence of which would dissuade Italian children from attending Protestant schools. The report went on to say that such a school would have drawing power were the Italian language to be a major subject in the curriculum.[9]

In the minutes of the MCSC of March 20, 1950, a report acknowledged that a campaign by the churches and the newspapers of the Italian community would be launched in the succeeding months with the aim of encouraging Italian parents to send their children to English Catholic schools. The minutes also included the hiring of two Italian women by the school commission to identify the names and addresses of Catholic children who went to

Protestant schools. It was discovered in the process that some Italian children who were attending Catholic schools had English Protestant tutors.[10] It may be speculated that this was done so the children would learn the English language. There is no indication as to where this instruction took place and why the tutors were of the Protestant faith. However, this fact must have been of some importance to be included in the minutes of the MCSC.

Reasons for Abandoning Roman Catholic Schools

Around this time, numerous reports of the MCSC contained information purporting to explain the Italian "desertion" from Roman Catholic to Protestant schools. The first reason revolved around the immigrant parents' perception that the English language was required for economic and social advancement. At the same time, a number of Neo-Canadian parents believed that the Protestant schools offered a superior type of education as its curriculum gave more attention to practical rather than theoretical learning. Secondly, a Protestant school diploma was seen as being more advantageous to Italian students who aspired to enter the business world of Montreal which functioned largely in English. In the third place there were not enough English Catholic schools for the Italians and other ethnic minorities. Often the closest English school was a Protestant one and as a result many ethnic children attended these schools.[11] These

facts are confirmed by Behiels in his study of Catholic schools and the Neo-Canadian communities.[12]

Up to now, we have seen how some immigrant children, Italians included, attended Protestant schools ostensibly to learn English. We have also seen how the MCSC reacted to this development. It now seems appropriate to review the number and proportion of Italian children that attended the French and English schools of the MCSC over the years.

Division of Attendance of Italian Youngsters in MCSC Schools

Between 1900 and 1930 the majority of Italian parents chose to send their children to French language Catholic schools. As we have seen, there were two main reasons for this: the convenience of sending Italian children to French Catholic schools, and the fact that many schools taught in two or three languages, one of which was Italian.

However, the Great Depression produced a shift in attitude among Italian parents who increasingly perceived English as the language of economic advancement. As a result, parents took steps to enroll their children in English language schools as English as a second language was not taught in the French schools of the MCSC before grade 6. A look at enrolment figures during this period confirms this fact.

For example, enrolment figures for ethnic minorities in the MCSC's French schools dropped from 3,965 in 1931-32 to 3,495 in

1938-39. At the same time, English school enrolments in the MCSC rose from 3,608 to 4,723. In 1944-45, 1,577 Italian youngsters attended English Catholic schools while 1,551 Italian children attended French Catholic schools. The point is that school-age Italians were split down the middle at the end of the Second World War, one half in French and the other half in English Catholic schools.

For the school year 1945-46, 1,576 Italian children were in French Catholic schools while 1,650 were in English Catholic ones. For the school year 1946-47, both sectors of the MCSC saw an attendance decline among Italian youngsters as 1,620 were in English Catholic schools and 1,511 in French Catholic schools. Nevertheless, by the end of the 1940's we see a slow perceptible shift toward English Catholic schools by Italian youngsters.

With the great increase in the Italian population of Montreal, mainly due to increased immigration, the trends of the late 1940's continued into the next decade.

In the 1952-53 school year there were 2,014 Italian youngsters attending French Catholic schools, while 2,326 were in English Catholic schools. In the next year the figures were 2,245 and 2,800, respectively. By 1955-56, 4,546 or 61% of Italian youngsters were in English Catholic schools, while 2,888 or 39% were in French Catholic schools. By 1960-1961, the percentage of Italian children attending English Catholic schools had climbed to 70%. What is also significant is that by the late 1950's the Italians had become the largest ethnic group or

nationality in the English schools of the MCSC, with 7,866 students, followed by 5,382 English (British origin), 4,894 French and 2,277 Irish students.[13]

There is no denying then, that in the late 1940's and especially the 1950's, Italian children increasingly gravitated towards the English sector of the MCSC. It would be appropriate at this time to inquire into the record why this shift became so pronounced in the 1950's.

The Increase of English Catholic Schools in the 1950's

To begin, French Canadian society had traditionally been indifferent, if not hostile, to immigrants. In general, French Canadian society interpreted the massive immigration after World War II as another attempt by English Canada to assimilate the French Canadians.[14] At the very least, immigration was seen by French Canadian society as a threat to its cultural integrity. This belief is supported by a study commissioned by the Institut de psychologie de l'Université de Montréal in 1951, which showed that 67% of French Canadians in Montreal as compared to 37% of English Canadians were opposed to immigration.[15]

This view was also evident in the schools of Montreal at the time. As Behiels explains,

> In fact, many French-Canadian principals were actively encouraging neo-Canadian students to enroll in English language schools. As a result, CECM administrators quietly allowed the majority of the foreign language classes

> to be set up in English language schools thereby providing a further incentive for neo-Canadian parents to shift their children into those schools.[16]

Jeremy Boissevain, in his sociological study of the Italian community of Montreal, points to two major reasons for the growing popularity of English schools for Italians. Both reasons, easier access to the job market and the possible immigration to other parts of North America, revolve around the importance of English in economics and economic mobility.[17] Furthermore, Boissevain states that Italian families believed that the English language must be learned at school, while the French language could be picked up on the streets.[18]

Finally, the English school, as opposed to the French school, was seen to offer a more functional curriculum and to have better qualified teachers. Moreover, the French school curriculum was judged too literary in nature as compared to the English school curriculum which was regarded as stronger in the mathematical and science subjects.

> Italian parents prefer to send their children to English schools because they feel that they have a more pragmatic curriculum and teachers of superior training compared to their French counterparts.[19]

There are other reasons which may account for the shift from French to English schools among Italians, which began in earnest in the 1950's. One possibility revolves around the many Italian Catholic Church leaders of Italian-American descent residing in Quebec during this time. As such their first language was English

and it appears that they encouraged their parishioners to send their children to English schools.[20] In addition, because of the apostasy problem of the 1930's more English Catholic schools had been opened and Italian youngsters took advantage of these institutions. Moreover, the growth in English Catholic schools reached its apogee in the 1950's at the same time at which the English Catholic sector of the MCSC had acquired a considerable degree of autonomy in administration, curriculum, pedagogy and personnel. This autonomy actually began in 1939 when the provincial level Catholic Committee, "... modified its traditional policy by agreeing to separate regulations for the English Catholic schools."[21]

In the 1950's the English Catholic section of the MCSC grew to such prominence and strength as to take on the character of an independent school system, in fact, if not in law. Also, it can be said that it more closely resembled the Protestant school system of Montreal than the French Catholic sector in structure and curriculum. The expansion of the English Catholic section of the MCSC in terms of schools and pupils was unprecedented at this time. Between 1948-49 and 1960-61, the number of English language schools increased from 175 to 370, and enrolment rose from 96,328 to 173,030. Much of this expansion was due to the Neo-Canadian population.[22]

Another important point pertaining to the shift from French to English Catholic schools revolves around the fact that French Catholic schools did not offer English as a second language

instruction until grade six. This curricular practice did not sit well with Italian parents who perceived the English language as essential to any success in the business world.

One other main difference between the English and French Catholic school systems revolved around higher education. Essentially, the French Catholic sector did not have a fully developed public high school system. For the most part, Catholics wishing to enter French universities needed to attend a collège classique, a private secondary school institution. Viewed as an elitist institution, due to its highly restrictive entry conditions, the collège classique offered an eight year general arts program. Upon completion of the program the student received the baccalauréat. Although this degree was at the time bestowed by the French Catholic universities of the province, the only way a student could acquire a full university degree, was to undergo a specialized three year program at an university.

The English Catholic sector also had its private secondary schools but in addition it had a more evolved public high school system which offered its students the opportunity to go on to a higher education. Following this route a student in the English Catholic sector could receive a Bachelor's degree a full three years earlier than his/her French Catholic counterpart, as a student could attend an university without having to attend a collège classique. This is an important point as many Italian families did not occupy the middle and upper strata of society, especially in relation to recent Italian immigrants. As a

result, the English Catholic sector became much more aimable to Italian-Canadians as it provided an easier route to attain a higher education.

Thus, as the English Catholic school system evolved, more and more Neo-Canadians, Italians included, flocked to its schools. At the same time, French Catholic schools became less favorable, as the teaching of English was severely curtailed, and the chance for higher education was practically non-existent in the public sector.

Finally, Boissevain points to the fact that the tendency of Italians before World War II to attend French language schools was primarily due to the schools of Notre Dame de la Défense and St. Philippe Benizzi, which were officially designated as French Catholic schools, but, as we have already seen were in fact offering instruction in two and sometimes three languages.

At this point it would be useful to trace the development of these two schools in the 1940's and 1950's in order to determine their status in the Italian community.

There is no disputing the fact that the Italian community considered both St. Philippe Benizzi and Notre Dame de la Défense as Italian schools.[23] Since their inception the schools had been heavily populated by Italian youngsters. Italian was taught as a language of instruction to some extent and many of the teaching staff were of Italian origin. In the late 1940's and 1950's the two schools not only maintained their important stature within the Italian community but achieved a greater importance in the

MCSC and especially the Neo-Canadian Committee.

Notre-Dame de la Défense

In 1948, Notre Dame de la Défense, the parish school for girls, numbered 500 students, of whom approximately 270 were of Italian origin. The school was comprised of 16 classes ranging from the 1st to the 6th grade.[24]

Although French was the primary language of instruction, English and Italian were also taught. Italian was confined to the first and second grades. In the first grade, religion class was conducted in Italian for 5 3/4 hours per week. In the second grade, religion was taught in Italian for 4 1/2 hours per week, while 2 1/2 hours per week were devoted to the teaching of oral and written Italian. English, on the other hand, was used far more extensively. From the 1st to the 5th grade, English as a second language was taught from 50 minutes to 2 1/2 hours per week. From the 6th grade to the 9th grade English was not only taught as a second language but became the language of instruction in certain subject areas, as shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

THE USE OF ENGLISH AT NOTRE DAME DE LA DÉFENSE SCHOOL

Grade Level	Duration (weekly)	Subject
6	2 1/2 hours	English
	8 3/4 hours	Mathematics
	50 minutes	Geography
7	2 1/2 hours	English
	8 3/4 hours	Mathematics
	55 minutes	Geography
8	3 1/4 hours	English
	7 3/4 hours	Mathematics
	3/4 hour	Geography
9	3 1/2 hours	English
	8 1/2 hours	Mathematics
	3/4 hour	Geography

SOURCE: CECM Dossier 7. Sujet Néo-Canadiens, généralités historique des classes spéciales pour les Néo-Canadiens, 1948-1970.

It can be said that Notre Dame de la Défense had a trilingual character as late as the 1940's. More precisely, it was a bilingual school in the upper grades. The director of the school stated that the introduction of English teaching from grade 1, which was initiated in 1947, was responsible for the increased enrolments from 1946-1948.[25]

St. Philippe Benizzi

St. Philippe Benizzi, the Catholic boys' parish school, had an enrolment of 250 students in 1948, of whom approximately 180 were of Italian origin. The school had a total of 10 classes ranging from the 3rd to the 9th grade. Italian boys' in the 1st and 2nd grade attended Notre Dame de la Défense school, while at the same time four classes were set up for children at the Holy Family school due to lack of space. Although the students attended St. Philippe Benizzi school, the classes were still under the jurisdiction of the prinicipal of Holy Family, a boys' school in the English sector of the MCSC.[26] Most of the children were of Italian origin.

There were some differences between St. Philippe Benizzi and Notre Dame de la Défense. English was not as pervasive in St. Philippe Benizzi. This is seen in the fact that only 1 hour per week was devoted to the teaching of English as a second language from the 3rd to the 9th grade. Furthermore, English was used slightly less as a language of instruction from the 6th to the 9th grade, as shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

THE USE OF ENGLISH AT ST. PHILIPPE BENIZZI SCHOOL

Grade Level	Duration (weekly)	Subject
6	2 hours	English
	5 1/4 hours	Mathematics
	3/4 hour	Geography
7	2 1/4 hours	English
	5 hours 20 minutes	Mathematics
	3/4 hour	Geography
8	3 hours 10 minutes	English
	6 1/2 hours	Mathematics
	1/2 hour	Geography
9	3 1/2 hours	English
	7 hours	Mathematics
	1/2 hour	Geography

SOURCE: CECM Dossier 7. Sujet Néo-Canadiens, généralités historique des classes spéciales pour les Néo- Canadiens, 1948-1970.

Secondly, and more importantly, Italian was not taught at St. Philippe Benizzi. The principal of the school said the absence of Italian in the curriculum was due to the fact that the parents of the area did not specifically request it. On the other hand, Father Vangelisti of the parish of Notre Dame de la Défense wanted the language taught at the school.[27]

In due time, the Father's wishes were granted as both schools became a part of a new curriculum instituted by the MCSC. Under the guidance of Joseph Dansereau, program director of the MCSC, the new curriculum was created primarily to deter Italian youngsters from attending Protestant schools.[28] The proposal put

forth by Dansereau was that Italian would be taught from grades 1 to 6 as a second language and as the language of instruction for the course in religion. This proposal was accepted by the Néo-Canadian committee at a meeting held January 28, 1949.

> ... that conforming with the desire of religious authorities of the parish of Notre Dame de la Défense and of numerous parishioners and due to the profound sympathy of the Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction on the Néo-Canadians our Committee expresses hope that the school commission teaches Italian in the two schools.[29]

After going through the necessary channels to gain approval, the proposal was accepted with 2 hours of conversation and religion in Italian taught in grade 1 and 2, 2 hours of conversation in reading and religion in Italian in grade 3, and 2 1/2 hours of conversation, reading and elements of grammar and 1 1/2 hours of religion in Italian in grades 4, 5, and 6.[30]

By the early 1950's, Joseph Dansereau was so pleased with the results of the program that he wished to apply similar language standards to other ethnic groups. The success of the program, in Dansereau's view, was due to the increased enrolments in the two schools, (see Table 6). Still, it cannot be denied that surging Italian immigration rates were also a factor.

TABLE 6

ENROLMENT AT ST. PHILIPPE BENIZZI AND NOTRE DAME DE LA DÉFENSE, VARIOUS YEARS

School	School Year	Enrolment
St. Philippe Benizzi (ST. PB)	1947	271
Notre Dame de la Défense (NDD)	1947	465
ST. PB	1948	271
NDD	1948	469
ST. PB	1949	263
NDD	1949	586
ST. PB	1950	259
NDD	1950	579
ST. PB	1951	300
NDD	1951	680
ST. PB	1953	377
NDD	1953	741

SOURCE: CECM Dossier 10. Comité des Néo-Canadiens, formation du comité, 1936-1969.

Although Joseph Dansereau pronounced the program a success, difficulties did develop. For example, Ernest Fournier, director of district 6 of the MCSC remarked on May 2, 1952 that,

> ... here the teaching conditions have become very difficult with the constant arrival of Italian immigrants who speak neither French nor English and by the teaching of 3 languages. To achieve success... the personnel must exhibit a great deal of energy and loyalty.[31]

By 1953 the teaching of Italian had been restricted to the first three grades in the two schools, marking the decline of Italian as a language of instruction and the beginning of the

disappearance of the trilingual curriculum. The reason for this was mainly due to the fact that English and French elements within the MCSC did not want the creation of a Neo-Canadian division because it would disrupt the status quo.[32] In other words, the MCSC hierarchy did not wish to add another sector to the English and French sections of the commission. This was especially true for the anglophone Catholic leadership which believed that a "... a trilingual sector for the Neo-Canadians would have severely curtailed the expansion of the English language sector."[33]

Conclusion

By the end of the 1950's the educational situation of the Italians was characterized by a great increase of enrolment in the English Catholic sector of the MCSC. To a large degree the multi-language curriculum espoused by the Neo-Canadian committee slowly grew to an end in English Catholic schools. This fact did not deter the Italians from attending English Catholic schools as this sector became the preference of three out of four Italians by the next decade.

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1. CECM Dossier 11. Comité des Néo-Canadiens, statistiques, 1931 - 1969.

2. Behiels, Michael D., "The Commission des écoles Catholiques de Montréal and the Néo-Canadian Question: 1947-1963," Canadian Ethnic Studies, Volume 18, Number 2, 1986, p. 39.

3. CECM Dossier 10. Comité des Néo-Canadiens, formation du comité, 1936-1969.

4. Behiels, Michael D., op. cit., p. 42.

5. CECM Dossier 3. Sujet Néo-Canadiens, Comité des Néo-Canadiens, Procès Verbaux, 1947-1960.

6. CECM Dossier 4. Sujet Néo-Canadiens, Classes Bilingues, 1895-1960.

7. Behiels, op. cit. p. 46.

8. CECM Dossier 10. op. cit.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. CECM Dossier 4. op. cit.

12. Behiels, Michael D., op. cit.

13. CECM Dossier 11, op. cit.

14. Behiels, Michael D., op. cit. p. 41.

15. Ibid., p.41.

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22. Behiels, Michael D., "The Commission des écoles Catholiques de Montréal and the Néo-Canadian Question: 1947-1963", p. 52.

23. Taddeo, Donat J., op. cit. p. 78.

24. CECM Dossier 7. Sujet Néo-Canadiens, généralités historique des classes speciales pour les Néo-Canadiens 1948-1970.

25. CECM Dossier 7, op. cit.

26. CECM Dossier 1. Sujet Néo-Canadiens, Diverses Nationalités, 1930-1970.

27. CECM Dossier 10, op. cit.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. CECM Dossier 1, op. cit.

31. CECM Dossier 10, op. cit.

32. Behiels, Michael D., "The Commission des écoles Catholiques de Montréal and the Néo-Canadian Question: 1947-63.", p. 50.

33. Ibid., p. 52.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

The Italian community of Montreal at the turn of the twentieth century was comprised mainly of Italian men who sojourned from Montreal back to Italy. As time went by, more and more Italians settled in the city and slowly a permanent community was established.

From the earliest days the Italian Roman Catholic Church played a vital role in every aspect of the Italian immigrant's life in Montreal. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the early educational practices of Italian children. The basement of two parish churches, Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel and Notre Dame de la Défense, served as makeshift schools. From their cramped conditions the schools provided a basic instruction in the English, French and Italian languages. For most youngsters of that period, attendance at school was of a short duration as they were expected to find work in order to contribute financially to the household.

By the late 1910's and early 1920's Italian children began to attend schools under the MCSC jurisdiction on a more regular basis. It seems that even at this early stage the schools may have offered a bilingual or trilingual education while maintaining their French language classification. The schools

frequented by Italian children were characterized by overcrowding and generally unkempt conditions. Because of these problems, a new school, Ste. Julienne Falconieri, opened its doors to the Italian community in 1924. All three schools, Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel, Notre Dame de la Défense, and Ste. Julienne Falconieri, later renamed St. Philippe Benizzi, offered instruction in the English, French and Italian languages.

Due to a 1931 regulation of the Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction, the teaching of languages other than English or French was forbidden in Catholic schools across the province. This regulation upset many Italian parents who wished to retain Italian as a language of instruction in Montreal schools. Italian Catholic Church leaders were also worried by the fact that the absence of Italian instruction would aggravate the growing apostasy rate. The relatively high apostasy rate or renunciation of one's faith, was provoked by a number of factors including the inability of Catholic charity agencies to cope with the needs of those suffering from the effects of the Great Depression, the insufficient teaching of English in MCSC French schools, and most importantly, the lack of English schools under the MCSC's jurisidiction.

Owing to pressure from the English Catholic and Neo-Canadian community, the MCSC began in the late 1930's to enlarge its English Catholic school network.

One main result of the apostasy problem was the formation of the Neo-Canadian committee of the MCSC. One of the committee's

main goals was to ensure that Neo-Canadians enrolled in Catholic rather than Protestant schools.

The late 1940's was characterized by a slow but perceptible shift of Neo-Canadians enrolling in English rather than French Catholic schools. One reason for this shift was that at this time English was generally not taught in French schools until grade 6. Another reason was that the public high school system in the French sector of the MCSC was less well developed than its English counterpart, in the sense that it did not lead directly to university. French students aspiring to a higher education had to go to a collège classique, a private institution. Yet another reason was that Notre Dame de la Défense and St. Philippe Benizzi (formerly Ste. Juliene Falconieri), although listed as French Catholic schools, were, as we have seen, bilingual or even trilingual schools during different periods of history. As such, the attendance split of Italian youngsters in the MCSC's French and English sectors before the 1940's was skewed by this fact.

The 1950's was a decade of high immigration rates of Italians to the Province of Quebec and more specifically to Montreal. As the statistics for the period show, more Italians chose English Catholic schools for the education of their children and as a result the gap between English and French Catholic schools became more pronounced. It is suggested that the growing Italian preference for English Catholic schools was due mainly to economic reasons. For a large number of Italian immigrants to Montreal, most of whom migrated to better

themselves, an English-language education was seen as the language of business in Montreal in particular and North America in general.

In 1949 the Neo-Canadian Committee was formed by the MCSC to cater to the many ethnic minorities whose children frequented MCSC schools. The Neo-Canadian Committee proposed that a trilingual education was one method in ensuring that ethnic students enrolled in MCSC schools. Although this curricular practice initially gained favour within the MCSC by the mid 1950's, this appeal waned. Furthermore, the Neo-Canadian Committee was now seen with some suspicion as it grew more powerful. Basically, the French and the English sectors of the MCSC disliked the committee as it was seen as a threat to these two divisions.

By the late 1950's four of five Italian youngsters in Montreal were attending English Catholic rather than French Catholic schools. During the Quiet Revolution of the 1960's, French Canadian nationalists, who had hitherto been generally unaccommodating to immigrant populations now began clamoring for certain regulations to force immigrants into French schools. Because of this it is easy to understand how certain events cropped up such as the St. Leonard crisis of 1968 which pitted the Italian and French Canadian nationalist communities.

This thesis has attempted to survey the Italian experience in Montreal public schools from 1895 to 1960, specifically those students enrolled in MCSC schools. It may be appropriate now to

compare the Italian's experience with a few select ethnic minorities.

The first major ethnic group other than the French Catholics and English Protestants to come to Quebec were the Irish Catholics. Many arrived in the 1830's and 1840's to escape the economic ills of their own country. Upon their arrival, the Irish Catholics noticed that they did not neatly fit into the educational set-up found in the province at the time. While they were English-speaking they were also Catholic and as such faced the problem that English schools in Montreal were Protestant and Catholic schools were French. Seeing as religion was the predominant factor in the choice of schooling at the time, Irish Catholics gravitated to French schools. However, as an English-speaking group, the Irish community was not satisfied with this situation. As a result, there emerged a tradition of bilingual classes in the Montreal Catholic public school system. Accordingly, Irish Catholic students were instructed half the day in the French language and the other half in the English language. This arrangement was soon to find disfavour with the Irish community as many of the teachers were themselves French and thus experienced difficulty in instructing the children in English. Over time the Irish community partly overcame these problems by establishing private schools. For example, in 1896 Loyola High School was established followed by Catholic High of Montreal in 1902. These institutions were exclusively English-language schools.

Although the Irish community faced difficulties in its relationship with the Montreal public school system, the Jewish ethnic group encountered even more severe problems. For the Jewish community the educational situation in Montreal posed a greater challenge since the system as a whole was Christian. As a group, Jewish children attended Protestant schools since the language of instruction was English and also because the Protestant schools were not overtly religious, as were their Catholic counterparts. Even though the Jewish community sent its children to Montreal's Protestant schools, this arrangement was not without problems. These problems were mainly financial in nature. As indicated earlier, at the turn of the century, one main component in funding in education was derived from property taxes. Seeing as most Jewish citizens were tenants, they did not contribute financially to their children's education. As a result, the Protestant school board was disenchanted with having to educate Jewish children without receiving any degree of funding. The Jewish community's problems in relation to the Protestant school board revolved around the violation of their religious rights and their lack of representation at the school board level. As far as maternal languages are concerned it seems that English was the sole language of instruction at the Protestant schools. However, Jewish students attending private schools, such as the Baron de Hirsch school, (which incidentally received financial aid from the Protestant school board for a time) were instructed in Yiddish and Hebrew.

As for the Ukranian community its educational experiences show a parallel to that of the Italian community. As in the case of the latter group, the Ukranians were instructed in their maternal language along with French and/or English in MCSC schools. As with the early Irish example, Ukranian children received half of their education in Ukranian and half in English or French. It should be noted that most bilingual schools used Ukranian and English as languages of instruction, and that French was confined to second language teaching. As far as can be determined the Ukranian community did not have trilingual schools. The main reason for the inclusion of the Ukranian language in the schools's curriculum was to ensure that this ethnic group remained in MCSC schools. The main fear of the MCSC, according to Iryna Melnyk, was that the Ukranian children would be led astray by communist organizations that supposedly led the Ukranian community from the 1920's to 1940's.[1] As in the case of the Italian community, the MCSC was worried that Ukranian children would leave MCSC schools and enroll in Protestant ones. Nevertheless, it may be surmised that the Ukranian community was able to enjoy the same privileges as their Italian counterparts as far as maternal language teaching was concerned.

Looking at the Irish, Ukranian, Italian and Jewish communities we see that there were similarities and differences as far as their shared educational experiences in Montreal in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were concerned. To begin, the Jewish community for the most part integrated with the Protestant

educational community. This is amply seen in the community's high enrolment rates in Protestant schools and also in provincial legislation, such as the 1903 Act which characterized Jews as Protestants for educational reasons. The group was the only non-Christian of the four and we may go even further to say that it was religiously and ethnically unique. As we have seen, the Jewish community's educational experiences at the turn of the century may be characterized as one of great difficulties along financial and religious lines. Finally, neither Yiddish nor Hebrew was taught in the Protestant schools, although they were used in private schools such as Baron de Hirsch which served as primers for Protestant schools.

We may establish greater similarities among the Irish, Ukranian and Italian communities as far as their respective educational pursuits are concerned. First, all these groups were Catholic, if not Roman Catholic, as the Ukranian community practiced the Orthodox Catholic faith. Another similarity is that all three groups received instruction in maternal languages, with the only exception that for the Irish, English was a maternal language while for the other two groups it was either a primary or second language of instruction. However, there were some differences amongst the three groups. For example, although we may classify all three groups as recent immigrants to the province, the Irish preceded the other two groups by nearly a century. Because of this fact the Irish were able to establish themselves in Montreal earlier and thus were able to create

institutions that catered to its community. As an example, the Irish was the first and only community of the three to set up private schools. As a consequence, other Catholic ethnic minorities wishing to attend private schools usually frequented an Irish institution, such as Loyola High School and Catholic High School, and, Loyola College at the higher educational level.

Whatever the case may be, there is no denying that a considerable amount of research remains to be conducted on the ethnic minorities' educational habits in Montreal during the 20th century. Even in the case of this thesis, where one ethnic minority was studied, further research may be attempted. For example, it is suggested that researchers may look into the trilingual curriculum in MCSC schools frequented by Italian children.

As we have seen, some MCSC schools used Italian, French and English as languages of instruction in various years of the period covered. To what extent this curriculum was trilingual and how pervasive was it in MCSC schools may be an area of interest to researchers in the field.

Another area of interest relates to the Italian community's involvement in private schools. A question that may be considered is the number of Italian children enrolled in private schools. Furthermore, it may be of interest to know the ethnic make-up of such schools, whether they had teachers and administrators of Italian descent. Finally, it would be interesting to see if Italian was a part of the private school's curriculum. Along

similar lines, it may be useful to know how many Italian students attended higher education institutions. Was the Italian community split in their attendance of French and English-language colleges and universities as they were in elementary and secondary schools?

One other area of interest may revolve around gender issues. Was there a difference between the educational habits of the sexes? It appears from this study that Italian girls remained in school longer than boys, though not by a great margin. It is speculated that this phenomenon was due to the fact that Italian boys were expected to enter the work force at an early age in order to contribute financially to the household. On the other hand, Italian girls contributed to the household by aiding their mothers in the daily chores.

Although the thesis did briefly look at the school personnel of some M.C.S.C. schools, there is room for further research on this topic. To what degree was the personnel in such schools as Notre Dame de la Défense, and St. Philippe Benizzi, of Italian origin? Finally, the apostasy issue of the 1930's raised in this work may be studied further. The main source for this issue was J. Rod. Thibodeau, controller of taxes of the MCSC. Was there any bias in Thibodeau's investigation? If so, how did this affect the whole apostasy problem evidenced in the 1930's?

ENDNOTES CHAPTER VI

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