

*L'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario du grand Sudbury  
presents*

*Sudbury's  
Francophones:  
A Brief History*

*Serge Dupuis*



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*by*  
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# Table of contents

Introduction .....	5
Pioneer Years (1883-1919).....	7
Consolidation During Decades of Crisis (1920-1944) .....	18
Postwar Growth (1945-1969).....	23
Economic Slowdown and Cultural Awakening (1970-1994).....	33
Economic Diversification and Cultural Diversity (1995-2020).....	43
Endnotes .....	51



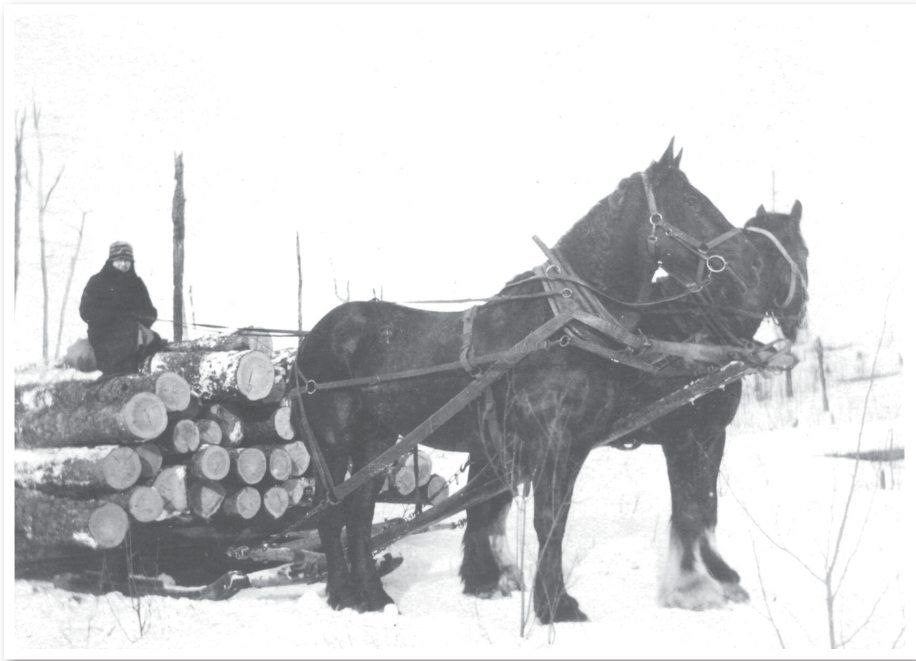
## Introduction

Should the perception of the French language in a given milieu influence linguistic behaviour? Will a better grasp of a community's history alter perceptions and shed light on the future?

That's exactly what this document contends. It sets out the history of French-speakers in Sudbury, then highlights all they have in common with other French-speakers across North America, along with their own particular characteristics, strengths, and challenges.

Both newcomers and families who have lived in the area for generations will validate existing knowledge, as well as learn new things.

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*Hanmer, 1926*



## Pioneer Years

~ 1883 to 1919 ~

When the last continental glacier receded 12,000 years ago, the climate in the Sudbury area warmed sufficiently for plants to grow and for game to live<sup>1</sup>. Arriving from the South, Indigenous tribes settled at Sheguiandah on Manitoulin Island. They lived on the shores of Lake Huron, fishing in the summer and trapping in the winter. The game they caught was traded for agricultural produce, grown by tribes in southern Ontario. The nomadic Anishnabe lived in wigwams, which could be dismantled and set upon a next site. In the Sudbury Basin, the Spanish, Vermillon, and French rivers, along with Lake Panache and Lake Wahnapiatae, were among the trading routes. Outbreaks of smallpox, which had been brought over by the French explorers, depopulated Ontario's Near North. After New France was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, the fur trade grew in importance. In 1822, the Hudson's Bay Company set up a trading post on Lake Wahnapiitei, but it closed the following year<sup>2</sup>. Further posts were added to Whitefish and Naughton lakes. Signed by Chief Shawenekezhik on behalf of the Anishnabe in 1850, Treaty No. 61 (the Robinson Huron Treaty) authorized the Crown to use the land in return for gifts, a one-time payment, an annual payment (which would be contested in the 21st century), and reserves, including Whitefish Lake 6 and Wahnapiatae 11<sup>3</sup>. Government surveyors then moved to grid the territory that would become part of the province of Ontario, created in 1867. Logging companies took on woodcutters to clear forests running alongside the rivers that flowed into Lake Huron, leading to the first mills.

Since the Sudbury Basin didn't lie on any major navigable waterway, it wasn't until work began on the Canadian Pacific (CP) Railway that

colonization truly began. The arrival of woodcutters and railroaders, during the winter of 1883, meant that a camp had to be built on Lake Bitimagamasing. Log cabins housed workers and kept black flies at bay<sup>4</sup>. CP manager James Worthington renamed the lake “Ramsey” and the camp “Sudbury,” in honour of his wife’s place of birth in England. The labourers — one third of whom were French Canadians — were accompanied by merchants, professionals, and clergymen, who offered them services.

The Jesuits drew inspiration from the rocky hills, covered in white and red pine, to name the first Catholic mission Sainte-Anne-des-Pins, or “Saint Anne of the Pines.” On March 30, 1883, Father Jean-Baptiste Nolin celebrated a first mass there<sup>5</sup>. A first wedding and a first baptism followed that fall<sup>6</sup>, with a presbytery and a chapel built in time for Christmas. As family mobility was “central to migration”<sup>7</sup> for French Canadians, they came in bunches. This was the case for the family of Jean-Étienne Fournier, originally from Trois-Pistoles (Québec), who arrived with his wife and children on March 4, 1884<sup>8</sup>. Already employed by CP in Montréal, Fournier was dispatched to Sudbury to run the post office and a general store. Two months later, Joseph Boulay, who hailed from Rimouski (Québec), set up home there with his wife and nine children. The Boulays started a lumber company and ran a boarding house from their spacious home on Spruce Street. On April 26, 1886, the Jesuits obtained from CP the prairie of several hundred acres, just to the north of downtown<sup>9</sup>. In May 1889, a Catholic church opened its doors to 305 families, of whom 70% spoke French and 30% English<sup>10</sup>.

In spring 1884, Sudbury did not yet have an English-language public school. In response to concerns expressed by pioneer parents, Father Nolin hired Margaret Smith, a bilingual alumna of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart convent in Ottawa, to teach a private class in Sudbury<sup>11</sup>, first at the presbytery, then later at the Fournier home<sup>12</sup>. A separate school board was formed in 1888 so that the school could collect property taxes from Catholic taxpayers. The school then recruited a French Canadian teacher, Céline Charbonneau, and an Irish one, Alice Cooper, for its 34 students. After student numbers had risen to 115 in 1894, the school board decided to build a full school on Xavier Street. In 1898, teachers and nurses from the Grey Nuns of the Cross arrived to take charge of the

Catholic elementary school<sup>13</sup> and to found Sudbury's first hospital, St. Joseph's<sup>14</sup>. Even though French Canadians made up two thirds of pupils, the number of teachers grew at the same pace for both groups: by 1909, there were five for English students and five for French students. Some parents had already begun noticing that this model of mixed school tended to anglicize the children<sup>15</sup>.

The discovery of ore five kilometres northwest of Sudbury in 1884 attracted prospectors—mostly Irish and Scots from Renfrew County, but also French Canadians Joseph Riopelle and Henri Ranger<sup>16</sup>. The province issued the first mining permits for the Sudbury area, and the Stobie Mine, opened the following year<sup>17</sup>. One of the owners of Canadian Copper, a British-Canadian business, moved to Sudbury and purchased several thousand acres of land northwest of the town. Conditions were favourable to business, as no fees were owed to the government to mine the ore. The General Mining Act (1869) required a minimum of 80 acres to be mined in return for a — very favourable — royalty of one dollar per acre. This drove independent prospectors to sell their land to larger mining companies.

Given the influx of migrant labourers, the Jesuits and CP sold some of their land to allow for new homes to be built. Hotelier and logger Louis Laforest, cobbler Zotique Mageau, and landlords Moïse and Frank Allard were among the first French Canadian businessmen. Now with 1,000 residents, the southern half of McKim Township was granted the status of town in 1893. McKim's outgoing reeve, Jean-Étienne Fournier, became Sudbury's first mayor. The town's council comprised nine aldermen, all drawn from the local bourgeoisie<sup>18</sup>. The municipality built streets, sewers, and waterworks for the new residences and lobbied the province for new railroads — which stretched to the ports of Sault-Sainte-Marie (1900) and Toronto (1907) — helping Sudbury's ore reach its markets<sup>19</sup>. By the turn of the 20th century, the City was in charge of street lights, telephone lines, and providing homes with electricity. This being said, council disapproved of taxing nickel, fearing it might lead to less mining. In order to bring in more revenue, the City issued more building permits for hotels and boarding houses for workers. St. Joseph's Hospital boasted thirty-odd nurses and doctors to provide affordable care for the poor, an initiative supported by donations from parishioners

and local businesspeople<sup>20</sup>. The nuns also worked with Canadian Copper to set up a limited hospital insurance for the miners.

Conditions underground were often miserable, as the pollution, humidity, and heat left miners with respiratory problems. What's more, access to work was often sporadic, since mining fluctuated according to changing demand. In 1891, 30% of the area's 1,415 French Canadian workers were employed in the mines<sup>21</sup>. Others worked as day labourers in agriculture, in the bush, in construction, or as skilled workers in various services. Even though French Canadians were hired at a pace that matched their share of Sudbury's population, they were virtually absent from management positions<sup>22</sup>. A lack of education, poor grasp of English, and anti-French sentiments explain this result. Thus limited to low-skilled jobs, French Canadians did not take to mining as a career; 86% of them worked for the International Nickel Company (INCO) for less than 6 months<sup>23</sup>. Working below ground helped workers make ends meet as a farmer or logger. Two thirds of the time, miners left of their own accord, and 18% of them would return for — at least — a second stint, often just as brief as the first. With the field of work not being essential to the success of their migration, French Canadians stuck with mining for an average 7 months, much less than Poles (11 months) or Italians (14 months) for example.

Although the area's forests were largely used to fuel the mines' sintering fields, the forest industry remained an important sector; at its peak, the region had 11,000 bush workers<sup>24</sup>. Sudbury had two sawmills and lumber businesses: W. A. Evans and J.-B. Laberge. Once the white pine was cut down, logging companies harvested the less-valuable grey pine, spruce, and balsam fir. Hailing from Arthabaska (Québec), Georges Bouchard obtained a plot of land south of the town in 1902 and hired around forty French Canadian loggers, following the Chicago Union Stockyard Fire of 1910, to clear the land<sup>25</sup>. The Bouchards then secured harvesting rights to McFarlane Lake and Burwash forests. The family of Delphis Michel joined them to send the wood along the CP railroad, thereby making the family's "fortune<sup>26</sup>" in the words of grandson, Arnel Michel. His father later founded Standard Dairy, the first company to deliver pasteurized milk to Sudbury families.

In the Valley, to Sudbury's northwest, the Lafarge, Portelance, and Séguin families all owned mills<sup>27</sup>. The Vermillon, Wanapitae, and Whitefish rivers carried logs to the mills on the shores of Lake Huron. A number of French Canadians were attracted by the Valley's cultivable land, the Catholic clergy being heavily involved in promoting this line of work. Since 1868, the Free Grants and Homestead Act required that settlers clear six hectares in order to receive the deed to their land. Twenty or so townships in the Sudbury region were open to sales between 1884 and 1931. The best pines were cut down and sent on by the logging companies, who raked in most of the profits while pioneers and subcontractors exported the less-profitable species by rail<sup>28</sup>. Once the land had been cleared, trees made way for oats and hay, then peas, potatoes, and turnips. The Borgia Street market, which opened in 1914, served as their place of business and contributed to feed Sudburians<sup>29</sup>. In winter, these farmers would cut wood in the lumber camps, which moved further and further north.

Lying on the CP line, Chelmsford became the Valley's main village. A school and chapel were built there in 1889, and Saint-Joseph church was established in 1898. In 1906, a convent was built, and the village had businesses by the dozen among its 500 residents. The area drew settlers from Eastern Ontario and the Ottawa Valley in particular. At the Valley's easternmost point, Hanmer developed more slowly, since the village — where Saint-Jacques church was founded in 1906 — couldn't be reached by rail until 1908<sup>30</sup>. Extended family moving to the Valley helped cement its French Canadian majority: from 1901 to 1921, their number grew from 1,015 to 3,725 persons, and their proportion grew from 62% to 80% of the population<sup>31</sup>. Despite promising beginnings for agriculture, the growth of mining and sintering made for more frequent and intense clouds of sulphur. As of 1921, mining companies were obliged to pay damages to farmers to make up for their losses, but some deemed the compensation to be insufficient<sup>32</sup>. Many left the Valley for good, while others began to grow potatoes — which were less sensitive to pollution — and others turned to poultry and livestock farming to meet the needs of the Sudbury population.

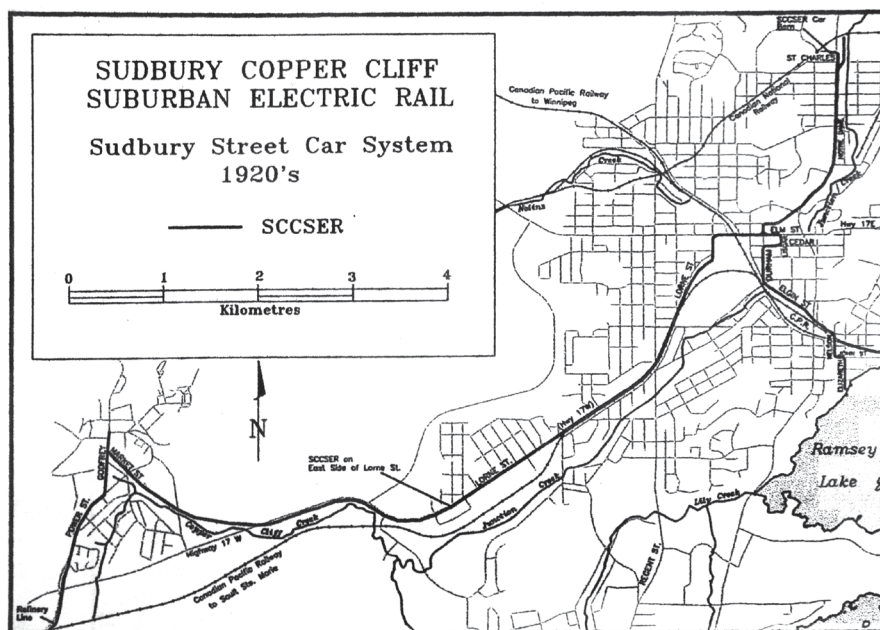
Sudbury had become a regional hub with a burgeoning service industry by 1911. Merchants in the secondary sector (construction,

bricks, beverages) and the tertiary sector (groceries, clothing, hardware, laundries, and banks), along with professionals and skilled workers, made up 15% of the population that was neither poor nor well off, with an annual income between \$1,000 and \$2,000<sup>33</sup>. Between the working classes (84% of the population earned less than \$1,000) and some twenty members of the bourgeoisie, this “middle class” played an active role in Sudbury’s social, cultural, and political life. This socioeconomic division was also affected by the unequal distribution of wealth between three parts of town: the average property in Fournier Ward, where 68% of the population was French Canadian, was worth \$241, compared to \$696 for a home in McCormick Ward, where a majority of anglophones lived; the more culturally diverse Ryan Ward fell in between both wars<sup>34</sup>. Sudbury already had a few hundred Indigenous residents, and places of worship for various Christian denominations (Methodist, 1886; Presbyterian, 1889; Anglican, 1890; Italian-Catholic, 1889 and 1914; and Irish-Catholic, 1917). Catholics made up 52% of Sudbury’s population<sup>35</sup>.

Demand for nickel and copper during the Great War (1914-1918) led to increased mining activity<sup>36</sup>. Workers descended on Sudbury, swelling the population from 2,027 in 1901 to 18,518 in 1931<sup>37</sup>. The number of French Canadians grew proportionally, rising from 702 to 6,649<sup>38</sup>. This surge helped create more specialized services: the municipality had 342 businesses in 1925. From 1916 onward, a tramway ran from the north of town to the Copper Cliff mines in the southwest. The owners of the biggest farms — Timothy Donovan, Thomas Gatchell, Larry O’Connor, and Ludger Michel among them — sold their land and sometimes lent their names to neighbourhoods that emerged<sup>39</sup>. Ethnic groups tended to bunch together despite the urban spread: immigrants from Eastern Europe lived in Donovan, many British folks lived in the West End, the Italians gravitated toward Gatchell, and the French Canadians founded “Le Moulin-à-Fleur”, the Flour Mill. Following the Russian Revolution of 1917, a hint of anti-red paranoia could be felt among business people, elected officials, and newspapers, including the *Sudbury Star*. This was coupled with two national crises that pitted French Canadians against English Canadians: conscription for young men, and a ban on French in Ontario schools.

In 1911, Ontario had 202,000 French Canadian residents (60% of them unilingual francophones), 200 “bilingual” elementary schools

**Map 5.1: Sudbury Streetcar System, 1920s: Sudbury–Copper Cliff Suburban Electric Railway (SCCSEr)**



(that taught mostly in French), and a handful of private French-language Catholic colleges<sup>40</sup>. Since French had been recognized by Québec and some federal agencies as an official language, the French Canadians of Ontario became a “viable<sup>41</sup>” community, in the words of historian Gaétan Gervais, “with a network of institutions”. As a national minority, unlike the descendants of immigrants who integrated into English-speaking society and retained little to nothing of the language of their ancestors, Franco-Ontarians could stand the test of time.

Originating from Québec and having lived for a number of years in Verner, a homogeneous French Canadian village 72 kilometres east of Sudbury, hardware dealer Félix Ricard and doctor Raoul Hurtubise were indignant, when they arrived in Sudbury, at the state of the French in its separate schools<sup>42</sup>. In January 1910, the two men attended the founding meeting of the Association canadienne-française d’éducation d’Ontario (ACFEO), which sought to defend and expand French-language teaching at the primary and secondary school level<sup>43</sup>. ACFEO picked up on signs

of a crisis looming: several provinces had already banned the teaching of French and catechism in schools, while for decades, Irish Catholics and British Orangemen in Ontario had been calling for teaching in French to be restricted; and the Conservative federal government, elected in 1911, was advocating non-intervention in provincial jurisdictions, which included education. The Ontario Conservative government needed no further encouragement, in June 1912, to pass Regulation 17, which banned teaching in French from Grade 3 onward.

Prompted to act, Ricard and Hurtubise joined Sudbury's separate school board to force it to better divide anglophones and francophones in the classroom and to hire a number of teachers proportional to the weight of each language group<sup>44</sup>. In 1913, French-speaking Catholics occupied three of six seats, and in 1915, four seats out of six<sup>45</sup>. With the help of the Jesuits and the Grey Nuns, the school board "organized from scratch a system of bilingual schools contrary to the letter of the law [Regulation 17], but in keeping with its spirit<sup>46</sup>". The *École centrale* (later *Saint-Louis-de-Gonzague*) opened in January 1915 and included classes at the intermediate level (grades 7 and 8) divided by language group<sup>47</sup>, while the *École brune* (*Maison d'Youville*) would remain a French-language elementary school<sup>48</sup>.

Of the 56 bilingual teachers in the District of Sudbury, 44 (79%) refused to comply with Regulation 17<sup>49</sup>. Despite initial resistance, Sudbury's bilingual schools were not out of the woods yet. In June 1915, school inspector J. P. Finn was aghast that some Grade 5 and 6 students "[knew] little or no English at all." By criticizing the French Canadian teachers for their "indolence" and indicating that they should have achieved results "better than they are," the inspector urged the board to hire more "qualified bilingual teachers." In the meantime, Finn considered himself obliged "to delay paying grants at least until I see if my suggestions are carried out.<sup>50</sup>" At a hearing with the inspector, Hurtubise and Ricard managed to get him to "agree to tolerate [in his opinion] the situation<sup>51</sup>"; by casting doubt on Finn's ability — as the inspector did not speak French — to determine the competence of the teachers, and by pointing out the absence of a formal bilingual teaching school in Ontario. Sister Marie-Eulalie, a bilingual Grey Nun, was appointed to oversee the separate school classes. She then chose to turn a blind eye to French-



language education<sup>52</sup>. French Canadian merchants, professionals, and politically minded clerics also succeeded in transforming Sainte-Anne-des-Pins into a unilingual French-speaking parish in 1917<sup>53</sup>.



*First Communion — Sainte-Anne-des-Pins (1950)*

This structural consolidation, combined with the growth of the French Canadian population, gradually laid the foundations for a francophone community in Sudbury, territorially concentrated north of downtown and in the Valley. “The Jesuits promoted the sale [of land] to French Canadians<sup>54</sup>”, writes author Marguerite Whissell-Tregonning about the prairie they owned north from downtown, at a “price [...] affordable for French Canadian miners and day labourers,” i.e., between \$125 and \$300, on Beech, Lisgar and Sainte-Anne streets in the downtown area. Louis, Borgia, Mountain, Leslie, and Dupont followed, moving up the hill, into what would become “Primeauville”. Lastly, on the prairie, came Murray, Pembroke, and Notre-Dame Streets. In 1908, the prairie had three houses<sup>55</sup>. In the fall of 1910, Ontario and Manitoba Flour Milling built a mill and cast six 7-storey-high cylinders of concrete into an iron frame to store wheat. Unfortunately, sulphur stifling wheat farming in the Valley and competition from similar silos at the head of Lake Superior, drove the company out of business in 1913. After a

second owner failed as well, Quaker Oats used the silos in 1919, but they were again abandoned a third and final time.

Their demolition, repair, or conversion proving to be too expensive, the silos remained and went on to become a landmark for the new residential neighbourhood, which they overlooked, the Moulin-à-Fleur. In the *Sudbury Journal*, speculator Larry O'Connor promoted the prairie, with "perfectly level"<sup>56</sup> lots at a price that working families could afford on Notre-Dame Avenue — the main road into the Valley and the road the streetcar ran along — close to downtown schools to the south and the Froid and Stobie mines to the north. Better yet, they already had access to water, electricity, lighting, and the telephone service. While many streets bore typically British names (King, Queen, etc.), some were named after French Canadian land appraisers (Boivin), merchants (Laforest), or aldermen (Lagacé)<sup>57</sup>.

Northwest of Sudbury, another prairie was home to 26 pioneer farms around 1910, 16 of which belonged to French Canadian families<sup>58</sup>. These pioneers had moved in the final years of the 19th century and came from counties near the Québec border (Pontiac, Outaouais, Argenteuil) and Eastern Ontario (Renfrew, Carleton, Prescott, Russell). The remaining families were of Finnish, Italian, Irish, and Scottish descent<sup>59</sup>. Established in 1898, the PSS #4 McKim School had four trustees (Joseph Renaud, Hormidas Pilon, Charles Tremblay, and Michel Pilon) and one teacher (Adélar Chartrand), all French Canadians. The separate school was nonetheless mixed. It complied with Regulation 17 in 1914, but no longer did so in 1921. A portion of teaching was therefore offered in French<sup>60</sup>. A Catholic cemetery was built on nearby Lasalle Boulevard in 1909.

In terms of secondary education, the opening of Sudbury High School (1908), complete with a mining department, teaching chemistry, geology, mineral science, physics, metallurgy, and soil evaluation, helped train skilled workers<sup>61</sup>. In June 1912, the first cohort of 22 graduates included 3 French Canadians<sup>62</sup>. At the same time, the Jesuits, along with J.-B. Laberge, began work on the construction of a three-storey Catholic college at a cost of \$80,000 (approximately \$1.9 M in 2020). It promised to teach "subjects taken up in the High School"<sup>63</sup> in addition to Greek and Latin. This was in response to the desire of the Sault Ste. Marie

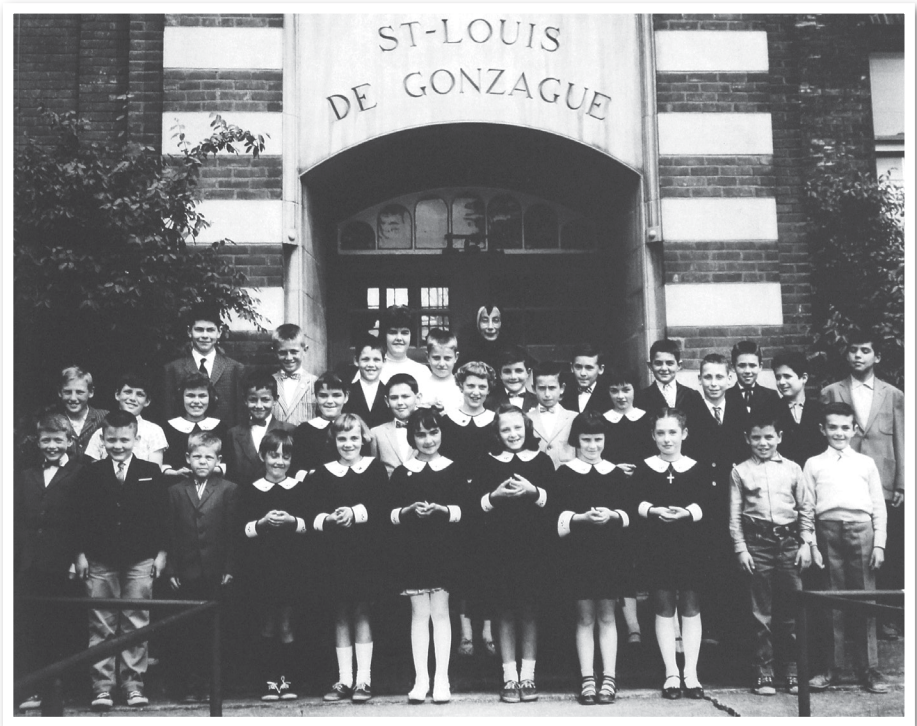
diocese, founded in 1904, to have a facility to train priests and a local Catholic lay elite in Northeastern Ontario<sup>64</sup>. The Collège du Sacré-Cœur (Sacred Heart College) welcomed its first students in September 1913. Out of 94 boys, 20 were anglophone, but since all the hired teachers were French Canadian, the English-language pupils did not return. From 1916 onwards, the Collège taught only in French. It affiliated itself with the University of Ottawa from 1914 to 1926, then with Université Laval from 1927 to 1957, to award bachelor's degrees to those who completed the 8-year classical course.

## Consolidation During Decades of Crisis

~ 1920 to 1944 ~

In 1922, the parish of Sainte-Anne-des-Pins was home to 667 French Canadian families<sup>65</sup>. It opened a parish hall, which was to become a place where spiritual, cultural, and political life came together, where card games, music performances, and meetings of religious associations took place. The parish priest developed networks to encourage people to help each other, promote French Canadian culture, and refuse to be overcome by materialist instincts<sup>66</sup>. Such activities were funded by tithes and donations from parishioners and did not benefit from public subsidies.

The intensity of mining during the Great War increased the number of families in Sudbury and, in turn, the number of children in schools. Despite Regulation 17, the separate school board opened new “bilingual” classes in Primeauville (Sainte-Marie, 1919), the Moulin-à-Fleur (Nolin, 1920), and Minnow Lake (Saint-Albert, 1920)<sup>67</sup>. Saint-Louis-de-Gonzague became an exclusively French-language school when English-speaking Catholics moved to St. Aloysius (1923), located on the same grounds. From 1924, the separate school board hired only graduates from the University of Ottawa’s School of Education<sup>68</sup>. When school inspector Francis Merchant visited Sudbury’s bilingual schools in April 1927, he declared himself satisfied with the English-language skills of the young French Canadian students and allowed the Grey Nuns to expand their teaching to include grades 9 and 10<sup>69</sup>. His crucial report would persuade the government to repeal Regulation 17 that fall. Not only would bilingual schools be allowed to openly teach in French, but an eyebrow-raising arrangement with Sudbury High School enabled the

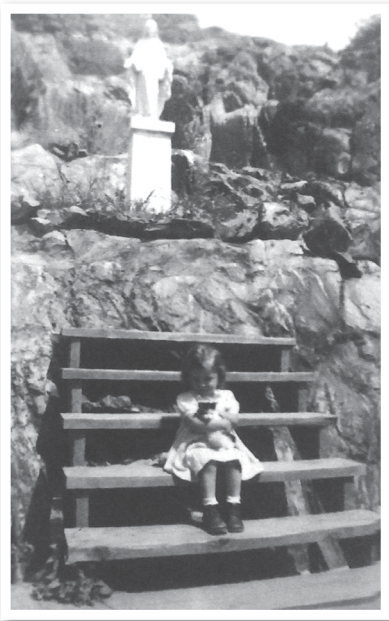


*Saint-Louis-de-Gonzague School*



*Nolin School in the Flour Mill*

nuns to pay the salaries of high-school teachers dipping into commercial school taxes to open Grade 11 and 12 classes “exclusively for French-language students<sup>70</sup>” at Saint-Louis-de-Gonzague; unorthodox, this agreement was suspended in 1939<sup>71</sup>. ACFEO encouraged trustees to maintain post-elementary classes “even when requiring great sacrifice and to organize them wherever possible<sup>72</sup>”. Expanding classes given in French at Sudbury High School, a position that had for a time been adopted by the Sudbury chapter of ACFEO, would however not come to fruition.



*D'Youville Orphanage*

Networking among French Canadian business people and professionals contributed to gains, both institutional and financial. Owner of the Adam grocery store at 42 Borgia Street, Napoléon Adam, sat on the separate board from 1915, on the municipal council in 1917, and also belonged to the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier, a French Canadian secret society, in the 1930s<sup>73</sup>. Adam paid his property taxes to the separate board, while his grocery store hired dozens of young French Canadians and donated food to the D'Youville Orphanage, which opened in the school of the same name in 1929<sup>74</sup>. Sometimes, prominent families associating with each other also

enabled them to increase their influence: this was the case for the lawyer Jean-Noël Desmarais, who in 1922 married the daughter of lumber lord Louis Laforest and moved into the family home<sup>75</sup>. Desmarais founded the Sudbury-Copper Cliff Street Railway in 1916 and later Sudbury Investments. With his son Paul at the helm from 1947, the transportation company became Voyageur Bus Lines. Many deals later, Paul Desmarais was able to acquire Montréal's Power Corporation in the 1960s.

The Great Depression (1929-1939) did not have the same impact on Sudbury as it did elsewhere. Power plants were built in the late 1920s

to increase ore refining. In 1930, INCO, which produced 90% of the world's nickel supply, built an electrolytic refinery for copper and then a plant to recover sulphuric acid. In the same year, it expanded its mines at Levack and Creighton as well as the Coniston smelter. The early years of the economic crisis led to layoffs, but the labour force was growing again by 1932, at the worst of the Depression<sup>76</sup>. The 1929 ban on roasting ore in the open air forced the mines to build chimneys and smelters, including one in Copper Cliff in 1934. This supported employment and attracted new families to Sudbury. It was through workers' family networks that mines often attracted new workers. The Italian, Ukrainian, Croatian, and Finnish communities grew in numbers, formed fraternal societies, and built halls and churches, turning 1932-Sudbury, according to *National Geographic*, into a "Babylon of Yore"<sup>77</sup>. North American automobile and appliance manufacturing, combined with the European arms race and the military needs of the Allies during the Second World War, drove up the number of mining jobs from 3,126 (1926) to 14,161 (1944) and increased Sudbury's mining production tenfold<sup>78</sup>. Not only were unskilled workers and day labourers in demand, but also geologists, chemists, engineers, and economists, responsible for mechanizing extraction, making operations more efficient, and keeping accidents, absenteeism, and idleness to a minimum.

Throughout the 1930s, INCO tried to curb employee appetite for unionization by providing health care, a pension plan, recreational facilities, and the "INCO Club", an in-house union<sup>79</sup>. These measures were, in part, a reaction to the arrival of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (better known as "Mine Mill"), whose interpretation of power dynamics between labour and capital was seen by INCO as subversive. After a bitter strike at a Kirkland Lake mine (1941-42), and given that nickel production had to be maintained if the Second World War was to be won, the federal government passed the Trade Union Act, which established unions as negotiators of collective bargaining agreements. In a vote held in 1943, 85% of INCO workers and 80% of Falconbridge employees chose to be represented by the Mine Mill. The union also tackled the anti-union coverage of the *Sudbury Star* by launching the *Sudbury Beacon*, a weekly newspaper aimed at "keeping workers informed"<sup>80</sup>. A year earlier, miner Camille Lemieux

had launched the weekly *L'Ami du peuple*, the first French-language newspaper in Sudbury, which promoted the interests of workers and the cooperative movement. On August 4, 1943, Sudbury elected its first left-wing MPP, Robert Carlin, a member of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation (forerunner to the NDP) and the driving force behind the recognition of unions. Trade unionists would now yield influence in Sudbury, but they would never do more than share authority with the local bourgeoisie. In 1944, only one out of eight trade unionist candidates was elected to the town council.

By 1941, there were 32,300 residents in Sudbury and 61,500 in the vicinity area. The mining industry still did not pay royalties to the municipality, which relied mainly on land sales, property taxes, and a provincial grant to maintain and expand its infrastructure. Due to a lack of revenue, the City was unable to build roads and water systems to accommodate growth or to adequately respond to requests for assistance from some residents. With 60% of property value in the hands of the local bourgeoisie, compared to 20% for workers, the City balked at the prospect of raising taxes or supporting tenants. It sold a few thousand permits to open up more land to construction, to the extent that by 1939 only “rocky hills and railway tracks<sup>81</sup>” hadn’t been divided up. Incorporating the surrounding townships was suggested as a means of increasing revenue. Since jobs were plentiful, and clouds of sulphur made farming in the Valley less profitable than in the Nipissing area, the Depression-era project of a “return to the land” advocated by the French Canadian clergy, did not spark new interest in farming in the Valley: in Balfour Township, the number of farms dwindled from 135 (1921) to 101 (1941)<sup>82</sup>.



## Postwar Growth

~ 1945 to 1969 ~

The rebuilding of Europe continued to drive up the demand for nickel, as did the Korean and Vietnam wars. Furthermore, nickel-demanding automobiles were becoming available to the masses across North America. Falconbridge opened seven mines in the 1950s, most of them along the northern rim of the Sudbury Basin. The Mine Mill union succeeded in representing, for collective bargaining, all miners, along with some hotel, service, supermarket, and brewery workers<sup>83</sup>. French Canadians accounted for 60% of members, who included many women. When the Mine Mill went on an ill-advised strike during the 1958 recession, the United Steelworkers, a centrist union supported by the Catholic clergy, took the opportunity to replace it as the designated negotiator for INCO employees.

Along with the postwar baby boom, Sudbury's population doubled in a decade, growing from 42,410 (1951) to 80,120 (1961). The mining sector employed a record third of its entire workforce<sup>84</sup>. Employment in utilities, trade, construction, and finance also increased in the 1950s and 1960s, while jobs in manufacturing, transportation, and agriculture declined<sup>85</sup>. The number of residents of French origin in Sudbury grew at the same rate as its overall population, from 10,772 (1941) to 28,935 (1971). Part of this increase was due to relocation: during the war, three times more people with French roots lived in the Valley and surrounding areas, but by 1971 half of them lived in the city. In the Moulin-à-Fleur, this growth led to the construction of new schools (Saint-Joseph, 1941; l'Assomption, 1951<sup>86</sup>).

In the North End (New Sudbury), a new building for PSS #4 McKim School meant that language groups could be separated in 1941<sup>87</sup>. Some



*Saint-Anne Church; Christ the King Church; St-Joseph Hospital;  
Sudbury Secondary School and Sheridan Tech School; St-Louis de Gonzague School*

twenty farms still remained in the area. In 1949, forest contractor Léon Portelance purchased 600 acres on both sides of Lasalle Boulevard, where he built the Sudbury Drive-In and the Laurentian Hotel<sup>88</sup>. Portelance built 150 houses and gave names to certain streets, including Martin (his mother's maiden name), Madeleine (his daughter), and Parisien (his accountant)! Several families from the Moulin-à-Fleur and other neighbourhoods were attracted by the "single-family houses with spacious lots at reasonable prices<sup>89</sup>". It thus became Sudbury's first suburb. Three French-Catholic schools — Immaculée-Conception (1947), Sacré-Cœur (1953), and Saint-Conrad (1954) — appeared, as did the French-Catholic parishes of L'Annonciation (1953) and Saint-Dominique (1960<sup>90</sup>); the area also boasted six English-language schools and two English-language places of worship. More than 7,000 homes were built in New Sudbury between 1945 and 1980<sup>91</sup>. Families flocked to the area, among them the Gervais family, who in 1953 left the 85% French-speaking Moulin-à-Fleur where "*la présence française était [...] naturelle*" and where in stores "*on parlait très souvent notre langue*<sup>92</sup>", to move to an area where, although francophones made up 40% of the population, public life was mostly in English. This dispersion of francophones contributed to increasing their linguistic assimilation. As a result, the demographic decline of Sudburians whose mother tongue was French, dropped from 35% in 1951 to 27% in 1971<sup>93</sup>.

In 1957, the construction of the New Sudbury Centre, a 30-store complex complete with 2,000 parking spaces, engulfed the former agricultural area and replaced the downtown core as the main shopping destination. Attracted by property values, the City of Sudbury proposed incorporating the northern part of McKim Township (New Sudbury) in exchange for more water and sewer systems; the request was approved by the province and the merger took place in January 1960<sup>94</sup>. Other residential areas sprang up, including Uptown and Minnow Lake, closer to the downtown core. The Valley, where a dozen or so farms were abandoned with every passing year, slowly became a neighbourhood of commuters<sup>95</sup>. With cars increasingly available to all, thousands of homes were built there. Closer ties between the town and the new suburbs led to new regional initiatives concerning care for the elderly (Pioneer Manor, 1953), water management (Nickel District Conservation Authority,

1957), urban development (1961), public health institutions (1967), public schools (Sudbury Bassin School Board, 1966), and Catholic schools (Sudbury District Roman Catholic Separate School Board/Conseil des écoles catholiques romaines séparées du District de Sudbury, 1969)<sup>96</sup>. In January 1973, the province inaugurated a 2-tier regional government. A regional council would oversee the councils of Sudbury and five new towns — Capreol, Nickel Centre, Rayside-Balfour, Valley East, and Walden.

Without leading to political independence, the French-Catholic network of institutions allowed Franco-Ontarians to aspire to autonomy in several spheres of activity. It allowed for relative institutional autonomy within the Canadian federation, notably through the provincial jurisdiction of Québec, as well as a religious network extending to francophone communities outside La Belle Province. In this context, new associations and institutions were formed in the postwar period. Sudbury had chapters of the Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française (1916) and the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste (1939). In 1947, sixty-odd professionals and businessmen formed the Club Richelieu de Sudbury, which was affiliated with the service club of the same name<sup>97</sup>. Inspired by the Rotary Clubs, this club hosted dinners and talks to inform and inspire its members. Fundraisers led to a series of events for young French Canadians, from Christmas hampers for needy families and medical equipment for St. Joseph's Hospital to scholarships and support for the D'Youville orphanage. It was part of a "subscriber democracy", with funds raised and redistributed according to goals set by an elite. The Richelieu Club also lived up to postwar expectations that fathers encourage children and other members of the community to be good citizens and to lead active lifestyles. What set the Richelieu clubs apart from the Rotary, Kiwanis and Lions clubs was that they were Catholic and nationalist; members were treated to annual conventions in Québec or elsewhere in French Canada to encourage them to overcome their isolation, meet francophones from different places, build friendships, and cultivate pride for all their compatriots had achieved<sup>98</sup>. The networks allowed them to advance common causes, including support for a bilingual federal government, and French-language education outside Québec.



*Activity of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society*

Catholic oversight of leisure activities — which people were devoting more and more time to after the war — affected the laity and the clergy alike. Born in Sudbury in 1915, Albert Régimbal was trained in Montréal, where Catholic Action initiatives sought to foster dialogue, on national, labour, and social issues, between religious and lay people<sup>99</sup>. Upon his return to Sudbury, Jesuit Father Régimbal headed recreational activities at Collège du Sacré-Cœur from 1942 to 1948, before being appointed Sainte-Anne-des-Pins’ parish priest. Régimbal had the basement of the parish dug out to create a permanent space where young people “*wouldn’t be strangers and would be at ease*”<sup>100</sup>. Named the Centre des jeunes de Sudbury (CJS, 1950), the space remained open late into the evening to give teens a chance to meet up after a night at the movies and, instead of hanging out on the streets, could chat with Father Régimbal. A popular theatre allowed Collège du Sacré-Cœur students to put on well-known plays from France and French Canada, as well as original creations that showcased the roots of Sudbury and the francophone population<sup>101</sup>. Nearly 300 members enjoyed Jeunesses Musicales du Canada shows, workshops on anything from photography to fitness, and sports such as bowling and table tennis<sup>102</sup>. Lastly, the CJS had a library that included 1,500 books, 100 records, magazines, and films, all in French. Other



*Sacred Heart College — 1942*

organizations, including the LaSalle Club (1956) in New Sudbury and the Alouette Club (1959) in the Moulin-à-Fleur, built ballrooms to host dances and other social events<sup>103</sup>. In summer 1960, the youth centre opened a summer camp on “l’Île-aux-Chênes”, West Hardwood Island, a Jesuit property on the West Arm of Lake Nipissing, where dormitories, a kitchen, a dining hall, and a chapel were set up. It was a quiet place where the youth could accustom themselves “*progressivement à une vie sociale plus authentiquement humaine et chrétienne*”<sup>104</sup> through forest walks, swimming, reflection, and discussion. This approach was inspired not only by Catholic personalism, but also by psychologist Carl Rogers’ techniques. These activities were supported by parishioners, the Club Richelieu, and the Sainte-Anne-des-Pins’ lady auxiliary. In 1964, the CJS founded performance company La Slague, which opened its doors to Québec’s up-and-coming *chansionniers*<sup>105</sup>.

Since the Grey Nuns had no shortage of new members and French Canadian parents were keen for their daughters to obtain a high-school education in French (having lost funding for it in 1939), the nuns opened Collège Notre-Dame (CND) at St. Joseph’s Hospital in the fall of 1948; 6 years later, it had 269 students<sup>106</sup>. A new 4-storey building was built on

Lévis Street, in Uptown in 1959, thanks to donations from parents and the parish priest of St-Jean-de-Brébeuf, Monsignor Coallier. In 1966, CND offered classical, business, and housekeeping courses to 500 teenage girls. Down the hill, the Collège du Sacré-Coeur (CSC) also saw its enrolment increase, leading it to build an annex in 1953. Its program was becoming more and more similar to that of the high schools, although it maintained elements of the classical curriculum, namely Latin and Greek, piety, catechism, discipline, serious study of French and English, French literature, and the history of French Canada, all in the spirit of healthy competition and debate<sup>107</sup>. Even though they came from modest backgrounds, many graduates went on to become leaders in their fields — Bishop Roger Despatie, newspaper editor Camille Lemieux, playwright André Paiement, singer Robert Paquette, and radio host Denis St-Jules, among them<sup>108</sup>. However, the proportion of graduates entering religious life fell to dismal numbers, a state of affairs that led the college to employ a growing number of lay people. What's more, the founding of the University of Sudbury in 1957, which separated the bachelor's degree from the college program, reduced the Collège's income from boarders. On the back of aging facilities and new competition from Sudbury High School, which introduced French-language courses in the social sciences and humanities in 1965, the college closed its doors in June 1967, on the brink of financial ruin<sup>109</sup>. The majority of private Franco-Ontarian high schools would meet a similar fate.

Slowly but steadily, French Canadians were beginning to step away from the Catholic Church. The Richelieu clubs, originally followers of the “social doctrine of the Church,” abandoned it in 1970 in favour of the “inspiration” of Christian values<sup>110</sup>. The Caisses populaires Desjardins (French-language credit unions), a dozen of which were founded in parishes in the Sudbury area between 1940 and 1960, moved into independent branches during the 1960s.

The Coopérative funéraire/Cooperative Funeral Home, founded in 1950, introduced funeral services without a religious component. And in 1967 the Centre des Jeunes de Sudbury moved out of the parish basement into the Empire Building on Elgin Street and received its first grants from the province and the federal government the following year<sup>111</sup>. While many French Canadians continued to attend Sunday



*St-Jean de Brébeuf Church*

mass, the proportion slipped from 80% to 40% between the 1960s and the 1980s. The reforms of Vatican II (1962) did not go far enough in many people's eyes, and the encyclical *Humanae vitae* (1968) brought an end to certain freedoms, including the use of the contraceptive pill. Meanwhile, governments broadened their responsibilities with regard to health, education, and providing protection for the poor. The growing number of young women attending university

and going into secular professions reduced the number who took the veil; while the Grey Nuns of the Cross could count on about 20 new members a year around 1960, new nuns could be counted on the fingers of one hand ten years later. Not only that: 651 nuns, or more than one third of the order, renounced their vows between 1960 and 1980<sup>112</sup>.

Initially funded by private donations, foundations, and INCO, St. Joseph's Hospital benefited from the Blue Cross, a private hospital insurance created in 1941. But by the 1960s, the aging institution was now struggling to keep up with exponential increases in spending on medical equipment and salaries. Even in 1950, the hospital had 177 nuns for 611 lay employees, making it the biggest employer in Sudbury after mines<sup>113</sup>. Introduced by Ontario in 1959, universal hospitalization insurance, which preceded the universal health insurance created in 1964, led to the state assuming responsibility for hospital management expenses, much to the delight of the nuns, who "became salaried employees paid for their work in their own hospitals!"<sup>114</sup> In 1967, the province committed to building a modern hospital, at the corner of Paris Street and Ramsey Lake Road. In June 1975, the Sisters of Charity of Ottawa (formerly the Grey Nuns) closed the 77 year-old institution<sup>115</sup>.



The Sisters of Charity managed to keep two high schools above water — Saint-Joseph in Hull (Québec) and Sudbury's Collège Notre-Dame — as they continued to provide a Catholic education, and to encourage vocations, in both towns. In the fall of 1967, CND welcomed 168 boys from Collège du Sacré-Cœur, which had just closed, bringing the total number of students to 715. The baby boom led to five new French-language Catholic elementary schools being built in Sudbury between 1961 and 1971<sup>116</sup>. In the new separate school board, which was made up of 24 smaller boards from across the region, 59% of students and 75% of trustees were francophone<sup>117</sup>. The board continued to offer grades 9 and 10 free of charge at Collège Notre-Dame, as per provincial law. But in 1968, Bills 140 and 141 allowed French-language public secondary schools to be opened on the public dime. École secondaire Macdonald-Cartier, which opened in 1969, and École secondaire Hanmer, which opened in 1970, picked up three quarters of students from CND<sup>118</sup>. The college principal, Sister Yvonne Charbonneau, pleaded for the “efficiency of private institutions” and asked parents to “reconsider” and to “*refaire une décision judicieuse en regard de la survivance du Collège Notre-Dame*”<sup>119</sup>. Clearly, making the college a secular institution never crossed the nuns' minds, since the Sudbury Board of Education opened two more French-language public high schools in 1972: École secondaire Franco-Jeunesse in Minnow Lake, and École secondaire Rayside in Azilda.

Meanwhile, Laurentian University, born in September 1960 of a collaboration between the Université de Sudbury (1957) and a number of Protestant groups, was a bilingual, secular institution largely managed in English and offering some 30 courses in French. This was not the absolute bilingualism of the University of Ottawa, where the majority of employees, professors, and students were francophone. Instead, both Jesuits and francophones found fault with the Laurentian formula<sup>120</sup>. The university did broaden access to studies in French and attract dozens of academics from Québec, France, Belgium, and French-speaking Africa to Sudbury. The demographic clout of French-language students, which fluctuated between 12% and 17%, and the relative absence of Franco-Ontarians in management and faculty positions were significant shortcomings<sup>121</sup>. Some dreamed of creating a “French faculty”<sup>122</sup>

where francophones would rediscover the administrative and physical independence they had enjoyed at Collège du Sacré-Cœur and the Université de Sudbury. The proposal was taken up in 1970 by J.G. Hagey, a former rector of the University of Waterloo, invited by Laurentian to study its organizational arrangements, but was rejected by the governors, who claimed, with perhaps a touch of condescension, that they had no desire to create a francophone “ghetto.”

# Economic Slowdown and Cultural Awakening

~ 1970 to 1994 ~

The 1960s and 1970s brought transformations to the French-Catholic network of institutions. Sociologist Jean Gould deemed that “the skeleton of French Canada as a cultural infrastructure” or “social and cultural institution<sup>123</sup>” was handing over its role to the state. Although partial and incomplete, secularization and nationalization brought changes to the way francophones lived. Québec’s, “*autonomie provinciale*” was asserting itself to such an extent that some, beyond a desire to rethink federalism, began to dream of transforming the province into an associated state or a country of its own. Some Franco-Ontarian students agreed with the notion that the independence project could ensure the survival of French culture in North America and considered moving to the province to be able to live in French. The “Québecization” of French Canadian historical, cultural, political, and identity markers had a profound impact on Franco-Ontarians. At the institutional level, the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier’s dismantling in 1965 and the failure, in 1967, of the États généraux du Canada français to come up with a development plan for all francophones across Canada left their mark on those who wanted to breathe new life into the French Canadian national project. *Le Voyageur*, a Sudbury French-language weekly launched in 1968, lamented these painful moments, while remaining enthusiastic about federal and provincial funding opportunities for French-language culture and secondary education<sup>124</sup>. However, since Canada did not recognize national duality, or francophones as a people, Franco-Ontarians tended to feel uncertain about their status as a minority in Canada<sup>125</sup>.

Among francophones, the community sector benefited from the availability of federal grants from the Department of the Secretary of State since 1969. These grants sought to make francophone groups “proud of their heritage”, to inspire a common desire to “conserve and enrich these values”, “and to help francophones express their “individual creative talents<sup>126</sup>”. From 1970 onwards, the regional chapter of the Association canadienne-française de l’Ontario (ACFO) in Sudbury received an annual grant of \$40,000 (the equivalent of \$270,000 in 2020) from the Department of the Secretary of State, allowing it to hire an *animateur* (facilitator), its first full-time employee<sup>127</sup>. Socio-cultural activities were promoted by the federal government as a means of making francophones aware of the problems facing their region and empowering them to “envision solutions<sup>128</sup>”. In November 1970, the Sudbury ACFO organized the États généraux de Sudbury to address the concerns of workers and younger people, although many of the 250 people who attended were getting on in years.

In the late 1960s, the opening of a Franco-Ontarian branch at the Ontario Arts Council, the availability of French-language university and high school courses, and the coming of age of the baby boom fostered awareness, amongst young Franco-Ontarians, of the originality and legitimacy of their experience<sup>129</sup>. For them, there was a “*nécessité [...] de se définir à partir de leur réalité*<sup>130</sup>”. In search for identity, they went about creating a shared imagination within the territory of Northern Ontario: “Le Nouvel-Ontario.” Their creations put down roots in the places and socioeconomic reality of Northern Franco-Ontarians, drawing on spoken language, the northern lifestyle, and a “*spirit of rebellion towards the past*<sup>131</sup>”, according to literary scholar Johanne Melançon. Putting down these roots was, in some ways, a natural continuation of the activities of the Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario, founded in 1942, or the Institut de folklore, created in 1960 (this institute became the Centre franco-ontarien de folklore in 1972), which already nurtured a sense of francophone belonging in the region, although the creative minds of the 1970s sought to distance themselves from the elitism of the Jesuits and traditional activists. By reaching out directly to “a less educated public” “and democratizing literature, historically speaking having served as “an instrument and product of dominating peoples”. This effort, according to

literary scholar François Paré, sought to “represent the Franco-Ontarian people as it is within itself<sup>132</sup>”. This distancing from elitism would be required, according to academic and poet Robert Dickson, if they were to anchor themselves in an “future that is possible<sup>133</sup>”. They focused on individual freedom and individual self-determination by rejecting keystones of socialization such as the family, religion, and school. But not everyone was in favour of this approach: the Sudbury District Roman Catholic Separate School Board, *Le Voyageur*, parishes, the Richelieu Club, and most working-class families generally remained involved with these institutions and committed to the idea that “to speak well is to respect oneself<sup>134</sup>”, while adding symbols of “Le Nouvel-Ontario” and institutional bilingualism to their cultural baggage<sup>135</sup>. The retreat of the clergy, professionals, and local business people, accompanied by a greater spotlight on artists and educators was important. By 1978, compared to a decade earlier, *Le Voyageur* was devoting much less attention to diocesan news than to provincial and federal politics.

Federal grants also allowed Franco-Ontarian creators to found institutions, including the Troupe laurentienne (1969), the Ka-O-Tiks amateur theatre company (1970), the Théâtre du Nouvel-Ontario, and the Coopérative des artistes du Nouvel-Ontario (1971), each rooted in Québécois and Californian counterculture. The Franco-Parole conference of March 1973 led to the emergence of La Nuit sur l'étang concerts and the setting up of publishing company Éditions Prise de parole<sup>136</sup>. At Laurentian University, the French-language student newspaper *Réaction* (1970) was established, followed by the Association des étudiants francophones (1974). These new institutions were run by young people and not dependent on the Church, although Jesuit professor Fernand Dorais was frequently cited as a collaborator and source of inspiration. New groups also led to efforts to increase ties between the new institutions and the Centre des Jeunes (CJ). The youth centre was being kept afloat by its language school, which had a \$1 million (\$4.3 million in 2020) budget and trained more than 1,500 anglophones the rudiments of French between 1974 and 1990<sup>137</sup>. The Île-des-Chênes retreat on Lake Nipissing’s West Arm, running until the summer of 1985, gave hundreds of young people the chance to enjoy all kinds of outdoor activities in French. The CJ would come to

regret moving into the old St. Joseph's Hospital, proving itself to be too big for its needs and heavily in disrepair. With staff turnover high and programming in need of a reconceptualization, the CJ, which in 1989 was renamed the Carrefour francophone de Sudbury, found itself on the brink of financial collapse<sup>138</sup>.

The term "French Canadian," although still favoured by the press in the early 1960s, began to disappear. "Franco-Ontarian" remained the second most frequently used expression, and "francophone", from 1969 onwards, became the most frequent go-to term<sup>139</sup>. According to historian Michel Bock, "Franco-Ontarian" seemed to be associated with education, while "francophone" was promoted as a catch-all by both France and the federal government. The term had the advantage of being flexible and able to include newcomers from around the French-speaking world.

Together with students, historian Gaétan Gervais created the Franco-Ontarian flag and flew it for the first time at the University of Sudbury on September 25, 1975. Gervais played a key role in furthering research on French Ontario. If Franco-Ontarians were to lay down economic and cultural markers and attract credibility to their political aspirations, it wasn't sufficient for a distinct history and culture to exist, he believed: it also needed to be studied<sup>140</sup>. He and his colleagues at Université Laurentienne helped found two such institutions for further reflection: the Institut franco-ontarien (1976) and the *Revue du Nouvel-Ontario* (1978).

Driven by the likes of Marie-Élisabeth Brunet and Yves Tassé, the regional ACFO was at the forefront of developing new French-language institutions. It supported the development of food cooperatives in Hanmer (1976) and Chelmsford (1977), a book cooperative (1979), and a cooperative daycare centre (1981) in Sudbury<sup>141</sup>. Along with allies, Brunet and Tassé lobbied the federal government for a local Radio-Canada station to come to Sudbury<sup>142</sup>. Local programming would allow Franco-Ontarians in the area to take matters into their own hands and provide coverage that was more "*juste sur le plan politique*"<sup>143</sup>. Francophones had had the CFBR radio station since 1947, but no French-language journalist covered the news on a daily basis or provided exposure for Franco-Ontarian creativity<sup>144</sup>. Radio-Canada's CBON began broadcasting in June 1978.

As of 1969, services provided by the federal government in Sudbury had to be available in both official languages. In February 1978, the City of Sudbury's elected officials voted in favour of official bilingualism for the province, but not for their municipality, instead shifting the emphasis to signage and the provision of services in both official languages in the neighbourhoods where the population warranted it<sup>145</sup>. The province pieced together policies on signage and government services in French for areas where there were plenty of francophones, but Premier Bill Davis stopped short of adopting broad legislation, for fear of an electoral backlash from anglophones<sup>146</sup>. As for the ongoing renegotiation of the Constitution, Sudbury's francophones tended to support Québec's efforts in favour of the French language, but above all else they wanted "equality for [Canada's] two founding peoples" to be acknowledged so that they might obtain, as *Le Voyageur* editorial writer Hector Bertrand put it, the right to be "at home, everywhere in the country"<sup>147</sup>. Sociologist Joseph Yvon Thériault considers Franco-Ontarians to be a political community who aspire to a certain level of institutional, political, and cultural autonomy, with neither the political clout nor the concentration of population required to constitute a state in a country already made up of two societies. Organizations therefore acknowledged "their minority status within Canadian society," but refused to "perceive itself as an ethnic component of Canadian life"<sup>148</sup>.

By 1975, Sudbury's historically francophone Moulin-à-Fleur neighbourhood consisted of approximately 2,000 homes and 82 businesses, largely on Notre Dame Avenue. Two out of three adults were tenants, and rents were the lowest in the city<sup>149</sup>. Half of adults hadn't finished high school and were close to — or lived below — the poverty line, a rate eight percentage points higher than the Sudbury average. This wasn't to say that the people of Moulin-à-Fleur were miserable: three-quarters of residents interviewed by the student Maurice Levac in 1976 told him they were happy with their homes and their way of life. The concentration and proximity of stores "allowed folks to tend to their errands on foot"<sup>150</sup>, in a part of town where people were least likely to own a car. Some 80% of the 7,500 residents were French Canadian, and 88% of them most often used French at home (compared to the Sudbury average of 67%). Though people spoke French, they rarely wrote or read

it. Nine out of ten residents were Catholic and 55% went to mass at least once a week, a rate still higher than in the city's other French-language parishes. The parish counted on 26 committees and organizations to keep shared traditions and values alive. The rural background of many residents, the intensity of community life, and common social origins encouraged a "warmth" similar to that of a "very homogeneous community" or a "small village" that provided a "*sentiment de sécurité*"<sup>151</sup>. However, Levac, who was 21 when he wrote his paper and who lived his whole life in the neighbourhood, also saw cracks beginning to appear: young people were going to mass less often than their parents and were more educated and better-off than them, which led them to buy homes elsewhere. The 35-54 age group was also underrepresented in the neighbourhood. The high proportion of rental housing also tended to make the area a "gateway" to the city, which could bring in more "*gens d'origine ethnique autre que la nôtre*"<sup>152</sup>.

Among the area's French-language high schools, Collège Notre-Dame was identified by the Sisters of Charity of Ottawa as a "community charity", attached to a fund that amassed surplus income, salaries, and pensions for the nuns<sup>153</sup>. An appeal for solidarity enabled the Collège to turn around the decrease in enrolments, which rose from 194 (1971) to 685 (1977). It began putting up boarders in a convent a few blocks away, offering a French-language Catholic secondary education to students from remote areas who came from families who could afford it. In 1976, the CND was given equipment from the orders, schools which were closing in Québec, it also welcomed five nuns, who had returned from Africa to fill teaching positions. This delayed the hiring of lay personnel and helped reduce operating costs<sup>154</sup>. The Collège was growing at such a rate that a new wing had to be built to double its size in 1979, with enrolments reaching 930 in 1981. At the same time, the other schools (Macdonald-Cartier, Hanmer, Rayside, and Franco-Jeunesse) each had between 600 and 700 students<sup>155</sup>. In 1978, the separate school board reopened Collège du Sacré-Cœur, after having closed 11 years earlier, to grades 9 and 10, the only years subsidized by school taxes, in response to parents' "discontent" with a "*manque de discipline et de la mauvaise formation que subissent leurs enfants dans les écoles publiques*"<sup>156</sup> in the words of educator Liliane Beauchamp. The project would last only five



years, however. In 1984, the province's expansion of public funding to grades 11, 12, and 13 in Catholic high schools provided Collège Notre-Dame with a stable source of public money<sup>157</sup>. The separate school board felt that its "feeder" elementary schools warranted bringing public secondary schools back under its wing (Franco-Jeunesse became L'Héritage in 1986) as well as building new schools (L'Horizon in 1989 and Champlain in 1992) to compete with the public ones (Hanmer and Rayside) in the Valley.

Other traditional cultural institutions would also adapt. The *Caisses populaires* professionalized and offered specialized services, sometimes to the detriment of their members, who had trouble keeping up with the changes. In 1975, the Caisse populaire St-Jean de Brébeuf had more than 3,000 members and replaced its board of supervision with a firm of chartered accountants<sup>158</sup>. *Caisses populaires* in and around Sudbury continued to publish an economic advice column in *Le Voyageur*, but now it was penned by the Mouvement Desjardins in Montréal. Inflation was all too real: as member returns fell, some moved their money elsewhere, making it more difficult to issue mortgages, as interest rates surged over 20%. Manager Arthur Pharand was discouraged to see capitalism "well implanted," as well as looser cooperation that led to a regrettable conclusion: the rich were getting richer, while the poor were getting poorer<sup>159</sup>. In 1981, the unemployment rate for Franco-Ontarians was 2% above the provincial average, and two out of three working men were labourers or farmers, compared to two out of five Ontarians as a whole<sup>160</sup>. There was also a regional cooperative in Sudbury-Nipissing that brought together grocery stores, gas pumps, and other businesses. In 1984, the Caisse populaire St-Jean-de-Brébeuf got involved in building the Place Verchères housing cooperative, where almost all residents were francophone. Pharand concluded that his credit union had allowed "an uncalculable number of labourers<sup>161</sup>" to become homeowners. The Fédération des caisses populaires de l'Ontario and the Alliance des caisses populaires de l'Ontario had 218,000 members in 1984, or around one in two Franco-Ontarians. In 1989, the Fédération became an auxiliary member of Québec's Desjardins Group, which extended to Franco-Ontarians Desjardins' specialized services and free transactions between credit unions. By surveying members, Economist

Jean-Charles Cachon showed that the *caisse populaire* members liked the credit union because of the services it offered, which were always in French and increasingly personalized, compared to banks. Nonetheless, the distance between the credit union and one's home played a big role in whether or not people deposited their money there<sup>162</sup>. Laurentian University offered an introductory course on cooperatives (1976) and a specialization in cooperative administration (1986)<sup>163</sup>. The bachelor's degree in cooperative studies was abolished after two years when the French-language business program was created (1983).

As with other chapters during these years, the regional ACFO began to enjoy greater autonomy and was renamed, in 1983, ACFO du grand Sudbury (ACFOGS). From that point on, it would be given its grants directly from the Secretary of State. Its president, Serge Dignard, was disheartened to see its influence so limited; 50 people attending a general meeting (out of a population of 50,000) was considered a success! According to the provincial ACFO, people seemed to have no interest in regional chapters, "*soit par crainte, par antipathie ou par apathie*." Franco-Ontarians, it appeared to them, would continue to be burdened by "fear of offending the majority" with their demands and would prefer to "live in harmony with everyone even if this meant their progressive Anglicization and accepting flagrant injustices<sup>164</sup>". Resignations and grant cuts in the mid-1980s, which accounted for 80% of the ACFOGS budget, put the brakes on political projects<sup>165</sup>. Behind-the-scenes pressure to improve French-language services within government agencies — including Science North, Ontario Hydro, and Air Canada — was a success, with such pressure becoming a necessity following the adoption by the provincial government of the *French Language Services Act* (1986). At the regional level, ACFOGS managed to convince a number of businesses to serve customers in French. However, it was reluctant to support the 1986 opening of the first French-language public school, Jeanne-Sauvé, for fear of getting on the wrong side of the separate school board. Instead, ACFOGS got behind the opening of French-language daycares to help stem the tide of assimilation. Michel Bock believed that ACFOGS was becoming less effective, since "the local bourgeoisie, clergy, and professionals were more often than not, absent from debates". In Bock's

view, the association had alienated this part of the population in their efforts to reach ordinary folks<sup>166</sup>.

Meanwhile, on the economic side of things, the disarmament of world powers reduced global demand for nickel, brought prices to fluctuate, and made for more competitive mines in the second and third world, where labour was cheaper. At Inco and Falconbridge, sulphur emission restrictions and tighter provincial health and safety regulations led to layoffs and employee attrition. The strike of 1978-1979 drove management to automate and computerize processes. The number of workers in the mining sector collapsed from 22,130 (1975) to 10,397 (1988)<sup>167</sup>. And so did mining's contribution to the labour force, melting from 25% (1971) to 11% (1991). Happily for the local economy, growth in government and utility jobs led to office towers being built in the downtown core<sup>168</sup>.

Sudbury's economic woes left their mark on businesses, many of which closed downtown. While an average of 4,500 people per year moved to Sudbury, 6,000 simultaneously left, shrinking the city's population from 97,604 (1976) to 88,715 (1986<sup>169</sup>). The gloom was nevertheless brightened by the fact that 90% of Inco and Falconbridge retirees stayed in Sudbury, which kept the service sector going. Laurentian University and Cambrian College brought young people down from the north and trained them as professionals, many of whom would stay to live in the area, which was becoming a regional hub for Northeastern Ontario. Bell Canada (1979) and Revenue Canada (1982) opened important offices in Sudbury, easing the city's transition to a service economy. Laurentian University and mining companies joined forces to revitalize bare, blackened hills, and from 1969 on, students, as well as workers who had been laid off from Inco, helped further this recovery by transporting soil and planting shrubs, plants, and 10 million trees. After four decades, Sudbury had reclaimed thousands of hectares of burned land and made a name for itself around the world for greening industrial areas<sup>170</sup>. Thanks to environmental laws, mines cut emissions, between 1960 and 2002 by 90%. As air quality improved; the health of lakes, soil, and local people did too.

At Laurentian University, the number of French-language programs rose to 36 for close to 2,000 francophone students, a peak reached in 1990<sup>171</sup>. Attempts to create a Franco-Ontarian faculty or university, which were given fresh impetus by the French Language Services Act (1986), reached an impasse as the Ontario government grappled with a recession and built three French-language community colleges in Ottawa, Toronto, and Sudbury.

# Economic Diversification and Cultural Diversity

~ 1995 to 2020 ~

How does the last quarter century of francophone history in Sudbury compare to others? It begins with the opening, in September 1995, of Collège Boréal, which brought together the French-language staff and programs at Cambrian College, which had been bilingual since its inception in 1967<sup>172</sup>. By transferring some 60 French-language programs over from Canadore College (North Bay), Northern College (Timmins), and Sault College (Sault Ste. Marie), Boréal was originally made up of seven campuses in Sudbury, Elliot Lake, Hearst, Kapuskasing, New Liskeard, Sturgeon Falls, and Timmins. It used new technology like email and videoconferencing to optimize communications, administration, and teaching between regions. In 1995-1996, Collège Boréal had 1,300 full-time and 1,600 part-time students. Its mission was twofold: to train a qualified workforce to match the economic needs of the North while helping Franco-Ontarians, historically deprived of higher education, to catch up socially and culturally with the rest of the province. The main campus was inaugurated in 1997 at 21 Lasalle Boulevard, between the francophone catchment areas of the Valley, New Sudbury, and the Moulin-à-Fleur. The college's 2005-2010 Strategic Plan saw economic, social and cultural development<sup>173</sup> as being closely tied to the struggle against "*les effets de l'assimilation, de l'exode des jeunes et de l'endettement de la clientèle*<sup>174</sup>" and "*l'intégration des populations immigrantes.*" In Sudbury, this "*projet de société*" included putting on shows at the college to promote Franco-Ontarian pride, acknowledging Métis heritage, and international outreach, by way of recruitment drives in French-speaking Africa. These efforts were considered essential to

counter cultural abandonment<sup>175</sup>, since for many students it was clear that French was in some cases becoming a second language. Starting in 2011, the Collège housed a dozen Franco-Ontarian organizations, including the Théâtre du Nouvel-Ontario, the ACFO du grand Sudbury, and the Regroupement des jeunes gens d'affaires francophones. A 350-seat amphitheatre opened in 2012, as well as the Au pied du rocher restaurant in 2013, served as a gathering place for the community and provided training in the performing and culinary arts. The Institute for Applied Trades and Technologies also opened around this time. The past decade was not plain sailing in a part of the country where birth rates were falling, young people were moving away, and attracting immigrants was proving increasingly difficult<sup>176</sup>. Although Collège Boréal may have topped the province's performance indicators for graduation rates and student and alumni satisfaction, full-time enrolment slipped from 1,453 (2015-2016) to 1,342 (2017-2018). In 2018, it was announced that 12 programs were to be cancelled, including several in science and health at the three campuses in the Far North as well as an arts program in Sudbury, a loss that would be offset in part by the introduction of 6 new programs.

Was the Collège Boréal experience symptomatic of a loss of momentum for Sudbury's francophone community as a whole? In 2006, 62% of Sudbury's 45,000 francophones spoke French most often at home, and an additional 20% using the language on at least a regular basis. A majority consumed no French-language media or culture, while bilingual business signs were still rare. According to geographer Anne Gilbert, the increase in the number of records for French-language services in education, health, economic and political services, in a region with significant socioeconomic challenges, led to "a dispersion of efforts<sup>177</sup>" and organizations suffering from a lack of "relève."

The network of francophones associations remained complex. Caisses populaires had the same number of members as before and focused on the "human aspect", even as they provided more services in English. Since other financial institutions were no longer reluctant to do business with francophones, the Caisses populaires had to offer "*des services compétitifs*<sup>178</sup>", in the words of Moulin-à-Fleur credit union president Robert Boucher. Manager Raymond Prévost was given to

wonder: “Are we betraying our mission by asking clients to buy today and pay tomorrow with a Visa credit card?” Half of Caisse populaire members no longer lived in the Moulin-à-Fleur neighbourhood, but automation freed up staff to “*donner un meilleur service financier personnalisé, comparable aux autres institutions, à un coût compétitif*”<sup>179</sup>. Beginning in 1990, Caisses populaires began to merge in Ottawa and Sudbury, and in January 2020, Desjardins Ontario was formed as a single province-wide bilingual credit union, boasting \$7 billion in assets, \$14.6 billion in business, 130,000 members, and 650 employees, working in 50 branches<sup>180</sup>.

Spatially speaking, blasting and rock shifting, available at a lower cost than in the past, opened previously unusable land up to private and commercial sale. Urban densification was driven by new neighbourhoods being built on Sudbury’s hills, along with the emergence of big-box stores at the corner of Barrydowne and Kingsway, which attracted shoppers from Northeastern Ontario and Northwestern Québec<sup>181</sup>. In 2008, the Copper Cliff refinery covered the mountains with slag, clay, peat, clover, and tree seed.

The regional municipality merged with the six surrounding towns and cities in January 2001 to form Greater Sudbury, a single-tier megacity. As part of the change, provincial services (sewers, provincial road maintenance, social assistance, child welfare, and ambulance services) were also devolved to the municipality. The merger was supposed to allow for savings, but property taxes remained insufficient to keep up with demand, especially in the downtown area, which had seen better days. Divisions between communities, scattered over an area 3.5 times the size of Toronto, lingered, according to a study by former MPP, Floyd Laughren (2007). Finally, the widening of Highway 69 cut travel time to Toronto to three and a half hours.

Such measures encouraged new businesses to open and allowed Sudbury’s economy to diversify. With developing mining technologies and research on specialties associated with a mining town, the population stabilized during the 1990s and began to grow modestly again. Homes were once again being built, not only in the Valley, but also in the surrounding hills. In 2016, the City of Greater Sudbury had

161,647 residents, an increase of 1% since 2011 and 2% since 2006<sup>182</sup>. At the same time, Laurentian University cut back on the number of courses and programs it offered in French<sup>183</sup>, but the opening of the Dynamic Earth Museum (2003), the Northern Ontario School of Medicine (2005), and the McEwen School of Architecture (2012) attracted researchers, technicians, and students. This swelled the number of white-collar workers until they accounted for half of all jobs. Meanwhile, the proportion of workers in the mining sector fell below 5%. In 2006, Falconbridge and Inco were acquired by mining companies in Switzerland (Xstrata) and Brazil (Vale). Observers point to the fact that Inco and Falconbridge had become highly bureaucratized, and had waited too long to consolidate activities in order to protect themselves from hostile takeovers by companies running leaner operations in the second and third world. The economic crisis of 2007-2009 led Vale to demand a reduction in nickel bonuses and other seniority privileges. The strike that began in July 2009 lasted for 13 months, making it the longest in Sudbury's history<sup>184</sup>. And yet the people of Sudbury seemed less concerned by the strike. By then, only 5% of Sudbury's workforce were directly concerned.

Himself the son of Finnish immigrants, geographer Oiva Saarinen believes that the cultural expressions of the European immigrant groups who settled in Sudbury at the turn of the 20th century now tend to be concentrated in seniors' homes and at annual celebrations of Ukrainian, Italian, Celtic/Irish, Greek, and Finnish cultures<sup>185</sup>. In contrast, the Anishinabe have set up friendship, health, education, and indigenous studies centres in schools, colleges, and universities. This has made indigenous cultures more visible and vibrant, an important shift. This has a greater number of indigenous people live in the city than on reserves: in 2016, 15,695 Sudburians (9%) said they were of indigenous origin, half of whom claimed Métis identity, representing a foundational aspect for some and an abstract connection to a distant ancestor for others<sup>186</sup>. The indigenous population is now larger than the Eastern European groups. However, the communities of Wahnapeitei and Whitefish Lake would rather their members resettle on their ancestral lands in order to revitalize them<sup>187</sup>.



The number of francophones who speak French as their mother tongue has dropped by 9% (4,800 people) between 1996 and 2016<sup>188</sup>. While some of the decrease can be attributed to outmigration, this only partially explains the decrease of French-speaking individuals by nearly 2,000 between 2006 and 2016, while the population as a whole grew by 2%. In other words, from 28.2% in 1996, the demographic weight of the French-mother-tongue population in Greater Sudbury decreased to 25.7% in 2016 (-2.5%). Despite French becoming more of a second-language for some francophones, knowledge of both official languages remained stable at 39% (2016). Nearly 60% of Sudburians are unilingual anglophones, but 1,300 people (1% of the population), mainly seniors and children, speak French only.

In 2016, 20,725 people (out of 155,525 surveyed) reported French to be the language most often spoken at home (13%<sup>189</sup>). However, this figure had stood at 23,500 (15%) in 2011, a decrease of 2,775 people in five years (or 12%<sup>190</sup>). The number of people who “regularly” spoke French at home in 2016 was 17,270 (11%), up from 16,350 (10%) in 2011. And so, within five years, 1,855 fewer people were speaking French in their homes. Needless to say, English had the upper hand: 131,545 people (82%) say they speak English most often at home, and an additional 13,345 people (8%) speak it regularly at home. Such a decline can also be observed in surrounding municipalities, including French River, Markstay-Warren, and St. Charles, where French-speaking majorities in 2001 (61%, 50%, and 69%) had become French-speaking minorities by 2011 (49%, 37%, and 48%<sup>191</sup>).

To what may we attribute this decline? Of course, personal conviction comes into play, but the transmission of language also depends on the attitudes and behaviour of the anglophone parent in an exogamous household, (depending on whether or not he or she learns, places value on, or uses French) as well as how individuals, institutions, and businesses act in public. In Sudbury, power relations continue to disproportionately favour English. In 2016, of 89,490 workers surveyed in Sudbury, 2% work only in French, 5% use French most often, and 18% speak French regularly<sup>192</sup>. French is most present in workplaces pertaining to education, government, the arts, and health, where francophones are

overrepresented in relation to their demographic weight<sup>193</sup>. The presence of francophones is in line with their demographic weight in the service sector, but they remain underrepresented in the natural sciences and public utilities.

Where do francophones tend to be concentrated? In 2011, they were 6,545 in New Sudbury, 3,710 in Chelmsford, 3,310 in Val Thérèse, 2,825 in the Moulin-à-Fleur, 2,805 in Hanmer, 2,690 in Minnow Lake, 2,390 in the South End, 2,255 in Val Caron, 2,170 in Azilda, 1,640 in rural Rayside-Balfour, 1,515 in rural East Valley, 1,195 in the Donovan, and 760 Downtown<sup>194</sup>. Areas with the highest proportion of francophones remain Chelmsford (57%), rural Rayside-Balfour (53%), Azilda (51%), Blezard Valley (50%), Hanmer (47%), and Val Caron (44%). Figures for the North End and Moulin-à-Fleur — the most francophone parts of the old City of Sudbury stand at 28% and 32%.

The region has 150 organizations with ties to the francophone community, three-quarters of which are francophone only, and some of which were created more recently, including the Galerie du Nouvel-Ontario (1995), the Conseil scolaire catholique du Nouvel-Ontario (1998), the Conseil scolaire public du Grand Nord de l'Ontario (1998), and the Salon du livre du Grand Sudbury (2004)<sup>195</sup>. In November 2008, a reincarnation of the États généraux de Sudbury resulted in the establishment of the Comité de planification communautaire de Sudbury, along with eight sector-based tables. Funded by the Trillium Foundation and the federal organization FedNor, the committee seeks to “ensure a better awareness.”<sup>196</sup> among the population to the real-life experiences of francophones, increase participation in the voluntary sector, encourage engagement, and develop dialogue, as participation continued to be limited to a few hundred people for cultural activities and to some 20 people at ACFOGS annual meetings<sup>197</sup>. They also foresee measures to boost youth retention and increase francophone immigration, since only 18% of immigrants who settled in Sudbury between 2001 and 2011 had some knowledge of French<sup>198</sup>. A French-language hub ([www.quifaitquoisudbury.ca](http://www.quifaitquoisudbury.ca)) was launched online in 2015.

The most ambitious project to date has been Place des Arts, managed by the Regroupement des organismes culturels de Sudbury (ROCS).

After studying its feasibility, obtaining public funding from the City, the province, and the federal government, holding fundraising initiatives, the ROCS has established a \$28 million production and performance venue, complete with offices, four performance halls, a bistro, and a boutique<sup>199</sup>. When it opens at the corner of Elgin and Larch in Fall 2021, Place des Arts promises to be a “*foyer d’excellence et lieu rassembleur*”<sup>200</sup>.

At ACFOGS, the decrease of federal grants from \$151,000 to \$78,974 in 2009 called for a turnaround. With federal grants now accounting for only half of revenues, the other half has to be brought in through a Franco-Ontarian merchandise store and raised through social activities. ACFOGS continues to keep an eye on French-language services at City of Greater Sudbury locations, which follows the City’s French Language Services Policy, drawn up in 1999. In 2012, a study commissioned by ACFOGS compared Greater Sudbury to Moncton (New Brunswick) and Bienne (Switzerland), two bilingual cities with a sizable francophone minority. The study outlined the path ahead for Greater Sudbury: official bilingualism at the municipal level, a bilingual commercial signage policy, and an organization tasked with helping the two major language groups live side by side were all lacking<sup>201</sup>. ACFOGS explained the delay by pointing to a hesitancy amongst anglophones, an “absence of political will” amongst local politicians, as well as a “*manque de conviction de la part des francophones*”<sup>202</sup>. ACFOGS works to reverse the trend and in 2013 targeted commercial signage with a campaign aimed at businesses and the francophone population, *J’affiche aussi en français*<sup>203</sup>. It expanded the directory of French-language services, designed to list public services, to include businesses. The campaign was picked up by the other regional ACFOs across the province as part of a 2014 initiative called “Bonjour! Welcome!”. ACFOGS continued to meet periodically with the mayor and councillors, but the organization was unable to obtain funding to continue its Francophone Economic Impact Study. Meanwhile, the City seems content to focus on addressing the lack of French language public services and to look towards cultural tourism. With only two employees, ACFOGS is responsible for the festivities for March 20 (Journée internationale de la Francophonie) and September 25 (Journée des Franco-Ontariens et des Franco-Ontariennes) in collaboration with Laurentian University, University

of Sudbury and Collège Boréal; as for Saint-Jean-Baptiste (in June), it coordinates in conjunction with the Centre de santé communautaire du Grand Sudbury, as well as a dozen community partners. In a 2015 survey, some francophones chided the organization for not being “audacious enough<sup>204</sup>” in its political demands and also criticized its dealings with young people, immigrants, francophiles, and ordinary francophones. ACFOGS took note of this in its 2015-2020 strategic plan, proposing to become a watchdog to ensure the rights of francophones and “*priorités de la communauté francophone*<sup>205</sup>” were respected. In 2017, it relaunched the campaign to boost supply and demand for French-language services in businesses and government offices, and also committed to showcasing Sudbury’s francophone history<sup>206</sup>. ACFOGS was disappointed that plans for a French-language university in Toronto, slated to open in 2021, did not include further university autonomy or new French-language programs in Sudbury<sup>207</sup>.

Following the creation of the Contact interculturel francophone de Sudbury (CIFS) in 1998 and the formation, in 2011, of the Réseau en immigration francophone (RIF) du Nord, 190 Vietnamese, 110 French, 85 Lebanese, 55 Algerians, 30 Congolese, 30 Ivorians, 25 Haitians, 20 Moroccans, and 20 Tunisians also called Greater Sudbury home by 2016<sup>208</sup>. In May 2019, Greater Sudbury was named by the Ministry of Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship as one of 14 “welcoming francophone communities outside Québec”. It therefore can be said, that francophone immigration will likely play a role in writing the next chapter of Sudbury’s francophone history<sup>209</sup>.

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