

Tracking the Worker's Past in Quebec

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Put two specialists together who are interested in the history of working men and women, and you are bound to have a discussion on the inaccessibility or the lack of adequate primary materials. One historian put it this way when speaking of his colleagues: “[Ils] se heurtent à l’état de désorganisation et d’éparpillement qui caractérise les fonds d’archives touchant les luttes et les mouvements ouvriers.”¹ It is a universal concern and, at least in the Western World, the situation is not showing signs of much improvement.² Quebec is not an exception to the rule, but a good foundation is nevertheless in place.³

The founding by Monseigneur Victor Tremblay of *La Société historique du Saguenay* in 1934 inadvertently created the first labour archives in Quebec. Tremblay’s eclectic tastes resulted in his collecting just about everything that had to do with his beloved region, including the records of the first Catholic union, the *Fédération ouvrière mutuelle du Nord*, amongst other gems.

The next significant event took place in the late 1960s when Alfred Charpentier, former president of the Confederation of Catholic Workers of Canada (CCWC), bequeathed his extensive personal collection to Gérard Dion, who deposited it in the archives of Laval University.⁴ In 1967, another important development occurred when the *Centre en histoire économique du Canada français* became the archives of the Quebec Federation of Labour (QFL).⁵

This was the situation in the late 1960s when just about every facet of worker experience came under examination. Academics, journalists, unionists, students: everyone, it seemed, was getting into labour studies. Certainly this effervescence was closely related to the changes brought about by the Quiet Revolution. As Quebec took stock of itself, the place of working men and women loomed large. Nourished by the mythical interpretations of the Asbestos Strike (1949) and driven home by a series of “glamorous” conflicts such as *Dupuis Frères* (1952), *Louiseville* (1952), *Murdochville* (1957), and *Radio-Canada* (1959), a workers’ consciousness took hold. The government of Jean Lesage gave further impetus with its adoption of a new Labour Code and its unabashed encouragement of unionization in the expanding provincial civil service.⁶ If the Quiet Revolution was the coming of age of a people, it was also the age of Everyman, the worker who saw

himself/herself not as a passive participant, but as a full-fledged actor in the unfolding drama of a new socio-economic era.

Allied with this development was the emergence of a new technocratic elite. Be it as the heads of government departments, as technical advisors to union federations, or as university or college instructors, these individuals were the products of that selfsame Quiet Revolution. With the explosion that took place in higher education, it was a foregone conclusion that a new set of interests and values would be transmitted to the upcoming generation.⁷ *La revanche du berceau* became *la revanche du cerveau*. As early as 1967, a course on labour history made its way into the curricula of the province's normal schools.⁸ The rapid expansion of the social sciences in the French-language universities was accompanied by growing attention to working-class themes.⁹ Under the enlightened guidance of Fernand Dumont and Jean Hamelin at Laval University, a multidisciplinary approach to the worker's experience emerged under the umbrella of the Institut supérieur des sciences humaines. From this a continuing flow of germane research studies made their appearance, and a cohort of young academics spread through the province's civil service or became instructors in universities and CEGEP departments. At the University of Quebec at Montreal (UQAM), the work of Stanley Ryerson and his colleagues on worker political movements in Quebec served much the same end as the Laval experience, although the actual written output was meagre. Yet another factor was the growth of a network of public colleges (CEGEPs), whose curricula included labour and worker-related courses in sociology, humanities, and philosophy.¹⁰

Born in 1972 of a need to knit together all these developments, the *Regroupement des chercheurs en histoire des travailleurs québécois* (RCHTQ) was to become not only a vital forum in the development of labour studies, but also the torchbearer for labour archives in Quebec. The provincial government had, in 1969, passed its first archives legislation, which seemed to promote everything, but to deliver nothing.¹¹ The archives committee of the RCHTQ kept circulating a steady flow of information, encouraged its members to become archives-conscious, and used whatever moral suasion it had to advance the cause. Late in 1974, the committee tabled a comprehensive report on the state of labour archives with potential avenues for future development.¹²

A series of archival initiatives, often under the direction of RCHTQ members, made their appearance throughout the province. In the Northwest, Benoit-Beaudry Gourd inventoried the archives of the metalworkers.¹³ In the Mauricie, Georges Massey worked on the regional archives of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU).¹⁴ From Eastern Quebec came projects documenting the CNTU central council.¹⁵ In the Saguenay a group of history students prepared an inventory of the archives of *La Société historique du Saguenay*.¹⁶ In Quebec City, work focused on the archives of the CNTU central council.¹⁷ Finally, the ADSOS (*Archives de documentation sur l'organisation syndicale*) project of 1974-1975 made a valiant effort to put order in the massive holdings of the CNTU head office at Montreal.¹⁸ The threads of all this activity were drawn together in 1976 through a RCHTQ-sponsored workshop held during the annual congress of *L'Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française*.¹⁹

Other undertakings at this time held long-range significance for labour archives. The QFL announced its intention to establish its own documentation centre in order to recover its archives from Laval University.²⁰ Shortly after this event and with the strong support of the Industrial Relations Department, the Archives Division of Laval University consolidated all of the university's labour holdings and expressed its receptiveness to expand the collection.²¹ This positive development was echoed by the University of Quebec at Montreal, whose Archives Service indicated interest in acquiring labour and leftist-oriented materials, and an imposing collection is in the making. The University of Montreal, the University of Quebec at Trois-Rivières, and the University of Quebec at Rimouski also began acquiring labour records.²²

The *Archives nationales du Québec* (ANQ) was starting to spread its wings at this time. A unique feature of ANQ development was its nine regional centres decentralized throughout the province, eventually to be linked by a computerized interactive communication system known as SAPHIR (*Système, Archives, Publication, Histoire, Inventaire, Recherche*).²³ Although the ANQ never appointed a labour specialist, there was in the early years an active dialogue with the RCHTQ on a variety of subjects. The regional centers of the ANQ were quite disposed to acquire labour collections and, in a few instances, these collections served as the nucleus of their holdings.

One can glance back over these past two decades with a feeling of comfort. The legacy of the worker and organized labour no longer appears on the list of endangered species. Thanks to grants from a plethora of different government funding agencies that are mined assiduously, labour studies continue to receive assistance.²⁴ The stalwarts of the RCHTQ remain productive, and the organization continues as an active promotional force. At the French-language universities, there is a constant flow of theses and dissertations on organized labour and worker themes.²⁵ Research projects done in collaboration with various unions have become quite fashionable.²⁶ The interest in the identification of labour records in archives follows in the tradition of the 1970s.²⁷ Clearly labour studies continue to elicit steady interest from the children of the Quiet Revolution.

An awareness of the importance of labour archives seems firmly entrenched and numerous repositories have been identified. Yet, the situation remains precarious, since much of what exists is predicated upon good intentions, and not on a coherent development plan. Unfortunately, no archival agency in the province has a mandate to preserve labour's past. No mandate; no absolute guarantee of funding! If the money is there, fine; if not, things get put back or put aside. Little interest is shown in new acquisitions.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Quebec university archives interacted with the growing interest in the workers' past. These archives possessed the qualified personnel, a structure capable of expansion, and an initial elasticity that permitted the addition of new labour collections. Laval University's Archives Division was in the forefront of this movement, and by the early 1980s it already possessed fourteen private collections that were of interest to labour researchers.²⁸ However, there were to be no new acquisitions and, at the time of writing, quite a few of the collections still did not possess finding aids. Ominous reports claimed that the Archives Division was reviewing its involvement with private collections which had no relationship with the university. This same pattern is evident with the labour holdings at the

University of Montreal,²⁹ at the University of Quebec at Trois-Rivières,³⁰ and at the University of Quebec at Rimouski.³¹ Only the University of Quebec at Montreal continued to acquire labour material.³²

Behind this obvious retrenchment lies the funding crisis that affects the province's universities. With several universities carrying large deficits, development financing for historical archives like those of Laval is low on the list of priorities. University of Quebec at Montreal's continued responsiveness is perhaps attributable to the fact that its grant-supported Archives Service preserves not only the institutional records of the university but also a variety of private collections, including those of labour. In effect, private collections are piggybacked on the strong archival program of an institution. Certainly labour archives have been a major beneficiary of this happy marriage at UQAM.

Diminishing support from the university sector is compounded by the inability of major Quebec union centrals to control their own records. Organizations such as the Confederation of National Trade Unions and the Quebec Federation of Labour were drastically affected by the depressed economic climate of the early 1980s. As unemployment swept the land, the per capita funding that went to union centrals withered, and "non-essential" services bore the brunt of cutbacks. The 1970s also saw these centrals drawn into the vortex of the expanding state mechanism of boards, agencies, and advisory bodies. If the unions wanted to be heard, they had to be present. Participation, however, had its costs: time, manpower, and ... overflowing file cabinets of documents. Fortunately, the modernization of the administrative apparatus of the CNTU started in the mid-1980s was accompanied by a clear and pressing mandate to put order into the archives. By the spring of 1988, the archivist was able to report a minor miracle: one could move from point A to point B without tripping over various and sundry boxes and parcels; a working classification system was in place; 3000 boxes of records stored in the Old Port of Montreal had been inventoried and properly conserved; and a sense of optimism reigned. The CNTU appeared to have regained mastery of its records, but it was far from clear whether there were enough resources to do anything more than maintain the status quo. The QFL experienced no crisis but found that expansion was out of the question.³³ Recently the QFL came to the conclusion that it was ill-equipped to conserve even what historical archives it had in its own possession, and negotiations are underway with the University of Quebec at Montreal.³⁴ However, while there is considerable interest, the long-term conservation costs are a source of concern.

What has accentuated this turn of events is the inquietude prompted by the unsatisfactory development of the network of regional centres operated by the *Archives nationales du Québec*. The much-heralded SAPHIR program appears stalled, and backroom gossip gives the impression that it is quietly being scrapped, the victim of critical historians who deplored what they felt to be a system not tailored to the needs of serious research. Moreover, it was felt that the energies being deployed on SAPHIR had a negative impact on the operation of the total ANQ network.³⁵ To put these charges in perspective, one has to add that the ANQ budget is clearly inadequate, and barely able to maintain even existing programs. Indeed, archival needs muster little support from the political establishment. Had the burst pipes and destruction of documents at the ANQ's centre in Montreal not made newspaper

headlines, there is a good chance that the centre might still be housed in the dank cellars of Montreal's Old Court House. Such a state of affairs must not enhance morale, and one can imagine the thoughts of the provincial archivists as they try to reconcile government obfuscation with the province's motto, *Je me souviens*. On what will the memory be constituted?!

The ANQ can no longer be counted upon to serve as a haven for labour's past. The last annual report of the Archives states unambiguously: "Nous voulions nous éloigner de la prise en charge directe de la conservation des archives privés telle que pratiqué par les ANQ depuis plusieurs années."³⁶ With the Archives' new orientation and the imminent demise of SAPHIR, servicing the budding labour collections in six regional centres becomes very problematical. Expansion at this point is also out of the question.³⁷ At best, what exists in the centres will be properly conserved, but there is not much hope of seeing the development of finding aids.

In announcing its shift away from being the collective storehouse of the province's non-governmental past, the ANQ indicated that it would take in private collections only in exceptional circumstances. It further intimated that it might look to other regional and local governments, associations and existing private archives to do the job.³⁸ Considering that in 1986-87 the Quebec government budgeted \$168,700 in archival support for private collections held by non-public agencies,³⁹ and considering the track record of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs at budget time, optimism becomes a difficult attitude with which to face the future. Archivists are unanimous in applauding the possibility of increased grants to support private collections, but they note that government officials respond coyly when questions of money arise. Furthermore, no one seems able to respond to the question of who is to take the leadership to preserve Quebec's patrimony, if not the ANQ? The historians were quick to respond, asserting in April 1988 that the ANQ was seriously risking betrayal of its mission by its new orientation, and that the administrative framework being proposed to certify and assist other archival agencies in acquiring private collections made little practical sense. The historians' brief wondered aloud about the government's motives: "En fait, la plupart des questions énumérées précédemment trouvent leur racine dans le caractère flou et aléatoire que semble prendre l'aide financière que l'État peut fournir avec l'agrément. Sans des ressources financières suffisantes, qui peut assurer des conditions de conservation et d'accessibilité adéquates? De même, sans des crédits suffisants et réguliers, la viabilité d'un réseau de centres d'archives agréés ne saurait être assurée."⁴⁰ Even if all these fears prove to be unfounded, it is not certain that the new orientation of the ANQ would provide a satisfactory solution. Although several private archives in the province, such as the Archbishopric of Montreal and the Canadian Jewish Congress, possess labour- and worker-related materials in their holdings, their mandates are quite specific and do not include the systematic acquisition of labour materials.⁴¹ Similar observations can be made when examining the potential of municipal and paragonovernmental archives, which offer little hope of security for labour records.

From an acquisition perspective, the state of labour archives in Quebec at this juncture looks very uncertain, and the timing could not be worse. Jean-François Cardin and Jacques Rouillard have just completed an imposing guide that locates and describes the holdings of forty-six international unions presently active in

Quebec.⁴² The level of cooperation obtained from union officials, they report, was excellent. They also report a strong interest on the part of numerous unions to ensure the conservation of their historical records. Now is the time to encourage these unions to deposit their historical documentation. But where? The urgency of such a proposal can be gauged from the realization that Cardin and Rouillard started with a potential listing of over one hundred and ten international unions that were at one time or another active in Quebec. So where have the files of the other sixty ended up? Probably "stored" in an incinerator!⁴³ This is a tragedy, especially when one recognizes that the phenomenon of international unions in Quebec has yet to be explored in a significant manner.⁴⁴ One can add a whole series of other similar studies that need to be undertaken. There is the work that has only begun on the numerous CNTU federations.⁴⁵ There are twenty-five out of twenty-eight CNTU councils still to be surveyed for documentation. The teachers' unions have arrived at a point where one fears for the survival of their historical records.⁴⁶ Then there is the *Centrale des syndicats démocratique*, born of a schism from the CNTU in 1972, but representing unions that go back to the turn of the century. Finally, Quebec possesses a vast number of non-affiliated unions, who do not always make headlines but who have nevertheless added their contribution to the activities of organized labour.⁴⁷

Most of the labour records now in archives document the institutional aspects of labour rather than the human side, the existence of ordinary working men and women. Granted that it is not an easy task to identify such data, it remains that the working-class conceptual framework, à la E.P. Thompson/E.J. Hobsbawm/H.G. Gutman, has barely taken hold in Québec.⁴⁸ As the practitioners of working-class history have shown, it is amazing how much can be gleaned from the records of popular groupings, from private correspondence, and from judicial papers, to name but a few of the more promising sources. This working-class approach has also suffered from the reluctance of Quebec researchers to use oral sources. This is evident when we see that structured oral material related to labour and working-class themes is found in only six dispersed archival collections; ironically, the first person to conduct systematic interviews with Quebec unionists was the York University historian Irving Abella, whose audio tapes form part of a collection at the Archives of Ontario.⁴⁹

Labour and working-class studies in Quebec have reached a point of no return in their relationship with archives. The investment of the past two decades is too great to allow labour records to become inconsequential in archives. The time has come to review the entire issue of acquisitions in the light of new financial considerations. Experience has demonstrated the danger of spreading resources too thin and, perhaps, of setting only immediate objectives.

The RCTHQ has provided yeoman service, and will have to be called upon to address this new challenge, bringing together spokespersons from organized labour, the universities, and the archival world. The challenge also means confronting the jurisdictional malaise that haunts the relationship between federal and provincial archives which is unwittingly heating up as a result of the ANQ's changing role. Such *conflits de clochers* may make little sense in the present context of resource limitation. Moreover, the issue of money is going to have to be placed on the table. If everyone is in agreement that the preservation of historical records is important,

then all must recognize that there is no free ride. Finally, even if a ray of hope exists that the ANQ may be "rethinking" its new orientation, it remains that the concept of a government-supported labour archives merits close exploration. These issues sorted out, the parties can move to an agreement that will address the following issues: the designation of an archives to assume the mandate of searching, appraising, acquiring, and conserving labour and working-class documentation; the formulation of a policy on archival consultation that meets the expectations of all parties; the establishment of a coordinated plan of funding that ensures the long-term viability of such an undertaking.

This proposal may seem impractical. If a state of crisis is at hand in Quebec, so are the ingredients for change. The RCHTQ has an acknowledged credibility, and its promotional work is bearing fruit. Labour organizations in the province are in the process of redefining themselves, a development which is accompanied by a healthy desire to preserve roots. Both universities and archives, although hampered financially at this point, retain a sensitivity to the need. Through leadership, these elements can be focused on a solution. But time is short.

Notes

- * I want to express my gratitude to Jacques Rouillard, Robert Demers, Gilles Janson, and Mario Robert for their assistance in the preparation of this paper. Their reflections and insights were of inestimable value.
- 1 Peter Southam, "État de la recherche sur les archives syndicales du Québec," *Bulletin RCHTQ*, III, no. 2 (juin-juillet 1976), pp. 40-44.
- 2 See Jacques Rouillard's review of the expanded article ("Labour and Trade Union Archives/Les archives des syndicats et mouvements ouvriers" in the special number of *Archivum* XXVII, (1980), pp. 1-190, that appeared in *Archivaria* No. 7 (Winter 1978), pp. 125-130. See also Philip P. Mason, "Labor Archives in the United States: Achievements and Prospects," *Labor History* XXIII, no. 4 (Fall 1982). The entire issue was devoted to labour archives in the United States.
- 3 For observations on the Quebec scene, see André LeBlanc, "La documentation des syndicats: une action collective s'impose," *Bulletin RCHTQ* II, no. 2 (février-mars 1975), pp. 38-39; Georges Massey, "Archives régionales: Inventaire des archives du Conseil central de la confédération des syndicats nationaux de Trois-Rivières," *Bulletin RCHTQ* I, no. 1 (février 1973), pp. 21-24; Céline Saint-Pierre, "Recherches sur le mouvement ouvrier au Québec," *Chroniques* I, no. 10 (octobre 1975), pp. 33-36.
- 4 For a breakdown of the collection, see André Bisonnette et André Frénière, "Alfred Charpentier. Biographie. Fonds Alfred Charpentier," *Archives* 73, no. 1 (1973), pp. 4-12.
- 5 André E. LeBlanc, "The Labor Movement Seen Through the Pages of *Le Monde ouvrier/The Labour World* (1916-1926)" (thèse de D.E.S., Université de Montréal, 1971), pp. 122-123.
- 6 Québec, *Le bill 54, Code du travail tel qu'adopté par l'Assemblée législative le 22 juillet 1964* (Québec: Imprimeur de la Reine, 1964). See also Alexandra Hobden, "Une victoire importante pour les travailleurs: l'adoption du Code de travail et de la Loi de la fonction publique (1964-65)," *Bulletin RCHTQ* X, no. 1 (hiver 1984), pp. 17-57.
- 7 The Parent Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec (1961-1966) noted that less than 6 per cent of the school-age population advanced to post-secondary studies. By the mid-1970s this figure had jumped to 47 per cent. Forty-four public colleges (the CEGEPs) were operating, and the University of Quebec with its numerous regional constituents and specialized centres was sharing the burden with the six existing universities.
- 8 *Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec. Pour une journée d'école au service de la classe ouvrière. Manuel du premier mai* (Québec, 1975). In the fall of 1983, secondary V students could take an approved course on the history of Quebec and Canada that included the option of a labour theme approach. For more details, see "L'Histoire des travailleurs en secondaire V," *Bulletin RCHQ*, VIII, no. 2 (été 1982), pp. 15-36.

- 9 Courses on labour history became part of the curricula of various departments of history and industrial relations. For a few examples of content, see Guy Laperrière, "Plan de cours: Histoire du syndicalisme au Québec (HIS-3023)," *Bulletin RCHTQ* II, no. 2 (février-mars 1975), pp. 40-44; no. 2 (juin-juillet 1975), pp. 29-40, and Gérard Bouchard & Jean-Guy Genest, "Histoire des travailleurs au Saguenay 1840-1930: Projet d'Atelier," III, no. 3 (octobre-novembre 1976), pp. 35-40.
- 10 Refer to the *Cahiers de l'enseignement Collégial* (1970-) published annually by the Ministry of Education for general course outlines.
- 11 This partial legislation was incorporated in the *Loi du Ministère des Affaires culturelles*, 1969, Chap. M-20. Complete legislation came into effect with the passage of the *Loi sur les Archives*, 1983, Chap. A-21.
- 12 See Jacques Rouillard, "Bilan des archives syndicales au Québec," *Bulletin RCHTQ* I, no. 3 (novembre 1974), pp. 32-39.
- 13 Benoît-Beaudry Gourd, "Inventaire des archives des Métallurgistes-Unis d'Amérique en l'Abitibi-Témiscamingue," *Bulletin RCHTQ* III, no. 3 (octobre-novembre 1976), pp. 26-28. See also his *Inventaire sommaire des archives des Métallurgistes-Unis d'Amérique, bureau régional de l'Abitibi-Témiscamingue, Rouyn* (Rouyn, 1976).
- 14 Georges Massey, "Archives régionales..." See also his *Inventaire des Archives du conseil central de la Confédération des syndicats nationaux de Trois-Rivières* (Trois-Rivières, 1973).
- 15 Marielle Coulombe, "Inventaire d'archives de l'Est du Québec," *Bulletin RCHTQ* II, no. 3 (octobre-novembre 1975), pp. 39-40. Jacques Thériault, "Inventaire d'archives à la C.C.B.S.L. de Rimouski," *Bulletin RCHTQ* II, no. 3 (octobre-novembre 1975), pp. 47-48. James D. Thwaites, *Les Archives de la C.T.C.C.-C.S.N. dans l'est du Québec*, no. 22 "Cahiers de l'Institut Supérieur des Sciences humaines" (Québec, 1978).
- 16 Jean-Guy Genest and Roland Bélanger, "Documentation sur le monde du travail au Saguenay," *Bulletin RCHTQ* II, no. 2 (juin-juillet 1975), pp. 20-28.
- 17 Hélène Bolduc and Louis-Pierre Côté, "Projet pilote à Québec: Archives sur les travailleurs," *Bulletin RCHTQ* II, no. 2 (octobre-novembre 1975), pp. 35-38 et Louis-Pierre Côté and Hélène Bolduc, "Archives CCSNQ: Filière dossiers courants," *Bulletin RCHTQ* V, nos. 2-3, pp. 134-147.
- 18 A *Perspective-Jeunesse* project, ADSOS (Archives de documentation sur l'organisation syndicale) brought together well-intentioned individuals, but they were hampered by their limited grasp of Quebec labour history. They identified the problem and placed some order in the mass of documentation. When funding came to an end, the product was not impressive. See Southam, "État de la recherche..." pp. 41-42; Lise Leduc and Ginette Belcourt, "Projet pour l'inventaire et la conservation des archives de la C.S.N.," *Bulletin RCHTQ* II, no. 1, p. 33. During the summer of 1981 the CNTU hired students, as a follow-up of ADSOS, to prepare a system of classification; see Michèle Gélinas *et al.*, "Répertoire numérique du fonds d'archives de la C.S.N.," *Bulletin RCHTQ* VII, nos. 2-3 (octobre 1981), pp. 89-99.
- 19 Southam, "État de la recherche..." pp. 43-44.
- 20 See Robert Demers, "Les archives syndicales à la F.T.Q.: Rapport d'étape du Service de recherche et de documentation de la Fédération des travailleurs du Québec," *Bulletin RCHTQ* II, no. 3 (octobre 1975), pp. 41-46.
- 21 For a description of Laval's collections, see Daniel Gunar, Gérard Goyer and Guy Diné, "Les fonds d'archives en relations du travail conservés à la Division des archives de l'Université Laval," *Bulletin RCHTQ* VII, nos. 2-3 (octobre 1981), pp. 62-88.
- 22 For more information on these collections, consult notes 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32.
- 23 For more information consult: Michel Roberge, *SAPHIR. Inventaire et gestion des archives régionales au Québec* (Québec: Ministère des Affaires culturelles. Archives nationales du Québec, mai 1981, polycopie) and Québec, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, Archives nationales du Québec, *Rapport 1977-1982* (Québec: 1982).
- 24 The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Labour Canada, and sundry make-work and student summer employment projects make up the bulk of the funding that comes from federal government sources. At the provincial level, grants come from *Le Fonds pour la formation de chercheurs et l'aide à la recherche* and an ever-changing list of student employment and job retraining projects. It would be interesting to know the total expenditure on labour studies. The future may require a coordinated approach to these funding agencies.
- 25 Refer to "The Canadian Labour Bibliography" section that has appeared in *Labour/Le Travail* since 1980.

- 26 Two recent examples are: Conseil des travailleuses et travailleurs du Montréal métropolitain, *Cent ans de solidarité. Histoire du CTM 1886-1986* (Montréal, 1987), and En collaboration, "Histoire de la Fraternité unie des charpentiers et menuisiers d'Amérique au Québec (1886-1981)," *Bulletin RCHTQ* XIII, no. 2 (été 1987), pp. 1-102.
- 27 See for example Denyse Baillargeon, "Guide des sources disponibles en histoire des travailleurs Québécois aux Archives publiques du Canada (1980). Première partie: — Fonds publics," *Bulletin RCHTQ* VII, no. 1 (mai 1981), pp. 19-39; Denyse Baillargeon, "Guide des sources disponibles en histoire des travailleurs Québécois aux Archives publiques du Canada (1980). Deuxième partie — Fonds privés," *Bulletin RCHTQ* VII, nos. 2-3 (octobre 1981), pp. 7-59; and Robert Comeau, "Sur l'histoire de quelques fédérations de la C.S.N. Compte-rendu de recherches effectuées dans le cadre du protocole UQAM/CSN/FTQ," *Bulletin RCHTQ* X, no. 2 (été 1984), pp. 10-11.
- 28 These fourteen collections include documentation from six unions, a shoe manufacturers association, and seven individuals involved in unions and/or the general field of industrial relations. All collections are classified and six possess numerical guides.
- 29 These three collections cover steel workers and university teachers. They are all classified, and the steel workers collection possesses a numerical guide.
- 30 One union collection, two collections of farmer associations, and one collection of a private individual involved in union activities. All possess numerical guides. See Claude Lessard, *Guide des fonds d'archives conservés à l'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières*, 2^e édition (1983).
- 31 Seven collections covering regional activities of farmers, fishermen, and other organized workers affiliated with the CNTU. All possess numerical guides. See Service de la bibliothèque, Secteur des Archives régionales, *Guide préparé à l'intention des usagers des archives conservées à l'Université du Québec à Rimouski*, 3^e édition (Rimouski, 1987).
- 32 Ten collections from unions, five from left-leaning political groups, six from popular action groups, and the remainder from individuals active in labour and popular causes. For a good overview of this documentation, see Anne-Marie Cadieux, *État général des fonds et collections d'archives privées*, Publication no. 26 (Montréal, 1986). All these collections possess numerical guides.
- 33 The seriousness of the QFL's intention is reflected in a 1979 questionnaire that it sent to its affiliates. The findings of this questionnaire showed that there was a substantial amount of documentation, primarily covering the post-1940s although going back in certain instances to the late 19th century, still in the possession of union locals.
- 34 Although a final agreement has not been concluded, certain collections (i.e., *Fédération provinciale du travail du Québec* and *Fédération des unions industrielles du Québec*) are already in the possession of UQAM.
- 35 See Mario Lalancette *et al.*, "Rapport sur le programme SAPHIR des Archives nationales du Québec," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française* IV, no. 3 (mai 1985), pp. 1-5.
- 36 Ministère des Affaires culturelles (MAC), *Archives nationales du Québec, Les Archives nationales du Québec 1986-1987...à l'heure de pointe* (Québec: 1987), p.13.
- 37 These six centres, in addition to a vast collection of material from relevant government ministries, agencies, and commissions of enquiry, also possess numerous private collections that are reflections of the regions from which they come. The holdings of the Centre d'archives Saguenay/Lac Saint-Jean are especially rich. The six centres hold a total of nine union collections, as well as twenty other collections (business, oral history, popular groups) that contain material on labour and working-class subjects.
- 38 MAC, *Les Archives nationales*, p. 13.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- 40 See Martine Cardin *et al.*, "Rapport du Comité des archives," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, no. 13 (printemps 1988), pp. 2-3.
- 41 These archives are generally well maintained with effective research tools. The church archives tend to possess a good many user restrictions.
- 42 Jean-François Cardin and Jacques Rouillard, *Guide des archives des Unions internationales à Montréal* (Montréal, 1987). This effort in a sense continues the work undertaken by the QFL documentation centre mentioned in note 33.
- 43 Until the early 1950s, many international unions collected the records of their locals as they ceased to exist; a trustee named by international headquarters was dispatched to retrieve everything. There is a good chance, hence, that some of this documentation still exists in the United States. It must be remembered, however, that Mason, "Labor Archives..." indicates that the archives of many American unions are in a precarious state.

- 44 The QFL hired Leo Roback to prepare an institutional history that promised to present the first overview of international union developments in Quebec. Following Roback's death in 1985, Emile Boudreau drew on his notes and partial manuscript to produce a new text that became enmeshed in the labyrinth of QFL inner politics. Printed, then withdrawn, the Boudreau text officially awaits a new cover, and publication is expected to take place late in 1988.
- 45 Comeau, "Sur l'histoire...."
- 46 The two major organizations are *Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec* and the Provincial Association of Teachers of Quebec. It is also certain that many locals possess their own records, a source which remains to be surveyed. Teachers' unions in universities have been conscientious about depositing their records in university archives. A major effort, nevertheless, remains to be undertaken to acquire the records of teachers' unions.
- 47 A very incomplete listing of these independent unions is found annually in the Labour Canada publication, *Labour organizations in Canada/Organisations de travailleurs au Canada*.
- 48 Two retrospective articles on working-class history that appeared in 1981 did not include the work of a single Québécois author: G.S. Kealey, "Labour and Working-Class History in Canada: Prospects in the 1980s," *Labour/Le Travail* 7 (1981), pp. 67-94 and D.J. Bercuson, "Through the Looking Glass of Culture in Recent Canadian Historical Writing," *Labour/Le Travail* 7 (1981), pp. 95-112. This telling gap was recently addressed by Jacques Rouillard, *Ah les États: les travailleurs canadiens-français dans l'industrie textile de la Nouvelle-Angleterre d'après le témoignage des derniers migrants* (Montréal, 1985).
- 49 It is interesting to note that the recent plethora of union-sponsored institutional histories has drawn upon oral sources. It is not clear, however, what is happening to the transcripts. One hopes that they are being deposited in the union's records. The other six sources of oral records are: the ANQ centres in Quebec, Saguenay/Lac Saint-Jean, Mauricie/Bois Francs; Bishop's University; History Department, University of Sherbrooke; Archives de folklore, Laval University.