

Changing States

The Well-Being of English-Language Theater in Québec

Erin Hurley

In his rallying article, “Bringing Together the Humanities and the Science of Well-Being to Advance Human Flourishing,” James O. Pawelski defines the aims of the “eudaimonic turn” in the humanities as “an explicit acknowledgement that well-being is a central value of human experience” (208).¹ This turn builds on insights from positive psychology, which aims “to discover and promote the factors that allow individuals and communities to thrive” (Pawelski, “Defining” 342).² Such discovery and promotion is essential to the vitality of official-language minority communities (OLMCs) in Canada, whose flourishing is often compromised by insufficient access to public services in their mother tongue, diminished workforce opportunities, assimilation, and out-migration. As we shall see, OLMCs value cultural production, and specifically theater, for its ability to establish their active presence, to reflect on collective memory, and to foster group cohesion, which together can buttress community and inculcate a sense of belonging. In what follows, I focus on the theater of one such OLMC—English speakers in the majority French-speaking province of Québec—and investigate how the dramatic repertoire and the structure of the theater sector can illuminate which groups are flourishing, in what ways, and by what mechanisms.

The premise of this inquiry resonates with many of the other chapters in this volume, which similarly address theater as a structuring and binding element of community (see, for instance, Ferguson; Wolf; Young). Moreover,

¹ Research for this chapter was funded in part by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. For research assistance, I extend my gratitude to Alison Bowie.

² More local examples of such a “turn” in theater and performance studies would include David Román’s modeling of “critical generosity” as an ethical rubric through which to engage performance, Jill Dolan’s theory of the “utopian performative” as a mode of feeling toward a better world, and Sara Warner’s “acts of gaiety” as antidote to the emphasis on negative affect, notably shame, in queer theory of the 2000s.

it adds another example of the minoritized theater culture of a minoritized group to a number of other chapters similarly intent on highlighting the work of theater in correcting hegemonic narratives (Biggs) or interrupting dominant assumptions (Howe). Different is the fact of this minority group's elite status in the first period of analysis, and its subsequent status loss. This factor motivates the resolutely historical focus of this essay, which aims to articulate the shape and tenor of flourishing (or aspirations to the same) on either side of a major shift in the conditions for thriving of English-language speakers (Anglophones) and their theater in Québec. A high-level analysis of repertoire and of sectoral organization reveals the outlines of distinct models of wellness for the sector on either side of 1970. The first era, stretching from the 1930s through the 1960s, encompasses the rise and fall of a pair of core theatrical institutions that embody the period's dominant-culture theater scene. The second (the 1970s) is the decade in which the features and wellness dynamics of the contemporary, minority-culture theater scene are established. Importantly, each period's dramatic output and sectoral organization reflect and form community imaginaries of "Anglophone identity" to which the very notion of being a minority-language community is increasingly salient.

On Being *Small* and Eudaimonic

It feels strange in a North American context to approach English-language theater as a minority-language literature and practice. And yet, as determined by Canada's Official Languages Act, that is precisely its status in Québec, the Canadian province whose official language is French and where the English-speaking population is and has always been a statistical minority.³ For theater historian Yves Jubinville, English-language theater in Québec operates in a "*minority* dynamic" (329). Indeed, English-language theater is both the longest-lived minority-language theater tradition in Québec, dating from the garrison theatricals of eighteenth-century New France, as well as its most diverse, thanks to the cultural diversity of its practitioners and audiences.

The roots of Québec's anglophone populations can be traced to Scottish, English, and Irish settlers, to American United Empire Loyalists (some of whom brought enslaved persons) and Black Loyalists (African Americans

³ Canada's official-language minorities are French-speaking persons outside Québec and English speakers inside Québec.

who joined the British during the American Revolution in exchange for their freedom). Since the advent of settler colonialism in Québec, which was part of New France from 1534 to 1760, many of Québec's eleven distinct Indigenous populations use English as their first or second language.⁴ From the 1880s forward, immigrants from Eastern Europe, especially Ashkenazi Jews who adopted English as their New World language, from anglophone regions such as South Asia and the Caribbean, and from other Canadian provinces and territories augment the English-speaking population of the region.⁵ Moreover, until 1977, the ranks of Québec's Anglophones were swelled by "allophone" immigrants (persons speaking neither French nor English) who adopted English over French as their public language. The economic advantage of speaking the language of business and capital, evidenced in the colonialist monopoly that anglophone (Canadian and American) capitalists had over Québec's economy through the mid-twentieth century, was a key attractor to acquiring and using the language of Shakespeare. Up until the Great Depression of the 1930s, Montreal was "the commercial, financial, industrial and transportation centre of the dominion and the buckle that joined the United Kingdom to the . . . Canadian West" (Stevenson 43). At the turn of the twentieth century, the anglophone, mainly Protestant elite of Montreal—industrialists and financiers who owned and operated the railways, shipping, and power companies—controlled half of the wealth of Canada. But systematic exclusion of non-Christians, non-Catholics, and non-French Canadians from the French-language (Catholic) school system also moved allophones and Jews into the anglophone sphere. Shunted into the English-language (predominantly Protestant) school system, they further contributed to the social reproduction of English-speaking Québec.⁶ Even so, this

⁴ Notably, while Indigenous languages are clearly minority languages in Canada, the act that recognizes English and French as the languages of Canada's "founding peoples" erases those of the original peoples of the land. See Denise Merkle and Gillian Lane-Mercier's introduction to *Minority Language, National Languages, and Official Language Policies* (Lane-Mercier, Merkle, and Koustas) for an overview of growing criticism of Canada's official language policy and its conceptual grounding in the notion of "two founding peoples." Jacques Cartier took possession of New France for King Francis I in 1534. Montreal fell to the British in 1760, one year after the "Conquest" of Québec City, both battles of the French and Indian War.

⁵ English Québec's most dedicated demographer, sociologist Gary Caldwell, describes the demographic composition of "English Québec" as follows: "[H]alf of [it] harkens to a British cultural tradition, one-tenth to the Jewish tradition, and four-tenths to various European, Asiatic, and central Caribbean cultural traditions" (170).

⁶ Before 1988, Québec's public education system was organized as follows: Protestant (English) and Catholic (French) school boards; three Indigenous school boards; and a Jewish day school system, developed in response to Jewish students' inadmissibility to Catholic schools and diminished rights in Protestant ones. Designated "honorary Protestants" by the Québec Education Act of 1903, Jewish

minority-language group reached its peak proportionality in 1851 at 25 percent of the total population and has steadily declined since. The most recent census indicates that 13.7 percent of Québec's population use English as their first official-language, 8.9 percent of whom are native speakers.⁷

And yet reduced demographic heft can focus the mind—and the state—on the good. Scholars of and advocates for minority French-language culture in a predominantly English-speaking Canada have long been eloquent on the tight connections between theater, minority-language expression, and community efflorescence; those studying and promoting minority English-language art in francophone Québec have increasingly adopted similar positions. For instance, Lucie Hotte and Luc Poirier aver that minority French-language “poets, playwrights, and novelists [in Canada] . . . recentre identity, accelerate consciousness-raising and, especially, weave the memory of minorities” (11).⁸ Reports from the service organization for English-language theater in Québec similarly highlight theater as an “all-important forum for self-identity and adaptation [to broader Québec society and for] redressing common and stereotypic perceptions of both linguistic communities” (Ad Hoc 8, 11). These eudaimonic assertions chime with the premise of support programs for official-language minorities under the Official Languages Act (1969, amended in 1988): “to enable these communities to thrive and to enjoy the same benefits as the rest of the population” (Canada, “Understanding”). Cultural funding delivered through Canada's federal Office of the Commissioner of Official Minority Languages testifies to the belief that the arts are an important source and signifier of community vitality; indeed, “arts and culture” form one of six pillars by which the office of Official Minority Languages measures such vitality.⁹ That office's 2013 report “Official Minority Language Communities: Thriving from Coast to Coast,” highlights the importance of the arts to the “development of social capital and the organizational capacity to respond to change,” that is, to fortify group status and group resilience. More broadly, the very existence of

students were guaranteed access to public education in English but with diminished rights; the Act barred Jews from holding school commissioner seats, for instance (see *Fédération CJA*; Rosenberg).

⁷ Peak population number is drawn from Table 1.1 in Rudin (28); 2016 figures are taken from Statistics Canada.

⁸ “[P]oètes, dramaturges et romanciers sont en quelques sorte les forces vives des cultures en situation minoritaire. Ils recentrent l'identité, accélèrent les prises de conscience et surtout tissent la mémoire des minorités.” All translations mine unless otherwise noted.

⁹ The others are education, community economic development, justice, health, and demographic vitality (Canada, “Chapter 4”).

public funding for the arts at federal, provincial, and municipal levels evinces a similar logic: the arts are a public good for their contributions to a people's growth through self-expression.¹⁰

While the anglophone population and its drama and theater have been a minority since settlement, they have not always been perceived and presented as *small*. In François Paré's influential formulation in *Literatures of Exiguity* (1993), *small* literatures are "minority" literatures in two senses: numerically, as contrasted with "majority," and in terms of value, as contrasted with "priority."¹¹ (Paré maintains the italics of *small* throughout his text as a bulwark against the invisibility into which such literatures often slip.) If Anglophones and their cultural expressions have always been numerically minoritarian, their value and priority until the mid-1970s was distinctly majoritarian. As the repertorial and structural analysis below demonstrates, English-language theater in Québec shifts in the 1970s from a colonial minority wellness model, to a wellness model that more fully embraces the dual-aspect *small* status of English-speaking peoples and their theater.

The Hub-and-Spoke Wellness Model, 1930–c. 1962

This initial period of analysis encompasses the rise and fall of the first two major, seasonal English-language theaters producing their own work and aspiring to a professional¹² level of production: the Montreal Repertory Theatre (1930–61) and the Brae Manor Playhouse (1935–56), the metropolitan and regional hubs, respectively, of English-language theater in Québec. Before Martha Allan founded the Montreal Repertory Theatre (MRT) in 1929, professional theater in English "was no more than an annex of the large New York

¹⁰ Mireille McLaughlin's study of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences of 1949 demonstrates the federal government's increasingly interventionist stance with respect to culture "in looking to create a sentiment of national belonging through its support of scientific and artistic institutions" such as the Canada Council for the Arts, founded in 1957 (quoted in Robineau, 562).

¹¹ Paré identifies four types of *small* literatures: minority literatures ("produced by ethnic minorities within unitarian states" [9], e.g., Maoris, Macedonians, Cree), colonial literatures (e.g., Jamaican, Senegalese), island literatures (e.g., Newfoundland, the Maldives), and *small* nation literatures (e.g., Québec, Lithuania). The *small* literature (and cultural sector) of English-language theater in Québec bears features of each of these.

¹² Brae Manor functioned as a semiprofessional repertory summer company; it paid the main actors, most of whom were from Montreal, while supporting roles (as well as scene-building) were held by unpaid company apprentices. Montreal Repertory Theatre, though not fully professionalized until 1955, was the "most consistent provider of high-quality English theatre" (Booth vi).

theatre empire,” in the words of theater historian Jean-Marc Larrue (Booth et al.);¹³ English Québec was a colonial outpost whose professional theatrical fare bore little relation to the region in which it was performed, except that it was in the tongue of a culturally and economically dominant minority and issued from anglophone countries (England and the United States) to which many Anglo-Quebecers at the time could trace their ancestry.¹⁴ That colonial relation leaves its imprint on midcentury anglophone theater in terms of its dramatic repertoire and its field organization. Here, the aesthetic wellness of the anglophone theater system rests on mimicry of more mature—or, in the case of the United States, more extroverted—theater cultures; its time-scale wellness rests on self-sufficiency. Both operate on a “hub-and-spoke” or metropolitan organizational model that centers certain locations, stories, and identities and disseminates these to more marginal areas.

Let us begin with the repertoire.

In one of the “spokes,” the historically Anglophone-dense Eastern Townships of Québec (about two hours driving distance from Montréal, Québec’s cultural capital), the summer seasons from 1935 to 1956 at Marjorie and Filmore Sadler’s Brae Manor Playhouse follow a pattern. *Billboard* writes in 1948, “Typical offerings in the Brae Manor repertory are *Arsenic and Old Lace*, *Yes, My Darling Daughter*, and *The Rivals*” (“Eastern Canada’s Haylofts” 3). In generic terms, that means a dark comedy, followed by a slightly suggestive romantic comedy, capped off by a classic comedy of manners, set, respectively, in Brooklyn, New York, New Canaan, Connecticut, and Bath, England. Through a reconstruction of summer seasons in the Townships, I have demonstrated elsewhere that many of the Sadlers’ choices—which also included a regular rotation of thrillers like *Dial M for Murder* and melodramas such as *Gaslight* (both set in London)—formed the staple diet of Townships summer theater into the 1970s. “Successors such as the North Hatley Playhouse

¹³ “[N]’était plus alors qu’une annexe du grand empire théâtral new yorkais.”

¹⁴ Of course, even a dominant language-minority group is not entirely composed of economically advantaged people. If English speakers controlled much of the commercial sector, most English-speaking Irish Catholics, Blacks, and Jews, the majority of whom were laborers, did not reap the same benefits as their Protestant, white counterparts. See Rudin (81–87). William Floch and Joanne Pocock’s analysis of the economic profile of Québec Anglophones from 1971 to 2001 draws the following conclusions about the internal economic diversity of the population: (1) “Anglophones tend to be over-represented at both the upper and lower ends of the socio-economic spectrum”; (2) their occupational status “appears to be declining across generations relative to the Francophone counterparts in the province”; and (3) “there is an important regional dimension to socio-economic status, with greater vulnerabilities [among those] in the eastern and rural parts of the province” (150). As we’ll see, greater evidence of minoritized anglophone identities appears in the drama and theater of the second period of my analysis.

(1956–59) and *The Piggery* (1965–) took up those authors as well, often performing the same plays ten, twenty, or even thirty years later” (Hurley 23). In addition, Joy Thomson’s Canadian Art Theatre (1944–50) toured a similar grouping of shows around smaller Townships communities. And even beyond the Townships, in Québec City, the two-play winter seasons of the amateur theater company the Quebec Art Theatre (1949–63) likewise took a page from this catalogue. So we see that the repertoire and the pattern of programming are both widely disseminated and also fairly circumscribed. In its reproduction of foreign content and mimicry of standard seasonal programming, Brae Manor affirms the normative practices of summer theater programming and establishes a common ground. Theirs was a practice and image of internal group cohesion achieved by echoing an external model.

Where the Brae Manor Playhouse repertoire differed from its successors was in its showcasing of Euro-American modern drama by the likes of Lillian Hellman, George Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde, and Clifford Odets. In this, it consolidated its status as the summer theater pendant of Montreal’s leading English-language theater: the MRT.

Consistent with the Little Theater movement of which it was a part, the MRT aspired more to artistic excellence than to commercial success and aimed to develop new theater audiences. Its more daring and eclectic repertoire, which included experimental productions of new plays by Montreal authors,¹⁵ evinces such a commitment to artistry and audience development. However, the MRT’s role in sectoral and community wellness appears most clearly in its organizational structure. In short, the MRT was the nucleus around which gravitated a network of theater personnel, services, properties, and expertise that provided much of the infrastructure for an effervescent, amateur English-language scene.

As with the reproduction and dissemination of dramatic repertoire across English Québec, the institutionalization of anglophone theater in the

¹⁵ The repertoires of Brae Manor and the MRT overlapped to some degree, with the MRT selections including more adventuresome fare along with the more conventional offer; MRT was the first Montreal theater to stage Brecht, for instance (Booth 120), and plays by Elmer Rice, Eugene Ionesco, Eugene O’Neill, and Jean Giradoux were also featured regularly across the years of the company’s activity, largely in its Studio Theatre. One of MRT’s members remembers their repertoire thus: “The Studio Theatre served the higher artistic aims admirably and economically, while recent West End . . . hits gave pleasure to larger audiences.” He goes on to mention well-received Shakespearean productions as well as those of “contemporary dramas” by J. B. Priestley and Sidney Howard and “European Classics such as Ibsen’s *Hedda Gabler*, Gogol’s *The Inspector General*, and, for those who spoke French, Obey’s *Noé*” (Whittaker, *Setting* 61). In addition, the MRT developed and produced new plays by local authors such as Yvette Mercier-Gouin, Percy Jacobson, and the theater’s founder, Martha Allan, which sets it apart again from the other major players of the midcentury.

province banks on another hub-and-spoke structure to fortify this minority-language cultural sector. For the MRT effectively contained a whole theater sector within itself. It ran mainstage, studio, and French-language wings, housed a lending library of plays and research materials, oversaw a school of theater (with classes in playwrighting, acting, voice, movement, and more), and for more than a decade owned its own downtown theater space, to which it granted other companies access. Its set of “services,” if you will, reflects the sense of public duty attributed to the theater at the time, now widely accepted as among its eudaimonic *raison d'être* (Booth 163). Supported by the anglophone elite of which Martha Allan was a part, the MRT was self-funded through ticket sales plus patronage for the lion's share of its existence.¹⁶ One source attests, “Allan telephoned people she knew for whatever she needed: actors, costumes, props, a hall—and got it” (Westley 224). The MRT's most fulsome chronicler, Philip Booth, notes the “countless similar accommodations between friends which helped MRT along the way,” such as borrowing from Birks jewelers the tea sets required for a given show (163). Moreover, because the MRT did not require exclusivity of its members, it served as the hub for the personnel of an emergent and professionalizing scene. For instance, while a company member, the theatrical polymath Herbert Whittaker (critic, designer, playwright) designed for the amateur companies of the Young Men's–Young Women's Hebrew Association Players and the Everyman Players, as well as such short-lived wartime ventures as the Lakeshore Summer Theatre and the Shakespeare Society of Montreal (see Whittaker, *Setting* 120–24). Programs from this era confirm that the Sadlers of Brae Manor trod the boards of the MRT between their summer seasons in the Townships, as did Basil Donn, longtime actor-manager of the amateur troupe at the Trinity United Church, while Roeberta Beatty staged productions at MRT and at Norma Springford's Mountain Playhouse, a professional summer theater in the city. In the structural and structuring relation of the MRT to the other urban as well as summer theaters, the hub-and-spoke model again appears; it connects professional and amateur theaters in urban and rural areas, points to a taste culture, and offers a certain stability over a period of approximately thirty years.

¹⁶ Public funding for the arts became available to Montreal theater companies in 1956; in that year, the MRT was the only theater troupe in Québec to receive funding from the newly established Montreal Arts Council (Schryburt 95).

The dramatic repertoire and the shape of this scene of theatrical expression demonstrate, first, the hub-and-spoke organization of this field of practice and, second, the valorization of sectoral autonomy. This sector grounds itself in certain stabilizing, self-funded, and relatively long-lived core institutions around which orbit regularly appearing but short-lived challengers (such as the Script Theatre [1955–56] and the Montreal Studio and Drama club [1957–58]) and a goodly number of amateur groups, some of which achieve the kind of longevity valued by their more professionalized peers. For instance, the Trinity Players of Trinity United Church lasted more than fifty years (1909–61). Although its repertoire was just as foreign as that of the professional-quality theaters—if more conservative since the plays were vetted by their rector and performed largely by parishioners—and its personnel and training indebted to the MRT, the Players’ investment in community flourishing was enacted in different, more expressly philanthropic ways. For instance, the proceeds of all productions were returned to the parish to support community service projects, as was also the case for the amateur theatricals of the Junior League and the Weredale Players. A similar relation between community expression, support, and flourishing is forged by the Negro Theatre Guild of Montreal’s Union United Church. Active intermittently across about forty years, the Guild was “formed in 1941 by a group of young members from the community, whose creative impulse craved expression. The theatre seemed both a happy and a natural medium, providing scope for a variety of talents, yet demanding group cooperation” (Breon 4). Evidence of both the variety of talent and the need of group cooperation can be found in its first production: Marc Connelly’s parable play *The Green Pastures*. Mounted at His Majesty’s Theatre in 1942, it featured a cast of over one hundred and a chorus of thirty-five, all drawn from the drama, dance, and music clubs of the Union United Church.

Mimicry as key to aesthetic wellness and self-sufficiency as guarantor of timescale wellness envisage English-language theater’s belonging to a super-vening “elsewhere,” a cultural commonwealth that is metropolitan and international; at the same time, such affiliation represents a turn away from the more immediate cultural landscape of Québec and its particular majority-minority dynamics. I offer two brief examples. One, in a moment when French-Canadians massively opposed conscription into national military service, the profits from the wartime presentation of *The Green Pastures* sent fifty thousand pints of milk to Great Britain as part of the war effort (“‘Green Pastures’”). Two, in my review of the extant, original plays (or summaries

thereof) written in English by Québec authors between 1930 and 1970, only four have a French-Canadian character; even the bilingual Martha Allan whose MRT produces French-language plays with francophone actors and directors sets her original drama in the south of England.¹⁷ In terms of play setting, of the 137 plays in English by Québec authors between 1930 and 1970, 15 (or 9 percent of the corpus) are set somewhere in Québec.

As we shall see, by the 1970s such a colonial investment is no longer tenable. The “minor” and largely absent French-Canadian characters of anglophone drama take center stage in Québec in the 1960s and 1970s, occupying their majority place in society (and the theater) and securing it with new governmental, educational, health, and social services structures. Accordingly, the English-speaking “being” to be kept “well”—in part through theatrical expression—occupies a diminished place in Québec society and assumes a new visage. In the drama produced in English and the shape of the English-language theater sector in the 1970s, the measures of aesthetic and timescale wellness flip. Now aesthetic wellness is measured in terms of self-sufficiency (i.e., the production of original drama) while the model of timescale wellness is mimicry of the local, francophone-majority theater’s institutionalization.

Status Change

The 1970s are a crucial decade for Québec’s English-language theater. Ushered in by the aesthetic schooling provided by the 1967 International and Universal Exposition and its World Festival of performing arts, which brought international luminaries to Montreal stages, the decade closes with the first referendum on Québec independence. The events of these years reorient the anglophone minority to their place in a more concrete topography and in a francophone-majority society.¹⁸ As such, the “being” part of Anglophones’ well-being shifts remarkably. Or, more accurately, the change in the status of Anglophones and their cultural production that had been underway since the midcentury is accelerated in the 1970s and, for the first

¹⁷ The four plays with French-Canadian characters are Janet McPhee and Herbert Whittaker’s melodrama, *Jupiter in Retreat* (1942); William Digby’s 1960 comedy, *Equal to the Sum of the Squares*; M. Charles Cohen’s historical drama, *The Member from Trois-Rivières* (1959); and *The Hiders* by L. Decoteau (alias of Lawrence Wilson) (1963). Allan’s play is *Summer Solstice: A Drama in One Act* (1935).

¹⁸ On the impression of Expo 67 on the theater community, see Rodgers, Needles, and Garber. The second referendum on sovereignty took place in 1995; both referenda were defeated.

time in the theater, are fully registered as such. In fact, the thing we call the “anglophone community”—that is, an entity organized around language instead of around faith or origin—emerges as such only in the 1960s and 1970s. Unsurprisingly, the awakening of an “anglophone identity” happens in a period when the anglophone business elite sees their autonomy eroded by the rise of the bureaucratic, secular, francophone state. In his watershed article on the changing consciousness of anglophone Quebecers, political scientist Michael Stein writes:

The self-confident “majority-group” psychology of the Quebec anglophones had first begun to be shaken by some of the important changes which were taking place in Quebec. . . . [:] encroachment on the hitherto autonomous operations of Anglo-Quebec local institutions and social services by government efforts at reorganizing and standardizing educational structures . . . government regulation of professional and charitable institutions . . . regrouping of municipalities, and the creation of regional and metropolitan governments. (111–12)

For instance, prior to the creation of the Ministry of Education in 1964, the Protestant School Board of Montreal effectively ran itself as one of an interrelated set of English institutions analogous to those of francophone or Jewish civil society. Thus, what had been conceived of as an autonomous system constituted by the networked, internal relationships of one language group’s key institutions of social reproduction (health, education, culture, and social services) was brought forcefully into a new set of external relations with majority-population governance structures.

Legislation francizing the public sphere, in effect claiming as francophone the previously Anglo-run commercial arena and circumscribing the use of languages other than French, also shifts the identity coordinates of anglophone artists and audiences. “Beginning in the 1960s through the 1970s, successive provincial administrations introduced public policies aimed at making language the basis for community needs, measures which strengthened the salience of language as a badge of group identification for both Francophones and Anglophones in the province” (Jedwab and Maynard 285). These include the Official Language Act of 1974, which established French as the official language of Québec, and the Charter of the French Language in 1977, which made French the language of government and the law as well as that of work, instruction, communication, and commerce. It is widely agreed

that these language policies “resulted in English speakers transitioning from their identification with Canada’s English-speaking majority to becoming a language minority within the predominantly Francophone province” (285). The felt experience of being a minority is compounded by Anglophones’ out-migration and absolute demographic decline. Historian Ronald Rudin estimates that “[r]oughly 95,000 of Quebec’s English-speaking population left the province” in the five years following the election of the sovereigntist Parti Québécois in 1976 (31). Thus, the anglophone community gained an identity more rooted in local circumstances at the same time that its status, demographics, and institutional support were increasingly tenuous.

English-language theater—similarly constituted as a self-sufficient system invested in its own social reproduction—shares in both the fate of this newly self-conscious “anglophone community” and in its commitment to cultivating community vitality. In its drama and its interrelated institutional structures, the theater of the 1970s helps to express and address this lived dynamic of minoritization, registering this change of state. They make apparent this shift to the *small* (*pace* Paré), where the English-speaking population and its theater experience being a minority both numerically, as contrasted with “majority,” and in terms of value, as contrasted with “priority.”

Assuming the *Small* and Promoting Wellness: 1970s Drama and Theatrical Institutionalization

As Paré’s critical oeuvre attests, the first move in either articulating the role of *small* cultural practices vis-à-vis their populations or assessing the vitality of the same is proof of life. Evidencing in the drama the fact of English-speaking populations in Québec—that they *exist*—thus assumes greater importance. Indeed, as we’ll see below, representation of this “self” in original drama by anglophone playwrights becomes a key marker of the field’s aesthetic wellness; in support of such flourishing, the sector takes as its model that of the local, francophone-majority theater, built as a network to assure timescale wellness.

As English-language theater in Québec assumes its *small* status, it begins to affirm a collective existence of “Anglophones” and, to borrow Paré’s formulation about other *small* literatures, to “remind us that the practice of language is tied to the power structure” (27). This is evident, first, in the emergence of a more robust minority-language original drama, in terms of both volume and

local address. To date, I have sourced ninety-four original plays in English by forty-six Québec authors that were produced or published in the 1970s. This almost doubles the number of such plays (fifty-two) from 1960 to 1969; I have found evidence of only ten such plays between 1950 and 1959 and nine between 1940 and 1949. Of the plays from the decade at issue, seventeen (5.5 percent) are set in or make reference to Québec.

Perhaps unsurprisingly given the reorganization of Québec society, original plays by Québec-based authors of this decade often foreground themes of existential crisis and relational tension, and this across a diversity of anglophone subject-positions. Aviva Ravel (1928–), one of Montreal’s most prolific playwrights, writes plays that reflect complicated relationships among family members, many of them set in Montreal’s Jewish lifeworlds. For example, *Soft Voices* (1973) juxtaposes the different life choices of two women and their increasing acceptance of themselves, and *Black Dreams* (1974) interrogates the reality-bending properties of racial stereotypes. The tragedy in *Dispossessed* (1976) arises out of the main character’s confrontation with a life she might have led, and its lyricism from the immigrant speech patterns forged out of Yiddish syntax and English words (see Reid, “Reflections”).

Another group of plays articulates existential crisis through characters striving to find their true selves in a world composed of images. For instance, in Robert Wallace’s 1974 drama *'67*, the university students who populate the play are all on identity quests: the main couple is unhappily caught in s/m roles that feel neither authentic to them nor accurate to their relationship; a secondary couple finds respite and renewed attachment in reality-altering drugs. Heterosexual relational tension is a feature in all of Marjorie Morris’s realist dramas of this era, and in *Big X, Little Y* (1974) foundational feminist playwright Elinor Siminovitch uses nursery rhymes and children’s games to demonstrate how women are taught to see very different realities from men. In a similar vein, Dan Daniels of the Montreal Living Theatre writes politically engaged plays which expressly examine power relations—gendered in *The Inmates* (1971) and classed in *Underground* (1970).

Critics agree that the smash hit of 1979, *Balconville* by David Fennario (1947–), “served as the point of rupture between English-Canadian drama and québécois drama in English” (Hulslander 31).¹⁹ *Balconville* mobilizes a specifically Anglo-Montrealer composite lingua franca: Québec English

¹⁹ “[L]a pièce qui a servi de point de rupture entre la dramaturgie canadienne-anglaise et celle de la dramaturgie québécoise de langue anglaise.”

(evident in vocabulary, pronunciation, and syntax); code-switching between English and French; *le franglais*, a kind of patois French structured syntactically by English; and reliance on passive bilingualism (about 30 percent of the stage dialogue is in French and untranslated). As such, Fennario develops what Louis Patrick Leroux calls a “parole collective” (collective speech) (88) which, Gregory Reid argues, reterritorializes English in Québec (“Is There” 68–69). Definitively emergent out of local conditions of minoritization and working-class struggle, this contact language results from geographical cohabitation with Francophones and mutual awareness. But, as Fennario insists, it is also birthed of insufficient formal French-language education in English-language schools and of anger at economic injustice (Milliken 22).

At the heart of this upturn in English-language drama was the 1963 founding of the still active English-language play development center Playwrights’ Workshop Montréal (PWM). For Paré, writers’ groups such as PWM are key to legitimating (and thereby proving and valuing the existence of) *small* literatures; in connection with “the system of education; . . . publishers and booksellers; literary history and criticism,” writers’ groups are “designed to ensure that certain works and writers retain a permanent place in history” (19). The center’s mission was precisely to “build capacity” in English-language drama by cultivating playwrights and workshoping plays to ready them for production for what was at the time an almost entirely imaginary sector (see Curtis).

I qualify the sector as “imaginary” because the autonomous, metropole-focused, predominantly amateur and semiprofessional English-language theater sector of the midcentury was effectively extinct in the early 1960s. Both the professional-quality pillar institutions and those amateur companies assuring the social reproduction of the English theater scene had shuttered. The stalwart MRT performed its final season in 1961, after almost a decade of decline which began in 1952, when their theater, library, and set and costume stores were razed by fire, thereby eliminating many of the sectoral components—and the structuring framework—of anglophone theater. Two professional summer theaters closed in 1962: the North Hatley Playhouse in the Eastern Townships (1956–62) and Norma Springford’s Mountain Playhouse on Montreal’s Mont Royal (1950–61). In addition, the major roadhouse of English-language production, Her Majesty’s Theatre (opened in 1898), was demolished in 1963. In 1965, the *Montreal Gazette* declared English-language theater “moribund.”

At the same time, the province's French-language theater sector was professionalizing, institutionalizing, and becoming clearly majoritarian. Indeed, with respect to institutionalization—defined by Anne Robideau as “the processes by which an ensemble of mechanisms, places, and actors furnish a framework for action promoting the creation, production, diffusion, and transmission of the community's arts and culture”—the 1960s and 1970s are an accelerated phase of development (567).²⁰ In brief, the area counts a playwrights center (1965), professional associations (1964 and 1972), a diversified theatrical offer at a range of venues, and a new dramaturgy (the *nouveau théâtre québécois*) that separates itself from earlier, founding generations' writing and performance styles. External validation—evidence of its “priority”—arrives in the form of press and scholarly attention: by 1980, with the publication of Jean Cléo Godin and Laurent Mailhot's *Théâtre québécois I and II*, Québec theater in French enters the university as a legitimate object of study with its own critical discourse. In terms of the sector's majoritarianism, theater scholar Gilbert David counts twenty-odd French-language arts council-funded companies in 1975, of which nine are “established” theaters with their own spaces and mounting regular seasons; an additional fifty smaller companies are eligible for but not in receipt of grants (22). In comparison, in the 1974–75 and 1975–76 seasons, ten English-language companies received arts council funding, of which five owned or rented the spaces in which they mounted their seasons; two of these were summer theaters. By the early 1980s the number of funded, francophone companies has risen to one hundred. Although “[t]he mortality-rate [of these companies] was quite high,” David continues, “one may detect a strong upward mobility, promoted by an appreciable injection of public funds,” which meant that some previously small theaters become established theaters (30).²¹ On the English side, the number rises by two, to twelve funded theaters, of which only half are still in operation in the 1985–86 theater season. All accounts of the French-language theater in Québec in the 1970s describe it as “effervescent” and “efflorescent.” In this decade of expansion, diversification, and consolidation, French-language theater in the province, like Francophones in the province, are creating and sustaining conditions in which to “survive and

²⁰ “[L]e processus par lequel un ensemble de mécanismes, de lieux et d'acteurs fournissent un cadre d'action favorisant la création, la production, la diffusion et la transmission des arts et de la culture de la communauté.”

²¹ “Le taux de mortalité y a été très élevé, mais . . . on peut y détecter une forte mobilité ascendante, favorisée par l'injection appréciable de fonds publics: quelques compagnies ont été ainsi promues au rang de théâtres établis.”

thrive as a collective entity in [a] given intergroup context” (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 308).

It is to this active, locally rooted, neighboring structure of mutually reinforcing institutions and its logic of promotion that English-language theater in Québec strives to be parallel, if still significantly smaller in its footprint. It undergoes a process of catching up such that by 1972 the groundwork of the English-language theater sector is (re)laid. Its bases are composed of elements similar to those which held together the arena before 1960, but are distributed more widely across the field instead of being concentrated in one sectoral actor; these are two (or sometimes three) major companies with annual seasons and of which (at least) one is a summer theater; a number of amateur troupes of various timescales that develop both talents and publics for the theater; a small group of itinerant semiprofessional or independent companies; and a theater school. To this enduring mix is added a mechanism for developing new plays (PWM), state funding for the arts at the municipal and federal levels, and an experimental scene. The web is strengthened when a “system of education” enters the field, as per Paré’s schema of legitimization for *small* literatures. Graduates from the English section of the National Theatre School of Canada (founded in 1960) and from the professional theater programs at the English-language colleges of John Abbott and Dawson, founded in 1970, form a nucleus of willing participants in PWM’s experiments in local drama. “Publishers and book sellers,” another legitimating force, soon step in to assure the historical inscription of play texts emerging out of PWM and, as of 1980, from the English-language playwrighting section of the National Theatre School of Canada. The Playwrights Co-op (Toronto) starts distributing copyrighted typescripts of member-authors’ plays in 1972, occasioning an uptick in traceable Anglo-Québécois dramatic output. The Vancouver and Toronto publishers of Canadian literature, Talonbooks and Coach House Press, respectively, open their lists to drama near the end of the decade. Notably, the milieu must wait until 1978 for a Québec-based *maison d’édition* to disseminate its drama; this is when the Italo-Québécois poet and novelist Antonio D’Alfonso founds Guernica Editions, which publishes plays by Anglo-Québécois playwrights from the 1980s forward, including Marianne Ackerman, Henry Beissel, Lorne Elliott, Mary Melfi, Stephen Orlov, and Miriam Packer.

In terms of produced drama, the key differentiator of the pre- and post-1960s theatrical repertoire is its greater variety and, even more salient and like the form institutionalization takes in this period, its distribution across the

sector. It is not simply that in the 1970s Quebecers who understand English have a real choice of the genres and types of theater they may take in—ranging from agit-prop plays to site-specific performances, from Neil Simon’s bourgeois comedies to Joe Orton’s dark comedies, from Shakespeare’s tragedies to adaptations of Elie Wiesel, from new Canadian drama to French-language Québec drama in translation. This more ample buffet is laid by the greater number of professional and semiprofessional theaters in operation in this decade, compared with the previous period, in which the MRT dominated. Their eclectic fare is in turn enabled by public arts funding which diminishes the necessity of patronage. What Sylvain Schryburt observes of the French-language stage in this period is equally true of the English stage: “[O]ne must wait for the stabilizing effect of state intervention to see the polarization of theatre companies on the basis of repertoire” (99); such repertorial differentiation combined with an experimental scene are markers of “a properly constituted theatre field” (127).²²

To the distinctive repertoires at English Montreal’s two major professional theaters—the Saidye Bronfman Centre for the Arts, founded in 1967, and the Centaur Theatre, founded in 1969—the Montreal public responds enthusiastically, filling their houses to the point where both are extending runs and adding seats. Of this phenomenon, Catherine Graham writes that

as of 1974, the theatre of the Saidye Bronfman Centre, under the direction of Muriel Gold, has 2000 subscribers, presents more plays, and extends each of their runs. . . . At the Centaur Theatre, the situation is similar. In 1972–73, there are so many subscribers that all of its shows sell out even before tickets are made available to the general public. (409)²³

Graham suggests that the response lies in the programming at the Saidye and the Centaur, which “express the willingness to take on their past and prejudices, to recognize the role of colonialism in local history and to imagine a better future built on a vision ‘de chez nous’ [from our home]” (412).²⁴

²² “[I]l faudra attendre les années 1960, et l’effet stabilisant de l’interventionnisme étatique, pour assister à une polarisation des compagnies sur la base du répertoire.” “[L]e premier champ théâtral montréalais dûment constitué.”

²³ “Dès 1974, le Théâtre du Saidye Bronfman Centre, sous la direction de Muriel Gold, a 2000 abonnés, présente plus de pièces et prolonge chacune des périodes de représentation. . . . Au Centaur, la situation est semblable. En 1972–1973, il y a tant d’abonnés que ses représentations jouent toujours à guichets fermés avant même que la vente de billets ne soit ouverte au grand public.”

²⁴ “[E]xprime la volonté d’assumer son passé et ses préjugés, de reconnaître le rôle du colonialisme dans l’histoire local et d’imaginer un meilleur avenir bâti à partir d’une visions ‘de chez nous.’”

A newspaper critic, however, attributes the Centaur's success to "almost always offer[ing] up a program which is carefully calculated to harmonize with local bourgeois moral parameters" (Bailey 18). Both agree that the Saidye's seasons and aesthetics were more adventurous than those of the Centaur, whose inaugural-season experiment in the environmental staging of a play written about a recent uprising at a Montreal university soon gave way to a staple diet of box-set realism and dialogue-driven plays.

Be that as it may, it is clear that the Centaur's founding artistic director, Maurice Podbrey, saw his theater as a way to cultivate and expand the tastes of the Montreal public, to whom he introduced contemporary British playwrights like Howard Brenton and John Osborne as well as Podbrey's compatriot Athol Fugard. In fact, the first several seasons feature "teach-ins" about the plays on the boards and, often, an accompanying booklet of information. In this example, then, a key actor in institutionalization not only secures a "home" for English-language theater in Montreal—one that is also rented out to smaller companies—but also promotes a framework for the uptake of its theatrical offer by developing an audience base. In a similar vein, at the Saidye, Marion André inaugurates talkbacks after productions for similar purposes and to make his theater more relevant to the audiences of this Jewish cultural institution. In her history of the Saidye, Muriel Gold, the second artistic director (1972–80), characterizes André's tenure as assuring professional theater practice and promoting productions that "reflect relevant social and political issues" (44) while including one play per season with Jewish content.

Restricting our overview of the sector to Montreal for now, these two major players, who benefit from operational grants and therefore from relative autonomy, are joined by smaller companies with punctual project funding; it is at this "intermediate" level that the functional heteronomies of the anglophone theater scene come to the fore and parallel those of the francophone scene. Experimental theaters such as the Living Theatre of Montreal, Teatron, the Montreal Theatre Lab (MTL), and the Painted Bird Ensemble occupy this stratum. In keeping with the spirit of the times, Alexander Hausvater of the MTL (1974–79) explored the ritual elements of drama and theater, expressionistic representational strategies, political themes, sexualized content, choral effects (physical and vocal), projections as indicators of alternative realities on stage, as well as the moments before and after the theatrical performance, in a series of productions pitting a man against the state or another engulfing power structure. The Painted Bird Ensemble (1974–84), an

interdisciplinary troupe of actors, dancers, musicians, and visual artists led by Michael Springate, presented original, devised works that experiment with nonlinear dramatic structures, as well as well-reviewed productions of challenging European drama by Beckett, Büchner, and Stoppard.

With the MTL and *Painted Bird*, the *Revue Theatre*, founded in 1967 by an African American dancer and choreographer named Arleigh Peterson along with dancer Cynthia Hendrickson and actor Ruth Thomas, is, in my view, key in the attribution of “sector status” to English-language theater. Peterson’s modestly budgeted, diversely cast, and experimental productions forged a distinctive public profile for his theater. On its small stage, one could take in Peterson’s own original revues, such as *Opnotiques 5: A Psychedelic Revue* (1967) and *Corybantus* (1972), a “revue rock,” which alternated with “American-style musicals” (Henry 29) that capitalized on Peterson’s choreographic talents. Also featured were plays from the Black diaspora, including work by David Edgecombe and Lonnie Elder, and creations of original Québec plays by Lorris Elliott, Aviva Ravel, Maxine Fleischman, and Charles Godlovitch, the last three of whom were founding members of PWM. In producing plays by Montreal authors fostered at PWM, *Revue* entered into an active, heteronomous web of relations among the English-language theater institutions. It further activated those links by supporting fellow small theaters. *Revue*, run on a shoestring budget and occasional project funding from the Montreal and Canada arts councils, nonetheless supported other, emergent Black theaters through coproductions with the Negro Theatre Arts Club (intermittently active from 1963 to c. 1971) and in hosting two seasons of the Black Theatre Workshop (BTW), which celebrated fifty years of production in 2021. In turn, Peterson relied on the training provided by the BTW’s classes in movement, voice, and text analysis to turn out Black actors for his shows, which also included all-Black productions of *Waiting for Godot* and *Loot* (Whittaker, “New Festival” 29). Notably, this reciprocal relationship with *Revue* secured BTW’s professional status, required in order to be eligible for funding from the arts councils, which has supported its longevity.

Conclusion

The wellness principles of this renewed anglophone theater sector differ strongly from those that came before. The repertoire of the midcentury period was forged in two colonial relations: a relation of affiliation to Great

Britain and the United States and a relation of dominance vis-à-vis the francophone majority. The former sought heteronomy; the latter enacted self-sufficiency. In this period, the status of the English-language community sustained a hub-and-spoke model of theatrical production and cultural influence more broadly. The centrality and dominance of the MRT was uncontested; its reach extended to regional theaters and amateur companies, thereby reproducing a colonial model of culture to which it was itself subject, typified by diffusion from a center and reproduction across a field. The field's play selections and structural organization nonetheless made sensible the sector's valorization of durability with respect to repertoire and social reproduction with respect to local talent and audiences. Such were the signs of "health" for midcentury English-language theater in Québec.

By contrast, in the 1970s, the diminished status and reduced demography of Québec Anglophones created new challenges to sectoral flourishing. Indeed, they necessitated a new model by which the anglophone theater sector might come into being and achieve value—one that was grafted onto the professional, institutional conditions of work in the francophone theater sphere and enabled by the state funding of the arts. The value of English-language Québec theatre of this period lay in internal, repertorial distinctions of the major houses from each other and from the similarly internally diverse smaller companies, and its perennity in its mutually supporting institutional structures. In this way, the theater of the 1970s helped to express and address this new lived dynamic of minoritization in which Anglophones and their theater culture were *small* both demographically and in terms of priority. This shift makes visible the fact that English-language theater in Québec was *both* a projection of dominant, English-language culture into Québec *and* an assertion of an anglophone, multicultural minority.

In this example of communal flourishing can be gleaned some of the key *eudaimonic* roles theater can play in the well-being of a group *as a group*. Theater can act as a point of identification for a minority linguistic community, as is the case in the more recent period analyzed above, or as a standard-bearer for the same, as in the earlier period; it may provide an expressive outlet and can summon institutions, both of which hold across the decades. Perhaps most significant, theater allows for the elaboration of cultural scenes, networks of exchange and circulation that assemble people into communities of language, affinity, taste, situation, and practice. If these are truisms of theater's potentially *eudaimonic* effects, they are perhaps brought especially clearly into focus in the example of community flourishing of

minority-language or -culture performance where linguistic or even existential precarity motivates express attention to community well-being.

Works Cited

- Ad Hoc Anglo-Québécois Theatre Committee and Alliance Quebec. "English Language Theatre in Quebec." Unpublished report, 1987.
- Allan, Martha. *Summer Solstice: A Drama in One Act*. Toronto, Samuel French (Canada), 1935.
- Bailey, Bruce. "Theatre in La Belle Province." *Canadian Forum*, September 1976, pp. 18–19.
- Booth, Philip. "The Montreal Repertory Theatre: 1930–1961. A History and Handlist of Productions." MA thesis, McGill University, 1989.
- Booth, Philip, Kimberly Diggins, Jean-Marc Larrue, Isabelle Roy, Peter Urqhart, and David Whitely. "Anglophone Theatre in Quebec from 1879 to 2000." Unpublished typescript, commissioned by the Quebec Drama Federation, 1998.
- Bourhis, Richard Y., ed. *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec*. Canadian Heritage and the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities, 2012.
- Breon, Robin. "The Growth and Development of Black Theatre in Canada: A Starting Point." *African-Canadian Theatre*, edited by Maureen Moynagh. Playwrights Canada Press, 2005, pp. 1–9.
- Caldwell, Gary. "English Quebec: Demographic and Cultural Reproduction." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, nos. 105–106, 1994, pp. 153–79.
- Caldwell, Gary, and Éric Waddell, eds. *The English of Québec: From Majority to Minority Status*. Québec, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1982.
- Canada, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. "Chapter 4: Official Language Minority Communities: Triving [sic] in the Public Space from Coast to Coast to Coast." October 3, 2013. https://www.clo-ocol.gc.ca/html/ar_ra_2008_09_p9_e.php. Accessed May 18, 2020.
- Canada, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. "Understanding your Language Rights." September 13, 2018. https://www.clo-ocol.gc.ca/en/language_rights/act. Accessed May 18, 2020.
- Cohen, M. Charles. "The Member from Trois-Rivières: A One-Act Play." *National Bicentenary of Canadian Jewry, 1759–1959*. Canadian Jewish Congress, National Bicentenary Committee, 1959, 17 leaves.
- Curtis, Ron. "A History of Playwrights' Workshop Montreal: 1963–1988." MA thesis, McGill University, 1991.
- Daniels, Dan. *The Inmates*. Montreal, Alternative Probes Presentations, 1971.
- Daniels, Dan. "Underground." Unpublished typescript, 1970.
- David, Gilbert. "Une institution théâtrale à géométrie variable." *Le théâtre québécois, 1975–1995*, edited by Dominique Lafon. Québec, Fidès, 2001, pp. 13–36.
- Decoteau, L. (alias of Laurence Wilson). *The Hiders*. Westmount, QC, no publisher, 1963.
- Digby, William. "Equal to the Sum of the Squares: A Comedy." Unpublished typescript, 1960.

- Dolan, Jill. *Utopia in Performance: Finding Hope at the Theater*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2005.
- "Eastern Canada's Haylofts Pulling Best in Years." *Billboard*, August 7, 1948, pp. 3 and 43.
- Fédération CJA. "The Association of Jewish Day Schools." 2016. www.federationcja.org/100/agencies/ajds/. Accessed May 18, 2020.
- Fennario, David. *Balconville*. Vancouver, Talonbooks, 1980.
- Floch, William, and Joanne Pocock. "The Socio-Economic Status of English-Speaking Quebec: Those Who Left and Those Who Stayed." *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec*, edited by Richard Y. Bourhis. Canadian Heritage and the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities, 2012, pp. 129–73.
- Giles, H., R. Y. Bourhis, and D. M. Taylor. "Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations." *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*, edited by Howard Giles. London, Academic Press, 1977, pp. 307–48.
- "'Green Pastures' sur la scène." *Le Devoir*, April 28, 1942, p. 4.
- Godin, Jean Cléo, and Laurent Mailhot. *Théâtre québécois I: Introduction à dix dramaturges contemporains*. Montréal, Hurtubise HMH, 1970.
- Godin, Jean Cléo, and Laurent Mailhot. *Théâtre québécois II: Nouveaux auteurs, autres spectacles*. Montréal, Hurtubise HMH, 1980.
- Gold, Muriel. *A Gift for Their Mother: The Saidye Bronfman Centre: A History*. Westmount, QC, MIRI, 2007.
- Graham, Catherine. "Le théâtre anglophone au Québec." *Le théâtre québécois, 1975–1995*, edited by Dominique Lafon. Québec, Fidès, 2001, pp. 307–24.
- Hall, Amelia. *Life before Stratford: The Memoirs of Amelia Hall*. Toronto and Oxford, Dundurn Press, 1989.
- Henry, Jeff. "Black Theatre in Montreal and Toronto in the Sixties and Seventies: The Struggle for Recognition," *Canadian Theatre Review*, vol. 118, 2004, pp. 29–33.
- Hotte, Lucie, and Guy Poirier. "Introduction." *Habiter la distance: Études en marge de La distance habitée*, edited by Lucie Hotte and Guy Poirier. Sudbury, ON, Éditions Prise de parole, 2009, pp. 7–14.
- Hulslander, Keith. "Le nouveau nouveau théâtre québécois: L'émergence d'une identité québécoise dans la dramaturgie anglo-montréalaise." *La problématique de l'identité dans la littérature francophone du Canada et d'ailleurs*, edited by Lucie Hotte. Ottawa, Le Nordir, 1994, pp. 29–38.
- Hurley, Erin. "Townships Theatres: Identities and Circuits 1935–1982." *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies/Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est*, vol. 46, spring 2016, pp. 15–35.
- Jedwab, Jack, and Hugh Maynard. "Politics of Community: The Evolving Challenge of Representing English-Speaking Quebecers." *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec*, edited by Richard Y. Bourhis. Canadian Heritage and the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities, 2012, pp. 277–312.
- Jubenville, Yves. "Appel d'air: Regards obliques sur l'institution théâtrale au Québec." *Théâtres québécois et canadiens-français au XXe siècle: trajectoires et territoires*, edited by Hélène Beauchamp and Gilbert David. Québec, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2003, pp. 325–39.
- Lane-Mercier, Gillian, Denise Merkle, and Jane M. Koustas, eds. *Minority Languages, National Languages, and Official Language Policies*. Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018.

- McLaughlin, Mireille. "Par la brèche de la culture: Le Canada français et le virage culturel de l'état canadien." *International Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue internationale d'études canadiennes*, vol. 45-46, 2012, pp. 141-61.
- McPhee, Janet, and Herbert Whittaker. "Jupiter in Retreat: A Melodrama." Unpublished typescript, 1942.
- Milliken, Paul. "Portrait of the Artist as a Working-Class Hero: An Interview with David Fennario." *Performing Arts in Canada*, vol. 17, no. 2, summer 1980, pp. 22-25.
- Morris, Marjorie. *Seven One-Act Plays*. Richmond, BC, M. Morris, 1995.
- Paré, François. *Literatures of Exiguity*. 1993. Translated by Lin Burman. Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001.
- Pawelski, James O. "Bringing Together the Humanities and the Science of Well-Being to Advance Human Flourishing." *Well-Being and Higher Education: A Strategy for Change and the Realization of Education's Greater Purpose*, edited by Don Harward. Washington, DC, Bringing Theory into Practice, 2016, pp. 207-16.
- Pawelski, James O. "Defining the 'Positive' in Positive Psychology: Part I. A Descriptive Analysis." *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, vol. 11, no. 4, 2016, pp. 339-56.
- Ravel, Aviva. "Black Dreams." *Contemporary Canadian Drama*, edited by Joseph Shaver. Ottawa, Borealis Press, 1974, pp. 168-204.
- Ravel, Aviva. *Dispossessed*. Toronto, Playwrights Co-op, 1976.
- Ravel, Aviva. *The Twisted Loaf and Soft Voices*. Toronto, Simon and Pierre, 1973.
- Reid, Gregory. "Is There an Anglo-Quebecois Literature?" *Essays on Canadian Writing*, vol. 84, Fall 2009, pp. 58-86.
- Reid, Gregory. "Reflections on the Plays of Aviva Ravel and the Anglo-Québécois Theatre." Conference of the Association for Canadian Theatre Research, May 1998, University of Ottawa. Conference Presentation.
- Robineau, Anne. "La scène musicale anglo-québécoise." *Recherches sociographiques*, vol. 55, no. 3, 2014, pp. 559-81.
- Rodgers, Guy, Jane Needles, and Rachel Garber. "The Artistic and Cultural Vitality of English-Speaking Quebec." *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec*, edited by Richard Y. Bourhis. Ottawa, Canadian Heritage, 2012, pp. 245-76.
- Román, David. *Acts of Intervention: Performance, Gay Culture, and AIDS*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Rosenberg, Louis. *Jewish Children in the Protestant Schools of Greater Montreal in the Period from 1878-1962*. Montreal, Canadian Jewish Congress, 1962.
- Rudin, Ronald. *Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980*. Québec, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1985.
- Schryburt, Sylvain. *De l'acteur vedette au théâtre de festival: Histoire des pratiques scéniques montréalaises, 1940-1980*. Montréal, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2011.
- Siminovitch, Elinor. *Big X, Little Y*. Toronto, Playwrights Co-op, 1975.
- Statistics Canada. "Census in Brief: English, French and Official Language Minorities in Canada." August 31, 2017. www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/98-200-x/2016011/98-200-x2016011-eng.cfm. Accessed May 18, 2020.
- Statistique Canada. "Tableau 5-10-0003-01: Population selon la langue maternelle et la géographie, 1951 à 2016." May 18, 2020. doi.org/10.25318/1510000301-fra. Accessed May 20, 2020.
- Stein, Michael. "Changing Anglo-Quebecer Self-Consciousness." *The English of Québec: From Majority to Minority Status*, edited by Gary Caldwell and Éric Waddell. Québec, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1982, pp. 107-26.

- Stevenson, Garth. *Community Beseiged: The Anglophone Minority and the Politics of Quebec*. Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.
- Wallace, Robert. '67. Toronto, Playwrights Co-Op, 1974.
- Warner, Sara. *Acts of Gaiety: LGBT Performance and the Politics of Pleasure*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2013.
- Westley, Margaret. *Remembrance of Grandeur: The Anglo-Protestant Elite of Montreal, 1900–1950*. Montreal, Libre Expression, 1990.
- Whittaker, Herbert. "New Festival." *The Globe and Mail* [Toronto], December 16, 1976, p. 15.
- Whittaker, Herbert. *Setting the Stage: Montreal Theatre, 1920–1949*. Edited and introduced by Jonathan Rittenhouse. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.