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Analyzing the Parallelism between the Rise and Fall of Baseball in Quebec and the
Quebec Secession Movement

By
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Senior Project Submitted
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for Graduation

Department of History
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Analyzing the Parallelism between the Rise and
Fall of Baseball in Quebec and the Quebec
Secession Movement

My Senior Project examines the parallelism between the movement to bring baseball to Quebec and the Quebec secession movement in Canada. Through my research I have found that both entities follow a very similar timeline with highs and lows coming around the same time in the same province; although, I have not found any direct linkage between the two. My analysis begins around 1837 and continues through present day, and by analyzing the histories of each movement demonstrates clearly that both movements followed a unique and similar timeline.

The project is separated into six chapters, each containing three parts, including an introduction (which contains a literary review) and a conclusion. The full development of my project begins in Chapter Two, which talks about the origins of each movement. I discuss the origins and early history of baseball in Quebec and Canada, and the first signs of French Canadian nationalism, beginning with the Canada Rebellions of 1837-1838 up to the creation of the Mouvement Souverainete Association in 1957.

The third chapter analyzes the emergence and growth of the Montreal Expos and the Quebec independence movement. This chapter examines the creation of the Expos in 1969 and their first years of growth as a franchise up to 1978. The other part of the chapter focuses on the founding of the Parti Quebecois and their growth in the Quebec government during a similar era.

The next chapter will focus on some of the best times for each entity. From 1979 to 1994 the Expos experienced great success, especially in the early 1980s and 1990s when they began to gain recognition in Major League Baseball. This was also a good time for Quebec independence; the first Quebec referendum was defeated by only a slim margin, and the PQ gained momentum

through the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords, which led to the party's return to power in the provincial government in 1994.

The fifth chapter deals with the decline of both movements. In August 1994 the Expos had the best record in MLB, but the season was cancelled due to a strike. Most experts believe this was the franchise's best opportunity to win the World Series. After the season the team traded their best players and were never again a successful franchise, ultimately resulting in their move to Washington D.C. in 2005. In 1995 the Quebec secession movement suffered a major defeat in their second referendum, losing by the slimmest of margins. The movement suffered a major decline as a result of the defeat and never fully recovered.

The conclusion brings the story to the present day. I examine the remnants of Montreal Expo baseball in the Washington Nationals franchise as well as baseball's continuing (if diminished) survival in Montreal alongside a comparable diminishment (but not extinguishing) of Quebec desire for sovereignty and today. My senior project is very unique and original as no expert has ever suggested this parallelism. But, through my analysis I am able to demonstrate that there was a relationship between the Expos franchise and Quebec independence even though there is no reason to explain why it exists. There are many instances of parallelisms throughout history, but it takes a true historian to realize and decipher them and realize the significance.

The importance of the project is its' originality. Both baseball and the independence movement, even though very different, show how Quebec has become a distinct society. With baseball, Quebec has tried to find their own baseball identity within this predominantly American game, whereas with the independence movement, Quebecers have tried to create their own distinct French identity within an English speaking country.

Introduction And Literary Review

Of the ten provinces and three territories of Canada, the province of Quebec is the most unique. The motto of the solo French-speaking province is *je me souviens*, meaning “I remember.” What does this saying refer to? While there is no official explanation of the motto, it is clear that it refers to Quebec’s history. The province’s history is a tumultuous one, beginning with the Treaty of Paris (1763) to present day. There have been changes in power, growth of cities, new institutions, conflicts, and social movements. Every Quebecer remembers this history and understands the importance of their past, and this importance is reflected in the province’s motto.

Two defining aspects of Quebec’s history are the Quebec Secession movement, which was led by the Parti Quebecois (PQ), and baseball and the Montreal Expos. The most important and celebrated chapter of Quebec history is the Quebec Secession Movement. Quebec, the largest Canadian province by area, and its people are defined by this movement which has been the most controversial issue of the province since the early 19th century. The Expos, the first Major League Baseball team to be based outside of the United States, were a beloved franchise among Quebecers that was seen as part of the image of the city.

The reason I have mentioned these two completely diverse factors in Quebec’s history is because they have certain similarities. How can a country altering social movement and a baseball team be similar? As unlikely as it may seem, both followed the same path, in the same place, at the same time. In this paper, I will demonstrate that although the Montreal Expos and the Parti Quebecois did not knowingly and directly influence each other, they both followed a very similar path to triumph and defeat from

the middle of the 19th century to the present. My thesis suggests a parallelism between the baseball in the province and the Quebec movement; it will not be a cause-and-effect study.

This thesis will be supported by analyzing sources that discuss the history of the baseball in Canada and the Montreal Expos, and sources that explain the history of Quebec and the sovereignty movement. Through the study of these works, the timeline of each respective entity will be discovered, and then each timeline will be told as paralleling stories.

While baseball is the “American Pastime,” our northern neighbor also has a rich baseball tradition. The foundations of Canadian baseball can be traced back to the mid-1800s. Some would even suggest even farther back than baseball in the United States. William Humber’s book, *Diamonds of the North: A Concise History of Baseball in Canada*, tells the story of Canadian baseball history as if it were the “lost tribe... of American baseball history.”¹ Humber and other historians agree that baseball’s origins in Canada can be traced back to June 4, 1838 in Beachville, Ontario, about a year before Abner Doubleday supposedly founded the game in Cooperstown, New York.² The book delves into the intricate history of Canadian baseball history by analyzing the origins and growth of baseball in different parts of the country, including Quebec and Montreal in his seventh chapter. He specifically demonstrates how and why Montreal received a MLB franchise in the late 1960s. Humber’s research, and Harold Seymour’s *Baseball: The Early Years*, which examines the foundations of organized baseball in North America,

¹ William Humber, *Diamonds of the North: A Concise History of Baseball in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995), 1.

² Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 16.

will be two of the main sources for my analysis of the early history of Canadian and Quebec baseball in the 19th century up to the mid-20th century.

In the time between the origins of baseball in Canada and the founding of the Montreal Expos, there was a very important baseball institution in Montreal, the Montreal Royals, which was the minor league affiliate of Major League Baseball's Brooklyn Dodgers. Not only was this team important for laying the foundations for the Montreal Expos, but it was also where Jackie Robinson began his journey toward breaking the Major League Baseball color barrier. A book that will help analyze this era of Montreal baseball history is *Jackie Robinson's Unforgettable Season Of Baseball In Montreal*, by Jack Jedwab. Jedwab briefly discusses the history of the Royals from their beginnings in 1898 when organized baseball first appeared in the city.³ The majority of the work discusses Robinson's one and only year in Montreal from his signing in October 1945 through the summer of 1946. It was a successful year; Jackie played well and led the Royals to an International League championship. Attendance also rose during the season, which demonstrated that Montreal was a good baseball city and could possibly be home to a major league franchise. Jedwab explains in detail how Robinson was socially accepted by people in Montreal, in the United States while playing games on the road, and among his teammates. According to Jedwab, Robinson described his relationship with Montreal as "love at first sight," and that he described the people of Montreal as "'warm and wonderful' towards him and his wife."⁴ Arnold Rampersad's *Jackie Robinson: A Biography* will also help me sort out how important Robinson's one year in

³ Jack Jedwab, *Jackie Robinson's Unforgettable Season Of Baseball In Montreal* (Montreal: Editions Images, 1996), 11.

⁴ Jedwab, *Jackie Robinson*, 45.

Montreal was and what occurred during this time. Going to Montreal was very crucial in Jackie's career, and in the growth of baseball in Montreal.

In 1969, Canada finally received their first MLB franchise, the Montreal Expos. The franchise remained in the city until they moved to Washington, D.C. for the 2005 season when they became the Washington Nationals. The expansion team got off to a rocky start in the beginning, but then grew and became respectable throughout the 1970s. The Expos had their "Golden Age" during the 1980s and after a small down period, were prominent again in the mid-90s. Michael E. Goodman's *The History of the Expos*, and the *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, edited by Steven A. Riess, will provide background information for my research on the period from when the Expos were founded to their departure to the United States. Goodman's work is a very basic history of the Expos from 1969 to 1998, and specifically focuses on some of the major players in team history. He speaks of players during the Expos' "colorful start," such as Maury Wills and manager Gene Mauch. Goodman explains that the Expos were not good at first so their management decided to make the team "colorful" in personnel and in uniform.⁵ Others featured include Gary Carter and Andre Dawson in the 1970s, Tim Lincecum and Tim Wallach in the 1980s, and Larry Walker and Delino DeShields in the early 1990s.

The encyclopedia on the other hand gives us a more detailed history of the Expos, explaining the actual history of the franchise, including their move to Washington D.C. Riess explains how Montreal received a franchise through the help of Mayor Jean Lapreau, city councillor Gerry Snyder, and the MLB expansion committee. He also expands on the importance of the World Expo in 1967 in convincing MLB to expand to Montreal and the growth of the city during this time period. The major achievements,

⁵ Michael Goodman, *The History of the Montreal Expos* (Minnesota: Creative Education, 1999), 8.

problems, triumphs, and successes of the Montreal Expos are analyzed within the work throughout the 70s, the high hopes in the 80s, the excitement of the early 90s, and how they became “the team no one wanted” in the latter half of the 90s and the early new century.⁶ Riess also attaches an appendix of notable achievements in Expos history at the end of the chapter on the franchise. Another book that will specifically help in my explanation of the MLB expansion process will be Leonard Koppett’s *Koppett’s Concise History of Major League Baseball*.

The main books that my research on the Expos will be based on is Dan Turner’s *The Expos Inside Out*, and *Remembering the Montreal Expos* by Danny Gallagher and Bill Young. Turner’s discussion of the Expos covers the franchise from their inception in 1969 through the 1982 season. He analyzes major personalities in Expos history including Gary Carter and Andre Dawson during a time where the Expos were considered to be one the most flourishing teams in the league. Gallagher and Young’s book is separated into many small chapters that discuss many small events and people in Expos history up to their last game in Montreal in 2004. Danny Gallagher explains that this book will “capture the special people and some of the wonderful/sad moments affiliated with the franchise. I call them vignettes, short and long snapshots, highlights of the team from its beginning in May, 1968.”⁷

The most important and controversial chapter in Expos history was their demise in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The team went from championship contenders in 1994 to a franchise that was falling apart in every way possible. There are many explanations why this happened, some of which are factual and some that are false. *My Turn at Bat*:

⁶ Steven A. Riess, ed., *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 456.

⁷ Danny Gallagher and Bill Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos* (Toronto: Scoop Press, 2005), 9.

The Sad Saga of the Expos, by Claude R. Brochu, Daniel Poulin and Mario Bolduc gives us major insight into this question. Brochu was the president of the Montreal Expos beginning in 1986 and was one of thirteen investors who bought the team in June 1991. He remained in this position until his resignation in 1998. Brochu's time with the Expos was the most important time in franchise history since it marked the Expos fall and led to their departure from Montreal. Brochu notes that the purpose of his book is to outline "the numerous obstacles and complex difficulties faced by professional sports teams operating in small markets. It deals with the back-door politics of the Expos' limited partnership. And it attempts to explain why the new downtown stadium project ended in failure."⁸ Some of these difficulties include the MLB strike in 1994, the fire sale of star players such as Marquis Grissom and John Wetteland, trying to build a new stadium for the team, dealing with the politics of the ownership and the city, and the reasons why he decided to resign. Brochu's insight will give us some of the answers about what truly happened to the Expos during this time.

Two other books that will help fill out the rest of the Expos' history are Jeff Stuart's *Blue Monday's: The Long Goodbye of the Montreal Expos* and Bob Elliot's *The Northern Game: Baseball The Canadian Way*. Both books discuss the final days of the Expos, and Elliot's book contains an entire chapter on the last Expos game in 2004, in which he describes the scene of crying fans and "others [holding] infants in their arms; sure that one day they would tell them about this, the day baseball died in Montreal."⁹

Also, to help bridge the gap between the Montreal Expos and the Washington Nationals, I

⁸ Claude R. Brochu and Daniel Poulin and Mario Bolduc, *My Turn At Bat: The Sad Saga Of The Expos*, trans. Stephanie Myles (Toronto: ECW Press, 2002), 13.

⁹ Bob Elliot, *The Northern Game: Baseball The Canadian Way* (Toronto: Sport Media Publishing, Inc., 2005), 205.

will use many newspaper articles from the 2000s that discuss the final days of the Expos and the first days of the Washington Nationals. Such newspapers used in this analysis include *USA Today*, *National Post*, *New York Times*, and *Washington Post*.

My analysis of the Quebec Sovereignty movement will begin in 1837 when the Canada Rebellions occurred. There are two parts of this rebellion: the Upper Canada (area contains present day Ontario) Rebellion and the Lower Canada (area contains present day Quebec) Rebellion, which is also known as “Patriots’ War.” My focus will be placed on the Lower rebellion, since this is considered to be the first major conflict between the Anglophones (English-speakers) and the Francophones (French-speakers) and the root of the Quebec Sovereignty movement. A major cause of this rebellion was the result of the French and Indian War, where the British defeated the French and received control over French Canada. The British treatment of the French while ruling over the territory became a reason for the French Canadian revolt. Alan Greer’s *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* will form the basis of my research on this part of the thesis. Greer opens the book stating, “In 1837-8 Canada came as close to revolution as it ever would. The parliamentary regime had ceased to function in Lower Canada as a movement (the ‘patriots’) pushing in the direction of democracy and independence ran into a stone wall of British intransigence.”¹⁰ This conflict was between the French-speaking rural majority who felt they were being treated unfairly and the English-speaking minority. The Francophones felt they should have the governmental power in the region. Greer argues that this was a “racial” conflict saying “French and English speakers certainly did tend to line up on

¹⁰ Alan Greer, *The Patriots and the People; The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 3.

opposite sides in 1837.”¹¹ The author also speaks of the Parti Canadien (also known as the Parti Patriote), their leader Louis-Joseph Papineau, and their Ninety-Two Resolutions which called for institutional reforms in the colony’s government to give more power to the French Canadian people. Some current Quebec nationalists look back on this conflict as the beginning of their movement.

Once the French Canadian rebellion was defeated, the sovereignty movement declined for about a 100 year period. There were still feelings that the French-speaking state had to become independent based on cultural, social, and economical reasons as seen in Quebec’s participation in the Confederation movement in the mid-1800s, but there were no major events that occurred after this time relating to Quebec sovereignty until the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s. This revolution brought the idea of a separate French nation back into the minds of Quebecers. Among other sources, my analysis of this period will rely on the book *A Short History of Quebec*, by John Dickinson and Brian Young. While this book covers the entire history of Quebec, I will use it to discuss the Lower Canada Rebellion, the time period of decline in the movement, the Quiet Rebellion, and other moments in Quebec history. This “in between” period marked a time of social and economic change in Quebec and Canada. Major events in this period include the Great Depression and World War Two, because as Dickinson and Young suggest, “The Quiet Revolution emerged from this period of economic depression, war, and reconstruction. With a growing sense of their collectivity, Quebecers reordered their society, granting a larger role to the state in the economy and in health and education.”¹² They also state that, “In the same period, nationalism became a strong force. Language

¹¹ Greer, *Rebellion of 1837*, 156.

¹² John Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), xxiv.

assumed a new centrality as francophones questioned their place in the Canadian federal state, a development that resulted in the 1980 and 1995 referendums on sovereignty.”¹³

This time of change was brought up by Jean Lesage, who was the premier of Quebec during most of the 1960s. He made many institutional reforms in education and the economy, which are discussed in Dale C. Thomson’s *Jean Lesage & The Quiet Revolution*. Also discussed is the beginning of the modern day movement which began in 1967 with the creation of the Mouvement Souverainete Association (MSA) by Rene Levesque, which was the precursor to the current Parti Quebecois. The analysis of the origins of the movement will bring us into the modern day Quebec Sovereignty movement.

The modern movement took shape in 1968 and was led by Levesque. The principal books I will use on this important period will be *The Rise of the Parti Quebecois*, by John Saywell and Graham Fraser’s *Rene Levesque & The Parti Quebecois in Power*. Saywell notes how other groups such as Raymond Barbeau’s Alliance Laurentienne, Raoul Roy’s L’Action socialiste, and le Rassemblement pour l’indépendance national (RIN) were the first modern groups to call for Quebec independence, but lacked leadership and organization. Levesque was the one who combined his groups with the others to create the Parti Quebecois and lead the Quebec Sovereignty movement. He was an outspoken leader and is quoted as saying things such as, “there must be a new Canada within a few years or Quebec will quit Confederation... As for me, first and foremost I am a Quebecois and second – with rather growing doubt –

¹³ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History*, xxiv.

a Canadian.”¹⁴ Saywell’s book covers Levesque’s creation of the MSA and their coalition with the other pro-sovereignty groups to create the Parti Quebecois in October 1968, the difficult rise of the party, culminating in their ultimate success in 1976. Ironically, Saywell bases the organization of this book on a quote from Premier Bourassa, the PQ’s opposition and head of the Liberal party, who wrote about the PQ trying to lead Quebec to independence: “It’s like a baseball game. 1970 was the first strike, 1973 was the second – and you can imagine what is going to happen on November 15. After the third strike, they will have to leave the game.”¹⁵ But, Bourassa would be wrong as the PQ won the majority vote taking 71 seats and forming the majority of the government, while the Liberals fell to 26 seats.¹⁶ This would be a strong beginning of the drive toward Quebec independence.

Other major events that were important to the Quebec sovereignty movement took place in the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s. In 1970, one of the darkest events in Canadian history occurred, called the October Crisis. This event was when members of the Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ), a radical group in favor of Quebec independence, kidnapped British Trade Commissioner James Cross and Quebec’s Minister of Labour, Pierre Laporte, in an act to push for Quebec sovereignty. This event will be covered by William Tetley’s *The October Crisis, 1970: An Insider’s View*. Tetley was a member of Quebec premier Robert Bourassa’s cabinet during the time of the crisis. He describes the book as “a commentary on a particular event, which took place thirty-six years ago, by a person who witnessed, and even participated in, parts of the

¹⁴ John Saywell, *The Rise of the Parti Quebecois 1967-1976* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977) 4.

¹⁵ Saywell, *Parti Quebecois*, 134.

¹⁶ Saywell, *Parti Quebecois*, 168.

event.”¹⁷ During the 1980s and 1990s, many important events in the history of Quebec independence occurred which include, the 1980 Quebec referendum, the Meech Lake Accord (1987), and the Charlottetown Accord (1992). They were each forms of legislature that were vital to the future of the sovereignty movement. Texts such as *The Secession of Quebec and the Future of Canada* by Robert A. Young, *The Charlottetown Accord, the Referendum, and the Future of Canada* edited by Kenneth McRoberts & Patrick Monahan, *Meech Lake: The Inside Story* by Patrick J. Monahan, and *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, which will be used throughout the entire thesis to fill the gaps throughout the history of the independence movement.

Even though the PQ returned to power in 1994 under their leader premier Jacques Parizeau, the following year would marked the last real hope of Quebec sovereignty. In 1995 another Quebec Referendum was held, and this time it was defeated by a very slim margin. Robert A. Young’s *The Struggle for Quebec: From Referendum to Referendum?* provides the background of this moment that doomed the movement. Young updates the reader regarding the events leading up to the 1995 referendum, analyzes the referendum campaign, how the result came about and how it affected the province and the nation. He also answers questions about why the referendum was so close, and what would have happened if the Yes vote won? The 1995 referendum marked the turning point of the movement, considering this was the last of the Quebec referendums. Along with this book I will use four articles by Mark McGuire of the *Times Union* (Albany, New York newspaper) to analyze the referendum. The articles provide a first-person view of the referendum from both sides of the vote, which will show us how the people of Quebec

¹⁷ William Tetley, *The October Crisis, 1970: An Insider’s View* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), xxv.

felt about the vote on succession. The articles cover the dates of October 30, 1995 to November 5, 1995. The referendum occurred on October 30.

To show where the Quebec sovereignty movement stands today I will use newspaper articles that cover the situation and opinion polls. Newspaper articles that I will analyze will come from the *Montreal Gazette*, *National Post*, and *The Globe and Mail*, while the opinion polls will come mainly from Angus Reid.

This project will be organized into an introduction and five chapters; each chapter will discuss a specific time period and contain three sections. The first section of each chapter will explain baseball in Canada or the Montreal Expos during that time period. The next section will do the same but will focus on the Quebec Succession movement. Following each of these will be a third section, which helps link both topics and explain how their timelines relate to each other. These “third” sections will be the most important parts of the project as they will explain to the reader how the thesis is supported and defended.

The opening chapter called, “The Beginnings,” will explain the events that precede and lay the foundations for the Montreal Expos and the Quebec Sovereignty movement between 1837 to 1968. The section on the origins of baseball in Canada and Quebec will begin in 1838 with the “first baseball-like” game being played in Beachville, Ontario. I will then continue to explain the growth of baseball within the country and the province, including an analysis of the Montreal Royals, the minor league affiliate of the Brooklyn Dodgers where Jackie Robinson broke the MLB color barrier. This analysis will cover the years between the early 1900s and 1960. After this I will discuss how the Montreal Expos were founded and brought to Montreal. The major works used for this

section will be William Humber's *Diamonds of the North: A Concise History of Baseball in Canada*, Harold Seymour's *Baseball: The Early Years*, Jackie Robinson's *Unforgettable Season of Baseball in Montreal*, by Jack Jedwab, and Arnold Rampersad's *Jackie Robinson: A Biography*, along with some background from the *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, edited by Steven A. Riess.

The second section will be a quick overview of the beginnings of the conflict between the Francophones and Anglophones. While there are probably conflicts dating to the early history of Canada, I will begin with the Canada Rebellions of 1837 and the Lower Canada Rebellion, the first "notable" conflict between the two parties. I will then bring the conflict into the 20th century and speak about the rise of Rene Levesque, who created the Mouvement Souverainete Association in 1957. Other notable people, groups, and events will include the Alliance Laurentienne, Raymond Barbeau, and the Quiet Revolution, as well as other events that contributed to the movement. The research for this section will come from Alan Greer's *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* and *A Short History of Quebec*, by John Dickinson and Brian Young.

This will then be followed by the third section, which will explain how the two preceding sections interconnect. I will show how both the Expos and the Quebec movement established their foundations in the mid-19th century and began to emerge with greater strength in the 1960s.

The second chapter, "Emergence and Growth," will examine the official emergence and growth of the Expos and the Quebec movement. In 1969 Major League Baseball awarded Montreal a baseball franchise, the Expos. I will discuss how that

occurred and how the franchise started successfully from a baseball perspective. This will also include a brief analysis of the Olympics which was awarded to Montreal in 1970, held in 1976, and the positive effect the Olympics had on the franchise. The background for this section will come from Michael E. Goodman's *The History of the Expos* and Riess' *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, while the bulk of the information will be drawn from Dan Turner's *The Expos Inside Out*, and *Remembering the Montreal Expos* by Danny Gallagher and Bill Young.

The second section in this chapter will talk about the Quiet Revolution and emergence and growth of the Parti Quebecois (PQ), which was the leading group behind the succession movement. In 1976 the PQ won 71 seats in the Canadian Parliament and they later formed a majority in Quebec's government. Other major topics of analysis include Bill 101 which defined French as the official language of Quebec. My analysis of this time period will come mainly from Dale C. Thomson's *Jean Lesage & The Quiet Revolution*, *The Rise of the Parti Quebecois* by John Saywell, and Graham Fraser's *Rene Levesque & The Parti Quebecois in Power*. Once again, I will have a third section tying in the two previous sections.

The third chapter will be called "The Good Times." When talking about the Expos in this chapter I will show how they had great success during this time period, but were never able to reach the zenith. This will include the 1979 season when they won 95 games but did not make the playoffs, the 1989 season when the Expos should have reached the World Series, and how they were sold in 1991 but were able to turn their fortune around thanks to manager Felipe Alou in the mid-1990s. All of these events demonstrate good, but not great periods for the Expos franchise. Once again, I will

mainly use Dan Turner's *The Expos Inside Out*, and *Remembering the Montreal Expos* by Danny Gallagher and Bill Young.

The second section will also follow a similar theme regarding the Quebec movement and explain how the movement reached many goals but not all of them were completely fulfilled. Events discussed in this section include the 1980 Quebec Referendum, the 1981 election in which the PQ won 49.2% of the vote, the lack of a referendum after 1981, the defeat of the PQ by the Liberals in 1985, and the return of the party to power in 1994 under Jacques Parizeau, with the help of the Meech Lake Accord and the Charlottetown Accord. Several books that will be analyzed for this section including Dickinson and Young's *A Short History of Quebec, The Secession of Quebec and the Future of Canada* by Robert A. Young, *The Charlottetown Accord, the Referendum, and the Future of Canada* edited by Kenneth McRoberts & Patrick Monahan, and *Meech Lake: The Inside Story* by Patrick J. Monahan. The third section will argue that this was a time where both entities experienced some success, but didn't fully achieve their ultimate goals.

The fourth chapter will be called "Dreams Smashed," which will explain how both the Expos and the Sovereignty movement began to fall from "power" and how they each lost influence in Quebec society. The major event in the Expos section will be the MLB player's strike of 1994, which occurred in August when the Expos had the best record in baseball. Many analysts consider this the best opportunity the Expos had to win a championship. Other topics discussed in this section include the lost of hope for a new stadium in Montreal, the ultimate contraction of the team on a vote by the other MLB owners, and the actions of former Expos owner Jeffrey Loria. The books used to analyze

this important period in Expos history will be *My Turn at Bat: The Sad Saga of the Expos*, by Claude R. Brochu, Daniel Poulin and Mario Bolduc, *Remembering the Montreal Expos* by Danny Gallagher and Bill Young, Jeff Stuart's *Blue Monday's: The Long Goodbye of the Montreal Expos*, Bob Elliot's *The Northern Game: Baseball The Canadian Way*, and the Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs, edited by Riess.

The second section will also show how the Quebec Sovereignty movement dwindled and eventually fell from importance. Events discussed here will include the 1995 referendum, which was the closest succession ever came to being a reality, the 1998 election, the lack of support for the movement to hold a second referendum, and the loss of the PQ's power in the 2003 election. To analyze this time period I will use Robert A. Young's *The Struggle for Quebec: From Referendum to Referendum?* and four articles by Mark McGuire of the *Times Union* (Albany, New York newspaper). McGuire's articles will be extremely useful since they give the viewpoints of every day Quebecers about the 1995 referendum. The third section will tie Sections One and Two together explaining how both the Expos and the movement had one last chance to reach their ultimate goal, but were unable to do so.

Finally, the last chapter will be called "Where Are We Now?" This will analyze where both the Expos and the Quebec Sovereignty movement currently stand. The Expos section will explain the franchise's move to Washington and how their past in Montreal was honored. In the Quebec section I will analyze an offshoot of to the PQ, called the Bloc Quebecois and their influence in Canadian politics, along with media coverage of succession politics and the Quebecers feelings on a possible third referendum. The view of Quebec independence from the eyes of leaders of the PQ and BQ will also be taken

into account. I will ultimately address what could happen in the future, analyze both the possibility of the baseball returning to Montreal and another try toward succession for Quebec. A lot of this will be based on pure speculation, but will also be helped by newspaper articles covering both topics, and public opinion polls.

The major significance of this thesis is that it's very interesting, original, and its speculative (and perhaps perspective) nature. While both the rise and fall of the Montreal Expos and the Quebec Secession movement have been deeply researched and analyzed, no one has suggested that both movements in the same province followed the same triumph and defeat path in similar patterns over an extended time period. Again, no claim can be made that either directly influenced the other, but no one has ever examined how similar they were and are. This thesis might open the eyes of many people, and possibly many Canadians, about these two occurrences that paralleled one another in the same place for over 150 years. The originality and the undiscovered connection between the two is what makes this topic worth pursuing.

The Beginnings

This chapter begins the analysis of the parallelism between the history of the Montreal Expos and the Quebec secession movement. Here I will give the necessary information about the origins of each entity and then delve into the pivotal years beginning in 1837, which is when both of the stories begin. The major events from this year up to 1960 will be discussed. This purpose of this chapter is to explain the origins of baseball in Quebec and the idea of independence in the province, and show that they have a similar momentum during the foundation years, but they do not intersect.

When most baseball fans think about the history of baseball they think about the game as the “American pastime” and characters like Abner Doubleday. Not many people realize that the history of baseball in Canada could be more extensive than their glorified counterpart to the south. Unbeknownst to most baseball fans, a primitive form of baseball was played in Beachville, Ontario on June 4, 1838; a year before Doubleday supposedly founded baseball in Cooperstown, New York.¹ This account was written by Dr. Adam Ford who wrote a letter describing this game in the May 5, 1886 edition of *The Sporting Life* of Philadelphia. He vividly described a bat and ball game between a team from Beachville and another made up of people from Zorra and North Oxford that was played

¹ William Humber, *Diamonds of the North: A Concise History of Baseball in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995), 1.

on a small field with five bases that were 24 yards apart.² There are other accounts of baseball-like games being played in Canada even earlier than the Beachville game. One example is of a game played in the town of Huntingdon, in southwestern Quebec that was said to have been played in 1837. A description of the game says, “On fine summer evenings during the mid 1830s, a group of the American faction were playing ball in Huntingdon. One Hazelton Moore... threw a bean ball at the batter, Fisher Ames. Ames... rushed Moore, and struck him on the head with his bat.”³

For the next two decades different variations of baseball flourished in southwestern Ontario, which was considered to be the most advanced baseball region in Canada, and a few years later was being played throughout the nation. At this time there was a lack in Canadian baseball identity because the teams in Canada did not play each other. Instead they played regional teams from the United States, for instance:

Maritimers played against east-coasters from Massachusetts and Maine, Quebecois moved among the baseball circles of Vermont and New Hampshire... Ontarians competed in Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York States. Manitobans joined leagues in Minnesota and the Dakotas, Alberta and Saskatchewan welcomed itinerant ball clubs from the American Plains states, and in British Columbia games were played along the American Pacific Coast.⁴

But, in 1859 this changed as teams from Hamilton and Toronto played in the first recorded game in Canada between Canadian teams that used the “New York rules.” The “New York rules” are the foundation of today’s baseball rules. In these rules, the field is a diamond shape with four bases that are 30 yards apart.⁵ This was in comparison to the “Massachusetts Game” where there were four bases that were 60 feet apart, as well as a

² Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 16.

³ Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 21.

⁴ Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 4.

⁵ Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 27.

“stand” (comparable to today’s home plate) that stood between the first and fourth base.⁶ The following year the Hamilton Burlingtons’ played the Niagaras of Buffalo in the first international game.⁷

There were efforts to create competition throughout the nation in order to create a Canadian baseball identity. In 1863 “funds were solicited for a Silver Ball competition, based on an American model, to be contended for by teams in southwestern Ontario.”⁸ Shortly after this, Canada furthered their national baseball identity by creating a Canadian Association of Base Ball Players in September 1864. This association was made up of teams from southern Ontario, which at the time included present day Ontario and Quebec. The Silver Ball competitions continued to prosper with teams from Woodstock, Ingersoll, Newcastle, Ottawa, and Kingston up to 1876. It has also been noted that a team from Ingersoll, Ontario played in the first significant international baseball event, the great Base Ball Tournament in Detroit in August 1867.⁹ During this time, the Canadians followed the American path by commercializing baseball; it was played by working class men, who played on teams that represented the business which employed them. This allowed businessmen to promote their ventures in different areas by having their team travel there to play baseball.

The first notable Canadian publication about baseball was the *Canadian Baseball Guide*, which was a 78-page guide written by William Bryce in 1876.¹⁰ While he does hint toward the national Canadian baseball identity, he does not reference anything about baseball outside of Ontario. He states in the guide, “within the past six years Base Ball

⁶ Seymour, *Baseball*, 28.

⁷ Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 25.

⁸ Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 4.

⁹ Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 5.

¹⁰ Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 5.

has made rapid strides in public favor in Canada, and in the western and northern portions of Ontario, especially, it has to a great extent displaced Cricket and Lacrosse as a favorite summer out-door recreation.”¹¹ Lacrosse was especially popular even though, “there may not have been any official parliamentary record of lacrosse being proclaimed the national sport of Canada; it was certainly the de facto national sport for many decades.”¹² In May 1994, lacrosse was named the national summer sport of Canada.¹³ Baseball’s popularity grew even further as teams in Canada began importing American players to play for their teams. There was no public outcry about this since people became more interested in baseball as a form of entertainment and their team winning. Not only did baseball start to become a part of everyday life, but the Canadians got better at the game. Bryce stated in 1876, the same year the National League was formed in the United States, that “Base Ball... has now reached such a stage of perfection in Canada that its leading clubs are able to cope successfully with the best of the same class in the United States.”¹⁴ Also, in 1878 the top team in Canada, the London Tecumsehs, were invited to join the National League but declined because of “the league’s restrictions on games with nonleague teams, and was the lone Canadian entry in 1878.”¹⁵ It wouldn’t be for another 90 years until another Canadian team would eventually join the National League.

But, in the latter half of the 19th century and into the beginning of the 20th century Canadian baseball suffered a big blow when the Minor Leagues were created by National League teams, which led to the term “Organized Baseball.” The Tripartite Pact (also

¹¹ Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 5.

¹² Barbara K. Adamski, “Lacrosse,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0004453>.

¹³ Canadian Department of Justice, *National Sports of Canada Act, 1994*, c. 16, <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/N-16.7/page-1.html>.

¹⁴ Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 6.

¹⁵ William Humber, “Baseball,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0000544>.

known as the National Agreement) marked the beginning of this term. This was an agreement between the National League, American Association, and Northwestern League that created a “formula for regulating competition among leagues for players and territories. It was also the first official baseball document to include the reserve provision.”¹⁶ This pact was created because before the agreement there was intense competition between the leagues for signing players. Many leagues and teams lured top players from other leagues or teams to theirs. The three leagues “determined there was a need for a central authority to govern all associations by an equitable code of rules.”¹⁷ This creation of “Organized Baseball” due to the pact caused the Canadian League to collapse in 1885 when the teams from Toronto and Hamilton joined the American-run International League.

Canadian baseball still survived though and there was still hope of Canada having its’ own baseball league. In Spalding’s *Canadian Base Ball Guide* written in 1914 he says that in the near future, “one can readily expect to see within a very short period of time a Canadian League that will in all probability be composed of a circuit embracing the following cities: London, Hamilton, Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, Saint John , and Halifax.”¹⁸ But, this vision would never come to light. While there was no pure Canadian baseball league, the game was still extremely popular throughout the nation. It has been claimed by historian Alan Metcalfe that by 1914 “baseball was truly Canada’s national sport. No other sports were played across the country and exhibited such steady

¹⁶ Seymour, *Baseball*, 146.

¹⁷ MLB.com, “The Commissionership: A Historical Perspective,” *Commissioners*, http://mlb.mlb.com/mlb/history/mlb_history_people.jsp?story=com.

¹⁸ Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 7-8.

and sometimes spectacular growth.”¹⁹ This can also be seen in the newspaper coverage in 1915; baseball was the most covered sport in Halifax, Montreal, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and was the second most covered sport in Toronto. From 1926 to 1935 baseball and hockey were covered about the same amount in Canadian newspapers.²⁰ But, Canadian influence in “organized baseball” was limited as only one Canadian-born player was on a major league roster and Toronto was the only Canadian city with a team involved in “Organized Baseball.”

While baseball was flourishing in Ontario, the passion for the game developed slowly in Quebec during the 19th and early 20th centuries. While there was a Montreal Association of Base Ball Players and the Quebec Provincial League, baseball was still less popular than lacrosse and snowshoeing. But, the province saw a golden age of baseball from the 1930s through the 1950s thanks to the Montreal Royals, who played in the International League and were the top minor league affiliate of Major League Baseball’s Brooklyn Dodgers. The Royals were filled with future Major League stars and were very successful and loved by the people of Montreal, both English and French speakers alike.

The Royals existed from 1897-1917, but fell apart due to the lack of manpower caused by World War One.²¹ But, the Royals came back in to existence in 1928 when a \$1.5 million stadium²² was built and the team lasted until 1960, which is the time period for which they are truly remembered. They were the Dodgers’ affiliate beginning in 1939. In 1928 the group of men headed by Athanase David, a Montreal businessman, and

¹⁹ Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 8.

²⁰ Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 8.

²¹ Lowell Reidenbaugh, “Host City Once A Jewel,” *The Sporting News*, July 12, 1982.

²² Reidenbaugh, “Host City Once A Jewel.”

Ernest Savard bought the Syracuse franchise of the International League and moved it to Montreal, resurrecting the former Royals franchise owned by English-speakers up to 1917. They helped finance the building of Delorimier Stadium (also known as Delorimier Downs) on the corner of Ontario Street. The early years of the Royals were troubled times due to the stock market crash and the Great Depression, which caused the franchise to be sold to three Montreal business men. In 1938 the team was sold to the Dodgers, which even though it was a foreign organization, was welcomed by Canadians because it brought a lot of winning. The time period from 1941 to 1958 was a golden era for the Royals as they finished the regular season in first place and won the league playoffs seven times, and won a Junior World Series championship. Throughout this time around 400,000 spectators came to see the Royals per year. A major reason for this was the abundance of talent on the field. Over these few decades baseball legends such as Sparky Anderson, Gene Mauch, Roberto Clemente, Roy Campanella, Duke Snider, Tommy Lasorda, Ralph Branca, and Don Drysdale wore a Royals uniform.

But, the most famous and important player to play for the Royals was, of course, Jackie Robinson. In 1945 Robinson played in the Negro Leagues for the Kansas City Monarchs where he was named a league all-star at shortstop. During the season he was scouted by Brooklyn Dodgers owner Branch Rickey, who was interested in finding a black player to be assigned to the Royals. In late August, Rickey and Robinson sat down and after a long, famous talk agreed that Robinson would play for the Royals the following season. The agreement was kept secret until the signing was officially announced on October 23, 1945 when he went into Delorimier Stadium and signed his

contract with Hector Racine, the president of the Royals.²³ The reason why this was so special and ground-breaking was that Robinson would be the first black player to play in organized baseball. Racine stated, “they fought by our side during the war and they merit the opportunity to play baseball with us like they do all other sports.”²⁴ Throughout the years, “all of Organized Baseball had unflinchingly adhered to a strict, albeit, unofficial, colour barrier, what author Art Rust, Jr. described as a series of ‘private agreements [intended] to maintain the game’s ‘white purity.’”²⁵

Before Robinson could play in the Major Leagues, he had to prove that he could handle the minor leagues while playing in Montreal, which was the perfect place to do so because of the lack of racist feelings in the city. As Tom Meany, a famous sports writer, wrote, “Rickey felt that he had the ideal spot in which to break in a Negro ball player, the Triple A farm in Montreal where there was no racial discrimination.” Dink Carroll of the Montreal Gazette agreed saying, “the absence here of an anti-Negro sentiment among sports fans... was what Mr. Rickey doubtless had in mind when he chose Montreal as the locale of his history-making experiment.”²⁶ On April 18, 1946 Robinson officially broke the color barrier at Roosevelt Stadium in Jersey City, New Jersey against the Jersey City Giants. Robinson’s debut was epic; a paid attendance of 51,872 fans²⁷ saw Jackie get four hits, including a three-run home run, score four runs, drive in three runs, and steal two bases in the Royals’ 14-1 win.²⁸ The following day a Montreal columnist was so impressed with Robinson’s debut that he declared, “Robinson seems to have the same

²³ Jack Jedwab, *Jackie Robinson's Unforgettable Season Of Baseball In Montreal* (Montreal: Editions Images, 1996), 16.

²⁴ Jedwab, *Jackie Robinson's Unforgettable Season*, 17.

²⁵ Bill Young, “Jackie Robinson and 1945 Royals,” *Society for American Baseball Research*, <http://quebec.sabr.org/1940.htm>.

²⁶ Young, “Jackie Robinson and 1945 Royals.”

²⁷ Jedwab, *Jackie Robinson's Unforgettable Season*, 27.

²⁸ Arnold Rampersad, *Jackie Robinson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1997), 148-149.

sense of the dramatic that characterized such great athletes as Babe Ruth, Red Grange, Jack Dempsey, Bobby Jones... The bigger the occasion, the more they rise to it... Make no mistake: the man can play ball.”²⁹ This success continued for the remainder of the season as he led the International League with a .349 batting average and .985 fielding percentage, and was named the Most Valuable Player of the league. Also, the Royals won the league pennant, the Little World Series, and saw record setting attendance figures during the season.

Even though Robinson was not treated warmly while playing on the road, the experiment undoubtedly worked as he flourished in Montreal. The fans and people of the city were extremely supportive of Robinson, and loved him and his wife Rachel as well. He was once quoted saying, “I owe more to Canadians than they’ll ever know... In my baseball career they were the first to make me feel my natural self.”³⁰ After leading the Royals to the Little World Series championship, Robinson was mobbed by his supporters. Sam Maltin described the scene as, “probably the only day in history that a black man ran from a white mob with love instead of lynching on its mind.”³¹ Jean-Pierre Roy, a French-Canadian pitcher for the Royals during the season, said “Jackie always believed the Montreal fans would be behind him and he often said he would never have made it [to the Major Leagues] without the inspiration he got here. He loved the city.”³² The following season Jackie was called up to the Brooklyn Dodgers where he broke the Major League color barrier and became a Hall of Fame ballplayer. The Royals continued to thrive until 1960. In 1957 the Dodgers moved to Los Angeles, and moved their top farm

²⁹ Jedwab, *Jackie Robinson’s Unforgettable Season*, 27.

³⁰ Rampersad, *Jackie Robinson*, 154.

³¹ Rampersad, *Jackie Robinson*, 157.

³² Jedwab, *Jackie Robinson’s Unforgettable Season*, 46.

team to Spokane. This led to lower attendance, which caused Dodgers president Walter O'Malley to end the Dodgers' affiliation with Montreal.³³ The Royals did have a new affiliation with the Minnesota Twins, but they moved them to Syracuse where they became the Syracuse Chiefs.³⁴ But, Montreal would not go without an "organized" baseball team for long as the Major Leagues came knocking just a few years later.

The history of French influence in Quebec began in 1534 when Jacques Cartier sailed to present day Quebec and claimed the land in the name of France. Cartier and other Frenchmen attempted to settle the land for about 70 years, but were unsuccessful until Samuel de Champlain founded the city of Quebec. Settling the area was an arduous task but by 1608 Champlain was able to establish a fort and a warehouse in the area.³⁵ This settlement became a part of New France, which consisted of all of France's colonies in North America. In the early stages of the colony, Quebec struggled as it had few settlers and was poorer than the British colonies to the south. Over a number of years Quebec barely survived as the inhabitants battled invasion from Indian forces and the British, but became more solidified in the 1660s under the rule of Louis XIV, who enacted policies to help Quebec and made it a royal province. But, Quebec still had conflicts with the British and Iroquois in the following years, including King William's War, Queen Anne's War, and the War of the Austrian Succession. The most influential

³³ Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, 117.

³⁴ Bud Poliquin, "The Golden Anniversary Season Dawns For The Chiefs... If, That Is, Mother Nature Cooperates," *The Syracuse Post-Standard*, April, 8, 2010.

³⁵ John Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 18.

conflict in the early history of the New France was the Seven Year's War (known as the French and Indian War in the British North American colonies), which pitted the French against the British beginning in the mid 1750s. The war did not turn out well for the French who eventually fell to the British. The decisive defeat was at the Battle of Quebec (also known as the Battle of the Plains of Abraham) in September 1759. After the British took the city of Quebec, they also conquered Montreal and many other French settlements. The war officially ended on February 10, 1763 when the Treaty of Paris was signed. This treaty:

Finalized the Conquest and gave Britain a new colony, the Province of Quebec, inhabited primarily by French Catholics who knew nothing of British traditions... The priorities of the British government... were to recognize imperial administration and strengthen central control over taxation, commerce, and politics. Through the proclamation, it showed little understanding of the realities of Quebec.³⁶

This caused some unrest among the French Canadians.

Meanwhile, the emerging conflict in Great Britain's Thirteen Colonies to the south were perceived to be a threat to British rule of Canada. So, in 1774 the Quebec Act was enacted to make sure the French Canadians stayed loyal to the British during this time of unrest. The act:

Recognized the right of Catholics to exercise their religion and officially allowed the clergy to collect the tithe. Although the British crown still had the right to nominate a bishop, the Catholic clergy was in no immediate danger; the Test Act was replaced by an oath of loyalty that allowed Catholics to hold office. Seigneurial tenure was confirmed. The act provided for a council appointed by the crown that combined executive and legislative functions, but no assembly was planned. A dual judicial system was adopted: English criminal law was retained, but French law was normally used in civil cases. As well, the boundaries of the colony were changed to give the colony control over a large part of the Indian Territories.³⁷

³⁶ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 53.

³⁷ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 55.

The American Revolutionary War broke out in 1775. Many Quebeckers were recruited to fight for the Americans because they were convinced that they were fighting for the same cause, which was getting away from British rule. Many of them enlisted and fought in many important battles. During the war, there were several battles in Canada, including the Battle of Quebec. The American colonists lost the battle, but won the war in 1783, causing many Loyalists in the south to flee to the north where many settled in Quebec. The Loyalists and other Anglophones were not happy living under the laws of the Quebec Act and asked for it to be repealed. They got their wish as the Constitutional Act of 1791 amended the Quebec Act. This Act divided Quebec into two parts with the western English-speaking half becoming Upper Canada (current southern Ontario) and the eastern French-speaking half becoming Lower Canada (current southern Quebec). Each half had their own political institutions with an elected assembly, and a legislative and executive council whose members were appointed by the Governor of the area, the representative of the British government. The majority of those appointed to the legislative and executive councils were Loyalists, while the majority of the assembly consisted of French Canadians.³⁸ Naturally, the councils and the assembly opposed each other in nearly every facet of the government. This conflict continued for about a 40 year period and spawned the first feelings of Quebec nationalism.

The assembly struggled to grasp any political control as the British did their best to limit any movements brought about by the assembly. They requested an elected legislative council, but the British authorities stymied their actions as “sessions were suspended, elections were rigged, the assembly’s nomination of Patriote leader Louis-

³⁸ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec* 55.

Joseph Papineau, who was a politician that believed the Frenchmen were being mistreated by the British, as speaker was refused, and opposition newspaper editors were jailed.”³⁹ This discontent led to the rise of the nationalist and liberal Parti Canadien (also known as Parti Patriote) led by Papineau. Those who supported the movement were the bourgeoisie, artisans, laborers, and peasants. Conflicts ensued for a few years, including a few which were bloody, such as the riot in Montreal’s West Ward in 1832 when three French Canadians were shot dead by British troops on St. James Street after the Patriots nominated Daniel Tracey for election.⁴⁰ Papineau and the party pushed for reform with the Ninety-Two Resolutions in 1834, which mainly demanded that the Legislative and Executive councils be elected. These resolutions were ignored for three years and eventually denied by the British parliament.

The rejection caused Papineau and the party to become radical and they prepared for armed battle. The armed conflict is known as the Rebellions of 1837-1838, which came in two parts: the Lower Canada Rebellion and the Upper Canada Rebellion. The Lower Canada Rebellion (also known as the Patriots’ War) came first and is the more important of the two. Dickinson and Young state that the first important physical confrontation of the rebellion took place on November 23, 1837 at Saint-Denis where the Patriots, led by Dr. Wolfred Nelson, defeated the British. But, the success did not last as “the church’s condemnation of revolution, Papineau’s weak military leadership, the failure to marshal peasant support outside the Montreal plain, and ineffective military organization hindered sustained Patriote resistance.”⁴¹ This led to British victory at Saint-Charles two days later causing Papineau and other leaders of the rebellion to flee south to

³⁹ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec* 160.

⁴⁰ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec* 163.

⁴¹ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec* 165.

the United States. With Papineau in exile, Robert Nelson took leadership responsibilities for the rebellion. A major defeat for the rebels at the hands of the British came at Saint-Eustache, a major post for the rebels, on December 14th. The British absolutely demolished their opponent, as Greer explained:

There is no way of knowing how many patriots died at St. Eustache. Elinor Senior's estimate is seventy, whereas she puts the figure for British losses at three. The village was burned to the ground, though not before the soldiers and Volunteers had carried off everything of value. Martial law having been declared a week earlier, almost anyone without the most impeccable loyalist credentials was subject to arrest.⁴²

This ended all armed conflict in Lower Canada in 1837.

In the following months, with the constitution suspended, the British supporters ransacked rebel homes, burned villages, and imprisoned hundreds who were thought to be against them. The rebels' final stand came in November 1838 with risings at Beauharnois, Lacolle and Odelltown.⁴³ Unfortunately for the rebels, the British were victorious and the rebellion ended. Greer states that, "over the dead body of democratic republicanism Lower Canada was locked into a larger, predominantly Anglophone unit, and ever since the relationship has been a source of discomfort, trouble, and periodic crises."⁴⁴ The rebels are honored to this day on National Patriots' Day on the Monday preceding May 25th.

Once the rebellion ceased, Lord Dunham was sent to investigate the rebellion and devise a plan to try and quell the problem. The result was his "Report on the Affairs of British North America" in 1839. This report called, "for the unification of Lower Canada

⁴² Alan Greer, *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 327.

⁴³ Greer, *The Patriots and the People*, 344-345.

⁴⁴ Greer, *The Patriots and the People*, 357.

with the predominantly English Upper Canada in order to end ‘racial’ conflict by anglicizing the French Canadians.”⁴⁵ This advice was taken and resulted in the Union Act which was put in place in February 1841. The act also had major governmental implications as:

The reunited Canadas were granted a legislative assembly in which Canada East (Lower Canada) and Canada West (Upper Canada) each had forty-two seats; the government, however, did not have to maintain a majority in the assembly. The appearance of equality was in fact a denial of representation by population. Lower Canada had a significantly larger population... this policy thus ensured the political superiority of the Anglophone population.⁴⁶

However, this arrangement broke down in the 1850s and in 1867 the new Canadian Constitution was written. On July 1, 1867 the federal Dominion of Canada was created. Upon this declaration, the province of Canada (Canada East and Canada West) were split into the new provinces of Ontario and Quebec.⁴⁷ While Quebec ruled itself locally, it was still subject to British rule.

After the 1840s, thoughts of Quebec nationalism remained in the minds of French Canadians for some time. Quebeckers felt isolated socially and morally within the federation and disagreed with British politics throughout the late 19th century and early 20th century. But, there were no major events or confrontations that occurred during these years. It would not be until about 100 years later that these thoughts turned into major actions as Quebeckers once again seriously questioned their national identity. In 1957, Raymond Barbeau founded the Alliance Laurentienne, which was a political organization focused on bringing independence to Quebec. The following September, Barbeau wrote the Manifesto of the Alliance laurentienne, which stated the views of the organization:

⁴⁵ Greer, *The Patriots and the People*, 357.

⁴⁶ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 183.

⁴⁷ P.B. Waite, “Confederation,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0001842>.

The Canadian Confederation threatens the political unity of our people of five million, disputes our most elementary rights, usurps our sacred rights inscribed in the constitution, unjustly stops our economic expansion, offends our nationals in contempt of the law of nations, seeks to create interprovincial combinations suitable to injure our dignity and our legitimate influences, and to save our prestige and our honour, we have no other choice but to claim the sovereignty of the State of Quebec. At the heart of Laurentian nationalism, there is a natural aspiration, for our people, to constitute itself as a fully independent nation, autonomous inside and sovereign outside.⁴⁸

This organization and manifesto rekindled the ideas of Quebec independence and set the foundation for a bigger revolution that began to quietly rise.

This chapter gives the necessary background information leading up to the emergence of the Montreal Expos and the Quebec secession movement, respectively. It is important to understand the history of each entity, to establish a foundation for their future growth. The next chapter will further elucidate this point.

The parallelism that I'm trying to convey in this thesis is that dates of certain events and correlating themes exist between baseball in Montreal and sovereignty in Quebec. In my research I have not found a direct relationship between baseball and sovereignty in the province, and am not trying to prove that there was one. The pivotal time period begins in 1837/1838 since the foundation for these two movements can be seen at this time. For the history of Canadian baseball, the origins can be traced by to the famous Beachville game in 1838. And on the other side, the conflict between the Francophones and the Anglophones that first initiated actions towards Quebec independence was the Rebellions of 1837-1838. Also, a similar theme coexists between

⁴⁸ Raymond Barbeau, "Manifesto of the Alliance laurentienne," http://english.republiquelibre.org/Manifesto_of_the_Alliance_laurentienne.

the two during this time which is the search for national identity. On the baseball side, the Canadians were looking for their own baseball identity which was different from the Americans, while the French Canadians were looking to establish their own French identity within Canada. This parallelism will continue as the growth of these movements takes shape and continues in the 1960s and 1970s.

Emergence and Growth

The 130 year period leading up to the 1960s laid the foundation for the growth of baseball in Montreal and the Quebec independence movement. The Montreal Royals set the stage for a new professional baseball franchise in Montreal in the latter half of the decade, while the creation and ideas of the Alliance Laurentienne became a model for political parties pushing for Quebec sovereignty in the 1960s and 1970s. This chapter will show the growth of each entity over these two decades.

When the Royals left Montreal, the city still had two professional sports teams: the Canadian Football League's Alouettes and the National Hockey League's Canadiens. But, there was a void to be filled as Montreal's summer sports team and it did not take long for city leaders to try to bring back professional baseball to the city. This effort was jumpstarted by the revolutionary Mayor Jean Drapeau, who during his tenure began major building projects in Montreal, including a subway system, christened the Montreal Metro in October 1966, secured Montreal's bid for the 1976 Olympics, and hosted the 1967 World's Fair, called the World Expo. As a part of these new initiatives to create a world-class city, Drapeau and his colleagues worked to bring a professional Major League franchise to the city. The idea was given to Drapeau by Montreal city councilor Gerry Snyder from the district of Snowdon.¹ During Snyder's 26-year tenure in the

¹ Steven A. Riess, ed., *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 448.

Quebec government he, “chaired the city’s executive committee, became the mayor’s liaison to people in the community who spoke English, and also, he contributed much of his time to bring the 1976 Summer Olympic Games and Formula One Grand Prix of Canada to sites in Montreal.”²

Drapeau and Snyder could not have picked a better time to try and get a major league franchise because the face of Major League Baseball was rapidly changing and began expanding. The evolution of the league was initiated by the departure of the Brooklyn Dodgers and New York Giants to Los Angeles and San Francisco, respectively. These teams left New York without a National League (NL) team, and once they left people tried to get one back. The effort to bring an NL team back to New York was led by lawyer William Shea. At the same time the league was looking to expand in to other cities (along with New York) as “Commissioner Ford Frick was being pressured to expand the League or risk having the anti-trust exemption revoked.”³ One way to solve this problem was to create a third league, which was attempted. The only reason Shea attempted this was because his “only desire at this point was... so that New York could have a team.”⁴ Shea spearheaded this effort and got Branch Rickey to be the president of the new Continental League. On July 27, 1959 the Continental League joined the ranks of Major League Baseball along with the National and American League. This new league was expected to begin play in 1961, but only if they could get into operation. If not, the National League had no choice but to expand. The two original leagues decided to look

² Frank P. Jozsa and Larry Schroeder, *Major League Baseball Expansions And Relocations: A History, 1876-2008* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2010), 65.

³ Maury Brown, “The Team That Nearly Wasn’t,” *The Hardball Times*, <http://www.hardballtimes.com/main/article/the-team-that-nearly-wasnt-the-montreal-expos/>.

⁴ Leonard Koppett, *Koppett’s Concise History Of Major League Baseball* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 275.

towards expansion instead of trying to coexist with the Continental League since three leagues was too much of a crowd. While Rickey had five cities signed on to join the league (New York, Denver, Toronto, Houston, and Minneapolis-St. Paul), the new league had some problems. One of the major problems was the inability to sign players, since there was no free agency at this time. Rickey tried to sign a deal with the Class D Western Carolina League, but this was disallowed by Major League Baseball. With only the worst players left to fill the ranks of the new league, the cities looking to expand into Major League Baseball asked Congress to enact a proposed bill by Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee “that would cut the number of players that a club could control to 80.”⁵ But, this bill was killed by the Senate on June 28 by the vote of 73-12. A few days later the NL and AL asked the Continental League to give up their plans in return for the NL and AL expanding into four cities that would have had CL franchises. They agreed and the Continental League folded on August 2, 1960 before a single game was even played.⁶

This failure of a third league spurred a massive expansion movement in Major League Baseball. A little less than three months after the collapse of the Continental League, the American League awarded new franchises to Los Angeles (known as the Angels) and Washington D.C. (known as the Senators), and relocated the “original” Washington Senators to Minneapolis, Minnesota (known as the Twins). Around the same time the National League also expanded when New York (known as the Mets) and Houston (known as the Colt .45s) were awarded franchises. It was thought that the expansion of both leagues would stop here, but in 1967 the American League decided to

⁵ Koppett, *Concise History Of Major League Baseball*, 276.

⁶ Koppett, *Concise History Of Major League Baseball*, 277.

continue to relocate and expand without the consent of the National League. During this time, the Kansas City A's moved to Oakland, the A's were replaced by the new Kansas City Royals franchise, and the city of Seattle was awarded a franchise (known as the Pilots). This infuriated the National League, but on December 2, 1967, "an agreement was announced in which the AL would pay the NL \$5.3 million to offset the quick expansion. At the same time, the National League announced that it would expand to 12 by 1971."⁷ The National League had two spots for expansion teams, but a number of cities were in the running for a franchise. The favorites were Dallas-Fort Worth, Milwaukee, and San Diego while Buffalo, Denver, Toronto, and Montreal had outside shots.

Snyder had been trying to get an MLB franchise to Montreal since 1962 when he visited Commissioner Frick in New York City to promote the city as a possible place for expansion. But, no headway was possible because Montreal did not have the proper playing facilities. However, Frick told Snyder that, "when you have a stadium, come back to me."⁸ Six years later Snyder found another opportunity to bring pro baseball back to Montreal after the American League expanded to Kansas City and Seattle. Since there was hope, Snyder began attending National League meetings and met with the expansion committee, which included Walter O'Malley, the president of the Dodgers. O'Malley was a key ally of Snyder because O'Malley oversaw the success of the Montreal Royals while they were affiliated with the Dodgers organization. He was very much in favor of bringing baseball back to Montreal; he told Snyder, "Look, Gerry, you don't have to come to L.A. to see me. I know what Montreal can do. I made a lot of money there with

⁷ Brown, "The Team That Nearly Wasn't."

⁸ Danny Gallagher and Bill Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos* (Toronto: Scoop Press, 2005), 19.

the Montreal Royals Triple A team.”⁹ With O’Malley on board, Snyder had to convince the others that they had the two necessary elements: capital and a stadium. To gain the necessary \$10 million franchise fee Snyder recruited backers from many different Canadian sources. The first investor was Jean-Louis Levesque, who was the owner of Blue Bonnet Race Track, and the second was Charles Bronfman, who was a major shareholder in the Seagram distilling company.¹⁰ There were also a few others, like John McHale (the deputy commissioner of baseball in 1967), who helped in backing the franchise. With the money in place, the question of where this new team would play had to be solved. The old home of the Montreal Royals, Delorimier Stadium, was out of the question because it was too small even for temporary use. So, Snyder and Drapeau offered the Autostade, which was built for Expo 67 and housed the Alouettes. Major League Baseball, the National League, and the expansion committee were all happy enough with the proposal, so on May 27, 1968 the National League granted Montreal, as well as San Diego, expansion franchises.¹¹

But, before the franchise even got off the ground there were problems regarding where the Expos would play and who would own them. Shortly after the announcement of expansion, it was deemed that the Autostade would be unable to house the new baseball franchises due to an issue with the lease rate, along with other difficulties with playing baseball in the stadium.¹² But, there was a solution: Jarry Park, a small 3,500 seat stadium in the northwestern corner of the city. This idea was recommended by Marcel Desjardins and Russ Taylor, who were two members of the media. The president of the

⁹ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 20.

¹⁰ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 21.

¹¹ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 340.

¹² Jozsa and Schroeder, *Major League Baseball Expansions And Relocations*, 66.

National League, Warren Giles, joined Snyder, Drapeau, and others to check out the stadium during an all-star junior game in June 1968. Gilles was impressed by the place and turned to Drapeau and said, “If you could make this into a stadium, that would be a good place.” Drapeau responded, “We’ll start tomorrow.” It was agreed that the stadium was to be expanded to about 30,000 person capacity.¹³ With an official home for the Montreal franchise now under control, there remained the major problem of figuring out who would be the foundation of the franchise, since a number of the original investors in the team, like Levesque, backed out. This created a massive problem since the franchise had to pay the league \$1.2 million by August 15. There seemed to be no hope that this money would be raised as the *Chicago Tribune* reported just eight days before the deadline. With the money still not paid, “Major League Baseball’s first international experiment is going to flop, and Montreal’s National League expansion franchise will be forfeited.”¹⁴ There were also cities like Buffalo and Milwaukee who were ready to bring in a franchise if Montreal could not come through. But, with hopes dwindling, Bronfman came to the rescue and saved the franchise. McHale stated that, “[Bronfman] felt it would be an embarrassment to Quebec and Canada if the franchise got away. Charles said he would put up the money if I would stay and run the franchise for him.”¹⁵ The two agreed and on August 15 the National League received a check for \$1.2 million from McHale, who was named the president of the Montreal franchise the same day.

The new Montreal franchise became known as the Montreal Expos, named after Expo 67. It was the perfect name because it was pronounced the same in English and French. The nickname “Royals” was also considered as to honor the former minor league

¹³ Jozsa and Schroeder, *Major League Baseball Expansions And Relocations*, 66.

¹⁴ Brown, “The Team That Nearly Wasn’t.”

¹⁵ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 23.

team of that name, but the new Kansas City franchise had already taken that nickname. There were other names also discussed including, ironically, the “Nationals.” It was decided that the team colors were red, white, and blue, which was “taken from the Canadiens hockey club, the Canadian flag, and the Quebec flag.”¹⁶ The team uniform featured a unique tricolored hat, which became a top selling souvenir for the team. The actual team started to take shape when McHale hired Jim Fanning as the team’s general manager and veteran Gene Mauch as the manager. The team’s talent was assembled through the National League expansion draft which took place at the Windsor Hotel in Montreal on October 14, 1968. While the Padres selected younger players, the Expos targeted veteran players. Their first selection was Manny Mota, who was followed by the likes of Donn Clendenon, Jesus Alou, and Bill Stoneman. Each of these three players would become major factors in the early history of the franchise because before the inaugural season began Clendenon and Alou were traded to Houston for Rusty Staub, who became a fan favorite and the first Expos’ star.¹⁷ Clendenon returned to the Expos during the season, but was quickly traded to the Mets where he became the MVP of the 1969 World Series.

Ironically, the Expos played the Mets in their first ever game, which took place on April 8, 1969 at Shea Stadium in Flushing, New York. It was an historic moment as the first MLB franchise outside the United States was about to play their first game in front of 45,000 fans. This also marked the first time that *O Canada* had been played prior to the beginning of a major league game.¹⁸ It was a great start for the Expos franchise since they beat the eventual World Series champs by the score of 11-10. Highlights for the

¹⁶ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 449.

¹⁷ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 449.

¹⁸ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 26.

Expos included knocking eventual Hall of Fame pitcher Tom Seaver (who is the only person to go into the Hall as a Met) out of the game after just five innings and reliever Dan McGinn's homerun, which was the first in franchise history and the only of his career. Carroll Sembera came into to pitch the final out of the franchise opener, and after the 27th out, Sembera was carried off the field by his teammates.¹⁹

The Expos' home opener took place on April 14th at Jarry Park when they hosted the St. Louis Cardinals in front of 29,000 fans. It was a day of anxiety and excitement as fans greeted the team in a pregame parade in the streets of Montreal. This game matched the excitement of the opening game of the season when the Expos beat the 1967 World Series champions and 1968 National League champions 8-7. Ted Blackman of the *Gazette* described the home opener: "Employing the rousing fireworks and nail-biting fumbling that have typified their every game, the Expos let it all hang out for a mob of 29,184 enraptured customers who came to cheer at Jarry Park. They left wanting more."²⁰ The *New York Times* reported that, "it was as if the game had never left town. In many respects the crowd was similar to those at hockey games here."²¹

The Expos' exciting start continued. Just three days after the home opener at Jarry Park, Bill Stoneman pitched the first no-hitter in franchise history and the first by an expansion team. The historic day took place against the Philadelphia Phillies in Philadelphia. Looking back on the game Stoneman noted that, "my control was not all it could have been but fortunately, they didn't hit the pitches I threw down the middle... There wasn't that big of a crowd (6,494) but in the ninth, the crowd was cheering and it

¹⁹ Dan Turner, *The Expos Inside Out*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983), 13.

²⁰ Turner, *The Expos Inside Out*, 18.

²¹ Gerald Eskenazi, "French Fans Enthusiastic At Bilingual Opening Game," *New York Times*, April 15, 1969.

was like pitching in front of a major-league, hometown crowd.”²² On the other side of the ball, Staub, who was nicknamed *Le Grand Orange* because of his red hair, led the way with a home-run and three RBIs. He also made a tough catch on a liner in the third inning to preserve the no-hit bid. Stoneman was an improbable candidate to pitch a no-no. He was always considered to be a reliever because of his smaller stature, but got a chance to start with the Expos due to their lack of talented arms. But, Stoneman proved this was not a fluke when he replicated the feat at Jarry Park on October 2, 1972. It was the first and only no-hitter to be pitched at Jarry Park. Stoneman accomplished the feat against the New York Mets despite walking seven batters and committing an error early in the game. After the game Stoneman addressed the media saying, “No, I don’t think it was my best game of the season. I’m just glad I threw the no-hitter because these fans are the best people in all of baseball.”²³

Despite these successes, the Expos’ inaugural season was a poor one; they finished tied with San Diego for the worst record in the league at 52 wins and 110 losses, had the worst team earned run average in the National League at 4.33, and finished second to last in team batting average at .240. But, there were signs of growth. Not only was Staub named an all-star after hitting .302 and driving in 110 runs and Laboy named the NL Rookie of the Year by the *Sporting News*, but the Expos drew the seventh most fans in the NL that season.²⁴

While the Expos did not win anything of much importance in the 1970s, they still showed hopeful signs of growth. In 1970 the team’s slogan was “70 in 70,” which meant the team was aiming to win 70 games that season. They succeeded and won 73 games.

²² Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 32.

²³ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 33.

²⁴ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 450.

Also, pitcher Carl Morton was named Rookie of the Year. The following season the team moved up to fifth place after winning 71 games. Even though the Expos only had minor success, the franchise had a great affect on the sport in the province. In 1969 there were 2,500 minor teams in Quebec, but after two years that number grew to 4,500.²⁵ Two years later they contended for a trip to the postseason when they were just one game behind the Mets, Cardinals, and Pirates with a week left in the regular season. But, they had a poor final week and finished at 79-83, which was the best record in team history at the time. This season conjured great fan support which was evident when fans were more focused on the Expos pennant race than the Montreal Canadians, the city's perennial favorite team.²⁶ The 1974 and 1975 seasons were forgettable because the Expos continued to finish under .500, but they also saw the rise of future Expo stars, such as pitcher Steve Rogers, third baseman Larry Parrish, and two eventual Hall of Famers, catcher Gary Carter and outfielder Andre Dawson. The coming of these budding stars "was known as 'Phase 2' of the Expos' long-term planning. The Expos' productive farm system began to produce, due in great part to general manager Jim Fanning's baseball acumen."²⁷ But, along with the losing seasons came change: Gene Mauch was fired after the 1975 season and was replaced by Karl Keuehl. Keuehl's tenure as manager was a short and disastrous one, filled with controversy and more losses, which led to his early dismissal in the middle of the 1976 season. He was replaced by Charlie Fox, who lasted

²⁵ Ian MacDonald, "Expos Helping To Trigger Baseball Boom In Canada," *Montreal Gazette*, June 19, 1971.

²⁶ Gerald Eskenazi, "Montreal's Absorption in Hockey Diverted by Expos," *New York Times*, September 23, 1973.

²⁷ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 451.

for the remainder of the Expos' 52-107 season.²⁸ To make matters worse, the team's attendance during the season was the second lowest in the National League.

But, things turned around the following season thanks to Expos' move to their brand new home at Olympic Stadium (nicknamed "The Big O"), which had been the centerpiece of the 1976 Montreal Olympics. The stadium cost more than \$1 billion and was a multi-purpose stadium that was used for baseball and football. While the fans complained that the seats were too far from the field, the team drew twice as many fans during the season (1,433,757).²⁹ While the team continued to lose, the young stars such as Dawson, who was named the 1977 Rookie of the Year, began to blossom. The following season pitcher Ross Grimsley became the first Expos pitcher to win 20 games in a season. His 20 wins accounted for 25% of the Expos wins that season, and he was named to the NL All-Star team, the National League's Pitcher of the Month in April, and Expos Player of the year.³⁰ The potential of young players, combined with acquired veterans like Tony Perez and Chris Speier became a formula for success for the Expos in the following years. The Expos made their first significant impact on Major League Baseball in 1979 and the 1980s.

Just as the 1960s saw the revival of professional baseball in Quebec, the true beginnings of action towards Quebec sovereignty were also seen during this time. This

²⁸ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 46.

²⁹ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 451.

³⁰ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 47.

decade was marked by what was known as the Quiet Revolution, which was a movement that caused rapid change within Quebec and Canada. The Quiet Revolution:

Emerged from this period of economic depression, war, and reconstruction. With a growing sense of their collectivity, Quebecers reordered their society, granting a larger role to the state in the economy and in health and education... In the same period, nationalism became a strong force. Language assumed a new centrality as francophones questioned their place in the Canadian federal state.³¹

The time before the Quiet Revolution was called the *Grande noirceur*, which means “the great darkness,” which was led by the Premier of Quebec, Maurice Duplessis. Duplessis founded and led the conservative *Union Nationale* party and was the premier from 1936 to 1939 and 1944 to 1959. His tenure focused on rural problems, anti-labor legislation, defeating communism, and was backed by the Catholic Church.³² There was no hope for the Liberals at this time. English-speakers controlled the business world, while the church influenced societal thought.

But, things changed when Duplessis died in September 1959, and Liberal Jean Lesage became the 19th Premier of Quebec the following Spring under the slogan *C'est le temps que ca change*, meaning “It's time that it changes.” It was a close election in which the Liberals won 50 seats and 51% of the vote compared to the 44 seats and 47% won by the Union Nationale. After the victory Lesage stated, “The people deserved this victory... They wanted, despite the chains that bound them, to shed themselves of the regime that held them in slavery... The province is liberated.”³³ The election of Lesage set off rapid institutional change in Quebec, the Quiet Revolution. There were major social and

³¹ John Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), xxiv.

³² Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 292-293.

³³ Graham Fraser, *Rene Levesque & The Parti Quebecois in Power* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 24.

economic reforms enacted by Lesage, which eventually spawned Quebec nationalism that was led by several reform parties. One of these groups was the Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale (RIN, Rally for National Independence), which was founded by some former members of Alliance Laurentienne just a few months after Lesage became Premier. These reforms were necessary because the Francophones were struggling to compete with Anglophones as a result of the Catholic Church's stranglehold on education and the federal government's control of the economy. Lesage believed that "Quebecois... have only one powerful institution: their government. And they now want to use this institution to build a new era to which they could not formerly aspire."³⁴

Under Lesage, the Quebec government took a bigger role in the economy of the province and social well-being of Quebeckers. One of the most important moves to improve the economy of the Francophones was the nationalization of private electric companies, called Hydro-Quebec, in 1963.³⁵ This movement toward nationalization was led by Rene Levesque, who was named the Hydraulic Resources minister by Lesage. Hydro-Quebec was created in the 1940s and was a small electricity company owned by the government. During this time, there were a number of private companies that controlled the electricity in the province, which was costly for the government. So, Levesque looked to unite them all under Hydro-Quebec. He announced his intent to do on February 12, 1962, and just a few months later Lesage made it a pressing issue in the upcoming 1962 election. The party ran under the slogan *Maitres Chez Nous*, meaning "Masters in Our Own Home... a phrase with a long history of Quebec nationalistic rhetoric, the Liberals made the election a referendum on nationalization of the private

³⁴ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 319.

³⁵ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 313.

companies.”³⁶ The 1962 election was a success for the Liberals; they were reelected with 63 seats and 57% of the vote, while the Union Nationale dropped to 31 seats and 42% of the vote. A few months after the victory, on December 28, 1962, Lesage announced the government’s acquisition of “the shares of Shawinigan Water and Power, the largest private power company, for \$600 million.”³⁷ These shares combined with other smaller companies that were taken over merged together to make Hydro-Quebec the biggest electric company in the province. The nationalization of Hydro-Quebec “became a symbol of francophone ability to control massive technological and capital projects.”³⁸ Fraser agreed, stating how Hydro-Quebec “became the symbol of Quebec’s will to take control of its resources and modernize.”³⁹

The most significant social reform during Lesage’s tenure was the reform in the educational system in the province. Since 1875, the Catholic Church was in control of teaching the children of Quebec. They were in charge of creating their own programs, providing textbooks, and recognizing graduation according to their criteria. Under this structure many rural towns had one room schools and were not of high quality. Because of the poor low level education, many French Canadians were unable to go on to higher education called classical colleges, which were programs offered by colleges that emphasized the classics and led to acceptance into university. Even in classical colleges the clergy had control and “science and technology and anything to do with economics were given short shrift.”⁴⁰ Also at the beginning of the 1960s, “the level of formal

³⁶ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 28.

³⁷ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 29.

³⁸ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 319.

³⁹ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 29.

⁴⁰ Mathieu Pigeon, “Education in Quebec, Before and After the Parent Reform,” *Musee McCord Museum*, www.mccordmuseum.qc.ca/scripts/explore.php?Lang=1&elementid=107__true&tableid=11&tablename=tome&contentlong.

schooling among French Canadians was quite low: 63% of French-speaking students completed Grade 7 and only 13% finished Grade 11, as opposed to 36% of English-speaking students.”⁴¹ These statistics, combined with the baby boom of the post-war era, and Jean-Paul Desbiens’ book *Les insolences due Frere Untel*, which in English means *The Impertinences of Brother Anonymous*, (under the pseudonym Frere Untel), which criticized the educational system, forced Lesage to make educational reform a major issue during his tenure. Lesage and the party thought “education was to play a central role in the modernization of Quebec and serve as an instrument of emancipation for French Canadians.”⁴²

Some of the preliminary steps Lesage took included raising the age for compulsory schooling from 14 to 16, and forming a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education to be led by Alphonse-Marie Parent.⁴³ During the mid-1960s, the Parent Commission searched for ways to reform the system. They found that religious diversity in the province, “had reached a level that made it impossible to maintain the established denominational school system... Their guiding principle became democracy, or the provision of the best possible education for the greatest number of people.”⁴⁴ Their suggestions included free education, building new schools, and secularization. These recommendations ended up being enacted when the Ministry of Education was created in 1964, led by Paul Gerin-Lajoie. Under Gerin-Lajoie, the clergy had minimal power over schools, school curriculums were standardized, classical colleges were eliminated, and comprehensive high schools called “polyvalentes” were created. The provincial

⁴¹ Pigeon, “Education in Quebec.”

⁴² Pigeon, “Education in Quebec.”

⁴³ Dale C. Thomson, *Jean Lesage & The Quiet Revolution* (Canada: Macmillan of Canada, 1984), 294.

⁴⁴ Thomson, *Jean Lesage*, 297.

expenditures on education increased to \$350 million in 1963-64, which was two and a half times more than it was in 1960-61.⁴⁵ This reform was important because “by breaking the stranglehold of the Catholic Church and democratizing education, Quebec started to produce qualified professionals who could compete with Anglophones on an even footing.”⁴⁶

During this time, parties directed towards Quebec nationalism were created. RIN was a non-violent group created in the latter half of 1960 that attracted “large crowds to rallies and demonstrations in Montreal... [and]... were capturing the imagination of a generation of restless young people, singing songs of pride.”⁴⁷ But, in late 1962 there was a split in the group between conservatives and progressives (those who wanted to push the fight for Quebec sovereignty to a higher and more extreme level), which led to the creation of the Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ), a left-wing party, in January 1963. The FLQ was “committed to overthrowing ‘medieval Catholicism and capitalist oppression’ through revolution... [and] took particular aim at the federal government and Anglophone bourgeoisie.”⁴⁸ This group, started by the progressives in the RIN, used terrorist methods. The FLQ’s acts of terrorism include the bombing of armories and mailboxes, and the toppling of the Wolfe Monument on the Plains of Abraham (the monument commemorated the English victory over the French at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in the French and Indian War). In the following years the RIN, and the Ralliement National (RN), which was a created by a right-wing faction of the RIN, transformed into political parties.

⁴⁵ Thomson, *Jean Lesage*, 298.

⁴⁶ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 316.

⁴⁷ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 29.

⁴⁸ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 320.

In 1966, Lesage's tenure ended as Premier when he was defeated by Daniel Johnson of the Union Nationale. The Union Nationale won 41% of the popular vote and 55 seats, while the Liberals won 47% of the popular vote, and 51 seats.⁴⁹ Even though the overall population voted in favor of the Liberals, the Union Nationale won more districts (similar to the electoral college in the United States). Johnson sensed that Lesage had become over-confident and based his campaign on *Egalite ou independacne*, that is, equality or independence, which made him look like he was in favor of bringing independence to Quebec but it was in fact completely ambiguous. Around the same time the Liberal party in Quebec was falling apart due to factions within the party. One of the factions were the Nationalists, who were led by Rene Levesque, left the party in 1967. This year became a very important one in the foundation of the present Quebec sovereignty movement because of two major events. The first came in July when Charles de Gaulle, the president of France, came to Quebec for a visit. As a part of the tour he gave an address on the balcony of the Montreal City Hall where he said "Vive le Quebec libre," meaning "Long live free Quebec." This statement, "sharpened the debate, for not only did it seem to increase the credibility of the separatist option but the fury in the anglophone reaction persuaded many quasi-separatists to shed their last disguise."⁵⁰ The second major event was Levesque's creation of the Mouvement souverainete-association (MSA) in October 1967. The movement did not last long, but it served its purpose as the MSA, RN, and RIN combined to create the Parti Quebecois (PQ) in 1968 under the leadership of Levesque.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 38.

⁵⁰ John Saywell, *The Rise of the Parti Quebecois 1867-1976* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 9.

⁵¹ Saywell, *The Rise of the Parti Quebecois*, 20-22.

In the following months the party began to organize and legitimize itself. In the PQ's 1969 convention Claude Charron, who was twenty-three at the time, was named the executive (or leader) of the party. In September Jacques Parizeau, who took part in the Quiet Revolution and the nationalization of Hydro-Quebec, joined the party and became a major leader within the PQ. The party participated in their first provincial election in 1970 with the primary intention of drawing attention to its existence. As Levesque said, "The object was not necessarily to take power right away... it was not necessarily to jump right into soft jobs in a powerless province; it was to smash, once and for all, the ice of our fears, our complexes, our impotence!"⁵² In the election, Robert Bourassa and the Liberals won an impressive 71 seats, the Union Nationale won 17 seats, and the PQ won seven seats. Even though the PQ won 24% of the popular vote, they won less than 6% of the seats.⁵³ While the party was not ecstatic about the performance, it was a start. Meanwhile there was a sigh of relief among the many federalists throughout Canada. The day after the election the *Gazette* said that the Liberal victory was "a vote for confidence in Canada," and the *Globe and Mail* said, "Today this feels like a splendid country."⁵⁴

But, things in Quebec and Canada did not stay pleasant for long. Less than six months later one of the most controversial events in Canadian history occurred: the October Crisis. This awful event in the history of Quebec nationalism was initiated by the terrorist actions of the FLQ. The crisis began on October 5th when members of the FLQ kidnapped British Trade Commissioner James Cross from his home in Montreal. For the safe release of Mr. Cross, the kidnapers demanded the release of 23 'political prisoners,' the broadcasting and publication of the FLQ manifesto, and an aircraft to take the

⁵² Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 54.

⁵³ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 55.

⁵⁴ Saywell, *The Rise of the Parti Quebecois*, 44.

kidnappers to Cuba or Algeria.⁵⁵ The manifesto demanded that, “The Front de liberation du Quebec wants total independence for Quebecers, united in a free society purged for good of the clique of voracious sharks, the patronizing ‘big bosses’ and their henchman who have made Quebec their private hunting ground for ‘cheap labor’ and unscrupulous exploitation,”⁵⁶ and “We must struggle, not individually but together, until victory is ours, with every means at our disposal, like the Patriots of 1837-38.”⁵⁷ The manifesto was printed and broadcast throughout the nation for the next few days, while the FLQ pronounced death threats on Cross if the rest of the demands were not met. Levesque was extremely upset with the actions of the FLQ since Cross was a friend. He pleaded with the radicals through a newspaper article to stop the violence, and was in favor for an exchange of the imprisoned terrorists for Cross.⁵⁸

But, on October 10th after the demands of the FLQ were not met, Pierre Laporte, Quebec’s Minister of Labour, was also kidnapped from his home. This escalated the crisis to new heights. In the proceeding days the police raided many places looking for FLQ members. Negotiations took place, but no agreement was reached. On October 12th, the PQ Executive Council “issued a statement endorsing the release of ‘political prisoners’ in return for guarantees as to the fate of Cross and Laporte.”⁵⁹ As deadlines passed, Prime Minister Trudeau decided to implement the War Measures Act on October 16th. This act, “subordinated the Quebec government and... suspended civil liberties. Hoping to crush the independence movement in Quebec, the Trudeau government called

⁵⁵ William Tetley, *The October Crisis, 1970: An Insider’s View* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), 39-40.

⁵⁶ John Fekete, Bonnie Campbell, and Victor Rabinovitch, *The Struggle for Quebec* (Nottingham: Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 1970), 51.

⁵⁷ Fekete, Campbell, and Rabinovitch, *The Struggle for Quebec*, 55.

⁵⁸ Tetley, *The October Crisis*, 45.

⁵⁹ Tetley, *The October Crisis*, 46.

out the army, and hundreds of Quebec intellectuals, political activists, and labour leaders were imprisoned arbitrarily.”⁶⁰ The act expanded the number of arrests to 450 people,⁶¹ and threatened civil liberties, such as the suspension of the right of habeas corpus. Of the people arrested, 36 were PQ members, 408 others were released without charges and only two people were sentenced.⁶²

Laporte was killed a week after his kidnapping and was found dead in the trunk of a car on October 18th near the St-Hubert airport. In November, the provincial government offered a \$150,000 reward for any information about the FLQ kidnappers, and asked the army to stay in the province for another month. During this time FLQ plotters were found, and on December 3rd James Cross was released by the kidnappers (Jacques Cossette-Trudel, Louise Cossette-Trudel, Jacques Lanctot, Marc Carbonneau, and Yves Langlois) on the condition that they received safe passage to Cuba. Even though Cross lost 22 pounds during his time in captivity, he was unharmed. In late December and early January the troops were removed from Quebec. The crisis had ended, but the PQ was deeply affected which was seen by membership in the party declining after the events. Because both the FLQ and PQ were parties fighting for Quebec independence, many saw them in similar light. As the *Winnipeg Free Press* stated on October 19, “The murder of Mr. Laporte should, if there is any justice, sound the death knell of the separatist movement in Quebec. If it does, his death, tragic as it has been, will not have been in vain.”⁶³

⁶⁰ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 321.

⁶¹ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 55.

⁶² Claude Belanger, “Chronology of the October Crisis, 1970, and its Aftermath,” *Quebec History*, <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/chronos/october.htm>.

⁶³ Saywell, *The Rise of the Parti Quebecois*, 52.

Over the next few years there was some turmoil within the PQ caused by widely discussed debates on involvement in the labor movement, but when the 1973 elections were held, the focus of the party was chiefly placed on winning seats. For the election, Parizeau created a model budget for a sovereign Quebec called Budget de l'An 1, which asserted that if the PQ won the election there would be an increase in Gross National Product. But, the Liberals were able to find major miscalculations in the model, which significantly undermined the PQ's chances. In the end, the Liberals won 102 of 108 seats, while the PQ won the other six. The PQ did win 33% of the popular vote, but once again Levesque lost a seat.⁶⁴ This loss was devastating because a loss of this magnitude was unexpected, but since the Union Nationale did not receive any seats the PQ became the official opposition to the Liberals.⁶⁵

Even though the PQ had their troubles in 1974 after disagreements between Levesque and other members of the party, specifically Robert Burns, the Liberals suffered and were weakened even more. There were accusations of patronage and favoritism such as, "Bourassa's wife and his brother-in-law, Tourism Minister Claude Simard, were part owners of the holding company that owned Paragon Business Forms, which did a million dollars' worth of government business," and "the government failed to negotiate from strength with the construction unions building the massive James Bay hydroelectric project, or those building Olympic Stadium."⁶⁶ Bourassa's image was weakened; he became seen as manipulative, weak, and cynical.

One of the most damaging things Bourassa did during this time was his legislation on the official language of Quebec called Bill 22, which "outraged every constituency of

⁶⁴ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 59.

⁶⁵ Saywell, *The Rise of the Parti Quebecois*, 96-100.

⁶⁶ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 60.

the language issue, and satisfied no-one.”⁶⁷ The English speakers were worried about “the prospect of any restrictions in access to the English school system, and angry at the regulations making knowledge of French compulsory in various professions. Quebec nationalists were appalled that any immigrant or francophone child who could be coached to pass a test could enter the English, rather than French, school system.”⁶⁸ Bourassa’s dwindling popularity was seen in many polls in which the people preferred Levesque and the PQ over the Liberals.⁶⁹

The PQ took advantage of this decline in popularity for Bourassa and the Liberals in 1976. After months of debate on whether to call an election, one was called for October 18th. Fraser notes that, “a key element in the PQ’s platform was the commitment to hold a referendum on Quebec’s future.”⁷⁰ The PQ went up against the Liberals and the strengthening Union Nationale. Before the election Levesque was very optimistic about its outcome since he thought that he would win his own seat and that the PQ might win around 40 seats. However, his party did much better than he expected. On November 15, 1976 they became the majority of the government winning 71 seats, while the Liberals won 26 seats, the Union Nationale won 11, and the Creditistes and Parti National Populaire each earned one seat.⁷¹ With the victory Quebec nationalists were now in control of the provincial government and now had the momentum to push forward with Quebec independence.

In August 1977 the PQ took their first major step when they enacted Bill 101, which made French the official language of Quebec and gave people language rights,

⁶⁷ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 61.

⁶⁸ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 61.

⁶⁹ Saywell, *The Rise of the Parti Quebecois*, 124.

⁷⁰ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 65.

⁷¹ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 69.

meaning the right to choose their own language in private or public, throughout the province. Once the bill was passed (54 to 32), Francois-Albert Angers, who was a nationalist, called the passing of the bill, “the greatest moment in our history since the founding of Quebec in 1608.”⁷² The PQ was now moving forward and inching closer to a referendum. As Saywell states, “Psychologically, at least, the province had taken a giant step towards independence; for the first time it was clear that independence was regarded as one of the rational and legitimate options open to the Quebecois. Neither the province nor the country could ever be quite the same again.”⁷³ The events of the 1970s would tremendously affect the major events to take place in the following decade.

This chapter provides the necessary background information and highlights major events in the emergence and growth of both the Montreal Expos and the Quebec sovereignty movement. This era is important because it shows the true beginnings of each entity. In order to understand each movement, it is imperative to realize under what circumstances they began and emerged.

While there is no direct relationship between the Expos and the Quebec movement, a parallelism between the two can certainly be seen. Both movements began in the 1960s, grew in the early to mid-1970s, and emerged at a major level in the late 1970s. The 1960s were a revolutionary time in many aspects of society in many places around the world. There was a revolution in Major League Baseball which saw the league expand, which led to the creation of the Expos. Meanwhile, the decade saw the Quiet

⁷² Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 110.

⁷³ Saywell, *The Rise of the Parti Quebecois*, 171.

Revolution which led to the creation of political parties which sought Quebec independence. Also, 1968 was an important year as Montreal was awarded an MLB franchise and the Parti Quebecois was formed. This year was the year of emergence. The 1970s saw a time of growth as the Expos, although not winning too many games, showed promise of soon becoming stronger, while the PQ began solidifying itself as a party and slowly began taking seats in the provincial government. 1976 and 1977 saw the Expos and Quebec movements begin to become major players within the league and government, respectively. The Expos moved into their brand new stadium and signed major stars who would play an important role in their finest days, while the PQ won the provincial election in 1976 and began enacting important nationalistic legislature in 1977. These events would lead to the glory days of each movement.

The Good Times

The growth and emergence of the Montreal Expos and Parti Quebecois, respectively, in the 1970s set the tone for each entity to see success in the decade and a half following. In the late 1970s the Expos began building a team around veterans and rising stars, which proved to be a good combination in the following decade, while the election of the PQ to lead the Quebec government brought the Quebec sovereignty movement onto the national stage. Thus this time period became known as an era where both the Expos and the Quebec movement saw their greatest successes.

1979 and the early 1980s saw the transformation of the Expos from an expansion franchise to pennant contenders. With stars such as Gary Carter, Andre Dawson, and Steve Rodgers, the Expos seemed destined for greatness during this time period. The 1979 season was the first sign of this happening. The Expos were either first or second in the National League East standings for the entire season, and were on top of the division on July 19 when they reacquired the beloved Rusty Staub, *Le Grande Orange*, from the Detroit Tigers for cash and a player to be named later.¹ The move not only boosted morale in Montreal, but was necessary since the Pittsburgh Pirates were trailing the Expos by just a few games and recently traded for former batting champion and all-star Bill Madlock, and the Expos needed a left-handed bat off the bench. Staub's role was to spell Tony Perez at first base and Ellis Valentine in the outfield, along with pinch-

¹ Danny Gallagher and Bill Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos* (Toronto: Scoop Press, 2005), 49.

hitting. Staub was excited to be back in Montreal and said, “Going back to a city you love so much makes the transition easier. I don’t think it’s a PR move. They hope I can help out the club on the field.”² Staub’s contribution to the team got off to a rocky start when he was injured in his first game in Los Angeles while tracking down a pop fly, but provided a boost to the team in their return home. On July 27th the Expos played their first game at home since the trade for Staub. On that day the Expos played a doubleheader against the Pirates, who were just one and a half games behind the first place Expos. 59,260 people, the second biggest crowd in the history of the franchise, came to watch Staub make his triumphant return to Montreal. Staub did not start the first game, but he did come in as a pinch hitter. Once he came out of the dugout, “The crowd cheered. Dumbfounded, Staub paused, looked around, waved and doffed his cap. Well, the wave just resulted in the cheering reaching an euphoric crescendo.”³ Staub skied a fly ball to right field on the first pitch he saw. He started the second game and went 0-for-2 with two walks. The Expos lost both games to the Pirates, but it was still a special day for the local hero. Looking back on that day Staub said, “There was a lot of love shared between the fans and me... It was a big surprise to me how much I meant to them... That’s the greatest moment in my career as far as a moment goes.”⁴

While Staub put more people in the seats in 1979, along with the new mascot Youppi (meaning “Yippee” or “Hooray” in French) who “was a huge orange figure clad in an Expos uniform with an exclamation point on his back instead of a number,”⁵ he did not produce much on the field; he posted a .267 batting average in 38 games. But, the

² Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 50.

³ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 52.

⁴ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 42.

⁵ Steven A. Riess, ed., *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 452.

Expos kept on winning and by September 24th the Expos were 94-61 and on top of the NL East standings with just five games left in the season. The final five games of the season were against the Pirates and the Phillies; they only won one game and finished the season two games out of first place. The Pirates won the division and ended up winning the World Series. Nevertheless, their 95 wins were the most in team history, and stood as the team record for the rest of the franchise's existence. But, this season was the first great one of the young franchise and the players gave the fans a lot of hope. The team had a bright future, since they were "armed with the best young core of talent in baseball, a winning manager in Dick Williams and a still-new ballpark that was starting to pack in big crowds."⁶ The franchise seemed on their way to becoming very dominant during the decade and ESPN dubbed them the "Team of the '80s."⁷

The 1980 season mirrored the previous season; the Expos were in first place with three games left, but still came up short. In the final series of the season the Expos lost two of three games to the eventual World Series champion Philadelphia Phillies at home in a emotion filled series where the team which won two games would make it to the playoffs. Even though, "the atmosphere was insane, as more than 57,000 fans packed the park for the first game,"⁸ the Expos were unable to solve the Phillies. The Expos finished just one game out of first place with 90 wins. But, the fans and experts still believed that the Expos were destined for greatness. The team was still expected to win pennants soon, and "you had 2 million plus fans coming out, at a time when those were big numbers for

⁶ Jonah Keri, "1980 Expos: The Team of the '80s," *ESPN Page 2*, <http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/page2/story?page=dynasties/expos/080226>.

⁷ Keri, "1980 Expos."

⁸ Keri, "1980 Expos."

a major league club. These were the halcyon days of the Expos,” said the former voice of the Expos Dave Van Horne.⁹

In 1981, things finally went the Expos’ way as they made franchise history in an interesting season. The season was historic because the Expos made the postseason for the first and only time in club history, but what was most interesting was how they got there. The 1981 season was a split season because of the players’ strike, which lasted from June 12th to August 9th. Major League Baseball decided that in order “to compensate, division champions were determined by a best-of-five, post-season playoff series pitting the leaders for each half of the divided season against the other. In the National League, this formula put the Phillies, winners in the first half, up against the Expos, tops in the second.”¹⁰ While the Expos finished 30-25 and four games out of first place in the first half, they beat out the St. Louis Cardinals in the second half with a 30-23 record. So, the Expos faced off against the Phillies in the National League Division series, despite the Cardinals having the best winning percentage in the division throughout the entire season. The Expos took the first two games of the best-of-five in Montreal, both by 3-1 scores. But, when the series moved to Philadelphia the Phillies took control and they won two games including Game 4 in extra innings. The fifth and final game pitted each team’s ace; the Expos sent out Steve Rogers and the Phillies sent eventual 10 time all-star, four time NL Cy Young Award Winner, and Baseball Hall of Famer Steve Carlton to the mound. On this day Rogers outdueled Carlton for the second time in the series when he pitched a complete game shutout and drove in two runs in a 3-0 win to send the Expos to the National League Championship Series against the LA

⁹ Keri, “1980 Expos.”

¹⁰ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 65.

Dodgers. The teams split the first two games in Los Angeles, and in Game 3 Steve Rogers pitched a complete game in a 4-1 victory, leaving the Expos just one win away from making it to the World Series. In Game 4 the Expos and the Dodgers were tied at one heading into the top of the eighth until Steve Garvey put Los Angeles on top with a two run homer. The Dodgers ended up winning the game 7-1 setting up the most dramatic and possibly most important game in franchise history.

Game 5 took place on October 19, which was a cold and rainy day in Montreal. For this very important game the Dodgers sent out rookie Fernando Valenzuela, who was named an all-star, NL Cy Young Award winner, NL Rookie of the Year, and was given the Silver Slugger Award all in 1981, to the mound. The Expos sent out Ray Burris to take on “Fernandomania.” Burris matched the rookie phenomenon by pitching eight innings of one run ball before he was replaced by Rogers in the ninth inning of a 1-1 game. With one out in the top of the ninth, Rick Monday came to bat for what became the most shocking moment in franchise history. Rogers threw a fast ball with a 3-1 count that Monday blasted over the right field fence to give his team a 2-1 lead. Monday said that this was, “without a question, it was the biggest highlight of my big-league career.”¹¹ The Expos threatened to tie the game in the bottom of the inning, but Bob Welch replaced Valenzuela to save the game and end the Expos’ season. This fateful day became known as “Blue Monday.” Gary Carter described that moment as “the biggest remembrance of the franchise.”¹² The Dodgers went on to win the World Series.

Few thought that 1981 would be the last time the Expos made the playoffs. Actually, many thought it was the beginning of a long tenure of winning in Montreal.

¹¹ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 69.

¹² Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 68.

Baseball publications throughout North America predicted the Expos to win the National League pennant in 1982 and many more in the near future. *The Sporting News* called the Expos their “overwhelming choice” to win the league, *Sports Illustrated*, *Inside Sport*, and *Baseball Digest* all picked the Expos to finish in first. The *Digest* also stated that “The Expos’ starting line-up may be the strongest in baseball,” and *Tommy Kay’s Big Book of Baseball* and *Ken Collier’s Baseball Book* each predicted the Expos would make it to the World Series.¹³ Thomas Boswell of *The Washington Post* was even bold enough to state that:

The Montreal Expos will win the National League East this season. They will win it again in 1983. Some things are simply ordained. Just as the Yankees and the Royals each made the play-offs five times 76 through 81, so the Expos – who are by far the most misfortune-proof team in baseball, have already begun such a reign. Nothing stands between Montreal and greatness.¹⁴

These feelings along with the excitement of the All-Star game being held at Olympic Stadium that season gave many Montrealers hope that the Expos were about to become the team of the 80s. The city of “Montreal was a hotbed of baseball interest in the early 1980s.”¹⁵

Consequently, there were high expectations for the Expos following their loss in the NLCS in 1981. The fans were also excited considering that “home attendance surpassed 2.3 million in 1982 and 1983. The Expos averaged 28,600 fans per game, the most in team history.”¹⁶ However, the promising 1982 season did not start off well for the Expos; some hitters fell into deep slumps and there was controversy in the locker room. Second baseman Rodney Scott was cut by the organization because according to

¹³ Dan Turner, *The Expos Inside Out*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983), 34.

¹⁴ Turner, *The Expos Inside Out*, 35.

¹⁵ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 452.

¹⁶ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 452.

John McHale, Scott was “a disruptive influence and, moreover, he had evidence that Scott smoked marijuana every night.”¹⁷ As a result, pitcher Bill Lee got very upset. Once he learned that Scott had been released he went to a bar where he drank while the Expos played a game. He decided to show up to the stadium during the seventh inning and “[told] Fanning he was more-or-less a dictator and [threw] his ripped-up Expos jersey at him.”¹⁸ Lee was cut the next day and fined. By July 11, the Expos were 43-42 and sat in fourth place in the division. “There was booing now, and the scene was being set for more booing later. These fans weren’t your three-times-a-year-to-the-ballpark-if-the-weather’s-nice variety... they were not happy.”¹⁹

But, the booing in Montreal halted for one day, the day the MLB All-Star game took place, July 13. Not only did the game take place at Olympic Stadium, which marked the first time the Midsummer Classic was held outside of the United States, but five Expos were on the National League team. Steve Rogers, Andre Dawson, Tim Lincecum, and Gary Carter were all named starters, while Al Oliver was slated as a reserve. Also, Manager Jim Fanning was picked as a coach for the NL team.²⁰ In front of 59,057 fans the National League defeated the American League team 4-1. The Expos players shined in the exposition: Rodgers was the winning pitcher, Dawson got a hit, Raines stole a base, Oliver went 2-for-2, and Carter drove in a run. Some feel that “the 1982 All-Star Game represented the best of times for the Montreal Expos... Aside from their 1981 post-

¹⁷ Turner, *The Expos Inside Out*, 53.

¹⁸ Turner, *The Expos Inside Out*, 54.

¹⁹ Turner, *The Expos Inside Out*, 57.

²⁰ Joel Kirstein, “A Montreal All-Star Memory,” *Bleacher Report*, <http://bleacherreport.com/articles/217833-an-montreal-expos-all-star-memory>.

season run, hosting the mid-summer classic was one of the greatest moments in Expos history.”²¹

The 1982 season was statistically a good season for the Expos; the fans supported the team and some players had great seasons. In a home series in mid-August against the Phillies, 57,694 attended the final game of the series and 211,600 came to the stadium during the series, the third biggest total for a four game series in league history.²² On the field, Oliver led the NL in batting average (.331) and RBIs (109), Rogers won 19 games while leading the NL with a 2.40 ERA, and Raines led the NL with 78 stolen bases.²³ But, even with all of this tremendous talent, the Expos finished disappointingly in third place in the division with an 86-76 record. From 1979 to 1982 the Expos held the best record in the National League at 331-261 (eight and a half games in front of the second place Phillies), but had just one division title under their belt. Carter believed that the team’s inability to win “was sort of the demise of the franchise... We didn’t win those championships during the prime years, when we had a real chance.”²⁴

In 1983, Bill Virdon became manager but the team went backwards as they finished 82-80 and in third place. The hope and excitement that existed in the previous years dissipated: “by then, the middle infield was aging and unproductive, Rogers was approaching his mid-30s, and the youth movement that once galvanized the team was fading away.”²⁵ In 1984 the team fell under the .500 mark for the first time in a few years, falling to 78-83 and fifth place. Then before the 1985 season the Expos traded

²¹ Kevin Glew, “1982 All-Star Game Was One Of The Greatest Moments in Expos History,” *Cooperstown in Canada: Kevin Glew’s Canadian Baseball History Blog*, <http://kevinglew.wordpress.com/2010/07/12/1982-all-star-game-was-one-of-the-greatest-moments-in-expos-history/>.

²² Turner, *The Expos Inside Out*, 141.

²³ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 453.

²⁴ Keri, “1980 Expos.”

²⁵ Keri, “1980 Expos.”

Carter to the New York Mets, which “signaled the end of the road for the Team of the ‘80s.”²⁶

The next few years were up-and-down years for the franchise. Under manager Buck Rodgers, the Expos finished 84-77 in 1985, fell to 78-83 in 1986, but rose to 91-71 in 1987. The Expos finished 81-81 in the following two seasons but they did not finish any higher than third place in the National League East standings. In 1989 the Expos were very promising since they were in the thick of the playoff hunt in August and early September before faltering late in the season. This disappointment prompted Charles Bronfman to sell his shares of the team.²⁷ The team was sold to a group of businessmen led by Claude Brochu, who was named the president of the Expos after John McHale stepped down in 1986. Brochu set out in 1989 to find businessmen, specifically Quebec businessmen, to buy the team which was valued at around \$100 million. He stated that his motivation “was to keep the Expos in Montreal, in the hands of Quebecers – one of the those Quebecers being me... Bronfman would have no other alternative but to offer the club to American interests who would probably want to move it to a U.S. City. I absolutely had to succeed, or it would have been the end of baseball in Montreal.”²⁸ A part of this group included Jacques Menard and Labatt Breweries. Brochu also put \$2 million into buying the team after he was loaned the money by Bronfman. The sale of the Expos to this new Brochu-led consortium, who’s “membership represented a cross-section of elite among Quebec businessmen, a group often referred to, informally, as

²⁶ Keri, “1980 Expos.”

²⁷ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 136.

²⁸ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 143.

‘Quebec, Inc.’”²⁹ was announced on November 30, 1990. The sale was approved by the NL and AI on June 12, 1991.

In 1990 the Expos’ record moved back up to 85-77 thanks to having the best pitching in the league, but fell once again the following season to 71-90 when Rodgers was replaced as manager by Tom Runnells.³⁰ Also, the 1991 season marked the first time since 1976 that attendance dipped below one million people. The collapse of a concrete beam at Olympic Stadium that caused the Expos to play their final 13 home games of the season on the road did not help those number either. The only bright spot of the 1991 season was pitcher Dennis Martinez who threw a perfect game and led the NL in ERA. But, the future still looked promising, in 1991 *The Sporting News* named the Expos farm system to be the best in baseball.³¹

Prior to the 1992 season, a few shake ups were made with the Expos’ product on the field. Slugging first baseman Andres Galarraga was traded to St. Louis for Ken Hill, Dave Martinez was traded in a package for John Wetteland, and Gary Carter was reacquired off of waivers. Another major move was made early in the season when Runnells was fired after starting off 17-20 and was replaced by Felipe Alou. Alou had been an outfielder and a coach with the Expos. The first Dominican-born manager in MLB history was “known for his patience and determination... [and] was an ideal choice to lead the young struggling Expos.”³² Behind the productive play of rising stars such as outfielders Larry Walker, who was born in British Columbia, and Moises Alou, who was Felipe’s son, starter Ken Hill, closer John Wetteland, and others the Expos were 70-55

²⁹ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 144.

³⁰ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 453.

³¹ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 145.

³² Michael Goodman, *The History of the Montreal Expos* (Minnesota: Creative Education, 1999), 27.

under Alou and finished the season at 87-75, which was good enough for a second place finish. Attendance also rose during the 1992 season with 1.7 million people coming to Olympic Stadium during the season.³³ The following year Alou led the Expos to a 94-68 record, which was good for another second place finish and their best since 1979. While these two seasons were very successful, they were overshadowed by the Toronto Blue Jays, the second MLB franchise awarded in Canada (1977), which won the World Series in 1992 and 1993.

The beginning of the 1994 season saw more shakeups to the Montreal lineup. Cliff Floyd, who was Montreal's first round pick in the 1991 draft, was promoted from the minors to starting first base, and fan favorite second baseman Delino DeShields was traded to the Dodgers for a relatively unknown young pitcher named Pedro Martinez. This trade was criticized at the time, but later became recognized as one of the greatest baseball trades of all time. Baseball guru Peter Gammons named the DeShields-Martinez trade as the fourth greatest trade in baseball history.³⁴ Even though the Expos' roster was criticized by the media and fans, Brochu and the team proved them wrong.

As the season went on, it became apparent that the Expos had a collection of some of the best hitters and pitchers in the game. Their outfield combination of Walker, Alou, and Marquis Grissom was one of the most productive in baseball, while Hill, Martinez, Wetteland, and Jeff Fassero anchored the pitching staff. Brochu stated that, "as the summer heated up, it became more and more apparent we were the team to beat. Fans couldn't believe what they were seeing... The group of players appearing nightly at Olympic Stadium was the finest baseball team Montreal had ever known, without a doubt

³³ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 146.

³⁴ Claude R. Brochu, Daniel Poulin, and Mario Bolduc, *My Turn At Bat: The Sad Saga Of The Expos*, trans. Stephanie Myles (Toronto: ECW Press, 2002), 80.

the best team in baseball in 1994 – in either league.”³⁵ In the 1994 All-Star game, Alou, Grissom, Hill, shortstop Wil Cordero, and catcher Darrin Fletcher represented the Expos. During the game, Hill pitched two shutout innings, Grissom hit a home run, and Alou drove in the game-winning run in the tenth inning to give the NL the victory. After losing three-of-four to open up the second half of the season, the Expos went on a tear. From July 18 to August 11 the team went 20-3, which gave them the a six game lead over the second place Atlanta Braves and 74-40 overall record, which was the team’s best record since the franchise’s inception in 1969 and the best record in the major leagues. With 48 games left in the regular season and the team running away from the competition, it looked as if the Expos were destined to make their first World Series and perhaps winning it all.

The 1970s had also laid the groundwork for the Parti Quebecois and their push towards sovereignty for Quebec in the 1980s. The next step for the PQ was to actually launch their plan for a referendum calling for the commencement of talks to make Quebec an independent nation. Party leader Rene Levesque led the preparations and created a plan. Levesque stated that, “We have no intention of first obtaining sovereignty and then negotiating an association... We do not want to end, but rather to radically transform, our union with the rest of Canada, so that, in the future, our relations will be based on full and complete equality.”³⁶ This upset some in the party since the sovereignty of Quebec relied on negotiations with Canada rather than the voters of the province.

³⁵ Brochu, Poulin, and Bolduc, *My Turn At Bat*, 80-81.

³⁶ Graham Fraser, *Rene Levesque & The Parti Quebecois in Power* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1984), 171.

Levesque's plan also received a major setback when Robert Burns, who led the left-wing of the PQ, resigned on May 17, 1979. Once this happened an interview with Burns was released in which he said that "he had predicted that the government would lose the referendum and the next election... He felt Levesque was incapable of working as part of a team, that things were sliding to the right, that there was no point in fighting on at considerable risk to his own health."³⁷ Just five days after Burns' resignation:

Joe Clark was elected prime minister of a minority Progressive Conservative government, with virtually no support in Quebec. It was exactly the result Levesque had wanted... It was part of what Levesque's staff hoped could be 'a bridge to the right' that would enable them to reach out to the traditional conservative nationalist constituency during the referendum campaign.³⁸

Levesque now felt ready to plan the referendum. On June 1, the PQ held their party convention at Laval University to discuss the logistics of the referendum. The referendum process was led by Claude Morin. If the referendum passed he would be the hero, and if it didn't he was the one to blame.

The Quebec government made their proposal of constitutional change publicly with their white paper entitled in English, *Quebec-Canada: A New Deal. The Quebec government proposal for a new partnership between equals: sovereignty-association* on November 1. A part of this document states:

If we are really looking for a new agreement between Quebec and the rest of Canada, it is absolutely essential to replace federalism by another constitutional formula. The search for a new formula must be carried out with due consideration for the fundamental, legitimate preoccupations of Quebecers, who want to communicate and talk directly and freely with their neighbours and with other nations, who do not want to destroy Canada or to be completely separate from it,

³⁷ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 181.

³⁸ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 182.

who wish to improve their situation, and who are determined to see that the changes to come are made democratically and without disorder.³⁹

In this paper it was suggested that Quebec was to become politically sovereign, with their own citizenship, and be a member of NATO and the United Nations. There would also be agencies linking Quebec and Canada that covered common currency, circulation of goods, etc. During the week of the convention however, the premiers of British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Ontario said they would not discuss sovereignty-association.

December 1979 saw a major shakeup in the government when the Clark government fell, which made this time the perfect opportunity for referendum. Just a few days later Morin, Louis Bernard, and Daniel Latouche wrote the draft questions for the cabinet. It stated (in English):

The Quebec government has made known its proposal to negotiate with representatives of the rest of Canada a new agreement founded on the equality in law of the partners. Such an agreement would permit Quebec to achieve at the same time a double objective: to acquire political sovereignty, and maintain close economic and monetary ties with the rest of Canada. The results of the negotiations... would be submitted to the population through a referendum.⁴⁰

After some deliberation and discussion the official question declared (in English):

The Government of Quebec has made public its proposal to negotiate a new agreement with the rest of Canada, based on the equality of nations; this agreement would enable Quebec to acquire the exclusive power to make its laws, administer its taxes and establish relations abroad – in other words, sovereignty – and at the same time, to maintain with Canada an economic association including a common currency; any change in political status resulting from these negotiations will be submitted to the people through a referendum; ON THESE

³⁹ Quebec's Positions On Constitutional And Intergovernmental Issues: From 1936 to March 2001, *Quebec-Canada: A New Deal: The Quebec Government Proposal For a New Partnership Between Equals: Sovereignty-Association*, http://www.saic.gouv.qc.ca/publications/Positions/Part3/Document11_en.pdf.

⁴⁰ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 205.

TERMS, DO YOU AGREE TO GIVE THE GOVERNMENT OF QUEBEC THE MANDATE TO NEGOTIATE THE PROPOSED AGREEMENT BETWEEN QUEBEC AND CANADA?⁴¹

After the question was approved and became a referendum in the following year, the campaigning took place. The first step for the PQ was a televised debate in the National Assembly. In the debate, the PQ was well prepared and flawless, beating the less-prepared and ineffective arguments of the Liberals. In March 1980, Trudeau was sworn back in as Prime Minister after his defeat by Joe Clark in the 1979 election, and polls showed that the “No” vote had a slight margin in campaign polls taken around that time.

Meanwhile, the “Yes” campaign suffered some major setbacks during the campaign. One of the biggest came on March 9 when cabinet member Lise Payette criticized female supporters of the “No” vote and labeled them as *Yvettes*, which was a term based “after a character in a school-book reader. She was exhorting women to get out of the kitchen, to break free of their confining roles. The women on the other side were a bunch of Yvettes, she said. Claude Ryan had married one.”⁴² This deeply offended Claude Ryan, the head of the Liberal party. Payette’s statement tremendously damaged the PQ, as woman supporting Ryan took offense and began having public demonstrations in opposition to Payette and the “Yes” vote. This led to many political rallies, the most famous being the “Brunch de Yvettes” at the Chateau Frontenac. Fraser believes that this blunder, “provided exactly the note of solidarity and indignation that the No campaigners had been looking for.”⁴³ Another damaging event to the PQ was Trudeau’s speech on May 14 at the Paul Sauve Arena. In the speech he stated:

⁴¹ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 207.

⁴² L. Ian MacDonald, *From Bourassa to Bourassa* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 101.

⁴³ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 224.

I know that I can make the most solemn commitment that following a No, we will start immediately the mechanism of renewing the Constitution, and we will not stop until it is done... We are staking our heads, we Quebec MPs, because we are telling Quebecers to vote No, and we are saying to you in other provinces that we will not accept having a No interpreted as an indication that everything is fine, and everything can stay as it was before. We want change, we are staking our seats to have change.⁴⁴

What Trudeau is saying here is that he planned on reforming the Constitution if the “No” side was victorious. Many believed that this change would have to do with Quebec’s sovereignty. Some Quebecers were influenced by this speech and felt that maybe voting “No” would be the safer way to go. Fraser notes that the speech was, “interpreted by many as a turning point in the campaign.”⁴⁵

Six days later the vote took place and 85.6% of the Quebec population participated. Most of the francophones supported the “Yes” vote, but non-francophone votes were mainly “No” votes. The referendum was defeated; 59.6% voted “No,” while 40.4% voted “Yes.”⁴⁶ After the defeat Levesque said to his supporters, “If I have understood you properly, you are saying ‘Wait until next time’... Well, in the meantime, with the same serenity, we have to swallow this one. It’s not easy.”⁴⁷ He then challenged the federal government to live up to the promises to Quebec that they made during their campaign. Even though the PQ lost the referendum they were still re-elected, winning the popular vote and 80 seats in the Assembly of Quebec which was nine more seats than the previous election in 1976.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 227.

⁴⁵ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 227.

⁴⁶ John Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), 327.

⁴⁷ Fraser, *Rene Levesque*, 235.

⁴⁸ Terrence McKenna, “An Encore For The Parti Quebecois,” *CBC Digital Archives*, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, http://archives.cbc.ca/politics/provincial_territorial_politics/topics/651-3575/.

In 1982 Trudeau worked on changes to the Canadian Constitution, called the Constitution Act of 1982. But, these changes had nothing to do with Quebec sovereignty since it dealt primarily with the “patriation,” meaning the changing of the constitution by bringing constitutional power to Canada. This meant Canada no longer had to abide by British law or the Parliament of the United Kingdom. A part of these changes was the addition of a Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which intended to give equal civil and political rights to all Canadians. The Quebec government did not support this new constitution because they felt it isolated them. Even though the Act was not approved by Quebec, Trudeau and Queen Elizabeth II signed the act on April 17, 1982.⁴⁹ Quebec has not formally accepted this enactment, but is still subject to it because they are a province of Canada. Quebec political scientist Leon Dion stated his disapproval in saying:

The referendum failure and the incapacity to prevent the repatriation of the constitution without the approval of Quebec has reduced – at least for the moment – to near impotence those who oppose the legitimacy of the Canadian state. Quebec must obtain an absolute right of veto on all amendments to the Canadian constitution... English Canada places great importance in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. That suits it... For several years, we have had our own Charter of Rights. It suits us.⁵⁰

Trudeau resigned as prime minister and the leader of the Liberal Party in 1984. John Turner replaced him as party leader, but lost to Brian Mulroney and the Progressive Conservative Party in a landslide during the election in September. Levesque supported Mulroney, which upset some of the more radical members of the PQ. The support of Mulroney, combined with Levesque’s announcement that he would not fight “the issue of independence while maintaining sovereignty-association as the party’s official raison

⁴⁹ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 328.

⁵⁰ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 329.

d'être"⁵¹ in the next provincial election caused a number of cabinet members to resign from the party, including Jacques Parizeau. This strife eventually led to the resignation of Levesque as the leader of the PQ on June 20, 1985. A few months later, Pierre Marc Johnson was named the new leader of the PQ. In December 1985, Johnson and the PQ were beaten in the provincial election by Robert Bourassa and the Liberals. Over a four year period, the PQ's number of seats in the Quebec government dropped from 80 to 23. Dickinson and Young state that, "the defeat of the Parti Quebecois in 1985 signaled an important shift in political direction. Politics in the late 1980s was characterized by greater conservatism, by a transfer of power from intellectuals to business, and by a decline in the importance of federal and provincial investment for francophone advancement."⁵²

Under Bourassa and Mulroney, emphasis was placed on federalism and encouraging Quebec to accept the Canadian Constitution. In this regard, Bourassa suggested five conditions to be added into the Constitution which were, the "recognition of Quebec as a distinct society... additional Quebec powers over immigration... limits to federal spending in Quebec... a Quebec veto of constitutional changes or the right to opt out of them with compensation... [and] Quebec participation in the appointment of Supreme Court judges."⁵³ These amendments were contained in what was called the Meech Lake Accord. According to Patrick Monahan, "Canadians had been told to circle the date on their political calendars: 23 June 1990 was a day of reckoning – the date that the Meech Lake Accord had to be ratified by all provincial legislatures or else fall into

⁵¹ Daniel Latouche, "Levesque, Rene," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=a1ARTA0004657>.

⁵² Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 355.

⁵³ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 355.

constitutional oblivion... 23 June would likely prove to be the most fateful and important date of Canada's 123-year political life."⁵⁴ In order for the Accord to be ratified, it had to be approved by Parliament and the legislatures of all the Canadian provinces. Once the Quebec government approved it on June 23, 1987 the other provinces had exactly three years to do the same. Some politicians, like Pierre Trudeau, were against "the recognition of Quebec as a distinct society" since they felt this amendment would give Quebec too much power. While all the premiers agreed to the Accord in early June 1990, it still had to be approved by the legislatures. The Accord fell apart on the final day of ratification when Elijah Harper, a member of the Manitoba legislature:

Withheld his consent and ultimately the Accord did not come to a vote in that province. On the same day, wishing to allow Manitoba time, the federal minister responsible for federal-provincial relations suggested extension by 3 months of the ratification date... necessitating re-ratification in Quebec. This dissatisfied the premier of Newfoundland, who then did not bring the Accord to a vote in his legislature on that day – ultimately delivering yet another blow to the Meech Lake Accord and ensuring its disintegration.⁵⁵

The failure of the Accord, "led to renewed Quebec nationalist demonstrations on Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, 24 June 1990, and to the formation of the Bloc Quebecois as a federal party."⁵⁶ This party was founded by Lucien Bouchard, who resigned from the federal cabinet after the failure of the Meech Lake Accord and founded the BQ "as the federal vehicle to facilitate Quebec's evolution towards sovereignty."⁵⁷

The following year, the Liberal Party of Quebec responded to the collapse of the Accord by issuing the Allaire Report, which called for a referendum on the restructuring

⁵⁴ Patrick J. Monahan, *Meech Lake: The Inside Story* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 3.

⁵⁵ Gerald L. Gall, "Meech Lake Accord," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0005208>.

⁵⁶ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 357.

⁵⁷ Robert A. Young, *The Secession of Quebec and The Future of Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 178.

of Quebec's relationship with Canada. This report suggested, "Quebec's exclusive jurisdiction would be recognized, and which would limit the invasion of the federal government into areas of provincial concern such as health and education. While foreign policy, justice, immigration, and financial institutions would be shared, the federal government would be essentially restricted to defense, customs, and money."⁵⁸ This led to the formation of another proposal called the Charlottetown Accord, which was agreed upon by federal and provincial government representatives in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island on August 28, 1992. The Charlottetown Accord once again tried to resolve the dispute between federal and provincial powers. This Accord once again asked for the province of Quebec to be recognized as a distinct society. Parties primarily interested in Quebec sovereignty like the PQ and BQ were against the Accord since it did not give them full freedom.

The Charlottetown Accord was put to a national referendum on October 26, 1992, and it stated, "Do you agree that the Constitution of Canada should be renewed on the basis of the agreement reached on August 28, 1992?"⁵⁹ Once again, the Accord was defeated with 54% of the Canadian population voting "No." The referendum was approved in New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Ontario, Prince Edward Island, and the Northwest Territories, while Nova Scotia, Quebec, and the four western provinces declared "No," as well as nation-wide majority.⁶⁰ While both of these Accords failed, they did stir up a dormant nationalist feeling in Quebec during the late 1980s and early

⁵⁸ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 356.

⁵⁹ Gerald L. Gall, "Charlottetown Accord, The," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0010729>.

⁶⁰ Gerald-A. Beaudoin, "The Charlottetown Accord and Central Institutions," in *The Charlottetown Accord, the Referendum, and the Future of Canada*, ed. Kenneth McRoberts and Patrick Monahan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 79.

1990s. Dickinson and Young say that, “the constitutional crises from Meech Lake in 1987 to the defeat of the Charlottetown Accord in 1992 rekindled Quebec nationalism.”⁶¹

The new rise of Quebec nationalism was seen in the 1993 federal election and the 1994 Quebec provincial election. The federal election was the first for the Bloc Quebecois, who won 54 seats becoming the official opposition, meaning the second largest party represented in the House of Commons, to the Liberals.⁶² The BQ became the first party in favor of secession to be the official opposition of Canada, as the Liberals or Conservatives have traditionally been the oppositions. In the provincial election, Parizeau and the PQ won 77 seats and 44.75% of the popular vote just a small margin more than Daniel Johnson Jr. and the Liberals.⁶³ These successes set the stage for what looked to be the perfect storm for finally achieving Quebec sovereignty.

The timeframe between 1979 and late 1994 saw the Montreal Expos and the Quebec secession movement reach heights that neither had ever seen before. Both matters were recognized on a national scale and came very close to reaching their ultimate goal. Once again, the Expos and the movement followed a very similar timeline. The early 1980s saw the Expos become a power in the National League and get just one game away from the World Series, while the Parti Quebecois became a political force in Canada and put in a good effort in trying to achieve sovereignty for Quebec. Both entities looked like they were on their way to reaching their goal in the mid-1980s, but there was

⁶¹ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 356.

⁶² Pierre Desrochers and Eric Duhaime, “A Secessionist’s View of Quebec’s Options,” in *Secession, State, and Liberty*, ed. David Gordon (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 238.

⁶³ Desrochers and Duhaime, “A Secessionist’s View,” 238.

a decline. The Expos began to decline and fall as a NL power, while a rift in the PQ caused many cabinet members, including Levesque, to resign which led to the PQ losing the provincial election in 1985. The late-1980s and early 1990s though saw the reemergence of both parties. The Expos began to improve their record and compete in the National League Eastern division, while Quebec nationalism increased due to the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords. 1993 and 1994 saw the foundation being built for possible great things to come for the Expos and Quebec sovereignty. In 1993 the Expos won 94 games, the second most in franchise history, while the newly formed Bloc Quebecois became the official opposition in the federal government. The following year the Expos had the best record in the MLB through August and were destined to reach their first World Series. In September 1994 the PQ came back to power in Quebec under the leadership of Jacques Parizeau. The stage was set for both entities to reach their ultimate goal. Nothing could stop them now... or so they thought.

Dreams Smashed

The events in the early 1990s set the stage for the climax for both the Montreal Expos and the Quebec independence movement. The Expos had built their team into a contender through their farm system and by August 1994 had the best record in the National League, were all but guaranteed to make their first playoff appearance since 1981, and were the favorites to represent the NL in the World Series. The failures of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords rekindled Quebec nationalistic feelings in the province. Then in 1993 the newly created Bloc Quebecois became the official opposition in the federal government, which was followed by the Parti Quebecois returning to power in Quebec after a provincial election in 1994. The momentum for a second referendum was building. Both movements seemed to have the perfect formula to achieve their goal, until both their dreams were smashed in heartbreaking fashion.

August 12, 1994 is a date that will live in infamy for Montreal Expos supporters, and is a day that has been compared to Rick Monday's homerun in Game 5 of the 1981 National League Championship Series. On that day all Major League Baseball players went on strike, stopping the baseball season. There were hopes that the season would resume, but after negotiations failed, on September 14 acting-commissioner of MLB Bud Selig cancelled the rest of the season including the playoffs and the World Series. This was the first time the World Series was cancelled in 90 years. On that day, Dwight Smith

of Canadian Broadcasting Company explained the issue between the players and the owners:

The issue remains the salary cap. The owners simply want to put cost certainty into the game, into their pay rolls, and into the way they budget the game. The players want to remain in a free market system... and they don't want to give back any of the gains they've already made in terms of free agency and the money, the escalating salaries. They like things the way it is. They don't want to give any money back to the owners, and they certainly don't want their salaries capped.¹

The Expos team was dubbed "The Best Team In Baseball"² during the '94 season, but no one was able to see the final result. The Expos players were upset with this and knew that their chances of doing something special were wiped out because of the strike. Outfielder Larry Walker said, "A lot of things about the strike hurt... But having that great season wasted is something I don't think I'll ever get over."³ Expos General Manager Dan Duquette felt bad for the Expos and their fans stating, "It was a personal tragedy for these players who missed their chance to shine. It was a tragedy for the baseball fans in Montreal because this was the best team that they ever had."⁴ Reliever John Wetteland agreed saying, "Even though we didn't win a World Series, and we never won a play-off game, however in '94 I still maintain we would have won the World Series."⁵

The team that was most affected by strike was the Expos. Not only was their dream season destroyed, but the strike marked the date that the Expos began to unravel as

¹ Alannah Campbell and Bob Oxley, "1994: 'Fall Classic' Falls Victim to Baseball Strike," *CBC Digital Archives*, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, http://archives.cbc.ca/sports/business_sports/topics/1430-9214/.

² Danny Gallagher and Bill Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos* (Toronto: Scoop Press, 2005), 193.

³ Michael Goodman, *The History of the Montreal Expos* (Minnesota: Creative Education, 1999), 27.

⁴ MLB.com, "1994 Montreal Expos featured in MLB Productions' Triumph and Tragedy on MLB Network, Sunday, August 15," http://mlb.mlb.com/news/article.jsp?ymd=20100812&content_id=13373430&vkey=&fext=.jsp.

⁵ MLB.com, "1994 Expos featured in MLB Productions' Triumph and Tragedy."

a franchise. Throughout the early 1990s the franchise had struggled monetarily, and hoped that the team's success in 1994 would bring in some much needed funds. These funds included ticket sales during the pennant race in September, playoff tickets, merchandise, and World Series revenue. But, with the strike this money never materialized. The day the remainder of the season was cancelled Brochu announced, "Our anticipated losses as a result of the cancellation of the season itself are going to be in the area of \$10 and \$15 million. I would expect that with the postseason we'll lose over \$20 million."⁶ Tom Perry of CBC stated that, "Brochu says the Expos will start trying to find ways to make up the losses. He's talking about cutting the team's payroll... The concern is that if the Expos trade their stars and the team isn't a contender next year, people won't come out to see them. Some financial analysts have suggested that this could sink the team."⁷

And that is exactly what happened. With money tight, the Expos began a fire sale of their best players. Brochu states that, "had I kept all the players from the 1994 team, we would have lost \$25 million in 1995, which could have increased our accumulated losses to \$40 million in all. The club, quite simply, would have been flirting with bankruptcy."⁸ So, the Expos and new appointed General Manager Kevin Malone traded away their three highest players: Wetteland to the New York Yankees, Ken Hill to the St. Louis Cardinals, and Marquis Grissom to the Atlanta Braves. Also, Larry Walker was allowed to leave as a free agent. While some opposed the fire sale, Rejean Tremblay of *La Presse* agreed with it saying, "Common sense says Claude Brochu did the right thing

⁶ Campbell and Oxley, "1994."

⁷ Campbell and Oxley, "1994."

⁸ Claude R. Brochu, Daniel Poulin, and Mario Bolduc, *My Turn At Bat: The Sad Saga Of The Expos*, trans. Stephanie Myles (Toronto: ECW Press, 2002), 86.

in selling his players and gambling on the eternal rebuilding of Nos Z' Amours. There was nothing else he could do." Tremblay also criticized the Expos fans for their lack of support of the team saying, "Montreal is a great major-league city; it is the fans that are minor-league."⁹ After the 1994 season, attendance dipped tremendously, even though attendance wasn't that high in the 1994 season. The Expos were averaging 22,390 fans per game in 1994 before the strike, but beginning in 1995 the Expos never reached more than 20,000 fans per game again.¹⁰

The strike ended on April 2, 1995. The new season was shortened to 144 games since the season began on April 25. The Expos' payroll was reduced to \$10.5 million, which proved detrimental to the team's performance on the field as they finished with a 66-78 record, good for dead-last in the National League East and the second worst record in the NL. After the season, Malone resigned as general manager saying, "I'm in the building business, not in the dismantling business."¹¹ The team's performance improved the following season, finishing second in their division with a 88-73 record, but stars Moises Alou and Mel Rojas left for free agency after the season. The Expos would not have another winning record until 2002. Also, from 1998 to 2004 the Expos never drew more than 1 million fans to Olympic Stadium, except in the 2003 season when they broke 1 million people by 25,640.¹²

The lack of fans, a poor product on the field, and falling revenues plagued the Expos after the '94 strike. There needed to be a way to turn things around. Claude

⁹ Brochu, *My Turn At Bat*, 87.

¹⁰ Baseball Almanac, "Washington Nationals Attendance Data," <http://www.baseball-almanac.com/teams/montattn.shtml>.

¹¹ "Sports People: Baseball; Expos' G.M. Decides to Go," *New York Times*, October 3, 1995.

¹² Steven A. Riess, ed., *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 456.

Brochu's plan was to build a new downtown stadium for the Expos. He told vice-premier and minister of finance for Quebec Bernard Landry, "There is only one solution... the construction of a new downtown stadium."¹³ Brochu felt that stadiums like Olympic Stadium did not suit baseball anymore stating, "those huge, very costly buildings no longer correspond to baseball's economy at the end of the century. By the time we were considering leaving Olympic Stadium, several American teams had already made a similar leap."¹⁴ Teams such as the Chicago White Sox, Baltimore Orioles, Cleveland Indians, Atlanta Braves, Colorado Rockies, and Texas Rangers had built "renaissance" stadiums around this time that "revived the atmosphere of the old ballparks while taking advantage of modern technology."¹⁵ According to Brochu, "A downtown ballpark would have generated an additional \$50 million for the Club and keep in mind that revenue sharing... increased from \$60 million in 1996 to \$300 million, of which the Expos would have continued to receive a big chunk."¹⁶

Brochu first approached Landry about a new stadium on November 28, 1996 in Quebec City. Meanwhile, Brochu's partners were speaking out against him and sabotaging his efforts to try to get a new stadium. Jean Contu said on the radio that Brochu, "is no longer the man for the job... he has to go, he has to step aside."¹⁷ Things looked good at first for this new stadium that would have cost \$350 million when the stadium plan was released on June 20, 1997. The stadium was to be called Labatt Park designed by AXOR Group of Montreal, and built on the former site of the Grand Trunk Railway Bonaventure Station that was bordered by Rue St. Jacques, Rue de la Montagne,

¹³ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 194.

¹⁴ Brochu, *My Turn At Bat*, 96.

¹⁵ Brochu, *My Turn At Bat*, 96.

¹⁶ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 196.

¹⁷ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 197.

Rue Notre Dame, and Rue Peel.¹⁸ But, there were opponents to Brochu's plan, specifically Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard, who said "When we're closing hospitals, I'm not sure when we should be opening stadiums... A stadium? We already have a big one, which cost a few dollars and isn't finished yet."¹⁹ Brochu responded in July saying, "The Expos cannot survive at Olympic Stadium... We have the choice of a new ballpark downtown or no ball club."²⁰ In a meeting with Bouchard on September 2, 1998, the Premier told Brochu and his staff members that the government would not support the building of a new ballpark. Brochu believes that "this moment was the third of the great misfortunes to befall the Expos in their history after their elimination by the Dodgers on Blue Monday in 1981 and the players' strike in 1994."²¹

A little over a month later, on October 7, Brochu stepped down. In a meeting with his other partners, Brochu agreed to a plan in which he "would step down... It provided for a transition period of 150 days... during which the partners would re-establish the stadium project, seek refinancing, and select a new majority partner. Brochu would continue to run the team, but would withdraw once 'everything was in place to ensure that the Expos would stay in Montreal for the next twenty years.'²² Unfortunately, things did not go well for the "relaunch committee" right off the bat. On February 4, 1999 Bob DuPuy of MLB's legal department wrote to Jacques Menard, who was now in control of the Expos, and Brochu:

¹⁸ Jeff Stuart, *Blue Mondays: The Long Goodbye of the Montreal Expos* (Baltimore: Publish America, 2008), 41.

¹⁹ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 199.

²⁰ "Expos Want New Stadium," *New York Times*, June 21, 1997.

²¹ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 203.

²² Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 204.

We are disappointed that there appears to be no progress with respect to government commitment, the zoning and municipal tax issues so critical to the development of the stadium have not gotten closer to resolution, the new investor base is not yet committed nor is it at this point particularly expansive, the revised stadium concepts have not yet been reviewed and we do not know if they will be acceptable or adequate to you or to Baseball.²³

Menard and the “relaunch committee” was now under major pressure as things got worse.

The consortium tried to blame the marketing department, but in doing so they were seen as bullies. They needed a miracle to get back on track, and they thought they had it when Jeffrey Loria, an art dealer from New York, became the franchises’ lead investor on December 9, 1999.

But, with Loria in charge matters only got worse in Montreal. On August 23, 2000 he “surrendered the lease for the land that was earmarked for a new stadium, thus putting another nail in the franchise’s coffin in Montreal.”²⁴ Also, attendance plummeted and by the end of the 2001 season only 2,800 people attended games on average, which was about 6% of Olympic Stadium’s capacity.²⁵ Losses grew and Loria began putting his own personal money towards team operating expenses, “which set off a clause in the partnership agreement that permitted him to dilute the other owners’ shares down to six percent.”²⁶ By the end of the 2001 his stake in the Expos increased from 28% to 93%, while attendance hit a franchise low 640,000 fans.²⁷ He did not help his own cause as he was unable to sign a TV deal to broadcast the Expos’ games, so “the only media outlet in 2000 was a French radio station.”²⁸ Riess also notes that, “almost no marketing was done

²³ Brochu, *My Turn At Bat*, 191.

²⁴ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 237.

²⁵ Gallagher and Young, *Remembering The Montreal Expos*, 239.

²⁶ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 455.

²⁷ Brian Borawski, “National Attention: The Expos’ 35-year Journey to Washington D.C. (Part 1),” *Hardball Times*, <http://www.hardballtimes.com/main/article/national-attention-the-expos-35-year-journey-to-washington-dc-part-1/>.

²⁸ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 455.

to bring fans to Olympic Stadium... [and] the Expos were almost absent from the media, both French and English.”²⁹ On November 6, 2001, the 30 Major League Baseball owners got together and voted to contract or eliminate two franchises before the start of the 2002 season by the vote of 28-2. The two nay votes were said to be from the Expos and the Minnesota Twins. Then just a few months later on February 1, 2002, “Loria sold the team to MLB for \$120 million and used the money to buy the Florida Marlins for \$158.5 million.”³⁰ Loria took everything with him from Montreal including scouting reports, office equipment, computers, staff members, and manager Jeff Torborg. The Expos were left with nothing and were now destined to contract, meaning the franchise would disband and all their players would be distributed to the other teams, or move to another city.

Prior to the 2002 season, Tony Taveras, a former executive for the Anaheim Angels, was named team president, and former New York Mets senior assistant general manager Omar Minaya was named general manager. Hall of Famer Frank Robinson was named the team’s manager. In August 2002, the MLB owners and players association signed a collective bargaining agreement, which as a part of the agreement said that there would be no talks of contraction for four years.³¹ This further showed that the Expos franchise was going to be moved in the near future and not contracted.

In 2003 the Expos played 22 of their home games in San Juan, Puerto Rico at Hiram Bithorn Stadium. The team drew well and were embraced by the Puerto Ricans. With about a month left in the season, the Expos found themselves in a five-way tie for

²⁹ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 455.

³⁰ Riess, *Encyclopedia of Major League Baseball Clubs*, 455.

³¹ Tom Singer, “Deal in place, Games go on,” *MLB.com*, http://mlb.mlb.com/news/article.jsp?ymd=20020830&content_id=116907&vkey=news_mlb&fext=.jsp&c_id=null.

the National League Wild Card. This marked the first legitimate shot the Expos had at making the playoffs since 1994. But, these dreams were shattered on September 1 when MLB did not allow them to call up players during the month like all the other teams because it was too expensive. The Expos would have had to pay for things like player bonuses, more equipment, and other things to accommodate the extra players. Minaya said, "it was a message to the players... it was a momentum killer... You cannot ever forget 2003; they were as good as the Marlins, who won the World Series. But nobody knows this because nobody saw Montreal in 2003. What killed us was not getting the call-ups."³² The Expos had a losing record in September and finished eight games out of the Wild Card race.

The 2004 season marked the last season of the Montreal Expos. They finished in last place in the division with a 67-95 record. On September 29, 2004 Tony Taveras announced that the Expos would move to Washington D.C. the following season.³³ The last game at Olympic Stadium took place that night, the Expos lost to the Marlins 9-1. Over 30,000 fans watched the last professional game in Montreal. Before the game, the 1994 Expos team was honored and a banner was unveiled on the outfield fence saying "Best Team in Baseball." After the game the Expos addressed and thanked their fans. Bob Elliot said that, "some fans were crying, thinking of memories of years gone by. Others held infants in their arms; sure that one day they would tell them about this, the day baseball died in Montreal."³⁴ The history of the Expos came full circle when the Expos played their final game on October 3, 2004 at Shea Stadium against the New York

³² Les Carpenter, "Minaya Laid Foundation For Success: Mets GM Keeps an Eye On His Expos Handiwork," *Washington Post*, July 4, 2005.

³³ Bob Elliot, *The Northern Game: Baseball The Canadian Way* (Toronto: Sport Media Publishing, Inc., 2005), 201.

³⁴ Elliot, *The Northern Game*, 205.

Mets, the same stadium and team the Expos played in their first game 35 years earlier. They lost 8-1. The following year there was no professional baseball in Montreal; the franchise moved to the U.S. capital and became the Washington Nationals. Claude Raymond, a Quebec native who pitched for the Expos and was their long time broadcaster, described the move as “the saddest day in my life as a ball player. I’d been in the game for 50 years and suddenly the game was getting out of my city.”³⁵

After the Expos’ dreadful 1995 season when they finished last in their division, and five days prior to the one year anniversary of the Parti Quebecois election back to power in the Quebec government, PQ leader Jacques Parizeau lived up to the promise he made during his election campaign and presented the people of Quebec with their second referendum question in 15 years. The question stated: “Do you agree that Quebec should become sovereign, after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new Economic and Political Partnership, within the scope of the Bill respecting the future of Quebec and of the agreement signed on June 12, 1995? YES or NO?”³⁶ The agreement referred to in the question is the signed agreement between Parizeau, the Bloc Quebecois’ leader Lucien Bouchard, and the Action Democratique du Quebec’s (ADQ) leader Mario Dumont. These three men agreed to lead the efforts in the referendum to create a partnership that reflected “the wish of Quebecers to maintain equitable and flexible ties with our

³⁵ Stuart, *Blue Mondays*, 11.

³⁶ Robert A. Young, *The Struggle for Quebec: From Referendum to Referendum?* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999), 26.

Canadian neighbours so that we can manage our common economic space together, particularly by means of joint institutions, including institutions of a political nature.”³⁷

The bill referred to in the question is Bill 1, which was “an Act respecting the future of Quebec,”³⁸ and included a Declaration of Sovereignty that stated that the people of Quebec declared themselves able to choose their own future, have full powers of the state, and that Quebec is a sovereign country.³⁹

From the beginning of the campaign, the federalists were very confident. When first addressing the referendum, Prime Minister Jean Chretien stated, “It’s the best country in the world, and you all know that Canada will win,” and he said even before the campaign, “I’m not losing any sleep. I’m extremely confident. We’re way ahead of where we were two months before the referendum last time.”⁴⁰ In polls and opinions leading up to the October 30 referendum the “No” vote was heavily favored. With a month left before the vote, Quebec columnist Chantal Hebert said that there was going to be a “decisive federalist victory,” while ROC columnist Jeffrey Simpson said the sovereigntists chances were “exceedingly slim.”⁴¹

But, momentum began to swing towards the sovereigntists late in the campaign. This began when Parizeau announced that Bouchard would be the chief negotiator of the movement. This was important because it “passed the Yes leadership into the hands of a trusted politician who could attract moderate nationalists to the sovereigntist side while reassuring them that the promised partnership was viable.”⁴² As the leader of the “Yes”

³⁷ Young, *The Struggle for Quebec*, 21.

³⁸ Gerald L. Gall, “Quebec Referendum (1995),” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=a1ARTA0010730>.

³⁹ Young, *The Struggle for Quebec*, 25.

⁴⁰ Young, *The Struggle for Quebec*, 26.

⁴¹ Young, *The Struggle for Quebec*, 31.

⁴² Young, *The Struggle for Quebec*, 31.

vote Bouchard “pressed Francophone pride and self-determination. Economic projections took a back seat.”⁴³ The move proved beneficial; on October 14 a Leger & Leger poll stated that the “No” side was in favor by just 50.8% and on October 20 an Angus Reid Poll showed the “Yes” side with the advantage.⁴⁴ In response, the federalists held pro-Canada rallies in the week leading up to the referendum. On the day before the vote Nathalie Petrowski of *La Presse* said that no matter what the predictions say that “right now it’s really nose-to-nose. Nobody knows which way it will go. The only thing we know is it will be really tight.”⁴⁵

The vote on the referendum took place on October 30, 1995 and saw 93.5% of the eligible voters come out to vote. As the *Times Union*’s Mark McGuire, who covered the referendum for the local Albany, New York newspaper looking at the situation from the United States’ and New York’s perspective, said, “people knew the 30th of October could be Quebec’s Fourth of July.”⁴⁶ However, while this referendum was a lot closer than the 1980 referendum, the same result occurred, Quebec sovereignty was rejected once again. The “No” vote received 2,362,648 (50.58%) votes, while the “Yes” vote received 2,308,360 (49.42%) votes.⁴⁷ A main reason for the defeat was that the east end of Montreal, which was mainly a francophone and working-class neighborhood voted “No.”⁴⁸ In this “vote where almost 5 million cast ballots, the fate of a nation was decided by maybe 20 city blocks.”⁴⁹ After the loss, Parizeau blamed money and the ethnic vote

⁴³ Mark McGuire, “Canadian Secessionism Stays Civil,” *Times Union*, October 30, 1995, sec. A.

⁴⁴ Young, *The Struggle for Quebec*, 32-33.

⁴⁵ Mark McGuire, “Canadian Secessionism Stay Civil.”

⁴⁶ Mark McGuire, “Vote Against Change Alters Canada Anyway,” *Times Union*, October 31, 1995, sec. A.

⁴⁷ John Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), 359.

⁴⁸ Young, *The Struggle for Quebec*, 37.

⁴⁹ Mark McGuire, “In The End, Nothing Changed In Quebec,” *Times Union*, November 5, 1995, sec. E.

for the defeat, and immediately resigned.⁵⁰ Michel Gauthier was then named the leader of the BQ. The failure of this referendum marked the closest Quebec would come to becoming its own country, and caused a decline in support of the movement over the following years in the province..

In the years leading up to the new millennium, the sovereignty movement (in a fashion not dissimilar to baseball in Montreal) went into a downward spiral. In the 1997 federal election, the BQ lost its place as the official opposition to the Reform party. The following year the PQ won the provincial election against the Liberals despite losing the popular vote. But, support for the movement wasn't high enough for the PQ to call for another referendum. By 1999, the PQ's support declined by 40%.⁵¹ Bouchard said that he would hold another referendum when "winning conditions" existed.⁵² In 1998 the Supreme Court found "that a unilateral secession would be contrary to both Canadian constitutional law and international law."⁵³ This led to the Clarity Act, which was passed in 2000. This Act says that "it is the interpretation of the Supreme Court, in its opinion, that the federal government give 'political actors' the responsibility of returning the right to determine, what, among other things, constitutes a question and a clear majority after a referendum that one province or territory initiates with a view to succession from Canada."⁵⁴ This gave the federal government more control over a possible new referendum on Quebec secession. Even if a future referendum for Quebec independence

⁵⁰ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 359.

⁵¹ Angus Reid Public Opinion, "Boisclair Might Boost Quebec Separatism," *Global Monitor*, http://www.angus-reid.com/analysis/39802/boisclair_might_boost_quebec_separatism/.

⁵² Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 360.

⁵³ Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 359.

⁵⁴ The Canadian Encyclopedia, "Bill C-20," <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0009442>.

was voted “Yes” by the majority of the Quebec population, it would be up to the Supreme Court to decide whether there was a clear majority.

In 2001 Bouchard resigned as leader of the PQ and Quebec premier, and gave way to Bernard Landry. In the same year a Leger Marketing poll reported that “support in Quebec for sovereignty has hit a 20-year low. The survey says that 59.1% of Quebecers would vote against sovereignty.”⁵⁵ Two years later Landry and the PQ lost to Jean Charest and the Liberals in the provincial election. While the BQ re-emerged in the 2004 federal election, neither the BQ nor the PQ have come into power in the federal or provincial government in recent years. Also, in 2005 an Angus Reid public opinion showed that 54% of Quebecers would vote against Quebec independence if a referendum were to be held.⁵⁶ A call for a third referendum has not received widespread popular support.

Late 1994 and 1995 saw the moments that eventually led to the demise of the Montreal Expos and the Quebec secession movement. In the 1994 baseball season the Expos were the best team in baseball through August until the season was cancelled due to the strike. This was seen as the first (and in retrospect only) chance for the Expos to win the World Series. After the cancellation of the season, the Expos sold all of their star

⁵⁵ CTV News, “Timeline: The Parti Quebecois political history,” http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/CTVNewsAt11/20030411/pq_timeline_030312/.

⁵⁶ Angus Reid Public Opinion, “Quebec Divided on Sovereignty Possibilities,” *The Poll Archive*, http://www.angus-reid.com/polls/18319/quebec_divided_on_sovereignty_possibilities/.

players for financial reasons, which led to years of poor play on the field. The fans resented this and little by little attendance at Olympic Stadium dropped. The combination of poor play and poor attendance over the next ten years led to the franchise being moved to Washington for the 2005 season. Most experts look back at the turning point of the franchise to be the baseball strike in 1994. The turning point for the Quebec movement was the 1995 referendum when the “Yes” vote fell by the slimmest of margins. There was a lot of positive momentum leading to the referendum, and coming so close to winning the referendum but losing was extremely demoralizing and detrimental to the movement. In the following years support for sovereignty slowly declined and became a minor issue in the province and Canada itself. Currently, both entities continue to wane. Baseball has not come back to Montreal, while the sovereignty for Quebec is thought to be dead. The present standing of these movements will be discussed in the conclusion.

Where Are We Now?

The new millennium saw the downfall of both the Montreal Expos and the Quebec secession movement. The Expos played their last game in Montreal in 2004 before moving to Washington D.C. for the 2005 season, while the power and influence of the Parti Quebecois and Bloc Quebecois dwindled after the slim defeat of the 1995 Quebec referendum. The affects of the mid-1990s are still strong in Quebec as the hopes of professional baseball returning to the province and the idea of Quebec becoming its own independent nation are currently moribund.

April 14, 2005 marked the 36th anniversary of the first game played by the Montreal Expos at Jarry Park. This date also marked first time in 34 years that a Major League Baseball game was played in Washington D.C. when the Washington Nationals hosted the Arizona Diamondbacks at Robert F. Kennedy stadium. This day began a new era in Washington D.C. baseball, but also officially ended the era of the Montreal Expos. Many of the players were the same, but the location was different. Former Montreal Expo and starting outfielder for the Nationals in 2005 Brad Wilkerson said, “It’s finally dawned on us. It’s over... It’s a new deal.”¹ While this franchise is a “new deal,” the Nationals have continued the Expos’ late tradition of losing. In their six years of existence, the Nationals have finished last in the National League East five times, and in fourth once. But, the new Washington D.C franchise has accomplished something the

¹ Mike Lopresti, “Nationals Home Opener Offers a Chance to Remember,” *USA Today*, April 14, 2005.

Montreal franchise never did: get a new stadium. In 2008, Nationals Park opened as the Nationals' new home.

The last remnants of the Expos lives with their former players such as veterans Javier Vasquez and Orlando Cabrera who still play in MLB today. But, two Expos greats will live in immortality in the Baseball Hall of Fame. Catcher Gary Carter and outfielder Andre Dawson were enshrined in the hall in 2003 and 2010, respectively, as Expos. They will most likely be the only Expos' inducted into the Hall of Fame (we will see what happens with Larry Walker). While Expos' were honored in Cooperstown, they were not acknowledged by the Nationals. As of January 2010 the Nationals had not recognized the four retired numbers of the Expos franchise, meaning they allowed Nationals players to wear these numbers: Rusty Staub (#10, 1993), Andre Dawson (#10, 1997), Gary Carter (#8, 2003), and Tim Lincecum (#30, 2004). In baseball circles this is considered to be highly disrespectful. In 2010 Carter said, "That's really the sad part... At least recognize and embrace the fact that they were in Montreal for 36 years."²

However, back in Montreal the Expos were honored by the NHL's Montreal Canadiens when a banner was raised to the rafters of the Bell Centre honoring the Expos and their retired numbers. Carter and Dawson were a part of the ceremony in October 2005 and were given a standing ovation by the fans. After the event Carter said, "It was a real shame how the Expos ended up leaving Montreal... And now seeing how the folks in Washington have completely turned their back on the history and tradition of 36 years of

² Tyler Kepner, "Montreal Expos, Forgotten by Many, Are Reuniting in Cooperstown," *New York Times*, January 7, 2010.

Expos baseball, it really breaks your heart. That is what makes what the Canadiens have done here so much more meaningful.”³

But, the Nationals have begun to take a step in the right direction with their unveiling of their “Ring of Honor” at Nationals Park in August 2010. To become a member of this club one must fit the three following criteria: elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame, played for the Nationals, Washington Senators, Homestead Grays, or Montreal Expos, and each player must have played a long period of time with that team.⁴ Both Carter and Dawson fit this criteria and are now honored at Nationals Park along with the likes of “Cool Papa” Bell, Josh Gibson, Walter Johnson, and Harmon Killebrew. On the night the ring was revealed, Dawson said, “I’m thrilled by it... The [Nationals] organization and I are attached, to whatever degree, and I’m going to enjoy it and make the most of it.”⁵ He also added:

There’s a lot of history there [in Montreal]... I don’t think [the Nationals] owe anything to the fact the team played in Montreal all those years. You have your own organization to tend to. But I think they’re taking some steps in the right direction... A lot of my old teammates are still baffled by the fact the team doesn’t exist in Montreal anymore, and any way or form that you are embraced by the [city] that has taken over the franchise, that’s a meaningful thing.⁶

Some, like Phil Wood, a broadcaster in Washington D.C., feel that honoring the Expos is unnecessary. Wood stated, “I have great empathy for the fans in Montreal who lost their club... I know exactly what it feels like [with the Washington Senators]. To hang on to those records means something to those people. But I can’t imagine there are more than a

³ Manny Almela, “‘Hawk’ and the ‘Kid’ Take One Last Bow,” *Canadiens.com*, <http://canadiens.nhl.com/club/news.htm?id=488940>.

⁴ Adam Kilgore, “Nationals Announce Ring of Honor,” *Washington Post*, August 10, 2010.

⁵ Dave Shenin, “Nationals Decide to Strengthen their Montreal Connection,” *Washington Post*, August 8, 2010.

⁶ Shenin, “Nationals Decide to Strengthen their Montreal Connection.”

few hundred people [in Montreal] following the Nationals on a regular basis.”⁷ Wood’s statement seems to be valid. In May 2006, Jack Todd of the *National Post* said, “in Montreal the Nationals are one of the most hated teams in baseball, right up there with the Blue Jays, the Yankees, and Jeffrey Loria’s Florida Marlins.”⁸

It is believed that there is very little hope of a professional baseball franchise returning to Montreal, which as of June 2010 “remains by far the largest city in the continental United States and Canada without a professional baseball franchise.”⁹ This also includes minor league baseball, which has not found a home in Montreal for two main reasons. The first is that there is no place to play. Alan Schwarz of the *New York Times* states that, “Olympic Stadium echoes with failure; the Expos’ former home, Jarry Park, is now a municipal tennis court,” and according to Marc Griffin who is a former Expos minor leaguer who is trying to bring baseball back to the city, “not even one college field can be retrofitted for professional use.”¹⁰ The other reason is because, according to Griffin, “the Expos left a bad taste in people’s mouths. All you heard about in the final years were owner disputes and which players were going to leave.”¹¹ While the lack of attendance in the Expos’ final years contributed to their move to Washington D.C. many think they cannot be blamed. Former Expos Executive Vice President Claude Delorme noted how, “the fans are often criticized, but I think there isn’t a market in North America that would have supported their team over 10 or 11 years with everything that has happened, from the fire sales to contraction to relocation. Montreal responded

⁷ Shenin, “Nationals Decide to Strengthen their Montreal Connection.”

⁸ Jack Todd, “Montreal Fans Have Easily Left Baseball Behind: Expos Fans Don’t Follow Nationals, They Detest Them,” *National Post*, May 31, 2006.

⁹ Alan Schwarz, “No Pro Baseball in Montreal, and Little Hope of Any,” *New York Times*, June 19, 2010.

¹⁰ Schwarz, “No Pro Baseball in Montreal.”

¹¹ Schwarz, “No Pro Baseball in Montreal.”

very well to this, and showed what quality citizens and truly classy fans they really are.”¹² Fred Page, a vice principal at a Quebec high school said that “if you go from a major league team with great talent for so many years to minor league team, people are insulted.”¹³ It might take some time for the people of Montreal to try professional baseball once again. Griffin says, “it kind of makes sense to let some time go by – but we can’t wait much longer because it will die.”¹⁴

Just as baseball has died in Quebec, the same seems to have happened to the idea of Quebec independence. Neither the Parti Quebecois nor Bloc Quebecois have won a provincial or federal election in the new millennium. But, after the 2008 provincial and federal elections, the PQ currently holds the second most seats in Quebec Assembly, while the BQ has the third most seats in the House of Commons and is the most popular federal party in Quebec.

Even though the traditional separatist parties have some power in the Quebec and Canadian government, the citizens are starting to move away from the ideology they espouse. A poll conducted by Angus Reid in 2009 which asked “If a referendum on Quebec sovereignty were held today, would you vote yes or no to the following question? – ‘Do you agree that Quebec should become a country separate from Canada?’” showed

¹² Jeff Stuart, *Blue Mondays: The Long Goodbye of the Montreal Expos* (Baltimore, PublishAmerica, 2008), 113.

¹³ Schwarz, “No Pro Baseball in Montreal.”

¹⁴ Schwarz, “No Pro Baseball in Montreal.”

that 54% of Quebecers would say “No,” while 34% said “Yes,” and 13% were unsure.¹⁵

A year later, another poll demonstrated that “most Quebecers consider the debate over whether the province should separate from Canada [is] no longer relevant.”¹⁶ The survey showed that 58% of Quebecers think the issue of independence is dead, 26% say the issue is more relevant now, and 14% believe that Quebec will become its’ own nation within 30 years.¹⁷ By looking at these polls, it seems that Quebecers are no longer interested in becoming a part of a new nation.

Leaders of the secession movement are also moving away from the idea of Quebec independence. In 2009, Pauline Marois, the current leader of the PQ, stated, “we are convinced we must leave behind this all-or-nothing approach in favour of one that is always seeking more for Quebecers.”¹⁸ A year later she said that she wants “to achieve sovereignty in steps after winning an election by repatriating Quebec’s constitutional powers and stopping the federal government from encroaching on its jurisdiction in areas such as education, health and family policy.”¹⁹ In February 2011, Francois Legault, a former PQ cabinet minister, created the Coalition for Quebec’s Future, which is a group that “may become a political party, and outlined a manifesto to shake up politics in the province.”²⁰ Legault has said that:

Sovereignty is a ‘dead-end’ issue with no hope of being achieved any time soon... The rest of Canada has no interest in constitutional renewal to redefine Quebec’s place in the Canadian federation and Quebec sovereignty is unattainable in the

¹⁵ Angus Reid Public Opinion, “Question Shapes Views On Sovereignty in Quebec,” *Global Monitor*, http://www.visioncritical.com/public-opinion/4020/question_shapes_views_on_sovereignty_in_quebec/.

¹⁶ Hubert Bauch, “Quebec Sovereignty is Irrelevant, Says Poll,” *Montreal Gazette*, May 18, 2010.

¹⁷ Bauch, “Quebec Sovereignty is Irrelevant.”

¹⁸ Angus Reid Public Opinion, “Question Shapes Views On Sovereignty in Quebec.”

¹⁹ Mike DeSouza, “Duceppe Tells the World Quebec Will Hold Another Sovereignty Referendum,” *National Post*, June 11, 2010.

²⁰ Rheel Seguin, “Former PQ Cabinet Minister Launches New Group to ‘Put Quebec Back on Track,’” *The Globe and Mail*, February 22, 2011.

‘foreseeable’ future... The province has no choice but to set aside these ‘divisive debates’ and rally around common goals ‘that will put Quebec back on track’ towards prosperity.²¹

Before Legault announced his new coalition, a public opinion showed that if Legault formed a political party, “he would lead the pack, receiving more support than the PQ and the Liberals.”²²

Some leaders on the other hand, like BQ leader Gilles Duceppe, believed that a third referendum would be called soon. In June 2010 he declared, “There is a strong political movement to make Quebec a sovereign country... Everything indicates that, in the next few years, the question of Quebec’s sovereignty will once again be put to the people... At that time, the international community will be called on to recognize this new country.”²³ While Legault was confident about Quebec becoming independent, it is hard to believe that this will happen without the support of the people. The citizens of Quebec seem to be more concerned with Quebec’s well-being in terms of education, health care, etc. and do not place too much importance on Quebec becoming on their own country now. The Liberals, who are currently in power of the Quebec government, have until 2013 to call the next general election, so we will see what happens during the next two years.

The first decade of the 2000s has affirmed that the affects of the 1994 MLB players strike and the 1995 Quebec referendum still linger today. The memory of the

²¹ Seguin, “Former PQ Cabinet Minister Launches New Group.”

²² Seguin, “Former PQ Cabinet Minister Launches New Group.”

²³ DeSouza, “Duceppe Tells the World Quebec Will Hold Another Sovereignty Referendum.”

Expos has faded away in the eyes of MLB as the Washington Nationals barely honor their predecessors. Also, the bitterness left by the Expos franchise has currently hampered any hope of pro baseball returning to Quebec. The only remnants of the franchise are the Expos' banner in the Bell Centre, and Gary Carter and Andre Dawson's plaques in the Baseball Hall of Fame. The Expos have now become a taboo subject. Also during the new millennium, the idea of Quebec secession has become a mute topic. Polls have confirmed that Quebecers find the topic of Quebec secession to be moribund and have focused their priorities on different issues. Also, the political parties that have pushed for independence, such as the Parti Quebecois, have started to create new strategies that move away from the independence idea. But, time will only tell what happens to both of these movements. The way history has shown itself with both baseball and independence in Quebec, they both may very well continue to follow the same path. Maybe Quebecers who support baseball or independence will follow their province's motto, *je me souviens*, and remember their past and rise once again.

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