

PROTESTANT EDUCATION IN QUÉBEC NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE PROTESTANT PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF QUÉBEC

Nathan H. Mair

COMITÉ PROTESTANT



Conseil supérieur de l'éducation
Québec

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COMITE PROTESTANT



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PREFACE

The History of Protestant Education in Quebec and Quest for Quality in the Protestant Public Schools of Quebec were commissioned by the Comité protestant du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation du Québec. The purpose of the Comité was to carry forward the enquiry commenced in Alan Jones' "The Protestant Fact in Quebec Education", and thus to explore "a deeper rationale for confessional schools", ... and "a rationale for moral and religious education (preferably called values education) in a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional school system" and to provide "a description of the Protestant school system and to outline its approach on various questions".

The studies presented here make no pretensions to literary style. The research, writing and revisions all had to be accomplished within little more than a year and a half. The author's object, therefore, was to present the necessary information as accurately and comprehensively as possible leaving, perhaps, to others the task of presenting the material in a more convenient form for study by teachers' and parents' groups.

Nor may these books be considered definitive; they must rather be considered a kind of overview of the history of the values-dimension of Protestant public school education in Quebec. More research needs to be undertaken, for instance, in the values which have motivated the school board, teachers, and home and school organizations associated with Quebec Protestant education. Regional and local school histories would offer a fruitful field for students at the high school level as well as for those writing advanced theses. The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal has untapped resources for such studies in its library and archives. Other school boards may afford similar opportunities.

Still other areas for historical research might be found in the relationship of operating educational values to the sociology of particular regions in Quebec, and in the values of the various religious denominations which led to the "settlement" of Protestant education in Quebec.

In the biographical field, a study of the life and work of W.O. Rothney would provide a probe into the value changes of the twenties and thirties, and an examination of the life of Sen. James Ferrier might yield insights into the operative Methodist values in the 1860s and 1870s and their influence, if any, on Protestant education.

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the following who assisted him in his work: the staffs of the MacLennan, the Education, and Religious Studies libraries at McGill University, the P.S.B.G.M. library, and that of the Conseil supérieur in Quebec City; the Comité protestant, who sponsored, encouraged, and made valuable criticisms of drafts of the work; the Research Sub-Committee of the Comité protestant, Garth Bulmer, Paul Garnet, Daniel Racine, and David Oliver, who worked closely with the author in successive meetings and whose suggestions have proved invaluable (David Oliver spent many additional hours acting as a "sounding board" critic and informant for the author); a number of readers, Raymond Jensen, Howard Billings, C.W. Dickson, Clifford McCullough, E. George Cochrane, J.D. Jefferis and Alan Jones, whose suggestions enriched the final edition of the work; Harry Kuntz, secretary of the Comité protestant whose fund of information about Quebec history was invaluable to the author, and who worked tirelessly reading over with the author every word of the final draft to prepare the material for the typist; and my wife, Violet Langland Mair, who read the entire manuscript of the "History" making the many style and grammar emendations needed. The errors that no doubt remain in the text, notes, and bibliography are the responsibility of the author.



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My final word of thanks must go to Dr. Arthur Boorman who, when the Protestant Committee was seeking a researcher, suggested my name.

N.H. Mair

Montreal

Autumn, 1979

I

THE FOUNDING YEARS

CHAPTER ONE

FOUNDATION OF THE QUEBEC EDUCATION SYSTEM

- A. Introduction
- B. The Years Before 1801
- C. The Royal Institution
- D. Education Projects of the House of Assembly
- E. Buller and Mondelet
- F. Protestant Schools in 1839
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A. INTRODUCTION

On October 16th, 1890, the Reverend Elson I. Rexford, English Secretary of the Quebec Department of Education, president that year of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers, delivered an encouraging address to the teachers assembled in convention. There existed, he declared, "a vast difference between what is and what ought to be," but yet they could take great pride in what they had accomplished:

It must be remembered that the system of Protestant education in this Province is of comparatively recent date.

It is true that institutions of Royal foundation and the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, and many private enterprises, were established in the interests of the Protestants of the Province in the early part of this century.

It is true that elementary schools, superior schools and normal schools, subsidized by the Government, were available for Protestants from the middle of this century, and that for the past thirty years Protestants have had a seat at the Council of Public Instruction.

It is true that, in 1869, the Council of Public Instruction was organised in two committees - Roman Catholic and Protestant; but these two committees only had power to discuss matters within the very limited range of their functions. All independent action still remained with the united Council; and an examination of the minutes of the Council for this period will show that the Protestant Committee failed to accomplish much under this Act of 1869....

It was not until the Protestant Committee met in 1876, however, under an Act passed the previous year, which gave (1) a wider scope to their functions,

and (2) the power of independent action to each committee of the Council in reference to matters under their respective control, that the real history of Protestant education began."¹

The legislation of 1875 made possible in law what had become evident in fact that Catholic and Protestant systems of education in Québec must go their separate ways. Unified only in the Department of Public Instruction and in the person of the Superintendent of Education, the Catholic and Protestant Committees were given authority henceforth to organize and develop systems each according to its own genius. So, however, was built into the organization of education in the province that dichotomy sadly noted by P.J.O. Chauveau, Québec's first premier, that: "in Canada the two races reminded him of the staircases of the Château Chambord in France. These staircases twisted round each other in such a manner that a person might ascend each at the same time, and be close together all the way, and yet neither see the other."²

The purpose of this study is to inquire particularly into the values represented by Protestant education in its flowering as a separate system from 1876 to 1964. A review of pre-1876 event is, however, essential for our understanding of the later period. The first chapter will trace the historical developments which led to the historic 1875 decision.

B. THE YEARS BEFORE 1801

New France counted both Protestants and Catholics among her early founders. Chauvin, a Huguenot fur trader, established the ill-fated settlement of Tadoussac in 1600. Many of the colonists were said to be Protestants. Sieur de Monts, another Huguenot, founded on Ile Ste-Croix in Acadia a settlement which was later moved to Port-Royal. Samuel de Champlain who may have had Huguenot origins was De Mont's lieutenant when Quebec was founded in 1608. There were others: Roberval, the De Caens, the Kirkes. After 1627, however, except for the years 1629 to 1633

when Quebec was occupied by the English, Huguenots were denied the right to settle in the colony. The Company of One Hundred Associates, presided over by the powerful Cardinal Richelieu, received a monopoly of trade and settlement. Henceforth, New France became an indisputably Catholic colony.

Education in New France was, from the beginning, the prerogative of the church and under the authority of the bishop. The actual work of teaching was in the hands of missionaries, male and female, who were despatched from France first with the idea that they should bring the heathen Indians to Christ. But this task proving elusive, it was realized that there was much scope for religious endeavour with the colonists and their families. For the Recollets, Jesuits, Sulpicians, Ursulines, and Sisters of the Congregation who established schools in the new world there could be no doubt about the ultimate purposes of education: the preservation of immortal souls and the creation of a Catholic people. The practical side of education was by no means neglected, however. Girls in convents learned the skills necessary for maintaining a home, and institutions for training in crafts and in agriculture were established for young men.

Support for educational work was not regarded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as an obligation of civil government. King Louis XIV made grants for education in New France from religious motives. Additional financial help as well as volunteers for service were provided by charitable agencies in France. But as the years passed it was revenue from grants of property in New France that enabled the Jesuits, Sulpicians, and others to carry on their work.

In 1759 and 1760 New France was conquered by British forces as part of the campaign against France in the Seven Years' War. By the Treaty of Paris in 1763 the territory was ceded to Great Britain and British settlers began to come to the province. A few French Protestants also were in evidence.³ General Murray, first British governor ordered that the customs of the Canadians be respected.⁴ And the Quebec Act of 1774 legally established the rights of Canadians to maintain many of their old laws and customs; the Roman Catholic Church was

recognized and allowed to tithe its members.

But the work of education among the French speaking population of the colony was hampered because of the changes brought by the conquest. The Jesuits, who had attained a dominant position among the orders in New France, and who provided much of the financial resource and personnel for education, were in 1774 banned by the British Government (and about this time by several other European countries and by the Papacy itself).⁵ Their property was eventually confiscated by the crown; its disposition became the occasion of much debate and considerable rancour for more than a century.⁶ The Recollets also vanished. The property rights of the Sulpicians, which included the Island of Montreal as well as two other nearby seigneuries, were cast in doubt by certain British officials. Some members of the order had returned to France at the Conquest, and, with the exception of a few monks fleeing the Terror of 1789, there were not, for some time, fresh teachers available from the homeland. The Sulpicians did manage, however, to carry on their work which included education for young men and boys. The Petit Séminaire continued in Quebec City; the Ursulines had schools in several major centers and the Sisters of the Congregation took responsibility for girls within their reach in Montreal. Other areas of the colony were, however, without educational resources.

By 1790 a few schools for the English speaking population in Quebec and Montreal were established, mostly by private initiative,⁸ and it may have been pressure from the British and Loyalist settlers for better educational facilities, as much as concern for the needs of the French-speaking population, that led Lord Dorchester in 1787 to appoint a Committee of Legislative Council under the chairmanship of Chief-Justice William Smith to investigate and report on the state of education in the colony. A visit to Quebec in 1789 of the Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, Charles Inglis (like Smith, a Loyalist), whose jurisdiction at the time extended to Canada, no doubt spurred on the committee deliberations. In late 1789 the committee presented its report, recommending that a secular university be established to serve both the French and English language groups; that free elementary schools be set up in each parish or village; and that free superior schools be maintained in each county.

The administration of the system would be in the hands of a committee composed of an equal number of Protestants and Catholics in addition to the judges and bishops (both Catholic and Protestant) of the colony.

The Catholic Bishop Hubert was negative to the proposal because of fears that the education given under such a plan would be Protestant or irreligious. He was supported in this stand by a majority of his colleagues and by Rome. The matter was dropped for a time.

By the Constitutional Act of 1791 Canada was divided into Upper and Lower provinces and each given its own governor, legislative council, and elected assembly. One seventh of all land granted was reserved for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy of the established church; and all rights of the Catholic Church were reaffirmed. At the first session of the new Assembly a petition was presented, signed by over two hundred citizens of the County of Quebec, asking that the estates and revenues of the Jesuit Order be applied (when they became available) to the support of colleges for the education of the young of the colony.¹⁰ The Assembly approved, and forwarded an address to the throne on the matter. No action was taken by the British government.

The next attempt at establishing more adequate educational institutions in the Colony came largely as a result of the prodding given Quebec and London authorities by Bishop Jacob Mountain who had arrived in 1793 as the first Anglican Bishop of Quebec. The bishop wrote formally to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir R.S. Milnes, in 1799, urging upon him the necessity of providing some measure of superior education in the province to check the flow of young people to the colleges in the United States where republican principles would no doubt be inculcated. Bishop Mountain's letter also expressed his concern that the natives of the colony should learn the English language.

C. THE ROYAL INSTITUTION

In 1801, "An Act for the Establishment of Free Schools and the Advancement of Learning in this Province" was passed by the Lower Canada Legislature the Lieutenant-Governor having announced that the British government desired and would support provisions for education. The act authorized the governor to select in each parish or county commissioners entrusted with the building and organization of schools. The governor was also to appoint all teachers, to fix their salaries, and to name a principal and trustees of a corporation to administer the revenues from grants of land which would be made to support education, and to establish the regulations governing the "Schools of the Royal Foundation." Colleges were envisioned as well as elementary schools.

L.P. Audet, the historian of Quebec education, has suggested¹² that the vision inspiring such a plan was of North American rather than British origin. There was little feeling in Great Britain at this time that governments should take responsibility for encouraging general education; but in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Nova Scotia there had developed the notion that education was the responsibility of the magistrate. It is significant, Audet points out, that the Attorney General for Lower Canada, when the 1801 education act was passed, was Joseph Sewell, a Loyalist from Massachusetts.

The "Royal" schools were not destined, however, to provide the kind of base needed for a viable system of education in Lower Canada. Delayed by the Napoleonic wars, the letters-patent for establishing the corporation of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning were not granted until 1818. There was need at this time to provide trustees to administer the estate of James McGill which had been left to the proposed Institution with a view to founding a college in Montreal. The disposition of the estate was held up by a legal contest, however, and the revenue-producing-land grants promised by the British Government did not materialize. Small amounts were sometimes made available from the interest on revenues of the Jesuits' Estates, but never enough to meet the needs. The

Royal schools, moreover, met with an uneven reception by the citizens of Lower Canada.

Certain English-speaking communities, especially in the Eastern Townships, resented the centralized control asserted by the Institution over schools. Some non-Anglican Protestants saw the Institution as biased against their interests: the textbooks adopted by the Royal Institution for its English schools were those of the National Society for Educating the Poor, an Anglican organization, which included a Church of England Catechism; the rules of the Institution (1822) required all children to attend public worship on Sundays and stipulated that where there was no regular Church service the master should "read such portions of the Church Service... as may be judged expedient by the Institution,"¹³ a rule which must have offended Presbyterians as well as Protestant dissenting groups; Methodists who requested use of school buildings for their religious services were often refused.¹⁴ A reputation for English arrogance clung to the Royal Institution. On the whole, however, educational development among the English-speaking residents of the province was stimulated by the Royal Institution. Royal Grammar Schools were established in Quebec and Montreal even before the arrival of the letters-patent; a total of eighty-four schools mostly in English-speaking areas were operating under the Institution in its peak year, 1829. Certain academies in the Townships were supported, and McGill College was opened at last in 1835.

The Institution never succeeded in proving itself to the French-speaking sector of the colony. The Roman Catholic Bishop refused to sit on the dominantly Protestant and anglophone Board of Trustees, which was moreover chaired by the Anglican bishop. The Institution was popularly regarded as an alien power whose purpose was to anglicize Canadians and even to convert them to Protestantism. Audet and Boulianne agree, in their recent studies of the Royal Institution,¹⁵ that French-speaking citizens could have made better use of the opportunities available to them through the Institution and that their images of it were stereotyped. The view of some English leaders that French Canadians must be assimilated to English institutions and to the English language was not reflected in the Institution's 1822 rules. These provided that Catholic trustees of the Institution select texts for Catholic schools, that schools be under the

immediate inspection of the pastors of the children being served, and that clergy also participate in the local committee whose duty it was to supervise the schools and make reports to the Institution. Boulianne's research found that Dr. Mills, for many years secretary of the Royal Institution, was careful to consult with local authorities before teacher appointments were made, and that everything possible was done to have Roman Catholic and French-speaking masters placed in schools where the majority of children were of that persuasion and language. Boulianne blames the "bad press" which the Royal Institution still has among French speaking Quebecers upon the biases of historians like Garneau and Proulx who did not research the actual correspondence that passed between the Royal Institution's secretary and its school teachers and commissioners.

In the 1820s various proposals were made which sought to effect the formation of two Royal Institutions or of separate committees of the Institution to serve the two sectors of the population; but it was already too late in 1829, when the last of these plans was presented to the assembly, to salvage the usefulness of the Institution. The assembly now had other visions for education in Lower Canada. The proposed bill was disregarded. Thereafter the Royal Institution was considered by the assembly as "an Anglican system which it continued to support with annual grants"¹⁶ - for a while.

D. EDUCATION PROJECTS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada had been producing education bills since 1814, but only one in 1824 had successfully passed the legislative council and received assent from the British government. This legislation, known as the "Fabrique Act", followed a major inquiry by a legislative commission into the state of education in Lower Canada. It provided for Catholic parochial schools under the direct authority and supervision of the parish priest and church wardens. Under terms of the act fabriques or local church councils in the French-speaking sector could hold property for schools, and spend up to a quarter of their revenue on them. The response to the law was, however, poor because of lack of money, and inert

In 1829 a new phase in the educational history of Lower Canada was initiated with a law which brought the schools under the authority of the legislative assembly, but within the control of local community leaders. Generous financial grants were made available by the assembly to trustees elected by the freeholders of districts who wished to erect or maintain common schools. The trustees were charged with the responsibility of hiring and firing teachers, and establishing the rules and course of study for the schools in their jurisdiction. Through a series of legislative acts from 1829 to 1834, the assembly maintained these grants and further developed the system. Local parish clergy and other citizens were designated visitors with inspection and reporting duties. An educational committee of the assembly was placed in charge of receiving school reports and of making recommendations to the assembly. The member of the assembly in whose district a school was located was understood to have a special responsibility for it.

The assembly or "trustee" schools were immediately appealing. The provisions for financing and the establishment of local control no doubt contributed much to the appeal, but another not insignificant factor was the spirit of the times. Ideas of popular government and of lay control of education were in the air. A. Labarre-Paulé in a study of the lay-teachers' movement of Quebec notes that the term "instituteur" was born in the French Revolution of 1789, was introduced into French Canada between 1822 and 1825, and attained official standing by its use in the assembly minutes of 1835-6.¹⁷ The swing of mood was away from church control of education. The normal school instituted in Montreal in 1836 was bilingual and non-sectarian; nor was there any restriction in the normal school legislation of 1836 as to the sex of those permitted to attend.¹⁸ A favoured model of education at the time was the non-sectarian monitorial system of Joseph Lancaster.¹⁹ The monitorial method was itself, perhaps, evocative of the spirit of the times. In teaching one another students learned the meaning of individual rights and responsibilities.

The number of assembly schools had by 1835 increased to about 1500. Most of the schools formerly supported by the Royal Institution had been successfully lured away by the large



assembly grants. The Royal Institution was eventually left only with McGill College and its Royal Grammar Schools in Quebec City and Montreal. But this era of educational expansion was destined to a short span. Roman Catholic authorities were never whole-heartedly enthusiastic about the assembly schools because they gave a great deal of authority to lay teachers and trustees and to politicians, whom they believed were vulnerable to the secular and atheistical thought then prevalent in Europe. The financial policy of the assembly with respect to schools had led to gross corruptions. The close connection of education with politics encouraged patronage and the use of educational interests as political ploys. By 1836 the power struggle between the two branches of the legislature (assembly and council), reflecting in part the opposition of French nationalist and English commercial interests,²⁰ had brought about political paralysis in the colony. The assembly had passed a bill which would have placed each school under the direct control of the local member of the House of Assembly. A committee of the Legislative Council, set up to review the bill, blamed the assembly's profuse liberality in grants for the continuing lack of responsibility being demonstrated by local citizens in the maintenance of schools. It advocated a central board to regulate educational affairs, suggesting that additional powers proposed for members of the House of Assembly would further encourage patronage and open the door to other grave abuses.²¹ The council, acting on this advice from its committee, refused to give assent for the educational grants of that year. In the following year the revolution broke out; the constitution was suspended and the common schools, left without financial support, withered away as quickly as they had grown. The work of the superior schools, founded and controlled by local initiative in towns and cities was less dependent upon government financial aid (though grants had been given to some of these schools in an unsystematic and irregular manner for some years). They fared better, though they were not unhampered in the prevailing unrest of the late 1830s.

E. BULLER AND MONDELET

Quebec had to wait until 1841 before its common schools were restored. The mission of Lord Durham intervened. His famous report advocated a legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada as a means of solving the constitutional problem. More rights would be given the assembly of the united Canada to run its own affairs, but the power of the French-speaking sector in such an arrangement would be greatly reduced. Durham frankly advocated the anglicization of Quebec as the only long-term solution to Canada's problems.

An appendix to the report, the work of Arthur Buller, was devoted to an analysis of the educational situation in Canada. (The secretary of Buller's commission was Christopher Dunkin, who was later to play a prominent role in Quebec and Canadian politics and to represent Protestants on the Council of Public Instruction.) Though he paid tribute to the Roman Catholic bishops' devotion to education (while scolding certain Protestant clergy for their illiberality²² and complimenting the Protestant laity for their broad-mindedness) Buller recommended a non-sectarian school system which would be paid for in equal measure by local taxes and government grants. He thought that the balance between central and local control should be carefully maintained, and that there should be an effective inspectorate and centralized superintendency of education. Religion and morality could be taught, Buller suggested, by means of a book of Biblical extracts acceptable to all denominations, such as was being used in the National Schools of Ireland. The "dogmatical parts" of Scripture would be omitted, and the "historical parts" emphasized. Explanations of the passages would be appended and the master's 'personal comments' would be guided by these authorized interpretations.²³ Denominational religious education might be given by clergymen or others after school hours. Buller's recommendations were far from original, but they were suggestive. They and the letters of Charles Mondelet to The Canada Times constituted the theoretical material upon which the educational legislation of the next decade would be based.

Mondelet, a lawyer and politician, looked upon public school education as a means of bringing about a better understanding between French and English in Canada. He went so far as to suggest in one of his letters that schools of the two languages might be placed in one building, or nearby, so that their pupils might observe one another and perhaps play together. Using the New York State system of common schools as his model, he suggested how it might fit into the Canadian scene. The clergy, the government, and "the People"²⁴ must all have a share in the decision-making, but the legislature, Mondelet conceded, should have the ultimate responsibility. Mondelet was of the opinion that education should be based on religious principles, but that the promotion of particular faiths should be discouraged, because this engendered division and conflict. Like Buller, he recommended as a school text in religion, a book of Bible extracts compiled by representatives of the various faiths. Mondelet's letters were widely read, and their sentiments approved by the governor. The members of the united Canadian parliament who met in 1841 aware that education must be one of their most urgent concerns, perhaps took their copies of Mondelet with them.

F. PROTESTANT SCHOOLS IN 1839

Before considering the new phase in the history of Canadian education opened up by the events of 1841, it may be interesting to glance briefly at the school situation in the city of Montreal in 1839 as described in Bosworth's Hochelaga Depicta.²⁵ Montreal schools operating that year included: (1) the British and Canadian School, founded by an inter-denominational educational society in 1822 to be run according to the Lancastrian method, gave elementary education to the children of artisans and labourers of both languages, had boys' and girls' sections, and conducted non-sectarian moral and religious instruction; (2) the National School, established in 1816 by the Montreal Branch of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, also gave elementary education to the poor without distinction of sex, language, or denomination, but its religious instruction was oriented to the beliefs of the Church of England; (3) several charity schools sponsored by local church

congregations; (4) Sulpician institutions for the education of priests, and of boys in "Le Petit Séminaire"; (5) the school of the convent of La Congrégation de Notre Dame, open to girls; (6) a number of private schools for the more affluent classes; (7) the Royal Grammar School under Headmaster Alexander Skakel, which had been established in 1816; (8) McGill College, which at this time included an affiliated Medical School without much else.

Quebec City schools had a similar distribution; there was a Royal Grammar School, a British and Canadian School, a National School, Catholic schools operated by religious orders and other private schools.

Settlers in several areas of the colony had also been building and maintaining elementary schools since the last decade of the eighteenth century. These included Gaspe, 1790, Three Rivers, 1791, William Henry (Sorel), 1794, Philipsburg, 1794, L'Assomption, 1798, and others. Protestant schools were established at Huntingdon and in Argenteuil (St. Andrews' East) as well as in a number of Townships districts early in the nineteenth century.²⁶ In 1839 academies for classical education were in existence at Stanstead and at Charleston in the township of Hatley. Others were soon to follow in many areas of the province. The Newfoundland School Society²⁷ began in 1839 to carry on its work in the Townships to provide elementary schools with "sound Scriptural Education."²⁸

G. THE EDUCATION ACTS OF THE FORTIES

The legislators who gathered in the parliament of the Canadas in 1841 were besieged with petitions concerning education. Forty of these (twenty-five from Lower Canada) demanded the use of the unabridged Bible as a class-book in all schools where there were Protestant children.²⁹ Another petition, that from John Strachan, Anglican Bishop of Toronto, asked that Anglicans be given authority to set up their own schools with the assistance of public funds. While the first draft of

Solicitor-General Day's education bill was being debated, a petition from Remegius Gaulin, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kingston, implored that the bill "not become law until the opinions of the Catholics and other Religious Denominations be known."³⁰ After due consideration of these petitions, the legislators included in the final draft of the education law of 1841 a "dissentient clause" which empowered the inhabitants of school districts who professed a religious faith different from that of the majority to elect trustees to establish and maintain their own schools, and to receive their proportion of the moneys appropriated by law for education.

The education act of 1841 applied to the united province without regional distinction. The authority to organize system of education was placed with the district councils. These were to establish school districts, arrange for the election of school commissioners, apportion grants, and raise tax revenue. The local commissioners were responsible for the running of schools in their charge. In the cities and towns, boards of examiners were to be appointed by the civic authorities to examine the credentials of teachers, regulate the course of study in each school, and act as visitors. The boards of examiners were to be divided into Catholic and Protestant sections each of which had authority in the schools of their respective denominations. "Mixed" schools were the responsibility of the whole board. The act provided for a superintendent of education who would apportion to the district councils their allocation of the funds to be provided for common schools. The superintendent was to inspect the schools, maintain uniformity in the operation of schools and in their course of study, receive reports, and make his own annual report to the governor.

The act of 1841 proved inoperable because of its vagueness as to details of organization, and its general impracticability.³¹ There was a growing realization, too, that precisely the same rules could not be made to apply effectively to both Canadas. In 1843 a new act was passed to apply only to Canada West. Separate schools were allowed for Roman Catholics and for "Protestants", but not for Anglicans. Canada East was given a school law of its own in 1845. So great had been the opposition to taxation, allowed by the 1841 act, that the new act

provided local school authorities with the option to receive "contributions" in lieu of taxes. But the 1845 law, too, was found to be ineffective. In 1846 a new act was passed for Canada East which copied, revised, and refined the provisions of the earlier laws. Compulsory local taxation was again made the financial base of the system,³² but school commissioners, rather than district councils, were given the authority to assess and collect taxes and fees. This act had been called the "Magna Charta of Quebec education" because it provided the fundamental structures on which all succeeding educational law in Quebec was to be built. Among these basics were the office of Superintendent of Education accountable to the Governor-in-Council, local school commissioners and school municipalities, the right of dissent, the division of boards of examiners (for the licensing of teachers) into Catholic and Protestant sections, the tying of city school commissioners to the civic corporations, the recognition that the provincial legislature had a responsibility to support local efforts financially, the assumption that schools were to provide moral and religious instruction, the appointment of clergy as visitors to schools where there were children of their denominations, and the designation of clergy as those who had the right to choose the texts to be used for moral and religious education in the school. Another duty of commissioners and trustees was that of determining and collecting the fees which were by law payable by parents for each child in attendance at school. This gave revenue in addition to the taxes which were collected from property holders. Later, school fees were by law chargeable to all except indigent children of school age in a district. School boards, however, had the power to dispense with fees.

Commissioners and trustees in most of the province were to be elected, but in Quebec City and Montreal they were appointed. Since they had no power to levy taxes each set of commissioners in the cities was to be provided with grants of appropriate proportions from the city corporation. Provincial grants to Quebec and Montreal for education were, for many years, very small compared to those given to the country school municipalities. This was because there was felt to be sufficient educational opportunity through the various charity schools and other private institutions. The work of the commissioners in Montreal was minimal until the late 1860s. An

interesting feature of the Montreal Board of Protestant School Commissioners from the time of its formation was the understanding that membership on the board should be spread among adherents of the major Protestant denominations. Clergymen were quite often chosen as chairmen of the various school boards throughout Protestant Quebec.

Quebec Protestant public schools continued to espouse a religious and moral purpose in education. That teaching found its focus in the Bible, which all denominations accepted as authoritative. Accompanying this Bible-centrism was the familiar Protestant belief, inherited in part from the Puritans, that "practical" Christianity - living a "good" life - was the issue for Christians. A positive relation between Christianity and civilization was assumed. Protestant and anglo-saxon values were blended.

H. FRENCH PROTESTANTISM

French Protestantism was, however, developing some strength in Canada by the middle of the nineteenth century. Missionaries from Switzerland and France were active from 1835, and, in 1839, the French-Canadian Missionary Society, a non-denominational organization based in Montreal but with links in Europe, furthered the work of evangelization among the French-speaking population of Quebec. The work of the society ceased in 1875 and was taken over by the different Protestant denominations. Residential schools for French Protestant children were established at Grande Ligne in 1841 (l'Institut Feller), Sabrevois in 1855 (Collège de Sabrevois), Pointe aux Trembles in 1861 (l'Institut évangélique), and Westmount in 1868 (l'Institut Méthodiste français). These were, or became, Baptist, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist institutions. Prevailing social forces, however, favoured the assimilation of French Protestants into the English language and culture. Rejection of French Protestants in some Catholic francophone communities, the presence of greater job opportunities in English-language contexts, and the dominating place of the English language in Quebec's Protestant schools all contributed to assimilation.

I. TOWARDS CENTRAL CONTROL

The first Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada was Dr. Jean-Baptiste Meilleur, appointed in 1841. In his first years in office, Meilleur's chief aim was to win the acceptance by the people of the new system of education. The law of 1846, like those before it, had many critics. Catholics complained that the act of 1846 unjustly ruled out priests as school commissioners, since the latter had to be property-owners. Protestants held that the trustees of dissentient schools were discriminated against by the terms of the act since they did not have the right to collect their own taxes or retain property rights to their school-houses. These deficiencies were partially adjusted within a few years through amendments to the school law. But there were other less easily managed difficulties. John Dougall, editor of the newly-established newspaper the Montreal Witness, led a campaign for "Christian schools." Dougall contended that Protestants should have their own superintendent of education since the present office would undoubtedly always be filled by a Roman Catholic.³³ And Meilleur's bitterest battle was waged in some rural areas of the province where the inhabitants conducted what became known as "la guerre des éteignoirs" against the imposition of taxes for school revenue. Pastors used their influence in favour of obedience to the law, but in some Catholic districts the curés themselves were objects of suspicion and attack. Gradually, however, order was won, schools multiplied, and Meilleur could attend to the next stages in the building of a system of education: the appointment of boards of examiners to license teachers; and the nomination of a cadre of inspectors (provided for by an 1851 law) to visit the schools, inspect, and make their recommendations to teachers, commissioners, trustees, and the superintendent.

Local control of the content of education prevailed in these early days, not least with respect to moral and religious education. John Bruce of Huntingdon, inspector for a region which included the city of Montreal, lamented in 1854 that there was inadequate attention to religious education in the schools;³⁴ in another report, one or two years later, he remarked that though he refrained from getting involved in the religious

content that was to be taught in school, he had at least insisted in his inspection on the importance of moral influence.³⁵ Meilleur himself in his communications to school commissioners, trustees, teachers and inspectors made a point of continual reminders regarding the importance of religious education.

But it began to be recognized that local control of education was not an altogether satisfactory principle on which to build an effective system. A special committee of the Legislative Assembly set up under the chairmanship of L.V. Sicotte reported in 1853 much dissatisfaction among clergy, inspectors, and citizens about the laxity of the boards of examiners. The incompetency of some commissioners and trustees, and the poor qualifications of teachers. J. Cremazie, Secretary of the committee, gave his personal version of what was wrong and what needed to be done:

Nul système scolaire ne pourra bien fonctionner, sans une direction active, énergique, intelligente, ayant le droit d'initiative et de la solution à toutes les difficultés qui se présentent. Une direction n'ayant que le droit d'aviser dans le Bas-Canada, une anomalie et une absurdité, elle doit pouvoir faire exécuter tout ce qu'elle conseille dans l'esprit de la loi. Il doit y avoir beaucoup de coercition dans les pouvoirs accordés à la direction.³⁶

Suggestions such as this and the influence of P.J.O. Chauveau, who, in 1855, succeeded Dr. Meilleur as Superintendent of Education, brought legislation in 1856 which authorized normal schools, made provision for a Council of Public Instruction which would work with the Superintendent in setting the standards for teacher certification, and gave the superintendent the power to administer the regular grants to superior schools now made possible by the establishment of permanent superior education funds.

Chauveau's centralizing policy was opposed by Protestant leaders such as Alexander Galt, member of parliament for the town of Sherbrooke, and J.H. Nicolls, principal of Bishop's

University, who viewed it as prejudicial to the interests of Quebec Protestants.³⁷ Galt and R.B. Somerville of Huntingdon proposed an amendment to the bill of 1856 that would have abolished inspectors and given more authority to the municipal councils. They were unable, however, to sway a sufficient number of the Upper Canadian legislators; their amendment was lost. Chauveau later won high respect from Protestants because of his tact and fairness, and because he was careful to consult them before decisions affecting their interests were made.

The normal schools (Laval in Quebec City, Jacques Cartier and McGill Normal School in Montreal) were opened in 1857. The McGill Normal School took as its principal J. William Dawson, the principal of the university. Associated with him on the staff was William Henry Hicks who, since 1853, had been offering teacher-training at the Anglican-sponsored Church and Colonial Society School in Montreal. Model schools in which prospective teachers were to gain practical experience and observe approved teaching methods were set up with the normal schools.

The membership of the Council of Public Instruction was not named until 1859. It included eleven Catholics and four Protestants, appointed by the Governor-in-Council.³⁸ By a motion of Francis Fulford, Anglican Bishop of Quebec, at the first meeting of the Council in 1860 Sir Etienne Taché was made chairman.

Official educational policy at this time envisioned Canadians of the two races and creeds co-operating in the building of a common school system which would allow dissidence on the local scene but present a unity at the supervisory and policy-making levels. French-speaking Roman Catholic inspectors visited schools which were dominantly English-speaking and Protestant, and vice versa; reporting systems and statistics did not at first distinguish pupils according to faith or language. Since Protestants and Catholics tended to live in separate communities problems in co-operation did not seem insuperable. Schools in Catholic areas became "Catholic", and those in Protestant areas became "Protestant." Currents in

in another direction, however, were already strong. Montreal and Quebec City had their separate Catholic and Protestant boards of school commissioners; the boards of examiners were likewise divided; the number of dissentient schools had, in 1861, risen to 143, about 5% of the total;³⁹ the normal schools advertised themselves as Catholic or Protestant. A functional division on the basis of religion soon began to appear also in the Council of Public Instruction. It was found inconvenient to have the whole council agree on the suitability of all the texts to be used in schools. A system was adopted in which some textbooks were listed as receiving the approval of the whole council, but others as suggestions from its Catholic or Protestant members. The lists began to be published with these distinctions, so that commissioners and others might be guided as to the choice they should make. (The duty of recommending books for the teaching of religion and morals in the schools had been placed with the clergy in local school districts.) Protestants chafed, too, under a taxing system which channelled much of their money to support Catholic education to which they were opposed by principle.

J. THE PROTESTANT UNIVERSITIES

The decades immediately preceding the Canadian confederation witnessed the development of McGill and Bishop's universities. These institutions served as influential models for Protestant schools in Quebec.

A long conflict between the governors of McGill and the board of the Royal Institution as to the terms of McGill's religious establishment⁴⁰ and other matters had kept the college weak. But by the late 1840s McGill's direction had become clear. There was to be no faculty of divinity and no special Anglican influence. By the amended charter of 1852 the University became officially non-sectarian in organization and programme as it had always been in its admission policy. Chosen as principal in 1854, J. William Dawson, former Superintendent of Education in Nova Scotia, had inherited from his Secession and Free Church Presbyterian background a belief that the spheres of

church and state control in education should overlap as little as possible. Dawson was both a well-known natural scientist and a devoted Christian who laboured to demonstrate the compatibility of Christian faith with the discoveries of science. The reorganized board of governors contained Protestants of different denominations, and the spirit of the institution was acclaimed in convocation speeches as Protestant,⁴¹ but there was no official church connection.

The Bishop of Montreal,⁴² George Jehoshaphat Mountain, acceded somewhat reluctantly to these developments at McGill. He was, perhaps, consoled by the success of Bishop's College which he had founded in 1845. Bishop's was open to students of all religious denominations, but was under Anglican control and influence. The college also provided for the study of theology required in the education of Anglican clergy, which had not been possible at McGill.

The two universities presented to the proliferating Protestant schools and academies of the nineteenth century somewhat different models for the content and process of education. Bishop's was an exponent of the "English" or classical education which maintained Latin, Greek and mathematics at the heart of the curriculum in "higher learning". These studies "civilized" the rising generation; they "trained the mind" and produced persons of quality. Pride was taken at Bishop's in the individual attention given the personal character development of each student. Students lived in residence. Team sports were featured. Its tutorial system of education was compared to the mass education prevalent in American institutions as being "better suited to the more refined and delicate minds."⁴³ McGill, however, took a "scientific" and "practical" direction. The merchants and manufacturers upon whose beneficence McGill was dependent made their handsomest gifts not to the Arts Department but to the promotion of "professional" education. What Canada needed, they felt, were no savants but persons who would contribute to the advancement of commerce and industry. Principal Dawson's own interest, and perhaps an inclination on the part of the board to model the university after the Scottish universities encouraged the strong emphasis on science. McGill in 1873 was

the first university in Canada to give a degree in applied science. Its reputation in this department along with its fame in medicine helped to give the school the approved practical cast. Dawson was careful to maintain that professional education must be built upon a thorough grounding in the arts, which, he thought, civilized the young and produced character. The university's course of study insured that this would happen. But the McGill image offered a contrast not only to Bishop's but to the Catholic institutions of classical learning. Superintendents of Education like Meilleur and Chauveau found in McGill no little support for themselves as they pressed for alternatives to classical education in the superior schools. Training in agriculture, engineering, commerce were called for. A few "middle schools" were set up to accomplish these objectives. The debate between advocates of classical and practical education raged for many years, however. The Protestant academies and high schools too had to make crucial decisions about the content and direction of the education they offered. As the century wore on, they moved increasingly in the direction indicated by McGill.

K. DUAL CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT SYSTEMS

There was not in the pre-Confederation period or, indeed, for eight years after this event, a developed "system" of Protestant education in Quebec; nor were there before 1867 any legal safeguards to give English-speaking Protestants security in the rights they had gained. Thus the approach of Confederation threw the minority in Quebec into something close to panic. Since the Canadian union of 1840 they had been able to form a front with Protestants in Upper Canada which gave them a majority voice in the legislature but in a separate province they would form a definite numerical minority. Under the political handicap this entailed, who could be sure that in the future their institutions and identity would be respected?

The fears of Protestants were projected in attacks against the educational system of Quebec carried on in the press and climaxed in a mass meeting of Protestants at Mechanic's

Hall, Montreal, in September 1864. Clergymen of several denominations, businessmen, educators, and others who spoke at the meeting publicly castigated the Department of Education's policy on grants, textbooks, and organization, and the school law itself, all of which were said to discriminate against Protestants. Neither Dawson nor Galt was present at the meeting. The charges were extreme and were answered in a dignified way by Superintendent Chauveau in the pages of the *Journal of Education*, the Department's official English-language publication.⁴⁴ The mass meeting produced, however, the "Association for the Promotion and Protection of the Educational Interests of Protestants," which acted as a catalyst for Protestant opinion and feelings in the pre-confederation negotiations.

The resolutions of the Quebec Conference in 1864 though somewhat favourable did not wholly allay the fears of Protestants. A.T. Galt had made sure that the resolution which gave the provinces control of education included the phrase "saving the rights and privileges which the Protestant and Catholic minority in both Canadas may possess as to their denominational schools at the time when the Constitutional Act goes into operation."⁴⁵ But this was far too vague. Protestant voices were declaring that they would settle for nothing less than their own Superintendent of Education and complete control of their schools and tax money. The St. Francis Teachers' Association, for instance, resolved to wait upon the Hon. A.T. Galt with resolutions asking that corporations have the right to decide the designation of their school tax, that the Council of Public Instruction be composed of an equal number of Protestants and Catholics, and that it should be left to school commissioners, inspectors, and teachers to secure as much uniformity in the school texts used as was practicable. One clause stated: "No priest, curé, or officiating clergyman shall have the right to prescribe what books shall be used in schools."⁴⁶ Galt, Minister of Finance in the Macdonald cabinet, had, since 1858, been bruited the economic and political advantages of confederation of the British North American colonies. Certain other Protestant leaders in Lower Canada, notably Christopher Dunkin, were not in favor of the project. Galt, hoping to insure support for confederation among Protestants in Lower Canada, now offered his reputation as an assurance to Protestants that their rights would be guaranteed and extended by law before

confederation, so that their schools would not be entirely at the mercy of the Quebec legislature.

At the last session of the old parliament, a bill was presented incorporating the wishes of Lower Canada Protestants. They were given some separate administrative control of elementary and superior education. But another bill calling for identical rights for Catholics in Upper Canada was also presented. This killed any legislation; the latter bill would have met with strong opposition from Upper Canadians. All parties (and Galt) agreed that it was unwise, on the eve of confederation, to raise a divisive debate. The minority in each of the Canadas was advised to trust the good-will of the majority in bringing about protective legislation in the provincial legislatures. Protestants in Lower Canada were given to understand that Georges Etienne Cartier had promised A.T. Galt that he would personally see that this was done in Quebec. Galt's sense of honour led him to resign his cabinet post when the promised law failed to materialize, but he was soon thereafter sent to London as one of those who would negotiate the constitutional act.

The demand of Protestants for constitutional guarantees and for the extension of their rights was heard again when final negotiations were taking place in London. The Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers, which had been formed in 1864 and was now presided over by J. William Dawson,⁴⁷ laid a petition "at the foot of the throne" expressing the signers' preference for "a general and non-denominational system of education," but suggesting that, since this was evidently not possible at present in Lower Canada, Protestants should have the right to designate all their direct school taxes to "Protestant or non-denominational education" and that "suitable and adequate provision should be made for the protection of the educational interests of Protestants, in the management of educational funds, the establishment and proper classification of schools and institutions of superior education, and generally in the administration of educational affairs."⁴⁸

The equation of Protestant with non-denominational education was perhaps more characteristic of Dawson's type of Protestantism than that of Anglican bishops. It contained the

assumption that the general Protestantism of "non-denominational systems" of education like that of Ontario was normative for the culture of British North America. But the very values Protestants labelled "non-denominational" - the acceptance of pluralism, the emphasis on worldly progress, and on public schooling as aimed at developing character rather than securing belief in religious dogma - was to Catholics sheer Protestant denominationalism.

The London negotiators were not in a position to create legislation of the kind called for in the teachers' petition. But some assurances were incorporated in the act of constitution. Section ninety-three of the British North America Act of 1867 gave to each province the right to make laws for education, but modified that right by qualifications that "nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any Right of Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by law in the Province at the Union," and that "the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissident Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec." In addition, the right of appeal to the Governor General in Council was granted to those minorities against "any Act or decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege... in relation to education." The Parliament of Canada was granted the authority, under certain circumstances, to "make remedial Laws."⁴⁹

The legislature of the new Province of Quebec acted in 1869 to provide Protestants with the educational guarantees they had been seeking. This was not before Georges-Etienne Cartier had been frequently reminded of his promise by Protestants. The Protestant School Board of Montreal had already threatened to take advantage of their newly-won right of appeal unless the principle of Protestant taxes for Protestant Schools was established.⁵⁰

The Act of 1869 did not permit to Protestants the complete autonomy which some had desired, but it took large strides in that direction. The Council of Public Instruction (now consisting of 14 Catholics and 7 Protestants) was restructured in such a way that there could be complete separation of the Catholic and Protestant Committees of the council if, after due deliberation, this were desired by either party. The two Committees were given considerable power and responsibility over the schools in their charge; though major decisions had still to be ratified by the whole council. The rights of dissentients were outlined and clarified. Grants to Superior Schools, it was stipulated, would be made regularly to the Minister and be divided between Catholic and Protestant institutions according to the population ratio at the last census. Additional revenue resources had been made available to city schools the previous year, but the Act of 1869 further increased their grants, and directed city councils to devote much larger sums to education. Three of the six commissioners on each city school board were now to be appointed by the provincial government. The city corporation kept the right to name the three other commissioners. The cities were given a new "panel" system of classifying taxable property. Catholic and Protestant rate-payers were to have their taxes placed in separate panels of the ledger; the third panel was reserved for corporate property and for the taxes of non-Catholics and non-Protestants; the fourth panel listed non-taxable property. Municipal revenue for educational purposes was to be shared between Catholics and Protestants proportionally to population at the last census. The new tax rights brought much-needed relief to the city school commissioners who had begun to be hard pressed under the demand for public education by the growing population, particularly of Montreal. It should also be noted that at the establishment of the Ministry of Education (to replace the superintendency) in 1867, P.J.O. Chauveau, who was now both Premier and Education Minister, appointed H.H. Miles, a Bishop's professor and historian, to the post of Assistant-Secretary in the Department of Education. The position afforded the Minister a liaison with the Protestant community, and gave Miles considerable power since his advice was crucial to the Minister's decisions and the work of the Protestant Committee.

But the law of 1869, as it turned out, was not to resolve completely Quebec's educational tensions. Both Protestants and Catholics registered dissatisfaction. Protestants protested that the quality of schooling, particularly in the superior schools, was suffering because of inadequate inspection and a poor system of accountability.⁵¹ The basis upon which grants were awarded did not have a coherent rationale; both the grants and the inspectors were being used as patronage.⁵² Teachers complained of the poor choice of text-books and of the low prestige and monetary reward allowed their profession.⁵³ Many of these difficulties might be corrected, it was inferred, if Protestants could have an increased authority over their system of education and unhampered control of the financial resources due their schools.

In the Catholic sector, ultramontane principles had been growing in strength. Pope Pius had, in 1864, published the Syllabus of Errors which condemned liberal social tendencies, including secular education, and the separation of Church and state. A Church council, in 1870, adopted the doctrine of papal infallibility, and asserted the right of the Church to be absolutely independent of the secular control. Bishop Bourget of Montreal, who attended the Council, returned with a papal decree outlawing the Institut Canadien, a Montreal organization which had been disseminating liberal ideas. Then in 1871 many Quebec Catholics were scandalized when New Brunswick Catholics failed to win the support of either the Privy Council or the Canadian parliament in their appeal of an act which secularized the schools in that province. The Programme Catholique, organized by Bourget and others to mobilize Catholics in Quebec against secular influences and to bring about the changes in provincial law necessary to protect Catholic rights, now gained strength. In the federal and provincial elections that immediately followed, the ultramontanists went so far as to name the candidates for whom Catholics should, or should not, vote. Many Catholic authorities, both moderate and rightist, publicly registered their fear that schools would imbibe secular influences unless they were under tighter control of the Church.⁵⁴ Bishops, not civil governments, they said, possessed the responsibility for the education of children of Catholic parents. The benefit and appropriateness of a Ministry of Education, which could too easily mix education and politics, was being questioned.

The governments of Gédéon Quimet and Charles Boucher de Boucherville which succeeded that of Chauveau were inclined to view the Bishops' complaints as legitimate. The Conservative party of which they were leaders had traditionally received unfailing support from the Catholic hierarchy. Quimet attempted to bring in educational reforms which would have protected Catholic rights in education without sacrificing the Ministry of Education. But, in 1875, De Boucherville's government brought in a bill to abolish the Ministry and to set new terms for the administration of education in Quebec. An informal meeting of Protestant members of the Council of Public Instruction⁵⁵ with the Protestant members of the legislature⁵⁶ (most of whom were of the governing Conservative party) resulted in recommendations which approved the law, but asked for two superintendents of education (one for Protestants) and for an enlarged Protestant Committee.⁵⁷ These concessions were not made but the bill passed through the legislature without resistance. The majority of both Catholics and Protestants were happy to see education removed from direct political influence.⁵⁸

The education act of 1875 abolished the Ministry of Education and restored the post of Superintendent of Education. There was a major re-organization of the membership of the Council of Public Instruction. It was now to consist of all the Roman Catholic bishops (or delegates named by them) who had all or part of their dioceses in Quebec, an equal number of Catholic laymen, and seven Protestants.⁵⁹ The Catholic Bishops were appointed, ex-officio, all others were named by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. The two Committees, Catholic and Protestant, into which the Council was divided were given extensive authority over the schools pertaining to their "denomination". The Committees could meet separately and did not require the approval of the whole Council on matters that pertained to their own jurisdiction. The single office unifying the system was that of Superintendent of Education. The Protestant Committee was permitted by law to add five associate-members to assist it in its work. Each committee received the right to decide how the total grant available would be divided among the superior schools in its own constituency.

The effect of the act was to place the authority for public education in the province not with the government but with the Council of Public Instruction, particularly its two confessional committees. Since these committees made decisions separately, the boundaries of their constituencies had to be sharply defined. Two almost completely autonomous systems of education developed. Official communication of the one system with the other was maintained only through the Council of Public Instruction, which in fact met rarely from this time, and the office of the Superintendent of Education which offered the means of liaison with the government and which reported annually to the legislature through the Provincial Secretary. It became an unwritten law as well that important matters affecting Protestant education requiring sanction of the government were referred to the Protestant representatives in the cabinet for approval. The act of 1875 also allowed for and determined that the confessional status of Catholic and Protestant education would not be structured in a precisely parallel relationship. Catholic education would be organically related to one ecclesiastical body, Protestant education to none. Protestants often termed their education non-denominational, the B.N.A. Act terminology notwithstanding, and Catholics were happily denominational in all respects.

L. PROTESTANT UNITY

The education act of 1875, which had passed through the legislature with ease, raised a whirlwind in the press. This was generated chiefly by the pen of Sir Alexander Galt. In two pamphlets, written in the spring of 1876,⁶⁰ Galt called upon liberal Catholics and Protestants of all political parties to unite in the name of freedom against the ultramontane policy of Bishop Bourget. An unholy alliance of church and state in Quebec, Galt believed, motivated the new arrangements for the administration of education. He criticized Protestant politicians "now basking in the sunshine of Episcopal favor,"⁶¹ who achieved their ends by acquiescing in the control of the clergy over their Catholic fellow-citizens. He warned of the danger to the Canadian nation should contending Catholic and Protestant political parties develop. Galt's criticisms were blunted,

however, against the hard truth that the majority of Quebec's legislators of all political and religious opinions had united in approving the education act. In the course of time the more moderate influence of Archbishop Taschereau and others prevailed over ultramontanist extremes,⁶² but few voices in Quebec, either Catholic or Protestant, called for basic alterations in a law which afforded the two religious groups autonomy in the organization and maintenance of their educational system. The erection of two citadels, each replete with protective buttresses, seemed to the majority of citizens to be the most adequate answer available to the tensions and needs of the society of their time. The act, as it turned out, settled the matter of educational authority in Quebec for ninety years.

By 1875, Protestants in Canada had become more unified than they were in earlier decades of the century. The abolition of the clergy reserves in 1854 meant that no single denomination could any longer claim special status. The Church of England (and the Church of Scotland) had to depend for financial support upon the voluntary givings of members as other Protestants did. Old jealousies subsided; the competition was on a more even footing! Nor did doctrinal differences loom as large in the optimistic, liberal atmosphere of the late nineteenth century. Everywhere, separated Protestant church bodies were finding common cause with others of their confession. Presbyterians in Canada effected a general union in 1875, Methodists were to complete their series of unions in 1884. Even the individualistic Baptist and Congregational churches were finding it advantageous to form associations.

Their minority position in the province's political life meant that there was an additional motive for Quebec Protestants to form coalitions. In the field of education, however, Anglicans at first joined in the common front somewhat reluctantly. Their difficulty was with the idea of non-sectarian education. Bishop Fulford's address at the opening of the McGill Normal School in 1857 had made it plain that his participation, and that of the church he represented, was a compromise of the belief that religion was "the basis of all sound education."⁶³ In 1872, too, when the trustees of the Trafalgar Institute for Young Ladies, a residential school for young women "of the middle and higher ranks," sought to obtain

the support of all Protestant churches, Bishop Oxenden refused, citing as his chief objection that:

No Ladies' Boarding School can be efficiently carried on under the management of a mixed religious board, inasmuch as questions of Church organisation, and of distinctive religious instruction, must be perpetually presenting themselves; and must either cause serious difficulties and dissention or lead to eventual exclusion of religious teaching altogether.⁶⁴

Still, Anglicans were co-operating with other Protestants at McGill University. Canon Leach, the vice-principal, even argued:

Freedom from predominating sect influences has, unquestionably, tended to cause the different religious bodies into which the community is divided to work together with greater harmony and to regard one another with greater respect and consideration not in external action only but with sincere sentiment.⁶⁵

An Anglican leadership dominated in the Council of Public Instruction and the Protestant Committee both before and after the 1876 re-organization.⁶⁶ The decisions taken there no doubt entailed compromises on the part of all those who participated. Quite different views about the relation of religion to education were represented on the Protestant Committee. Some Protestants held that the fundamental purposes of religion and education were identical and that religious formation and moral behaviour were of a piece. Others declared with equal conviction that public, secular education and religion must be kept in distinct spheres and that schools had a duty to instill morals but not to instruct in religious faith. The ambiguity in the definition of the confessional dimension in Protestant education in Quebec which exists today is a reflection of unresolved differences among Protestants about the role of public education in society. The history of the moral and religious dimension of Protestant education in Quebec reveals the attempt to accommodate these differences within a unified system of education.

SUMMARY

French and English, Protestant and Catholic, in Quebec, made efforts in the nineteenth century to erect a school system common to them both; but the differences in culture which projected dissimilar aims and strategies for the two "peoples" precluded common action. The gulf widened in the latter half of the nineteenth century when liberal Protestant and ultra-montane Catholic each felt that the other was hampering the true aims of education as they saw them. The division was codified in the education law of 1875. The expression of these differences in religious categories veiled other cultural issues arising out of the language and racial diversity. Anglicans had to surrender their claims to special status in Quebec because of social changes which were, for instance, reflected and modelled in the "disestablishment" of McGill University. But they were able to unite with other mainline Protestant groups on a common value base which synthesized the norms projected by British history and character with those of nineteenth-century Protestantism. This was expressed in a standard which held that there should be no sectarian teaching or proselytism in a publicly-supported Protestant school but that certain general moral and religious principles held by the majority of Protestants, principles which were believed to derive directly from the Bible and were basic to the formation of Christian character, should be inculcated. The fundamental dichotomy between those Protestants who viewed education as "religious", and those who saw it as "secular" was not theologically bridged, though compromises were made in practice. The history of moral and religious education from 1875 to 1975 reveals continuing efforts to resolve that tension.

CHAPTER TWO

PURPOSES, VALUES, AND PROVISIONS FOR MORAL AND
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN QUEBEC PROTESTANT SCHOOLS
1876-1902

- A. The Work of the Protestant Committee
- B. The Purposes of Education
- C. Values Implicit in the System
- D. The Deepening of the Denominational Division
- E. Moral and Religious Education

A. THE WORK OF THE PROTESTANT COMMITTEE

In April, 1876, the new Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction met to begin its task of shaping Protestant education in Quebec into a coherent and comprehensive system. Elson Rexford described these years later as the time when "the real history of Protestant education began."¹ The Committee was composed of gentlemen likely to be equal to the task: George Irvine of Quebec City, Chairman, who had been Solicitor-General and Attorney General of Quebec; James Williams, Bishop of Quebec, who would serve as the Committee's chairman from 1880 to 1892; Judge Charles Dewey Day, Chancellor of McGill University; Judge Christopher Dunkin who had served on the Council of Public Instruction since its first meeting in 1859; the Rev. John Cook, Principal of Morrin College in Quebec City and first moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Canada formed in 1876, who had also served on the Council since its inception; Archdeacon William T. Leach, Vice-principal of McGill University; James Ferrier, Senator and member of the Quebec Legislative Council; and J. William Dawson, Principal of McGill University. The Committee had added to their number as Associate-Members: Judge J.S. Sanborn of Sherbrooke, R.W. Heneker, A.T. Galt's successor as commissioner of the British-American Land Co., corporation executive, and later to be Chancellor of Bishop's University; W.W. Lynch, M.L.A. for Brome, later Solicitor-General in the provincial cabinet and then a judge; and Dr. Alex Cameron of Huntingdon. Henry Fry was named to the Committee later in the year.

The Protestant Committee was charged with the duty of making regulations for the organization, maintenance, and discipline of Protestant schools. It was also to recommend texts,² and devise classifications for schools and teachers according to its own scheme; the McGill Normal School and the Protestant divisions of the boards of examiners were to be subject to these general regulations. The Committee was entrusted with the selection of the inspectors,³ normal school professors, and members of the boards of examiners, who would be officially appointed by the government in the Protestant interest. In the financial realm, it had the responsibility for recommending to the Superintendent of Education the amount of grant to be made

to each Protestant superior school in the province. Use of funds which had accrued from Quebec marriage license fees (including an amount held by the federal government which with interest totalled \$28,000 when it was finally cleared in 1883) had been granted, it seems, to the Committee with the understanding (to be challenged later) that this was to be used primarily to support universities and colleges.⁴ The Protestant Committee had the powers of a corporation and could hold donations and legacies made to it for educational purposes.

The Committee began its work by gathering every possible report and statistic related to Protestant schools in Quebec, and then engaged in a review of the situation of each elementary and superior school.⁵ Within a year or two it had begun to formulate regulations which were to raise the standard of education in the Protestant schools.

In the quarter of a century that followed, the Protestant Committee, chaired successively by Bishop Williams, R.W. Heneker and Rev. Dr. W.I. Shaw, and guided from 1882 by the strong leadership first of Rev. E.I. Rexford, and after 1891 by that of Dr. George Parmelee, English Secretaries of the Department of Education, constructed a system of education which could boast by the end of the century that a boy or girl could enter the first grade and proceed from there through a uniform, graded course of study to university. By 1902 superior schools were regularly inspected and grants were made to them according to a yearly evaluation of their needs and the quality of education they maintained. University matriculation examinations were available to students in every superior school in the province, and the B.A. degree had been, by law, declared sufficient to qualify students, without further examinations, to embark on most professional courses. Standards for teachers' licenses had been raised to the point that every teacher was required to receive some normal school training. Summer institutes conducted by the normal school professors had raised the level of teaching in elementary schools. The creation of a central board of examiners in 1888 had improved the quality of the testing for teachers' licenses. The Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers had become an incorporated body and had received the privilege of naming a representative to the

Protestant Committee, teachers were assisting the Protestant Committee in the selection of school texts. Government grants for education, which had remained unchanged since Confederation, increased sharply during the last years of the century, but most of the money for education still came from local school taxes and, in the case of the universities, from charitable donations. In the 1890s provincial legislation had enabled the formation of school municipalities "for Protestants", and "for Catholics" only. These differed from dissentient boards in that they elected commissioners, who had a legal status somewhat different from that of trustees, and in that all the rate-payers of such municipalities were required to pay their taxes to the board of their religion.

Throughout this period the Protestant Committee kept a wary, and perhaps somewhat paranoid eye on the legal rights of the English Protestant minority; there were numerous conflicts, protests, interviews with the premier. Section 93 of the Confederation Act was cited often in defense of Protestant rights. Much of the school legislation of the period reflected attempts to discriminate sharply between the Catholic and Protestant systems, giving each its proper powers and jurisdiction within a formal unity in the Council of Public Instruction and in the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The latter post was held by Gédéon Ouimet from 1876 to 1895, and then by P. Boucher de la Bruère.

A serious break in the normally good relations between the Protestant and Catholic Committees took place in 1888 when Cardinal Taschereau thwarted an effort by Protestants in a meeting of the Council of Public Instruction to bring in resolutions designed to broaden the definition of the work "Protestant" to mean "all persons not professing the Roman Catholic faith."⁶ The sensibilities of some Protestants were further wounded the following year when the Jesuit Estates' Act provided reparation to Rome and to Catholic educational institutions in Quebec for the losses sustained by the order when their property had been confiscated after the conquest.⁷ The Protestant Committee was awarded a sum of money in the settlement. It was felt that Protestants had been "bought off" and there were official protests from Presbyterian and Anglican church courts.

The Protestant Committee did not greet the end of the century without having endured a number of strong attacks from within the Protestant community itself. The conservatism, authoritarianism, and unrepresentative character of the committee were often cited; but the two most telling criticisms were that the Committee's standards favoured an academic education over a "practical" one, thus penalizing the young person who did not plan to go to university, and that, by employing all its energies and resources to raise the standards of superior education, the Committee had short-changed elementary education in the Protestant schools of the province.

Both these criticisms contained a high degree of truth. The Committee could, however, protest helplessness with respect to elementary education. It had little control over the amount of the grants awarded to elementary schools (these were for the most part decided by the Department of Public Instruction on a population ratio) and thus had few means by which to apply pressure on schools for improvement. By the end of the century, however, conditions had changed. The Committee was devoting much time to elementary and rural education; universities were vigorously protesting the application of a part of their portion of the revenue from the Marriage License Fund to elementary schools,⁸ something which had been made possible by an act of the Quebec legislature in 1899.

A short review such as this cannot enter into detail about all the interesting and important educational developments of the period.⁹ The purposes of our study demand closer attention, however, to a consideration of the dominant purposes of education and the implicit values assumed by Protestant schools of the period. Some account of the deepening differentiation of the Catholic and Protestant systems and of the provisions for religious and moral education in Protestant schools must be made.

B. THE PURPOSES OF EDUCATION

R.W. Heneker, a member of the Protestant Committee, reminded teachers in an 1877 address that "unless the qualities of the mind - the reasoning powers especially - be drawn out and cultivated, man is but a mere animal, the appetites having their sway."¹⁰ Somewhat more sophisticated was the definition of the purposes of education given in Joseph Baldwin's The Art of School Management, used by E.I. Rexford in bringing order to Protestant education in Quebec and recommended reading for students at the McGill Normal School for some years: "True education... judiciously develops the power of self-government inherent in the child, and thus makes the pupil himself the unconscious instrument of his own self-control."¹¹ Another text of the time was expansive:

The teacher does his best to develop harmoniously all the faculties of the individual, to create a sound body for the sound mind, to take care that all the fibres of the brain are called into play, and roused to full activity, and that their work is properly distributed among the inherited capacities of the pupil. He will consider his object gained if his pupil has attained to the best development of which he is capable; if no powers have been repressed excepting so far as is necessary for the proper activity of others.¹²

Included among the "faculties" in the educational parlance of the day were not only reason, imagination, will, and memory but religious sense, moral principle, and physical capabilities. A fundamental tenet of the faculty psychology held that the powers must be drawn out and "exercised" or else they would atrophy. Proponents of classical education argued not only that the study of Latin and Greek humanized the learner, but that the discipline involved in mastering the ancient languages trained the mind. The "disciplinary" notion of education was, however, gradually replaced during the last decades of the nineteenth century by the biological model latent in the thought of Pestalozzi and Froebel whose proponents typically stated their credo thus:

Education is to knowledge, what the light and the heat of the sun is to the flower. The plant in the germ state has laid up within it vegetable energy which may lie in the potential state for thousands of years, but once let the rays of the sun, under favoring circumstances play around it, and the visible growth of the plant very soon indicates the energy, which was once only a possibility, in active operation.... Once let knowledge be acted upon by the principles of a beneficent system of education, and at once the mind will assume new phases, and continue to develop to those limits by which the Creator has bounded it.¹³

Optimism was endemic in the nineteenth century, particularly in North America. Protestant Quebec shared the euphoria. The man of affairs was heard to say, "We have, as a people, made great and almost surprising advances in our material prosperity, and it is desired that these advances should always continue, and, if possible, in increasing ratio."¹⁴ And the educational idealist taught:

Ignorance is as much false perception as lack of knowledge,... Let the false in man's mind be acted upon by the full intelligence of an active mind... and let the evil there is in man's heart be acted upon by the warmth of the true Christianity... and the whole man will be elevated to that plane of intellectual holiness, on which alone can rest the civilization which is a harmony.¹⁵

Education was the answer to all man's problems, Social and individual perfection would be attained just as soon as the scientist could uncover nature's remaining secrets. In the face of such a rosy dawn, the former norms and stated purposes of education, which had emphasized the formation of character, increasingly fell into the background, against the demand for information of a "practical" nature. The Educational Record stated the issue in 1883 thus:

Is education to be moulded upon an ideal which is actually breaking down in England - the ideal of all-round education? Or is Canada to educate her sons in accordance with the requirements of the time...?

To which the editor gave answer:

The question is hardly one that admits of debate. The tendency of the age is directly in favor of specialization.... A Man's success in life depends, in the long run, upon his more or less complete mastery of some specialty. A university education is the best possible training for the professions, but ordinary observation shows how seriously it unfits a man for a career in business or in other practical lines.¹⁶

The president of the P.A.P.T. that year in applying such logic to Protestant education in Quebec advised:

The Board of Education should prepare elementary works upon Hygiene, Physiology, and Temperance, and have the subjects taught in the schools. For the teaching of these subjects other less important branches such as Mythology and Ancient History should give way in this practical age.¹⁷

How did religious and moral education in the schools fare under these onslaughts of modernity? Roman Catholic education in the province was safe. It had managed to create a protected environment for children of the faith in a school system that kept disturbing modern and secular views away from the classroom. Protestantism, however, saw little dichotomy between religious faith and modern thinking. Progress and Protestantism were closely and confidently identified. Churches and homes were expected to inculcate that personal devotional life which the individual needed for sustenance. Churches also provided the "rites of passage" for the journey

of life. Denominations were known to differ in their teaching on certain points, and there were obvious differences among Protestants as to the place of dogma in religion, but the heart of Protestantism, many believed, was its personal morality. Thus moral aims were often expressed as ends for public education as well as for that of church and home. An 1891 listing of the moral qualities to be developed in children included within a much longer enumeration: cleanliness, politeness, kindness to animals, obedience, gratitude, truthfulness, industry, economy, love of country, respect for the flag, obedience to the laws of the country, and a good reputation.¹⁸ The moral standards incumbent upon the British citizen and those suitable to the Protestant believer were most compatible. W.T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, chose, no doubt, a pleasing theme when he addressed the National Education Association in Toronto in 1891 and described the moral inheritance of the British peoples:

Mutual toleration, the sense of fair play, the readiness of all to defend each in the exercise of his individual prerogative, the profound respect for established law -- those characteristics belong essentially to the original people that invented local self-government.¹⁹

The editor of The Educational Record summed it all up: "There is but one morality, and it is the training in this morality we would have in our schools, a morality that is sincere enough to do the right by all men, irrespective of the feelings that provoke to harm-doing out of revenge."²⁰ We shall in another section review the formal provisions that Protestant education made for religious and moral education; but it should be recognized that the most powerful teaching of values took place not by any particular comment about them, but by their being assumed as normative in the system. If influential men and women of the time believed that "progress is making the world of today superior to the world of yesterday," that "society is living less and less for religion and more by religion, which is in every respect the great moral force guiding mankind towards the harmony of a true civilization" and that "the Christianity which has been a failure is

to be found in that dogmatism which, while holding out to man the highest reward in the world beyond, thinks to rob him of his chance on earth,"²¹ we may be sure that the rising generation heard the message that Protestantism stood for a belief in social and economic progress, in the right of the individual conscience, in the values of anglo-saxon civilization, and the importance of "life on earth," not obtruse theological doctrines or pious hopes for a future heavenly state.

C. VALUES IMPLICIT IN THE SYSTEM

On the assumption that actions do speak louder than words and that values are learned more by suggestion than by direct communication, the customary and significant activities that characterized the Protestant education system of Quebec in the late nineteenth century make an informative study. Three of these activities may be selected for special comment: (1) the introduction of courses of study and timetables, (2) the implementation of the "payment-by-results" plan of awarding grants to superior schools, and (3) the use of the written examination.

1. Courses of Study and Timetables.- These were introduced by E.I. Rexford quite early in his career as English Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction. First he produced in 1883 a course of study to be used in elementary schools.²² It was followed by one for model schools and academies in 1884. Once these syllabuses were begun, there was no end to them. They became increasingly complex and detailed. Associated with the course of study was a sample daily and weekly timetable in which all the "subjects" were given by a time-slot. Rexford was following the practice suggested by books on school management being printed then in the United States and elsewhere. He was careful to warn that there was far more to education than slavishly following a timetable; but the message of the flat sheet in which subjects were laid out quantitatively in boxes representing time slots easily overrode Rexford's caution. Perhaps it was in the spirit of the times

that education began to be seen more and more as the acquiring of a quantity of information which was divided for convenience into different "subjects". Once the basic skills taught in elementary school - reading, writing, figuring, spelling - were more or less mastered, then one turned to "textbooks" which were designed to impart the approved information. Because there was ever much more to be "known", the subjects began to multiply in the curriculum; study of the classics began to be classed as having less priority; and the old character-building ideal of education fell into the background. The values communicated by this practice were (on the positive side) the importance of order and of organization and of a disciplined use of time; on the negative side was the tendency to reduce knowledge to information and the valuing of memorization over logical reasoning, and imitativeness over creative and original expression.

2. Payment-by-Results.- This scheme had its origin in England in 1861²³ and was used by the Protestant Committee in Quebec as a device to raise the standard of education in the academies and model schools under its jurisdiction. Bishop Williams had long advocated "payment by results."²⁴ Under the plan, grants were made year by year to schools on the basis of their achievement in the previous year. It was the duty of the inspectors of superior schools to make evaluations of each school through a formula worked out by the Protestant Committee.²⁵ Taken into account as almost the sole criterion of evaluation in the first years of the practice were the grades made by students on the standardized exams used by inspectors. Before 1886, the inspection and the examinations were held together at each school on the occasion of the inspector's visit, but after that date these activities were split and the formal written examinations for students of superior schools were held simultaneously throughout the province. The principle of motivation evoked by payment-by-results was "emulation" and there is no question that schools, teachers and school boards rose to the occasion. It was no little spur to competition that the names of schools with the cumulative marks made by each together with the classification and grants assigned them could be read in The Educational Record. Always to be sadly noted were those institutions whose standards had

fallen so low (judged by student grades) that no grant could be given that year. The values taught in such a system were obvious: the spirit of competition was validated; industry, productivity, aggressiveness were rewarded. Hard-work was of the essence of life. Competence was the desired goal, and was the source of self-respect. Loyalty to the home region and school was paramount. Such qualities were norms approved by the Protestant spirit, and they differed sharply from those espoused by the rival Catholic system which geared its values more to the social and communal dimensions of life. It is probably safe to say that teachers bore the pressure of the payment-by-results scheme more than others in the school system. The system was modified toward the end of the century when A.W. Kneeland and others called for a basis of grant-giving which took into account "need" as well as "results". One important effect of this change in the basis for awarding grants was that the high schools of Montreal and Quebec, as well as other institutions which were thought to be self-supporting, were from 1895 officially omitted from the Protestant Committee's allocations. In return these schools won the right to modify the authorized curriculum and examination structures to suit their own need. They were, however, still accountable to the Inspector of Superior Schools and to the Protestant Committee.

3.- The Written Examination.- The practice of measuring accomplishments in school by means of the written examination, which had been started in universities in Britain, was adopted by McGill in 1865. In 1886, Principal Dawson successfully proposed to the Protestant Committee that the "Associate of Arts" exam for university entrance (set by a joint McGill-Bishop's committee) be assimilated to the "leaving exams" of Quebec Protestant high schools and academies. And so it remained for about forty-five years. These examinations became the culmination of the student's career in the public school. Prospective teachers, too, were required to pass the written examinations of the board of examiners,²⁶ or, if they attended normal school, those of that institution.

Examinations were a powerful incentive to learning; they determined not only what was necessary to be learned, but how? Sometimes this had an unfortunate result. The "natural" method of learning French conversation was in vogue in the mid-1880s. Pupils were to learn the language through oral dialogue rather than by translation and the study of grammar. But how was oral French to be examined? It could not be done en masse. Nor did inspectors have the time to examine each pupil. The resolution only the written exam, testing knowledge of grammar and translation could be counted in the all-important pupil and school grade!²⁷ Moral education was never the subject of a direct examination; and the Scripture exam was not one of the A.A. finals, but was written off earlier. The message although unintended was clear: oral French and Scripture were not as important to success as some subjects!

D. THE DEEPENING OF THE DENOMINATIONAL DIVISION

Despite the language of section 93 of the B.N.A. Act, which spoke of "denominational" public schools in Quebec, Protestants in the early 1880s did everything they could to honour the non-denominational ideal. Proposed revisions in the education law in 1880-1882, for example, seemed to Protestants to emphasize the religious division of education in Quebec. Particularly objectionable was the clause approved by the Catholic Committee that "all the public schools of the province shall belong exclusively either to the Roman Catholic or to the Protestant faith."²⁸ The official comment of the Protestant Committee early in the debate was:

Protestants generally are satisfied with the Common School system, pure and simple. Roman Catholics demand in their case education should be based on religion.... On this point the two Committees are directly at issue.... It is a question of fundamental principle, respecting which no Protestant, whatever may be his religious views, has any doubt. Society is divided into two classes, the one Roman Catholic, the other all persons who will not accept Roman Catholic doctrine. Amongst

these latter there is neither uniformity of religious opinions nor uniformity as to worship. The class embraces every phase of belief, and includes agnostics and atheists, if such there be, and these require education quite as much as do the Roman Catholics. The word Protestant has been used as a term of convenience, and should be defined as Non-Roman Catholic in order to meet the full requirements of the case.²⁹

The Teachers' resolution, which was moved by Dr. Robins, seconded by E.I. Rexford, was even plainer:

Resolved-1st. That this convention of Protestant teachers of the Province of Quebec desires to record the deliberate expression of its firm adherence to the principal of common, as opposed to a sectarian system of public schools.

.....
4th- That, if, however, against our solemn protest, the separation which the proposed act would inevitably effect be accomplished, then, we demand, in recognition of our inalienable rights, that the separation be made complete, and that the control of all education not distinctly Roman Catholic be entrusted under wise legislative sanction and control, to the management of a body representative of non-Roman Catholic interests.³⁰

If Catholic education in Quebec was going to be thoroughly denominational, Protestants must be allowed to organize themselves as the non-Catholic system. All non-Roman Catholics should be "Protestants" for the purposes of education; the taxes of stock companies and corporations should be directed to that sector of the school system chosen by a vote of stock holders; there should be a central board of examiners to examine Protestant teacher candidates, and increased Protestant control in the administration of the Protestant school system. The desire of Protestants to retain a greater degree of commonality in the school system, or, if not that, a more explicit

direction of financial revenue to support the work of the minority system, was related in part to the wave of European and other immigration that began to reach Montreal in the 1880s. Principal Dawson's 1882 proposal to the Committee indicates how concerned Protestants were about the matter:

Since it appears that from the census that 1,611 persons return their religion as Jews, Pagans, 'other denominations' and 'no religion' and since there is reason to believe that the said persons depend on the Protestant Schools for education, (that we) request the Government through the Superintendent of Education that these persons be added to the Protestant lists.³¹

Protestants soon discovered that it was useless to attempt to persuade Catholics to assert less denominationalism in their schools. Since the trend was in quite an opposite direction, they shifted their strategy to work toward the creation of "a fixed body of law suitable to the wants of the Protestant minority, ... leaving the Catholic majority free to proceed with the changes suggested at various times in their system, without interference with the special requirements of the Protestant schools."³²

By the time the statutes were finally revised and consolidated in 1888, Protestants no longer argued that the principle of non-denominational education should apply to the Quebec school system as a whole. The two systems were now accepted as separate in fact and based on religious differences. In 1882, E.I. Rexford had been appointed English Secretary in the Department of Education, and, though in this capacity he was responsible for all English correspondence not only for that pertaining to Protestants, the position was redefined in such a way as to make the incumbent a virtual director of Protestant education in the province. Rexford also became secretary of the Protestant Committee in 1886, succeeding George Weir, and thus became known as Protestant education's chief executive.

E. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Educational law in Quebec since 1841 had given to resident clergy visiting rights in schools in their municipalities and had stipulated that such clergy were charged with the responsibility of selecting the texts to be used for religion and morals. (Theoretically, then, there was opportunity for Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist or other kinds of specific religious education in schools where the pupils were dominantly one of these persuasions.) The law also required that a person seeking a license to teach must submit a letter from the pastor of the church he or she attended certifying the good moral character of the candidate. This also applied to normal school applicants. Students in courses at the McGill Normal School were expected to take religious instruction from a minister of their denomination. The examination in Scripture for prospective teachers had a general character, however, focussing on "an Epitome of the Old Testament and one of the Gospels."³³

Rexford's proposals for a course of study in Scripture history and for moral education which were made first for elementary schools in late 1882, and then for model schools and academies in 1883, were also of a general nature acceptable to all denominations. The Secretary recommended that the first grade hear oral lessons on the chief events in the life of Jesus and that pupils commit to memory the Lord's Prayer; that the second grade hear lessons on Old Testament history to the death of Moses and memorize the Ten Commandments; that grade three continue the study of the Old Testament "to the division of the tribes"; and that the fourth grade complete the Old Testament (still through hearing the stories read) to the end of the captivity. Moral education might be undertaken in the elementary school by the use of "short talks", at least once a week on "Godliness, Truthfulness, Honor, Respect for Others, Good Manners, Temperance, and Kindness to animals.

The study of Scripture history was recommended to model schools and academies, to be included in the time allotted to history. Model I was to have an outline of Canadian history

and the chief events of English history; Model II would study the history of Canada and review the New Testament; Model III would include the history of England and a review of the Old Testament; Academy One would review the Old Testament and do the history of England in detail; Academies II and III were to concentrate on the histories of Rome, England, and Canada. No moral component was spelled out by Rexford for model schools and academies.³⁵

The 1883 and 1884 courses in moral and religious education were merely recommendations or guidelines for schools. They reflected Rexford and the Protestant Committee's awareness that moral and religious education had not always been effectively maintained. Montreal High School had its own well-developed course in Scripture history for Protestants attending the school. Other schools, no doubt, took the matter seriously. But inspectors' reports had revealed that the subject was neglected in many rural schools.³⁶ A major reason for this was the difficulty experienced by commissioners or trustees in deciding which one of the clergymen of several denominations represented in the local school should have "the last word" about the content of religious and moral education. Denominational rivalries had produced a state of paralysis in decision-making on the matter.

There was, indeed, little protest from anyone when the Protestant Committee asked for and received the right to "have the exclusive jurisdiction and control over the religious instruction and text-books to be given and used in the schools under their exclusive control... reserving to the ministers of the several Protestant denominations the right of supervision and inspection... which they now enjoy under the law." The preamble to the resolution of petition proposed by E.J. Hemming in 1886 stated the case clearly:

It has been held in our courts,... that the imparting of not only religious instruction, but even the peculiar tenets of the Church of the majority represented by... the Priest, Cure or officiating Minister is obligatory, if required by such Church, in order to constitute such School a

Common School, and that without such teaching no ratepayer can be compelled to pay taxes in support of the School.

The Legislature, in so legislating, were evidently under the impression that what is styled the "Protestant Faith" was, like the Roman Catholic Faith, homogeneous in its nature.

In fact, no such faith as the "Protestant Faith" exists, but on the contrary those who are styled Protestants are composed of members of many different and independent creeds and denominations, and consequently... it would be impossible for any one officiating minister to represent them in the matter of religious instruction in the Common Schools ... in all cases where more than one officiating Minister resides in such municipality.

The only means of solving the difficulty would be to divest the Priest, Cure or officiating Minister of any control over the text-books to be used in giving the religious instruction required... and vest the same exclusively in [the] Protestant Committee (a body composed of representatives of the leading denominations)....³⁷

The Protestant Committee had, in fact, already anticipated the official enlargement of its powers. At a committee meeting on Feb. 25th, 1885, it voted to authorize as textbooks in Protestant schools, the Bible, G.F. McLearn's Old Testament History, and the same author's New Testament History.³⁸ These three remained the authorized texts in Scripture history until 1915.

The revisions of the school law included in the Consolidated Statutes of 1888, which placed the duty of the selection of texts in moral and religious instruction with the Protestant Committee, solved the question of authority for religious instruction in Protestant schools. But the matter

of the content of such instruction, particularly as to whether it might include denominational teaching or must be strictly Biblical and non-denominational, was still a matter of debate. Hemming had been pressing for the right of schools to give denominational religious education³⁹ while Principal Dawson, and the Rev. D.M. MacVicar, Principal of the Presbyterian College in Montreal, and Chairman of the Montreal Board of Protestant School Commissioners, argued publicly that the Bible should be the sole religious text in public schools beside the "example of teacher."⁴⁰ This was the platform of the non-denominationalists. Dawson's party, rather than Hemming's was assumed to have the weight of tradition behind it, if we may deduce this from the Committee's answer to an 1885 inquiry. The Committee ruled:

"Although religious teaching is incumbent in the conduct of all public schools, yet no authority exists for denominational teaching."⁴¹

At last, in 1888, the Committee decided to act authoritatively on the matter. Regulations for Protestant schools were formulated, printed, and distributed. The section on religious and moral education read:

Religious Instruction shall be given in all public schools, but no person shall require any pupil in any public school to read or study in or from any religious book, or to join any exercise of devotion or religion, objected to in writing by his or her parents or guardians.

Every Protestant school shall be opened each day with the reading of a portion of the Holy Scriptures, followed by the Lord's Prayer.

In all grades of Protestant Schools, instruction shall be given in Biblical History, and the Holy Scriptures shall for such purposes be used as a text-book, but no denominational teaching shall be given in such schools.⁴²

The last regulation quoted above was, however, amended by the Committee in 1890 to read:

In all grades of Protestant Schools, the first half-hour of each day shall be devoted to the opening exercises (prescribed in the preceding Regulation), instruction in morals, and Scripture History. The Holy Scriptures and the authorized text-books shall be used for this purpose. No denominational teaching shall be given in such schools.⁴³

The courses of study authorized by the Protestant Committee in 1890 were felt to signal an advance in the cause of moral and religious education in the schools. "Scripture History", which had, heretofore, been included in the timetable with general history and examined as a part of that subject, now had a place of its own along with "Instruction in Morals" in the first half hour of each day.⁴⁴ Further, Sacred History was to have its own examination in the Model levels and in Academy I and II, and would be written as one of the preliminary exams toward the completion of the requirements for the Associate of Arts.

But the course in Sacred History needed more definition, it was soon discovered. The new Bishop of Quebec (Williams had died in 1892 and was replaced by Andrew H. Dunn) was concerned that there should be New Testament study in every year of the pupils' school life. In 1894, the Protestant Committee adopted a detailed syllabus of Scripture study which outlined passages of the New Testament (whole books in the higher levels) and sections of the Old Testament to be covered each year from Grade I Elementary to Grade II Academy. There was also much memorization in the course: The Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes, the Apostles' Creed, John xiv, John iv, John ix and other texts were included at appropriate stages.⁴⁵ Neither the epistles in the New Testament nor the prophetic writings of the Old Testament were included. The emphasis was to be objective history; doctrinal and interpretative sections of the Bible

were controversial and thus unsuitable - within the norms which Quebec Protestant education had established. A vigorous reaction from teachers, however, forced the Committee to rescind the 1894 syllabus and to send out notices that the Scripture exams that year would be based on the old course of study. A new "scheme of Bible Study", using the 1894 syllabus, but greatly reducing the requirements, was issued in 1895.⁴⁶ The concurrent study of the Old and New Testaments, and "memorization" as a method, were retained. The Grade IV (Model I) was now to cover the "Life and Words of Christ" and to memorize Matthew vi; Model II was to be responsible for the complete Old Testament History (reviewed); Academy I and II studied the Gospels (a review) and the Acts of the Apostles, with memory work to be selected by the teacher. The earlier grades dealt with a series of passages from the Gospels and sections of Old Testament History. The Committee also authorized the study of S.T. Taylor's The First Principles of Modern History as an alternate to New Testament study for those whose parents desired it.⁴⁷ The syllabus of 1895 was to remain standard until 1915. There was, however, a tendency after the turn of the century for Bible study to be increasingly relegated to the elementary and middle school levels.

All teachers were required to pass examinations in Scripture history before qualifying for their licenses. In earlier years the questions in these exams were drawn from both Testaments without choice; but from 1890 the prospective teacher could choose to write only on Old Testament questions.⁴⁸ The decision of the Protestant Committee in 1897 to make attendance at normal school (for at least a four months' course) compulsory for teachers of Protestant schools, made it incumbent that they restate the regulations for the operation of the normal school. One of these required that students at the normal school take religious instruction from ministers of their denomination at 4 o'clock on Thursdays. Students were also expected to attend a church of their denomination on Sundays.⁴⁹ These rules, as well as the prerequisite certificate of moral character from the candidate's clergyman, had been on the books in some form since the opening of the normal school. The regulations of 1898 were careful to provide, however, that admission to the normal school be not limited to persons adhering to the Protestant faith.

The man chiefly responsible for the implementation of programmes of moral and religious education in the Protestant superior schools of Quebec in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century was J.M. Harper, Inspector of Superior Schools. Harper, a Scotsman, who had been principal at the Provincial Normal School in Charlottetown, P.E.I., and Rector of Quebec High School, was an advocate of "drill." If schools were to develop "the whole being of the pupils" there must be "daily physical drill, daily vocal drill, daily sentence drill, and daily moral drill."⁵⁰ Harper warned teachers that in his visits he would test for efficiency in this matter. In an 1899 "circular" he explained:

Moral drill may include a thorough knowledge of the Ten Commandments as further developed in the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, and as illustrated by the virtues and vices of those of the heroes of history of whom the pupil has some knowledge. The Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount should be carefully memorized as preliminary to this drill in every school.⁵¹

Harper was a proponent of a "non-denominational" education and as Editor of The Educational Record more than once wrote on the wisdom of the Manitoba School Act which limited denominational public schooling in that province. In this he typified the Protestant conscience of the late nineteenth century which could hold together a belief that public school education must be non-denominational and yet be based on the moral and religious principles to be found in the Bible. Harper held that "all education is self-education, and beginning with self-criticism ends in self-control."⁵² True education formed the pupil's mind for sharp intellectual and scientific inquiry, made him self-reliant and independent in thought and action. Harper's criticism of Romanism and thus of Catholic education was that it "feared to trust the reason and conscience which God placed in man for the study of God's word."⁵³ The Bible, in Harper's view, was the book in which God had chosen to communicate the moral code binding on all men. Since religion was "the mere apperception of morality,"⁵⁴ all denominations should join forces in supporting an education which transmitted

these universal principles. These principles of morality must be imprinted on the child's mind, Harper believed, through rote memorization and drill, for the mental possession of the moral truths which governed all of life would necessarily produce right habits of thinking and acting.

Protestants were able to affirm non-denominational principles in education and at the same time to insist that values recognized as Protestant should be the foundation of that education. This was because of their unquestioned assumption that the moral principles and the general religious values of Protestantism were normative for a British and Canadian culture, and indeed that they represented those universals on which the whole of civilization must in the future rest.

II

1900-1931

CHAPTER THREE

OVERVIEW:

FROM THE ADAMS REPORT TO THE 1931 CURRICULUM REVISION

- A. The Adams Report
- B. Response to the Adams Report: A Programme for
Three Decades

A. THE ADAMS REPORT

In the spring of 1902, John Adams, an eminent British educator, conducted a survey of the state of education in Protestant Quebec. The project was made possible through the financial assistance, discreetly given, of Sir William C. Macdonald, founder and owner of a successful tobacco retailing business, and "the good fairy" of many Protestant educational institutions in Quebec and elsewhere. Adams held interviews with school commissioners and trustees, secretary-treasurers of school boards, inspectors, teachers, members of the Protestant Committee, and officials representing every level of educational endeavour. He also visited, accompanied by Prof. H.M. Tory of McGill University, about one hundred eighty schools of the three classes: elementary, model and academy.

Adams' Report, printed later that year, commended the many responsible efforts being made in Quebec's Protestant educational system and presented eight recommendations, which, he believed would further improve education: These he listed as follows:

1. "A more rational classification of the schools of the Province;"
2. "More money... to enable the Protestant Committee to give effect to its regulations," which might result, in part, from a greater sharing of the resources of rich municipalities with the poorer;
3. A compulsory education law;
4. Some form of consolidation of small rural schools;
5. "A change in the treatment of the various subjects," so that the prevailing "bookishness" might not apply to subjects such as arithmetic, geometry, and drawing which "ought" to be treated more as Applied Sciences than they are;"
6. The appointment of a Chief-Inspector of Schools:

To introduce a greater measure of system than at present exists, particularly in the Higher Schools... not... to reduce the curricula and methods of all the secondary schools to a dead level of uniformity, but rather to guide local effort into the channels most likely to produce results;

7. Better salaries and improved training for teachers, because "four months training is better than none at all, but nothing short of a two-years' course can be regarded as satisfactory;"

8. A chair of Education at McGill University:

In order that the standing of the subject may be acknowledged, and that the professor - through his connection with the university on the one hand and the normal school on the other - may establish that correlation between theory and practice that enables teachers to make the most of themselves and their pupils.

B. RESPONSE TO THE ADAMS REPORT: A PROGRAMME FOR THREE DECADES

The Protestant Committee received Adams' report with seriousness; most, if not all, of his suggestions for improvement had already been voiced by them. The agenda suggested by Adams thus became, in large part, the guidelines for the progress of Protestant education for the next thirty years. These accomplishments may be listed as follows:

(1) Classification. - In 1915, a classification according to levels of scholasticity - the "Grade" system, from I to XI - was adopted in all the Protestant schools in the Province replacing the old system: Primary I, Elementary I to IV, Model I to III, and Academy I to III. In 1924, a new nomenclature - elementary (Grades I to VII), intermediate (I to IX), and high school (I to XI) replaced the "elementary", "model", and "academy" designations.

(2) Money. - "More money" was the continuous cry of the Protestant Committee throughout the period. Some municipalities were persuaded to raise the level of taxation; also helpful was the gradual increase in direct government grants, first, to rural elementary schools, and later, to universities and special projects such as consolidation, vocational education, French-language specialists, etc. But, despite repeated attempts, the Protestant Committee did not succeed in gaining control of the major funds available for elementary education. Some authority was given the Committee in the allocation of the small grants specified for "poor municipalities." But only after 1903 did the latter amount to a sum large enough that the Committee could assert an effective demand for minimal standards upon schools receiving the grant. After 1907, when Sir William Macdonald founded and financed the new School for Teachers, the old normal school grant was freed for Protestant Committee use in elementary school education. But Adams' comment on the matter of elementary school grants retained its validity; the picayune nature of the grant to elementary schools offered no incentive to the small districts to improve their standards, and, in any case, outright grants not based on evaluative inspection had dubious value in raising standards. Such arguments achieved additional relevance as the rural areas became de-populated and the Protestant Committee badly needed leverage to press schools to consolidate. With respect to superior school financing, the Committee could boast of great care in the management of funds. It was assisted by dramatic increases in the government grants. Inspector John Parker's 1924 comparison of that year's figures with those of 1904 may be cited as an example. (2)

1904

Received from the Superior	
Education Fund.....	\$19,733.87
Expenditures:	
Universities.....	3,200.00
Poor municipalities.....	4,568.87
Superior schools.....	11,965.00

Grants to each school ranged from \$50 to \$320

1924

Received.....\$ 68,560.00

Expenditures:

Poor municipalities..... 3,450.00

Superior schools..... 66,110.00

Grants to each school ranged from \$400 to \$1,000.
The government had taken support of universities
off the shoulders of the Protestant Committee.

Throughout the period the Protestant Committee continued a modification of its "payment by results" plan for grants to superior schools. Among the items for which the inspector awarded points were the state of buildings, equipment and grounds; average attendance and enrolment; remission of school fees; diploma-standard of teachers; the salary given teachers; teacher efficiency; the results of students in departmental examinations; the teaching of oral French; and attention to character education. Adams' recommendation about the sharing of the richer communities' resources with the poorer gave strength to the Committee's policy of denying large grants to city schools which were considered able to raise their own funds.

(3) Compulsory Education. - Despite very active attempts on the part of the Protestant Committee, the P.A.P.T., citizens' groups, and legislators representing both language groups, a compulsory education act for Quebec had to wait until 1942. Opposition to the movement was exerted chiefly by Catholics who saw it as contravening natural law that parents, not the state, possess the primary authority in deciding matters of education for their children.

(4) Consolidation of Schools.- Consolidation of the rural schools became a major program of the Protestant Committee in this period. It was argued that consolidation would result in increased efficiency in the use of resources; that there would be scholastic stimulation for pupils because of the increase in competition; that there would be more challenge and better pay for teachers; that the ten-month school year could more easily be enforced; that the schools could be used as community centres and would give more stability to the areas in which they were located; that agriculture could be better taught in such schools and that, by the increased use of scientific methods, production would eventually be raised. The early years were very discouraging for advocates of consolidation programs. People feared change and were slow to give up the older order of things. But after the government had made grants available to districts that were consolidating and in the wake of the Protestant Committee's all-out campaign in the summer of 1913, when thirty-three public meetings were held in various areas of the province, public consciousness about the matter was greatly sharpened. The program took fire, sparked by the Hon. Sydney Fisher of Brome, former Federal Minister of Agriculture. The consolidation movement subsided during the latter years of the First World War, but took strength again in the twenties, and later merged in the general building boom and in the movement for larger units of administration which characterized the mid-century.

(5) The course of Study.- The major revisions of the course of study for Protestant schools which took place in 1915, 1923 and 1931, as well as the minor revisions constantly being made, favored, on the whole, those who thought that education should be more practical and vocational and less bookish. Latin retreated and Greek almost disappeared. A proliferation of practical subjects such as agriculture, manual training, hygiene, bookkeeping and household science were re-emphasized or introduced. Even the academic studies took a different purpose and content. History, it was understood, educated pupils in patriotism and citizenship; English literature developed appreciation for noble thoughts and beautiful sentiments; English grammar became "language" with the emphasis upon everyday usage. Inspectors in the twenties still complained however

that some teachers were overly tied to text-books, that they depended on notes that were written on the blackboard and copied by the pupils, and that they attempted to "cram" their charges before the examinations.

(6) The Chief-Inspectorship.- The office of Chief-Inspector of Protestant Schools was instituted as one of the reforms following the Adams' report. The post was held from 1911 to 1936 by J.M. Sutherland, who also served as editor of The Educational Record from 1927 to 1936. The Chief-Inspector was directly accountable to the English Secretary of the Department of Education (who, from 1924, was graced with the title "Director of Protestant Education.") The latter office was held from 1890 to 1930 by George W. Parmelee. Responsible for the supervision of both elementary and superior school inspectors, the Chief Inspector's office integrated the two systems in a way which proved very healthy for all concerned.

(7) Teachers' Salaries and Training.- The salaries of teachers, which were scandalously low when Adams wrote his report, began to move upward after 1908 when the government began to make substantially increased grants to elementary school boards to enable them to keep up to the minimum salary. The Protestant Committee endlessly pressed the matter of salaries both on the local school authorities and the provincial government. Public meetings sponsored by the Committee helped to raise consciousness in this as well as other areas. Superior schools which maintained a certain standard of teacher qualification and salary level were given extra points (and extra dollars) for their exemplary behaviour. A forecast of things to come was manifest in 1919 when teachers threatened to form a union unless their salary demands were heard. In earlier years teachers had displayed remarkable reticence on the subject of salary. Salaries rose, took a dip during the depression, but thereafter continued upward. In the raising of standards of teaching competency, the Protestant Committee had to contend with a number of difficulties. The de-population of the Townships and other parts of rural Quebec made the small, poor school unattractive for trained teachers who could get better jobs in the city or in the Canadian West. This left rural communities with recourses only to unlicensed teachers who were often recruited directly

from the higher grades of the local superior school. Some school boards preferred such teachers anyway, because they were cheaper. The Protestant Committee's programme to enforce higher teaching standards early in the century was met with complaints in country newspapers that training in the normal school tended to ruin the natural teaching ability of many a teacher and undid young people for rural life. The Committee attempted to meet such objections by promoting a rural emphasis in education and by instituting several levels of certification for teachers to accord with a range of academic qualifications and student ambitions. After some experimental years at Lachute, a regular offering of summer school courses was instituted at Macdonald College, which gave teachers an opportunity to improve their standards. By the 1930s there were in the Protestant system few teachers who had not received some formal training in education. The four-month course, complained of by Adams, had long since disappeared; grades X and XI had become the entrance requirements to normal school for prospective teachers. The course for the high school teachers' diploma was conducted not at the normal school but in the universities and consisted of a mixture of arts and education subjects with practice teaching. For most of the period this was an undergraduate course leading to a Bachelor of Arts degree, but, in 1924, Bishop's made the Arts degree a pre-requisite, thus making the diploma course for high school teachers a post-graduate course. McGill followed suit a little later.

(8) University Chairs in Education.- A department of education for the training of high school teachers had been established at Bishop's University in 1898. McGill did likewise in 1907 when Sir William Macdonald, perhaps influenced by John Adams' suggestion, endowed a Chair in pedagogy at that University. The post was held first by J.W. Dale, and then by Fred E. Clark. Both of these men were involved with the work of the Protestant Committee and each made remarkable contributions to the Quebec educational scene. It should be noted that by the terms of the establishment of the School for Teachers at Macdonald College in 1907 McGill University became directly related as well to the training of teachers for elementary and model schools. Whereas the McGill Normal School was "affiliated" to McGill University, the course of studies and policies of the School

for Teachers were the responsibility of a Teachers Training Committee with representatives from McGill University, the Protestant Committee, Macdonald College and the School for Teachers. The course was, however, "subject at all times to the regulations of the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction."³ Macdonald College as a whole was under McGill University authority, not merely "affiliated."

(9) Other Advances.- One of the accomplishments of the Protestant Committee in the period which was in no ways on Adams' agenda, was the seating of women on the Protestant Committee beginning in 1908. Miss Laura Ferguson, who was elected by the P.A.P.T. as its first woman president in 1908, was one of the first women members of the Committee. The Committee later supported the petitions of women to be allowed to sit on school boards, a campaign which was waged strongly in 1916 but which was not successful in Quebec until 1942. The Committee was active too in bringing to birth the Association of Protestant School Boards in 1917, the forerunner of the strong school board organizations which were soon to become a feature of Quebec Protestant education.

Particular programmes and emphases of the Protestant Committee during this period will receive more detailed attention in the following chapter. These will include an account of the competing educational philosophies and aims; the values implicit in the Committee's response to several concerns (the rural crisis, the Jewish question, the teaching of French, and examinations and courses of study); and an account of the provisions for religious and moral education in Protestant schools made during this period.

CHAPTER FOUR

EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY VIEWS ABOUT
THE PURPOSES OF EDUCATION

- A. Academic or Vocational?
- B. The Herbartian Influence
- C. Patriotism
- D. Character and Citizenship

A. ACADEMIC OR VOCATIONAL?

One question which engendered heat in educational discussions among Quebec Protestants about the turn of the century was, "Who ought to control what was being taught in the public schools - the universities, or the citizenry who paid for the schools?" An article in an Eastern Townships paper in 1905 put the case for the people thus:

The continuous efforts of the universities to pervert the public schools from their legitimate function of preparing for life to the illegitimate function of preparing for university is a crying evil. It overloads the public schools, wastes the public funds, wears out teachers in attempting the impossible, and wastes the time of the great majority of the pupils.¹

The "abuse" which precipitated this particular protest was the arrangement which the Protestant Committee had with the universities whereby the school "leaving" examinations were made to accord with university matriculation standards and were set and marked by a university committee. Under this system many teachers and students, it was said, spent time and energy on subjects which the great majority of students found irrelevant. How many farmers were going to read Greek and Latin authors after they left school? Yet the system dictated that the crown of educational effort for Quebec's Protestant pupils must be the passing of courses in classical languages and advanced mathematics. Elementary schools had been neglected, and rural children, in particular, were penalized by the Protestant Committee's bias toward academic education,² and there were other complaints. The Protestant Committee's ruling that all teachers must obtain normal school training threatened to leave country schools without teachers. Not many young people from the country could afford a course occupying months in Montreal. The force of opinion in the latter controversy was so great (and somewhat justified, too, on the grounds of the impracticability of the standard) that the Committee had to modify its ruling.

Much of the criticism of the policy of the Protestant Committee in these years arose from regional rivalries, and from fears on the part of rural folk that their young were being seduced by city values and were being lured away to monetarily rewarding jobs leaving the country counties depopulated. But the larger background was the debate which had for some years been raging in all the countries of the western world between the advocates of classical and of vocational or "practical" education. Montreal High School had been the site of a bitter controversy on the matter in the last quarter of the century. The commercial department was abandoned in 1877, and the school under the rector, Dr. Aspenwall Howe, remained determinedly classicist, despite a rising tide of criticism, until 1891, when E.I. Rexford became rector and a commercial department was re-instituted.³ The contestants in this debate had a tendency to speak to the caricature of the other's position exchanging adjectives such as "money-mad" and "elitist", but the underlying issue was the meaning of human knowledge and the purposes of education.

Vocationalists viewed learning as of value when it was "useful". It was not an end in itself but was a means of obtaining other objectives. Prof. A.B. Hart of Harvard University, for example, was heard to say in a 1901 address to educators in Montreal:

What is wanted from the schools is that children shall be fitted to take their place in a practical and material world.

.....

So the child should not simply learn facts, but learn how to learn facts, and how to use them.

.....

The test of the money value of education is whether it does or does not enable a man to cope intelligently with the problems of the time.

.....

The great fault in the school systems of the North American Continent is lack of imaginative training. For increasing the powers of enjoyment of life, and, when wisely directed, of promoting success in the affairs of life, imagination stands without a rival.⁴

This argument was even more bluntly put in a 1913 article in The Educational Record which declared, "It is infinitely more important to have men who can protect our forests, our canals, and our mines than those who can discuss the philosophy of Hegel or Kant."⁵ The method of attaining such knowledge was, of course, early introduction to activities which related to the young person's choice of vocation.

Defenders of the classical education such as J.M. Harper, Inspector of Superior Schools, and William Peterson, Principal of McGill University, were inclined to use the ancient argument that the classical languages and mathematics which formed the heart of the curriculum had disciplinary power which shaped the character of the learner and, when persisted in, rendered him (the classicists usually portrayed the learner as a "boy") a person of "superior intelligence" whose "mental training" would enable him to serve society well. The possession of learning was, for the classicists, an end in itself, but it was also intimately connected with the building of character. An apologist for the retention of Latin in the curriculum argued:

Maybe... after all, the pedagogues and 'old fogies' are right, and the study of Latin does truly tend to develop graces and strength of mind and character, does cultivate sound judgment and self-restraint, and acts as a wholesome tonic....

.

Are we satisfied with the results of the New Education with its 'painless methods and lines of least resistance'? Does it lay a solid foundation for the mental edifice? Does it develop to the highest efficiency the faculties of the young? Are the pupils trained according to its maxims, robust, self-reliant, and self-denying to the extent necessary for efficient work and patient effort which leads to great things?⁶

The Protestant Committee counted among its members particularly from the late 1890s both eminent classicists and ardent vocationalists. The courses of study they constructed embodied the compromises that were necessary if the task of educating the rising generation, ever emergent, was to be faithfully performed. Subjects such as agriculture, manual training, and hygiene were added to the curriculum, and teachers were directed to improve their instruction in arithmetic and English grammar with a view to everyday "usage." But Latin, and even Greek, were retained. The universities continued to shape the intellectual character of the academies and high schools through their control of the school leaving examinations. The result was a "proliferation of subjects" much complained of in teachers' conventions and inspectors' reports. Some held that the remedy for this was the removal of Latin and an easing of the "book-learning" requirements; others felt that education should return to the basics and eliminate the frills that had been lately added. Charles McBurney thought he was taking a rather moderate position when he addressed high school principals at Lennoxville in 1924:

The great danger to which our schools are exposed at the present time is the exaltation of a smattering of extras over the mastery of essential and fundamental subjects.... Certainly give the mechanical and manual arts their proper recognition; but maintain the intellectual element above all.

.

Education should enable a man to live rather than earn a living.... Nothing short of the magnificent declaration of the Westminster Shorter Catechism will describe his plans and purpose in this world, and as such he should be treated during the years set apart from his formal education.⁷

The problem of subject proliferation was met for a time by the institution of an elective system at the high school level. There was a great deal of haggling over which subjects should be compulsory and which optional. The matter was not really satisfactorily resolved, if ever, until the course of study revisions of 1931 brought in a curriculum scheme which divided the course from grade VIII to grade XI into a "general" and an "academic" stream.

B. THE HERBARTIAN INFLUENCE

The educational philosophy of Johann Friedrich Herbart (1774-1841), especially as interpreted through his latter day English and American followers, profoundly affected Protestant education in Quebec in the decades preceding the First World War. Herbart sought to place the emphasis in learning upon the ideational content rather than the process of study as disciplinary training. There are no "faculties of the mind," the Herbartian school insisted. Rather there is "the psychical life as produced by a struggle among concepts, ideas of representation."⁸ Concepts come from sensations which form perceptions in the mind, and these make associations and connections through an organizational principle based on "interest." What the learner required was a rich and well-arranged diet of ideas which corresponded to the personal and developmental needs of the learner. The end of education, for Herbart, was moral character which he correlated closely with "social consciousness" and which was developed, through an "aesthetic presentation of the universe." Through literature and other works of art, and through history in particular, children could come into contact with the ennobling examples and thought of

the race. J.A. Dale, McGill's Professor of Education, wrote in The Educational Record of January 1909 an essay which breathed the spirit of Herbart:

In science the power of the mind and the wonder of the universe are revealed as he [the adolescent student] watches entranced the daring hypotheses gathering in wide embrace vast areas of dissociated facts, and fitting them with new meanings by new association. His social sense is quickened as he sees all society in a long process of transition, and while his heart bleeds to see the waste it involves, he admires and is braced by man's indomitable courage. He knows that if he can claim the painful, glorious gains, he must also aid the progress.... He⁹ will want to help and not be content to enjoy.

If Herbart took away from classicists the rationale for an educational approach based on the faculty psychology, he gave new life to the idea that education was an intellectual endeavour and that it had legitimacy for every individual. After Herbartianism had left its mark, there was no question but that literature and history should be staples of the curriculum; they eventually entirely replaced "the dead languages." The penchant of educators for dividing knowledge into watertight compartments called "subjects" or "disciplines" was also noted by the Herbartians. To counteract this, they developed a teaching method which correlated clusters of ideas drawn from diverse fields under one lesson title chosen for its "interest" to the learner. A lesson plan in The Educational Record, on the "Buildings of Paris," sought, for instance, to develop the "moral instincts" of children, not by treating morality as a subject in itself, but by cultivating children's esthetic sensibilities through their interest in buildings and in Paris. The Herbartian "steps" are evident in the teacher's organization of her lecture. The lesson was also audio-visual: "the auditory impressions were visualized by the use of Perry pictures."¹⁰ Professor Carrie Derick, who was for many years a member of the

Protestant Committee, showed herself a follower of Herbart when she suggested reforms in the curriculum for younger children thus:

To some, it may seem impossible to find room for anything new in the curriculum which is already overcrowded; but it can easily be accomplished by readjustment and correlation. The amount of time and energy given to arithmetic could be lessened with profit; grammar and spelling should be taught in connection with other subjects and not as separate branches of study; and a subject furnishing the material for thought should be made the centre, about which all others are grouped in constantly widening circles. There is some difference of opinion as to the subject which should occupy the central position, but the majority of teachers prefer geography because of the ease with which it may be connected with history, literature, and the natural sciences.¹¹

Despite such high interest on the part of professional educators in the correlation method, there is little sign that it proved very practical in the schools of Quebec, except as an occasional device to be used by a creative teacher. Yet the attitude it taught may be responsible for the idea, which grew rapidly in this period, that moral education could best be accomplished through "other subjects."

Another educational theorist of the period whose ideas influenced Protestant education in Quebec was G. Stanley Hall. Borrowing somewhat from Herbert Spencer, Hall popularized the view that a child's individual development corresponded to that of the race as a whole, and that from the study of the latter useful clues might be obtained as to correct pedagogical approaches to the various age-levels. Hall visited and lectured in Montreal and several articles in The Educational Record presented his views.

C. PATRIOTISM

The Protestant Schools of Quebec in the 1890s, and early 1900s were not without strong pressures for the inculcation of patriotism. Before the turn of the century, Empire Day had been declared a special school observance to occur on May 23rd, the day preceding Queen Victoria's birthday, which was a holiday. The Protestant Committee urged schools to purchase a Union Jack as standard school equipment; eventually, the possession of a flag and a picture of the monarch was made binding on each school. It was ruled that the Union Jack must be flown near the school on all patriotic days. Inspectors reported that certain schools allowed the wind to destroy their flag, and that these were not always quickly replaced. About the year 1906, the Montreal Witness, a newspaper which had made its reputation as the watchdog of English and Protestant minority rights, carried on the good cause by offering the ensign to every school on conditions which did not, apparently, involve any monetary outlay to the recipients.

There were, of course, many levels of patriotic fervour. The Earl of Meath's suggestion to the Editor of The Educational Record as to the true meaning of Empire Day was as follows:

[The] inner spirit may be described as the subordination of selfish or class interests to those of the State and of the community, and the systematic imbuing of minds of all British subjects... with a sense of the gravity of their civic and Imperial responsibilities, and with a burning desire to perform manfully and self-sacrificingly the duties which lie nearest to them, and which they owe to their fellows and the State.¹²

But a circular letter, dated 1914, which advertised the special educational project of a prominent Montreal lady -- the placing of film and slide pictures of the British Empire in the schools of the city -- bore a more aggressive character:

As few of our Young People can visit the Empire, Our Imperial Work shall thus bring The Empire to them, and familiarize them, from early Childhood, with the Imperial Interests of the Empire and with the Imperial Duties of its Subjects. It is impossible to overlook The Imperial Outlook, The Imperial Training, and the Imperial Responsibility to be secured through this Work for the Rising Generation of Our Empire.

.
This Imperial Education belongs in every School.... Teachers should become Progressive, almost Aggressive in their Imperialism. It is the most pressing necessity today.¹³

By the late 1920s much of the extreme Imperial fervour had subsided and advocates of patriotism were dwelling more often upon accomplishments and responsibilities of Canada as a member of the British Commonwealth, or upon a more ideal and visionary view of the Empire. But the identification with things British, whether blatantly or subtly expressed, was, in the period under consideration, a firmly entrenched aspect of Protestant education in Quebec. Miss Lillian Robins, who was later to teach at the School for Teachers at Macdonald College, expressed it in her way in an address to a local teachers' association in 1898:

Let us Canadians seek the ability and solidity of the English character, be truthful in living as in speaking, scorn the false in dress and appointments, aim at truth in public as in private life, cultivate the qualities that give the Englishman his frank and manly bearing. Let us not, following the example of many another race, be swamped by one phase of our environment.¹⁴

E.C. Woodley, Principal of Argyle School in 1925, thought that patriotism could not be taught in a course, but that it could be conveyed by a proper attitude on the part of the teacher:

It will be impossible to develop an imperial spirit in any group of children unless the teacher is a strong imperialist, a lover of the Empire, proud of the glorious record of the past and yet with eyes that look into the future and see there a greater Empire than has been.¹⁵

Woodley believed that exposure of school children to a knowledge of the customs of the children of the Empire would help to break down race prejudice and establish the British Empire as one "that may even practise self-denial for the good of the world."¹⁶

There was a presumptuousness about identifying the Canadian patriotic ideal with "Britishness" that strikes the modern reader as ironic. Even in Montreal, English was assumed to be the normal language for Canadians. In his 1906 report the inspector of schools for the Montreal district remarked in all innocence:

The 'Baron de Hirsch', a Jewish school, has now been placed under control of the Montreal School Board. This school does excellent work amongst foreign born children, who soon gain a fair knowledge of English in its classes. In this school I saw children from nearly every part of Europe, who were all learning English and who all declared themselves to be Canadians.¹⁷

D. CHARACTER AND CITIZENSHIP

The havoc and waste of the First World War had not yet reached their full measure when the 1917 convention of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers, with an eye to a future, ideal Canada, passed a resolution which declared:

That in the opinion of this convention systematic efforts should be made by our schools to utilize the special moral and spiritual forces at our disposal in this Province for the development of the character of our pupils and for the amelioration of our social conditions.¹⁸

The two theme addresses given at the convention were entitled: "Preparation for Citizenship in After-War Conditions" and "Education in the War."

When the conflict at last ended, a wave of high resolution swept through the land, not least in the educational sector. The presidential address at the P.A.P.T. Convention of 1918 asserted:

It is essential that our Course of Study should be so framed that it would train for efficiency and good citizenship.... There should be in the course some proviso for definite moral instruction in our schools.... In Canada for the most part this was left almost solely to the discretion of the teacher 'to give moral instruction as the occasion requires'.¹⁹

A movement initiated by businessmen called delegates from across Canada to a "National Conference on Character Education" held in Winnipeg in October of 1919. Among those attending from Quebec were the Hon. Cyrille Delage, Superintendent of Public Instruction for Quebec, Dr. George Parmelee, English Secretary of the Department of Education, Howard Murray and Carrie Derick, both members of the Protestant Committee, and William Birks. The resolutions of the conference emphasized "the necessity for the deepening and strengthening of the moral and spiritual factors in our National Education,"²⁰ and included one which stated:

That inasmuch as the prevailing emphasis on competitive methods in industry and commerce has tended to a weakening of the sense of solidarity among the citizens of Canada, and the perversion of motive resulting from undue regard to the rewards of work as compared with interest in the service rendered, this Conference recommends that all schools promote, by every reasonable means, the spirit and practice of co-operative effect both in team-games and in class work.²¹

The belief that character and citizenship were major aims of educational effort in the public schools was not new. The nineteenth century had tied the development of character to the disciplinary and civilizing power of humanistic studies or to training in Biblical precepts. The image of the good citizen tended to be cast in individualistic terms - the entrepreneur, the lonely farmer, the scholar working at his desk by candle-light, all adding their brain or muscle power to the development of the young nation's potential. Early in the twentieth century the influence of Herbartian educational philosophy had helped turn minds to the social dimension of individual's formation. But it was left to John Dewey and his followers to bring to public attention the links between democratic ideals, social responsibility and the formation of character. An article in The Educational Record in 1913 had commented favorably on Dewey's philosophy, and gave it as the editor's opinion that "in moral training and instruction the teacher must have in mind the welfare of society as a whole. The school must be a miniature society."²² In 1917, Dewey had addressed the Dominion Educational Association in convention on "The Socializing of the Schools." His audience included Superintendent Delage, J.C. Sutherland, Professor Dale, Dean Sinclair Laird, and other influential persons in Quebec Protestant education.

Idealistic hopes had not yet deserted the arena of education in 1922 when a circular advertising a second national conference on character education emphasized as its prime objectives:

To emphasize the necessity of a greater degree of ideality and spirituality in Education since persistence in our present competitive and secular methods must lead to Western Civilization eventually destroying itself. To stimulate a Dominion-wide interest in Education as a means of life and not for the purpose of livelihood, to demonstrate the need for a re-statement of values and to seek the removal of the emphasis now placed on the material aspects of life [to] the almost complete neglect of the spiritual.²³

About the same time E.C. Woodley in an article in The Educational Record chided teachers who assumed "the exalted position of an instructor rather than the far nobler of one of fellow-seeker"²⁴ in their classrooms. He recommended that since "the school is a social unit... a microcosm, a world in itself within a larger world,"²⁵ teachers should "make [their] appeal constantly not to individuals as such but in the class as a whole and "attempt to make the class feel a responsibility towards its weaker members."²⁶

But eventually the mood sobered. The Deweyites were criticized for being idealistic. The Educational Record thought it appropriate in 1927 to print an address given by John J. Tigert of the United States Commission of Education at the National Education Association meeting in Philadelphia. Tigert paid tribute to John and Evelyn Dewey for bringing about "a proper balance between practical and theoretical education,"²⁷ but also declared: "I cannot bring myself to the conclusion that the conventional school of to-day is all wrong in every detail."²⁸ He expressed himself worried about "the disposition now quite evident on the part of some teachers to participate in the formulation of the administrative policies of the school."²⁹ About examinations, Tigert said, "I am unable to believe that boys and girls, in general, could be stimulated as effectively without these devices."³⁰ And it was sobering indeed to be reminded that: "History readily indicates that reform and liberal

movements usually issue in compromise."³¹ In the throes of the "Great Depression", optimism became a rare commodity. The early "Character and Citizenship" movement had by then spent itself. But it had profoundly affected Protestant education in Quebec and had created a social emphasis and a climate favourable towards the more practical reforms that were to come.

The Protestant Committee shared the high idealism of Canadians after the close of the First World War. It was always tempered, however, by the conservatism inherent in such a group, purposely selected, as they were, to represent various points of view. Not many actions were undertaken through impulse. The "Character and Citizenship" movement which seemed, for a time, to afford opportunities for bridging the gap between the classicists and the vocationalists did come close to sweeping the committee along with it. At a special meeting of educators on June 11, 1920, Dr. Rexford, then chairman of the Protestant Committee, presented a memorandum drawn up by the Sub-Committee on Course of Study which asserted that "emphasis could be placed in all grades upon those subjects, methods, and practices, which directly influence the formation of character and preparation for the duties of citizenship, which is one of the main objects of the public school system."³² And again in 1927, the Committee approved a report of the Sub-Committee on Course of Study which proclaimed "that the course of study is not an end in itself, but a means to the main object of our public school system, the formation of character and the preparation for the duties of citizenship."³³ This rhetoric was maintained until the end of the decade. But by then it was becoming increasingly apparent that the slogan "Character-building and Citizenship", proclaimed by all parties in the idealistic years, veiled differences of opinion as to the specifics of its meaning and realization.

CHAPTER FIVE

VALUES IMPLICIT IN CERTAIN DEVELOPMENTS
IN PROTESTANT EDUCATION

- A. The Rural Education Movement
- B. The Jewish-Protestant Controversy
- C. The Teaching of Conversational French
- D. Courses of Study and Examinations

The values communicated in an educational system do not always correspond to the stated purposes espoused by educators! There is always a gap between the ideal and the practical, the statement and the deed. We shall therefore examine four significant developments in Protestant education in the early twentieth century with the object of discovering the implicit values that were at work in them. These include (a) the rural education movement, (b) the Jewish-Protestant controversy, (c) the effort to teach oral French in English schools, and (d) the struggle for excellence in the course of study and examination system.

A. THE RURAL EDUCATION MOVEMENT

At the P.A.P.T. convention in Sherbrooke in 1895 the proposal was made that the study of agriculture become part of the course of study of Protestant schools in Quebec. A somewhat heated discussion followed in which Sydney Fisher, later to be Minister of Agriculture in the Laurier Cabinet, sparred with J.M. Harper, Inspector of Superior Schools. Fisher said that though the scientific study of agriculture, which was greatly needed, might be out of reach at the moment, because of teachers' lack of preparation, a beginning might be made if "a primer were prepared, something very elementary in its character, until such time as the trained teacher coming from Normal School could take in the subject of agriculture much in the same way as hygiene had come to be taught in the schools."¹ Harper, never enthusiastic about the addition of vocational subjects, which would erode the force of the classical curriculum, replied to the effect that "because a ... boy desired to leave the farm and the workshop, the education he received was not to be condemned on that account.... When farming pays better than clerking, there will be no dearth of farmers, and educated farmers too."²

It had become the custom in the rural press and among speech-makers to blame the depopulation of the country areas

on the system of education. The lack of teachers for rural schools was said to be the reason for the removal of some families to better-favoured areas, but especially the charge was laid that the kind of education given in the schools led the rising generation to despise rural values and pursuits, and lured them away from home.

The Protestant Committee, many of whom were either rural people or had been brought up in rural homes, were sensitive to such criticism. They could argue that they had tried repeatedly to persuade the government to give them greater control over the grants to rural schools so that these might be used to raise the standards in the same way as had those of the superior schools. But this did not meet the charge that they were academically elitist. The pressure eventually became so great that there was a shuffling of membership, and shortly after 1900, under the chairmanship of the Rev. W. I. Shaw, Principal of the Wesleyan Theological College, the Committee became notably responsive to rural needs. A casualty of the new regime was J. M. Harper, who was replaced as Inspector of Superior Schools by John Parker, whose home was in the Townships.

Of incalculable influence in orienting the Committee to the needs of the country was the money power of Sir William Macdonald, whose agent James Robertson became a Committee member. The Hon. Sydney Fisher of Brome, well known for his interest in rural schools, also became a member of the Committee.

Macdonald had already established an agricultural college in Guelph, Ont., and a college in Vancouver, related to McGill which was to become the University of British Columbia. He set up experimental consolidated schools in Ontario and Prince Edward Island with the intention of proving that people would accept higher tax rates if they got better schools and, since 1867, had made frequent donations to McGill for books, laboratories, buildings, etc. Sir William's burning ambition was to restore the dignity of rural life; by promoting education in new attitudes to agricultural life, he sought to reverse the

movement away from the farms. He was fortunate to have an unusual alliance with the creative and resourceful Dr. Robertson.

The first direct effect of the pair upon the school system of Quebec was felt in the campaign to have manual training introduced as a course in the schools. The original idea of manual training was concerned with communicating to young boys the notion of the dignity of work with hands. E.W. Arthy, Superintendent of Montreal Protestant Schools, viewed it as having aesthetic as well as mechanical value. Manual training, according to Arthy, was best taught in three successive stages - drawing, construction and design - which accorded with certain new discoveries about the development of the individual.⁴ The artistic medium was, of course, wood. Grants were made to schools which introduced manual training and interested teachers were instructed in the subject - through the use of Macdonald money.

A program for school gardens, another Macdonald enthusiasm, started off bravely in Quebec Protestant schools, but did not last. It was said that the difficulty of tending the garden during the vacation months made such a project impractical. For some reason, Catholic schools took to the idea more enthusiastically, and became famous for their rural school gardens.

About 1906 Macdonald began to supply grants to teachers that they might attend a three or four months course in nature study at Guelph. The expectation was that these teachers would return to Quebec ready to teach nature study and agriculture in the schools. Many took advantage of the opportunity.

All these programs were but harbingers of what was to come. In 1905, Sir William discarded certain alternative plans and officially proposed to the Protestant Committee that he be allowed to establish at a college he was planning at

Ste. Anne de Bellevue a school for teachers which would be associated with the agricultural and household science departments of the college. The new normal school would have as its special aim the training of teachers to work in the rural areas of the province. There would be residences for the teachers-in-training, something the McGill Normal School did not have, and courses in nature study, household science, and manual training so that these subjects might be introduced more widely in the schools. The costs of the institution would be borne by Sir William so that the government grant which had been given yearly to the McGill Normal School could be used to assist the work of the Protestant Committee, particularly that related to rural schools. Bursaries, free tuition, and travel allowances would encourage country young people to come to Ste. Anne for training. The school for teachers would be administered by McGill University, though the Protestant Committee would continue to control the standards of licensing of teachers. The Committee accepted Sir William's proposal, closed the McGill Normal School, and, from 1907, sent their candidates for elementary and model school-teaching certificates to the School for Teachers at Macdonald College, whose first Principal was Dr. James Robertson. McGill University proper, and Bishop's which had recently established teacher training for advanced diplomas continued to be responsible for the education of high school teachers.

The romantic bias of some of those who participated in this vision of a rural Eden is revealed in an article written first for an agricultural publication, but which was reprinted in The Educational Record:

In the School of Teachers... women and men are trained not so much with the object to turn them out certified teachers to earn a living by means of their diploma, but they are trained to become 'leaders' - 'able guides' to point out to young inquiring minds those secrets which are hid in the color of the flowers, the song of the birds, the humming of the bee, and those one and a thousand things of that realm

of Nature over which the farmer more nearly rules than any other class of men.⁵

Reality dealt rather harshly with these dreams. Not all teachers were inspired to return to the country; it was found necessary to exact a promise from those who accepted financial help that they would spend three years teaching in the rural areas of the province. This was supported by government legislation which had tied licensing to a promise to spend a minimum number of years in Quebec. Despite these measures, the poorer areas of the province, which were most in need of better schools, did not send many more of their young people to the School for Teachers, nor did they receive the looked-for leadership from those who were trained. Many teachers failed to teach nature study and drawing; the fad for agriculture and manual training passed; everyone complained about the overloading of the curriculum.

The 1915 Course of Study officially placed nature study (labelled "agriculture" in the higher grades) among the compulsory subjects in grades up to IX (later reduced to VIII). The provincial government had, indeed, already made the study of agriculture compulsory for all Quebec schools. But even while trained demonstrators from the Agriculture School at Macdonald were getting access to superior schools to give courses there, and a few hardy souls were embarking upon a combined agricultural and teacher's diploma course to fit them for dual roles, the mood of defeat concerning the more idealistic aims of the movement had begun to set in. S.B. Sinclair, Head of the School for Teachers, wrote wistfully in 1913 concerning the rural school of the future:

A small adjoining farm will be managed by the School Principal, and this farm will be a laboratory for illustration and experiment in various departments of agriculture, horticulture, home gardening, nature study and homemaking.... There will be a rural Normal School with an experimental farm and a model rural school in connection with it.... Where, as at present,

city and rural teachers are trained in the same Normal School, the course of study might be arranged in such a way as to present a number of options for city and rural teachers.⁶

It is clear that the author was somewhat disillusioned with the contemporary state of rural education.

Macdonald's "subjects" became more and more marginal on the curriculum. The creation of a special curriculum for rural schools in 1921 showed that the Protestant Committee was seriously attempting to fulfill its mandate for improving rural education. But by the time of the course revision of 1931 there was little thought for agriculture. Technical and commercial schools had been built and were competing with the universities for the better students. Most of the Protestant school children of Quebec now lived in or near Montreal. There was something suggestive about the removal of botany from the list of examination subjects in 1932 and its replacement by biology. It is also interesting to note that at the time when the Protestant School system had reluctantly given up its rural dreams, the government of Quebec was still ardently promoting its "ruralization" programme.

This period, then, marks the beginning of the transition of the Protestant school system from its rural mould to a place in the new industrial society. The most cherished values held by Protestants had to change. In an address as president of P.A.P.T. in 1909, Miss Mary L. Ferguson gave expression to those older values when she declared:

It is universally recognized that the farming population is the backbone of any country, and should this trend of emigration not be arrested, it becomes only a question of time when the political influence of the Protestant minority shall have practically ceased to exist.⁷

Protestants found it difficult to give up their vision of the ideal man: the individual, possessed with native resourcefulness and independence of character, who built his own kingdom, which was his (and hers) to control, use, and enjoy, without question or interference from any rival claimant. Perhaps it is not suprising that there was a tendency to blame the "foreigner" for intruding upon Arcadia. Miss Ferguson's speech hinted at it:

While the Province is rightly making vigorous efforts to induce settlement and promote colonization, and to the cities at least, there is an influx of foreigners, whose assimilation into the national life is a serious problem, is it not deplorable that some of the best blood of the Province, natives of the soil, and descendants of the pioneers who, at great hardship, carved out homes for their families, find themselves sorrowfully obliged to leave these homes so endeared to them by many sacred associations?⁸

B. THE JEWISH-PROTESTANT CONTROVERSY

By an Act of 1870, persons of the Jewish faith owning real estate in Montreal or Quebec City were granted the right to pay their taxes into either the Protestant or Catholic "panel"⁹ and to send their children to schools of their choice. Most chose Protestant schools, probably because of the language advantage (as they perceived it) and also perhaps because of the less explicitly religious nature of these schools. An attempt, in 1874, by the two Jewish congregations (the Spanish-Portuguese and the German-Polish) which then existed in Montreal, to establish a unified Jewish school proved abortive. Separate schools sponsored by the congregations existed at times and were supported in part by the Protestant School Commission of Montreal, but by 1878 many Jewish children were attending Protestant schools and receiving instruction in Hebrew as the

religious element in their school life. The Hebrew instruction was paid for by the Protestant Board of School Commissioners.

In the mid-eighties, however, relations between Jews and Protestants became strained when members of the Spanish and Portugese Congregation, who paid over 75% of the Jewish taxes collected in Montreal, arranged, after unsuccessfully applying to the Protestants for a maintenance grant, to enroll their property in the Catholic panel with the understanding that they would receive back toward the expenses of their Jewish school 80% of the amount which they had paid in taxes. The practical effect of this arrangement for Protestants was that they were left with the responsibility of educating an ever-increasing number of Jewish children with a minimum of financial resources from the Jewish section in the community.

In 1888, the Protestant Committee, still conceiving of the Protestant school system as representing, in some sense, a non-denominational approach to education, as over against the denominationalism of the Catholic school, attempted to get approval from the Council of Public Instruction for legislation which would have counted all non-Catholics in Quebec as Protestants for school tax purposes. Protestants were also pressing for the right of joint stock companies to decide the designation of their school taxes. It was, even then, a demonstrable fact that Chinese and other immigrants, as well as Jews, expected to educate their children in the English-language Protestant¹⁰ schools. If Protestants were to take upon themselves the role of maintaining a general non-denominational educational system for the province, it was argued, they ought to have a greater proportion of the tax resources provided from the neutral panel than that allowed by the ratio of Protestants and Catholics at the last census. The Protestant proposal was blocked at the Council meetings of 1888;¹¹ and succeeding efforts to win favourable legislation on the matter from the provincial government were, for many years, singularly lacking in success.

An agreement in 1894 between the Jewish community and the Protestant School Board of Montreal helped to restore good relations between the parties. Protestants undertook to subsidize the Baron de Hirsch school, which had been founded by Jewish philanthropy in 1890 for the purpose of preparing immigrant Jewish children to enter English-language schools, and to pay the salary of a Hebrew teacher for Jewish pupils in the regular Protestant schools. Jews agreed that they would henceforth consider themselves within the Protestant system and would pay their taxes into the Protestant panel.

But the financial problem for the Protestants of Montreal became increasingly onerous. A loss to the Protestant school board of \$10,000 in 1899, became more than \$23,000 by 1901. This was the difference between the income from Jewish taxes and the cost of schooling Jewish children.¹² A major increase of the Protestant tax-rate became imminent in 1902. Provision for paying the Hebrew teacher was withdrawn. At the same time there were reports of children having to be turned away from schools because of over-crowding. Under this pressure, the Protestant Board began to react in the manner of a separate school system, the mould into which Protestants felt they had been forced by their minority status in Quebec. The board ruled that Jewish children attending Protestant schools did so as "a matter of grace, instead of right," and so could be denied admission in schools where Protestants might otherwise be crowded out.¹³ In 1902, Jacob Pensler, a Jewish student who had won a scholarship but had been ruled ineligible by the Protestant School Board on the grounds that his parents paid no taxes to the Protestant board and thus had no rights, appealed the decision to the courts. The decision of Justice Davidson upheld the board.¹⁴

A new agreement between representative Jews and the Protestant School Board of Montreal in 1903, however, paved the way for an Act of the Quebec legislature (2 Edward VII - 16) which was joyfully greeted by Jews and was acceptable to Protestants. The law declared that for educational purposes, members of the Jewish faith would be treated as Protestants, and that

Jews would have equal rights, and be subject to the same obligations as Protestants. Jewish property would be entered in the Protestant panel, and Jews would be counted as Protestants in the division of taxes and in the legislative grant. No Jewish child would be compelled to read or study any religious or devotional book or take part in any religious exercises which were objectionable to his or her faith. On the other hand, the "school system would remain as before, distinctly Protestant and therefore Christian." The latter point, however, was in the nature of a "gentlemen's agreement" and not a point of law.¹⁵

Neither Jews nor the Protestant School Board of Montreal were satisfied for long with all the terms of the 1903 concordat. Jews claimed that since they paid taxes to the Protestant School Commission they ought to have representation on the Board. Legislative bills in 1906 and 1909, which sought to obtain this, failed.¹⁶ In 1916, and again in 1917, influential Jews sought to persuade the City Council of Montreal to appoint a Jewish member to the Protestant School Board. Protestants were now greatly aroused; the press aired the debate; church bodies made pronouncements condemning the Jewish proposal; and petitions were made to the city council on the matter. Jews met with the Joint-Committee of Protestant Churches but to no avail. The Joint Committee made itself clear in a statement which read, in part:

The Jewish population might rest assured that the Protestant ratepayers would never consent to hand over to Jewish administration and control the splendid educational system and equipment which had been built upon the sacrifices of half a century.¹⁷

The city council's law officers delivered the opinion that Jewish representation on a Montreal school board would be unconstitutional. The matter was dropped.

There had been other difficulties after 1903. Jewish teachers were not at first appointed to other than Jewish schools, a situation which began to change after 1913 when the Protestant Committee gave permission for the appointment of Jewish women teachers to Protestant schools. Protestants, on their side, expressed concern that the proliferation of Jewish holidays frequently left schools half-empty, thus hindering the remaining students from proceeding with their work. Moral and religious education was difficult to sustain in schools where there were many Jews, it was claimed.¹⁸ After the extensive post-World War I Jewish immigration had begun, the Protestant Board developed a policy of separating Jews into particular schools as an answer to both the financial and the social predicaments in which they found themselves. This greatly angered many Jews.

Financial difficulties continued to plague the Protestant board. Few persons could have foretold, in 1903, the extent of immigration to Montreal in the quarter of a century which followed. As early as 1914, some estimates calculated that one half of all elementary children in Protestant schools of the province lived in Montreal, and that about 40% of these were from the immigrant population. The Presbyterian Record reported that the education of Jewish children was costing the Protestant tax-payers one hundred thousand dollars a year over and above the taxes received from Jewish taxpayers.¹⁹ And there were, also, in Montreal in the early 1920s many non-Catholics-non-Protestants, other than Jews, whose educational rights needed definition.

A movement for the repeal of the education act of 1903 was begun among Protestants. Though the act gave a measure of security to Jews, it did not solve the educational problem for non-Catholics-non-Protestants generally, and it was, moreover, possibly prejudicial to the rights of Protestants. There was a feeling among Protestants that the act had failed to meet the problems it was meant to resolve, and that a new approach was needed.

A sub-committee of the Protestant Committee in a meeting with government representatives in 1922 proposed a bill which would have repealed the act of 1903, provided that all non-Roman Catholics and non-Protestants could attend either Catholic or Protestant schools on payment of fees, that all non-Roman Catholics and non-Protestants pay their taxes into the neutral panel, and "that the cost of education of non-Catholics-non-Protestants be the first charge upon the Neutral Panel."²⁰ But the bill as finally passed, after discussion with representatives of the Jewish community, merely provided that the questioned clauses in the school law with respect to Jewish education could be repealed by Order-in-Council after July 1, 1924, and made a distinction between Jewish and other non-Catholics-non-Protestants. The latter were to be provided for as suggested in the original draft of the bill, but Jewish property was still to be listed in the Protestant panel (marked "J") and "the excess cost of educating Jewish children above the taxes paid in by Jewish rate-payers [was] to be charged upon the Third, or Neutral Panel, according to a per capita rate."²¹

The law of 1922 solved the financial problem for the Protestant board, but it was regarded, on the whole, as a temporary measure, and, in the following year, the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of Montreal sponsored a bill in the legislature which would have repealed the act of 1903 and placed the excess cost of the education of all non-Catholic-non-Protestant children as a first charge upon the Neutral Panel, but at the same time would give assurance to the Jewish community that Jewish children in Protestant schools would be educated in a manner equivalent to Protestant children. There was, however, a proviso: "In order to protect the interests of Protestant children in relation to Jewish holidays and moral and religious instruction it is necessary to arrange that certain classes and certain schools shall be exclusively Protestant or exclusively Jewish."²² The Bill was, however, hotly contested by spokesmen for the Jewish community, and when it became clear that there would be no agreement on its provisions, Premier Taschereau suggested placing the whole matter before a commission of inquiry.

A Royal Commission was then appointed to examine, and make recommendations with respect to the educational situation in Montreal. The inquiry and hearings held by the Commission in 1924 provided many suggestions for the solution of the problems,²³ but no agreement. Nor did all Protestants or Jews agree with the "official" pronouncements of their parties in the debate. The Commission recommended that questions regarding the legality of the 1903 act be submitted to the courts for judicial determination. Accordingly, a "test-case",²⁴ the complaint of Hirsch *et al* against the Protestant School Commission of Montreal, was placed before the Court of King's Bench (Appeal Side), and when the judgment of that court proved unfavourable to Jews, it was forwarded first to the Supreme Court of Canada and then to the Privy Council. The counsels of both the Protestant and Catholic Committees contested the action. The judgments of both judicatories outlined the difference that existed in law between the School Commissions of Quebec City and Montreal and the dissentient schools that existed in other parts of the province, and, though interpreting the meaning of the act of 1903 somewhat differently, they agreed that insofar as that act infringed upon the rights of Protestants it was *ultra vires* in terms of the act of confederation. The findings of the Privy Council as stated to the Protestant Committee in 1928 by Eugène Lafleur, who represented the Committee in the deliberations of the Privy Council, included the following significant passage:

The contention of the appellants that the word 'protestant' in the statutes must be interpreted as meaning non-Catholic and so as including Jews is declared to be quite untenable, and it is further held that the Protestant community, although divided for some purposes into different denominations, is itself a denomination, and capable of being regarded as a "class of persons" within the meaning of section 93 of the Act of 1867.²⁵

The Jewish community did receive some affirmation from the judgments of the Supreme Court and the Privy Council. The right to form a school commission of their own was affirmed.

Jews, however, had been divided for sometime on the question of wisdom of such a move. Downtown and Orthodox Jews wanted separate schools where they would be free to teach their children the values they approved. Uptown and liberal Jews were opposed to any suggestion of a ghetto and wanted to work within the Protestant system, which had a reputation for quality. The problem of financing a third system of education in Quebec was also put forward by the uptown Jews as a matter for cautious consideration. In order to assist the Jewish community to make a decision on this matter, an act of the legislature was passed in 1930 which provided for the establishment of a Jewish School Commission with provision for a separate panel for Jewish property, and a three way division of the neutral panel. The act also gave the Jewish School Commission the power to enter into agreements with other school boards, providing this was done within one year after passage of the act. The original draft of this bill had provided for Jewish representation on the Council of Education, and allowed for separate Jewish public schools in any part of the province; but both the Catholic and Protestant Committees had opposed the former provision, and certain Catholic authorities had also discouraged the latter move as opening the door to neutral schools in Quebec.²⁶

In 1931, exactly a year after the act setting up the Jewish School Commission, another act of the legislature ratified an agreement which had been entered into between the Jewish Board of School Commissioners of Montreal, the Protestant School Commissioners of Montreal, and the Protestant School Trustees of Outremont. The agreement was for a fifteen year term to be automatically renewed unless a two-years' notice were given. Full rights were given Jewish children, including that of the conscience clause and provision for Jewish holidays. Jewish teachers were to be accepted as eligible for employment and promotion in the Protestant system and there was provision against segregation of Jewish children. Jewish taxable property was to be listed with the Protestant panel; government grants given on the basis of proportionate Catholic and Protestant population were to include Jews as Protestants, and, each year, the difference between the amount of taxes paid by Jews and the per capita cost of educating Jewish children was to

be borne by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Boards, in proportion to the Roman Catholic and Protestant populations, Jews being excluded from the calculation of the latter. The only limitation was that no right of Jewish persons was to be prejudicial to the educational and religious rights of the Protestant minority. This meant in part that Jews could not be allowed to sit on Protestant school boards. The act of 1931 greatly disappointed those Jews who desired their own public schools, because of its further limitation of the powers of the Jewish School Commission to carrying agreements with the Montreal and Outremont school board. As it turned out, however, the act marked the end of this bitterest phase of the controversy.

From the perspective offered by a half-century's distance from the scene of the events we have been describing, the question must be asked, "How could Protestants argue consistently against sharing the control of their educational system with Jews, and at the same time maintain that they represented in Quebec the general education systems which existed in Ontario and other provinces?" Many of the arguments of Protestants for an increased share of the tax resources bore the implication that it was only the denominational prejudices and, indeed, lack of responsibility of Catholics, which had brought the province to a situation in which the minority group was being called upon to bear the burden which belonged to the whole. Yet the dual educational system had developed in Quebec because Protestants would not share control of the schools with Catholics (nor Catholics with them). Now they were unable to share control with Jews!

But to pose the question in this way is to read modern assumptions into a period which, in general, did not possess them. Most Protestants of the period presumed that the values for which they stood in their educational system were identical to those expected of all Canadian citizens. Catholics were the real dissentients and separatists. The Montreal Protestant School Board had a responsibility to educate the immigrant population into the values of the land

to which they had come; it also had a duty to transmit the British cultural heritage to the children of the Protestant population. Protestants were faced with a problem, however, which their fellows in the United States and Ontario had not experienced; the group to be assimilated was almost as numerous as they were, and they, themselves, had not the power of a majority in the body that made the laws. There was a danger that they might lose control of their schools and betray their responsibility both to the immigrants and to native Quebec Protestants. Protestants, Catholics, and Jews of the early twentieth century had not engaged in much "inter-faith dialogue". They tended to view one another in terms of their differences rather than of the values they held in common. Fear and distrust were maximized by the insularity of the contesting groups.

Protestants learned from the controversy with the Jews of Montreal that they could not simply define their school system as non-Catholic, as some had wished to do. The negative definition begged the question as to what values were actually espoused in Protestant schools. They construed these values in terms of the broad cultural principles of freedom, independence, and initiative which they attribute to their British and Protestant origins. Protestants thought that they must retain "denominational" control of their schools in order that their children might continue to be aware of this cultural heritage.

C. THE TEACHING OF CONVERSATIONAL FRENCH

On his 91st birthday in 1924, Dr. S.P. Robins, who had been Superintendent of Schools for the Protestant Board of School Commissioners for Montreal and later Principal of the McGill Normal School, was visited by a reporter who quoted him as saying, "Although many of our Ontario friends may not agree, I believe that we possess many educational advantages in Quebec, and one such advantage is bilingualism."²⁷ His attitude was

not unrepresentative of views held by educated English-speaking citizens at the time, if what is recorded explicitly and "between the lines" in The Educational Record is any reflection of reality. Whatever might be said about the methods of French-language education employed in the Protestant schools, one cannot justly accuse educators of insincerity or a lack of effort.

Before 1886 French was taught from a strictly literary point of view. The approaches used in the study of Latin and Greek were simply transferred to French. Syntax study, literary translation, and rote memorization of vocabulary lists were largely employed. It was not expected that the French teacher should necessarily speak the language. But, in 1886, H.H. Curtis began teaching French at the High School of Montreal, and he brought there a new scheme of modern-language study which had been developed in Germany and came to be labelled the "direct method". Using this approach, the student sought to understand and speak the language through conversations about everyday objects and events. Phonetics was employed, and written translation was discouraged at least until confidence in the oral use of the language was attained. Grammar was supposed to be best introduced at a later stage.

Curtis was soon asked by Montreal school authorities to supervise the introduction of a program of French-language education on a city-wide basis. He later said ruefully of this period:

The School Board... appointed a special officer to supervise and direct the class-room work, but unfortunately, this officer, as in the case of pioneers generally, found it necessary to learn a great many things himself before he was qualified to administer wise counsel and inspiring suggestions.²⁸

But, here and there, the new method caught on and, in 1906, the Protestant Committee engaged in a discussion as to whether

it were not advisable to have two final examinations in French, one for those who had been trained under the old method, and another for those educated under the "direct method". Alternative examinations soon appeared, and continued for some years. French, in the early years of the century, was optional in elementary schools, but compulsory in model 1 academy grades. In 1907 the Protestant Committee upgraded the status of French by giving it double its previous weight in the final examinations. Thus French became a major subject in schools at every level.

Curtis' 1908 report showed slow but continued progress in the program. McGill had for some time been conducting a summer school in French for teachers; help for teachers in teaching French was soon to be extended by use of the "direct method" at the new School for Teachers at Ste. Anne. All teaching of the French language up to this time was being done by classroom teachers along with their normal work; Curtis began to press for the employment of trained specialists.

The Advisory Committee for French, set up by the Protestant Committee, brought in recommendations, in 1910, which placed its support squarely behind Curtis' program. Members pointed out the need of the French language for all Quebecers in everyday social and commercial relationships, and added:

The success of the Canadian experiment in dual government depends, as, for example, the career and often-expressed opinion of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, go to show - on the harmonization of the varying and often antagonistic racial interests. The comprehension of each race of the other's language is the most effectual means of furthering this purpose.²⁹

The Committee's recommendations were accepted. A program was established, using funds supplied for the purpose from the provincial government, which awarded \$100 to \$200 yearly to

school boards employing a French specialist. The money was meant to help boards pay the salary of the French teacher. The courses in the "direct method" at McGill and Macdonald were extended. In the years succeeding this report extra points were awarded the superior schools in which the oral teaching of French was maintained. These points counted on the inspector's evaluation, which determined the amount of extra grant awarded. The sincerity of the Committee in their support of the "direct method" is attested in the minutes of a committee meeting in early 1912, which records that Dunham Ladies' Academy was refused the bonus for French specialists because "the College is not following the method that the bonuses are intended to encourage."³⁰

The 1915 revision of the course of study made the study of French compulsory from grades IV to XI. A syllabus employing Curtis' guidebooks for oral French was approved for the elementary grades. Grammar and passages from literature, as well as Curtis books, were to be used in the senior grades.

In the years that followed, the attempt to teach French was much commented on by inspectors and others. Teachers in rural schools were said to be using the Curtis books for translation exercises, not in the way intended by the author. The editor of The Educational Record, commenting on this, gave it as his opinion that it would have been better to use the old method than thus distort the new, because at least the students might then have been drilled in the elements of French grammar.³¹ Curtis himself later admitted that the program was introduced into the rural schools without sufficient forethought.³² The Committee had been over-hasty; most teachers were not yet prepared for the conversational method of teaching French.

Curtis was asked, in 1921, to give an oral examination to grade XI students of French in Westmount.³³ It had been suggested by the Protestant Committee that such an examination might help it decide how an oral test might become part of the general grade XI leaving examinations in French.

Curtis was not completely happy with what he found. It seemed to him that while the oral method in elementary schools in Montreal had now made progress (a general supervisor of French for elementary schools had been appointed), the teaching among the senior students had not advanced. He recommended the appointment of a supervisor for teachers of high school French.³⁴

Miss Lea Tanner was appointed, in 1927, as general Supervisor of French Education for Protestant superior schools in Quebec. Among her duties was the oral examination of grade XI students in her visits to schools through the province. She also soon began to set up training events in rural areas in which teachers might be initiated or further developed in the oral method. By this time H.H. Curtis had retired from the scene. In recognition of his work, the government of France awarded him, in 1927, a certificate as an "officier de l'Académie".

But a cautionary note had begun to appear in reports about the French-language program. It was impossible to expect that pupils should learn to speak French in the limited time that was being given it in the schools. Dr. Parmelee and others made a point of speaking about the necessity of pupils' also speaking the language outside the classroom.³⁵

In the revised course of study of 1931, French was continued as a compulsory subject for both academic and general course students in the high schools. "Extra French" became a component of the new grade XII.

Protestant educators of the period made special efforts to promote the bilingualism of pupils in their schools, and this was not only for economic or "practical" reasons but also for cultural and social purposes. No remarks showing the least resentment about the programme to improve French conversation appear in inspectors' reports, Committee minutes, or articles in The Educational Record. Rather, like Robins, English-speaking educators seemed to regard the achieving of

some fluency in French as a duty and an opportunity. There was, however, a great deal of naïvety about how this was to be accomplished. One factor not taken sufficiently into account was the psychological barrier to learning "the other language" peculiar to the Quebec situation. The prevailing social organization taught a separation rather than an integration of cultural identities. Surprising, too, from a modern point of view, was the complete failure of educators in French to relate the learning of the language to the Quebec social and cultural scene. A brochure advertising the McGill French Summer School in 1910 gave as one of its objectives "to intensify the French atmosphere",³⁶ but the field trips described took one to the museums and to the top of Mount Royal. The readings suggested for the advanced section were in Voltaire and other European French literature. This was also true of texts that were recommended for reading by high school students. An "official statement" on "French in Our English Schools" in 1928 informed the reader that "the text-books in the high-school grades introduce variety in the French course inasmuch as they are chosen from the works of a classic French author."³⁷ Was there not a peculiar significant and interesting Quebecois culture to appreciate? Educators seemed unaware of it. The most formidable barrier, perhaps, to Protestant pupils achieving an ability to converse with their French-speaking fellow-Quebecers was created by the self-definition of the dual systems of education in Quebec which forbade each from educating or employing teachers of the other religious faith. Protestant pupils were taught their French, not by francophone Quebecers, but by anglophones who had taken a few summer courses in French, and occasionally by French Protestants from France or Switzerland. Most francophones in Quebec were Catholic and could not ordinarily be employed in Protestant schools. Native Quebecois Protestants were far too inadequate a source of supply; their numbers were few, and many of these who reached superior schools, were, perhaps, more interested in establishing their own anglicization than in teaching French. The identification of "Protestant" and "English" in Protestant schools, and the strong anti-Catholic (and in the Catholic sector, the anti-Protestant) definition of values certainly worked against the development of the pupils' bilingualism. Another barrier was created by the rigidity of the policy of written examinations. Oral French was an awkward

subject to examine; attempts to do so were such that pupils could not help but become aware that the speaking of French was, after all, not quite so important as passing one's academic subjects. One could get along in university, at the School for Teachers, and at commercial trades schools without being able to speak and comprehend French. Thus, despite the sincerity and the effort of educators in promoting bilingualism among Protestant pupils, the overriding message was that the use of the French language and an appreciation of the Quebecois culture was, though important, not absolutely essential for an English Canadian.

IV COURSES OF STUDY AND EXAMINATIONS

The development of the curriculum of Protestant schools in the period from 1900 to 1931 reflected the increasing democratization of the age. At the beginning of the century, the assumption prevailed that most persons were happy to attain a simple elementary education in the three "R"s with a "topdressing"³⁸ of English grammar, geography and history. The grammar school education of the academies gave the classical course necessary for entrance to the universities; it was thus intentionally designed for an elite. Even McGill's applied science courses presumed a background in Latin which provided the "mental training" necessary for advanced work. But vocational needs were also making themselves felt. Greek was de-emphasized, though not quite dropped, from the superior school curriculum early in the century; hygiene, nature study, manual training and bookkeeping were thought to be more necessary. The revised course of study in 1915 claimed to be "free from fads" and strong on the "foundation subjects",³⁹ but there was a new spirit. Literature and history were in vogue; these subjects introduced the school pupil to the noble thoughts and deeds of the human race. This new outlook was to be shared with both elementary and superior school students. The list of books for use with the 1915 course of study provided the choice among texts for each subject, except that in some cases there was a separate designation for Montreal schools.

The demands of an expanding industrial world continued to make themselves felt as the century advanced. Apprenticeship education for the trades proved insufficient. Industry now needed persons with preparation not only in skills but in the scientific viewpoint and with some notion of the world beyond their doors. The requirements of employers with respect to character were clear. They preferred the young man or woman who was trustworthy, adaptable, respected authority, and who took responsibility seriously. The curriculum revisions of the twenties were an attempt to meet that standard. The Protestant Committee began to advertise itself as thinking first of the needs of the great majority of students who would not be going to university. The course of study was made increasingly more flexible so that students could choose among options as they progressed through the high school grades. Latin was retained as compulsory only for students going to university. The main purpose of education in the public schools, as it was perceived, was the development of character and citizenship. When the Protestant Committee turned down E.I. Rexford's projected special course in character and citizenship,⁴⁰ it agreed that henceforth the study of history in the schools would be the chief bearer of the values which built character and fostered good citizens.

The 1931 revision of the course of study in the high schools divided students into an "academic" and a "general" stream beginning at the eighth grade; the former was designed for those intending university and the latter was meant for students going to technical or commercial schools (or to certain other forms of vocational training), or who were terminating their formal education. The Committee's rationale for the revision explained:

'Reform' in the sense of a root and branch reconstruction is not in question and is not called for. We propose no radical changes in an established educational scheme in this Province that has now acquired its own characteristic way of functioning, and has **proven its capacity** to meet the needs of the

people. But 'reform' in the sense of development and adjustment of the main system to meet new means, will always be necessary if there is to be growth at all.⁴¹

The aims envisioned by the Committee were comprehensive:

To assist in providing the student with a foundation for character; to equip him to think clearly; to inspire in him a love of culture; and to help him attain intellectual freedom... Education... should aim at developing in and for the Canadian pupil, the rich resources of a common British Inheritance of culture that has itself now acquired a universal character.⁴²

In the same year it became possible for schools to extend their course of study to grade XII. Including such subjects as "Extra English" and "Extra French", grade XII provided an additional year in school for those who, for whatever reason, needed it.

The development of the curriculum in Protestant schools in Quebec betrays the English and American proclivity, perhaps inherited from the Puritans, for practicality - for viewing the purpose of life as fulfilled more in the living of it, than in thinking about it. The contrast between the Protestant and the Catholic systems of education is, at this point, marked. Catholics in Quebec held to an image of education which provided for religious, moral and cultural development at the basic level, and only when that had been completed, training in vocational skills. Vocational education was, as it were, superadded and kept quite distinct; it happened after the end of "schooling" proper and was administered not through the Department of Education but through other governmental agencies. Most Protestants agreed that education in the humanities was primary, and that, in the university, the liberal arts should be the foundation for professional training but they were

not as inclined as Quebec Catholics to define their elites in terms of academic education. Within Protestant circles there was always a vigorous questioning of the assumptions of academia. This made itself felt in the curriculum for Protestant schools. Options allowing for vocational differences had been provided earlier, and it was felt that vocational and cultural education should somehow be combined, and taken concurrently. The 1931 revision of the course of study did not, in fact, achieve all the success hoped for in supplying more schooling to greater numbers of pupils. Despite (and, perhaps, because of) careful explanation by the Protestant Committee⁴³ that the general course carried no reflection on the quality of the students who engaged in it, the majority either tried for the more prestigious academic course, or dropped out. However, the 1931 revision did succeed in recognizing the differences in vocational goals of students.

Throughout this period, written examinations remained the major means of testing learning accomplishments in schools. The final examinations of academies and high schools labelled until 1911 the "Associate in Arts" exams, and after that simply "the School Leaving Exams" were set, and, until 1915, marked by a committee made up of university professors. McGill agreed, in 1905, to take its name off the diploma given and to substitute simply the words "University Diploma".⁴⁴ Bishop's concurred in this arrangement. Examinations for the other academy and model grades and after 1915 all departmental examinations were conducted and marked by persons or boards appointed by the Protestant Committee. Elementary education, particularly in the rural areas, seems to have been relatively free of the examination craze at this time.

In 1908, A.W. Kneeland, of the School for Teachers, a member of the Protestant Committee, and a former school principal launched a campaign to reform the examination system. Kneeland saw use for examinations as a teaching device through which instructors could evaluate work and help students progress on the basis of such evaluations; he was willing to admit, too, that there was learning involved for those who wrote examinations

(practice in setting down thoughts in an orderly arrangement, for example); he even went so far as to agree that "the common examination has proved to be the true foundation upon which to rear up the superstructure of a reasonably fair scheme for determining the awards of public money to our secondary schools,"⁴⁵ but he contended that the overuse of the written "final" was detrimental to education. Examinations that were never delivered back to the teacher or student encouraged cheating, crushed individuality, and make passing the examination more important than the education itself. The Educational Record was interested in Kneeland's point of view and reprinted an article from the Educator-Journal which stated: "The formal examination should test the student's ability to use his books, and he should pass the examination with his books by him."⁴⁶

The Protestant Committee was impressed by Kneeland's arguments. A sub-committee took the matter in hand and developed a policy on examinations which they reported as follows:

Your sub-committee feel that the time has arrived when the rigid system of examination which has hitherto prevailed, may be relaxed at certain points with advantage and that larger powers and responsibilities may be entrusted to the local school authorities under the supervision of the Inspector of Superior Schools.⁴⁷

There was an immediate reaction to the new policy from teachers. It was argued that students were not getting an objective viewpoint, that some teachers would favor certain pupils, and that no two teachers had the same standards.⁴⁸ Petitions came to the Committee demanding that external examinations be set for most superior school grades and be extended to include even the elementary grades of those model schools and academies which also carried on elementary education. The Committee again revised its policy,⁴⁹ and it was not until 1920 that it saw fit to make another strong statement on examinations:

Examinations should induce and foster continued honest and persistent effort during the whole year.... We believe that the standing of a pupil should be based on his effort and success during the whole year, and not on results sometimes obtained by force of cramming,... consequently, the teacher's estimate of his pupils should be taken into account.... We are not yet in a position to recommend the introduction of a system of accredited schools, or of accredited pupils in a school, but we suggest a plan that would, we think, naturally and wisely, pave the way for such a system if later it were considered advisable.⁵⁰

The critics of written examinations received support in the twenties from Inspector W.O. Rothney, whose reports consistently pointed out the folly of teachers' preparing pupils only for examinations, thus sidetracking the real aim of education, which was character development. At times, Rothney grew blunt and almost sarcastic:

Improvement... is perhaps not to be expected under our present examination system. Nevertheless, sooner or later, we must abandon the idea that the school is primarily an assemblage of classes where subjects are being taught, and, instead, come to look upon the school as a place where growing human beings assemble for a portion of their current, wholesome living, and for getting advice, guidance, practice and momentum for a continuance of that wholesome living while out of school.⁵¹

Others were now expressing the view that character development was among those things which could neither be taught in a course nor ever properly evaluated by ordinary methods. Under such reasoning, the exams in Scripture which had been a feature of Protestant education in Quebec from the earliest days were

discontinued. Examinations continued, however, in history and in other courses which purported to have as one of their aims the development of character and citizenship.

There was, indeed, something incongruous about a system which held character development to be one of its chief aims, admitted, at times, that this could not be measured by the usual methods, and yet made the written examination the test of success. Perhaps there is something in the British character that delights in struggle and competition. This motivation was employed to the hilt - in the early twentieth century as it had been in the nineteenth - even to the extent of having the Inspector of Superior Schools publish yearly in The Educational Record the names of the ten pupils who led in the June examinations, together with their actual marks and the name of the school that had produced them.⁵² Or, perhaps it was as Principal Peterson had said in 1900:

Examiners can only measure what is measurable. But it is well understood that those results which are non-measurable are 'generally secured incidentally and most effectively in those schools in which the intellectual level is highest...' and after all that part of education which takes the form of direct instruction, and is capable of being tested by individual examination is, though not the highest part, yet a very substantial factor in the education of the child!⁵³

The need for control, for efficiency, for structure, and for organization was strong; how were members of the human race of all ages to be led to exert themselves effectively except through an appropriate system of rewards and punishments, successes and failures? At least, as Inspector Hewton used to say, the rewards and punishments bestowed on pupils in the course of the day should be "not for what nature has made them but for what they have made themselves."⁵⁴ So, too, perhaps, with examinations; for was it not clear that honest industry could carry a person all the way, and equally clear that poverty was due to what was in many respects the most heinous sin of all - laziness?

CHAPTER SIX

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

1896-1931

- A. The Scripture Syllabi to the Revision of 1931
- B. Moral Education
- C. Struggles in the Protestant Committee
- D. The Use of the Bible in Education
- E. Moral and Religious Instruction: The 1931 Revision

A. THE SCRIPTURE SYLLABI TO THE REVISION OF 1931

In 1900, Miss Lilian Robins, president of her local teachers' association (and daughter of S.P. Robins, famous in the annals of Quebec Protestant education), addressed a meeting of the association thus:

The teacher never speaks of the Bible - our ideal moral guide - except in the most thoughtful and reverential way never paraphrasing or simplifying it in a silly manner. The strong Scotch character is largely due to the Scotch getting the Bible without adulteration.¹

The majority of Quebec Protestants, at least of those who had the responsibility for creating the course of study, must have agreed with Miss Robins. From the time a general, appointed course of study began in 1883, until 1931, Protestant pupils got their Bible "straight". Teachers of younger grades read Bible stories to the children; older children read them for themselves. The texts were strictly Biblical: the Bible itself, and, until 1915, McLearn's histories of the Old and New Testament events. Books of Biblical extracts were not used, nor was there any text of doctrinal or devotional interpretation. The one exception to the rule was the permission given the optional use of the Jamaica Catechism² from 1905 to 1915.

Two assumptions controlled the formation of the Scripture syllabus. The first was that the Bible should be read chronologically, and the second was that the study of the Old and New Testaments should be undertaken concurrently. However, after 1915, "concurrency" was retained chiefly in areas outside of the city of Montreal. From 1895 to 1915 the syllabus for elementary schools, made up of passages of Scripture, worked through Old Testament history from Genesis in the first year to the books of Samuel in the fourth, and concurrently covered the life of Jesus

enriched year by year with additional stories from the Gospels. Memory passages such as the Beatitudes, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, Matthew VI, the Apostles' creed, as well as certain additional Scripture passages, were prescribed.³ The course for model schools and academies was, for some years, not spelled out in detail. Model school pupils were to prepare themselves for examinations on "The Life and Words of Christ" and the Old Testament; academy I and II wrote on the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. In 1901, when the elementary school course added a grade IV, distinct from model I, thus adding an additional year to the total course, the study of Scripture and examinations in the subject were limited to model school grades. The 1913-1914 Memorandum to Teachers gives a detailed syllabus of passages on the Gospel of Luke for model I₄ and II and The Book of Acts for model III, with no memory work. Academy grades continued, of course, to designate the first half hour of the day to "Scripture, prayer, and singing" with the opening exercises. Examinations on Scripture set by the Board of Examiners in the pre-1915 period included questions such as these:

Describe briefly the events of the first day of the week in which our Lord was crucified.

(Model II, 1905)

Who was (a) Lazarus, (b) Zacharias, (c) Martha, (d) Simon, a Cyrenian, (e) Pilate?

(Model I, 1905)

Give a short account of St. Paul's second missionary journey.

(Model III, 1909)⁵

There were ordinarily about eight such questions for each examination, all requiring factual rather than interpretive answers. Examiners, in these years, regularly complained in their reports that the quality of the answers in Scripture was never as good as the preceding year. They blamed "the system of teaching."⁶

After 1915 examinations in Scripture were not published in The Educational Record; they were nevertheless continued for a time as required departmental exams for the highest grade in which the Scripture syllabus was used (VIII, and later, VII). Teachers, presumably, gave their own examinations in the subject to other grades.

In 1915, the new course of study broke with the principle of concurrency (perhaps in order to better accommodate the many Jewish children now in Montreal schools), and used only the Old Testament from Grades II to V. In grade I the focus was on the life of Jesus; grade VI covered the Book of Acts; grade VII read the lives of the yearly church leaders, and grade VIII the life and teaching of Jesus.⁷ The emphasis now was biographical in keeping with the spirit of the Herbartian school of educational philosophy, but there was still memory work in the lower grades.

The 1923 and 1928 manuals for Protestant elementary grades⁸ for use in rural schools retained the chronological principle of Scripture study for "Moral and Religious Instruction" (its new title) and returned to the concurrency principle. During their time in elementary school grades students were expected to cover the Old Testament from Genesis to Nehemiah, and the New Testament stories of Jesus and Paul. Memorization of the names of the books of the Bible replaced that of the Apostles' Creed.⁹ The "story" element in the choice of passages was underlined. There was some attempt to relate content to age-level, but this was handicapped because of the chronological treatment. Non-rural schools retained variations of the 1915 syllabus. Montreal schools had their own Scripture syllabus, which was chronological and concurrent (with some New Testament studies each year), and heavily oriented to the New Testament in grades VI (The Gospels) and VII (The Book of Acts). There was much memory work of short texts, which included some from the prophets, epistles, and poetry of the Bible. There was also provision for optimal memory work.¹⁰ Dr. Ernest Best who complained, in 1927, of the Protestant Committee syllabus' "restriction of the teaching of Jesus to grades VI and VII, after about half our pupils

have left school,"¹¹ added that the Montreal schools had made a semi-satisfactory adjustment of this in their Scripture course.

The 1930 course of study in moral and religious instruction gave as its aims: "to lead the pupil (1) to appreciate the opportunity to help others, and (2) to organize the conflicting impulses of his life so as to develop habits of Christian service."¹² This syllabus, still in the spirit of 1915, was organized completely on a "story" basis; the grade V selection, for instance, emphasized "heroism", grade VI, stories on the "courage to do right", etc. Memory work was reduced. The progression of the stories was strictly chronological.¹³

B. MORAL EDUCATION

From 1883 to 1930, the formula used to cover provision for moral instruction in the elementary schools of Protestant Quebec was "lessons upon Godliness, Truthfulness, Honour, Respect for Others, Good Manners, Temperance, Kindness to Animals, etc."¹⁴ "Health" was added to the list in 1901. No such explicit direction was given for model schools and academies. In this period the Protestant Committee did not make any suggestions about textbooks to be used in moral education, except in the cases of health and temperance. The teacher's moral character had been testified to, before entering normal school or receiving a license from the Board of Examiners. Everyone, it was assumed, knew what proper behaviour was; the question about the teaching of morality was one of method. How could children be shaped to "correct" behaviour and enabled to act habitually on moral principles?

Teachers' manuals throughout the period insisted that moral education, though assisted by occasional stories and object lessons on moral points, was accomplished more through the teacher's own example and in the day-by-day discipline of the class. The 1907 manual directed:

The teacher's first duty is to give the pupils clear and definite conceptions of right in their various duties in the school-room and on the playground and insist upon strict adherence to the right.... Strive to develop the conscientiousness of the children. When the prevailing sentiment of a school condemns the act of the wrongdoer, an upward step has been made.¹⁵

Successive manuals reminded readers:

Teachers... must not injure ... children by acting as consciences for them. It is the teacher's duty to give the pupils such instruction as may enable them to distinguish between right and wrong lines of conduct, to hold up before them high ideals..., and in forming habits of correct moral conduct... but it is not her duty at all times and on every occasion to point out the right and to restrain them from going wrong. The responsibility of decision must rest on them, and the consequences of that decision must be borne by them. Teach them to depend upon themselves, and strive to inculcate in them a desire to decide questions of right and wrong on their merits and to act in accordance with these decisions.¹⁶

Lists of the "right" attitudes included: obedience, truthfulness, good temper, honesty, punctuality, perseverance, industry, politeness, self-control, moral courage, self-respect, self-denial, etc.¹⁷ Children were also to be educated about the injurious effects of alcohol and of smoking; exercise was important and habitual cleanliness was to be insisted upon.

Manuals frequently referred to the moral lessons implicit in the selections in the readers and in the study of history. Some commentators could find moral values also in the study of arithmetic, grammar, and even penmanship.¹⁸ It was

believed, however, that the Bible was the special source of instruction in right behaviour. The 1907 manual plainly said: "Stories from the Old Testament and the portions of the Gospels that deal with the life and words of Christ are best suited for the younger children."¹⁹ The link between moral education and the study of Scripture was assumed.

C. STRUGGLES IN THE PROTESTANT COMMITTEE

Some proposals for explicit religious and moral instruction caused such a turmoil in the Protestant Committee between the years 1915 and 1923, that they were either finally rejected or greatly modified before becoming part of the programme of Protestant education. Since the values of a system are revealed as much in what is excluded as in what is accepted, we shall consider some of those struggles.

(1) The Jamaica Catechism.- At the last meeting of the Protestant Committee in 1905, it was decided to authorize for use the Jamaica Catechism, "as supplementary to the present syllabus of Scripture lessons, and "to be used at the option of the school boards."²⁰ The Committee had been persuaded to take this action by Bishop Dunn of the Diocese of Quebec. The catechism was designed to meet the needs of Protestants in general, but, according to Director-General J.S. Sutherland, it was never widely employed in Quebec schools.²¹

The text remained on the recommended list until the course changes of 1915. On Feb. 19th of that year the Study Sub-Committee of the Protestant Committee omitted it from its suggested list of recommended texts; indeed, all options were being eliminated now that it had been decided to promote the uniform use of textbooks. In the discussion of the report, E.I. Rexford and Bishop Lennox Williams moved that "in view of the unique character of the Jamaica Catechism,"²² it be retained.

It was agreed to reconsider the matter after a review of the catechism by each member of the Committee. On May 28th, the sub-committee chairman again moved that the Jamaica Catechism not be authorized for use, but Rexford and the Bishop of Quebec amended the motion to provide for its recognition. The amendment was lost and the motion was passed. At the close of the meeting, however, Robert Bickerdike gave notice that at the next meeting he would move "that the Jamaica Catechism of Primary Religious Instruction be placed upon the list of authorized textbooks."²³ At the meeting of Oct. 1, 1915, Bickerdike made his motion which was seconded by Sydney Fisher of Brome; it was lost, and the matter of the Jamaica Catechism was set to rest. In the minutes of the Protestant Committee there is little indication of the pros and cons of the debate on the matter of the Jamaica Catechism but the implicit question seems to have been: Whose norms should control the policies of the Committee? The acceptance of such a doctrinal text as the Jamaica Catechism must have challenged the assumption of many Committee members that only the Bible and Biblical histories should be used as textbooks for moral and religious education in Protestant schools in Quebec. The Committee could carry on its work amicably only if the strictest propriety were kept about introducing doctrinal positions. This may not have been what Rexford had in mind when, in the mid-eighties, he constructed the first "course of study" of the "religiously-based" Protestant system of education, and agreed that there should be no denominational teaching in the schools, but now, influential though he still was, the Protestant Committee had a way and a will of its own. Anglicans, it seemed, had difficulty in properly separating Bible-based religion and morality from theological doctrines.

(2) The Religious Instruction of Student-Teachers.-

According to the ancient rules of the Protestant Committee in relation to the normal school, student teachers were to meet weekly with selected representative clergymen of their religious denomination for religious instruction. The 1898 regulations gave the time of such instruction as 4 o'clock on Thursdays.²⁴ The School for Teachers at Macdonald College was also subject to these rules and a system had developed there in which Anglican students met with the rector of St. George's Church

and other Protestants took instruction from the minister of the Union Church of Ste Anne de Bellevue. But, in 1914, classes in the pedagogy of religion had been introduced in the programme of the School for Teachers, and the decision was made that the services of the clergymen be dispensed with and religious instruction be fully integrated with the regular course of study. Arguments for the change were based on pedagogical principles, and, perhaps also, on the impropriety of maintaining, in modern days, a denominational dimension to the education of Protestant teachers for public schools, particularly in a McGill-related institution.

The Anglican Diocese of Montreal was not favourably impressed with these developments at the School for Teachers, and, inspired by E.I. Rexford, convenor of the committee on religious education of the diocese, lodged with the Protestant Committee a request that the Committee withdraw its approval of the School for Teachers plan. Rexford (and the Diocese) argued that, under the new arrangements, religious knowledge would "be treated as an ordinary subject of instruction in the curriculum", and teachers-in-training would "fail to get that vision of duty, that enthusiasm and interest in this department of school life, which comes from a more direct appeal to religious sanction in life and conduct."²⁵ The petition of the diocese also asked the Protestant Committee to insure that the rights of the Church of England would be respected if the new plan were finally approved.

On Feb. 25, 1916, the team of Rexford and Williams introduced a motion in the Protestant Committee meeting intended to frame a compromise plan to deal with the situation. It called for a dual system of religious instruction at the School for Teachers. Before Christmas, college staff were to assist students in developing teaching methods in religious education "using chiefly the Old Testament portion of the Course of Study,"²⁶ and after Christmas the two local clergymen were to instruct the class "in two equal sections" on the "Life of Our Lord" and "The Acts of the Apostles". There would be regular exams on the work at Christmas and in June. Before discussion on the motion could take place,

however, the meeting was adjourned "for lack of time" on a motion by Dean Sinclair Laird of the School for Teachers and Charles McBurney.

At the May 19, 1916 meeting, the Protestant Committee was waited upon by a delegation, including Bishop Farthing of Montreal and others, representing "the Anglican body of the Province and particularly the diocese of Montreal", who requested "the continuance of such a scheme of religious instruction as is outlined in the motion of Dr. Rexford at the last meeting."²⁷ No action was taken at this meeting but the secretary's correspondence disclosed that "forty letters from various parts of the Province in regard to religious instruction in the School for Teachers had been received."²⁸

The fall meeting of the Committee arrived in due course. Rexford and Williams brought in the identical motion they had previously made. An amendment was put by Laird and J.A. Dale, McGill Professor of Education, to the effect of approving only "that ministers of religion [have] the opportunity to meet students for the purpose of deepening and strengthening their spiritual life."²⁹ The amendment was lost, but the motion was also put and lost. At last a new motion put the whole matter back into the hands of the Teachers' Training Committee to work out some acceptable scheme.

At a later meeting, the Committee entertained a recommendation from the Teachers' Training Committee that "the subject of religious instruction be placed in the same position as other subjects and be given by the staff within regular hours and that clergymen be welcomed for the purpose of conducting religious exercises involving the inspirational and devotional use of the Scriptures, at four o'clock, or later, on a day of the week as may be most convenient for them."³⁰ Rexford submitted, and, a few months later, heard:

The two local clergymen are meeting with the students of their respective denominations at 4 p.m. on Mondays and the subject matter of this

course is left entirely to the discretion of the clergy; they are not bound by, or restricted to the course laid down by the Protestant Committee. Indeed, for obvious reasons, it is desirable that they should proceed along different lines, and for this session at any rate they are doing so.³¹

The matter of this lengthy debate was the relative rights of the church, university, and Protestant Committee in controlling the religious instruction given at the School for Teachers. Rexford was concerned that a visible link between the Church and public school should somewhere be maintained. Secular educators were rapidly moving away from any assumption of responsibility for religious education, distinguishing the moral purpose of education from religion. Rexford could not make such a distinction. Moreover, he was aware that in Montreal, particularly, where Jews formed a large portion of the student body of some schools, the regulations about religious and moral instruction were beginning to be "more noted in the breach than in the observance."³² Besides, here was one corner, honoured by tradition, in which the denominations had an opportunity to instruct some of their promising young people in the deeper meanings of their religion. Could not the courses of the clergymen "count" educationally along with the instruction of the regular staff? The staff of the School for Teachers was not willing, however, to give status to "denominational" courses. The personal faith-and-meaning dimension of the teachers' religious instruction was thus marginalized. And this norm was re-inforced in the public schools. The resolution of the controversy affirmed once again that Protestant education in Quebec was not to be under church control or admit to any denominational purpose.

Before Rexford left the Protestant Committee meeting on the occasion last mentioned, he heard read a resolution which had been passed at the recent session of the Montreal Anglican Synod which urged "that Religious Instruction be given in Grades IX, X and XI in our public schools."³³ The matter was referred to the Sub-Committee on Course of Study.

(3) An Attempt to Institute a Course on Character and Citizenship.- Elson Rexford was absent from Montreal for the better part of a year following the close of the world war in November, 1918. He had been summoned to take the position as dean of theology in Khaki University. That unique institution supplied university courses to Canadian troops in England who were waiting to be returned home. On Nov. 29, 1918, shortly after Rexford's departure, the Sub-Committee on Course of Study brought recommendations to the Protestant Committee for a new policy on moral and religious instruction to govern all Protestant schools in Quebec. The new course, the sub-committee suggested, should be graded according to the age and level of the pupil. In order to accomplish its object, the stimulation of the highest possible moral and religious ideals in the young, there would be Scripture study, but also some materials from literature, nature, and history. Scripture memory work would consist, not of isolated texts, but continuous passages. Formal examinations might not be needed, it was felt, if inspectors were instructed to examine the work on their visits and to make definite reports about its progress. The sub-committee also recommended that moral and religious instruction be extended to Grade XI, but only on condition that there would be no examinations on the subject in the high school grades.³⁴ Having made their report and received the parent Committee's mandate to draw up a detailed course of study in the subject, the sub-committee, it appears, rested the matter.

On Rexford's return to Montreal he succeeded Sir William Peterson as chairman of the Protestant Committee. One of his first tasks was to lead in Committee discussions with McGill University representatives on the matter of broadening the basis upon which School Leaving Certificates would be granted. Rexford's point of view in the negotiations was that schools had a larger purpose than that of preparing students for university entrance. The majority of pupils required the leaving certificate for other reasons, and therefore it was desirable that there be a broad selection of credit options. And also, Rexford argued, since "the formation of Character and preparation for the duties of citizenship... is one of the main objects of the public

school system,"³⁵ there must be provision for such study in the higher as well as the lower grades. His suggestion was that a compulsory course in "character and citizenship" be instituted as a requirement for the school leaving certificate. History could be given an optional status since most of the necessary work in that subject was covered earlier than the final year and could be written off as a preliminary subject. It was difficult to argue against Rexford's proposal. A call for more attention to foster character education in the schools had swept Canada in the post-war years. A national consultation had done much to catalyze opinion,³⁶ and the Committee's files contained petitions to this effect. The Rexford plan was approved in principle in these early discussions.

At a meeting of the Protestant Committee, late in 1920, however, the general principle that character and citizenship should be one of the compulsory courses leading to the School Leaving Certificate was questioned. The sub-committee on course of study was asked to consider whether history, instead, should be retained as a compulsory subject, and the feeling was expressed that before character and citizenship could be considered, the Committee should have more indication of the content and method proposed for the course.³⁷ Rexford went back to his task; but he had also now to keep in mind a resolution from the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers which had been read at the Committee meeting just concluded. This resolution stated:

This Convention is of the opinion that in the revision of the scheme of moral and religious education for the Protestant Schools of the Province care should be taken to provide that all classes of children in attendance at schools, whatever their religious belief, should have careful training in the ideals and standards of Canadian citizenship.³⁸

The February 21, 1921 meeting of the Committee approved in principle the plans Rexford had brought in through the

sub-committee, but asked that the manual for teachers being prepared for use with the course be printed and delivered to members of the Committee to receive their criticisms and later be edited in the light of the criticisms received. It was plain that Rexford was not going to have his way easily with the course.

The succeeding meeting of the Protestant Committee must surely have discouraged its chairman. It was agreed that history be made a compulsory subject "in view of the great value of this subject as a medium for training in Character and Citizenship" and that "the projected course in Character and Citizenship be not made a definite subject leading to an examination and compulsory in the higher grades."³⁹ There was still to be some provision for explicit religious and moral education for high school students, however, and it was suggested that Rexford send new proposals to the Committee members for their criticisms. A later meeting set a deadline for the reception of these evaluations - Jan. 20, 1922. Criticisms did come from certain members of the Sub-Committee on course of study, who were especially opposed to some of Rexford's ideas. Others from the larger Committee joined them. Rexford's document was said to be too long and verbose to serve as a useful day to day guide for the teachers; many of the topics suggested for treatment such as "foreign missions" and "the resurrection of the body" were better left with the Sunday Schools; public schools with varying denominations and creeds should avoid "controversial religious questions. Dr. Milton Hersey complained: "The author seems to confuse Character Building and Morality and Religion, as if the former were impossible without dogmatic religion."⁴⁰

In response to such remarks, Rexford sent out circulars to members of the Committee on Jan. 17th and Feb. 10th, 1922, in one of which he protested: "If the Scriptures are themselves doctrinal - if a systematic arrangement of Scripture material for lesson purposes is dogmatic - then the Memorandum may be doctrinal and dogmatic."⁴¹

Finally, at the spring meeting of the Committee in 1922, the matter was laid to rest. The Sub-Committee on Course of Study reported:

Many criticisms have been received. These criticisms are of such a nature as to make it absolutely impossible to carry out your mandate and edit this Manual and Course of Study. Moreover, it is the opinion of your sub-committee that until there is a greater unanimity regarding purpose, method, and content of a course in religious instruction and character building, ⁴² it is useless to proceed further in the matter.

The revision of a course for elementary schools which was now to be called Moral and Religious Instruction proceeded and was printed in the 1923 manual. But consideration of explicit provision for the subject to high schools would not be resumed until almost two decades had passed.

We do not know the precise content Rexford proposed in his aborted course in character and citizenship. No copy of his manual is known to exist.⁴³ The surviving comments of its critics indicate that they were troubled by its "controversial" material. They meant, it seems, its explicitly Christian teaching which would not be acceptable to all Protestant denominations, and which, it was feared, would be offensive to the children of other faiths thronging many Montreal classrooms. The study of "character and citizenship", moreover, did not fit the norms which secondary education in Protestant schools had long employed: those modelled for instance, by McGill University. Such a course could not be examined objectively as could history. Since character development could not be measured it had to be left to incidental teaching and learning.

The legitimacy of Rexford's concern must be acknowledged. He saw that the moral and religious dimension of life could not be ignored by individuals or by society. From this source derived the principles and ideals necessary for a better

life and world. Schools which omitted such a concern were not educating the whole person. The Committee members responded to Rexford's proposal in the only way possible, perhaps, given the assumptions and conditions of their time. The choice of history as the burden bearer of education in citizenship was obvious but the question as to how students were to be supplied with information on universal religious and moral questions was bypassed. The idea that these concerns could be studied objectively was not yet popularly received. Rexford's recommendations appeared to the Committee to be attempts to indoctrinate in specific Christian viewpoints. The pressure of "the Jewish question" at the time, and the perception of the growing secularism of society's values led many educators to seek the unity of public school education on a broad value base. The banning of controversy about moral and religious questions meant, however, that young people were deprived of skills and resources of knowledge which could have fitted them to be more critical of the school's, society's, and their own value assumptions. The Committee's decision may now be viewed as providing a retreat from depth - from the problem of how to help high school students wrestle with the profounder questions of value and meaning raised, for example, in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.

D. THE USE OF THE BIBLE IN EDUCATION

The regulations governing education in the Protestant schools of Quebec stipulated that there was to be no denominational teaching. The conclusion many drew from this rule was that the Bible was to be used only for moral education. How it was that Christ's death on the cross accomplished salvation for man, or the meaning of the sacraments, or even matters of personal devotion were never touched upon in the suggested course of study, nor were there examination questions on such topics. These were matters of faith and doctrine to be taught in the home or in the church schools as the individual denominations saw fit. But there was a further limitation on the use of the Bible. Only "historical" matter was to be taught. The prophetic writings and the Epistles

were largely excluded because they did not deal with "facts". There could be dispute as to their interpretation. Memory work in the Psalms was, however, permitted, and, as we have seen, Montreal schools in the 1920s included a few one-line texts from the Prophets and Epistles in their memory work.

The purpose of the Bible in the Public schools was to lay a foundation for principled character in young lives. But the great question was: How could the examples of character and the moral principles described in Scripture become part of the life of each pupil? The answers given to that question included: (1) the moral drill approach, (2) an emphasis upon the influence of great thoughts and examples, and (3) the view that the Bible should help stimulate more socially-responsible day by day living.

(1) Moral Drill. - J.M. Harper's emphasis on the disciplinary or drill approach to learning the moral truths of the Bible did not perhaps long outlast Harper's resignation in 1903. Some comment has been made in a previous chapter⁴⁴ about this typical "faculty psychology" mode of learning.

(2) Thinking God's Thoughts after Him. - About the beginning of the century, an influence came to bear upon educators in Quebec which effectively ended the dominance of the "disciplinary" school. Following G.F. Herbart, most educators believed that the child needed to be exposed to the rich heritage of ideas which was his as a member of the human race. History, science, nature study, and many other subjects could be used to help the mind of the child imbibe all that was noble. The Bible served admirably under this rubric as the highest source of nourishment for mind and soul possessed by man. The Bible was God's thought, as expressed in Moses and Christ, and through the apostles and other heroes who lived at the seed-time of the Christian religion. If the school pupil could be induced to "think God's thoughts after Him", what better foundation for richness of character could be laid? Hence, the editor of The Educational Record in Oct. 1907 suggested with respect to the Scripture memory work required of pupils, that the teacher

should first teach "the thought, sentiment or soul of the selection to be learned" and "teach it in the manner it is likely to be recalled or required."⁴⁵ In reaction to the era of discipline had arrived the age of delicacy! Consequently, the editor recorded his opinion:

It is not best to set apart a space on the timetable for the moral lessons, lest our pupils' self-respect be injured by our manner of teaching the subject. We should never give our pupils the idea that they have lost our confidence, and we should not directly apply our moral lessons, else they may be resented. If we proceed, however, unconsciously to the pupils, applying our remarks to characters and their conduct as found in the lessons, we are more likely to impress our pupils with the value of our moral instruction.... To impress the lessons on "Godliness", "Truthfulness", it is best to watch for opportunities in the school work and reinforce these by happenings for everyday life and the lives of the pupils themselves.⁴⁶

The 1915 course of study in Scripture displayed this conception of the relation between the Bible and moral education. The children were now to hear and read "the stories" of the Bible, which emphasized "heroism" and "the courage to do right". The teacher must begin with the child's "interests", and his or her "stage of development". It was an optimistic viewpoint and promised opportunity for imaginative expression in education; but the Freudian discovery of the "power of the unconscious" in motivation was, among other changes in the history of ideas, soon to revolutionize the psychology of education. At the opening of World War I, Quebec educators, like others, were appalled that Germany, the home of Herbart and of so much else that was excellent in education, now appeared to house the world's cruellest oppressors.

(3) Education for Social Responsibility. - The idea popularized by John Dewey that the school should be considered a kind of laboratory in which experiments for social living were being carried on, achieved a vogue during the twenties in Quebec as elsewhere. As this view of education grew in power the relation between the Bible and moral teaching in Quebec schools came into question. The matter was raised dramatically by Inspector W.O. Rothney who conducted a survey of the state of moral education in the schools of Protestant Quebec, particularly in those of his own inspectorate in the Eastern Townships. First reports of the findings of the survey reached The Educational Record early in 1919; the Protestant Committee had no doubt got wind of it earlier; and the public at large was alerted to Rothney's startling conclusions when he published them in a book, Character Education in the Elementary School,⁴⁷ which was printed in 1922.

Rothney found that the study of the Bible in schools (based on the International Graded Sunday School lessons), which he presumed was the chief means by which the course of study sought to promote moral education, was failing in its objective. Through the many interviews and inspections he had conducted, the inspector observed that neither teachers nor pupils made any significant correlation between the morning reading and study of Scripture and everyday moral and social behaviour. The reasons for this were that the Bible was an unsuitable text to be used directly by children, because its concepts were meant for the mature and because teachers were generally unaware of the progressive nature of the divine revelation depicted in the Biblical story and even taught a view of God which was in conflict with advanced Christian teaching.⁴⁸ Beside all this, teachers tended to teach the Bible as factual information which must be learned by the pupils in order to pass the examination. Rothney revealed that when he had the task of setting examinations in Scripture he had tried to ask questions which would test the ethical as well as the factual knowledge of students, but he had received much adverse criticism for this from teachers and principals. He also claimed that the Protestant Committee had taken steps to prevent the preparation of this

type of paper in the future. Clearly, those responsible for education in Quebec's Protestant schools must now come to terms with modern thinking. Rothney's conclusion was dramatic:

It ... is quite possible to have effective moral training without the actual teaching of the Bible. The teacher competent in character education... will organize her school on a character education basis, and utilize the whole environment as a means to the moral and religious development of her pupils. All education will be religious, because otherwise it would not be education.... No fundamental distinction can be drawn between secular and religious education....⁴⁹

The inspector soon found he had influential allies. In an address to the annual meeting of the St. Francis District Clergy Association at Cookshire on Jan. 24, 1924, J.C. Sutherland, Inspector-General of Protestant Schools, quoted Rothney's statement on the need for a progressive view of Scripture and then asserted.

I believe with growing conviction that this spread of modern knowledge makes it dangerous for all Religious Education, in public school or elsewhere, if account is not taken of the changed conceptions in the world as to Man's physical relation to the universe, of his place in nature as disclosed today by Science....

.....
There are so many who have had painfully to unlearn the literal and uncritical teaching.⁵⁰

To these voices was added that of Ernest M. Best, Professor of Religious Education in the Joint Faculty of Theological colleges associated with McGill University, who reported in The Educational Record what he had learned at the convention of the Religious Education Association in Chicago in 1927. Best said that, according to modern research,

It now seems certain that there is little causal relation between 'the knowledge of the right' and 'the practice of right'. The same is true of the value of Biblical or theological knowledge; it has little correlation with ethical discrimination in concrete situations or with good character in action. So too, the activity programs of the Boy Scouts and the Y.M.C.A. seem to have little carry over into new situations.⁵¹

Best blamed the anachronistic character of contemporary Christian education on the churches, which were still so sectarian that they could not agree "on the fundamentals of Christianity, as essentially a life of love to God and man," and on the clergy who did not have "the courage to teach plainly in their pulpits and Sunday Schools what they learned in their seminaries."⁵²

Could the Bible and the new education for character and for social responsibility mix? Only under new terms, it appeared. The principles of social behaviour and ideals for the betterment of mankind found there could inspire the young in their upward quest. The syllabus of 1931 retained the Bible for Quebec Protestant schools. Rothney, who was, by then, a member of the Protestant Committee, helped to develop the new programme.

E. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION: THE 1931 REVISION

The curricula in Moral and Religious Instruction for the elementary grades from 1923 to 1930 made, as we have noted, certain motions in the direction of the ideals set forth by Rothney, Best, and others. The assumption went unchallenged that the Bible should be used in the public schools solely for moral education but some now thought that it was unsuitable for this purpose. Everyone, moreover, knew that the first half-hour of the school day was not the only time that moral education took place. History, literature, science and other subjects, as

well as the discipline, attitudes and relationships prevailing in the school (and particularly the example of the teacher) were perhaps more to be depended upon for moral education than were Scripture lessons and worship.

The 1931 revision of the course of study for Protestant schools reflected the prevailing values. It was not less the case with the program in explicit moral and religious education. Gone was "the unadulterated Bible". The texts prescribed were Bible Readings for Schools, and Hymns and Prayers for Schools.⁵³ It was the first time since the use of Maclear's histories that a book other than the Bible was a required text. The amount of time to be used for the morning exercises was cut to twenty minutes. And, most significant of all the Bible passages to be studied were arranged not chronologically but topically.

The topical syllabus of stories from Scripture was meant to relate itself appropriately to the needs and interests of the various age levels. Grades I and II were to hear the teacher read "Stories of Helpfulness", "How Jesus Helped Others", and "Showing Your Gratitude by Helping Others". Grade III heard "Reasons for Thanking God", "Ways of Thanking God", and "Pleasing God by Doing the Right". Beginning in grade IV, pupils were expected to read from the book themselves. The passages for grade IV had to do with "Stories of the Coming of Jesus", "Experiences of Jesus as a Boy", "Stories that Jesus Would Hear from His Mother", and "How Jesus Went About Doing Good." Grade V read about "Trusting and Serving God", "Learning to Do God's Will", and "Seeking to Know and Do God's Will". Grade VI were to spend the year on the Gospel of Mark, and Grade VII on "Early Christian Heroes (Peter and Paul)".⁵⁴ In introducing these readings the teachers were advised to give the students some background knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish history and the geography of the Bible lands.

There were to be no examinations in Scripture. Examinations in Scripture had, in fact, become more and more occasional in the 1920s. Their official banishment in 1931 was testimony

to the growing conviction that moral development, though a fundamental purpose of schooling, could not be examined directly by written questions and answers. The Bible, it was assumed, was used in the schools to inspire nobler lives, not keener minds. As for religious development, could it not be entrusted to homes and Sunday Schools?

The instructions to the teacher for the presentation of this course included the following:

The stories should be so constructed and presented that the good, and not the evil, will be emphasized. Make the right so pleasing that the child will feel impelled to imitate it. Be natural, use simple language, make clear statements, delight in the story and in the telling of it. Tell the story in correct sequence so that the children will be led up to the place where you can say to yourself 'The truth is clear; the task is done'. Seek to be a master of the art of story-telling.⁵⁵

It is impossible, perhaps, to assess accurately the value of these Bible Story times at the beginning of the school day in Quebec's Protestant schools. When they were well told or read they must have stimulated the imagination, opened up the sources from which religious values come, initiated children into the stories which are the folk-history of Christians and Jews, and projected heroes and heroines who could serve as a base for idealistic identification. The modern critic may be appalled at the reduction of the Bible in the syllabus of 1931 to a source book for conventional and perhaps rather superficial values. It is likely, however, that many pupils heard at times a larger voice speaking there and endured the moralisms.

But in relation to the larger history of Protestant education in Quebec, the revision of 1931 is significant because it marks a transition in the relation of the curriculum to the

Bible. The sacred book was now no longer the presumed, single-voiced moral authority, but the story-book in which one might find an imprimatur on those values everyone knew to be required if children were to grow up to be good and decent citizens.

III

1931-1964

CHAPTER SEVEN

OVERVIEW: FROM THE 1931 CURRICULUM
REVISION TO THE EDUCATION ACT OF
1964

A. 1931-1946

B. 1946-1956

C. 1956-1964

A. 1931-1936

The effects of the Great Depression in the early thirties fell heavily upon Protestant Education in Quebec as they did in most sectors of Canadian life. In country and city the failure of the money supply forbade any expansion in educational services and in fact imperilled the maintenance of the system. In Montreal, increments to teachers' salaries were suspended in 1933 and in 1934 the salaries themselves were reduced by 10%. Since the pay of elementary teachers under the Montreal Central School Board had not been raised since 1921, these measures were particularly difficult for that group. Country teachers got some relief in 1938, but the precarious finances of the Montreal Board kept salaries deflated even after the nation as a whole had recovered from the worst effects of the depression. A nadir was reached in 1944 when the Montreal Central Board threatened to close the schools under its jurisdiction unless they could be afforded some financial relief. As a gesture of their intention they agreed to contracts with teachers only for the first term of the school year. Help finally came through an act of the legislature in 1946 which made it possible for school boards to have all their bonded indebtedness (totalling over \$72,000,000) taken over by the government. This relieved the Montreal Board and enabled it to embark on those long-delayed measures (for salaries and for new buildings) which were necessary for educational progress.

The financial responsibility of the provincial government for public education had been increasing for some time.² The Compulsory Education Act of 1943, which made education compulsory up to the age of 14 (and for which the Protestant Committee, the P.A.P.T. and many other groups had worked for half a century), implied that education was not a privilege only but a right of every child and a legitimate charge upon the public purse. Petitions of the Montreal Central Board and the Protestant Committee in the early forties asked that the province's financial responsibility for Protestant education in Montreal should annually total 50% of the amount paid by Protestant tax-payers in Montreal.³ It

was suggested by some that the province should pay 50% of the whole cost of education in Quebec. The act of 1946, which created an educational fund (from taxes on pulp and paper and electric power companies, and from other provincial taxes, together with \$2,800,000 from Quebec-Hydro, aggregating some \$13,000,000) to meet present and future needs, revealed the government's growing acceptance of the responsibility asked of it. By 1945, the right of school boards to collect fees from pupils within their jurisdiction was annulled for grades I to IX throughout the province. School fees for Montreal Protestant elementary schools had long since been abolished by an act of the legislature in 1904.

The continuing decline of the Protestant population of the rural areas contrasted with a sharp yearly increase in the number of pupils attending Protestant schools in Montreal. This necessitated a greater emphasis upon urban needs. The ancient debate between advocates of vocationalist and traditionalist education continued. But now the former were citing the necessity for schools to prepare students for technological and commercial careers rather than chiefly agricultural ones.

In 1932, McGill decided to separate its matriculation requirements from the School Leaving Examinations of the Protestant system. This should have left the Protestant Committee with a free hand to broaden its program, but that did not happen immediately. Some critics claimed that there was really not much difference between the general and the academic courses set up under the 1931 revision. Both oriented students to university - the latter toward the entrance requirements for arts and the former toward other university options. There was nothing, it was said, for the student who was not proceeding to university or normal school, but who wanted vocational development. The grade XII course (permitted under certain conditions from 1931 but first operative in a few schools from 1935) was said to provide mainly for senior matriculation to university or preparation for normal school. This was contrary to the original vision of its proponents.

Protestant educators were, on the whole, cool toward the technical and trades schools provided by the provincial government. English-speaking students failed to attend these schools in satisfying numbers, partly because of the language difficulty (most students attending them were French-speaking) but also perhaps because of their geographical inconvenience.

Vocationalists were supported now by the principle, increasing in power and relevance throughout the Western world, that education in basic literacy, social knowledge and skills and vocational training ought to be free and universally available, and that it was in the interests of the body politic to provide it. A survey of Protestant education in Quebec commissioned by the Protestant Committee in 1938 made the point, however, that the old-fashioned administrative structures of Quebec Protestant education militated against the effective use of resources to meet the new needs. The survey advocated the co-operation of school boards in larger units, which could maintain better supervision and pool resources to provide broader educational options in the schools. The Protestant Committee was able, in 1944, to persuade the government to pass the legislation needed to provide for these larger units. The new impetus then given to co-operating boards made the following decade one of hectic activity as schools attempted to cope with the needs of the ever-increasing student body.

Another piece of legislation which brought joy to the Protestant sector in Quebec was that which enabled women to vote in school elections and to serve on school boards. The Protestant Committee and the P.A.P.T. had been advocating this for decades; they saw in the 1942 act a vindication of their progressive views.

W.P. Percival, as Director of Protestant Education from 1930 to 1955, brought personal qualities to bear which for years marked Protestant education with his style. In contrast to George Parmelee, his predecessor, who served in a quiet but effective way as executor of the department and of the Protestant Committee,

Percival took on a public relations role and, in speech after speech, sold his view of education. The school system, moreover, had become so complex that the Protestant Committee had to give more and more of its executive power to Percival and his staff. There was thus a discernible shift of the locus of authority from the Committee to the department and in particular to the Director of Protestant Education.

B. 1946-1956

The post-war period brought to Canada and to Quebec a new period of general prosperity and of unparalleled expansion in the industrial and economic sectors. Money became available and affluence settled on a good number of Quebec's citizens. Youth stayed in school longer than ever before and though the universities raised their entrance standards they were flooded beyond capacity year by year. Education was "in". The post-war baby-boom had to be provided for; the supply of teachers failed to keep up with the demand. Quebec opened her doors to teachers from poorer provinces seeking to share the affluence, and once again the Protestant system reluctantly permitted the employment of untrained teachers. Montreal, released from its financial problem since 1946 and having received strength from the formation of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, shared in the general building boom.

W.P. Percival liked to make statistical comparisons with the year 1901, near the time of his own advent to power. In his report to the Protestant Committee on Nov. 30, 1953⁴ he stated that of 48 high schools outside Greater Montreal 25 were new since 1930 and 19 had been remodelled, 39 out of 59 intermediate schools had been newly built or remodelled, and the number of rural elementary schools had happily diminished from over 500 to 97. Furthermore enrolments in Protestant Schools had grown from 68,486 in 1941 to over 100,000; government grants had been raised from \$350,000 in 1929-30 to \$3,800,000 in the current year. Earlier in the same report, Percival had noted that in 1956 (a record

year) 42 new schools had opened, averaging three and one-half a month.

Percival's publications on the Protestant educational system of Quebec, particularly Life in School (1940), Across the Years (1946), and "Twenty Years, 1930-1950" filling one whole edition of The Educational Record in 1951, are replete with photographs of school activities. There we view Quebec Protestant boys and girls playing happily in "activity programs" and enjoying the many extra-curricular offerings of the schools. The photographs do not fail to show the spacious rooms, the great variety of equipment, showers, libraries, laboratories, wood-working and machine shops; and there are exterior shots revealing spanking new buildings surrounded by grassy lawns and occupying the front of an urban street block.

To some Quebec educators it seemed that all that was needed for the perfecting of the education of youth was increased technological know-how and additional personnel. Radio, television, and teaching machines were at hand; guidance officers could advise children of a magnificent choice of job opportunities awaiting their interest; money, if not immediately available for every new program, would surely be forthcoming in the future. By the middle of the fifties, however, some of these illusions were already being shattered.

C. 1956-1964

Elmer S. Giles succeeded Walter Percival as Director of Protestant Education in 1955. In Giles' regime, as well as in that of his successor Howard S. Billings who filled the position from 1960, the school population continued to increase. Government took over an ever-increasing financial responsibility. Building went on a pace although at a more moderate rate than in the previous years. But a much more realistic attitude about the

possibilities of education had emerged. The new age of man's perfection in education would not arrive as quickly as expected; some children had proved intractable despite the beautiful new buildings and programmes which catered to every interest; the university-oriented sector of students, now markedly increasing in numbers, still constituted an elite against which others measured themselves as second-class. It was difficult to persuade the latter group to stay in school beyond the compulsory age level and to take advantage of such vocational courses as were provided.

In the mid-fifties there was a general attack against the extravagances which were thought to have characterized attempts of schools to "educate the whole person"; people clamored for the return of education to "the basics". The schools of Protestant Quebec were fairly academic even at the height of the "progressive" period; but now the classicists had public support for their position.

As education shifted its emphasis the principle that every child has the right to an education suiting her or his needs was seen to have application not only to geography and to economic status but also to differences in individuals. Some progress had been made in providing special classes for the less gifted. But what about those children who were more than normally endowed with intellectual powers - those who became bored if the class was insufficiently challenging? Were they not entitled to special attention? And there were other differences to be taken into account! One of the concerns of the Protestant Committee from 1960 to 1964 for instance was to provide French-speaking Protestants with education in their language.

But the handwriting was on the wall for the old structures governing education in Quebec. The forces that were at work spelling a new day for the French-speaking citizens of the province necessarily carried Protestant Quebecers in their current. The formation of the Ministry of Youth in 1960 and the assignment to that department of the funding decisions for education removed

from the Protestant Committee an ancient privilege. A Ministry of Education more directly responsible to the electors was proposed. Such an idea was by no means unknown in discussions of the Protestant Committee.⁵ The lack of coherence in the Quebec system and the division of responsibilities for education among several government departments had seemed an uncomfortable arrangement. Then also a better financial deal for all might result from simplifying administrative structures. The Parent Commission set up in 1961 to investigate such matters included in its membership a prominent member of the Protestant Committee, David Munroe, Director of McGill's Institute of Education at Macdonald College. It is noteworthy that the educational changes for which the Royal Commission called were, in general, approved by the Committee, though they included its own demise. But few perhaps realized fully that these were only the first steps in Quebec's leap from its clinging medieval ethos to the contemporary post-industrial age.

APPENDIX I

Table 1

Comparisons of Amounts Spent on Education by Provincial
Government Grants and by Contributions of Local Ratepayers

<u>Year</u>	<u>Provincial Government</u>	<u>School Taxes</u>
1867-1868	\$ 256,762	\$ 1,313,149
1907-1908	683,350	4,465,537
1917-1918	2,145,976	12,405,301
1927-1928	4,721,368	26,724,566
1937-1938	7,786,169	28,703,615
1942-1943	13,726,439	36,442,356

Montreal's Protestant schools were treated differently from others in the system. In the nineteenth century they had been able to carry on with little outside help and had become a kind of autonomous kingdom within the system. Until 1944 they were not even under the regular inspection requirements of the Protestant Committee. Even after the need for extra finances became apparent the Montreal School Board continued to receive relatively small provincial grants. For instance, in the year ending June 30, 1935, although the Montreal board was responsible for more than half of the province's Protestant students, its share of the grant was less than \$30,000.

(Figures from Percival: Across the Years, pp. 168-169)

CHAPTER EIGHT

MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY VIEWS ON
THE PURPOSES OF EDUCATION

- A. Character and Citizenship
- B. Building a New World
- C. Developing Individual Potential

A. CHARACTER AND CITIZENSHIP

At a meeting of the Protestant Committee on Nov. 30, 1934, E.I. Rexford and Principal McGeer of Bishop's proposed the following motion which was adopted by the Committee:

That this Committee believes that the time is opportune to remind those who are interested in Education that Character Building and preparation for useful citizenship are the primary objects of our Educational system, and that the various elements of our school system - our teaching training school, our teaching staff, our school boards, and our school inspectors be urged to co-operate in every possible way in the use of the course of study, school discipline and playground activities, in promoting this fundamental object of our organized school system.¹

The circumstances that prompted this official formulation of purpose have now been lost to view. But the response was favourable from at least one important group. The Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers, meeting in convention the following year, passed a resolution declaring the same purpose, and sent official word of its action to the Protestant Committee. The latter registered its appreciation and invited from the teachers "suggestions as to how the Protestant Committee may encourage and assist the schools in this effort."² For once, the Committee and the teachers were completely in agreement; the purpose of education included more than the attainment of learning in the classic sense, and it was also more than the attainment of skills in the "three Rs"; the deepest purpose had to do with developing the desired attitudes.

Such a general statement as that of the Protestant Committee allowed room for a variety of opinions as to exactly what was required. J.C. Sutherland spoke of the need "to instill right

principles of conduct;"³ J.W. Brunt, Principal of the Argyle Junior School in Westmount (a school at the time especially designated to take care of students in the general rather than the academic course) wrote of the importance of a students' council and extra-curricular activities for character and citizenship education, and reported that one of the policies at his school was "not to exert discipline from without, but to encourage the only kind of discipline that is worth-while: that which comes from the sense of responsibility of the individual to society."⁴ And W.O. Rothney, Professor of Education at Bishop's, scolded those teachers who sought to inculcate an "automatic" patriotism, confining their efforts to having the school sing the national anthem and saluting the flag in the morning exercises:

I wonder if we realize fully that it is not unquestioned support that constitutes loyalty, but critical analysis, acquisition of facts, acquaintance with issues, weighing evidence, and reasoned convictions that enables a citizen to make his loyalty effective.

.....

While we teach our pupils respect for law, we must also teach them that only insofar as laws are just have they any claim to respect, and that it devolves upon the citizens themselves to ensure that the laws of their country are respectable.⁵

Rothney thought that students could best learn citizenship through participation in student government. Through experience they would learn to discriminate in their choice of leadership and would discover "that minorities are valuable, and should be treated with respect."⁶ Another dimension of Rothney's view of the purpose of education is revealed in an article in The Teachers' Magazine in 1937. There, he argues that the school should create a climate in which co-operative activities are rewarded because "competition as a law of life has failed."⁷ Likewise, an open and hospitable attitude to change should be encouraged because "our pupils should learn to view the social conditions of any given time as a stage in the process of social evolution."⁸

The views of W.P. Percival were, however, more formative of the popular image of Quebec Protestant education in his day than those of any other individual. In Percival's books, reports, and addresses there is little of the socially critical spirit exemplified in Rothney. Percival's purpose was to publicize the progress and modernity of the Protestant school system; his philosophy of education reflected what was being said and written in the popular educational works of his time. In "Why Educate?" (1935) he agreed that character formation was a matter of habits, ideals, and attitudes, not only information and skills, summarizing his view thus:

The objectives of education will be obtained if children are so trained that they become healthy, moral, cultured, efficient, self-supporting, co-operative citizens who are led to enjoy richer and fuller lives.⁹

In the 1943 Teachers' Handbook Percival sprinkled the pages with these suggestions:

Allow children to develop naturally....

The child is encouraged to seek for truth himself in the spirit of a great adventure.

The time-table is suggestive rather than rigid....

A child's interests are determining factors....

School is a microcosm in which opportunity is afforded for training in those social qualities which are essential to good citizenship....

No education is complete which disregards the spiritual process.

Well-rounded character... is the final goal of the educational process.

Right attitudes to life's duties, privileges, and responsibilities are essential...¹⁰

In Life in School Percival linked the material and spiritual aspects of Protestant education nicely:

School buildings are the outward and visible signs of the inward and spiritual interest that each community takes in its children.¹¹

During the Second World War as during the First, the Protestant Committee found it necessary to link character with loyalty to British ideals. It encouraged teachers "to lay emphasis upon the teaching of patriotism, explaining daily,... the development of British institutions and ideals and the issues involved in the present titanic struggle", and reminded them "that patriotic exercises should be included in the daily programme of all Protestant schools."¹²

"Character and Citizenship" was the official slogan of Protestant education in the thirties and forties but there was also an insistent sub-heading which was stated once by no less a personage than A. Kirke Cameron, Chairman of the Protestant Committee, who was reported by Sinclair Laird as believing that we are now in "the synthetic"age" and that:

Our school curriculum and training must be adjusted to such new conditions.... We shall be ashamed of an education which neglects giving young children many skills of hand and mind to fit them for the new world due to the progress of science and the development of our new northern areas, especially in relation to mining and other industries for which Canada, and Quebec in particular, is well-endowed by nature.¹³

B. BUILDING A NEW WORLD

Quebec Protestant education flirted in the thirties and forties with the Progressive Education movement which dominated American education and had also gained a foothold in Canada,

particularly in the Province of Alberta. Inspired by John Dewey as prophet and teacher, progressivists believed that the overriding purpose of education was to help children develop a feeling for, and skills in, democratic citizenship. The key to learning, they believed, was in orienting educational programmes to the basic social needs of the children. Much was made of the importance of strengthening co-operative and socially responsible attitudes through activities in which, under the teacher's supervision, the pupils discerned their learning objectives, and organized themselves to attain a group goal. Social studies was held to be the central subject with which others ought to be correlated.

In Quebec, as in Alberta, the "enterprise" or "activity" approach (a form of the project method) was advocated by educationalists, especially for elementary schools.

In implementing the enterprise programme the teacher was expected to take on the roles of initiator, planning committee executive, and general procedural resource for the pupils. An article in The Teachers' Magazine in April, 1977, described the method thus:

An enterprise is a definite undertaking: teacher and pupils agree upon it;... [it is] chosen, after consideration, for its interest and value, carefully planned in advance, carried out according to plan, and brought to a definite conclusion, after which some reckoning of gains is made.... [It is] also a part of a whole, a definite step in a course designed to cover three years' work... [It] may include both mental and manual work, the collection of information and the practice of skills.¹⁴

The same article lists the attitudes developed by such a programme as "the desire to find out for one's self", "critical-mindedness", "tolerance and responsibility", "appreciation of others... and of good workmanship", "creative self-expression", "willingness to co-operate", and "sympathy... towards the underprivileged, the foreigner and others."¹⁵

W.P. Percival promoted the enterprise method in "The Teachers' Handbook of 1943 (and 1953) as well as in the "memoranda" sent out at intervals to teachers. From the late thirties, the method was taught at the School for Teachers.

In the high schools, the Progressive philosophy made itself felt chiefly through a new appreciation of the socially educative values of extra-curricular activities, through the implementation of student-government, and in an orientation toward adult education and community service.

Quebec teachers took seriously the challenge offered. An optimistic view of the possibilities of education pervaded society. Assumptions were held that young minds were eager for self-education and that the school system was potentially competent to perform the task of remaking society. A new social order was to emerge as children educated in Progressive schools reached positions of authority and influence. The war seemed to offer new proof that what the world needed was more of the spirit of democracy.

And so The Educational Record is replete in these years with glowing accounts of enterprises in one form or another and of high schools where lights were aglow in the evening. It was the spirit rather than the specific methods of the new approach to education that proved to have the more creative impact. David Munroe, then Principal of Ormstown High School, gave to The Educational Record in 1944 an account of the new order in that school. Ormstown High had remodelled its educational program to take seriously its context - the community in which it was situated, with its particular needs and resources. With the advice and active participation of local persons, courses in agriculture, shop, bookkeeping and domestic science were instituted. A students' council was organized; teachers, students, and citizens co-operated in curriculum planning; clubs were developed for the students, and adult education courses for others; there was even a form of morning and evening prayer for the school community.¹⁶

By the mid-fifties, however, disillusionment with Progressive education had set in. It was being said frequently that the schools were failing in their task. In So Little for the Mind Hilda Neatby attacked Dewey and Progressive Education declaring that in Canadian schools "possession of a high school leaving certificate certifies nothing but that the holder has left high school having been physically present for a specified length of time."¹⁷ Universities were claiming that students came to them improperly prepared.

Educators responded to these attacks in various ways. Some felt that too much was expected of the schools:

There is a tendency on this continent, and particularly in the United States, to look upon education as a miraculous cure-all and do-all.... Even the best of schools cannot very often overcome the adverse effects of poor home and community environments.¹⁸

Some waited upon improved techniques:

Education has not investigated sufficiently the techniques for the teaching of democracy and citizenship in our schools, but that does not say that these techniques cannot be found out....

.

It is certainly our task to work out adequate techniques for the nurturing and fostering of ideals in the minds of young children.¹⁹

C.H. Savage, Superintendent of Schools for Westmount, lay the blame for the schools' failure on human weakness:

Education has to do almost entirely not with things but with the aptitudes, capacities, emotions and

beliefs of human beings... school people are human beings and have their fair share of all the weaknesses common to human beings.²⁰

Near and far educators were agreeing that a new approach was needed:

There are quite a number of people who are coming to the conclusion that, in spite of wide facilities and increased expenditure in our schools, colleges and universities, the desired end is not being achieved. Education is not bringing about the regeneration and transformation of society....

.....

Education can - and will - transform the world, but a new approach is essential.

.....

Any new approach to education must fully recognize that the ultimate aim and essence of education is the nurture of the human spirit.²¹

The British author of those sentiments, cited in detail by a teacher at Verdun High School, Orville Wright, proposed that greater emphasis be laid in the schools upon the aesthetic aspects of life.

But men and women whose minds were sore from pondering the reasons for the bloody struggle of nations through which the world had passed, and having had imprinted indelibly on them the accounts of Nazi atrocities and the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, had lost faith in any easy view of man's perfectibility or progress. Viewed from a post-war perspective, Progressive education was idealistically naive about the capacities of teachers and students and, perhaps, about the nature of human motivation. It presumed too easily that social transformation lay within the reach of man's engineering, and that education could accomplish it.

There was a reversion back to older and, it was said, more realistic views about the purpose of education. Cyril James, McGill's principal, reminded Ontario teachers in an address in 1958 that Canadian education owed as much to Anglo-Scottish principles of selectivity as to American universalist expectations. Rightly viewed, education was not so much a right as a privilege for those who were naturally educable. He advocated the selection of superior students "by a series of strict competitive examinations" and the awarding of government grants, if necessary, for their further education. James reasoned:

Biology is not democratic, and no pattern of education can be all things to all men. Surely we should make an effort in Canada to see that all our bright boys and girls at an age no later than thirteen or fourteen get an opportunity to proceed through high school to college.²²

W.P. Percival resigned from the office of Director of Protestant Education in 1955. He was succeeded by Elmer S. Giles, under whose leadership Quebec Protestant education began to take stock of the basics.

The Teacher's Handbook of 1957 reflected the new emphasis:

Schools exist in order to promote the development and welfare of the younger generation. It is generally accepted that they have a part to play in the formation of character and in the preparation of good citizens while performing their more traditional and primary function of directing the pupil to the acquisition of sound knowledge and developing his aptitudes for thought and learning.²³

The Handbook listed eight principles which were to guide teachers in fulfilling the aims of education. These were: (1) "as complete a

mastery of the fundamental tools of learning as ability permits;" (2) the introduction to the pupils of "those aspects of human thought and knowledge which the teacher considers to be important and valuable;" (3) training in "the process of logical thought;" (4) acceptance only of "work of the highest standard of which each pupil is capable;" (5) awareness of the external agencies affecting education; (6) development of taste in literature, art and music; (7) the maintenance of "healthy physical development" in the pupils and (8) "planning... classroom techniques so as to guide the development of character and citizenship [by] taking part in group activities based on the course of studies [through which children might] be led to acceptable ways of working with others and to the development of habits of self-control, honesty and obedience."²⁴ Did the last-place positioning of the educational aim most associated with the Progressive movement imply a message for the teachers of Protestant Quebec? Perhaps. Yet education in Quebec, having assured for a moment the presence of the basics, was soon to be off in pursuit of another set of ideals.

C. DEVELOPING INDIVIDUAL POTENTIAL

In 1953, an article by S.R. Laycock, Dean of Education, University of Saskatchewan, entitled "Education in Today's World" appeared in The Educational Record. Laycock elaborated his view that the aim of education was to develop personal wholeness. This he described as having three aspects: integrity of personality, of thought, and of character. The child, Laycock believed, must be made to feel adequate and secure, and so able to cope successfully with the full range of human relationships; he or she should also learn how to identify problems and to attain skill in the logical processes necessary to solve them; and thirdly, the schools should develop conscious devotion to and actual practice of such good old-fashioned virtues as honesty, sincerity, loyalty, tolerance, unselfishness, cooperativeness and respect for one's fellows."²⁵ Laycock's counsel to teachers in relation to that last objective was to "set the stage so that pupils may find the opportunity to practise in their daily life in school and classroom those Judeo-

Christian virtues which receive the overwhelming support of the society in which we live."²⁶ That latter piece of advice may seem strangely archaic now; but Laycock's emphasis on the development of the individual in terms of an ideal wholeness conceived according to mental health terms heralded a new way of formulating the purpose of education which was soon to dominate Quebec Protestants as well as other Canadians.

Citing the perception that "we live in an age and a world of rapid and dynamic transition", and that consequently there was in modern life a tendency for "the individual to be merged in the groups", J.W. Perks, Education Officer of the P.S.B.G.M., wrote in 1955:

There is too little room for real individuality, for independent thought. One does not dare to be different or try to be independent. There is no doubt that our children are infected with this attitude. Perhaps the school, in its emphasis on socializing practices and group work, has catered to the trend. We need to re-emphasise individual effort and achievement and put a better premium on independence of thought and action.²⁷

A business executive added his voice to the growing chorus of those who were asking education to develop more mature and competent individuals:

Industry and business hope that the day may come soon when graduates of our schools, in addition to being well-equipped academically for their jobs, will also be more mature and thus better able to match their factual knowledge with a capacity for intelligent application and co-ordination of their accumulated learning. The ability to think creatively, to get along with one's fellowmen, and to find one's place in the community take their roots early

in life. More emphasis might be placed upon these individual qualities right from the start.²⁸

Thus arrived the period in Quebec schools when the slogan understood in every conversation was "respect for individual differences". Classes were developed to accommodate fast learners as well as the slow; the "underachiever" and the "overachiever" had to be recognized; suburban and slum children came from different contexts, and that circumstance had to be taken into account; the handicapped required special provision and attention; French Protestants must have the opportunity to receive education in their own language. A guidance counsellor was needed for each high school, and the duties of this individual were now directed not only to helping students with vocational decisions but to counselling them in regard to emotional problems and concerns of personal development. The P.A.P.T. Curriculum Committee (which was now an important power in formulating the course of studies in Protestant schools) thought that options ought to be provided not only in the curriculum as a whole but within each subject in order to cater to differences in students.²⁹ The Protestant Committee became interested in the idea of "subject promotion", and gave permission to Lachute and other schools to experiment with it. By 1962, it may be presumed, teachers understood well what was meant by the advocates of teaching machines and programmed texts when it was said:

The machine or programmed text moves forward to the next step only when the pupil is ready, not when the teacher thinks the pupil is ready.... Learning is a very personal, internal process and no teacher, no matter how gifted, can learn for his pupils... . The programme has infinite patience; its lesson is always prepared and it is never out of sorts or tired. These characteristics are not common to all teachers.³⁰

In summary, the purposes of education as implied in The Educational Record, The Teachers' Magazine, and the minutes of the

Protestant Committee indicate a change from concern with social reform in the thirties and forties to a focus on enabling individuals to cope and compete. These two different ends, the birth of a just world order and the development of fully mature persons are both idealistic, and proved unattainable. But idealism is as important as realism in education. Disillusionments are inevitably succeeded by new challenges. Soon Quebec Protestants with all Quebecers were to pass through the doors which opened up to them new challenges as citizens of Quebec and of Canada.

CHAPTER NINE

VALUES IMPLICIT IN CERTAIN DEVELOPMENTS IN PROTESTANT EDUCATION

- A. The Quebec Protestant Education Survey
- B. Larger Units of Administration
- C. Curriculum Changes
- D. Provisions for French Protestants
- E. The Changing Image of the Teacher

A. THE QUEBEC PROTESTANT EDUCATION SURVEY

Appointment of a Survey Committee.- In the mid-thirties a certain unrest about their system of education developed among Quebec Protestants. Some felt that the progress of Protestant education was being hampered by outmoded regulations and structures. A sub-group of the Protestant Committee was known to be in favour of reform. When rumours said that certain resignations from the Committee had been "requested" rather than voluntarily tendered, criticism of the Committee mounted.¹

The idea of a general survey and evaluation of the Protestant system of education in Quebec originated with the Montreal Central School Board, but on Nov. 26, 1937, the Protestant Committee itself appointed a committee to make arrangements for the project. Selected to serve on what became known as the "survey committee" were Philip Carrington, Bishop of Quebec, J.H. Putman, W.E. Dunton, John Hughes, Mrs. A.N. Stalker and others. W.A.F. Hepburn of Ayr, Scotland was appointed to head the survey and became chairman of the committee. After an intensive study of documents and briefs, and attendance at well over a hundred meetings across the province (as well as forty-nine meetings of the committee itself) the report of the Quebec Protestant Education Survey was delivered in writing to the Protestant Committee on Dec. 16, 1938.

Recommendation of the Survey Committee.- The survey claimed to have uncovered some points of consensus among the Protestant population about public education. Protestants thought: (1) that they ought to have more control over the deployment of the monies for education due them; (2) that the province and the City of Montreal ought to contribute much more money to education; (3) that there should be more democracy in the selection of school commissioners in Montreal and in the constitution of the Protestant Committee; (4) that every child had a right to education in terms of his individual needs; (5) that larger units of local administration would provide the possibility of better education through bringing pupils together in larger groups, pooling staff and other resources, and making broader course options possible. In general, the sentiments were against any form of elitism, and for more freedom

of choice, co-operation, and sharing. A strong sense of responsibility for the improvement of the standards of education in Quebec and a courageous willingness to attempt new and untried approaches were apparent. Such values were probably what Hepburn had in mind when he wrote:

Although well aware that the ideals which have inspired us are Protestant in character and have their origin in the practice of English-speaking communities, we cherish the hope that they may commend themselves to the majority of the people of Quebec.²

The committee made one hundred eighty-eight recommendations, the most significant of which may be summarized for our purposes as follows:

1. The present Protestant Committee should be dissolved and replaced by one having a more broadly-based membership. Representation from the Teachers' Association should be increased, and there should be membership from the Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards. Members should have a term of four years only. The new Committee should have an increased authority over the Protestant side of the Department of Education and over the disbursement of monies allocated to Protestant education.

2. The Montreal Central School Board should be re-organized to include the whole Island of Montreal and the South Shore. Commissioners should be elected by all persons ordinarily entitled to vote. The board should be responsible for its own syllabus of studies and selection of textbooks and an additional sum of \$1,000,000 from the total proceeds of the city's tax on real estate (to be replaced by the city from other than property tax revenue) should be made available to it.

3. Legislation for compulsory education should be demanded of the provincial government.

4. Educational services to the handicapped should be extended, and provision for evening courses in schools should be made.

5. Increased attention should be given to health services in schools, and an improved physical education programme should replace the military-type training heretofore administered.

6. The school classification system should be reformed to provide for a six-year elementary, a three year junior high, and a three year senior high level. There should be greater opportunities for agricultural, commercial, and technical education.

7. Moral, civic, and religious education should be extended to the high school grades. The study of the Biblical literature might be included in the course on English literature.

8. More attention should be given oral French.

9. More extended use should be made of school buildings for community programmes.

10. The prerequisites for entrance to normal school training should be raised to a grade XI minimum. Training should be extended and should give more attention to vocational education. A teacher-training institute might be set up to better co-ordinate the work of the universities, the School for Teachers, and the Protestant Committee in the education of teachers.

11. The Protestant teachers of Quebec should abandon their "text-book" approach to teaching.³

Response of the Protestant Committee.- The Protestant Committee received the survey report with mixed feelings. Members were appreciative, unenthusiastic, somewhat disappointed. They agreed wholeheartedly with the report's advocacy of compulsory education and approved the principle of larger administrative units. They were already pressing the government for legislation on these points. Health education and services, increased attention to the handicapped, adult education courses, the teaching of oral French, and higher standards for teachers were already their policy and "the only question, in each case, [was] how far the Protestants [wished] these principles to be extended and the means to be taken for raising adequate funds to maintain the services."⁴ The Committee made no response to the suggestion that moral, civic, and religious education be extended to the high school or included in English literature courses.

But the Committee had criticisms of other recommendations:

1. A term of four years for Committee members would be too short. Members would likely prove their greatest value to the Committee after that space of time.
2. A body as powerful as the suggested new Montreal school board would greatly restrict the influence of the Protestant Committee. Competitive authorities would be instituted. The Protestant Committee's supervision would be limited to the rural areas and "there would be no guarantee that the [Montreal School Board] would reserve for education outside of Montreal the proportion [of the money] hitherto granted to the rural schools."⁵
3. A representative Committee in which the Governor-in-Council was limited by the nominations of special groups would not be possible unless the Roman Catholic Committee were given the same rights. Would the Catholic Committee want that?
4. To give the Protestant Committee greater control of finance to the degree suggested would make it a very large corporation. It would mean a radical change in government policy, and would

substitute something experimental for an authority that "has functioned successfully for sixty-three years."⁶

5. The survey failed to define "Protestant." If commissioners in Montreal were to be elected then non-Protestants could vote, stand for office, be elected, and, at some distant date, possibly be in the majority on the school board. "They may succeed in changing the essentially Christian character of the Protestant schools.... It is the opinion of the Protestant Committee that it must defend the heritage of special Protestant schools for Protestant children."⁷ Also, the selection of school board members by public elections would return Montreal to the confused pre-1846 state of affairs:

It is difficult to believe that people with a full knowledge of past and present conditions in Montreal would recommend that the old system be revived.⁸

6. The 6-3-3 plan of school organization would be worth exploring by the cities, but, used in the country, it would deprive many children of a year of education, since they would not be able to afford junior high school.
7. While the report contained many good ideas and suggestions, it was in some of its features impractical:

It was ... the hope of the Protestant Committee that the Report would contain suggestions of such practical value that they all could be incorporated immediately into the educational system with the full approval of all concerned.⁹

The opinions revealed in the Statement of the Protestant Committee were thus distinctly elitist in tone, in contrast to the democratic spirit of the survey recommendations. Positions on the Committee, it was held, should be given only to select persons who had reputations of responsible competence and worth; they ought not to be opened to nominations from populist groups, whose representatives

might not be equipped with the qualities of sober judgment and breadth of experience in governance. The franchise was better restricted to property-holders (who bore the financial burden) because this insured control by persons of "substance"; Montreal in particular was fortunate in having its commissioners appointed rather than elected. In that city, brimming with peoples of foreign cultures, there was danger of persons coming to power who would not respect the cherished customs and the good order which had been built up over the years.

The Protestant Committee was concerned to uphold Protestant rights in Quebec. This charge had been delivered to them from their forefathers and represented perhaps the very heart of their mission and responsibility. But what did "Protestant" mean to them? The embodiment of certain theological truths? A particular interpretation of the Christian Gospel? Or rather a general culture with a characteristic set of beliefs, customs, and implicit norms serving as the identifying marks for a "people" distinct from any other? The findings of our present study indicate that cultural rather than theological considerations provided the dominant motivations for Quebec Protestants in the maintenance of their schools.

Still the question may be asked: Why was the Protestant Committee concerned to keep the control of the system within their small and privileged group when neither the teachers' brief¹⁰ nor the report of the survey committee as a whole shows such caution? These assumed that Protestant education could be maintained, if desired, even in association with those who were felt to represent very different values. The answer must lie in the Committee's conservative interpretation of responsibility and its realistic and pragmatic orientation to its work. Why risk a threat to order and competent control? In due time, it might be reasonable to give some portion of power to new cultural groups; but this should be delayed long enough to insure that newcomers had tutelage in the ways of "British Democracy". There was much at stake in the uses of influence, and any change should be made with due deliberation. Were Protestants not a minority in Quebec, with little political

power? Was it not important to preserve the rights they had and maintain the possibility of controlling their own destiny? Were they not charged with a mission to represent in Quebec the British and Protestant tradition which helped create the nation at its beginning and without which Quebec might become a foreign country?

The reluctance of the Protestant Committee at this time to consider radical revisions in its structure and mandate meant, however, that the archaic shape of its relationship to the Department of Education, to the provincial government and to the Protestant population was retained for twenty-six more years.

B. LARGER UNITS OF ADMINISTRATION

Movements toward larger units in the province's Protestant school system were no novelty. In Montreal, which had a population which ever increased beyond the capacity of its educational administration to cope, most Island Protestant school boards co-operated in 1925 to form the Montreal Central Board. The local boards under the arrangement kept many of their powers. A revision of the agreement in 1944, however, left local boards with advisory functions only. An executive and supervisory staff were now appointed by the central board. This arrangement like others before it was, in part, an attempt to alleviate the critical financial situation of the Montreal board. Protestants had been moving in great numbers to suburbs and to apartments. While the financial demands made by the needs of Montreal's schools were growing heavier, the resources for meeting them were drying up. An act of 1946 in which the provincial government agreed to pay the school board deficits solved the problem. The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal was formed in 1951 as a further expression of co-operative effort among school boards in or near Montreal.

Consolidations in country schools had been taking place since early in the century as an answer to the depopulation of the rural areas. In 1937 the Protestant Committee took some steps toward having county central boards formed in places where there was a considerable

Protestant population. But it was soon realized that an intensive campaign promoting the idea of larger units must precede such a re-organization. The Hepburn Report of 1938 also recommended larger units, though these were larger in size than those the Protestant Committee had in mind. Finally, in 1944, after an educational campaign of some intensity the desired legislation, to provide for re-organization, was passed. In due course, nine county central school boards operated successfully.

Though these larger units of administration did not always function financially in the manner envisaged by those who proposed them, considerable sharing of resources and other co-operative actions were undertaken. Quebec blossomed with new school buildings. Many isolated boards ceased to function and by 1963, Howard Billings, Director of Protestant Education, reported that the number of school boards within the larger units had also decreased favourably.¹¹ The Provincial (later "Quebec") Association of Protestant School Boards did much at the "grass-roots" level to further this process.

Towards the end of the fifties it was becoming increasingly apparent, however, that a critical situation had developed in the school system. The sub-committee on central school boards reported to the Protestant Committee on Dec. 9, 1960:

Enrollments have increased to a point at which they now strain accommodation in the secondary schools; acute shortages of staff have developed; curriculum content has been undergoing revision; and there has been a sharp and steady rise in school costs. Moreover, while central boards are permitted to engage a senior educational officer as supervisor for each area, it has become increasingly difficult to attract and retain qualified personnel.¹²

A survey conducted by C.H. Savage indicated that another major reorganization was needed to deal with the problem. Savage recommended that a regional board system should cover the whole province; that the boards of the regions be elected by all those entitled to vote

in other elections; that there should be uniform taxation; that taxes should be collected by the municipal authority; and that the costs of education beyond what these revenues could provide should be borne by the province. But Jean Lesage had just come to power in Quebec, and more dramatic developments were in the air than the Protestant Committee realized. Paul Gérin-Lajoie, the new Minister of Youth, in whose hands the provincial responsibility for the apportionment of educational grants had been placed, spoke to the Protestant Committee about its plan for regional boards thus:

It will, I have no doubt, be difficult to work out the details of the reorganization in such a way as to solve the special problems of each separate district. You may be assured, however, that such is the intention of the Government, and I wish you every success in drawing up the detailed proposals.... The larger administrative units should have a large enough pupil population to justify the diversity of courses and the provision for individual differences that we agree are essential for your educational programme.¹³

At the close of his speech the Minister announced that there would be a thorough investigation before a complete legislative programme could be worked out in detail. This investigation would be started by a Royal Commission as soon as the current session of the Legislature was over.¹⁴

What values animated this movement toward larger units of administration? Some of the arguments used by educators to persuade the public to accept the plan may give us an indication of the answer.

Teachers were informed of the advantages of larger administrative units in an article which appeared in The Teachers' Magazine in April, 1937. Fred Stephen wrote there of the success of larger units in Alberta, and listed their benefits as better equipment, modern buildings, equalization of taxes, uniform teachers' salaries,

better teaching conditions, increased health services for the pupils, and an elimination of the spirit of competitive conflict between local boards. Also teachers were able to work with an "Official Trustee" (that is, an appointed, paid supervisor), rather than being hampered by "educationally unqualified authorities."¹⁵ One suspects that the last mentioned benefit ranked very highly with Stephen and the teachers to whom he was communicating.

Both Sinclair Laird and Walter Percival campaigned strenuously for the larger units in the early forties. Laird liked to use arguments from history and from the examples of other social sectors:

This is an inevitable and necessary step, and can be seen in other lines of endeavour such as the progress from one-man shops to factories and assembly-lines; from small stores to larger stores; from small farms to large farms to cooperatives; from isolated country doctors...to district hospitals... and finally county health units, and perhaps ultimately state medicine.¹⁶

Percival, in a speech to representatives of the Women's Institutes of Quebec meeting at Macdonald College on Feb. 4, 1941, listed the benefits as the provision of fuller opportunity for more children, the equalization of tax rates, the pooling of resources, the possibility of the greater community use of schools etc. He gave assurances that local boards would still be needed and that the financial cost would not be great. Percival was very much in character when at the conclusion of his speech he made an appeal to his hearers' sense of responsibility:

It is the belief of the Committee that it is the birthright of every child to have the opportunity of receiving a sound education in accordance with his abilities and tastes. The Committee wishes to know whether the Protestants of Quebec believe this? Do the Protestants desire to have all the children

of all the people educated? Do they want children in rural districts to have facilities for education comparable to those provided in the towns and cities? Do they wish the children of the poor and those in moderate circumstances to receive adequate schooling or is that to be reserved for privileged children? Do the people wish that some municipalities should profit by circumstances which give them a low tax rate while others have to be taxed highly?

The difficulty experienced by educational officials in persuading the Protestant population to accept the plan for larger units reveals a conflict of values among Protestants. Those holding middle class values believed that progress consisted in more organization, in the employment of specialists, and in greater physical convenience and comfort; they tended to assume that education and material progress were allied. The country Protestant, and often the city labourer, who tended to distrust officialdom thought that schools were getting too luxurious and were leading the rising generation away from the basics of life - effort and self-reliance.

Certain values were, however, held in common by the two classes. These included a high sense of responsibility and of fair play (Percival knew how to appeal to that); concern for the welfare of others (though conceived variously); a stubborn resolve to strive for that which was believed to be right; determination not to compromise cherished values and identity. Many persons in both classes also maintained a religious sense of mission and wanted to further the work of the kingdom of God as they saw it.

When Percival appealed to the "Protestantism" of his hearers, he sought to invoke the spirit of their "peoplehood". His address given in another province would have made little sense, (differences among Protestants in other provinces loomed as large as similarities) but in Quebec, Protestants were unified in being a minority who believed they possessed distinguishing values as "over against" those held by the majority. Percival's speech, it should, however, be noted, was directed to Protestants chiefly from the country parts of

Quebec. He might not have come to the same peroration before a Montreal audience. For "Protestant" there had already taken a more extensive meaning. The term included other races and cultures when used in reference to education. There was in Quebec Protestantism, as in many other aspects of Quebec life, a Montreal reality somewhat at variance with the prevailing norms in the rest of Quebec.

C. CURRICULUM CHANGES

Academic and Vocational Education.- Significant changes took place in this period in the curriculum of Protestant secondary school education. The 1931 revision of the course of study provided for an "academic" and a "general" stream. But the self-conception of the schools remained oriented to literary and scientific, rather than to "vocational" educational goals. The lack of provision for the non-academically minded was noted in the Hepburn Report, in P.A.P.T. resolutions, and elsewhere. Then, in 1943, the Compulsory Education Act was passed. By making school attendance compulsory to the end of the year in which the pupil reached the age of fourteen (it was later extended until by 1964 students were required to remain until the end of the year in which they reached the age of sixteen) great numbers of those who would have "dropped out" filled the classes. At the same time the increasing demand of industry for employees with special information and technological training produced a high public reliance upon and expectation of the school system.

Powerful support for the movement to reform secondary school education was given in 1943, when the Survey Committee of the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association (W.P. Percival, chairman) handed to the Federal Advisory Committee on Reconstruction (F. Cyril James, chairman) recommendations for changes in public education which focussed on the following:

Health examinations and follow-up treatment for all children.

Increased grants distributed more nearly on the basis of need.

Better selection and more adequate preparation
of teachers.

Payment of higher salaries to teachers.

An adequate programme of education and especially
secondary education for all pupils regardless
of location.

Expenditure of money as an inducement to the estab-
lishment of larger units of administration.

- - - - -

Special schools - agricultural, commercial, technical,
industrial.

A complete programme of practical education.

A programme of counselling and guidance.¹⁸

Percival pointed out that the application of the principle of
"equality of educational opportunity" to Quebec Protestant schools
would mean bringing students together in larger groups so that
more options in the course of study might become feasible.

The P.A.P.T. Committee on Course of Study and Text-Books
spent time researching the school systems of Britain and the
Continent. J.W. Perks, then chairman, summarized his perceptions
thus: "As the high school becomes more and more a continuing part
of "common education", its programme will have to ... adjust itself
to pupils of varying abilities and aptitudes."¹⁹ The Protestant
Committee, in 1945 recommended to the new central school boards the
setting up of composite high schools in each area, which would offer
academic, commercial, industrial, and home economics courses. The
Committee further stated:

The time is ripe for the wide introduction of
crafts and skills and the practical and aesthetic
subjects should be given the same recognition as
that now afforded to the academic subjects... An
effort should be made to integrate some of the most
desirable extra-curricular activities into the
regular curriculum.²⁰

Among the subjects the Committee suggested might be included in the curriculum were: business, mathematics, Spanish, stenography and secretarial practice, typewriting and office practice, in addition to subjects such as agriculture, drawing and manual training (Shop), household science, bookkeeping, music, cadet corps etc., which were already provided. The principle of "continuous revision" of the curriculum had by now replaced the old quadrennial system of text selection. The Department of Education and the Protestant Committee received the assistance (advocated by the P.A.P.T. and the Hepburn Report) of committees of teachers who, after testing new programmes in the schools, made appropriate recommendations about them. By the latter part of the period, this curriculum advisory system had become extensive and complex, involving scores of committees of teachers and others. It included the whole province in its organization but was centered in Montreal.

The advocates of academic rigour in the high schools counter-attacked the vocational trend in the mid-fifties. The chief complaints were that students were coming to university without proper basic education thus forcing the universities to do what the high schools should be doing (at the expense of the universities' academic standards and that not enough attention was being paid to selecting and equipping for advancement of the "brain-power of the nation", on which, it was said, the future of Canada depended.

On the defensive, W.P. Percival was driven to quote statistics given him by C.H. Savage, Superintendent of Schools in Westmount, that to "intellectual work" in English, history, geography, 35% of the school day was devoted; to mathematics, 20%; to French, 15%; to science or Latin, 10%; to physical education, 8%; to woodwork, household science or art, 8%; and to music, 4%.²¹

But the demands of the academics made school authorities keenly aware of the unresolved conflicts in what they were attempting to accomplish. The Curriculum Committee of the P.A.P.T., cited its dilemma succinctly in 1960. "How can the present high school curriculum be so arranged and presented that every pupil in every school

can select in each year the combination of courses that best meets his requirements at that particular stage in this progress?"²²

The emerging answer to the dilemma was cast in a shape suggested by the tradition of Protestant schools in Quebec and in marked contrast to the solution being offered at the time by Quebec French-language education. Composite high schools with comprehensive educational options, Protestants believed, could offer at the junior high level sufficient flexibility to allow students to experiment without having to make once-for-all decisions about vocation. The senior high school level would include pre-vocational preparation as well as general academic education for students who were setting their sights on university, trade school, technical, agricultural or commercial colleges or other kinds of advanced vocational training. The question of provision for adequate post-secondary technical schools raised other problems for the Protestant Committee, which were solved only with the re-organization of educational systems in Quebec after 1964.

The uneasy relationship between the academic and the vocational aspects of education in Protestant schools was a reflection of tensions within the value system held by Protestants. Much in traditional Protestant ideology lent itself well to vocational interests: God planned that every person should find some "useful" role in society; man's task was to subdue nature for the glory of God and the benefit of humanity. Protestants had always claimed that work with the hands was as honourable as other kinds of labour. That education was a right and not only a privilege accorded well with the Puritan interest in justice for the individual. But in Quebec Protestant education there was also an elitist tradition, brought from Great Britain, which held that advanced education was primarily for those who were to assume high positions and to set the social standards. Under new world conditions the elite were not so much those of a pre-determined social class, as those who had "superior intelligence," a notion perhaps characteristic of the Scottish tradition. The tension between these two ideals has remained unresolved. Despite the provisions for vocational education and strong pressures to give every child an educational

opportunity, there was still in Quebec Protestant schools of the early sixties a subtle standard of intellectual elitism. C.H. Savage made observations that "there is no correlation between high academic ability and good citizenship or morals or emotional stability,"²³ but J.W. Perks, chairman in 1944 of the Committee on Text-Books and Course of Study of the P.A.P.T., and Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Westmount, spoke of the "bright students" who were contemplating university and the "dull" who were not, and declared that in the curriculum then being envisioned "the content would differ so that the less intelligent, more practically-minded pupils might deal with material and problems suited to their interests and capacities."²⁴

The educators of the mid-century were possessed with the idea that through education a society could emerge which had learned to give equal honour to every person, but elitist ideals were strong, and the prevailing social system spoke more of individual achievement and "benevolence" towards the unfortunate than of respect for the variety of gifts needed in an inter-dependent social organism.

The Teaching of Moral Values Through the Subjects of the Curriculum. - There was a subtle but very significant change during this period in the way that the various subjects of the curriculum were related to the general task of education in values. The thirties and forties still made a direct connection between the "subjects" and the building of character. A writer for The Educational Record in 1936 explained:

Literature stands first in strength to counter-act the influence of cheap amusements, trashy books and magazines and vulgar pictures... . Pure gold can be extracted from poetry - beauty, idealism, truth.

History with its great heroes to worship, its record of wonderful achievements, its suggestions that personal goodness is the rock upon which every worthwhile endeavour is built, is surely one of the finest aids to character building.

Geography... . The lesson of dependence of each of us upon the other is there to learn....

Arithmetic... Perseverance, carefulness, industry, honesty, and accuracy can be shown in this subject more readily than in any other...²⁵

Another writer later picked up the same theme in relation to chemistry:

We can demonstrate in many ways that the most worthwhile things in life cannot be weighed and measured, cannot be subjected to the analysis of science."²⁶

But, aside from the ninth listed educational aim, "the development of habits of self-control, honesty and obedience,"²⁷ there was in the 1957 Handbook little connection made between the subjects and the promotion of particular moral attitudes. History, the old workhorse of the character and citizenship school, was now to be a vehicle "to train a pupil to see and estimate the importance of ethical values," and "to think of social problems in terms of history."²⁸ The subjects were thus no longer thought to present opportunities for the teacher to moralize; it was assumed, rather, that the objective study of the subjects would transmit the values inherent in them.

French.- There was, perhaps, some back sliding during this period in the study of oral French since those brave days when Curtis and his specialists had set up their programme according to the "direct method." Certainly, the success of the venture was far short of what its promoters' energy and anxiety had led them to expect. The survey of 1938 was negative about the character of the oral French programme in Protestant schools. Hepburn made the suggestion that the schools should teach "Canadian French" to which the Protestant Committee replied:

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The members of the Protestant Committee are not aware that in the Roman Catholic School System there is anything taught but the one classical French language; it does not agree that there is a French-Canadian language.²⁹

The Committee blamed the poor showing in the Protestant schools in regard to conversational French to "the indifference of the parents and the pupils, the inherent English disability of resistance to an foreign language and the inherited Anglo-Saxon disposition to belittle the importance of a foreign language."³⁰

By 1941, a course called "Extra French," which was explicitly conversational, was introduced into grades VIII to X. The motivation to be elicited among students was described as follows:

If French is merely another subject, the pupils will treat it as such. If, however, it is presented as a vital necessity, as a means of getting along well with their French-Canadian countrymen, and of obtaining positions for themselves, they may be more interested in it. If they intend to be business men and recognize the importance of the language in establishing a clientele that otherwise could not be reached, their attitude towards French might change greatly for the better.³¹

The teaching of French in the elementary schools needed special attention. By 1942, G.R. Lessard, Assistant Supervisor of French, had visited hundreds of schools and examined some four thousand pupils (during the preceding three years) and found that while the pupils were learning to read and translate French with a fair degree of accuracy their ability to understand and speak the language left much to be desired.³² There was a renewed attempt to set things right. The report of E.W. Caron, Assistant-Supervisor of French in 1953 was more optimistic:

I have found the teachers of French in this Province an extremely conscientious group... . We should be justly proud of the fact that the great majority of our pupils in Grades X, XI and XII are capable of carrying on an intelligent conversation with their examiners.³³

In the latter years of the period, glowing reports began to be made about the value of French "labs" in the teaching of the language.

Though there was great need of native French-speakers to teach French in Protestant schools, and French Protestant teachers were too few to meet the demand the Protestant Committee remained somewhat rigid about its policy of allowing Catholics to teach in the Protestant schools. They did so, at first, only on a temporary basis and for emergencies. Toward 1964, however, such cases were no longer exceptional.

The question must be asked whether the difficulty some Quebec students experienced in learning to converse in French was not due to the mixed messages they were receiving as to the need and the desirability of the skill. The educational system urged them to the task, difficult for many, of communicating in a language other than their own. This would be of practical benefit and would also help preserve the entente between English and French in Quebec. But aside from the fact that the French learned in English schools may sometimes have visibly appalled French-speaking friends, there was also the psychological question of group and individual identity to manage. The dual system, by its very existence, taught that there were two different peoples in Quebec, each sometimes finding it convenient to "scapegoat" the other. All the "oughts" and "musts" of the teachers would not necessarily have persuaded some children that French was not an "alien" tongue.

5

Examinations.- Final written examinations were in comparatively low repute in all but the last ten years of the period of our study. This was perhaps initially due to the influence of W.O. Rothney. After the latter's death W.P. Percival and others, who inclined to the character and citizenship view of the purpose of education, carried the torch. Percival signified his pleasure that examinations were no longer the fetish they once had been, though he cautioned his readers that the practice would be around for many years yet.³⁴ Perks reminded teachers that examinations were "teaching devices designed for diagnostic and remedial purposes rather than for passing or failing pupils".³⁵ Proponents of the enterprise method felt that students needed to test what had been learned from their enterprises, but that they could sometimes do that for themselves and for one another with the teacher assisting. Marking of individuals was taboo because it was thought to introduce competition into the group.

The high school leaving examinations remained, however, a feature of the Protestant system as did some departmental examinations in the lower grades.

D. PROVISIONS FOR FRENCH PROTESTANTS

The education of French Protestants in their own language does not appear to have been a major issue for the Protestant Committee until late in the period covered by our present chapter. French Protestant rural schools, some with francophone teachers, were visited by inspectors,³⁶ and the 1919 list of approved school texts designated The Acadian Readers for French Protestant Schools which desired them.³⁷ But such schools were few in number, and the opinion prevailed, at least among anglophones, that French Protestants would be advantaged to take their schooling in English since this would make them bi-lingual and provide them with job opportunities not available to unilingual francophones and anglophones.³⁸ Through the years the French Protestant residential schools under church auspices made attempts to obtain government

grants through being recognized and recommended by the Protestant Committee,³⁹ but these were not very successful until 1961, when the curricula of the Institut Feller of Grande Ligne and the Institut Français Evangelique of Pointe aux Trembles were fully recognized by the Committee.⁴⁰

In 1959, however, the Protestant Committee received a letter from the French Baptist Association of Montreal thanking the Committee and the P.S.B.G.M. for the latter's response to a concern of theirs for French instruction in elementary grades in Montreal. The letter expressed the hope that the same attention might be given French Protestants outside Montreal.⁴¹ Not long afterwards, the French Work Committee of the United Church of Canada sent delegates to a Protestant Committee meeting. They asked that French Protestants be enabled to have instruction in their own language. The Director of Protestant Education was asked to ascertain whether this could be arranged in schools where there were large numbers of French Protestants.⁴² The movement took fire from that point. At the May 1962 meeting of the Protestant Committee, Thomas Dick, chairman of the committee appointed to draw up a high school course for French Protestants, reported detailed plans. The Curriculum Committee of the P.A.P.T. in its own later printed report was jubilant:

Certainly the most ambitious adventure during the past year ... was the shaping of a curriculum for French Protestant pupils in Grades 8 and 9... . A monumental effort (involving) eight subject committees composed of some thirty-five teachers and supervisors ... of the P.S.B.G.M. Literally hundreds of text-books were examined... . A course for Grades 10 and 11 will be drawn up this year.⁴³

A little later, reports declared that the Peace Centennial School had enrolled 22 French Protestants for its grade VIII course and that there were 1,020 French Protestant children in the schools of twelve boards in Quebec. Lucien Rossaert was employed as inspector for Protestant French-language schools and Colette

Gosselin was appointed to the Dept. of Education as technical advisor to assist in their operation. On May 24, 1963, an eager Protestant Committee submitted to the Teacher Training Committee of the Institute of Education (Macdonald and McGill) a proposal for a programme for Protestant teachers of the French language and suggested that a yearly grant of up to \$30,000 might be given from Committee funds if needed. The Director of Protestant Education would seek additional financial help from the government.⁴⁴ The Teacher Training Committee approved the proposal. But later minutes of the Protestant Committee make no further mention of the matter. This programme's failure to develop was the result, perhaps, of the reluctance of francophone candidates to prepare themselves for teaching only in French. They desired the qualifications to teach in English-language schools and so enrolled in the regular program.⁴⁵

E. THE CHANGING IMAGE OF THE TEACHER

No development was more dramatic in the years from 1931 to 1964 than the change in the public image of the teacher. Long after common school education had advanced from its position as a charity affair to its status as a public responsibility, the image of the elementary teacher in the public mind was that of the dedicated soul performing out of religious duty a mission to and for society. Poor salaries and limited prestige went along with this position as it did with that of the clergyman. High school and university teachers were treated somewhat differently with respect to prestige, if not to salary. The former inherited the image of the English schoolmaster who dedicated his life to the training of gentlemen. The elementary teacher, whose duty it was to instruct those who knew but little less than herself, attended normal school but the high school teacher got his education at the university. Men teachers usually aimed at secondary school posts; women teachers (with significant exception) settled for elementary schools.

Yet it was a matter of democratic pride with the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers that, from its founding, it was open to all who taught in the province's Protestant system. University and male teachers dominated in the first years, and it was probable that elementary teachers - most of them with not a modicum of training - were admitted to its sessions with the idea that they would learn something from "their betters". But times changed; and soon women, and even rural elementary teachers, were helping to run the affairs of the association.

It was clear by 1931 that teachers of all classes were expected to manifest far more than dedication. Sinclair Laird, Dean of the School for Teachers, said in a radio address in 1935 that the teachers' qualifications included "health, energy, character, sympathetic understanding of children, the ability to manage children in groups or classes, and personality."⁴⁶ Laird regretted that there was no method devised for choosing candidates from the point of view of personality before they were "trained and developed by instruction and experience." Rothney at Bishop's was likewise saying that teaching was "a highly specialized calling, demanding of its members expert training in its various branches."⁴⁷ The teacher was now to be an expert who understood psychology and was skilled in pedagogical methods. Some years before this the Protestant Committee had rescinded an old regulation that clergy, because of their education, could teach without the prerequisite professional training.

Dedication was still important, however. As late as 1956, the Hon. W.M. Cottingham, Provincial Minister of Mines, speaking to the annual meeting of the Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards, could declare: "Teaching is not a job, not a trade, not a profession. It is indeed a ministry, and a sacred one, comparable in many respects to that of the clergy."⁴⁸ High and often unrealistic demands were made upon the teacher. Perks referred to "the problems and obligations involved in the great changes brought about by modern conditions" and held that once the teacher "has convinced himself of the fundamental importance of these problems, acquired the viewpoint in teaching which their existence demands, and resolved to teach in such a way as to meet them, these problems are in fair

way to being solved."⁴⁹ W.P. Percival spoke easily of the demand for teachers "who not only can teach the course of study but also can train for character"⁵⁰ without fully realizing the difficulty of the latter. An a 1944 article in The Educational Record recommended that the teacher be mature, flexible, adaptable, and resourceful, and especially must "understand her own personality make-up":

She must know the origin of her own quirks and tendencies. She ought to know just what motives are being satisfied by her work and play. Such knowledge will free from imposing on her pupils the evil effects of such maladjustments as she has.⁵¹

The 1957 Handbook declared that "teachers must ... at all times be living demonstrations of a mastery of the fundamental tools of learning."⁵² David Munroe, who in the late fifties and early sixties was advocating the placement of the teacher-training programs within a university context, thought that the teacher's first need was scholarship - "sound, thorough, factual knowledge, shaped and extended by the rigorous intellectual discipline of thought and judgment."⁵³ But pedagogical skills, well-integrated with theory, as well as the mastering of research techniques, were also important to Munroe.

Along with the increased emphasis upon professionalism was the concomitant one on formal qualifications. In 1954 the minimum requirement for entrance to normal school - for the lowest grade certificate - was a high school leaving certificate. The least advanced course was two years in length; a Bachelor's degree in education was possible in four years after high school. All certificates were interim, and were made permanent only after two successful years' experience, and, in some cases, attendance at summer schools for professional training. Either as prerequisites or at the end of the course, degrees had been required of high school teachers since the early thirties. By the 1960s, the P.A.P.T. and others were advocating an arts degree as a prerequisite for all teachers' professional certificates.

The P.A.P.T. established a new professional image in 1945 when membership in the organization became automatic with the accepting of a teaching position in Quebec. In the mid-fifties the Association employed a full time field secretary and added others as well to its staff. From 1952, salaries soared (as a result of P.A.P.T. pressure), though perhaps never as high as some hoped. By the mid-fifties, the new public image had manifested itself to J.W. Perks, who wrote:

The fact is that teachers are fairly well paid, have good working conditions, that they are happy, useful members of a profession which offers the deep, rewarding satisfaction of important service; and that teaching is therefore the kind of career in which our best young people will find challenge, personal satisfaction, and a good standard of living.⁵⁴

The development of professionalism as the hallmark of the new teacher was not without its problems. Professionals counted much on status and rights. How were these to be reconciled with "self-denying service"? There were other concerns that seemed to be endemic to the age. How was the teacher to cope with the unrealistic expectations society increasingly placed upon the school? The modelling aspect of the teacher's role had always been recognized as integral to the position. But how was the teacher to employ the teacher-student relationship to an effective educational advantage when students questioned old moralities, including that of respect for the teacher? How might a new style of dedication that fulfilled both professional and religious motives be developed?

Such questions pointed the way to new emphasis in the education of teachers. Some understanding of the dynamic processes of human learning and growth became essential. The development of self-understanding and of the capacity to objectively evaluate personal limits and motivations became popular as a desired learning objective for student teachers. The developmental theories of

Piaget and Kohlberg were taught. Some institutions went so far as to help students do some analysis and testing of their own values.

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CHAPTER TEN

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION, 1931-1964

- A. The Moral and Religious Basis of Protestant Education
- B. Bible Study in the High Schools
- C. Moral and Religious Instruction: Grades I-VII
- D. Other Provisions for Moral and Religious Education

A. THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS BASIS OF PROTESTANT EDUCATION

G.W. Newson, West Hill High School, produced perhaps the most succinct summary of the aims of Quebec Protestant education when, in 1944, he wrote in The Educational Record:

The evolution of a self-controlled individual, an understanding of the laws of nature, an appreciation of the privileges and responsibilities of an organized society and faith in God constitute the objectives of education.¹

But the religious basis of Protestant education was never asserted more often in print and in oratory than by W.P. Percival during his tenure as Director of Protestant Education. Perhaps the reason for Percival's insistence was precisely that the principle was no longer assumed by almost everyone as it had been in the days of Rexford and Parmelee. Percival's most comprehensive statement is found in the Teachers' Handbook of 1943 when the introduction of Scripture study as part of the English literature course gave him his golden opportunity. Percival wrote:

The fact that we call our educational system Protestant emphasizes its Christian foundation. It means that we accept the great basic truths of Christianity as the background of our teaching. So when we teach history we shall teach it not as a bare succession of events without interpretation, but as revealing in some degree God's guidance in human affairs, progressively expressed through man's unfolding comprehension. When it is taught as English literature it should not be presented as a succession of stories, but, in part at least, as a record of the everlasting moral and spiritual struggle of man. In particular, teachers should show that the English Bible is not only a controlling factor in English literature but is also the record

of the highwater mark of the religious consciousness of the race. When they teach science and mathematics they should at least infer that the natural world reflects the mind of its Creator. Nothing less is implied in a Protestant system of education.²

And again in an address to teachers at West Hill High School, in 1954 Percival declared:

In Quebec one aspect of our philosophy stands out more markedly than it does in any other Province, namely, its distinctly moral and religious aspect. Our schools are founded upon religion, and, though this is not stressed as much as some of us would like in all classrooms, the fact is that our philosophy of education does make provision for the teacher to explain the moral and religious foundations of our civilization, the love of God, the copying of the examples of Jesus Christ and his disciples, the reading of the Bible and the importance of upright character in personal and national life.³

It might also be claimed that never in Protestant Quebec was there a more extensive syllabus of Bible readings set to be studied in school than in the period from 1942 to 1964. It is to a consideration of this phenomenon that we now turn.

B. BIBLE STUDY IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS

At a spring meeting of the Protestant Committee in 1942 a sub-committee appointed for the purpose brought in the outline of a Bible course to be initiated in September in grades VII to XI of all Protestant schools.⁴ The unusual feature of the proposition was that the Bible syllabus was to be part of the course in English literature, which was compulsory throughout these grades and

examined by the high school leaving examiners in the rigorous fashion that was their custom. There had not been a general and regular study of Scripture in Quebec schools as part of the course of study at the high school level for over forty years. The committee responsible, composed of W.O. Rothney, the chairman (now in the last years of his productive life), the Rev. Leslie Pidgeon, Mrs. A.M. Stalker, and W.P. Percival, was asked to proceed with the development of a detailed syllabus.

The new venture came at a time when there was a world-wide resurgence of interest in the Bible. War was wreaking destruction on all that was lovely in many countries, and people were reaching for spiritual resources to sustain courage and to restore a hope beyond the present. The writings of theologians such as Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, and Reinhold Niebuhr were critical of the superficial moralism into which the "social gospel" movement and liberalism generally had fallen, and were calling for a return to a Biblical understanding of faith. The Bible is not primarily a religious sourcebook, they said, but the vehicle of God's address to men. The Revised Standard Version of the whole Bible, published about that time, sold hugely in English-speaking countries.

The re-introduction of Bible study into the high school was, however, no unconsidered or precipitate development. The Quebec Protestant Survey of 1938 had recommended it. The Quebec-Sherbrooke Presbytery of the United Church of Canada, the Dean of Quebec, the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of the City of Quebec, and the Religious Education Council of Montreal had all officially written the Protestant Committee requesting it.⁵ The P.A.P.T. Curriculum Committee had discussed the idea thoroughly and had issued the suggestion that Bible study might be held in high schools after normal school hours. It could be taught by clergymen and examined by a joint committee of clergy and educators. The P.A.P.T. executive, however, rejected the committee's idea and suggested Bible study as an option within school hours.⁶

The idea of including the study of the Bible in the literature course may have been advanced by a group of Montreal teachers. According to an account in The Teachers' Magazine, a suggestion linking the study of the Bible and literature was made in a discussion group following an address by Basil Matthews, American writer and lecturer on religious topics, who had spoken of the "importance of religion in education for world democracy."⁷ During the winter of 1941, some of the teachers who had attended the Matthews lecture requested Dr. R.B.Y. Scott to lead them in a study group. The book of Amos was chosen. The teachers felt that Bible study was about to be instituted in the high schools and they wanted to prepare themselves. In this small group the idea of connecting Bible study and literature was developed further, and may have influenced the sub-committee, who were planning the course. For some years after the introduction of a Bible syllabus in the high school there was a demand for teachers' study groups and for bibliographical lists of Biblical studies.

Percival was jubilant about the public's reception of the new arrangement and declared to the Rotary Club of Quebec in the fall of 1942:

Only our denominational differences have, I believe, kept a knowledge of the scriptures out of the Protestant high school course in the past -- and pupils have lost much in consequence. In future our pupils will have the opportunity of having this knowledge of the scriptures, which should be part of the equipment of every educated man.⁸

Percival's rationale for the study of Scripture in public schools became, in the Teachers' Handbook of 1943, the first of three separate and well-developed arguments put forward to explain the presence of the study of the Bible in the high school curriculum. The others were: "2. The Bible is great literature and the Authorized Version has a place by itself among the great books that our race has produced" and "3. The Bible is an essential

part of the spiritual heritage of our race."⁹ The scientist, T.H. Huxley, famous in the nineteenth century for his religious free-thinking and also for his advocacy of the teaching of the Bible in the schools, was aptly quoted by Percival:

By the study of what other books could children be so much humanized and made to feel that each figure in that vast historical procession fills, like themselves, but a momentary space in the interval between two eternities...¹⁰

The syllabus of Bible study developed by Rothney's committee included:

Grade VIII: A Study of "The Life of Jesus of Nazareth", with Deuteronomy, chapters 1-16, 29-34, as an alternate program.

Grade IX: "Peter and Paul", or the study of the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.

Grade X: "Selections from the Bible".

Grade XI: "The Book of Job".

The first (but not the alternate) suggested topic for each grade was presented with considerable detail as to the content and the Scripture passages to be employed.¹¹

Changes in the high school Bible programme during the next twenty years were remarkably few. The 1953 Handbook presented a course in "Famous Stories of the Old Testament" for grade VIII; grade IX enjoyed three options: "A Bibliographical Study of Jesus", "Peter and Paul", and "Esther and Ruth"; grades X and XI were unchanged. The "Esther and Ruth" course was not developed, but the other detailed syllabi were identical with those in the 1943 Handbook.¹² There was no change at all evident in the 1957 Handbook, but, in 1962, "Jonah" was substituted for "Esther". Aside from the fact that the Protestant Committee was asked on occasion to find ways of helping teachers with background and teaching methods for

Bible study, everything seemed to go well, and it was perhaps with too great a degree of smugness that the Education Sub-Committee reported in November, 1961:

That this sub-committee, having considered the regulation pertaining to prayers and religious instruction in the high school grades as requested by the Protestant Committee, recommend that no change be made in these regulations, which as far as is known, are being faithfully observed in the schools and are giving rise to no complaints.¹³

The study of the Bible in the high school was not incongruous with the religious rationale of the Protestant system of education. The matter had probably long been on the consciences of some members of the Protestant Committee but there were obstacles in the way of its development. The other Committee members, first, and then teachers and pupils, had to be persuaded to accommodate it in an always over-crowded curriculum. And there was also the task of getting the various denominations to co-operate on a syllabus. The presence of Jewish and other children who were not "Protestant" in the religious sense also presented difficulties. But the war years provided a peculiarly appropriate climate for proceeding with the introduction of Bible study in the high schools. There was a changed theological emphasis in the Protestant churches; a new orthodoxy claimed that the liberalism that had characterized Protestantism for so long was slack, humanistic, and itself unbiblical. The promotion of the idea of Bible study by teachers themselves was helpful; and the rationale for including Scripture in the literature course was persuasive enough. The course was designed to be objective and not aimed at religious commitment, at least in the narrow denominational sense.

One difficulty of the scheme was certainly the load placed upon the teachers and pupils by the nature of the subject. Creative engagement in such a course sometimes raised profound religious, philosophical, and ethical questions with which teachers

were not always able or willing to deal in a public school which had to preserve a neutrality vis à vis the various denominations and religions. Some teachers no doubt thought that such detailed attention to the Bible overshadowed the study of other valid literary forms and resources with which the students of English literature ought to become acquainted. Then there were those who believed that the whole plan provided a subtle vehicle for indoctrination.

C. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION: GRADES I-VII

The 1931 syllabus in moral and religious instruction for elementary grades remained in effect in Protestant schools for twenty-six years. Protests about the "no-examination" regulation led the Protestant Committee in 1942 to rule that departmental¹⁴ examinations in the subject be provided for grades VI and VII. There were also petitions asking that the Protestant Committee arrange to provide teachers more training in the teaching of M.R.I. The Quebec-Sherbrooke Presbytery of the United Church of Canada dared to suggest that "teachers' fitness to create in the schools a moral and religious atmosphere"¹⁵ be given primary consideration in the selection, preparation and appraisal of teacher candidates. But the only change in the M.R.I. syllabus in the 1943 Handbook was the prefixing of paragraphs on the purposes of Bible study, similar to those given for the high school course.¹⁶ And though a sub-committee was charged by the Protestant Committee in 1952 to "show how a revision can be made in the course of Moral and Religious Instruction for Grades I to VII,"¹⁷ no action seems to have been taken. The 1953 Handbook contains a syllabus identical with that of 1943.

Discomfort with the M.R.I. course grew in the fifties, however, and it became a concern of the Protestant Committee. In May 1956, a sub-committee consisting of J.S. Thomson, Dean of the Faculty of Religious Studies at McGill (chairman), and Drs. Slater, Lennox, Caird, Astbury and David Munroe (providing a denominational

cross-section of Anglican, Presbyterian and United Church members and a mixture of clergymen and educators) was appointed to "examine the question of religious education in Protestant schools and to make specific suggestions regarding the aims, content, and methods of the course in the elementary grades."¹⁸ The Joint-Committee on Religious Education in the Day Schools was to be informed of the Committee's action - a move which probably indicates one of the sources of complaint. Dr. Astbury resigned from the sub-committee and Dr. H.H. Hall and Mrs. R. Hanna were added. The 1957 syllabus was approved by the Committee on May 8, 1957.¹⁹

The aims of the new course as given in the Handbook of 1957 were:

1. To give pupils a general knowledge of the Bible as the book which forms the basis of Christian Faith, Worship and Conduct.
2. To foster the growth of a moral and spiritual interpretation of life by means of an understanding and appreciation of the Christian Religion.²⁰

The Handbook suggested that teachers were not to feel themselves bound but rather guided by the syllabus; story-telling in the younger grades was recommended, as was the use of audio-visuals and creative handiwork. There was an attempt to relate the material to the age and presumed interests of children of various age-levels, and most significantly a concern "to recognize the unity of the Bible and the relation of the Old Testament to the New."²¹ The Bible was to be presented as "a book with a plot which works itself out in the life of Israel Old and New."²² Study of the Bible was thus meant to help pupils achieve an appreciation of the life principles revealed in Biblical history and literature. The meanings embodied there were religious and moral, not moralistic. The Bible was viewed no longer as a source-book to support conventional moralisms, but as an address to human responsibility and freedom. This lofty view of the Bible was not, however, to

discourage the teacher from making daily use of the Bible stories in the classroom:

There will certainly be many occasions on which moral principles may be inculcated as they arise naturally out of the lesson material, and this aspect of the course should receive careful attention.²³

The course was designed to enable pupils to identify with Jesus as a boy and to cover the material by pedagogical device. Grade I was to hear stories of "The Home in Bethlehem and Nazareth" including accounts of Jesus' family life, the world in which he lived, and "stories he heard from his mother," grade II's "A Boy in Galilee" portrayed Jesus "watching men at work," "going to God's House," "learning to worship" and hearing "more stories his mother told him"; grade III dealt with "Jesus and His Work," as teacher, healer etc., and also with stories of Jesus' death and resurrection; grade IV heard and read "Stories of the Nation to which Jesus belonged," including those about Abraham, Jacob, Moses, David, etc. and touched also the Psalms and Proverbs; grade V covered "The Life of Jesus according to St. Mark"; grade VI studied "The First Christians," (stories from the Book of Acts about St. Paul etc.); and grade VII sought through "The Story of God and Man" to obtain a synoptic view of the Bible as a whole with an emphasis upon Scripture history and the fulfillment in Christ of the promised Saviour.²⁴ Memory passages were suggested for each grade. There was no alternate syllabus: perhaps it was assumed that teachers would use their own judgment about how to adapt the course to a given class, and that Jewish children and those of other faiths or no-faith could invoke the conscience clause, which many did.

Teachers may have thought of the 1957 revision of the course in moral and religious instruction as "our present admirable syllabus"²⁵ but it is questionable whether many perceived in it the change in the relation of the Bible and moral teaching envisioned by its creators. George Rothney, Inspector of Secondary Schools,

maintained in a paper on the new curriculum given at an inspectors conference in 1962 that the Bible was "the history and literature of a people who had a genius for religion," and that it was "a record of a progressive development in moral ideas," thus harking back to the views of the twenties and thirties.²⁶ Rothney emphasized moral training as the object of the course:

Tests, if any, should be concerned mainly with finding out to what extent [pupils] have developed moral appreciation, and, to a much lesser degree, their knowledge of the narrative content. Every lesson should be conducted with moral training in mind.²⁷

But this obscured the potential in the new syllabus for the development of religious imagination.

Teachers can hardly be blamed for their inclination to use the Bible moralistically. The lofty new view of the Bible was still largely in the minds of religious experts. The churches had, for years, taught the Bible moralistically. Programmes of guidance and training for teachers in the new understandings of the Bible and of the place of religious inquiry in public education were needed, but there is little indication that these were widely available.

D. OTHER PROVISIONS FOR MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The First Twenty Minutes.- The rule of the Protestant Committee regarding the use of the first twenty minutes of the school day (with its associated "conscience clause") remained in effect throughout the period. The regulation read in 1960 as follows:

Religious Instruction shall be given in all the public schools as laid down in the Course of Study and Handbook for Teachers. No pupil in any public school, however, shall be required to read or study in, or from, any religious book or join in any exercise of devotion or religion when it is objected to in writing by his or her parent or guardian.... Protestant schools shall be opened each day with the Lord's Prayer and the reading of the Holy Scriptures.... In all elementary schools the first twenty minutes of each day shall be devoted to moral and religious instruction according to the Course of Study prescribed. No denominational teaching shall be given in such schools.²⁸

The service-book, Hymns and Prayers for Schools, first authorized in 1931, was supplemented and replaced in many schools by Songs of Praise for Schools, a devotional resource book prepared in Montreal and used in the schools there before being recommended generally. There were a number of editions of this book to suit various age groups.

In the first twenty minutes were also placed patriotic exercises, and sometimes "civics", for as Inspector Brady said during the war:

It is most essential that our children should understand the secret of the stability of character and stamina of the British people in the face of great danger. It is based on three centuries of Bible teaching.²⁹

The subject of health education was also still classed under moral and religious instruction. Some graduates of the Montreal school system declare that they remember the health inspections - examination of the finger nails etc. - far more vividly than the Bible readings as a feature of the first twenty minutes.

Sex Education.- The Protestant Committee was interested at various times in providing special school courses in specific areas of moral concern. These included safety education, which developed in certain schools, drivers' education, which the committee refused to rank as a regular school course, and sex education.³⁰

A request that sex education be included in the regular curriculum of the schools was made in 1949 by the Quebec Federation of Home and School Associations. The matter was turned over to a special sub-committee of the Protestant Committee for consideration, and the latter were eventually presented with a progress report containing suggestions for a programme. The sub-committee was asked to continue its work and to study the possibility of a course in sex education. The "Sub-Committee for Effective Living," reported again at the Nov. 1950 meeting of the Protestant Committee. They had viewed the films "The Story of Menstruation", "Human Reproduction", and "Human Growth", and recommended that the Lord Bishop of Montreal be invited to be a member of the sub-committee, and that the Quebec Federation of Home and School Associations be asked to send two representatives to their next meeting. At the Feb. 1951 meeting of the Protestant Committee, the sub-committee reported that the Home and School Associations were sponsoring study groups on child development, and recommended that Professor Munroe and the Director of Protestant Education explore the possibility of offering courses in child development and family living at the summer school for teachers, which could be open also to any members of the Home and School Associations who might wish to attend. The sub-committee agreed to continue to study the problem of sex education in the schools. But nothing more of significance about the subject was noted in the minutes of the Protestant Committee. Perhaps it was too early to introduce such a subject in the Protestant public schools in an official way; or it is possible that the committee could not agree on what was to be done.

IV

1964-1979

CHAPTER ELEVEN

OVERVIEW OF EVENTS: FROM THE EDUCATION ACTS OF 1964
TO THE YEAR 1979

- A. The Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education
- B. The New Education Structures
- C. Pedagogical Reform in the Sixties
- C. Reorganizing the School Boards
- E. Disputes about Teachers' Contracts
- F. The Language Question
- G. Future Directions in Pedagogical Reform

A. THE ROYAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON EDUCATION

The Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec was appointed in the spring of 1961. The Chairman of the Commission was Msgr. Alphonse-Marie Parent. The Inquiry was an expression of the mood of reform which swept Quebec in the "Quiet Revolution" after the death of Maurice Duplessis in 1959 and affected every sector of the province's life: political, economic, cultural, religious, and educational.

The educational system of Quebec, with its clear separation of the educational endeavour from political responsibility, seemed to many both to symbolize and to perpetuate the old order. Not surprisingly, the structures and content of education became the focus of criticism in the new Quebec.

Responsibility for education in the province had become fragmented among a plurality of agencies: the Catholic Committee and the Protestant Committee, which administered elementary and part of the secondary education of their respective groups; the provincial government, which was responsible for trade schools, technical and other vocational education, as well as some programs for the handicapped and special cases; and the private sector which also offered a range of educational opportunities. These groups tended to be private kingdoms, each with its own policy and mode of operation. The result was wasteful duplication of effort and a confusion of purposes. From the student's point of view, the compartmentalization of education limited the freedom with which he or she might move from one type of education to another. Vocational choices had to be made early in some cases and there was no built-in flexibility for a possible change of mind.

The content of Quebec Catholic education had been inspired by a theological view of society which gave a static character to man's social responsibilities. But many Quebecers were no longer in sympathy with the spirit of the Tremblay Report (The Report of

the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Problems, 1954), for instance, which had stated:

The order of life proceeds from the transcendent, permanent and universal norms which are therefore valid for men at all times and in every environment. Whether it be private, personal, family or professional life, or collective, social or political life, the methods of organization, valid from one setting and from one era to another, should nevertheless at all times and in all places contribute to the integral realization of Man himself and the accomplishment of his eternal salvation.¹

Les Insolences du Frère Untel had criticized and even ridiculed the archaic thought and pedagogy of the Catholic schools and asked for a more creative way of expressing religious faith and action. A new age of ecumenism had dawned, and Catholics were leading the way. The author of Les Insolences was also heard to say:

No one argues that the Protestants have not known better than we how to preserve and develop some Christian values. Let's admit that they have better preserved the sense of liberty, which St. Thomas held to so strongly, but which since his day has been somewhat suspect for tactical though not dogmatic reasons.²

The Protestant system of education had seemed to Protestants, and to many outside observers, to be in advance of the Quebec Catholic system in its breadth of opportunity, its democratic teaching and its stress on freedom of conscience, but was thought to have been held in check somewhat by its minority position in the province. Catholics had in the past dismissed the Protestant system as perhaps suitable for Protestants but, from the Catholic point of view, as religiously and educationally defective; but both modern Catholics and many citizens who espoused secular

ideologies which were rapidly spreading in Quebec, were crying that it was particularly the French Catholic child who was deprived educationally, and in need of the stimulation of new ideas and approaches to life.

The report of the Parent Commission was even more radical than many had anticipated. The commissioners expressed surprise that so few of the briefs presented to them envisioned anything in Quebec but a continuation of the old system, patched up here and there. They declared that the whole system must be unified as much as possible affording a coherent approach to needs and tasks and providing the possibility of a modernization of the process and content of schooling. The story of education in Quebec since 1964 has been largely that of implementing the recommendations of the report.

B. THE NEW EDUCATION STRUCTURES

On March 19, 1964, the legislators of the Province of Quebec passed an act (proclaimed on May 13, 1964) which radically altered the structure of the educational system. The office of Superintendent of Public Instruction was abolished. The Council of Education was dissolved, as were the Catholic and the Protestant Committees which had for almost a hundred years governed their respective educational systems. Instead there was now to be a ministry of education vested with the authority to regulate public education throughout the province, a council of education which would act as a consultative and advisory body, and, attached to the council, Catholic and Protestant committees which would provide for the confessional dimension of education. The ministère de l'Éducation was to be headed by a cabinet minister appointed by the government in power. With him were to be associated a deputy-minister and two associate deputy-ministers, the latter each having special responsibilities with regard to either Protestant or Catholic schools. Directors-general were placed over the major divisions of work.

These changes were directly inspired by the recommendations contained in the first volume of the report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education. The act, however, "took into account the principal suggestions that the intermediary bodies, the educational establishments, the churches and the public had been incited to make to the government."³ The confessional committees were assigned a somewhat greater degree of authority than that envisaged by the Parent Commission.⁴

The act of 1964 was the work of the reformist Liberal administration of Jean Lesage, and particularly its Minister of Youth, Paul Gérin-Lajoie, who had already passed in 1961 a series of laws which became known as the Magna Carta of Quebec Education. Based on principles (codified in the 1964 act) which set forth the right of every child to receive an "education conducive to the full development of his personality" and the right of parents "to choose the institutions which, according to their convictions, ensure the greatest respect for the rights of their children,"⁵ these laws had raised the age of compulsory school attendance to fifteen, abolished secondary school fees, provided bursary aid to college and university students, provided one hundred seventy-five million dollars over five years to the special needs of higher education, and made possible the creation of larger regional units of school administration for secondary schools.

Public reaction to all these reforms was generally favourable. The spirit of the Quiet Revolution pervaded Quebec; traditional values and institutions were everywhere in question. There was need to come to terms with the modern urban and industrialized social reality and to educate the children of the province to fill roles very different from those which had prevailed in the past.

Catholic opinion included considerable reservation concerning the wisdom of making the secular power paramount in education, but conservative voices were stilled in the aura of ecumenicity and modernization cast by the Second Vatican Council. An exciting new direction in Catholic thought emphasized the Church's servant role in the world rather than its right to power.

Protestants had, for some time, generally favoured the principle of a provincial ministry of education. They thought that such an office would give greater efficiency and coherence to education and would bring standards into line with those in other provinces. Two of their prominent representatives, H.S. Billings, who had been the Director of Protestant Education and became in the new system the associate deputy-minister responsible for Protestant schools, and David Munroe, who had served latterly as the vice-chairman of the Parent Commission (and was soon to be vice-president of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation) were in favor of the changes. The former Protestant Committee had also officially approved the new system, having made only a few further suggestions chiefly with respect to provisions for safeguarding Protestant rights. The Quebec Association of Protestant School Administrators generally approved, but stated its concern that "the principle of autonomy, as we enjoy it at present, should not be abandoned in the centralization of the education system under a single ministry."⁶ The editor of The Teachers' Magazine paid tribute to the old Protestant Committee:

Let us acknowledge ... that the position of the teacher under the control of the old Protestant Committee was ... one of considerable respect and dignity. The Quebec system made the teacher feel that he was part of a family and not of a cold bureaucracy, and has been the envy of teachers in other parts of Canada. Those who have had the wisdom to migrate hither ... often bear witness to the freedom from petty rules and restrictions which we enjoy.⁷

But none of the major groups involved in Protestant education in Quebec publicly expressed any desire to maintain the former system.

C. PEDAGOGICAL REFORM IN THE SIXTIES

Pedagogical reform in Quebec's schools, beginning with Regulation One in 1965, closely followed the recommendations of the second and third volumes of the Parent Report. These departed from traditional pedagogical practice in startling fashion. Education, it was held, should reflect the spirit and methods of the "activist" school. The program of studies in elementary education (six years in two three-year cycles) was not to be set out as a detailed prescription but as a guiding framework so that the needs of local schools and of particular children could be provided for more imaginatively. Promotion was to be automatic except for an opportunity for a remedial year at the end of the second cycle. Students were to be grouped not in old-fashioned grades but with reference to learning speeds. Procedures were to be designed "to encourage the intensive teaching of certain subjects at the most favourable psychological moment."⁸

In the secondary school (the seventh to the eleventh year of education), the first cycle of two years would be devoted to general education and the second cycle of three years would allow students to specialize according to individual needs and desires. Select teachers might serve as advisors to twenty students noting "the general progress of their studies and their individual educational problems."⁹

The commission also proposed "a level of education complete in itself, of two years duration after the eleventh year, separate from both secondary and higher education."¹⁰ This level was to be taught at "institutes" which were to offer pre-university and vocational studies based on a wide choice of electives.

These reforms, too, were accepted by the Quebec citizenry with every sign of co-operation. Some of the suggestions and plans proved over-idealistic; they were abandoned or modified. But fundamental structures for schooling in Quebec have now been

set in terms of the reforms instituted in these years. Elementary education has been liberalized in regard to its teaching-learning methods; secondary education has become "comprehensive," and the third-level "colleges" which are now called CEGEPS (Collèges d'Enseignement Général et Professionnel) were created in an act of the legislature in 1967.

D. REORGANIZING THE SCHOOL BOARDS

The recommendations of the Parent Commission for the restructuring of Quebec's system of school boards appeared in 1966 when the fourth and fifth volumes of its report were released. The proposals of the commissioners were once again radical. They advocated that "a single regional school commission administer all education, Roman Catholic, Protestant, or non-confessional, in the French or in the English language, within the boundaries of a given area."¹¹ Local parents' committees would be responsible for deciding the linguistic and confessional character of the elementary and secondary schools they represented. A third level of administration, the Council of School Development, likewise "neutral," would act as intermediary between the government and the school commissions, having responsibilities such as negotiating teachers' contracts and advising school commissions on appropriate tax rates.

The option of non-confessional education was to be offered where, within a reasonable geographic area, there were enough pupils to warrant it. Such education might include a religious and/or a moral dimension.¹²

French and English Quebec reacted very differently to the proposals on school board restructuring. The former tended to favour unified boards, arguing that thereby a more efficient sharing of resources could be obtained. Both the Comité catholique and the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation officially approved the recommendations. Only a few Catholics, who feared that

without confessionality at the board levels confessional schools might be weakened, registered their dissent.¹³ Protestant opinion was largely opposed to any such system of unified boards as an immediate goal for all regions. Many questioned what would become of the rights of the Protestant minority if the schools were left without the protection of a confessional board. Protestants were reluctant, too, to surrender their autonomy, sacrificing a system with a reputation for excellence for one which was, as yet, only an idea. They could agree that increased sharing of resources (something already accomplished in part within confessional boundaries by the creation of regional school boards) and that a reduction of divisions among confessional, language, and economic groups were desirable goals, but many believed that systems so diverse in their philosophy could mesh only, if at all, after time and through careful negotiation. Forced "togetherness," they felt, would only breed distrust. W.H. Bradley, chairman of the Comité protestant and member of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, spoke for perhaps the majority of Protestants in his statements of dissent to the Conseil supérieur:

It is doubtful that a truly confessional institution can exist apart from its administrative structure It is essential that the right to form distinctive administrative structures be guaranteed to religious minorities if they so desire.¹⁴

The creation of more effective and economic administrative units, the provision for more effective participation by parents and by the public generally in the educational process and the equalization of financial responsibility are each in themselves worthy objectives....

At the same time I submit that these objectives could still be attained without inviting the administrative chaos and confusion which will result if all existing boards are abolished and unified structures put in their place.

There are other possible solutions at hand - that proposed by the Pagé Council and that put forward by the Protestant Committee, among others - which will win much wider public support, especially among those minority groups, both Catholic and Protestant, French and English, which feel outraged by the present proposals.¹⁵

Some Protestant leaders, more concerned about protecting anglophone cultural rights than confessionality per se, publicly advocated a dual educational system based on linguistic rather than confessional differences. Anglophone Catholics, however, did not display the expected enthusiasm for this option.

Support for the proposal of providing a non-confessional option in education was, however, approved by all parties, though with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

Catholics, in general, supported the idea because it seemed to offer a safeguard for the homogeneity of Catholic schools considered necessary for preservation of an education "permeated" with Catholic ideals. Also, the belief in "freedom of conscience" had just been given new voice in a 1965 declaration from the Vatican, which was quoted thus by a Quebec commentator in 1968:

C'est un des points principaux de la doctrine catholique, contenu dans la parole de Dieu et constamment enseigné par les Pères: Que la réponse de foi donnée par l'homme à Dieu doit être volontaire; en conséquence, personne ne doit être contraint à embrasser la foi malgré soi.... Il est donc pleinement conforme au caractère propre de la foi, qu'en matière religieuse soit exclue toute espèce de contrainte de la part des hommes.¹⁶

If Catholics were to maintain their educational views and at the same time assert the principle of freedom of conscience, they must, it seemed, advocate an alternative possibility for persons who were neither Catholic nor Protestant.

Another section of the Quebec population supported non-confessional education as due them by right of citizenship. The Mouvement Laïque de langue française, among francophones, and the Committee for Neutral Schools, among anglophones, represented those who were opposed in principle to confessional definitions of education because of the implied exclusion of the views of religious minorities, agnostics, and atheists;¹⁷ Jews had entered the Protestant system because it was "the closest to a system of undenominational education";¹⁸ some French-Protestants felt constricted in an educational system that had traditionally been dominated by anglophones; Eastern Orthodox citizens called for greater opportunity within the public school system to educate children in their native religion, language, and culture.¹⁹ These diverse groups, resident chiefly in Montreal, were thus united by their varying degrees of dissatisfaction with the statu quo. However, they held few values in common upon which to build an alternative educational programme.

Most Protestant educators took a cautious position on the matter. They were, by tradition, in favor of freedom of conscience but their own experience had taught them that there was far more than legislative fiat involved in bringing together persons with profoundly diverse opinions and values to decide upon common educational goals. And did not the Protestant system, despite certain confessional attributes, already provide education which was largely non-confessional in content and method? The Comité protestant's comment on the Parent Report's recommendation concerning non-confessionality explained:

The Protestant Committee accepts this recommendation as an idealistic principle but recommends that educational authorities move with caution towards its

implementation.... The Committee would respectfully urge the government to explore completely the possibility of establishing non-confessional education within the existing framework of confessional schools in the hope that the needs of this group would be met within such a framework.²⁰

The Committee went on to approve the recommendation of the Parent Commission that the Montreal Catholic School Commission and the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (and their equivalents in Quebec City) be asked to organize non-confessional education on an experimental basis in their respective school systems.²¹ The program, however, did not materialize.

The reorganization of school boards in Quebec had in fact taken a shape somewhat different from that envisaged by the Parent Commissioners. In 1969 the Union Nationale Government proposed a bill to provide for school boards in the style advocated by the Parent Report; but the bill died in committee as a provincial election was called and a Liberal Government, led by Robert Bourassa, came to power. Bill 27, passed by the Bourassa government in 1971, provided for regroupings of school boards in areas off the Island of Montreal. The number of boards was reduced from 1100 to fewer than 200, the right to vote in school elections was extended to the general electorate, and parents and school committees were given legal status throughout the province. But the confessional basis for the school boards was retained. In 1971, Bill 28 proposed the organization of school boards on Montreal Island in a unified non-confessional system which would have certain safeguards provided for confessional and minority rights. But the bill failed to reach the voting stage in the legislature, having become such a bone of contention for all parties that Education Minister Guy St-Pierre decided it was wise to withdraw it. The legislation which at last regrouped school boards on the Island of Montreal (Bill 71) was passed late in 1972. The confessional basis of education was affirmed. Six Catholic and two Protestant boards (Lakeshore and the P.S.B.G.M.) were established. Seats on school boards were declared open to election by the general

population. Jews, who for a number of years had been represented on the former P.S.B.G.M. through five guaranteed seats, surrendered their privilege, but they were now permitted to vote and to run for election as commissioners. Financial control of the school system passed to an "Island Council" made up of proportionate representation from the eight boards. The council was charged, along with its financial duties, with the tasks of making particular provision for handicapped children and for adult education and of bringing in a plan for a further stage in reorganization of educational structures at the school board level. It was also given the power to pass by-laws for the establishment of courses of study for pupils who were other than Catholic or Protestant.

The Conseil scolaire de l'île de Montréal received briefs on, studied, and debated the issues involved in its mandate. In 1977 the Council's committee on reorganization recommended that school boards on the Island be organized on a language basis in the Catholic sector; that one or more French language non-confessional school boards be instituted; and that there be one or more anglo-Protestant school boards. The parent body did not act on the recommendation, however, and the statu quo established by Bill 71 has been retained.²²

E. DISPUTES ABOUT TEACHERS' CONTRACTS

The negotiation of teachers' contracts, in the period under review, was marked by strained and sometimes hostile relations among the parties: teachers unions, school boards, and governments. Salaries, pupil-teacher ratios, workload, classification, right to consultation in decision-making and the bargaining rights of local and provincial organizations of teachers and school boards were all, at various times, matters of dispute.

In 1964, the new labour code of the province gave the right to strike, under certain conditions, to certified syndicates of workers in public services. Amendments in the following year provided more applicability of the code to teachers, who had been previously restricted to compulsory arbitration (not even that was permitted to rural teachers between 1946 and 1960), as the only recourse when impasses were reached in arriving at collective agreements.

In the summer of 1966 Catholic teachers in Montreal began to negotiate higher salaries and other benefits in new contracts. But in October of that year the Minister of Education issued guidelines to school boards stipulating the maximum amounts that could be contracted in the various categories, and requiring Department of Education approval of aspects of the boards' financial arrangements. Boards were informed that they must raise from their own tax resources any amounts contracted for teachers' salaries which exceeded the guidelines. Jean-Jacques Bertrand, the Minister of Education, explained to the public that the government was motivated by a desire "to prevent disparities in salaries between men and women teachers, rural and urban school boards and local and regional school boards."²³ Teachers were not satisfied, however; negotiations and then conciliation broke down; demonstrations, "work to rule" tactics, "study sessions" and strikes spread in several areas of the province. The Johnson government's response was Bill 25. This legislation suspended teachers' right to strike until June, 1968; established a new province-wide salary scale; created a structure to make possible collective bargaining for teachers' contracts on the provincial rather than the local level; and threatened heavy fines for teachers and union leaders who disobeyed the law.

Bill 25 raised a storm of protest, not least among Protestants. The Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards condemned the bill as government interference in the autonomy of school boards. Most Protestant teachers were at this time under individual contracts with their boards. Nonetheless, the Provincia

Association of Protestant Teachers, whose collective agreement was about to expire, feared the implications of the bill for their future negotiations, and openly joined the Catholic teachers in their struggle. On Feb. 16, 1967, French and English, Catholic and Protestant joined in a mass march on Quebec City and on the following day "study-sessions" throughout the province closed all schools to formal teaching. The bill was however sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor and the teachers returned to work under protest.

Bill 25 established a new frame of reference for collective bargaining by Quebec teachers. Henceforth much of the significant bargaining would be conducted at the provincial level between representatives of provincial teachers corporations and school board federations with the government as a third party. Since the Labour Code did not adequately cover the procedures for this new form of negotiation (and little was done to ameliorate that situation) bargaining became extremely complex and was frequently paralyzed at points of procedure. Government's role was particularly ambiguous since it could legislate as well as negotiate. And legislate it did; recourse was had to a succession of bills providing temporary resolutions to disturbances in the educational system.

During the nine years that followed the passage of Bill 25 there were three rounds of collective bargaining at the provincial level.²⁴ The first ended, after the threat of mass resignation by teachers, in a "provincial entente" in 1969. This agreement satisfied few. In 1971, Bill 46 provided for a second round of negotiations cutting down still further on the amount of bargaining possible at the local level. A strike of teachers in April 1972 brought on Bills 19 and 53 and eventually the "decreed settlement" of Dec. 1972, which replaced collective agreements for teachers until June, 1975. In 1973 a bill which would have legally prevented strikes in the public service sector of the labour force met with such hostility from public opinion that it was withdrawn. Preparations by teachers unions to lay negotiation strategies for the next round of bargaining had scarcely begun in 1974 when the

government passed Bill 95, establishing the grounds on which the negotiations were to take place. A "common front" was attempted by the province's teachers unions. But from the start of the discussion, beginning with the issue of what was to be contracted provincially and what locally and whether at common or separate tables, the bargaining was hampered by disputes about procedure. Through the school year 1975-76 negotiations dragged. Teachers, without a contract from July 1975, attempted by slow-downs, "study-sessions", and other tactics, to force boards to speed up negotiations. Among Protestant teachers in Montreal there was much bitterness over what was regarded as the P.S.B.G.M.'s refusal to put pressure on the Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards to finalize a contract. Bill 23, passed in 1976, made teachers' strikes illegal for the balance of the school year. After a general protest strike immediately following the passing of the bill, teachers returned to work and to resumption of negotiations. It was not until mid-October that the Q.A.P.S.B. and the P.A.P.T. reached agreement.

The Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, though requested, refused to take on the role of arbiter in these disputes. The Conseil was greatly concerned, however, and reminded all parties of the rights of the province's children to an adequate education. From 1968, and particularly in recommendations after a major study in 1974, the Conseil emphasized the importance of constructive attitudes on the part of negotiators, the value of preparing ahead for bargaining and of establishing rules of procedure, and the need of careful discrimination as to the items to be negotiated at each level. Salaries and welfare benefits, the Conseil thought, should be settled provincially, but discussion of issues such as rights of consultation, workload and working conditions generally ought to be the prerogative of local groups. In addition, the Conseil wished to see strong school-board power at the provincial level.²⁵ The Comité protestant also reminded the disputants of the negative moral effect on children of prolonged disturbances in schooling and of a climate of bitterness and recrimination among school authorities.²⁶

What effects have these years of contractual difficulties had on Quebec's educational system? The centralization of power in the ministère de l'Éducation with respect to both financial and pedagogical matters left local schools and school boards uncertain as to their role and prerogatives. Recent government moves in the direction of decentralization may, however, redress the balance. The government's stated policies in the "Green Paper"²⁷ and L'Ecole québécoise: Énoncé de politique et Plan d'action²⁸ hold that local schools, parents' groups, and school boards should all have a part in the decision-making processes in education. Regional structures such as the Conseil scolaire de l'île de Montréal have also helped, perhaps, in the decentralization of decision-making power.

Teachers have gained higher salary levels and other improvements. The sense of a common purpose transcending confessional and linguistic barriers, which has in some degree emerged from the recent struggles, may offer opportunities for needed dialogue among the varied groups of teachers as to the deeper purposes and inspiration of their vocation. The question must, however, be asked whether the teaching profession has not suffered a marked loss of public prestige and moral power. Has espousal of an identity which classifies them legally with "the labour force" rather than with the professions created in the public mind an image that teachers, like many others to-day, view life in terms of marketable commodities: training, competence, time and energy? The image of the teacher as having a sense of responsibility and dedication to the welfare of others, even at personal cost, has faded somewhat. Are teachers now content, it may be asked, with merely reflecting local concerns and contemporary norms of behaviour rather than serving as leaders in criticizing these, and in helping students envision justice for all sectors of society and for the world's peoples?

F. THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

The Quiet Revolution brought to the French-speaking citizenry of Quebec the recognition that certain long-held and cherished values in their society had to be modified or replaced. The new Quebec was to be secular in outlook, oriented to the future rather than the past, and technologically sophisticated; her francophone people were moreover to be participants in economic as well as political power.

At the time of Confederation the anxieties of French-speaking Canadians had been alleviated by the guarantee of a new national arrangement which seemed to give equal recognition and respect to both the French and English cultural groups. But the failure of attempts to realize any very extensive colonization of the West and the destruction of hopes for a French-language and denominational school system there, led many Quebecois to feel that they had been betrayed in the light of the Confederation contract. For the next seventy years, the sociological devices which kept the English and French cultures effectively separate also prevented English-speaking Canadians generally from being aware of the feelings of Quebecois. The Quiet Revolution represented the evocation of a new sense of power among Quebecois; many insisted that, for materialistic reasons, if for no other, the old order had to be relinquished. Quebec must fashion a future in keeping with the dreams of its people.

But if Quebecois were to become "maîtres chez nous" they had also to face squarely the question as to their future in the midst of an overwhelming anglophone presence in Canada and North America generally. The problem was exacerbated by their declining birth-rate and the fact that the great majority of immigrants who came to Quebec chose to educate their children in English-speaking schools. This was in large part because it was thought that a better economic future could be assured by that choice. The problem of linguistic and cultural survival seemed to be epitomized in the school system. Attempts to work it out at that level ensued.

In 1968 the Catholic school board in St. Leonard, a suburb of Montreal in which there was a high proportion of new Canadians of Italian origin, issued directives which effectively inaugurated a phasing-out of the bilingual system in operation, to replace it by French-language education. Theorists explained that the right of a collectivity to survive took priority over certain rights of the individual. Italian parents reacted vigorously; their protests became headlines in newspapers across Canada. The Quebec Superior Court refused to intervene in the situation on the grounds that there were no laws in Quebec guaranteeing instruction in English. J.J. Bertrand, now Prime Minister of Quebec, moved to soothe all parties²⁹ by appointing a commission (The Gendron Commission) to investigate the whole question of majority and minority linguistic rights in Quebec, and by steering Bill 63 through the Legislature. This measure made French the working language of Quebec, but it also gave to parents (for the first time legally in Quebec) the right of language choice in education for their children. The passing of Bill 63 raised passionate protests from many francophone groups who saw it as a betrayal of Quebecois aspirations. When an election was called soon afterward, a new government succeeded to power.

Robert Bourassa's first years as Prime Minister of Quebec were pre-occupied with the "October Crisis" of 1970³⁰ with new attempts at school board reorganization, and with the search for his promised one hundred thousand new jobs for Quebecers. The ministère de l'Education, doing its part to implement Bill 63, issued Regulation 6, which set guidelines for the teaching of French in English-language schools. In December, 1972, the language issue was again at the fore as the Gendron Commission completed its work and reported to the public. The commission recommended the passing of laws which would make French the official language in Quebec (and English and French the national languages), while maintaining English as the language of instruction in English Protestant and Catholic schools. It advocated the vigorous promotion of French as "the language of internal communication in the Quebec work milieu."³¹ Francization was to be accomplished in stages and to be aimed at obtaining the participation and cooperation of business and other institutions

in the province. The Gendron Commission refrained from making positive recommendations in relation to education (beyond the obvious requirement of compulsory French and English as second languages in the respective sectors, suggesting that "a completely unified or integrated school system for Quebec"³² could best accomplish this) but noted that if a semi-voluntary plan did not work, the Quebec legislature might in the future "re-examine a claim currently asserted by some immigrants to Canada who chose to take up residence in Quebec, of being able to opt between the French-language and the English-language schools for the purpose of education of their children." And the report continued: "in constitutional-legal terms ... such a claim is neither a 'right' nor an 'acquired right', but a simple 'privilege' that is capable of being qualified, or limited, or even withdrawn by the Quebec legislature if that should be considered appropriate or necessary in the public interest."³³ Moreover, the commission found that:

The limitations on Quebec legislative power contained in section 93 of the B.N.A. Act go to religion and in no way to language: and there is no limitation in this regard upon Quebec's plenary law-making power as to education so long as the strictly religious (Catholic/Protestant) interests spelled out in section 93 are not interfered with.³⁴

Strong pressure was now exerted on the government, not only by the Parti Québécois, but by widespread general opinion among francophones, to undo the wrongs which Bill 63 was said to have perpetrated. Contrary to the intention of its framers, who had calculated, perhaps, on the aborted Bill 62 to pave the way to a non-confessional option in education, so decreasing the attractiveness of Protestant schools to immigrants, Bill 63 rendered immigrants security in their choice of English-language education, and opened the doors of Protestant schools to native francophones as well.

Bill 22 was a response to this development. The legislation had theoretical grounding in the Gendron Report; but its terms had more force than those envisioned by the commissioners. French was made the official language of Quebec; it was declared the language of work in public administration, public services, labour and business. The right of free choice in the language of education was set aside and provisions were made for a testing system to determine whether pupils had "a sufficient knowledge of the language of instruction to receive their instruction in that language." The law stipulated also that "pupils who do not have a sufficient knowledge of any of the languages of instruction must receive their instruction in French."³⁵

Bill 22 was regarded almost universally among the English-speaking population of Quebec as an invasion of human rights, as a reflection upon their citizenship, and as a threat to English Quebec culture and the maintenance of quality Protestant education. Enrolment in Protestant schools was sure to drop. The Comité protestant commented negatively on the language of the bill, which seemed to presume a linguistic rather than a confessional basis for education in Quebec and to ignore the fact that Protestants had in their system not only immersion classes in French for those desiring them, but French-language schools as well, and teachers who taught students in their native French language. They also protested the implication that immigrants had less freedom than other Canadians in choosing the language of instruction and the offense to dignity manifest in children being forced to submit to language tests before attending school.³⁶ Some francophones, on the other hand, protested that the bill was neither strong nor clear enough to effect what was required.

The Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards, building its case, perhaps, on legal interpretations such as those of the "Howard Report" of 1969, which had found that Protestants were constitutionally guaranteed the management and control of their denominational schools, including the choice of language of instruction,³⁷ requested a ruling by the Supreme Court on the

language right of Protestants. But the appeal was refused by Prime Minister Trudeau. In 1976 Chief Justice Jules Deschênes of the Quebec Superior Court ruled against a similar appeal from ten Quebec Protestant boards, holding that Article 93 of the B.N.A. act guaranteed religious, not language, rights in education.

In November 1976, the Parti Québécois under René Levesque defeated the Liberals in an election which surprised the nation and even the province. The formulation of an even more rigorous language bill was one of the first matters attended to by the new government. Bill 1, later renamed Bill 101, legislated French-language education for all children in Quebec except those who had a parent who was educated in English-language schools in Quebec, who had siblings currently being educated there, or whose parents, though educated elsewhere, in English, had been residents in Quebec on the day of the proclamation of the bill. Some provisions were made also for temporary residents.

The P.S.B.G.M. disobeyed this law during the 1977-1978 school year, accepting children in its classes who were now there illegally. In the following year, however, it was forced to withdraw accommodation of these students in English-language schools because of the crippling financial penalty that would have been exacted had it continued its policy. The Protestant Board directed these children to special French-language welcoming classes under its jurisdiction. Members of the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers (the English-language Catholic organization) disobeyed their board, the largely French-language Montreal Catholic School Commission, and are raising funds from the public in order to sponsor children who are attending their schools illegally.

G. FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM

In late 1977 the Ministre de l'Education issued the Green Paper: Primary and Secondary Education in Quebec.³⁸ The document

was designed to stimulate thought and discussion about education and to serve as an instrument through which the Ministère could consult the public on proposed reforms. Public hearings attended by the Ministre de l'Education and other officials were held, and hundreds of briefs were received. After a study of these briefs by a provincial cabinet as well as by the Ministère de l'Education, a white paper: The Schools of Quebec: Policy Statement and Plan of Action³⁹ was published in 1979. The document set forth in some detail the policies and specific reforms to be proposed for public school education in the province.

The two documents reflect a continuation of the spirit of reform which emanated from the Parent Report of the mid-sixties. Activist methods, individualized instruction, and the concept of continuous progress in the elementary school programme, and, in secondary schools, the ideals of comprehensiveness, optionality at appropriate levels to provide for differences in students, and pupil advancement based on subject promotion are approved. Pluralism and diversity (ethnic, religious, linguistic, economic), far from creating drawbacks to effective education, are viewed as presenting possibilities for enrichment of Quebec society. A fundamental assumption underlying the Ministère and the government's policy in education is that every child in the province has the right to engage in that education which will be conducive to "the full development of his personality."⁴⁰

The Green Paper noted that criticisms of Quebec education had been made since the reforms had begun, and frankly admitted that many of them were justified. Among these were the lack of definite programme objectives, inconsistencies in the evaluation systems, lack of intellectual rigour, the impersonal character of high schools, and the victimization of children caught in disputes between educational authorities. The document explained:

School reform in Quebec was carried out under conditions of urgency in order to achieve the major objectives of the Quiet Revolution, a

secondary school education for all young Quebecers.... What is required now is a second wave of school reform directed towards the concept of quality....⁴¹

Quality is described by the Green Paper largely in terms of the kinds of values deemed to be important for the effective and creative citizen and for individual fulfillment:

This human being will be able to develop his or her personality in the area of knowledge, of will-power and sensitivity as well as in the acquisition of self-reliance, a sense of responsibility and commitment and of moral values.... Education must also form human beings to bear up under the inevitable tensions, and to resolve the problems related to society, problems related to the value system, to science, to technology, to social organization and to human relations.⁴²

The Schools of Quebec: Policy Statement and Plan of Action presents a list of the values (intellectual, emotional, aesthetic, social and cultural, moral and spiritual) which form the legitimate goals of education in Quebec schools, and which should be reflected at all levels of education. These, among others, include:

- the sense of methodical, patient, ordered, rigorous work...;
- a critical judgment of man and society...;
- a constant seeking after truth which guarantees intellectual honesty and authenticity;
- an open attitude toward the world, persons and things...;
- the taste for artistic expression...;
- the sense of socio-cultural belonging, through which is built the identity of a community;

- the sense of democracy...;
- the appreciation of one's heritage...;
- respect for life...;
- autonomy and responsibility...;
- pride in one's work and the sense of duty...;
- the sense of effort and personal discipline...;
- the sense of things sacred...;
- the sense of service...;⁴³

The general objective of education in the schools is stated by the white paper as follows:

- to enable children and young people according to their own talents and their own personal resources to evolve into autonomous and creative individuals and to prepare themselves for their role as citizens.⁴⁴

In addition, for each level and cycle of the educational process the document suggests more precise objectives.

How is this "quality" education to become real in each school and each pupil? Much depends, according to these government papers, upon the development of a broader decision-making base in the educational system. The white paper elaborates the concept of an ongoing "educational project" for each school which will involve students, teachers, parents, and the principal in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of education in the local school using the general objectives outlined by the white paper but taking into account also the experience, tastes, and needs of the children and adolescents concerned."⁴⁵ Among the issues to be decided locally would be the confessional (non-confessional) status of the school. A "ways and means" committee including representative membership from the teacher and parent groups and the school principal would

serve as a vehicle of expression of views, dialogue and decision-making based on consensus. The white paper promises that amendments to the educational law will be sought which will help specify the status and functions of the school principal, permit the establishment of ways and means committees, and allow a school board to delegate powers to the school principal and the ways and means committee. New regulations will be issued for the operation of the ways and means committee and to specify the role of the principal. Legislation will also be sought to strengthen the powers of the parent and school committees, ensuring representation from parent committees on school boards and their executives, and providing for compulsory consultation (on specified matters) by school boards and principals with parent and school committees.

The Schools of Quebec: Policy Statement and Plan of Action also proposes changes in the programme of education in Quebec schools. These reforms are to be accomplished within a five year period and will, among many other items, include:

- (1) the division of primary school education into two three-year cycles each with distinctive aims, processes and content to accord with the developmental needs of children; a new curriculum will provide precise objectives for each grade and there will be an increase in the number of periods of instruction;
- (2) the requiring of increased consultation and co-ordination between primary and regional schools in the same area to effect a smoother transition of pupils from the primary to the secondary levels of their educational development;
- (3) provision for a new programme of secondary school education to include a first cycle of two years of general education with compulsory courses and thus a uniform course of study, and a three-year cycle providing options for vocational specialization and for preparation for higher academic education. The first year of the second cycle will be transitional in character with only a few options; even the latter two years will have a core of compulsory

subjects; the practice of "streaming" will be abandoned; the course will be equipped with objectives for each year, but local school boards might adapt the allocation of time devoted to each subject; a "short" vocational course will be established, and the "long" course may be extended;

(4) more detailed courses of study will be provided by the Ministère de l'Education with the help of teachers, pedagogic advisers, and professional teachers' organizations, and with the co-operation of school boards, who will implement, adapt, and evaluate the courses, keeping in view the needs of their schools and the priorities of their community;

(5) the creation of instruments for educational testing, and the provisions of technical assistance by the Ministère de l'Education for the evaluative process in schools; there will be provisions for the ongoing testing of student progress and accomplishment as well as of potential, and also an evaluation at the end of each cycle (except the second secondary cycle) to see whether the curriculum objectives have been attained; but the latter will constitute not so much an evaluation of the pupil as of the teaching process and the results will not be used for purposes of determining promotion; schools will be assisted in evaluating teaching personnel and in their institutional self-evaluation.

The white paper also outlined proposals for bettering the public schools' service to handicapped, pre-school, and underprivileged children.

Questions of administration do not receive much explicit attention in the white paper. The government and school boards are currently discussing the extent of the latter's prerogatives in taxing for educational purposes. The Green Paper, however, espoused the ideal that the local school should, as far as possible, be charged with its own administration, including the employment or discharging of staff. "This hypotheses," the Green Paper asserts,

"for all practical purposes, requires a method of financing that would be universal and uniform in the form of direct state subsidies."⁴⁶

What roles are the upper levels of administration to play in such a plan? The Green Paper's answer is: The role of the Ministère de l'Education and the school boards "would be centered on co-ordination and technical support."⁴⁷ The school boards would according to other recommendations in the Green Paper, have greater responsibility in the financing of education relative to the areas and local schools served by them, and this would not be hampered by the kind of bureaucracy which characterized procedures in the past. The department would have definite authority, but so would the other structures. To accomplish this:

It requires that Government orientations and ministerial policies be both clearer and better defined, so that school boards can draw up local policies within a sufficiently explicit frame of reference....

.....

The new method of management to be set up should tend to eliminate a great number of useless a priori controls, to encourage ministerial approval of school commission policies ... and to control a posteriori their management with stress being laid on an evaluation of the results obtained....⁴⁸

Both the green and the white papers are idealistic. Theoretical formulations will no doubt be modified through testing. Considerable ambiguity remains for example concerning the process through which actual power (educational and financial) is to be distributed within the system. Schools are to develop their own educational plan and yet programme objectives are to be delivered by the Ministère de l'Education. Can local school boards assume financial responsibility without receiving corresponding rewards in

directive educational power? Are teachers able to consult with and share educational decision-making with a diverse group of parents? And though the theory of decentralized power might be applauded by some on the grounds of democratic principle, will not others be able with success to pose an argument for more centralization on the grounds of systematic (and therefore efficient) management? The educational reforms proposed will not be successfully accomplished by directive. Careful nurturing and training of the groups to be involved in decision-making will be needed. Protestants will view the distinction between Protestant and non-confessional schools in the white paper as ambiguous;⁴⁹ and some of the pedagogical reforms will need evaluation in the light of practice. The strength of the new plan lies in its efforts at decentralisation, and in its recognition that schools must have a primary concern with value education.

CHAPTER TWELVE

PURPOSES AND VALUES IN EDUCATION: STUDIES
AND FINDINGS OF THE CONSEIL SUPERIEUR DE L'EDUCATION

- A. Structure and Functions of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation
- B. The Purposes of Education
- C. Confessionality and Non-confessionality
- D. Two Specific Value Issues

A. STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CONSEIL SUPERIEUR DE L'EDUCATION

The Conseil supérieur de l'éducation was created to ensure for the ministre de l'Education a consultative resource to assist in the development of educational policies and strategies. Through its several commissions and committees as well as in its own membership (carefully chosen to represent parents, teachers, school board members, and various socio-economic groups, etc .) the Conseil has a channel of communication with participants in many forms of educational activity. It has also encouraged briefs, and promoted open hearings on educational concerns. Through information gained in the briefs and hearings as well as in its research studies the Conseil has sought to prepare itself to make informed judgments on educational issues. Furthermore, the ministre de l'Education is bound by law to obtain the judgment of the Conseil regarding standards and the coordination of the several levels of instruction. Before new laws or regulations are made on curriculum, examinations, diplomas, teaching certificates, and the qualifications of teaching personnel (but without prejudice to the special prerogatives of the confessional committees in relation to moral and religious instruction) drafts are presented to the Conseil for its critique. The Ministre may solicit from the Conseil advice on other concerns as well, and the latter has the right to submit appropriate unsolicited recommendations. The Ministre is not bound, however, to accept the advice of the Conseil.

Since its formation in 1964 the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation has reviewed drafts and submitted advice to the Ministre de l'Education on all regulations governing education in Quebec schools and on legislation concerning the restructuring of school boards. Language laws in their application to education and human rights legislation were also considered. Many, though by no means all, of the revisions suggested by the Conseil have been accepted. Another task has been the publishing of a number of studies on fundamentals to be considered in education (the importance of participation, the education of teachers, the meaning, purposes, and processes of educational activity). This has been in addition to the detailed statements on the state and needs of education in Quebec

as required by its founding statute. The Conseil's intervention has been particularly important, perhaps, in the setting up of CEGEPS, in the formation of the Conseil des universités and in the creation of legal status for the parents' committees projected in the Parent Report.

In this chapter we shall deal in particular with aspects of the Conseil's research and advice, as revealed in its public reports, which demonstrate some of the value-ideals which have inspired educational progress in Quebec since 1964. These include the thinking of the Conseil about the purposes of education, its treatment of confessionality and non-confessionality, and certain other issues connected with moral and religious values in education.

B. THE PURPOSES OF EDUCATION

The Parent Report held that adequate educational opportunity must be ensured for all "without distinction of creed, racial origin, culture, social environment, age, sex, physical health or mental capacity",¹ and that modern governments had a responsibility to make it possible "to allow everyone to continue his studies in the field which best suits his abilities, his tastes and his interests, up to the most advanced level he has the capacity to reach."² Reforms in the laws and regulations controlling Quebec education have, since 1964, sought to realize this vision of educational opportunity.

But pre-occupation with the implementation of programmes may veil the profounder task of reaching some clarity about the meaning and purposes of the education to be provided. Recognizing this, the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation has attempted to keep the latter issue before the legislators and the general public. It has also shared its own findings and reflections.

A study of educational change published in the 1965-1966 report of the Conseil, contains, for example, the following description of the modern school's main functions:

The school must, first of all, continue to pass on accepted knowledge and create a climate that will encourage individuals to attain full intellectual development. But much more than hitherto, it must contribute to awakening the child's or adolescent's interests, to developing his talents, so as to prepare him properly for whatever occupation in later life best fulfills his expectations and hopes Finally, by its methods, organization and prevailing climate, by its teachers' attitudes and in close co-operation with the family and the surrounding world, the school must actively share in transmitting those values and behaviour patterns which society considers essential for individual³ integration and adaptation to function properly.

This list of educational purposes brings together the different learning goals identified by modern educators: the enriching of the intellect, the development of skills necessary for accomplishing life's tasks, and the cultivation of the desired attitudes to the self, others, and the world. A correspondence may also be noted to the historic understandings of the purpose of education: the humanist, concerned with the promotion of "intelligence" and depth of character; the vocational or technical, emphasizing the appropriation of work skills; and the "inducting" or socialization aim which has, from earliest times, sought to initiate youth into the language, history and behavioural norms of the culture to which they belong.

These purposes obviously imply diverse foci, content, and processes. But what is the common element in these purposes which leads us to classify them as educational? "Educational Activity", a major study of the Conseil presented in the 1969-1970 report,

argues that any educational process reflects the explicit or implicit practical judgments educators make to answer the question, "What kind of man [persons] do we want?"⁴ In other words, all educational activity is affected by the values that are operative in decision-making. Schools seeking clarity of purpose must be explicit about their philosophy:

An implicit philosophy of education and of the student is always latent in the planning of a pedagogical organization. A certain orientation is never absent, at least as an assumption, in the preparation, coordination and application of programs. This philosophy may, in many cases, be conceived and expressed clearly, but it may also remain in the confused state of implicit assumptions. In this case, it exists anyway in administrative memoranda, in texts and pedagogical guides, and in staff meetings. It does not fail to exercise a profound influence on teachers' behaviour, on formative operations, and, finally, on student personality. The educative situation has nothing to gain from letting the philosophy remain implicit and exercising its action beneath the surface. We believe, on the contrary, that, as much as possible, it should be explicit, in the interest of both teachers and students, parents and educators.⁵

The Conseil's favoured answer to the question, "What kind of person do we want?" is implied in the choice of an "organic" rather than a "mechanistic" model for understanding the processes of education. The mechanistic model, according to "Educational Activity," sets forth education primarily as the transference of information from teacher to student - "pouring knowledge from one container into another."⁶ The student is passive and co-operates obediently; both the content and the process of learning are determined by authority. This style of education, identified by the study with the traditional approach, does not "reach the

student's profound being, that is, his attitudes."⁷ It actually deprives the pupil:

It does not develop his taste for study or research which becomes rooted in the deep personality and vital dynamism of the individual. It gives rise to a restraining education which puts pressure on the mind by ready-made knowledge formulae, which are elaborated and rendered rudimentary by texts for use in the schools. And it inspires an education which puts pressure on the will, either by corrective discipline, or by extrinsic stimulations drawn from personal interest, pride and competition which leaves the inner world of the student either dormant or misguided or rebellious.⁸

The organic model of education, on the other hand, demonstrates that:

The student possesses, within himself, the principal resources necessary to his growth, development, orientation and choices. He is capable of initiative, autonomy, personal decision and active participation in his learning processes.⁹

The teacher's role in the latter type of education is to act as a resource, inspiration, and guide to the learner's self-education; the teacher exemplifies a person who is open to the learning possibilities in every situation. The 1971-1972 report of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation included a study which carried forward the description of the organic model of education, and is explicit about the values that the latter represents and which are communicated by it:

The organic concept is based upon a more optimistic philosophy of man, who is seen as the possessor of an inner dynamism, a strong propensity for self-

development or of exceeding his own expectations.... From this evolves a pedagogy where the emphasis is placed on creativity and self-evaluation, in short on the taking over by the student of the responsibility of his own education.... This concept is founded on various observations of learning experiences and on certain theories which are sufficiently well-known at the present time, for example the Rogerian Theory.¹⁰

The evaluations of the state and needs of education in Quebec made annually by the Conseil bear the mark of the educational philosophy described in the theoretical studies which we have cited which, in the Parent Report, are labelled broadly as "activist." The ills that pervade the secondary schools - their depersonalization, the lack of motivation on the part of students, boredom, absenteeism, "dropping out" - are blamed on the failure of the schools to live up to the organic educational ideal. A 1974-1975 report of the Conseil's Commission of Secondary Education called for a temporary halt to the educational experiments in secondary schools; the period was to be used by educators to reflect more deeply upon the implications of the Parent Report and to evaluate the progress made in the light of its principles. The report also suggested as an important endeavour for the following year:

To review the study courses in accordance with the principles of education [sic] activity "the unconditional participation of the student in his own learning process, a student's freedom to progress at his own pace, according to his ability, the growth of the student along the lines of his natural development."¹¹

It was obvious to the Conseil supérieur that this new concept of education, which involved a very different view of the teacher's role and relationship to the student from that held in traditional education, required a changed approach to the training of teachers.

The Conseil has never ceased to call for improvements in that area. Another concern for the Conseil has been to urge both the ministère de l'Éducation and the schools to bring the evaluative processes used to measure student progress into line with the new philosophy of education.

Many aspects of activist education have been greeted warmly by Protestant educators. Yet there are assumptions about the nature of person in the studies and advice of the Conseil supérieur which many Protestants must contest, particularly on the basis of their own experience with progressivist education dating from the thirties and earlier. Do not the Conseil's studies betray an uncritically optimistic estimate of the capacity of students, teachers, and administrators to live according to their ideals? Is not too much reliance placed on the powers of reason and on the force of "natural" evolution with corresponding failure to provide in the system space for what Reinhold Niebuhr has called "man's sheer orneriness". The question: "What kind of person do we want?" is indeed fundamental, as is the question, "What is person?" Education in Quebec will profit from further discussion of these questions. And there is another crucial question. Who decides, in the Quebec education system, what kind of persons are needed and what values are to be affirmed? On what basis, and by what process, are such values determined?

C. CONFESSIONALITY AND NON-CONFESSIONALITY

The educational policies promoted by the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation have never brought into question the need of confessional education in Quebec, nor the right of parents to require it for their children. In this, the Conseil has reflected the spirit of the Parent Report.

The Parent Report in 1966 suggested the alternatives possible to Quebec with respect to confessionality in education:

(1) an exclusively neutral school system; (2) a unified system with the same or varied religious instruction for all; (3) inclusion of subsidized private confessional education; or (4) a system which provides for both confessional and non-confessional education. It recommended the latter as best suited to the province because it allows for diversity while respecting the desires of parents who expect confessional education to be carried on. The report stated:

Roman Catholics and Protestants have long enjoyed in Quebec a religious freedom explicitly asserted in the school system. We believe the state has an obligation to continue respecting the concept of the school adapted to each group, for it cannot claim this concept stands in the way of public peace.¹²

The education act of 1964 provided for confessional committees, thus guaranteeing confessionality in education. It also stipulated that among the Conseil's twenty-four members, fifteen must be Catholic, four Protestant, and one must be neither Catholic nor Protestant.

The Conseil supérieur appears to have accepted up to the present the suggestion of the Parent Commission that it would be unadvisable to establish any other than Protestant, Catholic, and non-confessional sectors in public education. The Report argues that the establishment of Jewish, Orthodox or other confessional systems alongside the Catholic and Protestant would "run the risk of compromising the quality of education, the effectiveness of the auxiliary services, and, ultimately, the students' own best interests,"¹³ and would establish dangerous precedents leading possibly to further fragmentation.

Accepting confessionality as a fait accompli in Quebec, and leaving responsibility for that dimension of education to the confessional committees (these enjoy special regulative powers in connection with confessional education whereas the Conseil supérieur itself has no regulative powers), the Conseil has been especially

interested in consulting the needs of citizens who are neither Catholic nor Protestant. This phase of the Conseil's work is particularly relevant to our purposes in exploring the moral and religious issues in Quebec education to-day.

According to the provisions of the act which created the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, at least one seat must be reserved for representation from Quebec citizens whose religion is neither Catholic nor Protestant. But the stipulation for the composition of the Comité protestant speaks of "representatives of the Protestant denominations, parent and teachers,"¹⁴ leaving a certain ambiguity (particularly in the French version of the clause) as to whether the latter two categories need be Protestant.

The Conseil supérieur had scarcely begun its meetings in 1964 when it received a petition from representatives of the Canadian Jewish Congress appealing for inclusion of Jewish members on the Comité protestant which was soon to be formed. "The Protestant Committee would be incomplete," it was argued, "if it be restricted to those of the Protestant faith only and surely it must encompass all those who are served by the Protestant schools."¹⁵

After discussion, the Conseil decided to create a sub-committee of its own membership under the chairmanship of its vice-president, David C. Munroe, to explore the subject further. This committee was shortly afterward named "The Committee on Groups not Represented by the Confessional Committees" (we shall henceforward refer to it as "the non-confessional committee") and employed the following rationale for its existence.

In view of the legislation and the preamble (sic) of the Education Act, the Council considers it important that responsibility for problems concerning groups not represented by the Catholic and Protestant Committees be clearly placed. These groups properly come under the jurisdiction of the

Council as regards the protection of their rights, the role of the two confessional committees being to ensure the special character of the schools of their respective confessions.¹⁶

In April 1965, after the Comité protestant had begun to meet, the Canadian Jewish Congress again requested the Conseil supérieur for representation on the Comité protestant. The Conseil replied that:

Non-Christians could not be included in the membership of the confessional committees and that the Council had decided not to make any new recommendations to the Minister of Education respecting the confessional nature of religious groups not represented by the confessional committees before the publication of the final volumes of the Royal Commission of Inquiry of Education.¹⁷

The non-confessional committee of the Conseil supérieur studied the issue over the next year or two but refrained from making decisive recommendations until certain other matters had been cleared. These were, as noted above, the publishing of the final volumes of the Parent Report including the recommendations on confessionality and non-confessionality; the public hearings on these recommendations planned by the Conseil supérieur (and the Conseil's evaluations subsequent to the hearings); and the formulation of the regulations for the recognition of Catholic and Protestant schools. These conditions were not fully realized until June 1967.

In August 1967, the Conseil supérieur reported to the Ministre de l'Éducation its response to the recent Parent recommendations. By majority vote, it declared itself in favour of non-confessional school boards and of the policy that each local school should determine its confessional status. The Conseil also asked that immediate provisions for non-confessional education be made. It had, in March, commended to the Ministre the Commission's definition of non-confessional education:

Non-confessional education is an education which is characterized by neutrality in religious matters and which, along with shared instruction in secular subjects, offers children enrolled in such courses of instruction courses in morals and religion.¹⁸

With such an understanding the Conseil supérieur recommended that Montreal school boards proceed to initiate an experimental project in non-confessional education and suggested the changes in the law necessary to effect this.

Nothing came of this proposal and the Conseil repeated it in January 1968 for the benefit of the new Education Minister, Jean-Guy Cardinal, asking that the Deputy-Minister of Education be charged with the responsibility of seeing that the project was implemented.¹⁹ This effort, too, apparently failed to produce the desired result.

Throughout the seventies the Conseil supérieur supported attempts in the legislature to establish provisions for non-confessional education, and criticized those bills which seemed inadequate in this respect. Disappointment was expressed with the draft of Bill 27 which in 1971 reorganized school boards off the Island of Montreal, because insufficient attention was given to provisions for non-confessional education.²⁰ Bill 71 (1972) placed with the new Conseil scolaire de l'île de Montréal both the responsibility for a general plan of school board reorganization and the right to make by-laws for "the establishment of courses of study for persons other than Catholics or Protestants."²¹ The Conseil supérieur had long advocated such a coordinating body for the island of Montreal. The suggested revisions of the Conseil supérieur to the draft of Bill 50 (1974) on human rights and freedoms were for recognizing broader powers for parents in choosing an education which would ensure the greatest respect for the rights of their children.²²

From time to time the Conseil has debated the question of the status of the non-Catholic non-Protestant population (sometimes denominated "les autres") within Québec's educational system. In October, 1969, the Conseil consulted the confessional committees on the question: "In time could non-Protestants or non-Catholics be invited to become members of the Confessional Committees?"²³ The question was also delivered to the non-confessional committee. The Comité protestant delayed its reply until the battle over Bill 62 had ended, and it had become clear that confessional school boards would be preserved at least for a time. The Comité catholique's reply does not appear in the annual report of the Conseil. The non-confessional committee submitted to the Conseil supérieur recommendations for a third committee having powers parallel to the existing confessional committees but with responsibility "for all those who do not fall under the jurisdiction of the above two Committees."²⁴ The Comité protestant then dealt with the matter in sub-committee and in plenary session. It resolved to request the Conseil supérieur "to take what steps may be necessary to ensure that persons of the Jewish faith be eligible for membership on the Protestant Committee."²⁵ The request, since repeated by the Comité protestant has, however, not been granted by the Conseil supérieur. Nor has a third committee developed.

The hesitancy of the Conseil supérieur to grant Jewish or other non-Protestant representation²⁶ on the Comité protestant derives, in part, from considerations of principle. The educational law of the province provides the Catholic and Protestant confessional committees with parallel structures,²⁷ and an identical mandate to ensure the confessional character of the schools in their jurisdiction. The B.N.A. Act guarantees the right to existence of Protestant schools, and legal judgments have defined "Protestant" in the act as referring to Christians of the Reformation tradition. Moreover, the Parent Report, which drew the blueprint for reform in Quebec education, described three distinct options, Catholic, Protestant, and non-confessional to meet the needs of Quebec's population. The idea of giving "les autres" representation on the Comité protestant appears to be illogical in terms of the law, would set precedents for upsetting the nice balance of the two confessional committees within the system, and would be confusing,

perhaps, to Quebec education's new sense of direction. Protestants argue that the law does not do justice to the historic reality of Protestant education in Quebec which for decades served practically as an educational alternative for all non-Catholics, and which gave Protestant schools an openness to a wide diversity of cultures and faiths. But the identification in the public mind of the Protestant school system with the English language, and with presumed Anglo-Saxon values, has meant that as such it may be unable to serve the aspirations of the New Quebec as a "non-Catholic" or general system of education. Immigrants are expected to be integrated with the francophone Quebecois society. Appointment of non-Protestant representation on the Comité protestant would therefore be a dubious move also from a political point of view.

But the Conseil supérieur has not proceeded either with the idea of a third committee parallel to the Catholic and Protestant to serve the interests of non-confessional education. "Les autres" represent diverse values and educational ideals; an effective committee could be created only if there were some assurance that common action is possible. The "ghettoizing" effect of such a move is also feared by minority groups. The Conseil has preferred to keep for itself an advocacy role on behalf of non-Catholics-non-Protestants in education, and has maintained channels of communication with "les autres" through internal committees and through its minority member.

These decisions of the Conseil supérieur demonstrate one aspect of the conflict in values which pervades Quebec education to-day. Respect for ideological, linguistic, and cultural differences is theoretically espoused, but Catholic education also practically requires some degree of homogeneity if it is to be effective. The security of the Quebecois culture is said to depend, in part, upon a great degree of assimilation of immigrants to the culture of the majority. Choice of schooling is therefore limited. Institutional patterns which could "integrate" without assimilating the cultures, thus effecting a working compromise of theoretical ideals and practical needs, have not, as yet, fully emerged.

D. TWO SPECIFIC VALUE ISSUES

(1) Early in 1972, the Conseil supérieur registered an opinion on the recommendations of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Teaching of the Arts in Quebec (the Rioux Report). The Conseil endorsed the major contention of the report that art education "can have only one irreducible and specific objective - aesthetic experience,"²⁸ but agreed that significant by-products of such education would be the development of perception, creativity, and emotional and social maturity. These benefits must not, the Conseil agreed, be confined in the New Quebec to an elite but must become a regular and expected component of the system of instruction. The Conseil also singled out for quotation a passage in the Rioux Report which described the link between art education and values thus:

Today, the primary problem of our societies is to construct a basic culture on which the secondary culture can feed. Consequently, our major concern should be to turn unrelentlessly [sic] towards that universe of symbols, feelings, values, and meanings without which art and science, no longer able to nourish themselves on the human soul, must become nothing more than the servant of technology. This constitutes the most pressing problem of our contemporary societies.²⁹

It thus appears that the Conseil agreed with the Rioux Report, that life's deepest meanings and values are communicated in forms which require the arts for their expression. By the same token, religion is recognized as primarily concerned with man's quest for meaning, and not only with the transmission of prepared formulae.

Such perceptions help us understand the Conseil's sympathy with teachers who have difficulties in approving some moral and religious education programmes. In 1972 a report to the Conseil

spoke for instance of the gap that exists between the suggested orientations of the programmes and the actual needs of the classroom students and again, the gap between [teachers'] desire to help students discover the deeper signification of life's experiences in the light of the Gospel and the implied wishes of parents and clerics that teachers turn out 'practising worshippers'.³⁰

(2) In December 1970, Education Minister Guy St. Pierre requested the Conseil supérieur for advice "on the mechanisms to be introduced in order to be sure that teachers do not take advantage of their contact with students ... to unduly indulge in any form of political propaganda or indoctrination."³¹ Such a case had come to the attention of the minister. The Conseil replied in terms affirming its belief in the general rights of students to an objective education, of parents to have certain controlling powers over the educational influences upon their children, and of teachers to enjoy the privileges of academic freedom. The Conseil also asserted that education had its place as "an agent of change in society."³² Since, however, rights as described are in potential conflict, there was need of establishing mutually agreed-upon guidelines to govern these matters and to set up a representative court of appeal to render judgments about particular cases. The Conseil also recommended that teachers draw up an explicit professional code of ethics. Three types of educational activity were deemed to be "hostile to the educational process itself" and would, if pursued, "hinder the development of the personality of students obliged to submit to them."³³ These included: "political indoctrination, incitement to intolerance towards certain groups or individuals, and instilling of racial or religious prejudice."³⁴

The permissions and limitations delineated in this judgment clearly reveal the Conseil's opinion of what should constitute the priorities in education. Of central concern are the values being promoted. Children are to be protected from indoctrination into prejudices. Yet education is more than socialization into the accepted norms of the time. Rather, it is a process of enabling students to inquire into deep questions of personal and social meaning. The freedom to differ is safeguarded. Future citizens should be able, out of their own personal resources, to think and

decide about doctrines and ideologies. The values affirmed here by the Conseil supérieur have been traditionally associated also with Protestant education.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

EXPLICIT PROVISIONS FOR THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS DIMENSION OF EDUCATION

- A. The Structure and Mandate of the Confessional Committees
- B. Catholic Education in Quebec: New Directions
- C. The Comité protestant, 1964-1970: First Regulation and Programmes
- D. The Comité protestant, 1970-1975: A New Regulation and Revised Programmes
- E. The Comité protestant, 1970-1979: Other Issues

A. THE STRUCTURE AND MANDATE OF THE CONFESSIONAL COMMITTEES

The Loi du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation of 1964 stipulated that the Catholic and Protestant confessional committees attached to the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation would have fifteen members each. The Comité protestant consists of "representatives of the Protestant denominations, parents and teachers" (représentants des confessions protestantes, des parents et des éducateurs.)¹ Members are appointed for a regular three-year term by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council on the recommendation of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation after consulting "the associations and organizations most representative of the Protestant denominations, parents and teachers"² and obtaining the agreement of the majority of the Protestant members of the Conseil. The sous-ministre associé having responsibility for Protestant schools is an ex-officio member of the Committee, but without the right to vote.

The Comité catholique was structured in a parallel fashion except that the representatives of the religious authorities in its membership are "appointed by the assembly of the Catholic bishops of the province"³ and the approval of the latter must also be obtained for the balance of the Committee's membership.

The duties assigned by the act to the confessional committees are as follows:

- (a) to make regulations to recognize confessional institutions as either Catholic or Protestant, as the case may be, and to ensure their confessional character;
- (b) to recognize confessional educational institutions as either Catholic or Protestant, as the case may be, and to revoke such recognition when necessary;

- (c) to make regulations respecting Christian education, religious and moral instruction and religious service in the educational institutions recognized as Catholic or Protestant, as the case may be;
- (d) to make regulations respecting the qualification from the point of view of religion and morals, of the managing and teaching staff of such educational institutions;
- (e) to approve, from the point of view of religion and morals, the curricula, text-books and teaching material in such educational institutions;
- (f) to approve, for religious instruction, Catholic or Protestant, as the case may be, the curricula, text-books, and teaching material and make regulations respecting the qualification of teachers having charge of such instruction in schools other than those recognized as Catholic or Protestant;
- (g) to make recommendations to the Council or to the Minister respecting any matter within their competence.⁴

The act also provided that the confessional committees would have the power to receive and hear requests from persons or institutions on matters within their competence; to cause research to be carried out when needed; and to make their own internal regulations, subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council.

On December 9, 1964, the confessional committees were constituted with their full complement of members. First meetings were held shortly afterwards. Wesley H. Bradley, the first chairman of the Comité protestant, remained in office for more than six years. He was followed by William Munroe (1971-1975), Francis Slingerland (1975-1978), and Garth Bulmer (1978-). Secretaries of the

Comité (holding full-time paid positions) have been Andrew Roy (1965-1971), T.H.G. Jackson (1971-1972), J. Lloyd MacKeen (1973-1977, and Harry Kuntz (1977-). Sous-ministres associés responsible for Protestant education during the period have been: H.S. Billings (1964-1966), C.W. Dickson (1966-1969), John Dinsmore (1969-1972), and Sylvester White (1972-1977) and Ernest Spiller (1978-). Vice-Chairmen of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation (who must be Protestants if the chairman of the Conseil is Catholic, and vice versa) were: David C. Munroe (1964-1969), Marcel R. Fox (1969-1975), Constance Middleton-Hope (1975-1977) and Sylvester White (1978-1979).

B. CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN QUEBEC: NEW DIRECTIONS

1. Attitudes to Changes in the new Quebec.- The Comité catholique, like the Conseil supérieur, has been inspired by many of the arguments and recommendations of the Parent Commission. Principles such as the following have been supported: the importance of breaking down the old barriers which divide Quebec society; the need to share resources and equalize opportunity among all sectors and levels of the population; the participation of parents in educational decision-making; respect for religious minorities; the obligation of the government to provide for both confessional and non-confessional educational institutions and neutral school commissions. The Comité catholique has also approved, in general, the language bills designed to francisize Quebec.

There have been dissenting voices to some of these opinions both on the Comité catholique and among the Catholic public. English Catholics have not generally agreed with Quebec's language policies. Some Catholics have opposed the creation of non-confessional school boards and the general promotion of secular control in education. For example, Richard Arès, S.J., has questioned whether the control of education by a neutral state can ever be compatible with a full Catholic education:

Dans un pareil régime est-il possible de satisfaire à la fois les exigences de la confessionnalité catholique et celles de la neutralité de l'Etat?⁵

Arès held that Bill 62, with its proposals for neutral school boards, extended the error of Bill 60 and "confie à des organes de l'Etat la charge, non seulement de protéger mais de définir et de réglementer le caractère confessionnel de l'école,"⁶ something which Arès believes is not within the competence of secular authority. Père Arès expressed a preference for the system in effect in Holland where Catholic education is controlled pedagogically by Catholic authority and financed, like education in other sectors, by the public purse.

But the Comité catholique by majority vote declared itself in general agreement with the provisions of Bill 62 for neutral school boards. "Catholic education rests more heavily on individuals than structures,"⁷ it was observed.

At the same time the Comité catholique has been concerned to ensure an environment in local schools appropriate to Catholic education. The Comité welcomed the recommendation of the Conseil supérieur with respect to Bill 62 in 1970 that within each of the proposed neutral school boards confessional committees be set up. The Comité also strongly advised "the government to ensure, either through legislative provisions or at least through a binding directive, that at the elementary level, and insofar as possible the secondary level, the same school building serve only those groups of pupils of the same religious denomination, either Catholic or Protestant, or a group of pupils with no specific religious affiliation."⁹ Thus the student population in schools could be kept "as homogenous as possible." The Comité's response to the draft of Bill 28 was to ask for a more concrete delineation of the structures to be provided at the local level to assure confessional options. There has also been a concern to ensure provisions for the confessional education of those Catholic students who take their education in other than Catholic schools.

Despite the ideals set forth by the Comité catholique with regard to the desired homogeneity of the school population in Catholic schools, a number of sharing agreements between Catholic and Protestant school boards have been sanctioned. These provide for the general education of the pupils of one group in a school of the other denomination with the stipulation that provision be made for suitable moral and religious education and pastoral services for the minority group. Most of these agreements have dealt with the education of English-speaking Catholic students in Protestant secondary schools.

2. The New Religious Education.- The Regulation of the Comité catholique, promulgated in 1974 (replacing the regulations of 1967) describes the school's responsibility for religious instruction in general terms as such that "the student may deepen his Christian faith and broaden his religious experience and knowledge."¹⁰ "Religious teaching," it is held, "must be in accord with Christian doctrine, be dispensed with intellectual rigour,¹¹ and be adapted to the personal development of students' faith." According to the Regulation the Catholic school must have religious instruction, approved by the Comité, available at every grade level. The Catholic course is obligatory for students (except for those who are permitted exemption) in the elementary school and in secondary I and II. Students in secondary III, IV and V may be allowed, at given stages, courses in general ethics and "religious instruction of a cultural type." Schools must also provide substitute studies in moral and religious knowledge for students exempted from the regular course. The regulation further states that every Catholic school must provide for "pastoral animation" under a member of staff appointed for that purpose whose "role consists in making students and teachers aware of the objectives of Christian education and in promoting projects which will foster Christian faith."¹² The personnel in Catholic schools is normally expected to be "in communion of thought with the Catholic faith," or at least "to respect the faith of the students and parents."¹³

A series of booklets under the general title Voies et Impasses, published by the Comité catholique since 1974, has presented

a rationale for the new approach in Quebec Catholic education. Moral and religious education in Catholic schools in the past, this publication concedes, concentrated on doctrine and had as its purpose the preparation of children for membership in the church and participation in its sacramental life. But under modern conditions in the public school, moral and religious education must be justified from the context of the total purpose of education, not simply on theological, sociological, or pragmatic grounds.

Voies et Impasses argues that man is "a meaning-making animal," and religions in all times have been sources from which persons and societies have sought for meaning and fulfillment, and therefore "every school has a duty to help the student in his search for meaning, to lead him to the field of knowledge and experience that religion constitutes, and finally, to encourage the organic development of his personality."¹⁴ But, as in learning a language the child begins with his mother tongue, so in religious education, he should first deeply experience his "mother" religion. In Quebec, this mother-religion will be Christian, and, either Catholic or Protestant.¹⁵

This does not mean, however, that the study of other religious or non-religious approaches to the meaning of life should be ignored. These should be presented in their proper place because the aim of religious education in the schools for the individual pupil is the emergence of personal liberty with regard to the world of religion.¹⁶ The young person is to be led "to the threshold of a personal choice."¹⁷ Therefore, the emphasis at the secondary school level, in particular, is "closer to a search for God, than to the transmission of doctrinal content."¹⁸ The new approach to Catholic religious education takes a middle way between "indoctrination" and the mere imparting of "information about religious facts."¹⁹ Voies et Impasses makes it plain that what the Conseil supérieur termed "the organic model" of learning should be followed in moral and religious instruction.

In summary, the two main objectives of religion in the schools, according to this study, are "to lead students toward religious maturity, and to provide opportunities for the exploration of various aspects of religion: doctrine, ethics, ritual, personal experience, social expression."²⁰

The new approach in Catholic education has moved a considerable distance from the older catechetical method in which the school was viewed virtually as an extension of the church's programme. The emphasis on objectivity, on consideration of religious alternatives, on religion as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, and an overall aim to enable persons to reflect on religious concerns and to make free personal choices has also been marked in Protestant schools. There is, therefore, a developing convergence of the two sectors in their understandings of the place of religious education in the public schools. The two systems appear to have learned from one another. Differences remain, however; these will appear from our study of the recent history of moral and religious education in Protestant schools.

C. THE COMITE PROTESTANT, 1964-1970: FIRST REGULATIONS AND PROGRAMMES

The Comité protestant was charged in 1964 with the task "to ensure ... the confessional character" of Protestant schools. This included both juridic and pedagogical responsibilities. Regulations were required which would govern the confessional aspects of Protestant education and serve as a basis upon which "recognition" of Protestant schools could be made. But of equal importance was the need to make policies and provide direction for the moral and religious dimension of education in those schools

The Loi du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation of 1964, setting the terms of reference for the Comité protestant referred explicitly to "Christian education." The inclination of the

Committee in these first years of the new order of things was thus to attempt to maintain a Christian and Protestant emphasis without unduly offending Jews and others who formed such a large and active part of the Protestant educational constituency of Montreal.

The Comité arrived at the conclusion, as they studied curricula and other material from England, Newfoundland, and the United States, as well as their own history and current provisions for moral and religious education in Protestant schools, that Protestant education was ideally marked by the following characteristics:

A respect for human values, an open-mindedness, a willingness to consider another's views, a pragmatic approach in matters of administration, a reluctance to accept dogma, and a tendency to regard value judgments as points on a continuum rather than either-or decisions.²¹

The basic principle running throughout Protestant education, the Comité discovered, was that of "stimulating and promoting free inquiry in religious matters based on principles enunciated in the Bible."²² The links among the various Protestant groups in the province which had co-operated to form the Protestant educational system were recognized as based on the common acceptance of the Bible as the fundamental moral and religious text. The Comité was aware, of course, that the study of Scripture in Protestant schools in Quebec had for many years been supported by the argument that Biblical ideas were an essential ingredient in any understanding of the Judaeo-Christian cultural heritage, one of the major sources of Western civilization.

One of the first official acts of the new Comité was to modify the description of the purposes of moral and religious instruction as found in the 1965 Teachers' Handbook. All explicit Christian references were eliminated by a resolution which stated:

Because of the great variety of religious faiths of the pupils who attend our Protestant schools, we agree that a course in general Bible knowledge and Judaeo-Christian morality should continue to be given in the Protestant schools of Quebec and that the aims should read: (1) to give the pupils a general knowledge of the Bible; (2) to foster the growth of a moral and spiritual interpretation of life.²³

The formulation of the regulations by which Protestant schools were to be recognized occupied the Comité's time in the fall of 1965 and early 1966. Draft copies of the regulations were sent out to the Conseil supérieur, the Comité catholique, the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers, the Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards, the Quebec Association of School Administrators, and the Quebec Federation of Home and School Associations. The Canadian Jewish Congress was also consulted at an early date. Some comments were received, and alterations made. The final edition of the regulations was approved in February 1966 and sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council on June 2, 1967.

The regulations of 1967 were three in number. The first prescribed the basis on which schools could be recognized as Protestant: adherence to the approved curriculum, textbooks, and teaching materials in moral and religious instruction, use of the school texts and teaching material approved from the point of view of morals and religion by the Protestant Committee, and compliance with the regulations of the Committee. The second regulation set out guidelines to govern the moral and religious dimension of education in Protestant schools: courses aimed at giving pupils "a general knowledge of the Bible" and at fostering "the growth of a moral and spiritual interpretation of life" were to be given regularly in every Protestant school, but "no teaching of a specifically denominational character"²⁴ was to be included; the course of study in moral and religious instruction was to be based on "selected passages (a) from the New and the Old Testament or (b) exclusively

from the Old Testament"; but in secondary schools "a descriptive course in religious belief, philosophy or ethics" might be prescribed as an alternate or an addition.²⁵ The morning devotional period was prescribed, but conscientious objection with respect to devotions and religious instruction was to be respected. The third regulation enumerated the qualifications from the point of view of religion and morals required of the teaching staff in Protestant schools: respect for and conformity to the ethics of the Judaeo-Christian tradition and a religious profession as Protestant or Jew. The regulations allowed for the engagement of non-Protestant or non-Jewish teachers in subjects other than religion.

The formal recognition of schools as Protestant, required by law, has thus far been made annually on a general, rather than an individual, basis. The Comité felt obliged to maintain this provisional arrangement until the government's plans for school board reorganization had been clarified. The formula decided upon in 1968, for example, was as follows:

Resolved ... that the Protestant Committee of the Superior Council of Education officially recognize as Protestant educational institutions, within the meaning of the Superior Council of Education Act, public schools under the control of school commissioners or trustees of school municipalities, which under paragraph 4 of section 203 of the Education Act of Quebec, offer courses of study which conform with the program of studies and with the regulations enacted or approved for Protestant schools.²⁶

By virtue of its first regulation the Comité protestant could revoke recognition of any school which so requested or which did not fulfill the required obligations.

These regulations brought down a storm of protest upon the heads of the Comité. In January 1968, members of the P.A.P.T. executive, including First Vice-President, Dr. Alana Reid-Smith, later herself a member of the Comité protestant, presented a brief which declared opposition "to the imposition of any form of religious education on the Protestant schools of Quebec," protested the appointment of a Chief of Religious Education (Protestant) by the ministère de l'Education, objected to the Comité protestant acting as "a moral and religious censorship board on all textbooks," and announced its complete opposition "to the authority exercised by the Protestant Committee to make regulations respecting the moral and religious qualifications of the teaching staff in Protestant schools."²⁷ Dr. Reid-Smith urged that the Comité consider the possibility of reorganization, so that it would be "truly representative of the English-speaking community (non-Roman Catholic)" and "that it be concerned with representing the view of the English-speaking community (non-Roman Catholic)."²⁸

Consideration of these points by the Comité and a further meeting with the P.A.P.T. executive brought the two bodies to closer agreement. A Commentary on the regulations (already planned before the P.A.P.T. protest) was published by the Comité in August 1968. The commentary explained the basis of the regulations, generalized some of them, made room for a certain freedom of interpretation in others, and assured the public that "in the engagement of teachers, it is clearly understood that professional qualifications should be considered more important than confessional status."²⁹ About this time the Comité protestant, on the advice of the Protestant Central Board of Examiners, rescinded the old rule which required that attestation of moral character of a prospective teacher be made by the clergyman of the congregation to which he or she were attached - a rule which seemed to many to have become anachronistic. The form of the required certificate was altered and the list of acceptable referees was broadened.

The P.A.P.T. was, perhaps, mollified by these signs that the Comité did not mean its authority to be unreasonable, but many teachers at this time were advocating for Quebec a dual system of

education based on language. They continued to maintain that the role of the Comité protestant ought to consist of giving leadership to English-speaking Protestants and of serving as a "bastion for freedom of conscience and freedom of religion"³⁰ in Quebec rather than in imposing rules about religious education and acting as a moral and religious censor. Such sentiments were also expressed to the Comité by school board members and parents' groups.

The completion of work on the regulations gave the Comité more opportunity to focus on an evaluation of the moral and religious aspects of education in the Protestant schools. The matter was now given particular urgency because the terms recently reached for making an agreement between Catholic and Protestant regional school boards for joint use of buildings required definite timetabling of moral and religious instruction in school programmes, appointment of a teaching staff responsible for moral and religious instruction, and provision for pastoral services of a religious nature in the schools. The confessional committees had agreed that every such entente should involve parallel arrangements for Protestant and Catholic M.R.I. and pastoral services.³¹ This meant that for the first time in about sixty years Protestant secondary schools were to have definite provision in the time-table for courses specified as moral and religious instruction.

Inclusion of the Bible in the English literature course appeared now to be inappropriate in schools where Catholics shared classes with Protestants. Therefore, in April 1966, the Comité officially abandoned that policy and began to work on new courses. This work and the shaping of the Comité's policy in the five years that followed were assisted by four developments which require particular notice. These were (1) the Chateauguay experiment, (2) the appointment of a Chief of Religious Services (Protestant), (3) the gathering of a consensus concerning the nature of the moral and religious education required in Protestant schools, and (4) a growing concern on the part of the Comité for the minority groups in its constituency.

(1) The Chateauguay Experiment. - R.D. Mosher, Director-General of the Chateauguay Valley Regional School Board, unveiled, in 1966, a plan which would allow local teachers and administrators to work out an experimental moral and religious education program for the board's high schools. The planning committee had the help of religious studies specialists, Dr. Sheila McDonough and Prof. Michel Despland of Sir George Williams University. The Comité protestant encouraged the project. The course as finally approved included the following general content: "The Family and the Community" (grade VIII), "World Religions" (grade IX), "Religion and Modern Culture" (grades X and XI). Each year included seven units of five weeks each. The seven units assigned to grade XI, for example, dealt with "The Identity of Man," "Science and Religion," "War and Peace," "Love and Conflict," "The Christian Looks of Mental Illness," "The Christian looks at Economics," and "The Diary of Anne Frank." Each unit contained stated aims, questions, project suggestions, Biblical references, book lists, etc. The program was designed so as to give the utmost flexibility to meet local pupil and teacher needs.

The spiritual parent of the Chateauguay course was the Agreed Syllabus of the West Riding of Yorkshire, based largely on the philosophy for religious education in the schools promoted by Harold Loukes. The British educator advocated an experience-based approach which would help to stimulate "the wonder, hope and love" of children in becoming aware of their cultural and historical heritage. Children, active participants in their own education and developing the capacity to reach out from more immediate and personal concerns to national and world issues, would appropriate the love dynamic and also a moral code. Such imperatives as the following would become the guide for developing consciences: "act with due regard to the consequences of your actions"; "act so that every action of yours should be a capable rule of action for all men"; and, "so act as to treat humanity, whether in thine own person, or in that of any other in every case as an end withal, never as a means."³² Ronald Goldman's book Readiness for Religion also became important for the designers of the Chateauguay course.³³

The experiment was a huge success, particularly at the Ormstown school, and was continued (with revisions) there and at Howard S. Billings School in Chateauguy. After two years' experience the Chateauguy Board's "Moral and Social Development" course offered a convenient model for those bi-confessional high schools which were seeking programmes for the class hours allotted to moral and religious instruction.

New ground in the teaching of moral and religious education was broken: 1. The Comité protestant became aware of the value of having programmes in moral and religious education worked out in local schools, planned by the teachers and administrators who would be involved with them. Bedford Regional, Laurentian, Richmond, the P.S.B.G.M., and other school boards were encouraged in their own efforts by the Chateauguy success. Some of these developed individual rationales, content, and strategies. 2. Teachers were given some direction by specialists in the content and teaching of moral and religious education, and there was also an attempt to develop in-course training. The importance of special training for teachers of such courses was thus underlined. 3. The employment of contemporary educational theory on moral development meant that "process" was taken as seriously as "content," and attitudinal aims were considered as important as conceptual ones. 4. The program was broadly nurtural in the tradition of the religious and moral education prevailing in the government schools of England. The content of moral and religious education was no longer confined to Bible knowledge. Indeed, the Biblical aspect of the Chateauguy course appears as a kind of proof-text resource to the main body of the programme; the Bible could be treated by the teacher as but one of many resources that might be used. While applauding the usefulness and popularity of the M.S.D. program, the Comité protestant maintained a position that other more distinctly Protestant and Biblical courses should also be developed. Dr. McDonough, one of the authors of the Chateauguy experiment, became a member of the Comité protestant in 1967, and served for several years.

(2) The Chief of Religious Services (Protestant). - The ministère de l'Éducation had early signalled to the confessional

committees that it intended to set up an office to deal specifically with moral and religious education and that it was the ministère's policy to ensure that particular programmes be in harmony with the whole projected educational plan for the schools. The Comité responded by agreeing that "it is the responsibility of the Protestant Committee to formulate the general principles on which the curriculum will be built, but the detailed preparation of the course would be better left to another body such as a planning committee."³⁴ The Comité thus looked forward to the new office also to supervise the moral and religious education programmes, promote the training of specialists in religion, coordinate consultation among schools, and be available for any form of assistance needed by schools in setting up M.R.I. programmes. Catholic and Protestant religious services were set up in the Service des programmes of the Direction générale de l'enseignement élémentaire et secondaire. Until the advent of the Chief of Religious Services, the Comité protestant carried on the work of curriculum-building through a sub-committee on courses of study.

In the early summer of 1967, the Comité protestant recommended to the department the name of Donald J.M. Hughes to fill the post of Chief of Religious Services (Protestant). Hughes was duly appointed. Members of the Comité heard something of the appointee's approach to moral and religious education at a meeting in September 1967 when he suggested a series of Biblical courses using modern translations of the Bible and added:

Any courses given should be examined, and the marks count for promotion.... These are academic subjects which can be pursued without prejudice to one's belief.... In England, religious instruction is intended to produce good Christians. Our intention is to produce informed persons who have thought about moral problems.... The general environment of our schools will determine the formation of character. Courses in religion will provide information and will stimulate thought, but

will not of themselves produce character. It is only the practice of religion, not its study, which will do that, and the practice of religion is outside the concern of our schools.³⁵

Hughes immediately began to work on the construction of a course of study in moral and religious education for the secondary schools. He had the assistance of university professors and an advisory committee of teachers. The completed course outline, entitled Personality Development: Moral and Religious Instruction,³⁶ was approved by the Comité protestant on June 20, 1968.

Personality Development: Moral and Religious Instruction admitted its debt to the West Riding Agreed Syllabus and to the Chateauguay curriculum. Like the latter, it was designed as a resource guide which would give teachers guidance and yet allow freedom for creativity. Far more programme coverage was suggested than could be accomplished in a given year. Hughes' own personality was stamped rather emphatically upon the curriculum, however.

The course was designed in two cycles (grades 7 & 8 and grades 9-11) with distinct units in each year covering three major study areas: the Bible, historical and biographical materials; and ethical concerns. The grade XI outline, for example, suggested for Unit I a course in St. John's Gospel; for Unit II "A Study of Modern Times," including sections on "Christianity and Modern Times," "Christianity and the Arts," and "Judaism Today"; Unit III on "Moral Instruction" dealt with topics such as "War," "Famine," "Apartheid," "Teenagers," "Poverty," "Life," "Death," "Canadian Attitudes," "Credit Buying," "Industry and the Church," and "Marriage." The programme depended much upon the teacher's ability to engage student participation and to employ effective techniques for group discussions. Despite its title, Personality Development was directed more to concept clarification and enrichment than to providing a climate for the development of insights through self-understanding. The Comité protestant considered the programme to be a useful one for biconfessional regional high schools, but

because of its situation-centered character it was deemed unsuitable for testing by written external examinations and thus for academic course credit. However, in the early seventies adaptations of the programme were reluctantly allowed to count for credit toward the high school leaving diploma after the minister had provided for this option by schools. Credit courses were developed for the fifth year and, later, for the fourth year of high school. Examinations were prepared regionally (sometimes by the individual school), approved by the ministère through the Service de l'enseignement protestant, and administered and marked at the local school level. The Comité still looked forward to the development of courses on the Bible, world religions, and ethics, or these combined, which would wholly reflect the spirit of the regulations requiring Biblical studies and would also maintain academic respectability. Several years were to pass before these hopes were met.

Hughes and his committee also worked on a curriculum for elementary schools. But the first draft of this programme, examined by the Comité protestant in November 1968, proved unacceptable because of its "lack of subject matter for the pupils," "of direction for the teachers," and "of Biblical content."³⁷ The committee seemed to feel that those preparing the programme were surrendering to pressures for a limitation of the Biblical emphasis. The minutes of the meeting note: "Courses in Moral and Religious Education... should not be prejudicial to the rights and needs of the majority who are Protestants."³⁸ Hughes had apparently attempted to provide a rationale for the projected course on particular educational grounds; members of the Comité protestant claimed that the course was "unduly concerned with the philosophy of Piaget."³⁹ When a revision of the elementary programme was not ready by the spring, a sub-committee of the Comité protestant took over the work. A course was constructed which used as its basis one developed in Montreal featuring explicit (and separable), Protestant, Jewish, and non-confessional options.⁴⁰ This elementary school programme was designed as an alternative to the traditional syllabus printed in the Teachers' Handbook of 1965. Both the elementary and secondary M.R.I. curricula were adapted for use in French Protestant schools. The Comité expressed great frustration,

however, in attempting to find appropriate French resource books on the topics of the courses.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in the co-ordination of the work of the Comité protestant with that of religious services; there was, in consequence, a restructuring of this area of the department's work in early 1969. The new Service de l'enseignement protestant was created and made directly accountable to the Sous-ministre associé. Raymond Jensen was appointed director in 1970. The lines of accountability and the functions of the office were described in the 1976 report of the ministère de l'Éducation as "assister le sous-ministre associé de foi protestante dans l'exercice de ses fonctions" and "appliquer et administrer les règlements du Comité protestant du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation."⁴¹

(3) The Gathering of Consensus.- By late 1970, the Comité protestant felt it was in a position to make a reasonably accurate judgment as to the opinions of the Protestant constituency on matters connected with confessionality and with moral and religious education. Almost from its beginning the Comité had made a practice of holding meetings in diverse sections of the province in order to consult and be consulted by persons and "special interest groups" concerned with education. A series of discussion questions on moral and religious education in the schools had been sent to teachers', parents', administrators', and clergy groups. Briefs responding to the matters raised by the questions were presented by local, regional, and provincial bodies in hearings sponsored by the Comité. In November 1970, a symposium on "Religious Education? Moral Education? or What?" was held in the new Faculty of Education Building at McGill. This was organized by a sub-committee of the Comité protestant which invited directors-general, members of regional and local school boards, interested teachers and students, and officials of the ministère de l'Éducation. The results of the discussions at that meeting seemed to confirm the Comité's own perception of the mood of the Protestant population. It appeared that: (1) the Protestant constituency generally desired moral and religious education in

elementary and secondary schools but many thought that the courses should be non-confessional in nature with "emphasis on moral and social development not catechetic in nature";⁴² (2) compulsory courses in moral and religious education in public schools, with some degree of optionality, perhaps, at the high school level, were felt to be appropriate; (3) the favoured pedagogical method was inductive, experiential and non-authoritarian, directed towards enabling students to make their own decisions about ethical dilemmas and even about types of religious belief; (4) examinations and marks were, in general, regarded as having a "strait-jacketing effect" on religious and moral learning, and it was felt that the motivations thus appealed to would "teach wrong values,"⁴³ but it was also believed that a suitable, academic credit course for optional use might be worked out at the senior high school level; (5) adequate teacher education would consist of opportunities for courses of an academic nature in religious studies, "sensitivity training," and an understanding of group dynamics; (6) religious education specialists were thought to be needed at the secondary level, but in the elementary schools moral and religious education taught by the home-room teacher was preferred; there was some agreement, however, that specialist consultants had a useful role in helping elementary teachers.

On some matters little consensus could be discerned in the constituency. There were different opinions on the value of the opening exercises, some wishing these retained, others not. The use of the Bible as a school text was assumed by many and demanded by some; but others thought that the Bible could not be taught without bias and that stories from the book of Genesis were outdated and caused conflict in the child's mind. A few persons stated their opinion that the label "Protestant" should be dropped, and there was objection to the use of the word "confessional" in reference to Protestant education.⁴⁴

The gathering of a consensus about the place and character of moral and religious education in Protestant public schools was of great value to the Comité protestant both in establishing policies

and strategies and, eventually, in the reformulation of its regulations. The Comité did not fail to recognize that such a poll ran the risk of reflecting only the passing moods and interests of a given period and that therefore a broad perspective had to be kept. But some changes were definitely indicated.

Stimulated by the MacKay Report in Ontario and by studies on moral development in the United States, Protestant educational authorities now developed a new interest in the place of values education in the public school. The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal appointed a commission to examine the philosophy, policies, and practices of its schools in transmitting social values. The commission reported in June 1971 with a comprehensive analysis and a keen critique of the situation in Montreal Protestant schools and with some concrete recommendations for action. Among the values identified as traditionally associated with Protestant education were the importance of the individual decision-making, the need of a sense of responsibility, respect for persons, a love of excellence, a critical capacity, openness, and delight in efficiency. The report recognized that the teaching of "subjects" was not enough, and that values were being taught implicitly and explicitly throughout the school programme. It suggested that the teaching of values be a more conscious and planned aspect of public school education and that "the habitual vision of greatness" be kept before the students. "Each school and teacher", the report further elaborated, "must avoid the posture of a preservative agent for traditional society, but must master⁴⁵ the techniques of serving as an instrument for guiding the course of change." Principals and teaching staff were reminded that every school was located in a particular sociological context and that they should receive agenda from the local community.

(4) Concern for Minorities.- In August 1967, C.W. Dickson, the sous-ministre associé de foi protestante, addressed the Comité protestant on the need "of providing legal and ethical safeguards for the people in this province who are not protected by the British North America Act."⁴⁶ Dickson declared that if action

was not taken soon there would be "further balkanization of our school system." Jews, Eastern Orthodox and others formed a high percentage (in some cases a majority) of pupils in Montreal city schools but these groups were not represented on school boards or on the Comité protestant. The regulations of 1968 had registered an awareness of the pluralistic nature of the "Protestant" population but Dickson's comments perhaps catalyzed the concern of committee members so that the whole question of the role of the Comité protestant and of Protestant education in Quebec's pluralistic society remained to the fore. There was also an increased concern for the needs of French Protestants.

In 1968, members of the Comité protestant undertook informally to compare views on the future role of that body. They discovered a wide divergence of opinions. At one extreme was a position which based itself squarely on the wording of the Loi du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation which gave a mandate to the Comité protestant to provide Christian education for the province's Protestant children; it was suggested that a different group ought, perhaps, to be given "the responsibility for the moral and religious instruction of children who are not Protestant ... but who attend schools which we recognize as Protestant."⁴⁷ Opinion at the opposite pole held that there was no overriding responsibility given the Comité protestant for any special group and that it should consider "the confessional and spiritual needs of all the non-Roman Catholic pupils attending the present Protestant and future multi-confessional schools."⁴⁸ The name of the committee, one member thought, should be changed to the "Multi-confessional Committee." Still another point of view was that the province ought to work toward having two language committees rather than two religious committees."⁴⁹ The multi-confessional interpretation of Protestant education grew in favour during the following years. The 1970 decision of the Comité protestant to ask the Conseil supérieur to provide Jewish representation on the Comité was one evidence of this.

Quebec government took several actions at this time to assure protection for minorities. Legal rights for the education of non-protestants off the Island of Montreal were provided for by Bill 27, and in 1971 Jewish rights to participate fully in the restructured school boards in Montreal were guaranteed by a special act. Bill 71, in 1972, made membership of the new Montreal school boards elective by popular vote, thus affording the minorities full opportunity for participation in school affairs at the local policy-making level. The setting up of school and parents committees, required by law from 1971, also did much to insure that minorities would be provided with the means of making themselves heard.

French Protestants were represented on the Comité protestant continuously from 1964. The Comité continued to support efforts of francophone Protestants to extend their schooling opportunities, but this work was somewhat over-shadowed in the late sixties and early seventies by strong sentiments in the English Protestant community for a school system in Quebec based on language rather than confession. French Protestants also tended to favour a confessionally "neutral" system. These positions began to lose force, however, when it became clear that there was still a strong confessional orientation among Catholics, particularly in the anglophone sector, and when the discussions in school board reorganization and the provincial language laws made it clear to Protestants that the rights guaranteed them by section 93 of the B.N.A. Act were based on confessionality rather than language or ethnic culture. A new image of Protestant education in Quebec as bilingual and as representing values traditionally honoured by the system - freedom of conscience, openness, responsibility - began to emerge. The rights and needs of French Protestants then gradually became a central issue for the Comité protestant.

D. THE COMITE PROTESTANT, 1970-1975: A NEW REGULATION AND REVISED PROGRAMMES

During the first years of the seventies there was a growing restlessness on the part of some members of the Comité protestant with the terms of the 1968 regulations. These seemed to overemphasize the Christian and Biblical dimensions of moral and religious education. The criticisms voiced by the P.A.P.T. executive in this respect were remembered.⁵⁰ The Comité found itself making decisions which appeared to contradict its own regulations. In 1970, for instance, the Comité ruled that in the secondary level course in moral and religious instruction only two of the three units (Biblical, historical and ethical) need be chosen for academic credit toward the school leaving examinations. The regulations made Biblical study normative. Then, too, the opinions gathered from the Protestant constituency at this time indicated that teachers and parents wanted the schools to emphasize general social values and moral development rather than anything which might be construed as denominational. Courses in moral and religious education were to be experiential and inductive in nature, and not to promote a "laid-on" content. The old regulations, it now seemed to many, corresponded poorly both with the Protestant public's view of education and with the Comité's own consensus.

In 1971, the Comité protestant struck a sub-committee to begin revising the regulations. The sub-committee recommended that in the new regulations the Bible be regarded as a "basic reference, but ... not the only reference."⁵¹ This would allow schools to treat the study of the Bible as an optional subject. Certain members of the Comité strongly disagreed with this proposal; they maintained that the Comité "should not merely reflect the practice of many schools, but should set forth regulations indicating what ought to be done."⁵² An impasse was reached which for a time prevented any decision being made on the matter. The Comité realized that another issue had first to be resolved. The Research Sub-Committee was asked to study "the essential nature" of Protestant education and of the Protestant

school and to bring in a report. This group took more than a year to complete its task. The Sub-Committee on Regulations and the Research Sub-Committee continued the work of drafting new regulations, but it was not until early 1974 that the Comité protestant was ready to submit proposals for these to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. The regulation of 1975 must be interpreted in the light of the Comité's struggles in 1972 and 1973 to clarify its mandate.

(1) The Meaning of Protestant in Quebec Education.-
The first issue to be resolved by the Research Sub-Committee as it began its work in February 1972 was expressed by one of its members thus:

What is a Protestant School? In the near future, parents are likely to be confronted by the necessity to choose among Catholic, Protestant and 'neutral' schools for their children ...
[but] the differences in the kind of education to be offered have not been defined adequately to make considered choice feasible.⁵³

Should Protestant education in Quebec develop in a direction of explicitly Protestant purposes and values, allowing Jews and others to opt for a non-confessional system? Proponents of the latter course argued that "since it is not being pleaded that Protestants have an exclusive point of view - only that we have one,"⁵⁴ the principles underlying the Protestant school system might actually differ very little from those put forward by supporters of neutral schools. But what were "the principles underlying the Protestant school system"?

The discussions of the Research Sub-Committee were intensive. Though a legal definition of a Protestant school was settled on,⁵⁵ the sub-committee was unable to agree on a description of the essential character of a Protestant school

or of Protestant education. Instead, members discerned among themselves (and by presumption in the "Protestant" community generally, though no survey was taken there) three different and rather incompatible viewpoints.

Those of the "Reformation" position held a more explicit Protestantism in the schools to be desirable. They maintained "the belief that study of the Bible and of religion is essential at all stages of education on both cultural and spiritual grounds and that ideally all subjects should be taught from a Christian, though not a sectarian, point of view."⁵⁶ The Comité protestant must ensure a Protestant confessionality, though Protestant schools would not exclude persons of other persuasions who wished to join Protestants for educational purposes.

Advocates of the position called, variously, "Liberal," "Moderate," and "Multi-confessional" argued that the Protestant system had by evolution become multi-confessional and that the Comité protestant had "a legal responsibility to provide confessional public education based on the Judaeo-Christian culture, in a spirit of free inquiry and respect for differing opinions."⁵⁷ Protestant schools should recognize "man's place in the mystery of Creation and the universality of his search for God,"⁵⁸ but the explicit nature and extent of confessional education should be determined by local conditions.

Representatives of the "Post-Christian" or "Humanist" position proposed for Protestant education a neutral or non-confessional orientation with no presence of confessional ties in any direction. Moral and religious education might be given, but no topic should be considered unsuitable for discussion in schools. It was held by some proponents of this position that "openness to ultimacy in both cultural and individual activities is the true spirit of Protestantism,"⁵⁹ and that this value should characterize the system, but that it need not be labelled "Protestant."

The Research Sub-Committee failed to reach an agreement upon the definition of the Protestant school and of Protestant education, but a practical spirit now came to the fore which revealed the strength of the moderate, or least ideological position among those advocated. Labels, it was said, were not as important as "how religion should be taught."⁶⁰ It was more useful "to consider how the Protestant Committee can be more effective within the Quebec system than to be concerned with definitions."⁶¹ Some members had held all along that since "it might be difficult to define such a school in a way that would satisfy either traditional Protestants or present legal requirements, ... it might be preferable to retain a fairly traditional definition and to trust a desirable evolution to continue."⁶² The Research Sub-Committee completed this phase of its work by composing a preamble and statement of aims which the parent committee agreed to incorporate in its draft proposal for the new regulations. This preamble, most of which disappeared from the final version of 1975, read, in part, as follows:

For many years, public education in Quebec has been organized along confessional lines. Whether or not the present basis of school organization is altered in the future, Quebec will probably continue to have "Catholic" schools administered by school boards elected by Roman Catholic citizens; and schools designated as "Protestant" administered by school boards elected by citizens who are not Roman Catholic It is within such a structure that Protestant schools must be defined.⁶³

The statement of aims, which was retained in the Regulation, referred to values such as openness to "the testing of new ideas"; respect for the religious convictions of parents whose children attend Protestant schools"; and the "fullest development of personality and an awareness of human worth." Moral and religious education was to be "based upon sound educational principles" and "related to life and experience." The fifth aim listed for

Protestant education was ... to transmit, as objectively as possible, the full range of its cultural heritage, including the inter-relationships of Judaeo-Christian faith, Graeco-Roman civilization and scientific technological thought.⁶⁴

(2) Towards Clarifying the Regulations.- The discussions of the Regulations Sub-Committee and the Research Sub-Committee in 1973 on the revision of the regulations were wide-ranging. The knottiest problems were (a) how to reach agreement on the essential content of the moral and religious instruction to be authorized for Protestant schools; (b) how to refer appropriately to Protestant "denominational" education; and (c) to decide whether moral and religious instruction would be compulsory or optional for pupils.

The resolutions reached from these discussions reflected the attempt of the committee to promote the idea of Protestant education as broad enough to serve its contemporary constituency and yet sufficiently true to its tradition to retain a recognizably Protestant character.

(a) The Research Sub-Committee's recommendation on the content of religious and moral instruction sought to retain the study of the Bible as integral to Protestant education while providing a loop-hole for schools and pupils to choose an alternative. The draft of the relevant clause as it stood in September, 1973 read:

Sec. 2 Courses shall be offered in Biblical knowledge, based on passages selected from either or both the Old and New Testaments.

Sec. 3 There shall be established courses specifically approved by the Protestant Committee which may be additional or alternative to the courses mentioned in Sec. 2. The fields of study may include world religions, philosophy

or ethics, personality development, human relationships, and social problems.⁶⁵

The commentary on section two asserted:

A knowledge of the Bible is basic to the Protestant tradition.

But the regulation as finally published reduced somewhat the imperative tone of the clause relating to Bible study:

Sec. 9 Moral and religious instruction shall include:

- (a) courses of Bible study based on passages selected from the Old or New Testaments, or both; or
- (b) courses of study dealing with world religions, philosophy or ethics, personal development, human relations and social problems;
- (c) or both.⁶⁶

The suggested sentence for the "commentary" has been retained.

Though there is in the current regulation of the Comité protestant a degree of optionality with respect to the study of the Bible (but this is ambiguous since any approved course of a moral or religious nature in Protestant schools would not easily be able to avoid a Biblical component or reference) there is none with respect to the study of religion. Moral and religious instruction are linked in the Regulation so that the consideration of religious questions in some form is required. This change of focus from "the Bible" to "religion" is reflected also in the stated aim of moral and religious instruction in Protestant schools which is "the growth of a moral and spiritual interpretation of life."⁶⁷ The clause referring to the Bible in the older

formulae is omitted. The new orientation is amplified in a section of the Regulation which reads:

The institution shall pay particular attention to the quality of moral and religious instruction in order to develop in the pupil a growing awareness of moral and religious values, the broadening of his socio-spiritual culture and experience and regard for the pupil's personal development in faith and religion.⁶⁸

The tone of the Regulation is such that the possibility of joint Catholic-Protestant moral and religious instruction is not excluded and several schools have taken advantage of the permission thus given. There seems to have been little pressure to retain the requirement respecting Bible reading at the opening exercises of each school day. The number of secondary schools having joint classes for Catholics and Protestants made the rule archaic at least at the high school level.

(b) Since 1888 the regulations of the Protestant Committee had, in one form or another, included a stipulation that no denominational teaching might be given in Protestant schools. The rule preserved children against any attempt a teacher might make to influence pupils in favour of a particular denomination or religious movement. The role of the school with respect to moral and religious education was thus carefully distinguished from that of the home and religious community: the school assisted children in obtaining a knowledge of the Bible from which all Protestants drew inspiration and which represented values and a literature important in civilized society; the home and religious community afforded intimate contexts appropriate for the development of faith and religious commitment. Moral and religious instruction in Protestant schools was thus sometimes termed, "non-denominational" and therefore not considered parallel in aim to that given in Catholic schools.

But this formula appeared to some in the early 1970's to have become archaic. Did not Protestantism, even at its most general level, now represent, in an increasingly secular age, a particular or denominational religious option? Was it logical to say that denominational teaching should be disallowed when Protestant schools necessarily approved certain values and disapproved others? Even the presumed "neutral" position affirmed certain values and options and thereby denied others. Some asked, too, whether the old rule made sense in the light of the new concept of moral and religious education which, far from ignoring religious differences, sought to help students understand and appreciate the rich diversity of man's thinking about matters of faith and life's meaning, and to provide them with resources for reflection. The rule against denominational teaching seemed, also, to offer unwelcome grounds for questioning the use of after-school hours for denominational instruction valued by some Jewish and Orthodox groups.

Because of these difficulties, the Comité protestant decided that it would not include in the new regulations the questioned clause in its old form. The real purpose of the ban against denominational teaching was to discourage indoctrination, or the induction of pupils into religious views by the influence of authority as opposed to teaching which cultivated the spirit of inquiry, reflective criticism, and free decision-making. The Comité therefore placed a modifying clause in the description of the purpose of moral and religious instruction which reads in the Regulation: "... and not the indoctrination of pupils with a denominational point of view."⁶⁹ The commentary on the passage affirms that Protestant education is directed toward the development of the free mind and is therefore inherently opposed to indoctrination in the public school:

At all stages the instruction shall recognize the Protestant tradition which upholds the individual's right to question, to consider, and to reach his own understanding of religious teachings.

Protestant schools in Quebec have never been confessional in the sense of being the instrument for inculcating a sectarian view or indoctrinating their pupils by denominational teaching. The Committee re-affirms its belief in this principle.⁷⁰

The ambiguity in the meanings of the words "indoctrination" and "denominational" appears to allow for inquiry into, and discussion of, particular religious teachings as long as these are treated objectively and are free of any intent to induce in pupils a commitment to specific religious or ideological options other than the general acceptance of the right of free inquiry.

(c) Should moral and religious instruction be compulsory? The Comité protestant accepted the recommendations of its Sub-Committee on Regulations that every Protestant school should offer moral and religious instruction and that pupils should normally be expected to take yearly courses in the subject. The conscience clause was retained, giving pupils and teachers the possibility of exemption on conscientious grounds. Acceptance of the compulsory principle by the Comité was a defeat for those members who would have preferred an "opting in" rather than the "opting out" provision in the Regulation. Would not individual pupils make better progress if freedom rather than law were appealed to? Did not the "opting out" principle penalize the dissident by making him or her appear abnormal? Was it not basically unjust to compel pupils to study matters of such importance from a teacher whose opinions and attitudes on religious questions might be antithetical to the pupil's faith as learned at home? Were not the principles of Baptists and others who held to views of the importance of the separation of church and state being compromised by the compulsory principle? The Comité admitted the force of these arguments, but there were also strong grounds for the implementation of compulsory moral and religious education. Was not religious information and the opportunity to reflect upon life's great questions, sometimes called "religious," as important to the life of the citizen as arithmetic or history? Was it not impossible for any person to offer critical social judgments or to participate

at any depth in responsible citizenship without some understanding of the place of religion in the making of our culture? Options might be provided within the programme in moral and religious instruction, but the pupil's right to religious knowledge as a part of his general education should not be made vulnerable to personal whims which might be regretted later.

The Regulation of 1975 does, however, provide some flexibility in relation to the compulsory principle. While schools not meeting the requirements of the regulation are subject to having their "recognition" as Protestant schools revoked, yet the Comité may also recognize schools that do not entirely satisfy the requirements. The commentary notes:

It is not the purpose of this Regulation to prevent a school from being recognized as Protestant if it so desires. The Protestant Committee is prepared to discuss with the authorities of any school ways in which it may comply with this Regulation.⁷¹

The necessity for according a high degree of freedom to teachers was never in doubt in the discussions of the sub-committees of the Comité protestant as a whole. The Regulation requires that "every teacher shall respect the nature of a Protestant school,"⁷² and school boards are urged to engage "competent teaching personnel"⁷³ for moral and religious instruction, but the commentary asserts that "it is clearly understood that personal and professional qualifications should be considered as important as confessional status."⁷⁴

(3) New Curricula in Moral and Religious Instruction. - The Regulation was approved by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council September, 1975. At this time the programmes of moral and religious instruction authorized for use in Protestant schools included: the syllabus of Bible readings for elementary schools

as published in the 1965 Teachers' Handbook (the syllabus was revised and reprinted in 1972); the elementary school programme created by the Comité protestant in 1969; the course guidelines for secondary schools, Personality Development: Moral and Religious Instruction, approved by the Comité in 1968. Certain high schools also gave credit courses in ethics. The policy of the Comité and of the Service de l'enseignement protestant of the ministère de l'Education in these years was devoted to encouraging schools to develop their own programmes geared to local needs and resources but within the broad outlines indicated by the regulations. Chateauguay Valley Regional in Ormstown, Howard S. Billings in Chateauguay, Massey-Vanier in Cowansville, Richmond, Alexander Galt in Lennoxville, the Lakeshore Regional Board, and others developed more or less successful secondary level programmes. The P.S.B.G.M.'s "Human Awareness" programme, offered as the moral education component in its "Family Living" courses, aimed to "look at life" and "discuss burning issues" in a non-authoritarian and unstructured setting in which there were no attempts to avoid disagreements and in which the spirit of competition was not engendered.⁷⁵ The programme proved useful in some Montreal secondary schools. But no academic credit was possible. More than 1500 students in Protestant secondary schools in the province were, however, registered in credit courses in moral and religious instruction in 1974.

But as the seventies unfolded it became apparent that a more coherent and systematic approach to moral and religious education in the schools was required. The "Moral and Social Development" programmes proved difficult to sustain over the long term. Great demands were placed on the teacher, and since these courses were non-credit, much depended on gearing the content to current interests and fads. Students themselves were said to equate M.S.D. with "more sex and drugs." Many teachers, pupils, parents, and principals questioned the value of the programmes. And in keeping with the changed mood of the seventies there was a popular demand for more structured programmes, for greater teacher direction, and for the teaching of basic and traditional values. Raymond Jensen's interpretation of the situation is probably accurate:

The pragmatic approach was sufficient when there was a consensus between home, school and the community at large. This was no longer true in either the moral or religious dimensions. For that reason, a much more didactic or academic approach to M.R.I. had to be taken.⁷⁶

But the "non-confessional" approach in moral education, advocated by some American and Canadian educationalists, appeared shallow in that the sources of values in religion and in myth were not sufficiently recognized. The temptation appeared great in such courses to satisfy all parties by refusing to deal with religious differences, thus implicitly teaching that the religious quest is unimportant or undiscussable in the education of the citizen. What was needed, the Comité protestant began to see, was an "ecumenical"⁷⁷ approach to the subject, which would deal frankly and objectively with the similarities and differences of religious belief espoused by various groups represented in Protestant schools. The emphasis was to be on giving accurate information about religions, helping pupils develop an appreciation for the religious sources of their own and others' culture, and in raising for discussion and inquiry questions of life's purpose and of ethical concern.

The Service de l'enseignement protestant began to work on creating new curricula even before the new regulation was approved. A Curriculum Co-ordinating Committee, composed of members of the Service (which had managed to obtain staff in addition to Jensen), several school and university teachers, and a representative of the Comité protestant, worked first on a new elementary programme and then on one for secondary schools. Both were approved by the Comité protestant and released for experimental use in the schools in 1975 and 1976.⁷⁸

E. THE COMITE PROTESTANT, 1970-1979: OTHER ISSUES

A survey of the other aspects of the work of the Comité protestant in the seventies affords us indications of the directions sought and values espoused by the Comité as it seeks to do its part in helping Protestant education to find its place in the new Quebec. The scope of this study requires, however, that we do little more than list some of the Comité's activities.

The duties of the Comité protestant include those that have been specifically given it by the law of the province and those which it has assumed by its own decision in the light of its general mandate for moral and religious education in Protestant schools. They may be listed as follows:

1. The granting of recognition to Protestant schools on the basis of the Regulation: in view of projected legislation which will require that individual schools make a decision as to their confessional status, the Comité is giving thought to the process by which this decision will be made and to its own role in the process;
2. The ratifying of ententes between Catholic and Protestant school boards, particularly as to provisions for the confessional dimension of schooling: the Service de l'enseignement protestant has the responsibility of seeing that such provisions are included in the agreements;
3. Approving or disapproving from a moral and religious point of view the books and other educational materials projected for use in schools: the Comité has issued the booklet, "What is 'Acceptable'?"⁷⁹ which offers guidelines for the choice of such materials;

4. The critiquing of draft legislation and submission of opinions to the Conseil supérieur or the ministère de l'Éducation on these and other matters: the Comité has made official comments on Bills 62, 27, 28, 71, 22, 50, and 101 among those to which reference has been made in this study.

5. The researching of subjects bearing upon the moral and religious dimension of education: the Comité has sponsored investigations into the state, place, and future of small schools in the province, and into the schooling opportunities of French Protestants in areas of the province off the Island of Montreal; communication has been developed with religious, ethnic, linguistic, and other minority groups which use Protestant schools and also with school and parent committees and other organizations in both the anglophone and francophone sectors of the population; special attention has also been given to understanding the place and future of Protestant education in Quebec; to this end, Alan Jones' "The Protestant Fact in Quebec Education"⁸⁰ and the present work have been undertaken.

6. The visiting of schools to meet teachers, students, parents and principals with reference to the development of moral and religious instruction in the schools: the Comité has continued to hold its meetings at centres and schools in many areas of the province thus providing an opportunity for information gathering and dissemination and support for M.R.I. teachers; teams of Comité protestant members have for a number of years visited schools and classrooms when M.R.I. classes have been in session, and have been able to obtain realistic perspectives on the opportunities and the problems facing M.R.I. teachers.

7. The raising of standards in the teaching of moral and religious education: regular conferences and workshops for teachers at both the elementary and secondary school levels were for some years sponsored by the Comité protestant and the Service de l'enseignement protestant; lately, there have been summer training courses at Bishop's sponsored by the Service to

supplement the programmes of teacher education in the subject regularly given by the McGill Faculty of Education, Concordia, and Bishop's; the Comité has continued to advocate the appointment of M.R.I. co-ordinators and other regional support for local programming; the Service de l'enseignement protestant, in addition to assisting the Comité in the programmes mentioned, gives supervision to M.R.I. teaching personnel, sponsors the writing of teachers' guidebooks and other resources, and must give approval to the M.R.I. examinations given in credit courses throughout the province.

8. The upholding of Protestant confessional rights: the Comité has acted as a "watch-dog" on the confessional rights of the native populations of Nouveau Quebec and of Protestants in isolated communities; the same responsibility is exerted in the Comité's critiques of provincial educational legislation.

Several specific criticisms of educational programmes and policy documents developed by the ministère de l'Education and of proposed government legislation were made by the Comité protestant. Some of these will be listed here to indicate the distinctive values which the Comité believes must be upheld in Protestant education:

1. A programme of "Personal, Family, Civic and Economic Education" (in 1972-73) was proposed for all schools by the Ministère. The Comité was concerned that the course overlapped the content area assigned to moral and religious education. In the judgment of the Comité the programme reflected a "consensus morality"⁸¹ with an implicit value-base which did not correspond to Protestant (or Catholic) views of man's spiritual nature and needs. Yet there was no provision for students to opt out of the course on conscientious grounds. Dialogue between the department and the confessional committees ensued and some mutually-acceptable terms were agreed upon to allow the use of the programme on an experimental basis for one year. The Ministère's

"formation personnelle et sociale" programme (1975-76) also seemed to conflict with Protestant M.R.I. and was not approved for use in Protestant schools.

2. The study of the Ministère's other courses in family life and sex education led the Comité to formulate a policy that this aspect of education should be given only in close relation to the consideration of moral and spiritual values, and that it should be an integral part of the M.R.I. programme at each level of the child's public school education.⁸²

3. A document, Le Conseiller en éducation chrétienne et l'Animateur de pastorale was sent to Protestant as well as to Catholic schools without consultation with the Comité protestant. The Comité found that the document represented a distinctly un-Protestant approach to the role of religious personnel in the schools. Particular objections were made to references which assigned religious authorities a role within public school education in nurturing pupils' and teachers' spiritual life.⁸³ The Research Sub-Committee was given the task of proposing revisions to the document to make it applicable to Protestant schools. This process eventually afforded the Comité an opportunity to re-assert its own policy that two separate services were needed by schools: those of chaplains and of Protestant education consultants. Chaplains, drawn on a rotating denominational basis from local clergy would in each school represent churches at school functions, act as liaison between the school and the churches, and be available to staff and students for consultation. M.R.I. consultants, accountable to Directors-General, would serve at the regional level. Both these positions were regarded as distinct from that of the M.R.I. teacher.

4. Asked advice about the policy to be pursued by the Ministère with respect to a proposed "dossier of cumulative records" containing data about each student's ability and performance, the Comité advocated that care be taken to preserve

privacy and a respect for the personal rights in the case of material which might later be used to discriminate against the student.⁸⁴

5. In a brief to the ministre de l'Education in October 1974 approving a policy of decentralization of the ministère's authority, the Comité referred, in particular, to the testing and examination practices in use which seemed to them to "strait-jacket" evaluative processes in schools. The Comité recommended that the Service de mesures et d'évaluation (SEMEV) "be moved out of the area of student assessment so as to enable it to concentrate on providing testing and evaluation instruments for teachers as well as workshops for teachers on evaluation techniques ... and ... that SEMEV should direct its attention immediately to the development of a system for the accreditation of schools."⁸⁵ In this way more authority for testing and evaluation of students would be given local schools. The Comité's response to a 1976 document of the ministère suggesting moves toward decentralization noted that the Protestant tradition favoured individual and local responsibility.⁸⁶

6. The Quebec language laws of 1974 (Bill 22) and 1977 (Bill 101, later "101") also brought criticism from the Comité. The language of Bill 22 seemed to "create the illusion that school boards are organized on a language basis rather than a confessional one," and ignored the fact that "Protestant education cuts across linguistic divisions."⁸⁷ The testing of young children as to their language ability, instituted by the terms of the bill as a measure to force non-anglophones to attend francophone schools was viewed as possibly "an odious and inequitable process infringing upon the human rights of children." The Comité "wholeheartedly supported "the aspirations of the French majority to ensure the priority of the French language," but thought that English also had "a special status which must be recognized."⁸⁸ Following the passage of Bill 22 the Comité protestant found it necessary to put pressure on the government to include French Protestant schools among those selected to offer "classes d'accueil" to immigrant

children, and continued to protest the identification of Protestant schools indiscriminately with the English language. Bill 101 was thought by most committee members to discriminate against anglophones in that English-speaking Canadians and others moving to Quebec were required, with some exceptions, to educate their children in French-language schools.⁸⁹ The principle of freedom of choice in education was involved. The opinions of the Comité were made known to the ministre de l'Education. Sylvester F. White, sous-ministre associé de foi protestante, resigned his position in protest of this government policy.

By 1979 it had become clear that enrolment in English-language Protestant schools in Quebec was rapidly declining. This was largely due to the declining birth rate, general in the province and the country, but the anglophone exodus from Quebec in the late seventies and the discouragement to anglophone immigration presented by the language law also contributed. French Protestant schools have increased their student numbers.

The educational reforms proposed by the government in its "Plan d'action" published in 1979 have been received by Protestant educators with interest and, in certain respects, with enthusiasm. But the descriptions of non-confessional education in L'Ecole québécoise: Enoncé de politique et plan d'action⁹⁰ and the prospect that schools will be encouraged to apply for non-confessional status raise puzzling problems for the committee. Since Protestant schools emphasize an objective approach to moral and religious education, and their value system, though derived from Protestant roots, does not differ from those expected of responsible citizens in a democratic society, it is difficult to distinguish the description of the Protestant school given in the document from some of the categories supposed to be non-confessional. The Comité protestant maintains that no person is adequately educated who does not have some understanding of the relation between values and the basic questions of life (which religions past and present have addressed) and acquaintance with the religious references which are inextricably bound up with our history and culture. But few

non-confessional" approaches would now disagree with this position. The danger is, however, that schools may be tempted to choose a cheaper but more superficial education for their children for want of carefully considering the importance of attention to values in the school. The Comité protestant's comments to the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation on "the state and needs of the Protestant school," made August 30, 1977, do not yet appear to have been taken seriously enough. The Comité wrote at that time:

Le Comité protestant signale que l'école protestante est multiconfessionnelle. Il ne désire pas apparaître le défenseur de l'école pour les autres... et remarque qu'il aurait beaucoup de difficulté à maintenir des écoles pour les autres: la mise en ghettos des minorités; le fardeau d'administration de telles écoles; l'immobilité du personnel et le manque d'opportunité pour l'avancement dans la carrière; etc. Il fait remarquer aussi que les défenseurs des écoles pour les autres ne font pas de distinction entre les gens qui désirent des écoles confessionnelles et ceux qui désirent des écoles neutres. Le Comité protestant est d'avis que c'est un système comme le système actuel qui est requis.⁹¹

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE CHALLENGE OF THE FUTURE

Protestant education in Quebec faces important tasks in the years ahead. The society in which its purposes and values were shaped has largely disappeared and has been replaced by one which does not subscribe to all its predecessor's assumptions; yet many of the principles and attitudes enshrined in the old Protestant education need re-emphasis today - that is, if we are to honour still the love of truth, the sense of responsibility to self and others, and respect for persons which have been fundamental ideals in western civilization in the past.

Is it not, then, time for "stock-taking" in Protestant schools, especially with respect to the moral and religious dimension of the education they offer? All of us - educators, parents, citizens generally - who have a heritage in Protestant education may benefit from a study of our roots. If, at the same time, we are able to feel our way into some understanding of the emerging new society we may draw inspiration from both past and future and achieve the depth of perspective necessary to re-assess our resources, clarify goals, and develop strategies more closely aligned with our aims. Protestant education cannot help but be enriched by honest inquiry and frank exchange of points of view even if points of agreement turn out to be few. At least we may achieve a firmer sense of who we are and arrive at some consensus about future directions.

The character of Protestant education's traditional constituency in Quebec re-inforces the need for an increased intentionality about educational purposes. Protestants and Jews who have believed that the future can be shaped to a considerable extent through today's decisions and that one generation holds a responsibility for the next will not likely be happy to allow their schools to drift only with the current of the times. But such an endeavour needs leadership from persons who can make it a personal priority and who will pursue the task with a degree of wisdom and with passion.

Any review of Quebec Protestant education should be undertaken, however, in full view of the changes in society which

the future seems to promise. The list of these which follows is far from exhaustive; but it suggests a few of the developments being forecast and some of the questions they can raise.

1. Increasing Pluralism. - Quebec Protestant public schools of both the French and English language will probably serve an increasingly diverse ethnic and religious constituency. Pupils will bring to school a variety of value systems and behaviour patterns formed in accordance with the teachings in their home and communities. These young persons will be subject to pressure from peers to conform to the prevailing social norms of their age-group. The challenge for Protestant educators is how to teach and enforce the moral standards which are deemed necessary for healthy functioning in society, and at the same time help pupils honor differences and make independent decisions. Or putting the question another way, how can teachers assist pupils to own their heritage and appreciate that of others in such a way that as individuals and groups they may integrate creatively in the larger society without having to assimilate to the majority or to be on the defensive about their "differences"?
2. Greater Dependence upon Technology. - Many forecasters of the future assert that new technologies will play an ever-expanding role in shaping the character of society, for instance in new modes of production and distribution of goods and in systems of communication. Special knowledge and skills may give an elite inordinate power over the masses and those who own and manage the apparatus of technology may assume a determinative position in world decision-making. As a consequence of the changed environment fostered by technological advances there may also be expected alterations in the mental models which are used to order thought and expressions; for instance, some young people even today find electrical terms far more convenient than mechanical ones in understanding and describing "the nature of things". In the light of such developments strategies for teaching and learning will need

reshaping. More generally, Protestant educators will have to ask how the new generation can be helped to own the advances of technology and at the same time be made aware of its dangers - depersonalization, the victimization of the weak, the dependence of the many upon the few whose moral vision may not match their expertise?

3. Decreasing Importance of Nationalities. - The economies of the world's peoples will be influenced increasingly by the needs and desires of trans-national corporations. National boundaries may become quite permeable, and linguistic or cultural differences will figure less importantly as barriers to communication. Tensions between rival ideologies and social classes may create alignments which completely ignore national considerations so that the latter will serve less and less as a focus for idealistic causes. Territorial wars may be abandoned but "guerilla-type" aggression become normal. But also, people's view of the extent of the physical universe may be enlarged through space exploration. Schools may be challenged to help the young achieve a sense of responsibility for an expanded universe and a more complex society.
4. Greater Pressure to Share Resources. - Third world countries rapidly throwing off the last vestiges of colonialist mentality, will increase their demands for a juster share of the world's wealth. But there will also be the growing awareness that natural resources are limited and that some of them are capable of being exhausted within the lifetime of the current generation. An economy built on scarcity may take the place of one that assumes abundance. An increased value may be placed upon qualitative or intangible goods such as music, drama and the other arts. New questions as to the meaning and purposes of living and what is "right" and "wrong" will be asked. The old Protestant ideals of self-reliance and individual freedom sometimes contrasted to the

"blind obedience" which Protestants used to believe was taught in Catholic schools will perhaps be viewed in a different context. The right of the world's peoples to share resources, to consult with one another, to make decisions on a broad consensus may make it important for schools to teach the ideals and skills of a model of social responsibility which will foster neither uncritical dependence or selfish independence but aim at intelligent and creative "interdependence" of persons and peoples.

5. Increasing Ambiguity as a Context of Decision-Making - The demand of young people for informality and honesty both in the personal and public spheres (something which is sometimes mistakenly termed "lack of respect" by the older generation), will not be withdrawn in a future society which aims at "openness" and interdependence. The gap between human ideals and their practice, which Protestants have traditionally regarded as a fact of the human condition will be more noticeable than ever. Schools will have the responsibility of helping young people work creatively with the tension between "what ought to be" and "what is" and make practical judgements in a world in which the perfect is not attainable and where "right" and "wrong", "good" and "bad" are seldom clear-cut.
6. Profound Questionings of Basic Assumptions. - The theories and practices now operative in public education in the western world will be increasingly challenged in the future. Humanists will find fresh reasons to ask whether true education can ever be conducted "en masse" in programmes which run the risk of penalizing the child who departs from the statistical norm - the fast learner, the slow learner, the eccentric, the rich, the poor, the newcomer. Ideologues will accuse public education of being wishy-washy and of failing to teach the "right" concepts and values. Radical socialists will claim that schools mirror the facile view of human progress characteristic of the middle class and that their relevance as agents of change is thus limited.

Protestant educators ought neither to disregard these criticisms nor to be overawed by them. The important thing is to be willing to engage in a serious rethinking of the purposes of education for the world of the 1980's and '90's.

These predictions of change imminent or more distant raise challenges for educators everywhere. But education in Quebec has also a special context to consider. The "Protestants" served by Protestant schools are in a minority position number-wise and increasingly as to political and social power. They cannot expect that their views will be accepted and their requests granted when these conflict with the policies of the majority. The Protestant constituency may in time include a plurality of those whose first language is French; but the dominant religious and cultural heritage of Quebec has stemmed from a Roman Catholicism which has had a different view of the nature and purpose of public education than those which prevailed in the other Canadian provinces. Catholic schools may teach explicitly and exclusively Catholic points of view as normative for their pupils, and, though increasing pluralism makes this difficult, they may seek to promote a Catholic environment. Protestants have learned to respect such education as a legitimate option for Quebecers.

It is true that Quebec has become more and more secular in its orientation in recent decades. The demand for secular or "neutral" schools is growing. Protestant educators may be tempted to reassert that "Protestant" schools offer a ready-made answer to the needs of the general public in offering secular education as an alternative to Catholic education. After all, the secular systems in the other Canadian provinces and in the United States may be said to have developed largely from Protestant presuppositions about the character of public school education. But such an understanding of the role of Protestant education in Quebec should not be assumed without a careful evaluation of the history of education in the province and its social context. Historians have noted the definite authority-dependent

relationship fostered by the Catholic Church among its people in Quebec. Protestant sects of a certain stripe have done the same. It may be asked whether secular consciousness in Quebec (and elsewhere) displays genuine freedom or whether it is characterized still by a longing for certainty and security which might easily be satisfied by a demagogic political authority - a new dependence. Thus the expectations placed upon public education in a recently secularized society may be rather different from those conditioned by a Protestant past. The former is apt to understand itself as "anti-religious" - as opposed to "superstitions" and to teachings and behaviour thought to be laid on by an authoritarian church. Protestant cultures have in general assumed the right of individual conscience to explore and affirm the truth it discovers and have refused to allow particular religious institutions to use public schooling to promote sectarian interests; therefore, the public schools in the United States, for instance, while refusing church control have traditionally respected "religion" as a legitimate concern of their constituencies. Moreover, the experience of pluralism (which it had in its denominationalism) has taught Protestant cultures that persons are always seeking beliefs and a code of behavior as an answer to the search for identity and meaning (whether these are thought of as "religious" or not) and that the more important issue is whether pupils are taught the responsibility of criticizing their own values and that of their society in the light of new perceptions of truth.

Quebec society will be poorly served then, if Protestant schools understand themselves only negatively - as offering a secular or non-religious option to Catholic education. The value content that "secularism" espouses is diverse and ambiguous and if left uncriticized may be positively demonic. A far more creative stance for Protestant schools would be that they recapture and re-evaluate their heritage and achieve greater intentionality about the values they would have their pupils learn.

Schools and school systems, like persons, exhibit a character shaped by past events and past decisions. If Protestant

education is to discover where it ought to go it must assess how far it has come. How have Protestant schools viewed their task in the past? What values have they represented and taught? What learnings have been gleaned from their struggles? The foregoing chapters are meant as a contribution to this task of self-understanding. It is, of course, not presumed that history offers any blueprint for future action. The programmes, strategies and dominant values of the past developed in a particular context and in response to situations which are no longer wholly ours. An analysis of how and why they grew up gives historical self-understanding, and should mature our judgements, but does not afford us neat answers about how we should now proceed. What we ought to look for in the history of Protestant education is the vision of education that captured our forefathers and the spirit which animated their endeavours, for these made possible the unique contribution to Quebec of Protestant education in the past. They may, perhaps, give it direction in the future.

Protestant education in Quebec and elsewhere owed much of its character to a certain vision of truth which was held by Protestants. Truth, it was held, emanated from a "living" God and could be recognised only in personal relation to Him. One might be addressed by the truth but there was no question of possessing it. Truth, because personal, always escaped any attempt of the human mind to encapsulate it. This meant that no single idea or system of ideas, no code of behaviour, no human organization could pretend infallibility. And indeed there was an inveterate tendency in human nature, Protestants believed, for man to idolize his own creations and to mistake the transient form for the ultimate reality. This "Protestant principle" gave to Protestant education an openness to new truth, and a delight in experimentation, and provided one of the fundamental purposes of education that of teaching the necessity of a healthy criticism of every human idea or institution. Neither the church nor the state nor any ideology was to assume that it had the right or the wisdom to finally determine what was to be believed or done. It was the responsibility of the individual to consult personal conscience informed by God's word in Scripture

and to act in accordance with its light. Further, the seeker was to remain open to any new truth which the Spirit of God might reveal.

The Protestant vision of truth was filled with a sense of wonder at the mystery and magnificence of creation and at God's wisdom and love. Wonder contained both awe and joy. In the face of that which is greater, the individual was made humble and ready to learn; but one was also lured to reach out toward it, to touch and explore. Moreover, the experience of God's greatness compelled a sharing. The whole world must know of the wholeness glimpsed and be healed by the knowledge of it. Protestant teachings about the meaning of personal and social wholeness centered on the person of Jesus Christ. These evangelical doctrines came to be interpreted differently by the various denominations which grew up in the Protestant world.

As mass public education developed in the nineteenth century and as the form of church-state relations in many Protestant countries changed with the diversification of Protestant thought and institutions, it became clear to many that freedom of conscience in a pluralist society entailed a discrimination of the powers of the Church and of Civil authority with respect to the teaching in public schools. The particular evangelical teachings of religious institutions must be left to homes and the faith-community. But schools must teach the general moral and religious values which were held to be necessary for the public good.

For Protestants in Quebec this meant that Protestant schools ought to communicate the Protestant vision of truth which encompassed both a critical spirit and a sense of wonder. The younger generation must be taught that they and the whole human race were accountable to truth and that the search for it (the pursuit of excellence!) constituted the meaning and dynamic of societies and of individual life. The values which the Protestant view of truth engendered: responsibility for self and others, respect for that which is good and beautiful, openness

to the new, the love of adventure and exploration - cannot be said to be peculiar to Protestants, but Protestant education gave them such a high priority that it must be admitted that it has made a unique and specific contribution to Western Civilization and to the growth of democratic ideals.

An inescapable corollary of the Protestant view of truth, which has profound implications for any theory of education is the assumption that moral teaching cannot be finally separated from an inquiry into meanings since values are relative to whatever the ultimate commitments of the individual or the society may be.

Protestant education in Quebec has given expression to these fundamental purposes - that of encouraging in the young the spirit of criticism and the spirit of wonder - in explicit programmes of moral and religious education in which students are given a basis for thinking about ultimate meanings and about their own values, and in its general philosophy of education. This call for a time of reassessment is made in the belief that the Protestant education must now again ask some basic questions about itself: What values are we communicating? What do we want to teach? How can it be learned? What will be our contribution to the New Quebec society?

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1. The Educational Record of the Province of Quebec, Vol. X, No. 12, (December, 1890), pp. 312-313.
2. The Journal of Education for the Province of Quebec, Vol. XII, Nos 8 & 9 (Aug-Sept, 1868), pp. 126-127. The quote is from a précis of Hon. Mr. Chauveau's address to the Fifth Annual Convention of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of the Province of Quebec.
3. See John Knox, An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759 and 1760 (London: 1769), Vol. 11, p. 168 for a reference to a church service at which Huguenots were present. Also: H.H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956, Paperback 1968), pp. 111-112 for an account of early French-speaking Protestant clergymen in Canada.
4. See Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds, Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 2nd edition (Ottawa: Department of Public Printing and Stationery, 1918), p. 72 for General Murray's report of June 5, 1762. The Treaty of Paris (1763) provided that the Canadiens should have the free exercise of their religion "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit." The text of the treaty is found in William Kingsford, The History of Canada, Vol. IV (Toronto: Rousell and Hutchison; London: Turner & Co., 1890), p. 505, quoting George Chalmers, A Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and Other Powers, (1791), pp. 471-4.
5. The Jesuits were suppressed by France in 1764, and by the papacy from 1773 to 1814. The reference to the Jesuits in Solicitor-General Wedderburne's report to the Crown on affairs in Canada in 1772 was probably representative of the opinions of British officials at the time. Wedderburne said, "The exercise of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction under powers derived from the see of Rome... is an invasion of the sovereignty of the king." Robert Christie, A History of the Late Province of Lower Canada, Parliamentary and Political, from the Commencement to the Close of Its Existence as a Separate Province, Vol. 1 (Montreal: Richard Worthington, 1866), p. 34. The Society of Jesus revived in the nineteenth century, and has flourished in Canada as well as other countries.

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6. The British government used the revenue of the Jesuits' Estates for education and other purposes in Canada until 1831 when they entrusted the estate to the legislature of Lower Canada as a source of revenue for educational purposes. A law of 1856 created permanent funds for the support of superior education in the province using this and other revenue. In 1887 the Quebec government incorporated the Society of Jesus in Quebec and in the following year paid to Rome an indemnity of \$400,000 as a recompense for the loss of their property. The Vatican authorities directed the money to Catholic educational work in Canada. The Jesuits received about one-third of the amount of the indemnity. The Protestant Committee was awarded \$60,000 by the Quebec government to cover any loss it might sustain by the arrangement. The money was accepted by the Committee with certain prominent members voting negatively. Many Protestants felt that the Committee had been bribed. The Presbyterian Assembly and the Anglican Synod condemned the act. But it was upheld by the federal government in 1889. The Protestant Committee was bound to invest the money and to use the revenue for superior education which they did. The Crown and Jesuit seigniories had not been affected by the Seigniorial Tenures Abolition Act of 1854. See Educational Record, Vol. IX, No. 5 (May, 1889), "Minutes of the Protestant Committee," May 14, 1889, pp. 143-150; "Minutes of the Protestant Committee," Nov. 6, 1889; and passim for Committee discussions.
7. See Christie, A History of Lower Canada, Vol. VI, pp. 231-243 for Attorney-General Jonathan Sewell's 1804 report on the Sulpician estates, also passim in the letters of H.H. Ryland in the same volume.
8. Many sources mention that the first English language teacher was one Sergeant Watts, appointed by General Murray to teach children in Quebec shortly after the conquest. Another military man was said to have taught in Valcartier. But later schools in Quebec city were private. In Montreal, John Pullman, Finlay Fisher, and Rev. John Stuart are mentioned as early teachers. The latter, with his assistant, was supported in part by funds provided by Governor Haldimand, who required that Stuart accept all pupils, not only Protestant ones. A 1790 report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel related that "the government thought proper to take half (Stuart's) salary and divide it between Mr. Fisher and Mr. Christie, both Presbyterians." See William Henry Atherton, History of Montreal, 1535-1914, Vol. 11 (Montreal, Vancouver, Chicago: S.F. Clarke Publishing Co., 1914), p. 295. A great number of private schools were established in Montreal by 1840.

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9. The phrase used in the act gave officials of the established Church of Scotland in Canada grounds for claiming a share in the revenues of the clergy reserves. Anglicans always claimed that the intention of the act was an Anglican establishment.
10. See Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada 1793 (Mar. 20/93 to April 3/93), and Christie, I, pp. 135-137. Atherton mentions other petitions on the subject in 1787 and 1800. The 1793 petition he credits to citizens of Montreal. Atherton, however, appears somewhat untrustworthy in details.
11. See Christie, Vol. VI, pp. 38-41 for a copy of Mountain's letter to Milnes. The Milnes-Portland correspondence recorded in Christie, IV, pp. 48-50 accords with the Bishop's proposal that English school masters be sent out to teach English gratis, though writing and arithmetic might be charged an easy rate. It would be fair to say that the 1801 Act gave expression in part to anglicizing intentions.
12. Louis-Philippe Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Tome 3 (Québec: Les Presses Universitaires Laval, 1952), pp. 105-106. Also see Réal G. Boulianne, "The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning: The Correspondence, 1820-1829" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, McGill University, 1970), pp. 8-9.
13. Quoted from a typewritten copy of the "Rules and Regulations for the Schools of the Royal Foundations in the Province of Lower Canada under the Management of the Royal Institution", dated, Quebec, Feb. 6, 1822 in E.C. Woodley's scrapbook. No reference, but compare Audet, III, pp. 190-198, and Boulianne, p. 16.
14. Boulianne, pp. 275, 373, 432, 460, 740, 775, 795, 834, etc.
15. Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Vol. IV, pp. 391-392; Boulianne, p. 196-197.
16. Boulianne, p. 22. His reference is drawn from a letter of Rev. J.L. Mills, Secretary of the Royal Institution, to G.W. Allsop, 11 June, 1829 found in McGill University Archives, Accession 100/4, p. 144.
17. A. Labarrère-Paulé, "L'instituteur laïque canadien français, au 19^{ème} siècle", L'éducation au Québec 19^e-20^e siècles, ed. Marcel Lajeunesse (Montréal: Les éditions de Boréal Express, 1971), p. 59. See also André Labarrère-Paulé: Les instituteurs laïques au Canada français 1836-1900 (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1965).

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18. An act of the Lower Canada legislature in 1836 provided for normal schools in Quebec City and Montreal. Only the one in the latter city materialized, and lasted only a few years. The boards of management of the normal schools were to be chosen at a meeting of leading citizens of both languages and all religions. The schools were to provide tuition free of expense on condition of at least five years' service by the candidate. The subjects to be taught were: "French Grammar and English Grammar, with Exercises in writing and in Composition in each of the said languages; Arithmetic and Book-keeping, Geography and the Use of the Globes; the Elements of Practical Geometry, the Art of drawing Maps and Plans, the Elements of Chemistry as applied to Arts and Trades; the principles of Horticulture and agriculture; an abridged course of Mechanics, Natural History, Ancient and Modern History, Moral Philosophy, and the Public Law of the Country; and lastly and more especially, Theoretical and Practical lessons on the best mode of conducting a School, and the best method of teaching." (Provincial Statutes of Lower Canada, Vol. 15 835-36, Chapter XII, sec. 4). Candidates were to prove that they could read and write one or other of the two languages, and to provide a certificate of character from a Rector or Minister, or a Justice of the Peace or militia officer. By the same act grants were provided the Ursulines and the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame to provide for training of girls as teachers. The Montreal Normal School was a victim of the social disruption in Lower Canada in 1836 to 1839. Many schools were closed since there was no provision for teachers' salaries in elementary schools after the legislative deadlock of the assembly and council in 1836. The school finally closed in 1842.
19. Lancaster's book Improvements in Education had been recommended for reading by citizens concerned about education as early as 1815 when the assembly distributed extracts from it. (Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Vol. III, pp. 154-155). Lancaster himself lived in Montreal about 1829-30 and conducted a school according to his method. Both Catholic and Anglican authorities were rather cool to the idea of non-denominational religious education promoted by Lancaster. Anglicans preferred the monitorial system of Andrew Bell with its Anglican teaching. The pedagogical defects of the monitorial system were recognized increasingly by the 1840s.
20. Petitions to the Imperial Government in 1822 from English-speaking residents of Montreal, the Townships and elsewhere, had supported a union of the Canadas and a return to English as the only official language. The briefs accused the dominantly French language Assembly of being prejudiced against English interests, and implied that its legislation did not promote commerce. The "foreign" atmosphere and customs of the colony and its feudal land ownership did not encourage

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English-language settlers. See Christie, History of Lower Canada, Vol. II, p. 386-394.

Again in 1849 the movement for the annexation of Canada to the United States was supported by Montreal merchants (the Molsons, Redpaths, etc.) and for a time by such luminaries as A.T. Galt, and John C. Abbott on the grounds of the economic advantage in that course. See Oscar Douglas Skelton, Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1966) pp. 68-70. It is probable that the English-language commercial interest in Lower Canada was always an issue, whether stated or not, in the tensions.

21. Journals of the Legislative Council of the Province of Lower Canada, 1835-36, Appendix E (Quebec: Printed by Order of the Legislative Council, 1836). The report is dated Mar. 15, 1836.
22. Sir Charles P. Lucas, ed., Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America, Vol. III, "Appendices" (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1912), p. 277-8. Buller writes: "The hostility of some leading members of the Protestant Church was founded upon the principle which has become so painfully familiar of late years in these educational controversies. It is expressed in the 7th of a series of resolutions adopted at a meeting of some members of that body, a short time after my departure from Quebec, 'That we feel it our duty candidly to avow the conviction, that, on the part of a Protestant Government, no system of education whatever should be termed a national one which is not based on the great Protestant principle of the unrestricted use of the Holy Scriptures'; in other words, upon the most unnational principle of exclusion of nine-tenths of the population.... I do not wish to be understood as admitting that these are the opinions of the entire Protestant clergy; perhaps the exceptions are as numerous. The Episcopalian clergy are almost unanimously hostile to my scheme, the Presbyterians divided; but I fancy that I may claim the sympathy of a vast majority of the different bodies of Dissenters."
23. Ibid., p. 275.
24. Charles Mondelet, Letters on Elementary and Practical Education, No. 4 (Montreal: 1841), p. 13.
25. Newton Bosworth, ed. Hochelaga Depicta: The Early History and Present State of the City and Island of Montreal, reprint of the 1839 edition published by W. Grieg, Montreal (Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1974).

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26. Audet, Le système scolaire, tome 2, pp. 342-9 (see chart 344-5); George H. Montgomery, Missisquoi Bay (Philipsburg, Que.) (Granby, Que. : Granby Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1950), pp. 76-77; Stanley B. Frost, "The Abbotts of McGill", McGill Journal of Education, Vol. XIII No. 3, Fall 1978, pp. 253-270.
27. The Newfoundland and British North American Society for Educating the Poor was established in 1823. Related to the evangelical wing of Anglicanism, it carried on work in the Sherbrooke area from 1839 emphasizing Bible-centered schools. It was absorbed by the Colonial Church and School Society in 1851. The new body operated a model school and gave teacher education in Montreal until the McGill Normal School was opened.
28. An expression apparently used in a report of the Newfoundland Society, quoted by Keith D. Hunte, "The Development of the System of Education in Canada East, 1841-1867" (unpublished Master's thesis, History Dept. McGill University, 1962), p. 103.
29. J. George Hodgins, ed., Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, Vol. IV (Toronto, 1894), pp. 4-5.
30. Ibid., p. 20.
31. The vesting of authority in appointed municipal councils meant that the elected school boards had little real power or occasion for initiative.
32. The "voluntary" clause reappeared in Lower Canada school law in 1849, and remained in Quebec educational law for years.
33. Hunte, "Development of Education", pp. 129ff. See also J.I. Cooper, "The Editorial Policy of the Montreal Witness", Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, 1947, R.A. Preston, ed. (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1947), pp. 53-62. Also: editions of the Montreal Witness Mar. 8, 1847; June 8, 1847.
34. Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1853, Printed by Order of the Legislative Assembly (Quebec: 1854), p. 87.
35. Ibid., 1855, p. 141.
36. Rapport du Comité spécial de l'Assemblée Législative nommé pour s'enquérir de l'Etat de l'Education et du Fonctionnement de la Loi des Ecoles dans le Bas Canada, imprimé par ordre de l'Assemblée Législative (Québec: 1853), p. 9.

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37. Nicolls' and Galt's argument was the old and persistent one that power over Protestant education was given to an office which would always be occupied by a Catholic. See Hunte, "Development of Education", pp. 187-188.
38. The four Protestants were: the Right Rev. Francis Fulford, Bishop of Montreal; the Rev. John Cook, of the Church of Scotland, who had completed a term as principal of Queen's University and would soon become the first principal of Morrin College, Quebec City, and who was to be the first moderator (1875) of the united Presbyterian Church of Canada; Christopher Dunkin, Member of Parliament, later Provincial Secretary of Quebec (1867-9) and Minister of Agriculture in the federal government (1869-1871) and Quebec Superior Court judge; Timothy Lee Terrill, M.P. for Stanstead, and Provincial Secretary, 1867-9. Terrill was replaced on the Council in 1862 by A.T. Galt; Fulford was replaced in the same year by William Turnbull Leach, McGill University.
39. Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1861, p. 132.
40. McGill's royal charter of 1821 did not subject students or professors to religious tests. McGill had held pews in both the Protestant Church of Montreal, which became Christ Church, Anglican, and the "Scotch" Church on St. Gabriel Street. His will called for a liberal outlook on these matters. However, the charter required outlook on these matters. However, the charter required that the proposed faculty of divinity at the university should be under the control of the Church of England. This undercut support for the college especially in Montreal where Presbyterians were strong. An effort in 1838 to establish a faculty of divinity at McGill under joint auspices of the Church of England and Church of Scotland authorities fell through, and the latter established Queen's in 1841. A McGill statute requiring a certain Anglican precedence and an Anglican school of divinity was disallowed in 1848. McGill thenceforward fashioned itself on a non-sectarian model. See H.H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, Paperback Edition, 1968), pp. 190-192 for a short account of these events. See also Cyrus MacMillan, McGill and Its Story 1821-1921 (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 144ff.
41. McGill's Protestant spirit was often cited by Principal Dawson and others, but the Anglican Canon Leach also spoke with pride of McGill's Protestant non-sectarianism. Students learned tolerance and independence of thought. Chapel services were voluntary (though well attended) and "dogmatical peculiarities subordinated" at McGill.

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- Christians should "unite in points that are essential to human salvation", but "men are so differently constituted and educated that many sincerely believe what others sincerely reject."
Journal of Education, Vol. XVII, No. 5, May 1873, pp. 70-71.
42. Mountain used this title though there was no see of Montreal until 1850 when Francis Fulford was appointed to the diocese of Montreal. George Jehoshaphat Mountain was the third Bishop of Quebec. He was succeeded in 1863 by James W. Williams.

See Armine W. Mountain, A Memoir of George Jehoshaphat Mountain (Montreal: John Lovell, 1866).
 43. Journal of Education, Vol. XVI, Nos. 6 & 7 (June-July 1872), p. 102. See also D.C. Masters, Bishop's University: The First Hundred Years (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd., 1950).
 44. Journal of Education, Vol. VIII, Nos. 9 & 10 (Sept.-Oct. 1964), pp. 131-133; Vol. VIII (Nov. 1964), pp. 147-153.
 45. Skelton, p. 157.
 46. Journal of Education, Vol. X, Nos. 6 & 7 (June-July 1866), p. 92.
 47. The Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers at this time included in its membership not only elementary and secondary school teachers, but anyone interested in education. The first president of the Association was Jasper Hume Nicolls, Principal of Bishop's University. Dawson served in this capacity in 1865-67, 1871-72, and 1884-87. Christopher Dunkin presided in 1868-69; John Cook, 1874-75. Others included: Judge Sanborn, Hon. F.W. Torrance, W. W. Lynch, M.L.A., Dr. R.W. Heneker, Dr. H.H. Miles, Rev. D.H. MacVicar, S.A. Fisher, S.P. Robins, E.I. Rexford, G.W. Parmelee, W.I. Shaw, Sir William Peterson.
 48. "A Petition of the P.A.P.T.: 1866," The Teachers' Magazine, Vol. XLIV, (March 30, 1964), p. 23.
 49. Canada, Department of Justice, A Consolidation of the British North America Acts: 1867-1975, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1976, pp. 28-29.
 50. See Keith D. Hunte, "The Ministry of Public Instruction in Quebec, 1867-1875," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, McGill University, 1964, p. 118.

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51. See Hunte, "Ministry of Public Instruction", pp. 184-189. Protestant protests in the Council of Public Instruction and elsewhere resulted in the appointment in 1875 of F.C. Emberson as Special Inspector of Protestant Superior Schools. Emberson reported both to the Minister and to the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction. See Hunte, p. 197.
52. Dawson, for example, thought that the grants to superior education should be made, not on the basis of the population percentages of Catholics and Protestants, but on "the nature of the education given and the results attained." Journal of Education, Vol. XIII, No. 5 (May, 1869) p. 88. To help meet such objections, the Protestant Committee was awarded (1872) the proceeds of the marriage License Fund which was used to support education in universities, colleges, and superior schools. But it was not until 1883 that they secured the full amounts from the federal government. For discontent concerning patronage and the mixing of politics and education, see Journal of Education, Vol. XIX, Nos. 9 & 10 (Sept. & Oct., 1875), pp. 151-153.
53. Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Nos. 10 & 11 (Oct.-Nov., 1874), pp. 156-162.
54. See Hunte, "Ministry of Public Instruction", pp. 239ff, 277-281.
55. In the 1869 re-organization of the Council of Public Instruction the Protestant members included the Right Rev. James William Williams, Bishop of Quebec; the Rev. John Cook; the Venerable Archdeacon William Turnbull Leach; the Honourable Christopher Dunkin, Provincial Treasurer; the Hon. Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt, M.P. in the federal government; the Hon. Charles Dewey Day, Chancellor of McGill University; and the Hon. James Ferrier, Senator. In 1871 Galt was succeeded by the Hon. George Irvine. And in 1873 J. William Dawson was added to the Committee.
56. Among those present at the informal meeting, according to Hunte, were Rev. John Cook, Levi Ruggles Church, George Irvine, Alexander Ogilvie, William Warren Lynch, James Ferrier and George Bryson. Church, Irvine, and Ferrier were made a committee to make representations to the government.
57. See Hunte, "Ministry of Public Instruction", p. 360 and Montreal Gazette, Dec. 11, 1875.

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58. Bishop Williams, for example, was reported as having declared at the Annual Convention of the P.A.P.T. in Quebec City in 1875 that "no good would come till Educational [sic] was severed from political matter." The Bishop added, "Let them choose a superintendent of Council...." seeming to indicate support for the reduction of the role of the government official to one as executive of an authoritative Council of Public Instruction. See Journal of Education, Vol. XIX, No. 9 & 19 (Sept.-Oct., 1875), p. 153.
59. Dunkin protested the reduction of Protestant membership from eight to seven. When the appointments to the Council were made in 1876, behold, there were eight Protestants!
60. A.T. Galt, Civil Liberty in Lower Canada (Montreal: Bently & Co., 1876); and Church and State (Montreal: Dawson Bros., 1876).
61. Galt, Church and State, p. 27.
62. Skelton, Chapter 15, note 2, p. 286; Walsh, p. 234-5. Both these writers cite Mason Wade's judgment on the influence on Taschereau.
63. Journal of Education, Vol. I, No. 2 (March 1857), p. 42.
64. Ibid., Vol XVII, No. 4 (April 1873), p. 65.
65. Ibid. Vol. XVII, No. 5 (May 1873), p. 70-71.
66. Among the early members of the Council of Public Instruction and Protestant Committee, the following, at least, were Anglicans: Fulford, Leach, Day, Williams, Galt, Rexford, Irvine, Lynch. Later there were Heneker, Hemming, Bond, Dixon and others. H.H. Miles was also an Anglican. Cook and Dawson were Presbyterians, Ferrier, Methodist, J.S. Sanborn and Dr. George Cornish, Congregationalist.

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1. Elsen I. Rexford, "Our Educational Past and Present", The Educational Record of the Province of Quebec, X (December, 1890), p. 313.
2. The Council of Public Instruction had, from 1859, the responsibility of recommending the list of texts from which school boards could choose those to be used in their schools. But the system was difficult to enforce particularly in superior schools where there was no regular inspection until the late 1870s. The lists had become archaic. An Act in 1880 abolished Oimet's "Book Dispensary" (free school books for pupils, provided by boards), asserted the duty of the Catholic and Protestant Committees to draw up lists of books, and provided for a uniform system of school texts in each of the sectors.
3. A revision of the law, in 1899, removed from the Catholic and Protestant Committees the right to name inspectors. The law provided, however, that only persons who had certificates of qualification from the Committees could be named by the government.
4. In 1899 the Committee was empowered to divide the revenue from the Marriage License Fees between superior schools and poor rural schools.
5. Rexford said of the years before 1875: "These were the good old times of our short educational history: no written examinations for teachers or pupils; no special inspection of superior schools ...; no list of text-books; no course of study; no regulations for the guidance of inspectors, teachers, parents or pupils; no special statistics of Protestant schools as distinct from Roman Catholic; in fact, no organization, no system." (Rexford, Educational Record, 1890, p. 314-5.).
6. Account of this controversy may be found in "The Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Feb. 6, 1889", The Educational Record, IX (February, 1889), p. 55; "The Minutes of the Protestant Committee, May 15, 1889, The Educational Record, IX (May, 1889), pp. 151-154; L.P. Audet, Histoire du Conseil de l'instruction publique, 1856-1964 (Montreal: Editions Lemac, 1964), pp. 108-114. Descriptions of the debate are contradictory because the two secretaries recorded the minutes differently. Protestants on the Council hold that the Protestant (or non-denominational) school system should have the taxes of all non-Catholics, and that stock company and corporation taxes should be directed in accordance with the decision of shareholders as was the case in Ontario. Cardinal

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Taschereau intimated, however, that if R. W. Heneker persisted in a motion all non-Catholics counted as Protestants for tax purposes, he would move an amendment that all grants for education be made on a population percentage basis. This would have meant financial disaster for the McGill Normal School. So Heneker withdrew his motion. This account does not, however, describe the full complexity of the events that transpired at the Council meetings of 1888 and 1889.

7. Supra, Chapter One, note 6.
8. In 1898 the Protestant Committee decided to devote the Marriage License revenue to the elementary schools of poor municipalities, rather than to universities. A debate about the legality of this now raged. Sir William Peterson, Principal of McGill, and R.W. Heneker, Chancellor of Bishop's, protested, and the latter even resigned his place on the Protestant Committee.
9. See Audet, Histoire du Conseil for an account of the major events and issues bearing upon the work of the Council of Public Instruction. Also: Audet, Le Projet de ministère de l'instruction publique en 1897 (Ottawa, The Royal Society, 1963), for an account of the attempt to reinstitute a Ministry of Education.
10. Journal of Education, Vol. XXI, No. 10 (October, 1877), p. 155.
11. Joseph Baldwin, The Art of School Management (Toronto: 1886), p. 9, quoted by George Flower, "A Study of the Contribution of Dr. E.I. Rexford to Education in the Province of Quebec" (unpublished Master's thesis, McGill University, 1949), p. 59.
12. "Educational Topics", The Educational Record, Vol. III (August, 1883), p. 215. The editor here quotes from a book on "Educational Theories" by Oscar Browning.
13. The Educational Record, Vol. VII (February 1887), p. 45 in an article by the editor.
14. W.W. Lynch, An address at the Teacher's Convention, The Educational Record, Vol. IV (November, 1884), p. 285.
15. The Educational Record, Vol VII (February, 1887), p. 46 in an article by the editor.

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16. "Educational Topics", The Educational Record, Vol. III (August, 1883), p. 216.
17. "The Lachute Convention", The Educational Record, Vol. III (December, 1883), p. 305. The quotation is from the report of Dr. Christie's address.
18. "Practical Hints", The Educational Record, Vol. XI (August, 1891), p. 223.
19. "Dr. Harris' Reply to the Teachers of Toronto," The Educational Record, Vol. XI (October, 1891), p. 277.
20. "Editorial Notes and Comments," The Educational Record, Vol. XI (November, 1891), p. 315.
21. "Civilization and Education: Their Relationship Enunciated," The Educational Record, Vol. VII (June-July, 1887), p. 170 in an article by the editor.
22. See Appendix I.
23. By the Revised Code of 1861 in England, grants were apportioned to schools, in part, on the results of the individual examination of the pupils. A modified form of the scheme lasted for most on the century in that country.
24. In a speech in 1875 Bishop Williams had declared, "Academies or High Schools should be within reach of all.... Government grants should be distributed on the principle of payment by results as in England." The Journal of Education, Vol. XIX, No. 9 and 10 (Sept-Oct., 1875), p. 153.
25. "The Minutes of the Protestant Committee," The Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1878-79, p. 312-313 refers to Bishop Williams' concern that the matters evaluated should be clear? distinguished and his suggestion that the inspectors use "a digested method of examination... prepared and sanctioned by the Committee." See, e.g., rules for examinations in "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Feb. 3, 1886", and March 2, 1887 in The Educational Record, Vol. VI (March, 1886), pp. 62-64; Vol VII (March, 1887), pp. 93-98. Formulas became more comprehensive in the early twentieth century. It should be noted that the high schools of Montreal and Quebec were often excluded from the Protestant Committee allocations because they had special provisions from the government. The Committee gave grants at its discretion; this meant it was not bound to suggest allocations for schools in communities considered wealthy.

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26. The Protestant Committee made the regulations to govern the work of the Protestant division of the boards of examiners. For early regulations regarding the scope and conduct of examinations for teachers' licenses see, Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1877-78, pp. 216-220 and Protestant Committee Minutes of Oct. 6, 1886 in The Educational Record, Vol. VI (October, 1886), pp. 236-243.
27. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, April 17, 1888", The Educational Record, Vol. VI (April, 1888), p. 148.
28. "The Teachers' Convention," The Educational Record, Vol. I (December, 1881), p. 503.
29. "Proposed Consolidation of the Acts Relating to Public Instruction, Province of Quebec", The Educational Record, Vol. I (November, 1881), p. 461.
30. "The Teachers' Convention", The Educational Record, Vol. I (December, 1881), p. 510.
31. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, May 31, 1882", The Educational Record, Vol. II (July, 1882), p. 273.
32. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Sept. 13, 1882", The Educational Record, Vol. II (October, 1882), p. 448.
33. Report of the Superintendent of Education, 1877-78, p. 211.
34. The Educational Record, Vol. III (April, 1883), p. 74.
35. The Educational Record, Vol. IV (January, 1884), p. 12.
36. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Nov. 26, 1879", Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1878-1879, p. 317.
37. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Sept. 9, 1885", The Educational Record, Vol. V (September, 1885), p. 211.
38. Hemming dissented from the Committee's decision in 1888 forbidding denominational teaching. See "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Feb. 29, 1888", The Educational Record, Vol. VIII, p. 119.

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39. The Rev. George Frederick Maclear wrote books for use in the religious education of the young which were reprinted often the time between 1866 and 1953. The editions used by the Protestant schools of Quebec were published in London by MacMillan & Co. These were:
 G.F. Maclear, A Class-Book of New Testament History (London: Macmillan & Co., 1867, 1879, 1888, 1890, 1908);
 A Class-Book of Old Testament History (London: Macmillan & Co. 1868, 1869, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1888, 1890, 1902, 1908).
 Maclear also wrote, A Class-Book of the Catechism of the Church of England, which went into several editions.
40. For Dawson's views on this see his address to the Association of Protestant Teachers, Montreal, 1886, in The Educational Record, Vol VII (January, 1887), p. 6. For MacVicar's see "The Teachers' Convention", The Educational Record, Vol. VI (October, 1886), p. 250.
41. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, May 27, 1885", The Educational Record, Vol. V (June, 1885), p. 150.
42. "Extracts from the Regulations of the Protestant Committee", The Educational Record, Vol. IX (March, 1889), p. 92.
43. "Official Department", The Educational Record, Vol. XI (January and February, 1891), p. 33.
44. "Course of Study for Protestant Model Schools and Academies", The Educational Record, Vol. X (June & July, 1890), pp. 204-205; "Course of Study for Elementary Schools", The Educational Record, Vol. XI (January & February, 1891), pp. 34-35.
45. "Official Department", The Educational Record, Vol. XIV (August & September, 1894), pp. 266-267.
 "Official Department: Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Mar. 8, 1895", The Educational Record, Vol. XV (August & September, 1895), p. 287.
47. "Official Department: Minutes of the Protestant Committee, May 10, 1895", The Educational Record, Vol. XV (August & September, 1895), p. 285.
48. "Official Department", The Educational Record, Vol. X (October, 1890), pp. 252-253. See, for example, "Practical Hints and Examination Papers", The Educational Record, Vol. XI (October, 1891), p. 291.

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49. "Official Department", The Educational Record, Vol. XIX (May, 1898), p. 125.
50. "Circular for 1896-1897", The Educational Record, Vol. XVI (October, 1896), p. 284.
51. "Circular of Advice to the Superior Schools for 1899-1900", The Educational Record, Vol. XIX (August & September, 1899), p. 147.
52. "Circular for 1897-1898", The Educational Record, Vol. XVII (August & September, 1897), p. 239.
53. "Christianity and Education", The Educational Record, Vol. XIV (October, 1894), p. 274.
54. "Moral Drill in School", An Address of J.M. Harper to the Teachers' Convention, Montreal, Autumn, 1896, The Educational Record, Vol. XVI (November, 1896), p. 293.

Harper also gives an opinion in this article that it is "not the function of the school either to make good churchmen or good catholics in the technical sense." Rather the teaching of religion was necessary in public school because "religion inspires the highest motives."

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2. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Nov. 23, 1926," The Educational Record, Vol. XLV (July, August, September, 1927), p. 186.
3. See McGill University's calendars, e.g. 1907-08 describing McGill's relation to the School for Teachers.

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1. "The High School and the University," The Educational Record, Vol. XLIV (January, February, March, 1924), p. 3. The editor quotes a speech by Charles McBurney, who cites the passage from "an Eastern Townships Newspaper." See also "Editorial Notes and Comments," The Educational Record,*, Vol. XI (November, 1891), pp. 345-346 for similar comments quoted from The Sherbrooke Gazette.
2. These complaints were not new. Judge Lynch publicly criticized Protestant Committee policy at the teachers convention of 1891, saying that "children were being crammed with useless knowledge,... that, not more than five per-cent of the students of the country schools passed through universities," and that, "he saw, in his journeyings through the country, little children carrying great bundles of books upon the most complicated subjects," and that "the Protestant Committee were too much in line with university education." See "Current Events," The Educational Record, Vol. XI (November, 1891), pp. 316-317. On Mar. 26, 1903 the Protestant Committee was attacked in the legislature by W.A. Weir who maintained it was chiefly interested in higher education, and neglected rural schools.
Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1903, p. 533, cited by George Flower in "A Study of the Contributions of Dr. E.I. Rexford to Education in the Province of Quebec," unpublished Master's thesis, McGill University. 1941. p. 154.
3. E.I. Rexford, I. Gammell, A.R. McBain, The History of the High School of Montreal, published by The Old Boys' Association of the High School of Montreal (no date).
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5. H.W. Huntley, "Vocational Education," The Educational Record, Vol. XXXIII (January, 1913), p. 29.
6. Alice Ranlett, "Shall Latin Go?", The Educational Record, Vol. XXXII (August-September, 1912), p. 265.
7. "The High School and the University," The Educational Record, Vol. XLIV (January, February, March, 1924), pp. 6-7. McBurney here refers to the first "answer" in the Shorter Catechism, "Man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy Him forever."
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12. "Empire Day," The Educational Record, Vol. XXVII (April, 1907), p. 130. The editor quotes the Earl of Meath's letter in its entirety.
13. "Action Pictures of the British Empire," The Educational Record, Vol. XXXIV (July, August, September, 1914), pp. 197-199.
14. Miss L. Robins, "Address before the Teachers' Association in Connection with the McGill Normal School," The Educational Record, Vol. XIX (January, 1899), p. 4.
15. E.C. Woodley, "Promotion of Empire Teaching," The Educational Record, Vol. XLV (January, February, March, 1925), p. 45.
16. Ibid.
17. "Report of Mr. J.W. McOuat," The Educational Record, Vol. XXVI (May, 1906, p. 141. McOuat was a school inspector.
18. "Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec," The Educational Record, Vol. XXXVIII (January, February, March, 1918), p. 10.
19. "Some Essentials," An Address by C.A. Adams, President of the P.A.P.T. on Dec. 6, 1918, The Educational Record, Vol. XXXIX (January, February, March, 1919), p. 23.
20. "National Educational Conference," The Educational Record, Vol. XL (April, May, June, 1920), pp. 107-108.
21. Ibid.
22. "Moral Training in Schools," The Educational Record, Vol. XXXIII (June-July, 1913), p. 218.
23. "National Council of Education," The Educational Record, Vol. XLII (January, February, March, 1923), p. 44.

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24. E.C. Woodley, "The School and the Social Good," The Educational Record, Vol. XLIV (July, August, September, 1924), pp. 228-229.
25. Ibid., p. 227.
26. Ibid., p. 229.
27. John J. Tigert, "The Schools of Tomorrow," The Educational Record, Vol. XLV (January-June, 1927), p. 47.
28. Ibid., p. 43.
29. Ibid., p. 46.
30. Ibid., p. 49.
31. Ibid., p. 43.
32. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Sept. 24, 1920," The Educational Record, Vol. XLI (January, February, March, 1921). p. 86.
33. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, May 7, 1926," The Educational Record, Vol. XLV (July, August, September, 1927), p. 176.

* The "Old Series" listing of the Volumes of The Educational Record is used throughout these references and those to follow.

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3. See Orville E. White, "William Macdonald, Financier, Philanthropist, Educator," The Educational Record, Vol. LXVIII, (Oct.-Dec., 1952), pp. 201-205; Vol. LXIX (January-March, 1953), pp. 27-30.
4. E.W. Arthy, "Some Notes on Manual Training Gathered during Two Visits to the United States," The Educational Record, Vol. XXVI, (May, 1906), pp. 129-135.
5. F.E. Buck, "The Renaissance of Country", The Educational Record, Vol. XXIX (December, 1909), p. 421. The article was first published in The Journal of Agriculture and Horticulture.
6. S.B. Sinclair, "The Rural School as a Factor in the Agricultural Life of a Nation", The Educational Record, Vol. XXXIII (February, 1913), p. 53. The article was reprinted from "The Farmer's Advocate."
7. "Protestant Education in the Rural Districts of Quebec", An Address by Miss Ferguson, President of the P.A.P.T., The Educational Record, Vol. XXIX (November, 1909), p. 375.
8. Ibid., p. 374.
9. Supra
10. The regulations of the Protestant Committee included a "conscience clause" from 1888 which allowed parents to withdraw children from religious study or exercises if these were considered detrimental to the child's religious faith. The conscience clause did not appear in the Catholic regulations until almost modern times. Long before 1888 many Protestant schools took a non-denominational approach to religious education. Though immigrants may have chosen Protestant schools because they wished to learn the English language, the non-denominational atmosphere of these schools was also a factor. The course of studies in the Protestant schools and their co-ordination of the levels of education from grade I to university were also attractive factors to immigrants who desired the greatest possible educational opportunity for their children.
11. Supra, Chapter I, note 6.
12. Elson I. Rexford, Our Educational Problem: The Jewish Population and the Protestant Schools (Montreal: Renouf Publishing Co., no date, p. 10.

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13. Rexford, p. 17.
14. The judgement held, in effect, that Jews who did not pay taxes to support a school board had no claim upon it. The decision raised the whole question of the rights of Jews as citizens of Quebec.
15. See Rexford, pp. 19, 22, 24. The citation by Rexford was from a circular of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of Mar. 6, 1906 which purported to quote from the verbal agreement undertaken by the Jewish representatives and the Protestant Board on March 2, 1903.
16. The bills, in general, sought to make the Montreal Protestant School Board elective, with property-holding Jews and Protestants eligible to vote. H.J. Silver, the Secretary-Superintendent of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of the City of Montreal, made an official response to the 1909 bill on March 27, 1909, saying, "The bill now before Parliament... involves the destruction of the Christian character of the administration. Should the measure become law, the two school systems of the City will become much more widely separated, one, the Roman Catholic, would still remain Christian, while the other would be neither Christian nor Protestant." (Rexford, p. 27).
17. Rexford, p. 34.
18. David Rome, On the Jewish School Question in Montreal, 1930-1931. Canadian Jewish Archives, New Series, No. three (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1975), pp. 10, 39-40, 52, etc.
19. "Jewish Immigration", The Educational Record, Vol. XXXIV (April, May, June, 1914), p. 116.
20. Elsie Caroline Woodley, "The History of Education in the Province of Quebec: A Bibliographical Guide," unpublished Master's dissertation, McGill University, 1932, p. 132.
21. Rexford, p. 38.
22. Ibid., p. 49.
23. For a description of the various points of view and suggestions for reform of the system see, Harold Ross, "The Jew in the Educational System of the Province of Quebec," unpublished Master's thesis, Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, McGill University, 1947, pp. 33-47 and Woodley, pp. 134-136.

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26. Rome, p. 108.
27. "Dr. Robins Attained His 91st Birthday", The Educational Record Vol. XLIV (January, February, March, 1924), p. 31.
28. H.H. Curtis, "Quebec Method of Teaching French", The Educational Record, Vol. XXVIII (May, 1908), p. 169.
29. "Report of the Advisory Committee on French, Feb. 17, 1910", The Educational Record, Vol. XXX (April, 1910), p. 159.
30. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Feb. 23, 1912", The Educational Record, Vol. XXXII (June-July, 1912). p. 238.
31. "Oral French", The Educational Record, Vol. XXXVIII (July, August, September, 1918), p. 187.
32. H.H. Curtis, "Needs of our French Work, 1921-22", The Educational Record, Vol. XLI (October, November, December, 1921), p. 323.
33. Ibid., p. 316.
34. Ibid., p. 317.
35. "The Study of French", an article copied from the Montreal Gazette, The Educational Record, Vol. XLI (July, August, September, 1927), p. 142.
36. "French Holiday Courses", The Educational Record. Vol. XXX (May, 1910), p. 195.
37. "French in Our English Schools, An Official Statement", The Educational Record, XLVI (April, May, June, 1928), p. 78.
38. William Peterson: "Presidential Address to the Convention of Protestant Teachers", The Educational Record, Vol. XX (November, 1900), p. 288.
39. "The New Course and the New Textbooks", The Educational Record, Vol. XXXV (October, November, December, 1915), p. 265.
40. Infra, Chapter Six, Section A(3).

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45. A.W. Kneeland, "Examinations: Their Purpose and Results", The Educational Record, Vol. XXVIII (February, 1908), p. 47.
46. "Examinations", reprinted from the Educator-Journal, The Educational Record, Vol. XXIX (January, 1909), p. 13.
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49. The Committee decided to have external examinations for grade IV elementary, model III, and all academy grades. This left teachers in charge of examining the elementary grades to IV, and model I and II. ("Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Nov. 24, 1911", The Educational Record, Vol. XXXII (February, 1912), p. 80)
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37. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Nov. 26, 1920," The Educational Record, Vol. XLI (April, May, June, 1921), p. 180.
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40. Flower, p. 182, quoting Dr. Hersey's criticism of Jan. 26, 1922, as found in the files of the Department of Education, Dossier 50/22.
41. Flower, 185, citing material in dockets 1160/21 and 50/22 of the Department of Education.
42. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Feb. 24, 1922," The Educational Record, Vol. XLII (July, August, September, 1922), p. 274.
43. Dr. George Flower was unable to find a copy in his research of the Department of Education files. See Flower, pp. 179-185.
44. Supra., Part I, p. 68
45. "Scripture Verses," The Educational Record, Vol. XXVII (October, 1907), p. 297.
46. "The First Half Hour," ibid., p. 296.

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48. The following passage from Rothney's book may be used to illustrate his point of view:
- "What a new light would illuminate the whole situation for teachers if they could approach the Old Testament as the history and literature of a people who had a genius for religion, and to whom God was revealing himself as their capacity to understand Him developed. The Normal School is not to blame for the situation for it is practically forbidden to deal with matters of interpretation in training the teachers. The responsibility rests with the church through which the young people who fill the ranks of the teaching profession receive their religious instruction and training. (Rothney, p. 13).
49. Rothney, p. 23.
50. J.C. Sutherland, "Religious Education," The Educational Record, Vol. XLIV (January, February, March, 1924), pp. 17, 12.
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52. Ibid., p. 153.
53. "Instructions for Teachers: Subjects of the Course of Study; Moral and Religious Instruction," The Educational Record, Vol. L (July, August, September, 1931), p. 150.
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55. Ibid., p. 139.

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2. Ibid., pp. 168-169. See appendix II.
3. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, December 1, 1944," The Educational Record, Vol. LXI (April, May, June, 1945), p. 126.
4. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Nov. 30, 1953," The Educational Record, Vol. LXXX (April-June, 1954), pp. 125-126.
5. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Sept. 28, 1951," The Educational Record, Vol. LXVIII (January-March, 1952), p. 60. A resolution from the Provincial Association of School Boards in favour of a Minister of Education reached the Protestant Committee in 1918 and was considered at its meeting of March 1st, 1918. No action was taken by the Committee. See "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Mar. 1, 1918," The Educational Record, Vol. XXXVIII (July, August, September, 1918), p. 255.

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6. Ibid., p. 20.
7. Ibid., pp. 24, 25.
8. Ibid.
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13. "Address Delivered at the December, 1960 Meeting of the Protestant Committee of the Council of Education by the Hon. Paul Gérin-Lajoie," The Educational Record, Vol. LXXVII (January-March, 1961), pp. 15-16.
14. Ibid., p. 16.
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27. Handbook for Teachers, 1957, p. 10.
28. Ibid., p. 105.
29. Statement of the Protestant Committee, p. 83.
30. Ibid., p. 81.
31. "The Teaching of French," The Educational Record, Vol. LVII (December, 1941), p. 261.
32. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Sept. 26, 1941," The Educational Record, Vol. LVIII (January-March, 1942), p. 61.

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35. J.W. Perks, "Curriculum Revision: A Teachers' Problem," The Educational Record, Vol. LX (January-March, 1944), p. 27.
36. Inspector E.M. Taylor, in 1917, reported "wholly French Protestant schools in South Ely and Ste. Pudentienne, which had francophone teachers." Inspector Howard A. Honeyman reported in 1927 on the French Protestant school at Duclos. See "General Report of Inspector E.M. Taylor, 1916-1917," The Educational Record, Vol. XXXVIII (April, May, June, 1918), p. 15; "Report of Inspector Howard A. Honeyman, 1927-1928," The Educational Record, Vol. XLVII (April, May, June, 1929), p. 115.
37. "The Authorized Text Books," The Educational Record, Vol. XXXIX (April, May, June, 1919), p. 102.
38. See, for example, Brief of the Quebec Protestant Education Survey by the P.A.P.T., 1938, pp. 27-28.
39. An application from Sabrevois College for financial help was considered by the Protestant Committee on Mar. 5, 1884 and refused, and one from the Pointe aux Trembles Institute considered on Feb. 17, 1911 was "laid on the table", and not mentioned again in the minutes. The Institut Evangélique applied again in 1954 and was given some assistance after Dec. 13, 1954. Grande Ligne's request was considered on March 14, 1955 and June, 1955; the institute was later given some assistance. The difficulty for the Protestant Committee was probably that these institutions were part of the evangelistic outreach of several Protestant denominations, and so were considered to give denominational teaching. In later years the institutions followed the Protestant curriculum for schools with its non-denominational moral and religious instruction. See "Minutes of the Protestant Committee" for relevant dates in The Educational Record, Vols. IV, XXXI, LXXI, LXXII.
40. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Sept. 13, 1961," The Educational Record, Vol. LXXVIII (Jan.-March, 1962), p. 53; "Minutes, Nov. 24, 1961," The Educational Record, LXXVIII (April-June, 1962), p. 62.
41. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, March 6, 1959," The Educational Record, Vol. LXXV (July-September, 1959), p. 167.
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44. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, May 24, 1963," The Educational Record, Vol. LXXIX (Oct.-Dec., 1963), p. 302.
45. Dr. C. Wayne Hall, former Dean of the Faculty of Education, has indicated this in a letter to N.H. Mair, July 24, 1979. John Gilmour, principal of Ecole Roberval, remembers that around 1964 or 1965 McGill "received permission to prepare francophone teachers at Macdonald College," but there may not have been much effort made to "advertise the post and hire the right person" to head such a department since the "whole field of education was undergoing profound questioning" as a result of the Parent Commission's studies. (John Gilmour, letter to N.H. Mair, Aug. 30, 1979.)
46. Sinclair Laird, "Address on the School for Teachers', Macdonald College over Station C.K.A.C., Friday, Feb. 15, 1935," The Educational Record, Vol. LIV (April-June, 1935), p. 101.
47. W.O. Rothney, "Education in Bishop's University," The Educational Record, Vol. LX (July, August, September, 1936), p. 149.
48. W.M. Cottingham, "Present Problems in Quebec Protestant Education," an address given at the closing session of the Annual Meeting of the Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards, The Educational Record, Vol. LXXII (January-March, 1956), p. 4.
49. J.M. Perks, "Why and How Our Schools Are Changing," The Educational Record, Vol. LIX (April-June, 1943), p. 109.
50. W.P. Percival, Why Educate?, p. 137.
51. S.R. Laycock, "Mental Health Qualifications for Teachers," The Educational Record, Vol. LX (April-June, 1944), p. 111.
52. Handbook for Teachers, 1957, p. 9.
53. David C. Munroe, "New Horizons in Teacher Education," The Educational Record, Vol. LXXVII (April-June, 1961), p. 91.
54. J.M. Perks, "The Elementary School in Transition," The Educational Record, Vol. LXXI (April-June, 1955), p. 81.

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2. Handbook for Teachers, 1943, p. 43.
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6. Notes on a meeting of the Curriculum Committee of the P.A.P.T., The Teachers' Magazine, Vol. XXIV (April, 1942), p. 4.
7. "The Bible in the School Curriculum," The Teachers' Magazine, Vol. XXIV (April, 1942), pp. 14-15.
8. W.P. Percival, "Education on the March," The Educational Record, Vol. LIX (January-March, 1943), pp. 4-5.
9. Handbook for Teachers, 1943, pp. 44, 45.
10. Ibid., p. 46.
11. Ibid., pp. 46-53.
12. Ibid., 1953, pp. 61-66.
13. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Nov. 24, 1961," The Educational Record, Vol. LXXVIII (April-June, 1962), p. 109.
14. Petitions on the matter from the Quebec Diocesan Board of Religious Education were received at the Nov. 26, 1937 and the Feb. 28, 1938 meetings of the Protestant Committee. In 1940 and 1941 there were petitions from the Quebec-Sherbrooke Presbytery of the United Church of Canada, the Dean of Quebec, and the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of the City of Quebec. Supra, references, chapter eleven, note five.
15. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Sept. 26, 1941," The Educational Record, Vol. LVIII (January-March, 1942), p. 61.
16. Handbook for Teachers, 1943, p. 91.

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19. "Minutes of the Protestant Committee, May 8, 1957," The Educational Record, Vol. LXXIII (October-December, 1957), p. 239.
20. Teachers' Handbook, 1957, p. 129.
21. Ibid., p. 130.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., p. 131.
24. Ibid., pp. 129-142.
25. E. Owen, "How Curriculum Is Made," The Educational Record, Vol. LXXVII (July-September, 1961), p. 184.
26. George L. Rothney, "Moral and Religious Instruction," The Educational Record, Vol. LXXVIII (October-December, 1962), p. 162.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., p. 161. This part of the Protestant Committee regulations is here quoted by the author of the article.
29. W.H. Brady, "The Teaching of Citizenship Through Social Studies," The Educational Record, Vol. LIX (July-September, 1943), p. 153.
30. See "Minutes of the Protestant Committee," Sept. 30, 1949, Nov. 25, 1949, May 4, 1950, Nov. 24, 1950, Feb. 25, 1951, The Educational Record, Vols. LXVI, LXVII.

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3. Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1964-1965, (Quebec: 1965), p. 143.
4. See Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, Part III (Montreal: 1966), pp. 79-80 for the negative opinion of the Parent Commission about granting the confessional committees power to recognize individual institutions as Catholic or Protestant.
5. Preamble, Superior Council of Education Act, Revised Statutes of Quebec, 1964, Chapter 234.
6. "Q.A.P.S.A. Stand on the Education Bill", The Teachers' Magazine, Vol. XLIV (Sept. 25, 1963), p. 70.
7. T.H.G. Jackson, "Ring out the Old; Ring in the New", The Teachers Magazine, Vol. XLIV (Sept. 25, 1963), p. 5.
8. Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, Volume II, Part 2A, 1964, Recommendation 22, p. 363.
9. Ibid., p. 366, Recommendation 61.
10. Ibid., p. 368, Recommendation 83.
11. Ibid., Part Three, p. 173, Recommendation 37.
12. Ibid., Vol. III, Chapter 11, sec. iv: 121-122, p. 70.
13. Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1966-67, pp. 319-322.
14. Bradley's dissent to Parent IV recommendations, Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1966-67, p. 320.
15. Bradley's dissent to Draft of Bill 62, Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1969-1970, pp. 130-131.

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16. "Déclaration Conciliaire sur la liberté religieuse, 7 déc. 1965", quoted by Napoléon Leblanc "Une Confessionalité scolaire renouvelée", La Réforme Scolaire du Québec, 1967-1968, ed. H.P. Proulx (Montréal: Union catholique des cultivateurs, 1968), p. 85.

17. The Mouvement Laïque de Langue française advocated complete secularization on principle. But members were willing, in these years, to settle for a non-confessional option because of their immediate concern for "the plight of French-speaking Protestants, Jews and non-believers, who for reasons of belief can only be enrolled in schools run by English Protestant authorities." See, R. Magnuson, "The Background of the Neutral Question," The Teachers' Magazine, Vol. XLVII (Nov. 1966), pp. 41-46.

 The Committee for Neutral Schools worked for the abolition of Catholic and Protestant schools in favor of a common system divided along linguistic lines. It was projected that in such schools "children would not be taught a Bible-centered religion of Protestant interpretation when in these days an increasing number of them came from Jewish, Eastern Orthodox, Oriental, Muslim, Mormon, Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian Science, Bahai, humanist, agnostic, atheist homes, nor would they have to labor with and try to resolve the apparent contradictions which often arise between certain literal assumptions of Biblical theology and the lessons of history, literature and science to which they are committed in their normal curriculum.... Education, conducted in an open, liberal and competent manner becomes religious in a wider and perhaps deeper sense than when it is involved in the stratagems and doctrines of organized faiths." See Leonard Mason, "The Neutral School Question", The Teachers' Magazine, Vol. XLVII (March, 1967), pp. 31-34.

18. Brief submitted by the Canadian Jewish Congress to the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, Mar. 1962, p. 4.

19. See the brief to the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education of the Hellenic-Canadian Community, p. 12, *passim* and the memorial of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (1961), p. 13, *passim*.

20. Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1966-1967, p. 331.

21. Annual Report of the Superior Council, 1966-1967, p. 344.

22. See "The Majority Report", Unison, December 1976, p. 3. Unison is a periodical bulletin published by the Conseil scolaire de l'île de Montréal.

23. See John Lummis, "The Long, Cold Winter", The Teachers' Magazine, Vol. XLVII (May, 1967), p. 14.

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24. See John C.T. Johnson, "President's Message", The Sentinel, March, 1975, p. 3 or the same article in The Montreal Star, Feb. 15, 1975 for a description of negotiations during part of this time. For the 1975-76 phase of the controversy see, John C.T. Johnson, "The President's Message", The Sentinel, December, 1975, page 5, and the same column in succeeding issues of The Sentinel, and "Diary of a Striker", The Sentinel, Nov. 1975.
25. See Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1974-1975, pp. 55-83; 1975-1976, p. 6 for a listing of Conseil texts on the subject; and also 1975-1976, pp. 180-185, 198-202 for further statements.
26. "The Effect of the Current Negotiations on the Moral Training of School Children", Recommendation of the Protestant Committee of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation to the Minister of Education, February 18, 1976, Appendix, Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1975/76, p. 195.
27. Green Paper: Primary and Secondary Education in Quebec (Quebec: Ministère de l'Éducation de Québec, 1977).
28. L'Ecole québécoise, Enoncé de politique et Plan d'action (Québec: Ministère de l'Éducation, 1979).
29. See a description of these events in Norman Henchey, "Quebec Education: The Unfinished Revolution", McGill Journal of Education, Vol. VII, No. 2 (Fall, 1972), pp. 95-118.
30. The October Crisis resulted from the kidnapping of British Trade Commissioner James Cross and the kidnapping and murder of Quebec Cabinet Minister Pierre Laporte, by two separate cells of the Fédération de Libération du Québec. A state of emergency was proclaimed and martial law was declared by Canadian Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau.
31. Report of the Commission on the Position of the French Language in Quebec (Quebec: 1972), p. 291, No. 3.
32. Ibid., p. 80.
33. Ibid., p. 81.
34. Ibid., p. 70, item (iv).
35. Official Languages Act, Chapter Six, sec. 43 and 41, Lois du Québec, 1974.

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36. Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1973-74, pp. 215-216.
37. The "Howard Report" was submitted to the P.S.B.G.M. in 1969 by T. Palmer Howard, Jean Martineau, Peter M. Laing, and Frank R. Scott after detailed legal study of the constitutional right of Protestants in Quebec education.
38. Green Paper: Primary and Secondary Education in Quebec (Quebec: Ministère de l'Education, 1977).
39. The Schools of Quebec: Policy Statement and Plan of Action (Quebec: Ministère de l'Education, 1979).
40. Loi du ministère de l'Education (S.R.Q., 1964, chap. 233), préambule, 1er paragraphe.
41. Green Paper, p. 2.
42. Ibid., p. 5.
43. The Schools of Quebec, pp. 27-29 (2.2.10 - 2.2.17).
44. Ibid., p. 29 (2.3.1.).
45. Ibid., p. 34 (3.4).
46. Green Paper, p. 31.
47. Ibid., p. 27.
48. Ibid., pp. 26, 30.
49. Some of the types of non-confessional schools described by The Schools of Quebec fit well within the self-definition of the scope of religious and values education in Protestant schools; no Protestant school for instance favours the promotion of denominational nurture in public schools. On the other hand, one of the categories of non-confessional schools is viewed as permitting "denominational teaching based on the tenets of one or several of the Christian denominations." (The Schools of Quebec, p. 23 (1.6.17)). The Comité protestant certainly favours teaching about all the religious options, but opposes "indoctrination" in any. See Mair, Quest for Quality for a description of the official Quebec Protestant approach to moral and religious education in the schools.

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2. Ibid.
3. "The Teacher Faces Social and Educational Change", Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1966-1967, p. 27.
4. "Educational Activity", Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1969-1970, p. 30.
5. Ibid., pp. 32-33.
6. Ibid., p. 33.
7. Ibid., p. 34.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 35.
10. "Educational Activity in the Secondary Schools: A Search for Conditions Favourable to its Implementation", Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1971-1972, pp. 274-275.
11. "State and Needs of Education", Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1974-1975, p. 33.
12. Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, Part Three, 1966, p. 63.

Two fundamental principles underlay the recommendations of the Parent Report on confessionality and non-confessionality. These were (1) that the state must be rigorously neutral in relation to confessionality because "the state has two complementary characteristics - to be responsible for the common good in the widest sense, the good of society as a whole, and at the same time to be the protector and guarantor of the rights and privileges of each citizen" (ibid., p. 13) and (2) the right of the adult individual to make uncoerced religious choices in freedom of conscience (ibid., p. 29). This right was enshrined in law historically in Quebec's "Freedom of Worship" Act (1851). Legislation since the Parent Report has also included The Charter on Human Rights (1974) which accepted the principal of freedom of conscience as a natural right taking precedence over positive law. (See Charte des droits et libertés de la personne, Chapter 6, sec. 41 of the Statutes of Quebec, 1975). "Parents or the persons acting in their stead have a right to require that, in the public educational establishments, their children receive a religious or moral education

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in conformity with their convictions, within the framework of the curriculum provided for law."

13. Ibid., p. 67.
14. The Superior Council of Education Act, Revised Statutes of Quebec, 1964, Chapter 234, p. 17.
15. Andrew Roy, "A Working Paper on the Role and Composition of the Protestant Committee," The Protestant Committee, June 10, 1970. See Appendix C of this working paper for text of telegram of representatives of the Canadian Jewish Congress to the Superior Council of Education.
16. Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1964-1965, p. 158.
17. Ibid., p. 159.
18. Ibid., 1966-1967, p. 271.
19. Ibid., 1967-1968, p. 16.
20. Ibid., 1970-1971, p. 254.
21. Statutes of Quebec, 1972, Ch. 60, sec. 591(b).
22. Annual Report of the Superior Council, 1974-1975, pp. 112-113.
23. Ibid., 1969-1970, pp. 85, 110.
24. Ibid., p. 86.
25. Ibid., p. 111.
26. Wallace J. Saad, a member of an Eastern Orthodox Church, sat from Sept. 1975 to Dec. 1977 on the Protestant Committee - not, however, as representing his religious denomination.
27. The one aspect in which the structures are not parallel is that the representation of religious authorities on the Comité catholique is appointed by the assembly of Catholic bishops in Quebec, and other representatives must obtain the assent of the assembly of bishops, while representatives of Protestant denominations, parents and teachers, are appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council after consultation with representative bodies and approval in council by the majority of Protestant members sitting on the Conseil supérieur.

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28. Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1971-1972,
p. 87.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., p. 45.
31. Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1970-1971,
p. 143.
32. Ibid., p. 144.
33. Ibid., p. 145.
34. Ibid.

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2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., sec. 16.
4. Ibid., sec. 22.
5. Richard Arès, S.J., Faut-il Garder au Québec l'Ecole confessionnelle? (Montréal: Les Editions Bellarmin, 1970), p. 62.
6. Ibid., pp. 66-67.
7. Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1969-1970, p. 210.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 211.
10. "Regulation of the Catholic Committee of the Superior Council of Education respecting Confessional Educational Institutions Recognized as Catholic," III, 7, Quebec Official Gazette, June 26, 1974, Vol. 106, no. 17. See also Megnews, February 1977.
11. Ibid., III, 8.
12. Ibid. IV, 17.
13. Ibid., V., "Explanatory Note."
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15. Religion in Today's School, Vol. I., 1974, p. 37. paras. 56-57.
16. Ibid., p. 37, para. 58.
17. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 20, para. 30.
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19. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 50, para. 88(6).
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22. "Report to the Annual Report Committee of the Superior Council on the Confessional Aspects of Teacher Education," Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Twenty-Third Meeting, Jan. 18-19, 1967, Appendix B.
23. Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Eighth Meeting, Sept. 27-28, 1965, 8.18.
24. Regulations of the Protestant Committee of the Superior Council of Education (Quebec: The Protestant Committee, 1968), "Regulation 2", sec. 3.
25. Ibid., secs. 7-8,
26. Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Forty-Ninth Meeting, June 18, 1969, 49-29.
27. Ibid., Thirty-Fourth Meeting, Jan. 18-19, 1968, 34.21.
28. Ibid., 34.22.
29. Regulations, 1968, No. 3, sec. 4, "Commentary."
30. Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Thirty-Seventh Meeting, April 24-25, 1968. 37.17.
31. The guidelines agreed upon by the Comités catholique and protestant for contracting these "ententes" may be found in the Annual Report of the Superior Council of Education, 1968-1969, pp. 88-89. See also Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Forty-Fourth Meeting, Nov. 27-28, 1968, 44.7. There were dissenting opinions on the Comité protestant about the religious aspect of these agreements. One member warned of possible difficulties in the future because of the differing standards and practices of the two denominations in religious education; another questioned whether Protestant parents really thought it necessary to claim equal time and space with Catholics in moral and religious instruction in schools. At a later date, a committee member raised the question as to whether the public employment of chaplains did not violate the principle of the separation of church and state. See Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Thirteenth Meeting, Feb. 16-17, 13.26-27 and Nelson Thomson, "A Personal Statement on Confessional Education in Quebec, Oct. 7, 1975," in the files of the Protestant Committee.

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33. Ronald Goldman, Readiness for Religion: A Basis for Developmental Religious Education (London: Routledge & K. Paul), 1965.
34. Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Eighteenth Meeting, July 20-21, 1966, 18.22.
35. Donald J.M. Hughes, "Report on Moral and Religious Education," The Minutes of the Protestant Committee, The Thirtieth Meeting, Sept. 20-21, 1967, Annex A., p. 4.
36. Personality Development: Moral and Religious Instruction, Curriculum for Secondary Schools (Quebec: Department of Education, 1968).
37. Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Forty-Fourth Meeting, Nov. 27-28, 1968, 44.9 (a), (c).
38. Ibid., 44.9 (c).
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40. Programme II, "Living Together" was not explicitly referred to as "non-confessional," but, practically, it served that purpose.
41. L'Education au Québec en 1976, Rapport annuel du Ministère de l'Education (Quebec, 1977), p. 45.
42. Joan Dougherty, "Protestant Committee Seminar, 1970," The Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Sixty-Eighth Meeting, Jan. 21, 1971, Appendix A, p. 2.
43. Ibid., Appendix A, p. 3.
44. R. Graham Barr, "Brief Prepared by the Church Committee on Protestant Education for Submission to the Superior Council," The Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Twenty-First Meeting, Nov. 15-16, 1966, Annex B, p. 2. Protestants frequently displayed their embarrassment at having their schools referred to as "confessional." See also, A. Roy, "A Working Paper on the Role and Composition of the Protestant Committee," June 10, 1970 (Files of the Protestant Committee), p. 5. Until 1964 with the passing of the Loi du Conseil supérieur

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it was not common parlance to use the term to describe Protestant education in Quebec. The word "denominational" was used to describe some school boards but never the content of education.

45. Report of the Social Values Commission, The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, June, 1971, p. 14.
46. Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Twenty-Ninth Meeting, Aug. 16-17, 1967, 29.11. Dickson's remarks are found on a separate sheet in the files of the Protestant Committee.
47. J.D. Jefferis, "The Protestant Committee", May, 1968, Files of the Protestant Committee.
48. Kiel H. Oxley, "Function of the Protestant Committee," June 11, 1968, Files of the Protestant Committee.
49. Marcel Robert Fox, "Memo to the Protestant Committee Subsequent to Previously Presented Memos," June 11, 1968, Files of the Protestant Committee.
50. Supra,
51. Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Seventy-Second Meeting, May 20, 1971, 72.6.
52. Ibid.
53. Mary Buch, "An Attempt to Define a Protestant School," Dec. 13, 1971, Files of the Protestant Committee, p. 1. Mrs. Buch argues for a definition of Protestant education based on Paul Tillich's description of religion as "a prior and ultimate concern for that which is experienced as ultimate" and on "the Protestant principle" described by Tillich as referring to "openness to ultimacy" and "protest against all forms of absolutizing, in which ultimacy is denied and finite things are thought to be self-sufficient." Mrs. Buch refers to the work on the theology of education done by Doris Dyke, "Paul Tillich and the Protestant Principle as it Relates to the Public Schools," Doctoral thesis, Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1967.
54. Ibid., p. 4.
55. "A Protestant school, from a legal viewpoint, is a group of pupils under a principal or head teacher appointed by a board elected by citizens deemed in law to be Protestant; its curricula are those laid down for Protestant schools by the Department of Education." (Regulation, 1975, Preamble.)

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56. "Draft of a Chapter Developing Definitions of Protestant Education and a Protestant School from Material in the files of the Protestant Committee," Minutes of the Meeting of the Research Sub-Committee, April 9, 1973, p. 5. The chairman of the sub-committee, Robert S. Jarvis-Read, seems to have been responsible for the typology.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., p. 4.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid., p. 6 (6.8).
61. Minutes of the Research Sub-Committee, Aug. 22, 1973, p. 2. The remark was Mr. Bradley's.
62. Minutes of the Research Sub-Committee, June 12, 1972, p. 2.
63. "Preamble to the Regulations of the Protestant Committee," Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Ninety-Eighth Meeting, Sept., 28, 1973, Appendix, p. 1.
64. Ibid., p. 2.
65. Ibid., "Regulation 2," p. 1.
66. "Regulation of the Protestant Committee of the Superior Council of Education Regarding the Recognition of Educational Institutions as Protestant," 1975, Section 9. Meqnews, February, 1977, p. 23.
67. Ibid., Section 8.
68. Ibid., Section 10.
69. Ibid., Section 8.
70. Ibid., "Explanatory Note."
71. Ibid., Section 6, "Explanatory Note."
72. Ibid., Section 14.
73. Ibid., Section 15.

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74. Ibid., Section 14, "Explanatory Note."
75. "Meeting with Mrs. Margaret Cathcart and Mr. Stanley Wyolenski," Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Ninety-Fourth Meeting, May 24-25, 1973, 94.6.14, p. 11.
76. Raymond Jensen, "Elementary Principals' Workshop-P.S.B.G.M.," December 14, 1978, p. 9 (in the files of the Protestant Committee).
77. This concept was discussed by the two confessional committees in connection with possible joint programmes in moral and religious instruction. The committees agreed at a meeting in 1971 that any such course "should be ecumenical and not merely non-confessional achieved by eliminating everything strictly Roman Catholic and Protestant." (Minutes of the Protestant Committee, Seventy-Eighth Meeting, Dec. 16, 1971, 78.12).
78. For a general description of these programmes, see N.H. Mair, The Question of Quality in the Protestant Public Schools of Quebec (Quebec: Comité protestant du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, 1980, Chapter VI, Section E.
79. What is "Acceptable"?, Guidelines used by the Comité protestant in approving teaching materials from a moral and religious point of view (Quebec: Comité protestant du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, 1976.
80. Alan Jones, The Protestant Fact in Quebec Education (Quebec: Comité protestant du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, 1977).
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82. See "Education in Human Sexuality in the Protestant Schools of Quebec," Guidelines issued by the Protestant Committee for school programmes in Sex Education, August 1977 (in the files of the Protestant Committee).
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84. Minutes of the Protestant Committee, One Hundreth Meeting, Nov. 16, 1973, Appendix A.
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