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THE GROWTH OF DISAGREEMENT AMONG TEACHERS OVER THE DUAL SCHOOL SYSTEM IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

by

Barbara Lee Cannon Matthews

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Education)
in The University of Michigan
1973

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Claude A. Eggertsen, Chairman
Professor Frederick L. Goodman
Professor Charles F. Lehmann
Professor Charles M. Rehmus

PREFACE

I would like to thank my many mentors at the University of Michigan, whose aid and encouragement were essential to the success of this study. Dr. Claude A. Eggertsen, director of Comparative Education at the University of Michigan, deserves a special note of thanks. His advice and expertise were necessary in initiating and completing the work involved.

The investigation of the positions of teachers' organizations on dual schooling in Quebec would have been impossible without assistance from those organizations. Each of the three Quebec teachers' associations was most helpful, first, in allowing me access to their records and documents, and, second, in offering the use of their secretarial staffs and facilities. Tom Jackson, General Secretary of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers (PAPT) when I began this study in 1967, was so kind as to offer me an office in the PAPT headquarters. The staff at the library of the Corporation des Instituteurs et Institutrices Catholiques (CIC) was not only competent but also gracious in permitting me the use of their duplicating facilities. Patrick McKeefrey of of the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers (PACT) was eager to explain the PACT's policies on various issues related to

dual schooling, and his assistance was invaluable. To these men and to their respective associations, I am indebted.

Finally, I must acknowledge my parents and my husband. Without their constant belief in the value of education, I might never have undertaken, let alone completed, this study.

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CHAPTER I

ORIGINS OF DISAGREEMENT OVER DUAL SCHOOLING

It is not uncommon to find in journalistic literature statements that "Canada is not one nation, but a confederation of two peoples profoundly divided".[1] The two peoples mentioned are English and French Canadians, the English predominantly Protestant and the French predominantly Catholic. Thus, the profound division of these peoples has two dimensions--one cultural, the other religious--, and nowhere in Canada is the division as apparent as in the Province of Quebec. The French, a minority in Canada, are clearly the majority in Quebec, and the English, the majority in the rest of Canada, form a small but successful minority in the predominantly French province.[2] The inevitable conflict between the two major religio-cultural groups has affected the educational arrangements of the province such that, prior to the Parent Commission reforms of the mid 1960s, Quebec operated on the basis of a dual system of education.

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[1]Jacques Brillant, L'impossible Quebec, essai d'une sociologie de la culture, (Montreal: Editions du Jour, 1968), p. 28.

[2]The 1961 Census Reports in Prospectives, September, 1966, showed that 80.6% of Quebec is of French origin, 10.8% of British origin, and 8.6% of other ethnic origins. The Report also mentioned the continuing arrival of immigrants to Quebec.

The dual system of schools developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and was cemented by 1869. Although it was substantially changed by the Parent Commission recommendations, many aspects of the dual system persist.

Attitudes toward the dual school system have varied since its inception. There were those who defended the dual system as the best solution to Quebec's unique problems as did Abbé Adelard Desrosiers in a dossier to the Hepburn Commission surveying Protestant education in 1937.

> The Province of Quebec has ever respected the rights of racial minorities within its boundaries to education. For herself, Quebec has not and can never have, any educational questions over which the different elements of the population will fight. She is one of the few provinces in the Dominion that have been able to lay down and to carry out a scheme of education that respects all rights and claims, and encourages the spread of knowledge in every field.[3]

Professor F. Clark of McGill University expressed a similar attitude when he spoke of difficulties inherent in the dual system but stated that he was less impressed by those than by "the wisdom and foresight which have made possible in Quebec the peaceful coexistence of two sharply distinguished philosophies of education, conflict between which has been a source of confusion and even bloodshed in other lands".[4] William Percival, former Director of Protestant Education, painted a glowing picture of the dual system which he said permitted the two races to live in complete harmony together.

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[3] The Hepburn Survey of Protestant Education, p. 8.

[4] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, June, 1947, p. 34.

> Quebec is a striking example of a place where two races grow up side by side, each retaining its own ideals, traditions, language and creed, which it cherishes intensely, each respecting the rights of the other, without desiring to impose its will unduly, but scrupulously jealous of keeping every jot and tittle of what it possesses.[5]

Finally, M. Joseph-L. Pagé, the Catholic Secretary of Education, expressed the same positive viewpoint regarding the dual system when he defended it as the best system in all of the provinces of Canada.

> The school regime in Quebec compared with that of all other provinces is certainly the most balanced, the most Christian and the most in line with the basic principles of the Canadian Constitution.[6]

However, there were growing numbers of people who found the dual system dangerous. First, they viewed the Protestant-Roman Catholic duality as outmoded for the present situation in the province. That is, religious diversity was now more than two-fold, and significant portions of the population were demanding neutral, non-confessional education for their children. Second, they viewed educational separation as a factor contributing to the creation of "two solitudes" in the Province of Quebec, or to the separation of French and English cultures.[7] Francis G. B. Barskey, for example, held that dual schooling

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[5]William Percival, Life In School, (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company Limited, 1940), p. 5.

[6]C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959), p. 129.

[7]Two Solitudes, a novel by English Canadian Hugh MacLennon, is required reading in Protestant secondary schools, grade XI, in the Province of Quebec.

had isolated Catholics from Protestants and hindered educational progress.

> The dual system of education which has isolated Catholic and Protestant teachers and has effected an unnatural division of forces has greatly hindered the progress of education in our province. Closer unity of action between groups which have so many interests in common would be of great reciprocal advantage and would greatly assist our efforts for the achievement of national unity in our province.[8]

Similarly, E. A. Thériault, asked, "Why can't Quebec parents send their children to the public school of their choice regardless of religious affiliation? . . . Why such desperate efforts to keep Protestant and Catholic children apart?"[9] Kiel Oxley also presented this position in an article where he predicted the end of the dual system within the next hundred years.

> . . . for by that time the public schools of the province will have lost their distinctions . . . The same public schools will educate children of all languages and faiths. It should be noted that future historians will record the fact that Quebec became a truly united and harmonious province only after the separate school systems had been merged.[10]

C. B. Sissons also attacked Quebec's school system. He felt, first, that it contributed to the educational backwardness of Quebec by placing the Catholic church in a powerful position. Compulsory education, he noted, was only attained in Quebec in 1943, the Catholic church having been the major cause for delay.

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[8] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, April, 1943, p. 16.

[9] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, March, 1966, p. 64.

[10] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November, 1964, p. 2.

> It would be fatuous to contend that the long delay in accepting the policy of the western world had no relation to the church orientation of education in Quebec. The compulsory law gave powers to the State to invade the home, powers which the Church hesitated to accept as proper to the State.[11]

Sissons also predicted a necessary end to the dual system when he wrote, "The province cannot continue to carry on its primary education in two air-tight compartments, hermetically sealed one from the other by a credal wall".[12]

Among those exhibiting concern over the system of education in the Province of Quebec were the teachers, chiefly through their associations. Inevitably, the dual school system has had implications for teacher organization in Quebec. Prior to 1956, two separate teacher associations spoke for the province's teachers, one for Catholic teachers, the other for Protestants. Since then, Catholic teachers have been represented by two associations, one French, the other English. Thus, there are three provincial teacher associations, three formalized groups of teachers. One, the Corporation générale des Instituteurs catholiques de la Province de Québec, abbreviated CIC, represents French Catholic teachers. The Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers, PACT, speaks for English Catholic teachers, and the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers, PAPT, for English Protestant teachers.

It is the purpose of this study to determine the

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[11] Sissons, op. cit., p. 154.

[12] Ibid., p. 157.

causes of the changing attitudes of the three groups of teachers toward the dual school system and toward changes in the system occuring after the publication of the Parent Commission Report.[13] This work is, then, an analysis of the positions teachers have taken in religio-cultural conflict over education in the Province of Quebec. It is not the intent to examine the attitudes of individual teachers, past and present, but rather to study the attitudes expressed by groups of teachers through their provincial teacher associations. It is assumed for the purposes of this study that the expressions of the teacher associations reflect the attitudes of member teachers.

Few studies have been made of this point. While C. E. Phillips mentions the growth of teacher associations in the history of education in Canada and recognizes that such associations have done much since World War I to maintain and improve the economic status of teachers, he provides no definitive statement on the reliability of teacher associations in Canada as reflectors of teacher attitudes on any given issue. F. Henry Johnson's discussion of teacher associations in Canada is similar to that of Phillips, but more brief. James M. Paton, former general secretary of the PAPT, has written the most complete analysis of The Role of Teacher's Organizations in Canadian Education which gives much attention to the PAPT

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[13] The Parent Commission Report, formally entitled The Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, will be discussed in Chapter 2.

and its effect on education in Quebec. He stresses the fact that since 1908 the executive of the PAPT has been composed of classroom teachers as opposed to clergy and other "betters" and thus supports a claim that this association's views authentically reflect those of the teachers. He has little to say about the French Catholic association in Quebec, the CIC, in spite of the fact that French Catholic teachers outnumber Protestant teachers in the province by a ratio of nearly ten to one. One can also question whether the account is unbiased and objective since the author was so closely connected to the PAPT for many years.

Considering the paucity of data available on this issue and the fact that startling proposals have been made for educational change in Quebec, it is essential that policy-makers know the attitudes of teachers on this matter. Why have organized teachers differed in their assessment of the viability of the dual school system, particularly following the reforms proposed by the Parent Commission? Indeed, this question and its analysis constitute the focus of this study. It is hypothesized here that religio-cultural conflict has proved to be a primary force in the differences with which teacher groups have evaluated the dual confessional school system.

In an examination of this problem, one must first show the origin and operation of the dual school system as well as the Parent Commission's recommendations which appeared between 1963 and 1966, proposing sweeping changes

in Quebec's school system. Second, one must analyze the positions of each of the three teacher associations with regard to the dual system. The questions of concern here are three. First, what attitudes were expressed by the teachers toward the duality of Quebec's schools prior to the naming of the Parent Commission in 1961? Second, what recommendations did the associations make to the Royal Commission regarding the dual confessional school system? Finally, what were the responses of teachers to the recommendations of the Commission and to subsequent reforms based upon these recommendations?

Claude Eggertsen, in a pilot study predicting the directions of educational change in the Province of Quebec after 1966, found that of Catholic churchmen and laymen and Protestants, Catholic laymen were most in favor of educational change. However, of the twenty educational leaders in the province who were questioned for this study, fourteen were in favor of maintaining the status quo, showing only weak support for changing the rules protecting the educational rights of minority groups.[14] The second part of this investigation attempts to discover if these preliminary findings apply also to teacher associations in Quebec. The third section attempts to discover reasons underlying the positions teacher groups have taken with

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[14]Claude Eggertsen, "The Potentials of Education: A Cross-Cultural Examination of Education and Development", a paper presented to the Comparative Education Society in Montreal, May, 1966.

respect to the duality issue, and to analyze the implications of these teacher positions in the conflict over educational change in the Province of Quebec.

There are two issues so closely related to the attitudes of teacher groups toward the dual system as to be inseparable. First, the position taken by teachers, grouped as they are by religious preference, toward duality is closely related to the feelings teachers as Catholics or Protestants have toward those of other religious faiths. And since the separation of teachers exists actually along cultural as well as religious lines, positions regarding the dual school system are also closely linked to feelings French teachers have about English culture and people, and vice versa.

Religio-cultural conflict in education in Quebec has been linked with increasing French nationalism as well as political and economic moves toward separatism in the province. While this broader climate is complex and cannot be analyzed in detail here, it must not be ignored since it is closely related to the problem of duality in the schools of the province. Separatism and French nationalism have created a tenseness in French-English relations, especially in Quebec where the movements are strongest. These tensions have affected the attitudes of teachers toward their educational system and their willingness to move toward greater unity in the field of education.

The official writings of the three teacher associations provide the major source of data for this study of teacher

attitudes toward dual schooling. All of the minutes and publications of each association have been carefully studied in an effort to clarify the origin and development of disagreement among the teachers' organizations over the dual confessional school system.

CHAPTER II

THE PARENT COMMISSION'S EXAMINATION OF THE DUAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

Concern over the public schools in Quebec reached a climax for the teachers' groups as well as the general public in the late 1950s. Education was seen as a crucial factor in improving the overall prosperity of the province, and there were several indications that education in Quebec was not succeeding in this goal. First, Quebec ranked sixth out of Canada's ten provinces in expenditure per pupil on education.[1] She was fifth in total local and provincial expenditure on elementary and secondary education.[2] Finally, Quebec's Roman Catholic school system ranked last in Canada in retention of students. Only twenty percent of the students entering Grade II finished Grade XI.[3]

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[1]Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Education Division, Education in Canada, May, 1966.

[2]Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Survey of Educational Finance, 1962.

[3]The quantitative measures used to rank and compare Canada's provinces in education were the subject of a paper by John Cheal, "Comparative Canadian Provincial School Systems and Their Potential for the Comparative Study of Educational Administration", presented to the Comparative Education Society in Montreal, May, 1966.

Quebec's educational system had experienced relatively little change in more than eighty years. Lay teacher organizations had long been pressing for a royal commission to investigate the school system, and this the Liberals promised in the 1960 election. Consequently in 1961 Premier Jean Lesage's Liberal Government appointed a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec. The chairman was Mgr. A. M. Parent, and under his leadership, the Commission made the most thorough educational survey Canada had yet seen.[4] The Commission, often called the Parent Commission after its chairman, published its report in five volumes between 1963 and 1966. Its recommendations represented a bold attempt to restructure a tradition-bound system of education.

The first stage in the Commission's inquiry was a study of the origin and operation of Quebec's dual system. Such an investigation was essential to clarify the traditional problem of religio-cultural diversity which had led to the institution of dual confessional schooling. The Commission began, therefore, with a treatment of education during the French régime (1608-1763).

All attempts at education in Quebec during the French régime were initiated by the church. No system of education existed, but there were about thirty elementary schools for boys, a college for secondary education, two

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[4]This opinion is expressed by F. Henry Johnson, A Brief History of Canadian Education, p. 177.

seminaries, and fifteen convent schools for girls. These schools were under direct ecclesiastical control and were staffed in the main by secular priests or members of religious orders. The school population was wholly French and Catholic, and no need for duality in an educational system existed. The role of the school at this time was crucial in encouraging the people of the Quebec colony to retain their language and their way of life, as well as their church.[5]

The Quebec colony came under British rule in 1763 and was divided in 1791 into Upper and Lower Canada, Lower Canada roughly corresponding to the present Province of Quebec. Political, social, and educational history in Lower Canada during the period immediately following the conquest centers upon one issue. That is, there are now two major groups of people to be served educationally--one, a majority with desires to continue their established ways of living, and the other a minority who claim rights by conquest. French Canadian accounts of this period tend to stress ways in which the English harmed the initial educational efforts of the French Canadians; they might mention, for example, English troops occupying the Jesuit College and turning away students. However, English historians have been more kind. While admitting that some

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[5]Charles E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada, (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company Limited, 1957), p. 23.

actions were inimical to French interests, they emphasize that British rule showed remarkable consideration for French Canadian institutions.

In 1789 the first legislative efforts were made to establish a system of education. A committee of the Council appointed by the Governor-General recommended the immediate erection in every district of free parish or village schools to give instruction in the three Rs. In the central or county town of each district a superior school was to teach grammar, languages, advanced arithmetic, book-keeping, and applied mathematics. Additionally, the committee recommended legislation requiring that each parish be assessed to support the schools of a district. It also suggested the establishment of "collegiate institutes" for the teaching of the liberal arts and sciences. These institutes were to be non-denominational; that is, no Christian theology was to be taught, and sectarian characteristics were to be expressly avoided. Their boards of directors were to consist of the judge, the bishops of the Church of England and the Church of Rome, and twenty other persons--ten Roman Catholics and ten Protestants--appointed by the government. French Catholics, and particularly the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, fought the recommendations and viewed them as an attempt by an unsympathetic government to get complete control over education. No legislation was passed.

The Act of 1801 represented the second attempt to

establish a system of education for the people of Lower Canada. The act "to establish free schools and to promote the cause of education" provided for a non-sectarian elementary school in each parish and a superior school in the chief town of each county. The language of instruction was to be the mother tongue, either French or English, and religious instruction was left to priests and ministers. Schools were to be owned and operated by a central authority which was to appoint teachers, determine the course of study, and select textbooks. The Act of 1801 was inoperative until 1818 when the central authority was set up with the famous title of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. It consisted of a committee, predominantly Protestant and under the presidency of the bishop of the Church of England. From the French Canadian point of view, the real purpose of the institution was to "take away the right of teaching from the Canadians and to establish an educational monopoly for the upkeep of Protestant or neutral schools".[6] However, in 1953 a French Canadian historian, Audet, showed that in its actual operation the Royal Institution was quite willing to defer to the interests of the French-speaking and Roman Catholic population.[7] In practice the Royal

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[6]Pierre Boucher de la Bruére, Le Conseil de L' Instruction publique, (Montreal: Le Devoir, 1918), p. 203.

[7]This thesis is discussed at length by Louis-Phillippe Audet in Le Système Scolaire de la Province de Québec, Vol. III, (Quebec: Les Presses Universitaires Laval, 1952).

Institution was somewhat ineffectual, due primarily to its opposition by the Roman Catholic Church. In spite of this opposition, eighty-four schools had been founded by the end of the 1820s and they were serving approximately 3140 pupils. From that point, however, the Institution schools declined steadily, and by 1841 they had nearly vanished.

In 1824 the Assembly ratified a bill known as the Fabrique Act. This act permitted the fabrique or vestry of a parish church to use one quarter of its revenue for the operation of one school in a parish of two hundred families or two schools in a parish of three hundred families. The fabriques would have control over the building of a school, the choice of a teacher, and the course of study. Roman Catholic people and clergy supported this plan, and, although it achieved only limited success due to lack of resources, fifty to sixty fabrique schools were in operation between 1824 and 1829. Howard Adams, author of a historical study of the roots of separatism, claims that the Legislative Assembly was actually opposed to both the Royal Institution and the fabrique arrangements. According to Adams the Assembly desired a secularized educational system but was thwarted by both Protestant and Catholic clergy.

The Act of 1829 introduced a plan for a common school system. Control of education was placed in the hands of

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[8]Howard Adams, The Education of Canadians: The Roots of Separatism, (Montreal: Harvest House Ltd., 1968) p. 23.

local trustees who were elected by land-holding residents. The act provided grants to pay one half of the cost of erecting school houses, grants to school masters and some money for indigent pupils who were taught gratis. Religious communities and fabriques as well as those few Royal Institution schools were entitled to benefits under the act, but, basically, the clergy was excluded from the government of education in the province. This act proved quite successful, and by 1835-36 some fifteen hundred schools had been established. However, during the Rebellion of 1837, government grants to schools were cut off and previous educational advances were substantially wiped away.

Events prior to the unrest had shown it difficult to unite French Canadians and English Protestants in a common educational system. The Royal Institution had been acceptable to English Protestants but was fought bitterly by French Catholics. The fabrique schools seemed to provide better for French Catholic needs. Yet to this date there was no formal dual school system, and there are several contemporary scholars who indicate that a dual system was not inevitable. C. E. Phillips, for example, notes that Anglicans of Quebec were holding church services in Roman Catholic chapels. He mentions city schools where large numbers of Roman Catholic and Protestant children attended classes together. Such examples of goodwill admit the possibility that the two races could have been

successfully united in a single school system.[9] Brunet, a French Canadian historian, blames the growing trend toward a dual school system on "the hostility of the State". He explains that French Canadians continually applied for projects from the State and were turned down. British administrators were working to Anglicize and Protestantize the French. French Canadians ultimately gave up on their frustrated attempts at advancement and became disinterested. Into the vacuum stepped the Church. Brunet suggests that the British, had they encouraged French initiative, might have staved off a dual system based so strongly on church control.[10] Howard Adams interprets the Durham Report as misrepresenting educational conditions in order to Anglify the system of education. He quotes Durham as having said, "It will be an advantage to the French Canadians to acquire an English character".[11] Durham proposed a separation of Church and State in education. Schools would be allowed to teach the Bible in a non-denominational way to instill morals, but no child would be obliged to attend religious instruction. The Catholic clergy opposed Durham's proposals because they emphasized the separation of Church and State and because they held British culture superior to French

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[9]Phillips, op. cit., p. 95.

[10]Michel Brunet, Canada Anglais: Deus itineraires, un affrontement, (Montreal: Editions HMH, Ltée, 1968), pp. 76-79.

[11]Adams, op. cit., p. 30.

culture. The Church of England also opposed the separation of Church and State.

Following the investigation of the rebellion and the report of Lord Durham, Upper and Lower Canada were united in 1841. Soon afterward an education act attempted to unite English, French, Protestant and Catholic in one school system. However, the attempt failed and the act was superseded by education acts applying exclusively to Upper or Lower Canada. It was at this point that the dual school system originated. A Common School Act was passed for Lower Canada in 1841 giving municipalities and their elected councils the right to levy taxes and to build schools. This act included the famous dissentient clause which was responsible for duality in Quebec's schools. The clause provided that "any number of persons of a different faith from the majority in any township or parish 'might notify the school commission of their intent to withdraw from the control of that body, choose their own school trustees, and establish and maintain one or more common schools for the minority'".[12] Such schools would be equally eligible for government support. Clause XVI provided "that it shall be lawful for the Governor of the province to appoint from time to time, in each of the cities and towns corporate therein, not less than six nor more than fourteen persons (one half of whom shall

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[12]F. Henry Johnson, A Brief History of Canadian Education, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company of Canada Limited, 1968), p. 43.

in all cases be Roman Catholic, and the other half Protestants) to be a Board of Examiners for each city or town."[13] C. B. Sissons, student of Church-State relationships in Canadian education, points out, "A dissentient school was not a common school; whether Catholic or Protestant, its sole concern was with those of its own faith."[14]

The Act of 1841 is notable not only because it marks the beginning of a dual system of schooling in the Province of Quebec, but also because it rejects the principle of secular education and provides for a duality based on religious as opposed to cultural differences. Howard Adams believes the act enhanced the common ground of various Protestant groups and intensified their distinctiveness from Catholicism.[15]

The Education Act of 1846, applying only to Canada East, repealed previous school acts but reaffirmed the principle of dissent. In the cities of Montreal and Quebec two separate school commissions were to be formed, one Roman Catholic and one Protestant. These school commissions were to have the power to collect their own taxes. In addition, separate boards of examiners were again appointed to certify teachers. In 1859, duality was

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[13]Adams, op. cit., p. 43.

[14]C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education, p. 136.

[15]Adams, op. cit., p. 44.

further enhanced at the provincial level when a Council of Public Instruction was established to run education free from political interference. The Council was composed of two committees, the Catholic Committee and the Protestant Committee, each responsible for education in its own sphere. In 1869 the Protestant Committee and the Catholic Committee supported each other to permit the independent taxation of the two categories of school supporters, Catholic and Protestant, in Montreal and Quebec. Apparently, Roman Catholics suffered financially from this arrangement, whereas Protestant revenues from taxation increased.[16] Since 1869 corporate taxes in Quebec have been divided between the two systems in proportion to school enrollment. C. E. Phillips cites this provision as an advantage to French Catholics because Protestants owned more corporations and were wealthier than French Catholics.

By the end of the 1860s, therefore, the major elements of the dual confessional school system were established and in operation. C. B. Sissons notes the major role the Church played in this system. If in a school district people neglected to see to the re-election of school commissioners, after fifteen days the religious forces of the community might swing into action. A meeting of the clergy and former school commissioners could, when appointed

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[16] In Montreal, Protestant revenues rose from $8,000 in 1868 to $23,000 in 1871 and to $59,000 in 1875.

by the superintendent, take charge of the schools. In addition, the Curé, priest or officiating minister had the exclusive right of selecting books having reference to religion or morals for children of his own religious faith. No priest or minister was allowed to visit any schools belonging to inhabitants not of his own persuasion except with the consent of the commissioners of such a school. Finally, priests and ministers were exempt from having to take a government examination in order to qualify to teach.[17]

During the ensuing decades the Protestant Committee and Catholic Committee each grew both in jurisdiction and autonomy. The dual system in practice proved to be more separate than it was in theory. General meetings of Catholics and Protestants together in the Council of Public Instruction provided a theoretical basis for union at the top. However, in practice, the Council met seldom as a whole body.

Louis-Philippe Audet distinguishes four periods in the history of the Council of Public Instruction and notes the decreasing number of meetings as time progressed. From 1860 to 1869 there were thirty three meetings, from 1869 to 1875, under the Ministry of Education, there were sixteen meetings, and, from 1876 to 1908, the Council met thirteen times. Finally, the Council entered a period of complete inactivity; from 1908 to 1960 there were no meetings.

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[17] Sissons, op. cit., pp. 136-137.

Sissons also notes the dearth of unified meetings of the Council.

> The Committees sit separately about four times a year. They may, if they wish, sit together when their joint interests are concerned. Because their independent powers are so complete, however, such meetings are rare. But all school questions affecting the joint interests of Roman Catholics and Protestants must come within the jurisdiction of the Council. Since 1908 there have been no joint interests then?[18]

Therefore, the Protestant Committee and Catholic Committee controlled their respective spheres of education separately. In 1903 an Education Act was passed allowing Jewish students to attend Protestant schools in Quebec. Thus, the word "Protestant" began to mean "non-Catholic", a definition persisting today.

This, then was the development of the dual confessional school system in Quebec which remained intact until the mid 1960s and, to an extent, remains so today. It provided the province with two distinct and separate systems of schools, the separation provided for constitutionally along religious lines, Catholic and Protestant. Clearly, the role of the Church in the administration and organization of Quebec's schools was great, the role of the State diminished. M. Joseph-L. Pagé, the Catholic secretary of education, went so far as to suggest that the State existed primarily to sanction the will of the Church.

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[18]Sissons, op. cit., p. 146.

> The State administers education but plays only a supplementary part. By laws and regulations it ratifies and sanctions the will and wishes of the parents and the Church, according to the particular faith of the parents. The State accords public grants and supervises the material situation of the school.[19]

In 1960, therefore, prior to the Parent Commission reforms, there were eighty two thousand students attending Protestant elementary schools and thirty thousand attending Protestant secondary schools in the Province of Quebec. The school census of 1961-1962 showed 103% of Protestant boys between the ages of thirteen and sixteen years and 104% of Protestant girls enrolled in various types of secondary schools.[20] These students were taught in 344 schools by approximately 4200 Protestant teachers, most of whom were lay teachers who had been trained in the Protestant-English normal schools of the province.[21]

Religious education in Protestant schools prior to 1900 had been prescribed by a central authority. "Scripture" was included as a subject of study, and the first hour of schooling each day was to be devoted to non-sectarian Biblical instruction. However, during the twentieth century time devoted to religious instruction was cut to fifteen or twenty minutes each day, and the concept

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[19]Sissons, op. cit., p. 129.

[20]The Province of Quebec, The Report of the Royal Commission on Inquiry in Education in the Province of Quebec, Vol. 4, pp. 94-99.

[21]The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Organization and Administration of Education, second edition, 1960, Ottawa, Canada, p. 143.

of religious instruction was broadened to include not only the study of the Bible but also instruction in morals and scripture history. By 1960 an elaborate outline of lessons was used with the aim of imparting a knowledge of the Bible, stimulating interest in the Bible as a masterpiece of literature, and of providing an opportunity to emphasize the moral and religious foundations of Western civilization.

There were in 1960 over 771,000 students attending 7300 Roman Catholic elementary schools and more than 131,000 attending 1400 Catholic secondary schools in Quebec. These students were taught by over 36,100 Catholic teachers, most of whom had received their training in Catholic normal schools in the province. Twenty per cent of the elementary teachers and sixty percent of the secondary teachers were religious. In 1960 only six percent of the pupils in Roman Catholic schools in Quebec were English-speaking. In addition, only 67% of Roman Catholic boys and 68% of the girls between the ages of thirteen and sixteen were enrolled in any form of secondary level education.[22] Catholic Quebec had a more complete and thorough program of religious education. Religion was not only taught as a subject for time periods ranging from thirty to fifty minutes daily, but it permeated the entire curriculum and the whole life of the school.

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[22]Canada, The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Organization and Administration of Education, p. 142.

Thus, the dual school system developed as a viable response to problems of religio-cultural diversity in the Province of Quebec. It operated in harmony with confessional distinctions, separating Catholics and Protestants for the purposes of education. In fact it also provided for recognition of cultural distinctions, for Catholics were most often French and Protestants English. Not only were religio-cultural groups educated separately but also differently. Significant variations in substance and amount of education occurred between the Catholic and Protestant sides, and it was precisely this uneven and separate development which caused the Parent Commission to recommend moving toward unification.

While the Royal Commission recommended change in many facets of education in Quebec including "activist" methods of instuction and consolidation of school districts, issues concerning the religious duality of Quebec's schools and the accompanying recommendations made by the Commission were of primary interest to Quebec's teachers.[23] First, the Commission recommended the establishment of a Ministry of Education. Quebec had not had such a ministry since 1875, and the Commission believed it necessary to centralize the many educational services scattered among various Departments of Government and under church and private

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[23]For a list of major Parent Commission recommendations the reader is referred to F. Henry Johnson, A Brief History of Canadian Education, pp. 177-179.

agencies. One of the principal problems of the Minister of Education was to be the development of an integrated and balanced educational system--a system in the true sense of the word. The Commission held that the dual school system had caused the establishment of disparate entities in Quebec, entities which engaged in little communication with each other.

> . . . the present system is made up of disparate parts, all too often out of contact with each other and in tight compartments. Protestants and Roman Catholics have built up their own school systems. On the Roman Catholic side, an English language section has come into being and developed certain special characteristics.[24]

However, the Commission believed that any merger would be inconceivable without full assurance of adequate guarantees for the Protestants. They suggested, therefore, the appointment of an Associate Deputy Minister of the Protestant faith who would share with the Minister responsibility for the general administration of the Ministry. This Associate would be entrusted with safeguarding the interests of Protestant education. In addition, the recommendations provided for special guarantees for Protestant education in their plans for the internal organization of the Ministry. Although the Commission was opposed to the separateness imposed by the dual system, it concluded that a haphazard move toward unification at any cost might prove equally foolish.

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[24]Province of Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry, Vol. 4., p. 87.

> At present, the Protestant Secretary of the Department of Education, like the Roman Catholic Secretary, has the rank of Deputy Minister without having the title. The direction of Protestant education is not juridicially autonomous, since it is subject to the control of the Superintendent, but in fact its independence is securely anchored in the administrative structure of the Department. Thus, it would be unwise to abolish the post of Director of Protestant Education without finding an equivalent to take its place. The strict division which has always existed between Protestant and Roman Catholic education has not always been to the advantage of pupils or to the community as a whole; in some respects it has delayed progress and prevented a fruitful exchange of ideas. Yet, even if it has been carried to an extreme, there is no reason for us to fall into the opposite error and seek unification at all costs, without regard for differences in belief, in outlook, language and culture.[25]

Therefore, though administrative services common to the various sectors of education would also have jurisdiction over the Protestant schools, there was provision for an office in charge of Protestant education and another in charge of inspection of Protestant institutions within the Division of Instruction. In addition, it was suggested that Protestant officials be placed in strategic positions in certain common services, such as the Educational Finance Service and the School Commission Service, to make known their point of view. The same suggestion was also to apply to English-speaking Roman Catholics.

Second, the Parent Commission recommended the creation of a Superior Council of Education to advise the Minister and his Department and also to establish a communication link with the public. The new Council was to replace the

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[25] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 95.

old Council of Public Instruction which had been composed of the Protestant and Catholic Committees. However, the functions of the new Council of Education were to be more limited than those of the Protestant and Catholic Committees. The Minister would assume many of these duties since he was the pivot of the whole system and since unified direction was to be achieved in his person. The Superior Council was to be a truly representative body composed of sixteen members appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. The President and Vice-President of the Council, also chosen by the Lieutenant-Governor, should be one, a Roman Catholic, the other a Protestant. The Council would itself appoint two bilingual Secretaries, the mother tongue of one to be French, and of the other, English. In addition, the Council, representing the co-ordination of disparate elements which made up the educational system, was to meet at least once a month.

The Commission expected that the Council would act as a unified body. By this, they meant "a return to what the Council of Public Instruction might have been."[26] However, they also recommended the creation of a Roman Catholic Committee and of a Protestant Committee and of three Educational Commissions, all of which would be permanent bodies with limited functions. The Commission explained that educational reform need not mean the end

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[26]Province of Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry, Vol. I, p. 114.

of all advantages currently granted to Roman Catholics and Protestants.

> The confessional character of education in this Province rests upon a century-old tradition, and numerous briefs have urged its continuance. Of course, we would not wish to ignore the requests made to us for the establishment of new sectors . . . We believe, however, that the equal right of all citizens to education by no means implies the impairment of the advantages presently granted to Roman Catholics and Protestants. This is what leads us to recommend the continuance of a Roman Catholic and a Protestant Committee, the membership and functions of which we propose to modify.[27]

The two Committees, then, were to be principally responsible for the religious and moral training of youth. Most of the earlier broad powers of the confessional committees would now reside with the Ministry and Superior Council. The Protestant and Catholic Committees would be charged with formulating regulations on the religious instruction and moral formation of children, subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. Each Committee would be composed of nine to fifteen members appointed for three-year terms. Religious authorities as well as parents and educators were to be represented on the Committees.

The third important reform from the teachers' point of view had to do with confessionality in Quebec's schools, a complex issue at the core of the dual school system. The Royal Commission viewed itself as an agency of the State, and felt that it must assume the point of view of civil society as a whole in religious matters. They

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[27] Ibid., p. 115.

adopted, therefore, the same neutrality which they attributed to the State. In fact, the neutrality of the State in religious matters was the first principle governing the Commission's pronouncements about confessionality.

> The state must not use its authority in any way which would constrain its citizens to profess one religion in preference to another, to profess any religion in preference to none, or to profess no religion. The state is not competent to determine the truth or falsity of religion in general, or of a given religion in particular; the problem of religious truth is outside its jurisdiction. . . . Consequently in a pluralistic country, the state must grant equal treatment to all churches and all faiths as institutions and to believers and non-believers as free, responsible and equal citizens.[28]

In addition, the Commission made a distinction between the principles of religious neutrality of the State and the separation of the Church from the State. They were not, then, suggesting a juridically established separation, but rather an "attitude, a frame of mind, a spirit manifested by the state, its citizens and the churches."[29] However, the Commission stressed that the religious neutrality of the State was not to mean that the State owed no consideration to the religious beliefs of its citizens. The State must respect all the religious choices of its citizens, as long as they were compatible with social peace.

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[28] Province of Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry, Vol. I, p. 28.

[29] Ibid., p. 28.

These considerations had much importance in the field of education. The Commission concluded that the State did not contravene the principle of its religious neutrality when it acceded to the requests of religious groups asking for religious instruction or confessionality in the schools. But the State also had the duty of protecting its citizens' freedom of conscience by making sure that the confessionality of the public schools, or the religious instruction given in them did not wound the religious convictions of children attending the schools. At this point the Commission stressed the fact that "the obligation of the State to insure public education for everyone has priority over whatever duty it may have to authorize religious instruction for groups of children in its schools."[30] Thus, while previous statements of the Report may have left the position of the Commission unclear regarding the relative importance of Church and State, the final statement placed the need for general public education above the needs of various religious groups for confessionality.

The Commission, while dealing with the issue of confessionality, took note of the changing situation with respect to religion in the Province of Quebec. Until that time, one of the distinguishing features of the Quebec school system had been that all public education had been

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[30]Province of Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry, Vol I, p. 31.

required to be confessional, either under Roman Catholic or Protestant jurisdiction. On the French side, even higher education was wholly in the hands of Roman Catholic institutions. The Commission felt that this situation had been well-suited to a society relatively homogeneous from a religious standpoint, the great majority of the population being either Roman Catholic or Protestant. By 1961, however, the Parent Commission believed it obvious that religious pluralism was growing. Even within the French and English populations, associations of citizens were demanding non-confessional public education for their children. The new religious pluralism combined with another concern of the Commission, the merging of educational institutions into larger units, made it necessary to regard confessionality in public education in an entirely new light.

In response to the new situation, the Commission acknowledged that those who demanded non-confessional education were asserting an incontestable right. The solution to the problem they suggested, lay in the establishment and operation, within the public sector and on equal footing of both non-confessional and confessional education. Pupils would be freely enrolled in the school which suited them, and a uniform system of grants would apply to the system as a whole. While the Commission described its proposal as "certainly the most liberal solution from the religious point of view", they also understood a danger of

this solution--that of fragmenting the educational system. Hence, strict measures of coordination and cooperation were to be enforced. In other words, the Commission called for educational diversity with administrative unity; that is, one unified local administrative body would be responsible for the management of all schools, Roman Catholic, Protestant, non-confessional, English, and French.

The Commission also recognized the lingual dimension of diversity, formerly spoken of only from a religious standpoint. They stressed the need for non-confessional education in both French and English languages. They ventured to hope that growing numbers of non-French-speaking immigrants, who until then had sent their children to English schools, would now elect to give their children a French education. The Commission stated that the need for non-confessional education had been less keenly felt in the English-speaking population, since Protestant education had laid less stress than Roman Catholic education on its confessional aspect. Yet, they predicted that the Jewish population as well as other English-speaking religious minorities would take advantage of the new non-confessional English schools, since their children would receive completely neutral education in secular subjects as well as special provision for religious education in the desired faith.

Finally, the Commission provided guidelines for schools in areas where small populations made it impossible to

support several schools catering to various diversities. In such cases, those in charge of the schools were to make certain that the confessionality was arranged in a way that it would not offend the consciences of children or parents. At the very least, children could be excused from religious instruction, prayers, and devotional exercises. At the secondary level, courses in religion and morality could be made elective, some being presented from a Roman Catholic or Christian point of view, others being neutral. Finally, the Commission raised the possibility of bi-confessional schools. In such an arrangement, separate religious courses could be offered to Roman Catholics and Protestants, who would then be united for secular subjects.

The fourth important issue of concern to teachers encompassed the duality of Quebec's public schools and centered upon cultural diversity. As stated before, the dual school system in Quebec had been constitutionally based upon religious distinctions. Nothing in the British North America Act expressly obliged a province to provide public schools for its French or English minorities. However, in Quebec, religious and cultural diversity had been nearly synonymous.

The Commission noted the differences in the French and English systems and documented what it considered to be the greater success of the English side. They noted that, "The Roman Catholic population, in great majority French-speaking, is still backward in school attendance as compared

with the Anglo-Protestant population."[31] They believed that "English-speaking Canadians--generally better trained in business . . . --were without a doubt better prepared than the French-speaking Canadians to take into their own hands responsibility for the local organization of education."[32] In addition, the English community had agreed to levy upon itself school taxes higher than those paid by Roman Catholics for their public schools, thus accommodating more completely the majority of English-speaking students. Educational structures on the French side had led to adequate treatment for but a small group of students who were expected to attend university, and this arrangement neglected the great majority of young people who viewed their public school studies as a blind alley. On the other hand, the English educational structure had for a long time encouraged a more rapid passage from the secondary course to the university for a greater number of students.

The Commission asserted that English language schools provided for the legitimate needs of the English-speaking minority. Therefore, they stated, English language public schools should continue to exist and must be allowed to progress in their own fashion. But, they cautioned, their progress must not be separate from that

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[31] Province of Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry, Vol 4, p. 93.

[32] Province of Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry, Vol. 4., p. 95.

of the entire system of education.

> We envisage this progress, however, within the framework of the reforms that we propose and in close association with the progress of the entire system of education. For this reason we consider it of the highest importance that the English language schools become as completely integrated as possible within the rest of the system.[33]

The Commission also recommended the recognition of only two linguistic sectors--English and French. The sectors were to be considered at the local administrational level. Wherever there were Roman Catholic, Protestant, or non-confessional schools, there was to be a director of education for each of these two lingual groups.

Obviously, the Commission was suggesting that the cultural diversity in the Province of Quebec be formally reflected in the new educational structure of the province. In doing so, they had to consider carefully two major factors which might jeopardize such a reform. First was the possible tendency to jealousy on the French side. The possibility existed that the French might feel the English side did not deserve any special treatment in education, that previous treatment had allowed the English system to surpass the French system even in the French province. Second was the possibility that the English side would feel so superior as to think that union with the French side could not be valuable, indeed, that it could only pose a disadvantage to an already great educational

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[33]Province of Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry, Vol 4, p. 96.

structure. In dealing with these possible problems, the Commission asserted first that the disparities, truly regrettable for the French majority in Quebec, should not overshadow the potential contribution and the stimulus of friendly competition implicit for the school system as a whole in the present high level of development which had been achieved on the English side.[34] And second, they insisted that reform should not be directed toward curbing English language education in Quebec, but rather toward encouraging French language education to achieve as quickly as possible a comparable level in its quality and services.[35]

The Parent Commission therefore, suggested significant changes in the dual school system in Quebec, changes which could not fail to elicit response from teachers. In fact, some educators felt that the Commission Report dealt a death blow to the whole concept of dual schooling. Clearly, unification of the system was a major aim of the Commission in the establishment of both a Ministry of Education and the Superior Council of Education. That is, the administration and organization of Quebec's schools were to be unified and integrated at the provincial level. However, one could see increased provision for religio-cultural diversity at the school and instruction level. The addition of non-

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[34]Province of Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry, Vol. 4, p. 97.

[35]Ibid.

confessional schools to Quebec's system as well as formal provision for lingual differences clearly demonstrated an understanding of the special problems of Quebec's diverse school population. Therefore, it is possible to view the posture of the Commission on duality as a moderate rather than radical one. The Commission did not recommend, as French separatists were wont to do, the abolition of English language education in the Province of Quebec. Nor did they suggest, as some English leaders had, the continuation of a complete separation in the system of schools for the English minority.

Responses to the recommendations of the Parent Commission were many and varied. Brunet, for example, felt that the recommendations would aid the French majority in the province in its responsibility to organize and unify the system of education.[36] He also believed that the Report would, if acted upon, begin to alleviate a broader problem, that of "the inevitable economic inferiority of the French Canadians."[37] Paul Gérin-Lajoie, Minister of Education, also expressed optimism for the economic improvement of Quebec following the Parent reforms.

> Quebec should be in a position of leadership in North America, five years from now, if the province

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[36]Brunet, op. cit., p. 63.

[37]Ibid., p. 11. Translation by the author.

> can be handled with the same finesse, the same political astuteness and the same mixture of publicity and common sense which has been evident over the past five years. . . . The Department of Education activity constitutes the very axis on which revolves the whole Quebec Government policy of economic recovery and development. Quebec, for its part, because its very survival as the homeland of a distinct group of people in North America depends on it, because its cultural, social and economic development depends on it, is strongly determined to carry out a renovation of its educational system, and in this field, to offer its youth nothing but the best.[38]

Not all response, however, was favorable. Some Roman Catholic clergy expressed concern over two facets of the recommendations made by the Parent Commission. First, they held that religion should be integrated with everything in the schools and believed that integration would be impossible if the recommendations were accepted. Second, they were concerned over the status of the private schools in Quebec, most of which were church related. The Parent Report had centered most of its recommendations around the public school situation, but had also deplored the heavy reliance in Quebec on private schools.[39] However, not all clergy opposed the demise of duality. A powerful Roman Catholic clergyman, S. Em. le cardinal Leger, defended the Parent Report, stating that the proposals for the Superior Council of Education would not orient

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[38]Gérin-Lajoie, speech made in Toronto, June 5, 1966, p. 2-5.

[39]These concerns were expressed in a Roman Catholic periodical, Relations, Fevrier, 1965, p. 36.

the province toward the abandonment of all Christian institutions.[40]

The English Protestant Community expressed anxiety over the recommendations of the Royal Commission. Having had complete autonomy over their own separate school system for such a long period, some Protestants were worried about the new restrictions on their power. Their anxieties related to whatever restrictions to the autonomy of their actions were embodied in the new administrative structures, and the repercussions on the quality of their schools which these restrictions might have. For there were indeed restrictions. Whereas, in the past, the Catholic and Protestant schools were almost entirely independent of one another, the reunification recommended by the Royal Commission meant that Protestant and Catholic schools were now to work hand in hand in the solution of common problems.

In spite of varying responses by teachers and others in the population, the Quebec Government carried out immediately several recommendations of the Parent Commission. In 1964, Bill 60 was passed creating a Ministry of Education and a Superior Council of Education, thereby unifying the administration and organization of Quebec's formerly dual school system. Bill 60 also had the effect of granting much greater control over education to the State, diminishing significantly the role of the

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[40] Relations, Juin, 1966, p. 187.

Catholic and Protestant Committees. The newly established Ministry began to deal with other recommendations of the Parent Commission, including those dealing with cultural and confessional issues. Programs established by the Ministry to meet the recommendations of the Royal Commission included Operation 55 (1964), Regulation I (1965), and Regulations 2-4 (1966). All of these projects attempted to standardize various aspects of education across Roman Catholic, Protestant, French, and English lines. In addition, the Minister established a set of norms for education in the province in 1966, norms involving pupil-teacher ratios and the like. Following opposition to these norms and a strike by some teachers, the Government of Quebec passed Bill 25, further unifying the system by providing for province-wide negotiations for a single provincial teachers' contract.

The Parent Commission, therefore, proposed three major reforms of consequence to teachers which revamped the dual school system. Two of the three reforms were incorporated into Quebec law by the end of 1964. The Ministry of Education and the Superior Council of Education were to provide greater unification in the provincial administration and organization of education. The Commission's recommendation of an option for non-confessional education was not implemented immediately. However, it asserted the importance of cultural as well as religious diversity, and it suggested that a wholly confessional system could not adequately meet the modern

demand for greater separation of Church and State.

All of these changes affected teachers in the Province of Quebec, and teacher associations expressed much interest in them. In fact, it was precisely these reforms touching at the heart of the dual system which proved to be the most controversial for the teachers' organizations in Quebec. While Protestant, Catholic, French, and English teachers could immediately support the Parent Commission's recommendations to provide better higher educational opportunities and increased facilities for special education, teachers could not reach the same consensus over the reform of the dual confessional school system.

CHAPTER III

THE PROVINCIAL ASSOCIATION OF PROTESTANT TEACHERS

The Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers, hereafter referred to as the PAPT, is the oldest teachers' association in Canada. It was organized in 1864 to represent English Protestant teachers in what was then Lower Canada. Significantly, it was this association whose members were responsible for securing a separate school system for the Protestant minority, for the PAPT was formed when a group of English Protestants asked for and were granted the right of dissent under clause 93 of the British North America Act. Milestones in PAPT history include the year 1889 when the association received a charter and was incorporated. At that time the organization was given the right to elect a non-voting representative to the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction. In 1945 the PAPT succeeded in getting the passage of Bill 103 which granted the association automatic membership. Thus, from 1945, the association has spoken for virtually all teachers in schools under the jurisdiction of Protestant school boards in the province.

The PAPT is clearly a professional association, or at least, it views itself in that light. A clause in the Constitution of the organization states that it is "an

association for the advancement of the educational interests of the country, the elevation of the status of teachers, and the intellectual and professional improvement of its members".[1] Only after Bill 25 named it as one of the three associations to negotiate the new provincial teachers' contract in 1967 was it recognized under the Quebec Labour Code.

Publications of the PAPT include a Newsletter which ultimately became a newspaper, the Sentinel, a members' handbook, and most important, a periodical called Teachers Magazine. All member teachers receive these items automatically. In addition, there have been occasional special publications such as the brief presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Meetings of the PAPT include an Annual Convention of all members, an Annual General Meeting of all elected delegates, a Provincial Delegates Council which meets several times per month. There are also ad hoc committee meetings. Evidence of the PAPT position on the dual school system of the province is to be found primarily in its publications and minutes of major meetings. Fortunately, the PAPT prides itself on a well-kept, though small library which contains the minutes of major meetings of the association and its Councils dating back to the inception of the organization. The library also houses all of the PAPT publications.

An investigation of PAPT policy regarding the dual

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[1]PAPT, Teachers Magazine, December, 1925, p. 18.

school system prior to the Parent Commission Report involves three issues of primary concern. First, and obvious, is the position PAPT took specifically regarding duality and its analysis. Two other issues, however, are closely related to the first. One, the position of Protestant teachers regarding the Catholic segment of the province and evidence of Protestant-Catholic tensions are directly related to the dual school system since duality was formally based upon religious differences. Second, the position of the PAPT as an English organization is important to bear in mind. Thus, the attitudes of the Protestant teachers toward the French community in Quebec and French-English tensions were also related to a dual system which provided for de facto segregation of French and English peoples.

As early as 1864 prominent members of the Protestant community began meeting under the name of the Protestant Educational Association of Lower Canada. Their first concern was the legislation necessary for the protection of the educational rights of Protestants. The association, chaired at that time by Dr. Dawson, a minister, drew up a document suggesting separate education for Protestants.

> First, that there should be a separate Protestant Educational Department.
> Second, that no taxes for Roman Catholic Schools should be paid by Protestants, the taxes of isolated Protestants being paid to the nearest Protestant school.
> Third, that school districts should be defined without reference to existing ecclesiastical or municipal boundaries.
> Fourth, that Legislative grants for the purpose of education should be distributed in proportion to the population.

> Fifth, that certain special provisions should be made for education in Montreal and Quebec. Sixth, that special provisions for higher eucation should be made by land endowments or otherwise, all regulations respecting literary degrees should be made by the general government.[2]

In the course of the same executive meeting, it was proposed that the taxes of isolated Protestants might be made payable to the Educational Department or that the option might be allowed of paying the tax to the Roman Catholic school in the community. However, it was pointed out that, as the Protestants of Lower Canada were more wealthy than the Catholics, this suggestion would open the way for taxing Protestants for the support of Roman Catholic schools. Clearly, the association viewed this prospect as undesirable, and it went so far as to suggest that the amount of legislative grants be limited in some way, possibly by not exceeding the amount raised for the same purpose as local taxation. The Protestant association realized the financial implications of a separate school system for Protestants in the Province of Quebec.

A meeting of the Central Executive two days later brought forth an even more interesting proposal. Rev. Dr. Nicolls, who chaired the meeting, stated that he believed it would be "preferable for the interests of Protestant Education if it were administered by the Upper Canada Education Office, or, if this were impossible, that

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[2]PAPT, Minutes of the Executive Committee, December 10, 1864.

Canada could be divided into three provinces instead of two, namely Upper, Middle, and Lower Canada".[3]

In 1866 the PAPT formally requested a separate dissentient school system for the Protestant minority in Quebec, a clear indication of strong preference for a dual system in which Protestants would have autonomy over their own education. However, some evidence suggested that a dual system based upon religion was not the ideal arrangement in the eyes of all Protestants. The petition drawn up by the PAPT stated that Protestants had first preference for a non-denominational system of education. But they saw this goal as unattainable, and, therefore, as long as the system of separate schools existed in Lower Canada, they claimed a number of economic privileges to be constitutional rights which in no way were to depend on the vote of local legislatures.

> That all direct taxes for the support of schools, paid by Protestants unless otherwise designated by themselves, should be applied to Protestant or non-denominational education; and that all public money given for the same purpose should be divided between Protestants and Roman Catholics in proportion to the population. 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

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[3]This discussion is recorded in the PAPT, Minutes of the Executive Committee, on December 12, 1864.

> generally in the administration of education affairs.[4]

The PAPT claims, probably with right, that this petition was instrumental in securing the passage of Article 93 of the British North America Act in 1867 and the Law of 1869 which provided respectively for the right of dissent and the confessionality of the two Committees within the Council of Public Instruction.

The fact that the initial organization of Protestant teachers occurred to secure the establishment of what became the dual system of eduation in the province indicates the attention paid by Protestants to the system of education per se. That is, Protestants understood the importance of the arrangements making up the system of education and the implications of these arrangements for the Protestant population as a whole. In fact, the PAPT Petition to the Queen in 1866 constituted the clearest position taken by Protestant teachers as a group regarding the dual system until that system was challenged by the Parent Commission Report in the 1960s.

The dual system of schools was not mentioned again in official PAPT writings until the Convention of 1881. There the PAPT expressed a preference for a non-sectarian system of public schools, but again they appeared to view separation as inevitable and they, therefore, wished the

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[4]The entire text of the petition drawn up by the Protestant association at this time is found in the PAPT, Minutes of the Executive Committee, April 14, 1866.

separation to be complete. Dr. Robins, who spoke at the Convention, held that care must be taken to assure legal Protestant control of Protestant education.

> Care must be taken to see that if the schools are divided, Protestant schools are under Protestant control and that money of Protestants be given in support of Protestant schools. That we must see that we rest upon the firm basis of legislation, not upon the good pleasure of individuals.

Immediately following Dr. Robin's statement, the PAPT Convention unanimously passed a resolution demanding that separation be made complete.

> First, that this convention of Protestant teachers of the Province of Quebec desires to record the deliberate expression of its firm adherence to the principle of common, as opposed to sectarian systems of public schools.
>
> Second, that it hears with satisfaction the declaration of the Roman Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction that it is not proposed to modify the existing system in the direction of increasing or emphasizing the amount of separation now in force.
>
> Third, that it cannot but regret the unfortunate wording of various clauses, and especially of clause 8, in the proposed codification of the education laws, which have aroused the well grounded fears that action so much to be deprecated is contemplated.
>
> Fourth, 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.[5]

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[5]This discussion and the ensuing resolution occur in the PAPT Minutes of Convention, October 27, 1881.

Nearly ten years passed before the PAPT officially discussed the dual school system again. At the twenty-sixth Annual Convention in 1890 a speech by Rev. Elson I. Rexford noted three inherent defects of the system of schools. First, its expense; second, its faulty methods of teaching the two languages; and third, the legislative necessity to insure the rights of the minority. Rexford's speech contained no mention of modification of the system; rather, on the whole, he felt the system of separate schools to be beneficial. He was simply pointing out problems which needed solutions within the existing system.[6]

The next mention of the dual system did not occur until 1929 when Teachers Magazine contained an article by Dr. Joseph Nolin on "The French-Canadian View Point on Public Education".[7] Nolin spent much time treating the history of the French-Canadian side of education in the Province of Quebec, asserting that repeated attempts by the English to try to impose English schools with English teachers, unfamiliar with the language, the customs, and the religious beliefs on communities totally French in nature, had led the French to keep their children from school or send them to private schools. He then spoke

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[6]For notes on Rexford's speech, see the PAPT, Minutes of Convention, October 16-18, 1890.

[7]The article was published in the PAPT, Teachers Magazine, October, 1929, pp. 11-17.

favorably of the dual system finally instituted in 1846, stating that the Act of 1846 took into consideration the characteristics and peculiarities of the people of French Canada in providing for free education but not imposing it on the public. He noted that the Protestant minority was also left free to administer its own schools in its own way. Nolin held that this liberty of action allowed each institution to draw its own programs and to execute them in its own way. He spoke of the distinction between unity and uniformity, the former being essential.

> But we believe in a unity born of equality in citizenship, of freedom of opinion, of language, and of creed. . . . Unity, although not incompatible with it, is not necessarily the result of uniformity and standardization. It is born of tolerance and friendship, of admiration and goodwill.[8]

Nolin's article, while it indicated an acceptance of the dual school system, must be viewed in a somewhat different light than decisions taken by the various organs of the association itself. Of course, articles published by the association clearly played some role as reflectors or refiners of member opinion, but they must be viewed as different from positions upon which PAPT members or their duly elected representatives actually voted.

In 1924 a problem directly associated with the dual system of education arose for the consideration of the PAPT Executive. The representative sent to the Protestant Committee by the teachers reported that the Committee

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[8]PAPT, Teachers Magazine, October 29, 1929, p. 13.

was holding a special meeting to discuss the question of the education of non-Protestant and non-Roman Catholic children of the province. Upon examination of the problem most members of the Executive were inclined to suggest that all non-Catholic children be considered Protestant, although no formal motion was made to that effect. Clearly, Protestant teachers felt that this problem could be solved with minor changes in the definition of the word Protestant rather than major changes re-vamping the system itself.

In 1929 Rev. Elson Rexford again addressed the PAPT Convention regarding problems and solutions of Quebec's educational system. Rexford's speech analyzed the unique position of the small Protestant minority in the predominantly French Catholic Province of Quebec as well as the subsequent need for educational safeguards for that minority.

> We are a small English Protestant minority carrying on educational work in a large French Roman Catholic population, who were original settlers in this province. The position is unique and the Fathers of Confederation did not fail to recognize the important of conserving the privilege of the minority in educational matters, and therefore included in the BNA Act safeguards for Protestant education.[9]

He noted that Protestants in Quebec had privileges not enjoyed by any other religious minority in the Dominion of Canada. He cited, however, a few problems fostered by the

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[9]"The Quebec Educational Situation: Its Problems and Solutions", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, February, 1930, p. 30.

dual system. He believed that Protestants and Catholics could work separately on the great majority of educational questions but that there were certain questions upon which, if the province were to act at all, it had to act as a unit. For example, Protestants wanted compulsory education but Roman Catholics felt no need for it, causing Protestants to have to wait. Also, Protestants had suggested that women be eligible for election to school boards, but Roman Catholics were opposed to it. Finally, Rexford noted that the maintenance of a separate school system for the minority was more expensive than that of the majority. Because the Protestant population was spread out, Protestants could not have large schools. Yet, in spite of these problems, Rexford exhibited a positive attitude toward duality, dwelling on the few problems it posed the minority, never citing possible problems for the majority.

A 1930 contribution to Teachers Magazine by a professor at McGill University and member of the PAPT further denoted an acceptance of the dual system of education in the Province of Quebec. Professor F. Clarke's viewpoint was not unlike that of Rexford. He stressed the difficulties the system posed for the Protestant minority, but concluded that duality made peaceful co-existence between religio-cultural groups possible.

> I know nothing elsewhere that is quite comparable to the dual system which prevails here. The difficulties and disabilities that it must involve for a minority community are obvious enough. But the observer who has had any knowledge of the educational history of European peoples during the

> last four centuries will be less impressed by those than by the wisdom and foresight which have made possible in the Province of Quebec the peaceful co-existence of two sharply distinguished philosophies of education.[10]

The year of 1938 marked an important point for Protestant education in the Province of Quebec. The Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction appointed a Survey Committee November 26, 1937. This Committee, headed by W. A. F. Hepburn, was to inquire into and report to the Protestant Committee on all matters affecting education in the Province of Quebec. Reasons for the survey were varied. The Protestant educators in the province, and various Protestant bodies, including the PAPT, had requested that a survey be made. It was also clear that the Protestant Committee had looked at examples provided by similar surveys in other parts of Canada.

The Hepburn Survey constituted an intense look at the dual school system in the Province of Quebec, and the PAPT participated in this endeavor by submitting a brief to the Commission and by heavily publicizing the results of their survey. The Hepburn Commission accepted its mandate to look only at Protestant education in Quebec; in no way did it deal with problems on the Roman Catholic side. Further, the Commission began its report with a clear statement of the acceptance of the dual system.

> It need hardly be repeated that during the course of their inquiries the members of the Survey Commission were keenly aware that it was not their

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[10] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, June, 1930, p. 25.

> duty to take a blank sheet of paper and on it to inscribe a new system of Protestant education. They accepted the existing system, and endeavoured to discover how improvements could be made.[11]

However, there were matters to be treated by the Commission in which Protestants and Catholics held common jurisdiction. These issues included the scope and limits of State Education, adequacy of teachers' pensions, government provision of free textbooks, improvement of the general administration of the Department of Education, and the compulsory attendance question. But, regarding these matters, the Commission agreed not to encroach on Roman Catholic territory or autonomy.

> There are wide and basic questions affecting Protestant education which are common to the Roman Catholic system. It is not intended that the Survey Commission shall encroach upon these subjects except insofar as action may be taken by the Protestant Committee with the intention of conference and cooperation with the Roman Catholic Committee, should such necessity arise.[12]

The PAPT brief to the Hepburn Commission concurred with the position taken by that Commission regarding duality. In fact, like the Survey Commission, the PAPT accepted the existing duality and suggested that needed change could be brought about within the confines of the Protestant side in Quebec education.

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[11]Province of Quebec, Report of the Quebec Protestant Education Survey: Protestant Education in the Province of Quebec, 1938, p. 5.

[12]This statement by the Commission was reported in "The Purpose of the Survey", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, February, 1938, p. 17.

> It is not thought that improvement is to be found in the destruction of the old and the creation of something entirely new--if that were possible--but rather in building upon the old foundations, through changes and additions, a more adequate educational organization.[13]

Thus, the PAPT not only accepted duality in the schools of Quebec but also pressed for further extension of powers granted to the Protestant side in education. They stressed the need for a thoroughly representative Protestant Committee which could stave off possible Roman Catholic attempts to dictate policy.

> The educational situation in the province is unique not only because there are in reality two systems of education--Roman Catholic and Protestant--but also because Protestants are faced with a decreasing representation in the Legislature and the Government. Therefore, it has seemed wise to have some body widely representative of Protestant opinion which would control educational policy. Otherwise the time might come, in fact, is quite likely to come, when such policy might be dictated by a purely Roman Catholic majority. This would be embarrassing both to Roman Catholics and Protestants. Therefore, a Protestant Committee has been suggested that is thoroughly representative and yet possesses the requisite stability.
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> This reorganized Protestant Committee should have more power in all matters dealing with Protestant education. It should be given much of the authority now exercised by the Department of Education.[14]

Expressing fear at possible Roman Catholic dominance in policy making, the PAPT recommended that the Protestant

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[13] PAPT, Brief Submitted to the Quebec Protestant Education Survey, March, 1938, p. 4.

[14] Ibid., p. 5.

Committee be reconstituted to give it a character more representative of the Protestant community.[15] Finally, it suggested that the Government seek the recommendations of the reorganized Protestant Committee in distributing funds for distinctly Protestant education.[16]

The PAPT brief to the Hepburn Commission exhibited some of the same traits which had characterized previous PAPT statements regarding duality. Namely, it accepted the dual structure of education in the province and attempted to deal only with Protestant problems, ignoring those of Roman Catholic education. However, several additions to PAPT policy were aired in this brief for the first time. Clearly, the quotation from the brief underlined the fears in which Protestant education operated in the Province of Quebec, fears that the rights of the minority would be ultimately usurped by the Roman Catholic majority. In addition, the brief marked the first time that the Association formally requested an extension of Protestant powers within the dual system. Obviously, the PAPT recognized that, although the system posed some problems for Protestants, the situation could be much worse. Finally, the PAPT brief indicated that the association was composed not only of Protestants, but of teachers. Thus, the PAPT

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[15] One part of this recommendation suggested that the PAPT receive two voting representatives on the new Protestant Committee.

[16] PAPT, Brief Submitted to the Quebec Protestant Education Survey, March, 1938, p. 7.

had to consider not only the general problems of the Protestant minority, but also the special problems of teachers within the Protestant community and the Protestant system of education. The great concern of the association for teacher representatives on the Protestant Committee as well as their silent acceptance of duality lead one to the conclusion that the Quebec school system itself was of less concern to Protestant teachers than their role and rights within that system.

The Report of the Hepburn Commission provided for major changes within the Protestant side of the system of education in Quebec. A new Protestant Committee was to be composed of thirty-six members, six of whom would be advisory and without vote.[17] The PAPT response to the Hepburn Report was immediate and positive. Early in 1939 the Executive of the association decided to implement those recommendations having to do with teachers, to ask the Protestant Committee to implement those under its jurisdiction, and to request legislative action from the Government of the province regarding the reorganization of the Protestant Committee. The PAPT expressed only two

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[17]The recommendations regarding the Protestant Committee composed the bulk of the Hepburn Report. The Commission also suggested that educational units be consolidated, that the teaching of French in English schools be improved, that education be compulsory to the age of fifteen, that rural schools be improved, that health classes and classes for the handicapped be provided, that teacher training be updated and improved, and that religious education be extended into the High School. For a resume of Hepburn recommendations see A. R. B. Lockhart's analysis in PAPT, Teachers Magazine, February, 1939, pp. 11-14.

reservations pertaining to the recommendations. First, they questioned the increased size of the new Protestant Committee, believing that thirty-six members might prove to be unwieldy and unworkable. And second, they criticized the Commission for failing to grant the PAPT an increased representation on the newly reorganized Protestant Committee.

The next mention of the Quebec school system by the PAPT occurred during World War II. An article by Francis Barskey in Teachers Magazine represented the first attack on duality as well as an assertion that greater unity in education was to be desired. Barskey's concern over education was related to concern for the war effort. He stressed the relationship of education and victory and stated that the dual system, which had isolated Catholic and Protestant teachers, had effected "an unnatural division of forces" and had greatly hindered the progress of education in the Province of Quebec.[18] He mentioned the struggles for improvement of the economic status of teachers and the enrichment of the curricula, both of which he believed had been unsuccessful because of the isolation of the two groups of teachers. He concluded the article with a call for unity.

Because Barskey's attack on the dual school system was out of character with other PAPT statements to date, it

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[18]PAPT, Teachers Magazine, April, 1943, p. 16.

deserves some further analysis. The failure of many French Catholics in Quebec to support the war effort could suggest that the call for unity in Barskey's article would have been of temporary benefit to the Protestant English community of Canada. In addition, one could question whether the position taken in the article reflected the attitudes of Protestant teachers or their association. Or, the article could be viewed as an atypical and isolated instance of opposition to duality, since it was surrounded by statements of implicit acceptance of duality. However, in spite of these possibilities and reservations, it seems inescapable that Barskey's argument, published and disseminated by the PAPT, admitted a failure of the dual school system. Further, it suggested that the separation effected in the schools of the province might not be the wisest arrangement for education.

Barskey's article, as previously noted, stood amidst statements of acceptance and praise for the dual system. C. Wayne Hall, then president of the PAPT, addressed the annual convention in 1946, paying tribute to the founders of duality.

> The PAPT pays tribute to the wisdom and courage of the early leaders of education in Quebec. The Act of 1846 was framed at a time when interest in educating all the children was not evident in many parts of the province, at a time when direct government assistance to school boards was almost negligible, and at a time when there was strong feeling against separate schools for Protestants and Roman Catholics. It required

> courage and tenacity to oppose the Protestant churches in their desire for one school only . . .[19]

Clearly, Hall found the dual system acceptable, indeed preferable, to a system dominated by Protestants only. His suggestion that the Act of 1846 could have provided for Protestant schools only constituted a unique way of viewing that Act.

In 1949 a problem arose which forced another PAPT statement regarding the educational system of Quebec. Recent provincial legislation had denied arbitration rights to rural teachers, Catholic and Protestant.[20] Here was a case of joint interest to both Protestant and Catholic teachers. The PAPT decided to request the Protestant Committee to work for an amendment to the legislation. An amendment could have been of joint benefit to Protestants and Catholics. However, the request of the Protestant association to the Protestant Committee failed to mention possible effects on Catholic teachers. It spoke only of concern for and benefits to Protestant teachers.

> On behalf of the PAPT of Quebec we wish to advise you that our Association is opposed to this legislation as being unfair and unjust to the rural Protestant teachers of the Province of Quebec. . . . In the second place we submit that this legislation is ultra vires the

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[19] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, December, 1946, p. 4.

[20] This amendment was provided for in Paragraph 3, Section 25 of "An Act to Insure the Progress of Education" passed in 1946 (10 George VI, Chapter 21) as amended in 1947 by the Act II, George VI, Chapter 32, Section 25, Paragraph 3.

> legislation of the Province of Quebec, as it prejudicially affects the rights of Protestsnts who have complete control of their schools. . . For these reasons we respectfully request you to take such steps as you deem appropriate to obtain a legislative amendment to Paragraph 3, Section 25, insofar as Protestant teachers are concerned.[21]

Thus, the concern of the PAPT appeared to be solely with Protestant teachers of the province, even in a situation which affected all teachers regardless of the religious preference. The change they requested was, therefore, only to affect the Protestant side of education in the province and would in no way benefit Catholic teachers or Catholic education.

The decade prior to the Parent Reforms saw further refinement of Protestant teachers' position regarding Quebec's educational system. In 1950 the PAPT Scrapbook included an article by Dr. C. Ritchie Bell advocating a single public school system for the province.

> What a step forward it would be if we had one public school system where Hebrew, Roman Catholic, and Protestant children learned to discuss the things of life together.[22]

Dr. Bell was not a member of the PAPT and was not writing in a PAPT publication. On that basis one can question the amount of support his ideas were then receiving from Protestant teachers. In fact, the PAPT was exhibiting great concern over threats to the dual school system at the

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[21] PAPT, Minutes of the Executive Committee, February 12, 1949.

[22] Scrapbook of the PAPT, "Intersectarian Education Urged", from the Montreal Gazette, March 6, 1950.

time Bell's article appeared. In 1950 the Protestant Committee initiated the concern which was quickly reiterated by the PAPT. Kiel H. Oxley, the PAPT's representative on the Protestant Committee, spoke to the Convention of Protestant teachers in 1950 expressing concern at current threats to Protestant autonomy.

> During the last year the Protestant Committee has expressed grave concern over what appears to be the intention of the Provincial Government to threaten the autonomy of Protestant education in this province, and to interfere in the control of matters which have remained the prerogative of the Protestant Committee for more than forty years.[23]

Following Mr. Oxley's report, the Protestant teachers in Convention appointed a Special Committee to study the implications of the offensive Order-in-Council No. 473 which reaffirmed the authority of the Superintendent of Education over Protestant education in Quebec. The teachers agreed they must watch this situation closely, but there were no actions they could take until further information was available.

Concern over the status of the dual system in Quebec continued for the PAPT. In 1952 T. Croft Lea wrote that French and English sides had reached substantial agreement over the need for a Ministry of Education. He expressed some Protestant fears for autonomy, however, should a Ministry be established.

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[23]Mr. Oxley was at that time the PAPT's representative on the Protestant Committee and was ultimately to become the President of the Association.

> Will our own Dr. Percival be able to go direct to him (the Minister of Education) for approval for plans for the Protestant school system? Will anything less be consistent with the freedom from dictation by the Catholic side which Protestant education in Quebec has heretofore enjoyed?[24]

Finally, in 1956, there occurred the last direct mention of the dual school system before the naming of the Parent Commission. Three children whose father was a Witness of Jehovah had been denied admission to the Protestant school of Rouyn, Quebec. The event was clearly the result of a duality based along Protestant-Catholic lines, and the PAPT opposed this failure to admit the children. Predictably, however, the association suggested a solution completely within the confines of a dual system of education. That is, they stated a belief that the word "Protestant" for the purpose of education should be defined as "non-Catholic".[25]

A review of the statements by the PAPT regarding the dual system reveals that the position of the Protestant association prior to the Parent Report was one of nearly complete acceptance and praise. Although dual schooling was seldom a major issue for the PAPT during this period, only twice, in 1943 and again in 1952, were there attacks on duality in PAPT publications. The Hepburn Commission

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[24]PAPT, Teachers Magazine, February, 1952, p. 39.

[25]PAPT, "Religious Freedom in Our Schools", Teachers Magazine, February, 1956, p. 47.

Report, then, can be viewed as representative of the acceptance of the dual system by Protestant teachers. It attempted to work within the existing system of education to solve problems of the Protestant minority. In addition, beyond accepting duality, the PAPT found a great deal to praise about the system. The Protestant association often lauded the arrangement as one which permitted Protestants and Catholics to co-exist in harmony.

An issue closely related to the position of the PAPT regarding the dual system was the position of the Association toward Protestant-Catholic tension during the period beginning with the establishment of the PAPT and ending with the Parent Commission Inquiry. Since the dual system was constitutionally based on religious differences and separated students and teachers according to religious preference, the attitude of the Protestant association toward the Catholic side of the province probably influenced its feelings about the Protestant-Catholic separation effected by the dual school system. Further, these attitudes were related to the position of the PAPT regarding later changes in the dual system, particularly when those changes were in the direction of greater unity with Catholics in a single system of schools.

First, the PAPT was organized as a religious association, having the very word "Protestant" in its name, and Protestant religious sentiment influenced numerous facets of PAPT operation. Prior to 1900, significant

portions of the association's membership were ministers.[26] Discussion of the teaching of religion and morality were important issues in the minutes of PAPT meetings as well as publications.[27] In addition, the role of the Bible in the school curriculum was of continuous concern, and, in 1942, the association established a committee to offer Bible study seminars to teachers. The PAPT was convinced of the need for religion in education.

> We are in hearty accord with the plea for religion in education . . . we feel that any system of education that fails to take cognizance of the paramount importance of religious instruction is doomed to failure from the outset.[28]

In spite of the importance of religion in the PAPT, there were several aspects of its role which were unique to the Protestant teachers' organization. First, the writings of PAPT members showed a belief that the school was only one of several social institutions to care for the religious education of youth. Protestants apparently felt

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[26]In 1869, for example, 18 of 91 members were ministers including the President and several members of the Executive.

[27]Executive, committee, and general convention meetings of the PAPT were always opened and closed with prayer. On occasion, the Association's publications contained articles of religious interest having little or nothing to do with education. Examples of such articles include "The Holy Land" by Edith Baker (Teachers Magazine, October, 1934, pp. 16-17); "The Unscientific Bible" by John C. Hodgson (Teachers Magazine, June, 1935, pp. 22-23); and "Basil Mathews Talks on Jesus as Teacher" (Teachers Magazine, December, 1941, pp. 8-10).

[28]PAPT, Teachers Magazine, October, 1925, p. 8.

the Church and home were predominant in moral and religious instruction, the school merely supporting and aiding them.

> The church and the home are the agencies that can and must do the most effective work in the way of imparting religious instruction. This, however, does not absolve the school from its responsibility in the matter.[29]

Second, the Protestant denominations differed from the Roman Catholic church in their view of education as primarily a responsibility of the State. While they saw the Christian Church as a strong support of education, still they regarded education as the responsibility of the secular State.[30] Finally, Protestant teachers had special problems concerning the content of religious instruction in the schools. Protestant school populations included children from varying Protestant denominations as well as those espousing Judaism, and this heterogeneity called for consideration in the course of study. The Hepburn Commission noted that twenty minutes of each Protestant school day was devoted to religious and moral instruction. While recommending that such instruction be continued into the secondary school, the Commission stressed that it must be non-denominational and that it should, if possible, include teachings about Judaism.[31] The PAPT

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[29]PAPT, Teachers Magazine, Editorial, October, 1925, p. 7.

[30]For evidence of this position, see articles by Rev. G. G. D. Kilpatrick, Chairman of the Protestant Committee, published by the PAPT during 1950-51.

[31]The Province of Quebec, Report of the Quebec Protestant Education Survey, 1938, p. 43.

supported the ideas of the Hepburn Commission and established a plan in 1942 which would ensure the desired non-denominational approach. The key to the plan, which remained in force until the Parent Commission Reforms, consisted of a view of the Bible as literature. The pronouncement of the PAPT Textbook Committee was indicative of this view. They resolved that the Bible be included in the curriculum of secondary schools in the province and taught as literature.

> That this group are of the opinion that selections from the Bible should appear on the curriculum of public and private high schools and that especially they should therein be embodied in the Literature courses and taught as Literature. In this way, and in this way only, the beauty and truth of the Bible may be presented without any savour of denominationalism.[32]

Thus, Protestantism was an important characteristic of the PAPT prior to the Parent Commission Inquiry. But its importance was tempered by several traits inherent in the Protestant tradition. The fact that Protestants did not compose a monolithic group in the same sense as did Roman Catholics inhibited the role religion would play in either the Protestant schools of Quebec or in the association of Protestant teachers.

The PAPT posture regarding Catholics and Catholicism in general is crucial to an understanding of the PAPT position regarding the dual system of education in the Province of Quebec. Prior to the Parent Commission reforms, the PAPT seldom referred to the "other side" as French but

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[32]PAPT, Minutes of the Executive, April 18, 1942.

rather as Catholic, suggesting that the religious aspect of their differences was of greater consequence than the cultural or lingual aspect.

There were numerous issues in which the Protestant association mentioned their Catholic fellows. The issue occurring most often was that of teachers' pensions. As early as 1876 the PAPT expressed a wish to establish a scheme of superannuation such as that in Ontario. A resolution was passed at Convention that year appointing a Committee to confer with Roman Catholic teachers about this. The pension plan, then, would apply to all teachers regardless of religious affiliation, and Protestant teachers needed the Roman Catholic majority support in this venture. However, because of certain characteristics of Catholic teachers, the PAPT did not have much hope of success. In Ontario teachers had to pay four dollars per year, while in Quebec contributions to the pension fund were voluntary. Therefore, this Committee had to ascertain whether the compulsory payment of four dollars was likely to be viewed with favour by the Roman Catholic fellows in the province and whether there was the probability that the government would consent to supplement the fund in case of need as they did in Ontario. The Committee concluded that Roman Catholic religious teachers would be unlikely to support a pension plan, since they were cared for in their later years by religious bodies.

> In general, the Roman Catholics don't favour compulsory contribution. In the city of Quebec,

> the teaching of Roman Catholic children is largely in the hands of Christian brothers for whom the Superannuation fund is not a necessity. In Montreal, also, though in a less degree than in Quebec, yet to a great extent, the Roman Catholic teachers are clerical and are provided for in their declining years by the religious body to which they belong.[33]

Thus, Catholic teachers, by virtue of their Catholicism and clericism, were viewed by the PAPT as an obstacle to a much-needed pension plan.

The pension issue was one of continuous concern to the PAPT in the period prior to the Parent Commission Inquiry. While the association was ultimately able to secure a scheme of superannuation, there were always items within the plan upon which Catholics and Protestants could not agree, amendments which one group of teachers proposed and the other opposed. By 1930, however, there was substantial agreement between Catholics and Protestants on the necessity for raising pension payments, and the Protestant Pension Commissioners spoke of "the very friendly relations and close harmony existing between the Protestant and Catholic members of the Administrative Commission".[34]

The second issue illustrating PAPT attitudes toward Catholics and Catholic teachers was that of salary. The raising of Protestant teachers' salaries had been an important concern of the PAPT since the first World War. Most of this concern, however, was narrowly confined to the

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[33] PAPT, Minutes of Convention, October 20, 1876.

[34] PAPT, Minutes of Convention, October 7, 1937.

salaries of members of the association, all Protestant. On several occasions, however, the Protestant association mentioned the salaries of their Catholic fellows. Since the Protestant Community had been allowed to use their monies solely for the benefit of their own system, and because the Protestant school boards were controlled in the main by well-to-do businessmen, Protestant teachers' salaries were uniformly higher than those of Catholic teachers until the mid 1950s. Thus, some of the first statements on salaries for Catholic teachers concerned the matter of a provincial minimum salary. Roman Catholic teachers began pressing the Government for a minimum salary of $300 per annum during the 1930s and requested Protestant support in 1937. Protestant teachers, however, exhibited no interest in a minimum salary because "a minimum salary of $300 would affect only 50 Protestant teachers".[35]

In 1942 the Catholic teachers of Montreal were dismissed en bloc and asked to sign blank contracts, which they did. This elicited a response from the PAPT. The Protestant teachers deeply regretted this action for it was "a serious reverse to the fight for the status of teachers in the province".[36] At this juncture, then, the PAPT expressed an understanding of the common lot of all teachers in the province, whether Catholic or Protestant.

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[35] PAPT, Minutes of the Executive, January 16, 1937.

[36] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, October, 1942, p. 14.

They were concerned because the actions of the Catholic teachers would affect them as well. Their statement was a reversal of the sentiment expressed when Catholic teachers had asked for Protestant support for salary minimums. On the other hand, and at the same time, the PAPT decried the fact that Roman Catholic teachers were paid less than Protestants. "After all, they are doing the same work, framing the Johnny Canuck of tomorrow."[37]

Catholic teachers engaged in a bitter dispute in Montreal in 1949 over salary. This dispute ended in a massive strike by Catholic teachers. At no time during the salary dispute did the PAPT issue any statement of support for their fellow teachers nor did they officially recognize the situation in PAPT writings. Curiously, a member teacher later condemned the PAPT for its silence in a lengthy article written after the dispute had been settled. T. Croft Lea attacked the PAPT for failing to support Catholic teachers in a salary fight which would affect them all.

> The implications of this dispute for Protestant teachers in Quebec were at all times serious . . . And yet, not once did the PAPT issue a press statement even in partial support of the Catholic teachers, nor did our officers make any public announcement which might have given a lead to the English newspapers in their discussion of the important issues involved . . .
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> Explanations of this official silence hint at delicate negotiations between Protestant teachers

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[37] Ibid., February, 1947, pp. 39-40.

> groups and school boards, and at probable rapprochements in the Protestant Committee vital to our welfare, all of which might be adversely affected if any action by the PAPT could be interpreted as open support of the Alliance des Professeurs Catholiques de Montreal. The latter group, I am told, have ideals that are "not the same nor as high as ours".[38]

The 1949 dispute had been followed by the PAPT and reported to Protestant teachers in several issues of Teachers Magazine. However, these reports had been merely informative and, as Mr. Lea suggested, no position had ever been taken. Mr. Lea's appraisal of Catholic teachers' ideals as appearing lower to Protestant teachers than their own also pointed to basic disunity and lack of mutual understanding between the two groups of teachers. The PAPT, which seven years before had regretted the meek action taken by Catholic teachers in signing blank contracts, now failed to provide any support for fellow teachers engaged in a major salary dispute. This lack of continuity in behavior could be viewed as evidence of PAPT concern for Protestant teachers alone, or as evidence that the PAPT tended to view itself as a Protestant organization answerable to the rest of the Protestant community as opposed to an association of teachers answerable to other colleagues.

Finally, in 1952, the PAPT officially recognized the joint interests of Protestants and Catholics over teachers' salaries and established a Joint Salary Committee with the

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[38] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, February, 1949, p. 18.

Corporation des Instituteurs et Institutrices Catholiques (CIC). This Committee, while it did not always achieve unanimous agreement between the two groups of teachers, continues to meet today and shows formal recognition of the joint interests of all teachers on the salary question.

Another vantage point from which to view the PAPT relationship with Catholic teachers consisted of the harmony or lack thereof in general Protestant-Catholic relations. In 1881 a speech at the PAPT Convention gave testimony to the "cordial relations" which existed between Protestants and Catholics in the Council of Public Instruction.[39] In 1942 the association published several articles dealing with the cooperation between Catholics and Protestants in the war action and effort.[40] In addition, in 1942 there was mention of the PAPT's progress in achieving an "entente cordiale" with their Catholic confreres.[41] In 1944 the association Executive reported happily that all Catholic teachers approved of collaboration with Protestant teachers. At that time a series of meetings with the Catholic teachers provided for an exchange of speakers, literature, and magazine materials by the two teacher groups.[42] Indeed, since

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[39]PAPT, Minutes of Convention, October 26-28, 1881.

[40]An example of such articles would be one dealing with Protestant and Catholic students collecting salvage together, found in PAPT, Teachers Magazine, October, 1942, p. 41.

[41]PAPT, Teachers Magazine, February, 1943, p. 1.

[42]PAPT, Minutes of the Executive, February 19, 1944.

the inception of the PAPT, that association had regularly invited representatives of the Roman Catholic educational community to its meetings and conventions, and they had also accepted similar invitations from the Catholics.

Such examples of harmony pointed, at the least, to a surface of politeness between Catholic and Protestant teachers. At no time was there an admission by the PAPT to animosity toward Catholics as such. These items would lead the reader to believe that there was little or no tension between the two groups of teachers because of differences of religion. Tolerance, mutual respect, and understanding seemed to be the order of the day. However, the superficial politeness expressed by speakers may have been a possibility only so long as the distinctiveness and separateness of each religio-cultural group was maintained. For, in 1956, an event occurred which drew a heated reaction as Protestant teachers confronted the possibility of Catholic teachers practicing in their schools. In 1956 the Protestant Committee gave permission to the Percival County High School Board to engage a French speaking Roman Catholic teacher for instruction in French. Permission was granted for one year only and was granted because there was no suitable Protestant candidate. Even so, this situation proved to be of grave concern to the PAPT. The Executive Meeting of December 1, 1956 was devoted entirely to this problem. The Executive decided to express its concern as well as its hope that similar action not be taken again.

. . . we ought to advise Mr. Giles (of the

> Protestant Committee) of our concern over this development and our hope that such emergency permission would not be given too freely in the future. After a number of executive members and delegates had expressed their views, it was agreed, without formal resolution, that a letter should be written to the Director of Protestant Education asking a number of questions and intimating the seriousness with which we view this matter.[43]

The response of the Protestant association on this matter, coupled with their staunch acceptance of the dual school system, suggested that the "harmonious relationship" between Protestant and Catholic teachers flourished best when the two groups remained somewhat autonomous and isolated.

Another problem inextricably linked with the PAPT attitude toward the dual school system was the relationship of the PAPT as an English association with French teachers, French language, and the French segment of the Province of Quebec. While the dual system constitutionally effected a separation religiously, it also effected de facto separation culturally. The PAPT position regarding duality, then, was influenced by its perception of itself as an English organization, and, more broadly, by its attitude toward French teachers and culture.

Several aspects of PAPT involvement and alignment with the English speaking community ought first be mentioned. The PAPT exhibited continued interest over the state of Canada as a nation, probably because the English association felt a greater kinship with the English-dominated nation

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[43]PAPT, Minutes of the Executive, December 1, 1956, p. 54.

than with the French-dominated Province of Quebec. The beauty of Canada, the importance of Canada on the international scene, and the necessity of education to provide strong Canadian citizens were subjects of discussion numerous times in PAPT publications.[44] In addition, Canadian History received a great deal of attention from Protestant teachers. Their suggestions for greater provision for Canadian History in Quebec schools and their concern that Canadian History instill pride for Canada exhibited a kind of national sentiment seldom found on the part of fellow French teachers. The different view of Canada found by French and English teachers was illustrated well in a dispute involving the Dominion Education Association. The Dominion association had asked the provinces to pledge money for the production of a Canadian History textbook. All of the provinces had promised money with the exception of Quebec, much to the consternation of Protestant teachers. The PAPT Executive put forth an extensive effort to convince the reluctant Province of Quebec to contribute to the text, and they were eventually successful later in the year.[45]

This incident suggests another item of interest, the fact that the PAPT easily aligned itself with other Canadian-wide educational associations. Affiliations

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[44]Typical of such interests was the theme for the Convention of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers in 1946: "Education for Canadian Citizens".

[45]PAPT, Minutes of the Executive, April 1, 1893.

included the old Dominion Education Association, and the newer Canadian Education Association and Canadian Teachers' Federation. Representatives of the PAPT regularly attended national meetings of these organizations and contributed a portion of each member's dues to their upkeep. PAPT support of these national associations became more meaningful when French-Catholic teachers refused to join them, feeling that their needs and rights as a French minority would be swallowed up by the English majority. In addition to joining these national organizations, the PAPT also supported them in their drive for federal aid to education. Here again, the English teachers' position contrasted with that of French teachers who opposed federal aid mainly because of fear that the French minority would suffer from such an arrangement.[46]

The PAPT exhibited close ties with Great Britain, again something which the French seldom did. Numerous articles published by the PAPT dealt with the current monarch in England.[47] In addition, the association affiliated with the League of the Empire in 1913, each Protestant teacher paying an annual dues to that British association. Finally, the PAPT

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[46]The PAPT position regarding federal aid to education was concisely laid out at an Executive Meeting, April 20, 1940. At that time, the Association recorded its support for federal aid and instituted programs to enlist support of members and the whole of the Province of Quebec by a newspaper and news bulletin campaign.

[47]Examples of such articles included "George, By the Grace of God, King", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, February, 1937, p. 5; and "The King's Message", February, 1936, p. 5.

believed that the study of the British Empire should be an important part of the History Course in the schools of the province. The Textbook and Course of Study Committee recommended that the British Empire, "its glorious past and its present magnificent story" be studied so as to instill a pride on the part of students and especially immigrants.[48]

The PAPT as an English association, then, developed a somewhat complex relationship with and attitude toward the French segment of Quebec. A portion of this relationship could be viewed from the polite but often inconsequential actions taken by English teachers. The PAPT, for example, invited many prominent French personages to their meetings and conventions. In addition, the association occasionally published articles in French or heard speeches in the French language. Once, the PAPT suggested that a new Protestant school be named after a famous French man, and it also supported exchanges of students and teachers between French and English Normal Schools.[49] Items such as these provided evidence of at least superficial harmony between the English PAPT and the French.

There were also occasions upon which the PAPT actively sought the cooperation of the French community on some issue related to education. From 1917 to 1919, for instance, the

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[48]PAPT, Minutes of the Executive, October 23, 1943.

[49]The school in Longueuil was named after Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville in 1949.

PAPT was pressing for compulsory attendance, and the association sought the support of the French community by publishing manifestos explaining the need for compulsory education in French newspapers. Of course, a compulsory attendance law, if passed, would have affected both French and English schools, and, thus, the French support was necessary for English success in this venture.

Another factor in the relationship of the PAPT with the French was the English association's response to the French language. English people in the Province of Quebec had often derided the Canadian French as a tongue inferior to that spoken in France. Thus, the language issue was important to an understanding of French-English tensions. On several occasions the PAPT published articles aimed at dispelling the belief in the inferiority of <u>francais canadienne</u>. Gustave Charland, a member of the association, wrote in 1939 that the French were insulted by English pronouncements about their inferior language. He proceeded to show that the French spoken in Canada was as pure as that in France.[50] Never did the PAPT support any statement alleging Canadian French to be inferior. In fact, the PAPT heartily supported the requirement that French be taught in Protestant schools. They suggested that French and English both be compulsory subjects required for a

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[50]Charland's statements were in PAPT, <u>Teachers Magazine</u>, April, 1939, p. 22. The author also noted that the supposed language difference seemed to be attributed only to French. English people were never asked if they spoke Canadian English or London English. Yet they persisted in making this distinction regarding the French language.

School Leaving Certificate.[51] Not only did they support compulsory study of French at all levels of schooling, but they also exhibited a great deal of concern over the quality of the French taught. Numerous articles in PAPT publications dealt with the importance of achieving knowledge of French, newer and better methods of teaching French, improved measures of evaluation, and the importance of teaching communication skills in addition to written skills. The PAPT supported the notion that teachers of French ought to attend special workshops where only French was to be spoken. Teachers of French also organized a separate French section at PAPT conventions each year to discuss their special problems.[52] Indeed, in 1954 the association suggested that French specialists be placed one category higher on the salary scale than regular teachers.[53] In spite of their efforts, however, the ability to teach English students to communicate easily and fluently in French was an elusive goal.

Two other incidents of PAPT response to the French language must be mentioned. The first was sparked in 1928 when Ontario schools ceased to offer instruction in French. E. A. Hardy, president of the Canadian Teachers' Federation, submitted an article to Teachers Magazine pointing out that

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[51]PAPT, Minutes of the Executive, April 20, 1940.

[52]PAPT, Teachers Magazine, April, 1930, p. 19.

[53]PAPT News Bulletin, May, 1954.

this action violated the spirit of the British North America Act, clause 93.[54] Another article in the same issue of Teachers Magazine compared the situation in Ontario with that in Quebec, painting the picture in Quebec as vastly better. The article spoke of the "friendliness and mutual respect between French and English in Quebec" as opposed to the "hostile attitude toward anything French in Ontario". It suggested that learning French culture and language beneficially broadened the education of English students.

> Many of us in Quebec are quite as jealous of our English heritage and language as any person in Ontario, yet we feel no animus against the French people nor any objection to our children learning the French language. On the contrary, we feel that by doing so they are achieving one of the ends of true education, namely that broadening of view and subsequent deepening of human sympathy which acquaintance with another people and culture must bring.
>
> It is a mistake to think that the teaching of French in our schools is dictated by economic necessity. French is of particular value to the business man in Quebec, it is true. But we are prompted by other motives that those of our bread and butter. Gallic culture is one of the great heritages of the human race. It is quite different from our own and in many respects is complementary to it. We can only become inheritors of that culture with all the environment which its acquisition means, by a working knowledge of the French language.
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> We would venture to suggest that French people are well worth knowing and that fellowship with them, far from baneful effect, will be

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[54] "Ontario Bilingualism", by E. A. Hardy, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, April, 1928, p. 41.

> found delightful and stimulating. We know this in Quebec.[55]

These articles, then, expressed great respect for French language and French culture. However, Protestants held that the study of French should take place within the confines of a dual school system. Further, English speaking Protestants in Quebec saw in the French speaking Catholics a similarity to themselves. That is, both were minorities, although on different levels, dependent for survival on the goodwill of a majority. Thus, the PAPT, probably viewed it as expedient to support the similar concerns of the French minority in a sister province.

The second incident of interest to English Protestant teachers consisted of the treatment of French language in the Hepburn Survey of Protestant Education. While the Commission elected not to treat the dual school issue, it could easily have dealt with the teaching of French within the Protestant school system of the province. The Commission began its treatment with a strong concern that the study of French not inhibit the study of English for Protestant students.

> Common sense and psychology speak with one voice when they say that every child should receive his early training and education in the mother tongue. Agreement has also been reached on the unwisdom of beginning prematurely the study of a second language. The mother tongue, if not firmly established, is challenged by the new medium,

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[55]PAPT, Teachers Magazine, April, 1928, pp. 10-26.

> and from the ensuing struggle mental confusion and even retarded mental development may result.[56]

On this basis the Commission recommended deferring the study of French until the student was at least nine years old, ten years old if the child were "slow". In addition, the Commission asserted that "the child who is really backward can never hope to achieve bilingualism". Finally, the Commission proceeded to an explanation of the importance of verbal communication skills in French, these being more important than French grammar.

In addition to its statements about French language, the PAPT on occasion published articles dealing with French culture more generally. Without exception, these treatments were favorable. Several dealt with the French Canadian heritage, claiming, for example, that the history of the Province of Quebec was more "romantic" because of the French.[57] Other such articles dealt with visits to French schools, the heritage of French place names, and French literature.[58]

At times, English Protestant teachers specifically mentioned French-English relationships in the province. The association noted, for example, the inclusion of French

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[56] Province of Quebec, Report of the Quebec Protestant Education Survey, 1938, p. 58.

[57] "French Canada", by Frank Oliver Call, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, June, 1927, p. 12.

[58] An example is "Out Heritage of Fascinating Place Names", by Marcus Van Steen, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, June, 1959, pp. 16-21.

Canadians when the PAPT was formed. It was stated that "a good number of prominent French persons" attended early PAPT conventions, often addressing the members in the French language. Most statements regarding French-English relationships presented a very positive viewpoint. An editorial in 1922 spoke of the "goodwill and mutual respect between the two races in Quebec", stating that the two races had lived in harmony since 1760.[59] The Hepburn Commission Report in 1938 also spoke of the existing tolerance between the two cultural groups.

> The European who crosses the Atlantic, having left behind him the troubled continent where diversities of language, religion, and racial inheritance breed distrust and suspicion, which almost daily threatens to break out into open conflict, finds in the Province of Quebec a corner of the globe uniquely favoured. Here, dwelling side by side, are two races whose history in their ancestral homes was for centuries a pageant of warring rivalry that did not cease when they found themselves together on the banks of the St. Lawrence. To this day, unlike in speech, and for the most part unlike in the observation of religion, in many ways different in outlook, they nevertheless live in mutual tolerance and goodwill, Canadiens and Canadians, bound by ties which are stronger than the forces which divide.[60]

The Commission elevated the Protestant-Catholic distinction to a higher level than that of French and English, and they accomplished this with a decision regarding French Protestant students. The Commission asserted the

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[59] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, September, 1922, p. 8.

[60] Province of Quebec, Report of the Quebec Protestant Education Survey, 1938, p. 149.

need for knowledge of both French and English languages on the part of French Protestants.

> The French Protestants need to know both French and English really well. French is necessary for communication with their own friends and members of their own race, and English is even more essential since they have to look to Protestant or non-Catholic firms for employment.[61]

The Commission recommended, therefore, that French Protestants continue the practice of attending Protestant schools.

During the 1940s there were several attempts by the PAPT to improve French Canadian relations. In 1942 the French Section of the association placed a resolution before the Convention that the PAPT favor "a determined effort both as a body and as individuals to create more friendly relations between the French and English races in the interests of Canadian National Unity". The Section suggested that many of the grievances on both sides were possibly due to a lack of knowledge of the character, activities, and achievements of the other race. This attempt to better the relationship between French and English followed several statements which had asserted French-English harmony and goodwill. Goodwill and tolerance apparently had not been completely achieved. The French Section also failed to view the dual system as instrumental in this problem.[62] In 1943

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[61]Province of Quebec, Report of the Quebec Protestant Education Survey, 1938, p. 27.

[62]PAPT, Minutes of Convention, October 10, 1942.

the Executive considered the resolution made by the French Section. It was agreed that fostering better English-French relationships in the province was most desirable, although, in the words of the Executive, "the PAPT had always worked along those lines". In addition, the Executive decided that a greater effort and better organization was needed in this area. Hence the PAPT decided to arrange many forms of exchange between the French Catholic and English Protestant groups.

i. Invite Roman Catholic Teachers Associations to contribute articles to the Teachers Magazine, and express the willingness to contribute to their periodical letters.

ii. Ask the Public Relations Committee of the PAPT to arrange for an exchange of speakers with the Roman Catholic Teachers Associations.

iii. Suggest to the Quebec Provincial Home and School Council that it arrange an exchange of speakers with the Roman Catholic Home and School Associations.

iv. Ask the Canadian Council for Education in Citizenship for their active cooperation in this project.[63]

The PAPT's concern over French-English relationships was precipitated by the reluctance of some French to support the war effort, viewing Canada's involvement in the war as a decision made by the English speaking community. This concern was still evident in 1944 when the President of the PAPT addressed the membership about the French

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[63]Discussion of the French Section's resolution and ensuing agreement on a course of action occupied the major portion of the Executive meeting on January 16, 1943.

threat to Canadian unity.

> All Canadians--regardless of the differences of language or religion--are brothers in seeking the best educational system for the youth of this country. It is our duty, . . . particularly in the Province of Quebec, to see that we work in harmony to promote a national spirit and produce peace and unity within our borders.[64]

The interest of Protestant teachers in improving French-English relationships was concentrated during the war years, for, after the war effort was complete, a somewhat different attitude was expressed by the association. J. M. Paton, who was later to become the Executive Secretary of the PAPT, expressed concern that the Protestant community remain unified in the face of the French presence.

> . . . it is a good thing there is very little controversy among Protestant teachers. The system is so small in relation to its French counterpart that teachers and officials must stand or fall together. Open disagreement is dangerous.[65]

In 1950 attention to French-English tension again manifested itself. J. L. MacKeen, a secondary school principal and member of the Protestant association, suggested that improvement of French-English relations was of great importance to the Province of Quebec. The problem, as he saw it, was to show both French and English peoples that each group was worthy of respect and that the life

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[64] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, December, 1944, p. 14.

[65] "What Price Freedom of Expression", by J. M. Paton, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, February, 1948, p. 29.

of each might be enriched by an understanding of the other. He distinguished four main causes for barriers between the two ethnic groups: economic factors, religious differences, language difficulties, and political viewpoints. He cited the fact that Englishmen held the key industrial positions in the Province of Quebec, inevitably producing conflict. English inability to learn and use the French language did not make for improved relations. On the other hand, few English took much interest in provincial politics because they believed it was unfairly controlled by the French. Finally, MacKeen suggested several actions for teachers. First, English teachers could stress French Canadian History and emphasize the contributions of the Norman French to English History. Second, they could invite personnel from French agencies to visit English schools. Third, they could have "Jours de francais" where the community was invited and where teachers and students would converse only in French.[66] Certainly, MacKeen's article constituted an acknowledgement of the lack of harmony in French-English relations and an honest attempt to suggest remedies to the situation. Yet MacKeen, like other teachers, was either unwilling to admit or failed to see the role of the dual school system in this problem.

The next discussion of the French-English problem by

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[66] "Improving French-English Relations in the Schools", by J. L. MacKeen, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, April, 1950, pp. 34-37.

the PAPT carried further the position taken by MacKeen. C. T. Teakle, supervisor of French in Protestant Schools and also a member of the association, discussed "Tolerance and Canadian Unity" in 1951. Teakle pointed out that, like it or not, both English and French speaking Canadians were in Canada to stay. Thus, it was in both of their interests to foster strong bonds between the two races. He stressed, "One side cannot do it alone". His recommendations to English teachers included making English students proud of the great deeds of French Canadians and teaching that unkind acts by Frenchmen were not the result of inherent racial faults. He stressed that English teachers must perfect their French no matter what subject they taught, for in this way they could mix with French Canadians, speaking to them in their own tongue. English pupils, then, would follow the example of their teachers who obviously thought it worthwhile to learn French.[67]

Finally, in 1959, an English speaking teacher, Matt Craig, wrote of the need of the PAPT in the future to have greater interchange of ideas and information between French and English teachers, perhaps on an informal basis. He held that the plight of French teachers influenced teachers on the English side.

> The plight of our French colleagues has a strong influence on our position, and certainly in the eyes of the public we are grouped as the teachers of Quebec. . . . Any support and improvements

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[67] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, December, 1951, p. 31.

> we may help to obtain will eventually strengthen our own position.[68]

During the 1950s, then, the only statements dealing with French-English relations were those suggesting greater harmony and unity between French and English. These articles pictured a situation in which there was room for greater harmony. In addition, it was apparently thought that such improvements were possible within the existing system of education.

To summarize the PAPT position regarding the dual school system prior to the Parent Commission investigation, several characteristics must be mentioned. First, there were relatively few instances in which the PAPT openly formalized such a position. During the years when the association was formed, there was a clearly stated desire for a separate school system for English Protestants. After the dual system was cemented, however, there were few times when that system became an issue for the Protestant association. Rather, the existence of duality seemed to have been simply accepted, taken for granted. The view of the Hepburn Commission was typical of the stance of the PAPT regarding the dual system. Duality was accepted as a given, was not viewed as a source of any of the problems to be investigated, and was even shored up by the Commision's recommendations to strengthen the Protestant Committee. In addition, the Hepburn Report as well as the response of the

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[68]PAPT, Teachers Magazine, June, 1959, p. 23.

Protestant teachers' association to it exhibited a narrowness of concern for Protestant education alone, for the Protestant community, and for the problems even the dual school system posed for the Protestant minority in the Province of Quebec.

Second, the occasions upon which the PAPT addressed itself to the dual school system showed an overwhelmingly positive response to that system. While there were a few exceptions in which members of the PAPT criticized duality, those exceptions were outweighed by the numerous statements in which the association praised the dual system as a viable solution to Quebec's unique educational problems. Also important here were the PAPT actions pressing for increased powers for the Protestant side in education.

Third, the attitude of the PAPT toward separate schools in the province was related to its perception of itself as a Protestant organization and part of the Protestant community. While it was often difficult to distinguish between religious and cultural components in conflict, evidence suggested that, during this period, religious concerns played a more prominent role than those of culture. Members of the PAPT were more often referred to as Protestant than as English. Likewise, they more often viewed the situation in Quebec from the Protestant-Catholic aspect than from the French-English. While there were instances and statements of harmony between Protestants and Catholics by the PAPT, yet the Protestant association

exhibited great concern when a Catholic teacher was allowed a position in a Protestant school. Examples of harmony between the PAPT and the Catholic segment of the province did not signify any change in the dual school system. In fact, it is probable that the extent to which harmony existed was a function of the dual system, that it was made possible by the separation of the two religious groups. The PAPT often mentioned the cordial relations between Protestants and Catholics. The association ultimately worked with Catholic teachers on such issues as pensions, and it politely invited Catholic representatives to many meetings. However, it must be remembered that Protestant teachers initially ignored Catholics even in issues such as the pension one which clearly affected both. Perhaps cooperation in these fields with Catholics was undertaken only after it was apparent that Catholic support was needed. The exclusiveness of PAPT concern for Protestant education, and their lack of support for Catholic teachers leads one to the conclusion that Protestant teachers viewed themselves as distinct from Catholics, and, as a result, it was not surprising that Protestant teachers felt more comfortable with a separate school system.

Finally, PAPT attitudes toward the dual school system were related to the position of the association regarding the relationship between French and English speaking peoples and culture. During this period the cultural aspect of the tension seemed of less importance than the religious.

Although the alignments of the association with the English community in the Province of Quebec and, more broadly, in Canada, indicated a recognition of the "Englishness" of Protestant teachers, several factors suggested that goodwill existed between the PAPT and the French population. The concern expressed by the association over the inclusion of French in the curriculum of Protestant schools and its interest in more effective ways of teaching French represented a realization of the importance of the "French Fact" in the province. French nationalism and resulting French-English tension was of minimal importance during this period.

It is difficult to interpret the mix of PAPT statements specifically related to the French segment of the province. While many statements denied the existence of such tension and attested to harmony, others admitted the existence of conflict and attempted to suggest solutions. Perhaps the politeness of Protestant teachers toward the French was only a surface phenomenon. Perhaps the assertions of harmony presented the situation as Protestant teachers wished it to be. Or it might be that the politeness of Protestant teachers toward the French was utilitarian, that Protestant teachers spoke kindly of French people and language in the hope that the French would continue to permit them autonomy in their own education. It is also possible, of course, that these positive statements were simply and sincerely made. Certainly, however, such polite

behavior posed no threat to the dual school system. Even suggestions for greater unity between French and English seemed not to touch the issue of duality, for at no time was the role of the dual system in questions of unity and harmony recognized by the PAPT.

While the dual school system was not an important issue for the PAPT at this time, the naming of the Royal Commission of Inquiry forced the association to confront some basic matters and give advice to the Parent members. Soon after the naming of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, the PAPT made plans to submit a brief to that body stating concerns and recommendations regarding education in the province.[69] By January of 1962 the document was complete and was presented to the Provincial Delegates Council for approval.[70] With only minor revisions, the brief was submitted to the Royal Commission for deliberation in March.

The brief began with a discussion of fundamental education principles upon which the recommendations would be based. These included first, the mental, moral, and physical development of the individual child as the first consideration in educational planning; second, recognition of individual differences and the right of every child to

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[69]The decision to submit a brief to the Royal Commission was made at a meeting of the Executive Committee, October 5, 1961.

[70]PAPT, Minutes of the Provincial Delegates Council, January 19-20, 1962.

full opportunity to develop his talents; third, that the provincial authorities have the chief responsibility for the effectiveness of the school system, local responsibility being delegated and secondary; fourth, education as a continuing process and the need for educational facilities for those who desire them until the age of twenty one; and finally, the need for flexibility in laws respecting the school leaving age to provide for part-time schooling or for evening classes.[71] These principles were obviously broad and contained no specific mention of the dual school system. In fact, it was not clear whether these ideals were to apply equally to all children in the province or only to Protestants.

The recommendations made by the Protestant association of teachers to the Parent Commission provided a clearer understanding than before of its position with respect to dual schooling. In effect, the Protestant document suggested, even assumed, the continued maintenance of two separate school systems. Speaking of the Council of Education and its division into Catholic and Protestant Committees, the PAPT declared that the dual system had worked well.

> In spite of certain weaknesses, the plan has worked well and has provided a generally satisfactory arrangement for the administration of our dual educational system.[72]

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[71] PAPT, Brief to the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, 1962, p. 2.

[72] Ibid., p. 3.

Weaknesses, then, were to be remedied within the confines of existing educational arrangements.

The first part of the PAPT report to the Royal Commission dealt with the provincial authority in education, and the first recommendation made by the PAPT in that area had to do with the definition of the word Protestant. The association stated that wherever the word Protestant occurred in the Education Act or in regulations and forms, it was to be understood to mean "non-Roman Catholic" or "not professing the Roman Catholic religion".[73] Not only did the Protestant association view the dual system as continuing, but they apparently saw it continuing on a basis of religious distinction.

Various suggestions followed concerning the personnel of the Protestant Committee of the Council of Education. These were designed by the association to insure that only well-informed and alert persons remained on that body from year to year. The PAPT felt, for example, that council members should have access to and be able to give expression to the views on education of important segments of both lay and professional opinion. They also believed that a reasonable proportion of the total membership of the Protestant Committee should be answerable to organizations which themselves had a direct responsibility for the good management of the school system, such as the Quebec Association

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[73] PAPT, Brief to the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, 1962, p. 14.

of Protestant School Boards, and, of course, the PAPT itself. These suggestions asserted the continued existence of a body such as the Protestant Committee; they assumed some continued separation of Protestants and Catholics with respect to education.

The PAPT also suggested improvements in the staffing of the Protestant division of the Department of Education and in the enrollment of Department officials. They asked, therefore, that the Director of Protestant Education receive a salary of $25,000, Division Heads $15-20,000, Education Officers (inspectors) $12-18,000, and Educational Consultants $10-15,000.[74]

Formation of a Curriculum Council under the chairmanship of the Provincial Director of Curriculum (Protestant) was also a concern for the Protestant teachers. Again, assuming the separation of Protestants and Catholics, they asked that the Curriculum Council be composed of representatives of the Protestant Committee, the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers, and the curriculum department of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal. This body was to coordinate the work done currently by several groups and committees, and was to encourage school staffs to adapt the course of study to local needs and conditions.

The last recommendation of the PAPT concerning the provincial authority suggested closer liaison between the

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[74]This recommendation was aired in "Where We Stand", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, April, 1962, p. 14.

Protestant and Catholic sides of the Department. The Director of Protestant Education and the PAPT were to be consulted or at least informed when changes were contemplated in the Education Act or in school administration generally. In addition, the PAPT suggested "study of" a plan whereby successful lay French speaking teachers could teach in their own language in English Protestant schools. The PAPT hoped that such a plan might "extend and improve the use of French by Protestant students".[75] They further proposed that this plan, if adopted, be reciprocal in order that the use of English by French Catholics would also be improved. The suggestion by the PAPT for greater consultation between Protestant and Catholic groups showed some anxiety for the position of Protestants with respect to educational change. The PAPT felt that Protestants were never informed or were informed too late to make desired amendments or opposition when changes were proposed. The latter suggestion, however, expressed a desire to move gradually and carefully toward a closer relationship with French Catholics, stressing an exchange based upon lingual rather than religious considerations. The exchange, of course, could easily occur within the dual system and its structure.

The school system in the Province of Quebec was based primarily upon duality at the provincial level, and, thus,

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[75] Op. cit., PAPT, Brief to the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, 1962.

each recommendation pertaining to the provincial authority had implications for the dual system, in this case, for its continuance. However, Protestant teachers at this time did not engage in a vigorous defense of the dual educational structure. They perceived no serious threat to duality and seemed merely to assume that the dual system would continue with a few minor changes. They were still secure enough in their own autonomy to suggest some moves in the direction of greater unity with French-Catholics. Dual schooling, therefore, was not a major concern at this time.

The suggestions of Protestant teachers regarding the local educational authority only seldom contained provisions affecting the duality issue. Most recommendations at this level treated rather unrelated problems such as the reimbursement for expenses of school trustees and commissioners and the need for enlarged special education facilities. Several statements, however, were directly related to the dual school question. Again at the local level, Protestant teachers pushed forward a definition of Protestant as non-Catholic when they recommended that every adult citizen who did not profess the Roman Catholic religion should have a vote in Protestant School Board elections. If a non-Catholic had at least grade IX education and a period of residence in the community, he or she should be eligible for nomination to a seat on the School Board or School Commission. In addition, the PAPT requested that business corporations should be realistically assessed for school tax purposes and the proceeds in the neutral panel distributed

provincially on the basis of reliable enrollment figures. Protestant teachers did not feel that the method of using the census of children of school age resulted in a fair distribution of monies for the Protestant sector. Finally, the PAPT supported the drive for larger units of administration, apparently holding that such units could be composed separately of Protestants.

> Larger units of school administration should be established where needed. Some of these may take in more than one county; in certain cases the manner of constituting the central or large unit school board should make necessary the existence of local boards; and for the problem of isolated and impoverished areas, the setting up of one provincial school authority should be considered.[76]

While this suggestion failed to make explicit mention of the dual system of education, implicit was an acceptance of duality. For larger units could have been achieved by combining Protestants and Catholics under single local authorities. Yet the PAPT did not suggest that solution. Rather, it was assumed that the larger administrational units should be attempted within each sector, Protestant and Catholic.

The final and largest segment of the PAPT brief to the Parent Commission dealt with teacher education, certification, and status. Throughout this section, the PAPT was concerned with expressing the desires of Protestant teachers for improvement on these areas. Again,

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[76] Op. cit., PAPT, Brief to the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, 1962.

the association seemed to assume that most of the changes recommended would take place within the two separate school systems.[77] The PAPT's concern over teacher certification, then, seemed directed at only the Protestant teachers of the province. Standards for certification were to be upgraded until only degree holders with professional training and successful experience in the schools of at least three to five years would qualify for a permanent teaching certificate. To accomplish this improvement, the PAPT suggested the formation of a Joint Committee of Teacher Education and Certification to replace the Protestant Central Board of Examiners and to exercise control over the certification of teachers, including standards of entrance into the profession and the conditions under which certification could be suspended or cancelled. The use of the word "joint" could have suggested a combined effort on the part of both Protestants and Catholics on an issue which was of interest to both. Yet, in the sense of the PAPT recommendation, the word "joint" meant representative of various parts of the Protestant segment. Thus, the committee was to be composed only of Protestant representatives, and it endeavoured to treat only the Protestant side of education in Quebec. The committee was to be composed

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[77] Such changes included the PAPT's willingness to discipline teachers for incompetence, teacher control of teacher certification, changes in various articles of the Education Act, and the right of teachers to be consulted about changes which would affect them.

of equal numbers of representatives from Protestant teacher training institutions, the Protestant Committee, and the PAPT.

The recommendations regarding the dual system made by the Protestant association of teachers to the Parent Commission did not differ a great deal from recommendations made by the association to the Hepburn Commission three decades earlier. For the suggestions put forward by the PAPT in 1962 still accepted the dual school system as a viable arrangement for education in the province. They assumed that changes could be made within the confines of that system, and they made only conservative attempts at somewhat greater unity between the two solitudes in the Province of Quebec.

The brief presented by Protestant teachers to the Royal Commission of Inquiry expressed a clear preference for the continuation of a dual system of schools for the Province of Quebec. Indeed, this sentiment had not only been expressed to the Royal Commission but had also been evident in PAPT discussions in the early 1960s concerning its priorities for the ensuing decade. J. M. Paton, then Executive Secretary of the association, outlined four major objectives for the PAPT during the 1960s, each showing the Protestant teachers' association bound only to the needs of the English-Protestant Community.

1. Responsibility for the professional competence of member teachers.

2. Responsibility for public attitudes toward the schools and education generally.

3. A stronger, more unified, more effective body of teachers within the PAPT at local and provincial levels.

4. To make the PAPT an effective lever of educational reform in our Protestant school system.[78]

Obviously, the recommendations made by the Parent Commission differed substantially from the PAPT's own notion of its direction during the 1960s, and, it was not surprising, therefore, to find a flurry of PAPT concern over the Parent recommendations and reforms. In fact, the proposals of the Royal Commission eventually forced the PAPT to confront the basic dual structure as an issue for the first time since Protestant teachers had asked that duality be established in 1864.

The first response by Protestant teachers through their association came late in 1962 when the Executive Secretary of the PAPT pointed out that "the old order changeth". He held that the French Catholic side was experiencing even greater change than the Protestant side. Nonetheless, the Protestant side was also convinced of the need for reform.

> It is almost a commonplace to remark that the winds of change are now blowing strongly in Quebec education. The effect, of course, is more noticeable in the French Catholic system. But Protestant school officials are obviously alert to the need for rapid, and even radical, adjustment to the demands of a technical age for

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[78] "Whither the PAPT in the 1960s", by J. M. Paton, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, February, 1960, p. 5.

better trained personnel . . . [79]

While Paton appeared to view certain kinds of educational change as necessary and even desirable, his statement never hinted at change in Quebec's dual system of education.

The next demonstration of Protestant teachers' interest in Quebec's educational change came near the end of 1963. During that period, a number of articles appeared which began to verbalize PAPT thought on the Parent Commission reforms, specifically those reforms contained in Bill 60, then before the Quebec Legislature. An editorial in September, 1963, considered the possible effects on Protestant teachers should Bill 60 be made into law. The Protestant Committee, obviously would disappear. It would no longer be responsible for education on the Protestant side of the confessional fence. The editor noted, that, though the PAPT had often had its troubles with the Protestant Committee, the association would still "hate to see it go". He cited the PAPT's hard and ultimately successful fight for representation on that Committee. He expressed pleasure that the new Superior Council of Education would include representatives of both the Protestant and Catholic communities. But he also suggested that Bill 60 be amended so that the PAPT as well as the Corporation des Instituteurs catholiques, the French Catholic teachers' association, and the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers, the English

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[79] "The Old Order Changeth", by J. M. Paton, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November 30, 1962, pp. 4-6.

Catholic teachers' association, would each have a direct representative on the new Superior Council. He concluded with a hopeful statement about Protestant autonomy. Speculating on the possible dangers to Protestants in the new arrangements, the Executive Secretary of the PAPT concluded that such dangers were unlikely to materialize.

> It would appear that as long as Protestant School Boards will exist, and have sufficient power and funds, and continue to employ mainly Protestant teachers, we have nothing to fear from a more unified provincial education authority.[80]

In the same issue of Teachers Magazine, the PAPT found itself rather sympathetic to the concerns of Protestant Administrators over the reforms. The Quebec Association of Protestant School Administrators had written an article stating their staunch opposition to Bill 60 on the grounds that it would take away their autonomy.

> While we approve the establishment of a Ministry of Education as a reasonable and logical approach to the problem of re-organization, it is nonetheless a matter of vital concern to Protestant Education, and especially to the small and scattered groups of Protestants outside the metropolitan area of Montreal, that the principle of autonomy as we enjoy it at the present, should not be abandoned in the centralization of the educational system under a single Ministry.[81]

The article went on to assert the distinctiveness and excellence of Protestant culture in the Province of Quebec,

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[80] "Ring Out the Old; Ring in the New", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, September, 1963, p. 5.

[81] "Q. A. P. S. A. Stand on the Education Bill", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, September, 1963, p. 70.

as well as the desire to maintain a separate religio-cultural identity.

> The emphasis today is justly placed upon the quality of our culture. We must affirm that Protestant Quebec represents a significant and vital culture which, though predominantly English in language, differs from the English culture prevalent in other provinces both in its awareness for "the French fact" in Canada, and also in a certain aggressiveness such as is wont to be found in a minority group. We feel that Quebec would sustain a serious loss if this culture, which in the past has made significant contributions to educational progress, should be weakened or effectively emasculated through a process of assimilation.[82]

The Quebec Association of Protestant School Administrators suggested, on this basis, a series of items on which they demanded autonomy for Protestants, in order to protect Protestant culture.

> To protect this culture, and assure its right to continue its vital contribution to education in this province, there is a definite need that we be guaranteed a continuation of our present autonomy in the following fields:
>
> 1. The freedom to develop a curriculum suited to our own needs and based upon our own educational philosophy.
>
> 2. The freedom to design and build schools which will make it possible to express our educational philosophy in action.
>
> 3. The freedom to determine our educational standards and to control our own examination system.
>
> 4. The freedom to determine the qualifications, training, and certification of teachers for our Protestant schools.[83]

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[82] Ibid.

[83] Op. cit., "Q. A. P. S. A. Stand on the Education Bill", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, September, 1963, p. 72.

Finally, the Quebec Association of Protestant School Administrators asserted that the assumption that Protestant and Catholic education could make progress along identical lines was based upon a complete disregard for the differences in educational philosophies and problems between the two sides. The Q. A. P. S. A. feared that English Protestants would lose their autonomy if it was based only on goodwill instead of on law.

> The admission has been made that, although under the proposed educational re-organization we shall lose our autonomy, nevertheless, given a measure of goodwill and mutual understanding, the future of Protestant educational enterprise will not be jeopardized. Under the present Government, this may well be true, but the surging tide of nationalism and separation may destroy this goodwill, leaving Protestants completely at the mercy of an unsympathetic majority. The only guarantee for our survival in the autonomy which we are now asked to relinquish.[84]

While the PAPT urged its members to consider carefully the arguments of major Protestant organizations against the Parent reforms, at the same time it published a defense of Bill 60 made by the French Catholic Minister of Youth, M. J. B. Crepeau. Crepeau understood the anxiety of the Protestant population over the proposed changes, and he tried to assuage that concern, assuring Protestants of French goodwill for them.

> But I can assure you that, for the very reason that our compatriots in other provinces have had, and still have, to live through this

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[84] Op. cit., "Q. A. P. S. A. Stand on the Education Bill", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, September, 1963, p. 73.

> distressing experience, the French and Catholic majority in Quebec will never inflict similar treatment on its minority.[85]

Speaking of the diastrous isolation in which Catholic and Protestant educational systems had operated in the province, Creapeau praised the Parent Commission for its appeal for cooperation between the two systems. Both parties, Crepeau felt, would benefit from such cooperation.

Thus, the PAPT charted a course of action regarding the Parent reforms in the face of conflicting testimony, testimony which on the one hand expressed fear for the autonomy of Protestants in the Province of Quebec, and on the other hand asserted that such fear was unfounded and unnecessary. In September 1963, the Executive appointed the officers of the PAPT to act as a committee to study the report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry as the volumes of the report were published. This committee was to examine the proposed educational legislation, furnish local units with information on the possible effects on Protestant education, and to cooperate with other associations of Protestant educators and with English speaking Catholic teachers.[86] At the same time, the PAPT, along with the Quebec Association of Protestant School Administrators and the Quebec Protestant Guidance Councillors Association, had

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[85] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, December 30, 1964, p. 41.

[86] Reported in PAPT News Bulletin, Volume 6, Number 1, September, 1963.

been asked to submit nominations of educators to the new Superior Council. Thus, at its meeting in September of 1963, the Executive decided that the PAPT should take the initiative in co-ordinating the activities of Protestant and other English speaking groups connected with the nomination of members of the Superior Council.[87] Apparently, in both of these actions, the PAPT viewed itself as an organization closely aligned in interest with both the Protestant and the English speaking segments of the province.

The PAPT further clarified its position on the Parent educational reforms in an editorial dealing with Bill 60. They had assumed that the Protestant Committee would continue to exist when they had advised the Royal Commission. They were sad to see the confessional committee disappear, but they were also ready to "ring in the new".

> The Protestant Committee, as we have known it, seems about to disappear, for, if Bill 60 of the last session of the legislature becomes law, this Committee will no longer be responsible for education on our side of the confessional fence, but will have only the power to advise the minister on matters of religion in our schools.
>
> As we take leave of our old friend, although we may not altogether forget the times when we have differed, let us remember that we have grown up together; and that together we have made Quebec Protestant education the finest in Canada. . . . In our brief to the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, the PAPT, assuming that the Protestant Committee would continue to exist more-or-

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[87] PAPT, Minutes of the Executive Committee, September 21, 1963

> less in its old form, and with more-or-less its old function, proposed that its composition be broadened to be more representative of the whole non-Roman Catholic community. Thus, we cannot but be pleased that the Superior Council is to represent various groups legitimately interested in education.[88]

Only one reservation was expressed here concerning the content of Bill 60. The PAPT suggested that Bill 60 be amended so that each of the three teachers' associations would have direct representation on the Superior Council. Finally, dealing with possible threats to the autonomy of Protestant education, the editor stated that unity at the top of the administrative hierarchy would probably not impair Protestant autonomy in the lower levels of the educational hierarchy. These statements exhibited concern by the PAPT over the proposed reforms, but also a certain amount of confusion in differing estimates of the danger of these reforms to Protestant educational autonomy. The actions taken by the PAPT suggested a willingness to see what change would bring, a "study-wait-and-see" attitude.

Subsequent statements by the PAPT, however, began to express the notion that Protestants ought to fight the proposed revisions to the Education Act, or, at the least, seek amendments to them. Typical of such sentiment was an address to the Canadian Teachers' Federation by Professor George Tomkins on the "Revolution in Quebec". Linking

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[88] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, September, 1963, pp. 5-6.

educational change to growing currents of French nationalism and separatism, Tomkins asserted that there was simultaneous revolution on four fronts: economic, political, religious and educational. Economically, the French Canadian aim was simply control by French Canadians of the resources of their own province and the elimination of barriers to French Canadians in the English speaking world. In addition, the role of the church was diminishing and Quebec, after three centuries, was emerging from the protective shell of the Roman Catholic Church. At the provincial level, French Canadians were fighting for the same rights in all provinces that the English speaking minority enjoyed in Quebec. Noting that French Catholics had allowed English Protestants nearly complete control of their own education under a dual system, he defended duality as true to the Canadian tradition and essential for the English Protestant minority in the province.

> No doubt the systems described sound like an administrative monstrosity. It does violence to the great North American tradition of the common school. It elevates sectarianism to the level of educational policy and undermines the dogma of the Church-State separation. Nevertheless, I believe it is true to Canadian tradition and to the Canadian historical experience. And I can assure you that the English speaking minority in Quebec would find any other system unacceptable.[89]

By March of 1964 Bill 60 had passed and become law. The PAPT immediately dispensed a careful explanation of the

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[89] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November 30, 1963, p. 24.

various facets of the Bill to its membership. In addition, after consultation with several other Protestant groups, the PAPT supported the Protestant Committee in its desire to secure several important amendments to Bill 60. The first actions taken by the PAPT had provided for study of proposed changes. Now their action was swinging toward more definite commitments to particular proposals for change. The Protestant association of teachers together with the Protestant Committee suggested separate provisions for Protestants and Catholics within the reformed structures of education. In doing so, these Protestant groups recommended changes in the new Ministry of Education and Superior Council of Education which would bring those two bodies into closer alignment with the old dual school system.

1. That the Ministry of Education include distinct Protestant and Catholic sections for curriculum, textbooks, teacher-training, examinations, and inspection, under the respective direction of the Catholic and Protestant Associate Deputy Minister.

2. That there be eight Protestants on the Superior Council of Education.[90]

3. That the Minister must give a hearing to any minority report of the Council concerned with Protestant Education.

4. That the Protestant Committee have the right to make recommendations on any questions pertaining to Protestant education.[91]

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[90]Bill 60 provided for a Superior Council of twenty-four, at least sixteen of whom were to be Catholic, four Protestant, and one neutral.

[91]PAPT, Teachers Magazine, March 30, 1964, p. 52.

The PAPT not only supported these recommendations in concert with other Protestant groups, but the association added its own recommendation that each teachers' organization of Quebec have the right to elect directly a member of the Superior Council. Finally, the PAPT followed its suggestions for change with a statement supporting "the way things were before Bill 60".

> It remains to be seen whether the change from time-honoured Quebec tradition to the practice of other provinces will bestow the blessings promised.[92]

The Annual General Meeting of the PAPT held in 1964 exhibited much of the uneasiness felt by Protestants over recent educational reforms in the Province of Quebec. In a lengthy discussion, delegates expressed fears that Protestant education might lose its identity and influence. Interestingly, these fears affected subsequent debate over the brief the PAPT had just prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.[93] There was a prolonged debate over the appropriateness of a moderate, conciliatory PAPT brief to that Canadian Royal Commission. An outspoken sizeable minority demanded amendments to express with more vigor the views, rights, and objectives of English speaking educators of Quebec. The brief, which had

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[92] Ibid., p. 52.

[93] This Commission was established in 1964 by the Governor General in Council, Ottawa, under the combined chairmanships of A. Davidson Dunton and André Laurendeau.

taken essentially a moderate position, was finally approved without amendment, but only by a narrow margin.[94]

The narrow dominance of proposals for moderate action in the Protestant teachers' association with respect to proposed and accomplished reforms may have been closely linked with a feeling that it was useless to fight trends which were already so staunchly established.[95] Coupled with the feeling that any action taken against reforms would meet with dubious success was a lack of clarity about the direction in which the PAPT should now head. Implicit in both of these factors was the belief that no one could successfully predict the problems or lack thereof that Protestant education would suffer as a result of the recent reforms. The editorial in Teachers Magazine, September 1964, exemplified this sentiment. T. H. G. Jackson, General Secretary of the association, held that the Parent reforms had wiped out previous Protestant "triumphs". However, Jackson added that it would be difficult to assess the meaning of the reforms to Protestant education.

> Many of us, myself included, have been looking back with some pride upon the achievements of the past. We can and do take much of the credit for the system of Protestant education which our founders helped to establish in the interest of the children of Quebec and which has served as a model for others both in the

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[94] PAPT, Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, February 10, 1964. The episode was also reported by Kenneth Hill in PAPT, Teachers Magazine, March 30, 1964, pp. 46-48.

[95] The Ministry of Education and the Superior Council were already in operation.

> province and outside it. But it is time we quit looking back.
>
> For where are the triumphs of yesteryear? We demanded and got a Protestant Department of Education. Today there is none. We saw the establishment of the Protestant Committee. It is no more. There was a Director of Protestant Education, an Inspector General of Protestant schools, an "Educational Record". The old regime served its day and generation well, but parliament, which created the former system of education, could and did replace it by a new one. . . . Just where this will lead, it is hard to say. Just what adjustments we will have to make, no one can tell.[96]

Only two months after Jackson wrote to Protestant teachers in Teachers Magazine, two articles appeared in the journal clearly favoring the Parent reforms in education. The first was a prediction of the future of Quebec education during the next hundred years. Kiel Oxley, former PAPT representative on the Protestant Committee, looked forward to a time when the schools of Quebec would be neither Catholic nor Protestant, neither English nor French. He hoped that the same public schools would educate children of all languages and faiths.

> It should be noted that future historians will record the fact that Quebec became a truly united and harmonious province only after the separate school systems had merged.[97]

The second defense of Quebec educational reform came from

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[96] "Person to Person", by T. H. G. Jackson, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, September 25, 1964, p. 112.

[97] "The Next Hundred Years", by Kiel Oxley, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November 30, 1964, p. 42.

a Protestant teacher who held no formal position within the association. Helen VanBeek asserted that the dual school system in effect for the past hundred years had caused division in the province. Racism, confessionalism, and language barriers had prevented all those concerned with education from reaching their potential. She concluded, "Unless there is a synthesis here, our system is doomed. . . . The Parent Report will change the old system and gear us to the modern world".[98]

At the same time, and in the same issue of Teachers Magazine, T. H. G. Jackson addressed the PAPT membership with a somewhat different approach to the changes in the province. Noting that the PAPT had always played an authoritative role in Protestant education in Quebec, he suggested a carry-over of that role into a broader sphere with the new educational climate in the province.

> While we may have been well in advance of the times, it is important that we hold on to the advances we have made and that we adjust wisely to the changes around us. We should attempt to carry-over our authoritative role into the wider sphere where we will act in cooperation with Roman Catholic teachers and the new Department of Education. What we did within the narrow confines of Protestant education, we must continue to do in the untravelled world ahead.[99]

Immediately prior to the Parent reforms and shortly after the reforms had been effected, Protestant teachers had

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[98] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November 30, 1964, p. 34.

[99] "On Being Part of Management", by T. H. G. Jackson, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November 30, 1964, pp. 6-7.

expressed combinations of uneasiness, fear, willingness to try proposed changes, and inability to predict accurately the consequences of these changes. It was to be expected that, as events progressed, the position of the PAPT assumed greater clarity and uniformity. Clearly, the first volume of the Parent Report, dealing as it did with the unification of the dual school system, had sparked great anxiety and controversy within the association. Volumes II and III, which treated programs of study and teaching techniques, met with much greater and earlier agreement and support by the PAPT.[100]

By early 1965, positions taken in PAPT conventions, councils, and publications began to swing toward more open concern over the end of the dual school system. Seldom were there statements favorable to the reforms. The association appeared to be weighing the early evidence and concluding that the reforms did pose threats to English Protestant education. Stanley Cohen, former teacher and then education editor for the Montreal Star, noted that the greatest opposition to Quebec's educational reforms had come from an

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[100]For further information on PAPT response to Volumes II and III, the reader is referred to Raymond Bolla's address to the Provincial Delegates Council, January 22 and 23, 1965, where Mr. Bolla, Executive Secretary of the Association, noted that Protestant teachers welcomed proposals for pre-school education of all children, the adaptation of teaching and curriculum to the needs of the child, and the development of Institutes for post-secondary education. An editorial in PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November 30, 1964, p. 5, also noted that the recommendations in the Parent Report were similar to recommendations articulated by the PAPT in their brief to that Commission.

unanticipated source--the Protestant educators of the province. Those who had been teaching for a long time opposed greater governmental control over education and apparently believed that "a sharing of Quebec's educational wealth would prove detrimental to advances in the Protestant system". They believed that the Protestant system must remain independent. Typical comments made by PAPT members and cited by Cohen included:

> "Now we'll have to stand still until they catch up."
>
> "Why must we be made to suffer for their lack of progress?"
>
> "The Protestant system is not understood because the Department of education is being run by officials who grew up in the Catholic schools of the province."[101]

Other teachers' opinions were aired in the same issue and for the most part echoed similar sympathies. Protestant teachers apparently believed that the Protestant education was being forced to a standstill until French education could catch up.

> In the "leveling-off" process of ensuring equal educational opportunity for all, to some extent through the deliberate diversion of funds to backward areas, a possibility appears that some Protestant boards will be for some time discouraged from further advance, if not forced to retreat.[102]

Such assessments of the impact of reforms on Protestant

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[101] "Protestant Teachers Question Reforms", by Stanley Cohen, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, May 30, 1965, p. 22.

[102] "Various Interpretations of Protestant Teachers' Opinions", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, May 30, 1965, p. 20.

education were understandably pessimistic, and they constituted criticism of the revolution aimed at unification of the dual school system. Yet, these criticisms were defended by the PAPT as constructive. T. H. G. Jackson, still General Secretary of the association, wrote a letter to the Montreal Star in which he asserted that responsible Protestant organizations, including the PAPT, had welcomed certain reforms in education as long overdue. However, he added, that this welcome did not deter Protestant teachers from their duty of giving careful scrutiny to specific proposals. He hoped that educational reforms would utilize the best each separate system had to offer.

> Over the years we and the Roman Catholics have built two educational systems of which we are proud, and we hope to see the best features of each system retained.[103]

Greater certainty over the difficulties experienced by Protestant education as a result of the reforms continued the following year. Early in 1966, Jackson noted that "Since Bill 60, we (PAPT) have become a somewhat smaller frog in a much larger pond".[104] Later in the year, in an article in Teachers Magazine, H. D. Allen, a teacher and member of the Protestant association, outlined the reasons for greater difficulty in unification. Stressing the vast differences in aims, philosophy, curriculum, and

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[103] "Teachers Criticism Has Constructive Aim", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, May 30, 1965, p. 26.

[104] "A Great Leap Forward", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, March 30, 1966, p. 4.

administration between the French and English systems of education, he concluded that "a single administration unit would be impractical and unrealistic". Should such unity be attempted, the needs of the minority would become subordinate to the needs of the majority. Allen felt that the PAPT should press for the establishment of a model which would give the English minority in Quebec what was desired by French minorities in other provinces.[105]

While most PAPT statements were similar to those preceding which attacked unification attempts, one expressed revulsion at the dominant Protestant reaction to the Parent reforms. J. J. Keith, member of the PAPT, criticized English Protestants for having categorically fought reforms in a reactionary, non-constructive way.

> They spend tremendous energy describing the educational glories of the past, and conclude with a stirring exhortation to maintain those conditions which will permit future advance along similar lines. To these citizens, the past failures of the French Canadian community and its present desire to catch up are enviable but must not be permitted to hang as a millstone around the neck of Anglo-Saxon-Protestant oriented education. In essence, these people would maintain the status quo. There is not a more dangerous position for any individual or group to assume than that of maintaining the status quo. Such a position implies standing still. Development becomes stifled.[106]

In the face of widely differing viewpoints with respect

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[105]The article referred to here was "Abundant Food for Thought", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, August, 1966, p. 28.

[106]"The Status Quo and In-Breeding", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November, 1966, p. 69.

to Quebec's educational reforms, the PAPT, late in 1967, formulated a series of recommendations to present to the Superior Council. These recommendations marked a crucial turning point for the PAPT. For, while the association had for some time been drifting toward a closer association with the whole English speaking community in the province, these recommendations formalized that approach, openly elevating the English-French cultural distinction to a more important position than that of Protestant-Catholic differences.

This new stress on lingual and cultural differences had been foreshadowed late in 1966 when Mr. Lucien Perras, chairman of the Special Parent Study Group Committee, spoke to the Executive Committee of the PAPT. The Special Study Group unanimously recommended that diversity exist on a language basis rather than a religious one.

> Rather than have a single unified system of education as proposed by Volume IV, there should be diversity on a language basis, French and English. Within these two groups there should be provision for Protestant, Roman Catholic, non-confessional, and multi-confessional schools.[107]

In addition, David Munroe, a member of the Parent Commission, supported the notion of separation on a lingual basis. Munroe had written an article for Teachers Magazine in which he asserted the importance of alignment with the English speaking community. Noting that the English community had little unity from a religious standpoint--it included Jews,

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[107] PAPT Sentinel, November, 1966, p. 1.

Catholics, Protestants, and other sects--he stressed other similarities which bound the English speaking peoples together. Although these peoples represented many different nationalities, Munroe believed them to be preponderantly urban in outlook. In addition, they shared a common interest in maintaining a close relationship between Quebec and the world outside the province. The English speaking community, then, had a vital stake in educational reform.

> We must fashion new structures and, in my judgement, these must be devised to bring greater unity within the English speaking community and this unity must be made to serve the common good of Quebec and Canada by a solid and continuing working relationship with our French speaking compatriots for the progress and prosperity of the province and the country as a whole.[108]

Clearly, Munroe believed that a separation on the basis of language and culture was a more realistic response to Quebec's special problems than was the traditional system based on religious separation. But he also stressed that any move toward English unity be made to serve the common good of Quebec and Canada.

Whether or not Munroe's beliefs proved to be of consequence to Protestant teachers, actions taken by the PAPT six months later echoed his concern that the new educational system serve first and foremost both French and English

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[108] "The English Speaking Community of Quebec and Its Schools", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, May, 1967, p. 26.

speaking peoples rather than religious groups. The PAPT's recommendations to the Superior Council stated, first, that the PAPT was not satisfied that the proposed arrangements for a unified system of education within the Province of Quebec would guarantee neither a continuation of the English language group nor the survival of English language education in the province. They suggested that administrators in both language and separate curricula for each lingual group would be required.

> Until we have administrators conversant with both of the present systems of education, we would require administrators at every level in both languages. Also, in subjects of cultural content, such as literature, and history, we would expect a dual curriculum to be retained.[109]

A month later, in a joint letter by four Protestant groups to the Minister of Education, the PAPT reiterated its desire to see the dual system continue along a cultural basis.

> It is our conviction--jointly and severally--that the continuation of the dual English-French educational system in the Province of Quebec would be in the best interests of both linguistic groups. This would ensure the continuing existence of a satisfactory level of education and the maintenance of the cultural and religious heritage of the respective language groups.[110]

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[109] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November, 1967, pp. 3-4.

[110] The letter, found in the PAPT Sentinel, November 10, 1967, was signed by Mrs. J. D. Frankel, Quebec Federation of Protestant Home and School Associations, Mr. I. Trassler, PAPT, Mr. L. B. Clarke, Quebec Association of Protestant School Administrators, and Mr. R. S. McCaren, Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards.

Furthermore, the PAPT exhibited a willingness to have English Protestants housed in the same schools with English Catholics, again stressing the lingual/cultural differences rather than the religious. The Protestant association of teachers, therefore, recommended to the Superior Council that English speaking Protestants and Catholics be combined in regional schools.

> That the PAPT declare that, recognizing the difficulties inherent in maintaining both English Protestant and English Catholic Regional Schools, we endorse full co-operation between these two groups.[111]

Another recommendation by Protestant teachers reiterated their concern that English Protestants not be forced to a standstill or retreat while the "other side" caught up.

> That the PAPT endorse the principle of equality of opportunity for all children within the province but insist that equality should be attained by a process of "leveling up" not "leveling down", recognizing that this will require increased expenditure of money, time, and effort.[112]

The recommendations of the PAPT concluded with a statement about cooperation between French and English systems of education in the Province of Quebec. While suggesting that

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[111] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November, 1967, p. 4. Operation 55 initiated the establishment of a system of Regional Boards, 55 French and 9 English.

[112] Ibid., p. 4. Other recommendations to the Superior Council at this time dealt with rather specific problems within the system of Regional Boards, such as cooperation between parents and teachers, elementary educational problems and the jurisdiction of the Regional Board, and salary negotiations at the Regional Board level.

cooperation was a desirable goal, the statement amounted to a repudiation of the speed with which this goal was being sought. The PAPT held that the climate necessary for successful reform would take much time to accomplish.

> The teachers felt that an umbrella structure, the Council of School Development, could be effectively set up as a body to work out a high degree of cooperation between the English and the French systems. Education of all groups concerned would gradually bring about complete cooperation and understanding between the two cultures. The sad thing today is that both the Parent Commission and the Superior Council do not seem to realize that the idealistic system they propose will not give the necessary time for this cooperation and understanding to develop. Education is the only hope for harmony between the races, but education takes time, a great deal more time than the passing of a piece of legislation through Parliament.[113]

A diversion for a moment to a different but closely related topic is necessary. The neutral school question, already an issue of great concern in the province prior to the Parent Report, was treated in depth by the Royal Commission. The Commission concluded that a system of neutral or non-confessional schools was necessary for those parents who would not feel comfortable sending their children to either Protestant or Catholic schools, and ought therefore to exist side by side with the existing confessional establishment.[114] The Commission also stressed the need for the State to assume priority over the Church in

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[113] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November, 1967, p. 4.

[114] The neutral school issue and recommendations regarding the same were discussed in Volume V of the Parent Commission Report.

matters of education.

By the time the Parent Commission began soliciting briefs, two major groups in the province had mobilized to press for neutral schools, one French, and the other English. Le Mouvement Laïque de Langue Française, abbreviated MLF, was founded by six hundred French speaking intellectuals at the University of Montreal in 1961, and it stressed two proposals: the creation of a political State that would be secular in character and the establishment of a neutral school sector to supplement the existing confessional one. The MLF had concentrated its efforts on winning educational relief for French speaking non-Catholics, specifically French speaking Protestants, Jews, and non-believers who, under the provisions of the dual school system, would only be enrolled in schools run by English Protestant authorities. Taken as a whole, the program of the MLF was a moderate one; it asked that the present system of education be repaired rather than completely overhauled.[115]

A harder educational line was taken by the Committee for Neutral Schools, a sort of English counterpart to the French MLF. Charging that the confessional school bred distrust and intolerance among members of a pluralistic

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[115]For a more complete discussion of the program of the MLF, the reader is referred to "Les Relations juridiques Eglise-Etat au Québec" by Marc Lalonde, L'Eglise et le Québec, (Montreal: Les Editions du Jour), pp. 87-100.

society, the Committee pushed for the outright abolition of Catholic and Protestant public schools, and proposed in their place a dual system of non-confessional schools divided along language rather than religious lines. Religion was to be offered as an optional course after school hours.

The stance taken by the Parent Commission approximated that suggested by the MLF, although neither the MLF nor the Committee for Neutral Schools felt the Parent recommendations went far enough. Articles written by neutral school advocates began to appear in PAPT publications in 1965. In 1966 and 1967 the PAPT published two major articles, each explaining the views of one of the two organizations. The first, while it attempted to give fair consideration to both programs, concluded that the Committee for Neutral Schools failed to take into account the educational interests of the Catholic majority in the province.

> Although the Committee for Neutral Schools is perfectly justified in reminding the public of its duty to provide equal educational opportunity for Quebec's minorities, its solution appears to be prejudicial to the educational interests of the majority. The Roman Catholic population of the province embraces a philosophy of education which holds that education without religion is not education at all. In the Catholic concept of education, religion is not just another course in the curriculum; rather it is seen as the cornerstone of the entire curriculum and it cannot be dissociated from the total school environment. The Committee's recommendations for the abolition of all confessional schools offends the conscience of most Quebec citizens, since it seems to suggest that the majority does not

> have the right to educate the young as it sees fit.[116]

Leonard Mason, member of the Committee for Neutral Schools, responded to the charges made in that article by Dr. Magnuson, a professor at McGill University. Contending that those wanting neutral schools were a substantial minority, he asserted that their needs must be met as well as the needs of the majority. Further, Mason stated that the Committee did not seek to impose "any unwilling secularism on French-Canadian Catholicism".

> In neutral public schools the selection, training, and appointment of teachers would be based on educational and personal merit alone, and would not require the present qualification of being a member in good standing of a recognized religious organization. In such public schools, teachers would not have to conduct religious exercises or to give religious instruction for which many of them were not qualified and concerning which many were diffident.[117]

The PAPT Executive, having reviewed the cases made by both the MLF and the Committee for Neutral Schools, acted in support of the moderate position taken by the Parent Commission. They asserted that establishment of neutral schools was necessary, but that the needs of both the Catholic majority and a substantial number within the Protestant minority were best met through a continuation

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[116] "The Background of the Neutral School Question", by Dr. R. Magnuson, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November, 1966, p. 41.

[117] "The Neutral School Question", by Leonard Mason, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, March, 1967, p. 31.

of confessional schools alongside.[118]

In conclusion, the response of Protestant teachers to the recommendations of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education can be viewed in three phases. From 1962 until the passage of Bill 60 in early 1964, the PAPT expressed some concern over Protestant autonomy, but this concern was coupled with a recognition of the need for educational reform in many areas. The association aired positions from both extremes during this period. On the one hand, it publicized strong Protestant views, such as those of the Quebec Association of Protestant School Administrators, noting great danger to Protestant institutions in coming changes; and, on the other hand, it published contradictory assessments, such as those by Minister of Youth Crepeau, suggesting that little or no danger existed for Protestants. No overt action was taken by the PAPT with respect to the Parent Reforms during this period. Instead, before acting, the association established procedures of studying the recommendations to assess their meaning and impact. There was a hint in these study procedures that the PAPT viewed itself not only as an association aligned with other Protestant organizations, but also as an association closely related in interests with other English speaking groups in the province. The clearest statement of concern by the PAPT during this period was its

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[118] PAPT News Bulletin, June 1, 1967, p. 1.

effort to secure direct representation on the Superior Council for each teachers' association.

By March of 1964, Bill 60 was the law of the land. From that point until late 1966 marked the second phase of the PAPT's response. Several aspects of this period must be examined. First, the PAPT in concert with other Protestant groups, arrived at its first major policy statement dealing with the Parent reforms which aimed at diminishing duality. This statement demanded greater representation and autonomy for Protestants within the new system of education. Second, and closely related to the first, was the greater agreement within the PAPT regarding the diastrous effects on Protestant education precipitated by the new educational arrangements. Protestant educators came to believe, during this period, that Protestant education would cease to advance, indeed, might even regress, while French Catholic was allowed to "catch up". Implicit in this belief were feelings of Protestant educational superiority, which may not have been altogether unjustified. Third, it was obvious that, even during this second phase, there was no clear assessment of how much danger the reforms presented for Protestant education. While most Protestants accepted the notion of some danger, estimates as to its severity differed. Fourth, it became clear that the educational reform causing the greatest anxiety to the PAPT was, in fact, the reform of the dual school system. When the second and third volumes of the Parent Report, which presented no

threat to duality, appeared, the response of the PAPT was one of substantial agreement, absence of significant controversy. Finally, although the PAPT moved generally during this period toward stauncher opposition to Bill 60 and its implied end to the dual system, on several occasions, three to be exact, members of the association vigorously defended the Parent recommendations and criticized their own colleagues for their "reactionary" viewpoint.

In 1967 the PAPT entered what can be viewed as the third phase in its response to recommendations for greater unity in the educational system of the Province of Quebec. Still concerned over the end to the dual system, the PAPT moved purposefully toward a re-definition of that duality. During this period, the Protestant association of teachers formalized its alignment with the English speaking community of Quebec. It asserted that English Catholics and Protestants could be educated together, but that there should be a separation based on language rather than religious considerations. Moreover, the PAPT adopted a moderate stance regarding the neutral school question. They suggested that neutral schools be established as an alternative alongside existing confessional institutions.

Thus, the PAPT's response to the recommendations of the Parent Commission changed substantially from 1962 to 1968. What began as a period of study and of openness to varying attitudes toward reforms changed gradually to a consensus of the danger these reforms posed to Protestant education. While diversity was initially an issue of

concern on a religious level, it evolved to an issue based more upon language than religion. Finally, what had begun as a defense of the dual school system based upon religious differences, ended with a formal policy statement demanding duality from a lingual standpoint, a separation of students, French and English.

It is now necessary to turn to two issues closely related to the PAPT's response to changes in the dual school system. First, the attitudes of Protestant teachers toward the Catholic educational segment in the province during the period following the Parent Commission recommendations, and second, their attitude toward the French speaking educational community in Quebec. Clearly, these two factors bore considerable weight in the PAPT response to possible unity with French Catholics in one single school system. It has been noted that, prior to the Parent reforms, the PAPT's perception of itself as a Protestant, English speaking organization was related to its position regarding Quebec's school system. In addition, the concerns of the Protestant teachers' association seemed to center exclusively on Protestant, English speaking students, teachers, and schools. Incidents where English Protestant teachers dealt with French Catholic teachers included both those in which the dealings were friendly and harmonious as well as those where friction was evident. It seems probable that, in the period preceeding the Parent Commission proposals, the issue of Protestant-Catholic differences proved more crucial to the PAPT than did French-English distinctions. It is

necessary, therefore, to follow these issues into the 1960s, the period during which the dual school system was challenged and shaken.

Early in 1961, the PAPT published an article by E. A. Thériault discussing "Religious Segregation in Quebec's Schools". On the eve of the establishment of the Royal Commission of Inquiry, a Protestant teacher was already alerting others to what he considered to be the problems inherent in the rigid dual structure. He noted that some English Protestants wished to send their children to French schools to improve their French, but these parents were forced to pay a fee of twenty-five dollars per month per child. The situation was the same if French parents wanted their children to attend English Protestant schools. Lamenting this fact, Thériault asserted the right of parents to send their children to the public school of their choice, regardless of religious affiliation. Thériault's argument was, in effect, an admission of the primacy of lingual and cultural considerations over religious ones. However, this Protestant teacher did not suggest an end to the dual school system but rather greater flexibility within it.[119]

The PAPT's brief to the Parent Commission in 1962 can be viewed from a broader cultural and religious basis as well as from one more specifically related to the school situation. First, the brief suggested formally what had been previously moved informally--that the word "Protestant"

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[119]PAPT, Teachers Magazine, March 30, 1961, pp. 62-65.

occurring in legislation was to be understood to mean "non-Roman Catholic" or "not professing the Roman Catholic religion". Second, the Protestant teachers, assuming that the dual system would continue intact, suggested that closer liaison between the Protestant and Catholic sides of the Department of Education would be desirable. This last, however, may have been mentioned more for the benefit of Protestants than of Catholics. For, immediately following, was the concern that Protestants were too often not notified or were notified too late when changes in the Education Act were being contemplated. It was hoped that closer liaison would facilitate greater information and consultation for Protestants on proposed amendments.[120]

In 1962 the pension issue was still one on which Catholic and Protestant teachers worked together. While this issue was generally considered evidence of good-will between teachers of both religious faiths, disharmony was at times still apparent. Late in 1962 both groups of teachers were attempting to secure change in one article of the pension law. However, the two representatives of the PAPT, Mr. Caron and Mr. Perrie, reported to the Executive that they had not been able to get agreement from the Catholics on all of the Protestant desires.[121]

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[120] PAPT Summary of the Brief, 1962, p. 2.

[121] Article 523 and the Pension Commissioners' actions on it are detailed in the PAPT Executive meeting, November 17, 1962.

Salary differentials occasioned some Protestant-Catholic tensions in 1963. During the Annual General Meeting that year, a Committee reported the possibility that Roman Catholic teachers in Montreal were earning more than their Protestant fellows. The PAPT had already approved a salary scale for that school year, and a struggle ensued between those who wanted to adhere to that scale and those who felt that the scale should be adjusted to a level which would equalize Protestant teachers with Catholics. After heated debate, a resolution was drawn up asking the Salaries and Contracts Committee to study the scales of Catholic and Protestant teachers, and, should there be a difference, to consider the revision of its objectives.[122] Three months later, the study had been done, and it was shown conclusively that Roman Catholic teachers' salaries were greater than those of Protestants.[123] The PAPT Executive decided, however, to stick to existing scales for the present. News of the difference reached member teachers through the Teachers Magazine in November, 1963. Mr. Jones, a Protestant teacher, told his colleagues of salary differences of as much as $2000 annually.

> One of the biggest and quietest changes which has taken place in the local educational scene is the way in which Catholic teachers in Montreal now earn substantially more than their

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[122] PAPT, Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, June 1, 1963.

[123] This study was reported to the Executive by Mr. McOuat at a meeting on September 21, 1963.

> Protestant colleagues. This is all the more striking because Protestant teachers enjoyed a salary superiority for so long. The sums involved are very large and can amount to a difference of $2,000 annually.[124]

In 1964 the Protestant Committee was dissolved following the recommendation of the Royal Commission of Inquiry. In May of that year the PAPT discussed the possibility of a closer liaison with both other organizations of Catholic teachers--the Corporation des Instituteurs catholiques and the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers. At the Annual General Meeting it was moved and seconded that a committee be formed to discuss mutual problems and current issues with the two Catholic organizations. Discussion on this item, however, was brief, and the suggestion was withdrawn.[125] Moreover, the problem of Catholic teachers in Protestant schools was raised. A motion was presented to the Executive stating that the PAPT favored hiring Catholic teachers only when no qualified Protestants were available.

> That the Executive is in favour of hiring qualified French speaking Roman Catholic teachers, at least on a basis equivalent to "permit" teachers, if no qualified Protestant is available for teaching of French.[126]

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[124] "News and Views", by S. Jones, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November 30, 1963, p. 32.

[125] PAPT, Minutes of Annual General Meeting, May 29 and 30, 1964.

[126] PAPT, Minutes of the Executive, April 11, 1964.

This motion was easily defeated.[127] In November, however, a similar motion was introduced, this time successfully. The motion provided that qualified lay Roman Catholic French specialists be permitted to teach in the Protestant schools of Quebec, provided that their teaching in no way include religious instruction. It further asked that School Boards be permitted to hire qualified lay Roman Catholic teachers where qualified Protestant teachers were not available.[128] At the same Executive session it was announced that a Committee of Protestants representing the Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards, the Quebec Association of Protestant School Administrators, and the PAPT was being formed to study problems of the Protestant system in connection with Operation 55. While the concern of the PAPT over the Catholic teachers in Protestant schools may have been motivated partially by interest in job security, yet this concern, coupled with the fresh alliance of the PAPT with other Protestant groups to study what it perceived to be Protestant problems, also indicated the importance of the religious dimension to Protestant teachers. Religious differences may have been declining in importance both in the province as a whole and in the educational scene, but this issue was still viewed as important by the PAPT. Indeed, the association was using the

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[127] Ibid.

[128] PAPT, Minutes of the Executive, November 21, 1964.

issue of religion to gain support in the Protestant community.

The following year marked the point at which cultural differences and similarities appeared to triumph over those of religious faith. The PAPT announced in March, 1965, that experiments were being worked out by which English Protestants and English Catholics would be combined in single High Schools. Instruction in these High Schools would be in one language only, English, and both Protestants and Catholics were to have the same course of study. The experimental schools were to be supervised by both Catholic and Protestant inspectors. Schools of this nature were to try to have equal numbers of Protestant and Catholic instructors, and Catholic students would receive religious instruction by priests daily.[129] The PAPT, therefore, seemed willing at this juncture to experiment with separation based upon language rather than religion.

Carrying the same theme further, the PAPT supported a corollary of its previous position. The Curriculum Committee recommended that French Protestant children be given permission to make arrangements to attend French Roman Catholic schools, especially in areas where the number of French Protestant students was too few to set up separate facilities for them. Only one caution was added--

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[129]The first experimental High School was located in Murdockville, Quebec. This experiment was reported in PAPT, Teachers Magazine, March 30, 1965, p. 34.

that these Protestant children be excused for religious instruction in the Roman Catholic schools. This recommendation was passed by the PAPT Executive.[130]

During the following year, further changes were made. Regardless of whether or not Protestant students were studying in schools for Protestants only or in combined Catholic and Protestant English High Schools, the type of religious instruction they would get was of concern. Previously, the PAPT had suggested that the definition of the word "Protestant" be accepted as "non-Roman Catholic". However, when this suggestion was made to the Parent Commission in 1962, religious instruction for these non-Roman Catholic students was predominantly Protestant in nature. By 1966 some Protestant teachers appeared to understand that the definition of the word "Protestant" they had put forward was incompatible with the type of religious instruction then given to students designated "Protestant" by that definition. On two separate occasions, members of the PAPT submitted articles to Teachers Magazine suggesting changes in the religious curriculum. Both requested similar kinds of change. T. Branscomb began his article by reviewing the current aims of religious instruction as they had been stated by the Protestant Committee. The Protestant course on religion was to give students an appreciation for the Bible and the Christian faith.

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[130]PAPT, Minutes of the Executive, April 24, 1965.

> To give pupils a general knowledge of the Bible as the book which forms the basis of Christian faith, worship, and conduct. To foster the growth of a moral and spiritual interpretation of life by means of an understanding and appreciation of the Christian religion.[131]

Unfortunately, Branscomb noted, these aims were only acceptable to Christians. Branscomb believed in the necessity for knowledge about all other countries, their peoples, and their religions. He therefore proposed that the present course on Moral and Religious Instruction in the Protestant schools be changed to a course on the six basic religions--Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Shintoism, Hinduism, and atheism. Clearly, he stated, teaching about religion in this fashion would be the most equitable way of dealing with religious instruction for non-Roman Catholic students.

The following year the salary differential between Protestant and Catholic teachers again became a major issue. Since 1963 the PAPT had been aware that Catholic teachers generally had surpassed Protestant teachers in salary. They had been studying the situation closely since then, never able, however, to close the salary gap. Early in 1967 the PAPT had created a new post designed rather specifically to treat problems of this nature, and they had appointed

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[131]"Religious and Moral Instruction in the Schools", by T. Branscomb, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, March 30, 1966, p. 63.

[132]In another article by Anthony J. C. Kerr, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, March 30, 1966, similar changes were suggested.

Claude Jovart as full-time Director of Economic Welfare.[133]

On March 14, Mr. Jovart, together with the President, the Executive Director, and the Economic Welfare Consultant, presented a memorandum to the Department of Education concerning the issues of teacher classification and salary.[134] They suggested four factors which alone should be used to determine teacher classification and, therefore, salary.

1. The type of task performed by the teacher.
2. The academic qualifications of the teacher.
3. The number of years of schooling that the teacher had completed.
4. Any combination of the above.[135]

The Province of Quebec was, at the time, operating on the basis of the third factor, and, as a result, inequities were arising due to the fact that there were two such different systems of schooling in the province. These inequities caused some Protestant teachers to earn seven to ten percent less than their Catholic confreres. The PAPT delegation outlined some ways of remedying this situation.

Thus, during the years of the operation of the Parent Commission and the ensuing reforms, the attitude of the Protestant teachers' association toward their Catholic colleagues was in some ways similar to their attitude previous

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[133]This position was created as a result of two motions passed at a special Meeting of the Executive, March 22, 1967. The position became effective April 1, 1967.

[134]It is apparent that Mr. Jovart had done considerable work in this area prior to his formal appointment March 22.

[135]PAPT Sentinel, April 14, 1967, pp. 1 and 2.

to the Parent Commission reforms. There were examples of attempts at closer communication and harmony as well as incidents showing friction. While the evidence is inconclusive here, two factors are of particular importance during this period. First, Protestant teachers for the first time in history had cause to covet the accomplishments of their Catholic fellows. Certainly the salary differential aroused deep-seated feelings of jealousy and mistrust on the part of Protestants. Since the salary differential occurred on the basis of religion, and, more specifically, on the basis of the dual system of schooling, the issue of religion seemed to be temporarily pushed to the foreground. However, at the same time, Protestant teachers who had defended duality because it protected Protestant superiority were confronted for the first time with evidence to the contrary--evidence showing the inferiority of Protestant pay scales. The second important factor consisted of a significant change in PAPT policy regarding the separation of Catholic and Protestant students. For the first time the PAPT formally supported the practice of grouping students for instruction by language instead of religion.

Another issue closely related to the PAPT position regarding educational reforms in the Province of Quebec consisted of the response by English Protestant teachers during this period to the French educational community. This issue became more crucial as the reforms moved the schools toward duality based upon language rather than religion. Of course,

during this period, formal examples of goodwill and communication between the PAPT and the French speaking community continued. French representatives were still invited, applauded, and welcomed at PAPT functions and the like. In June, 1962, English Protestant teachers took note in Teachers Magazine of a speech by a prominent French educator, Paul Gérin-Lajoie, Quebec Minister of Youth. Gérin-Lajoie, speaking to the Canadian Conference on Education, had expounded on Quebec's point of view regarding provincial autonomy in education.[136] The Minister of Youth insisted on the diversity of the two cultures, stating his belief that the melting pot concept would never apply to Canada. The PAPT was rather critical of Lajoie's speech. First, they felt that the French seemed on the offensive "when the English were not really thinking of transgressing".[137] Second, they believed that the Minister should have said more about the cooperation with other Provinces, instead of dwelling only on diversity. Dean Leddy, a PAPT spokesman, held that Gérin-Lajoie should have spoken of the warm affiliation between the religio-cultural groups in Quebec, rather than stressing the tension and conflict.

> What a service it would be and how close it would be to the realities, if from time to time, and especially at this distinguished occasion, we should hear from the official spokesmen of the great Province of Quebec in which we meet

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[136] "Two Nations or One", by P. Gérin-Lajoie, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, June, 1962, p. 9.

[137] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, June, 1962, p. 9.

> some expression of their warm affiliation with us rather than their rather formal warnings implying some transgression which we do not have in mind to commit.[138]

The PAPT analysis of the Gérin-Lajoie speech expressed rue over the airing of possible friction by the French in front of the entire Canadian community. It also stressed the harmony which was the "reality" in the province as well as the lack of any aggressive tendencies on the part of the English in Quebec toward the French. Later in the same year, an article appeared praising the recent educational efforts of French Canadians. J. Edward Perry, president of the PAPT, wrote that the English speaking minority in the province had always been justly proud of its educational achievements, had considered themselves pace-setters in the field of education. However, he noted, "during the past two years we have watched with open-mouthed admiration, as our French Canadian colleagues have taken the initiative and how threaten to leave us on the sidelines".[139]

During 1963 only one major article pertaining to French and English relationships appeared in a PAPT publication, this article, however, was a rather thorough look at the "revolution" in the province. Linking educational problems to a broader social setting, Professor George Tomkins cited revolution in politics, economics, and religion as well

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[138] Ibid., p. 9.

[139] "Front Page Challenge", by G. Tomkins, reported in PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November 30, 1962, p. 14.

as education. His analysis of French separatism and its effects on education is of particular interest here. Tomkins asserted that the French of Canada really wanted what the English minority in Quebec already had. Thus, in every province, the French Canadian should have equal status with the English, full language rights in all courts, a guaranteed seat in the provincial legislature, as well as French control over their own education.[140] Tomkins mentioned no necessary change in the educational structure of Quebec; rather, he dwelt on changes which would have to take place in other parts of the Canadian Confederation.

In 1964 the PAPT was again afforded a chance to show goodwill toward the French segment of the province. On the occasion of the centenary celebration of the Protestant association, the PAPT received a letter of congratulations from the Hon. Paul Gérin-Lajoie. At the editor's request, the letter was published in Teachers Magazine in French. At the same time, the PAPT Executive printed a brief policy statement holding that the PAPT existed in harmony with the French in Quebec and that the association would happily publish some articles in the French language.

> To live and work in the Province of Quebec is an exhilarating and satisfying experience resulting from the interplay between two cultures and two languages. . . . Our magazine differs from the house organs of other provincial associations primarily because, from time to time, we reflect something of the effervescent bicultural blend

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[140] "Revolution in Quebec", by George Tomkins, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, August, 1963, p. 20.

> that is Quebec. To this end, we were delighted to publish the graceful compliments of our Gallic confreres in their own language, and we shall be pleased to publish, in future, significant articles and correspondence in French, whether written by our own French Protestant teachers or by our friends of the Roman Catholic faith.[141]

In the following year, apparent lack of goodwill on the part of the French changed the situation from one of harmony to one of some friction. The PAPT had long been concerned with the bilingual publication of materials by the Quebec Department of Education. The major problem was a time factor. The English versions of the Department's original documents in French always appeared significantly later than the originals. Finally, in September, 1965, the Executive Secretary of the PAPT, T. H. G. Jackson, wrote a formal letter of protest to the Minister of Education, stating that English speaking teachers who read Education Weekly rather than the French Hebdo-Education were at "considerable disadvantage". He asked that both versions be circulated simultaneously.[142] In December, the PAPT reviewed the situation and received assurances from the Department of Education that Education Weekly and Hebdo Education would soon be published and mailed "practically simultaneously".[143]

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[141] "Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Pense", by Kenneth Hill, PAPT, Teachers Magazine, November 30, 1964, pp. 7-8.

[142] The text of this letter appeared in the PAPT News Bulletin, October, 1965.

[143] PAPT News Bulletin, December, 1965.

The first mention of English-French relationships by the PAPT during the following year carried forward the idea that duality should continue but should be based upon language. In February, 1966, the PAPT attempted to formulate a policy with regards to teacher certification. In its brief to the Royal Commission, the association had called for the Central Board of Examiners, a Protestant body, to continue, and the Protestant teachers had asked for increased representation on it. However, at this time, they changed their recommendation and asked that one certification board with an English and French division be formed. Just as interesting was the decision of the association not to announce this as policy until it could be discussed thoroughly at the Comité Conjoint, a committee formed of members of all three teachers associations.[144]

Later that same year, the PAPT firmly stated its stance regarding the dual school system. Their position was predictable, as so much forethought and discussion had preceded it. In a brief presented to the Superior Council of Education in December, 1966, the PAPT strongly recommended a dual system of education based on a linguistic division.

> The dual school system based on a language division was held to be necessary if flexibility and communication were to be properly maintained. Such an organization would also permit confessional provisions without fragmentation. Perhaps of the greatest importance, the legitimate needs of the majority would be guaranteed while minority

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[144] Ibid., February, 1966.

rights would not be prejudiced.[145]

Clearly, the PAPT feared the loss of its own rights as part of the English speaking, Protestant minority in the Province of Quebec as well as being concerned that the needs of the majority be guaranteed.

A PAPT editorial in January, 1967, further exhibited this concern of the minority in Quebec. Speaking of the province and its rightful place in the Canadian Confederation, the association also alluded to current trends of French Canadian separatism and nationalism, which, at times, were considered revolutionary. The PAPT committed itself here to two principles. First, that greater sovereignty for Quebec within the Canadian nation was essential. And second, that there was a danger of imposing too rapid change and of "becoming blinded by the revolution".[146] The PAPT here supported the idea of "slowing the revolutionary pace" and advocated a regrouping of Quebec's energies to assure "progressive, orderly development".[147] As part of the total picture of reform, the PAPT was happy that educational change was now to proceed at a less rapid, more moderate pace. Clearly, the English Protestant teachers, as a group, were more comfortable with moderation and feared what extreme or rapid change might mean to them as a minority

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[145] PAPT Sentinel, December, 1966, p. 1.

[146] PAPT Sentinel, January, 1967, p. 1.

[147] Ibid., p. 2.

in the province.

Similar sentiment for slowing down educational reform came from members of the English Protestant community who were no longer teachers. Stanley Cohen, Education Writer for the Montreal Star, addressed the Quebec Association of Protestant School Administrators and the Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards on April 29, 1967. His speech had been prompted by the passage of the infamous Bill 25 which outlawed strikes by teachers, and provided for provincial negotiations of teacher salary contracts between the Quebec government and the three teachers' associations. Mr. Cohen's article provided great insight into the attitudes of the English speaking Protestant community toward recent reforms in education. He first sided with the PAPT in declaring the Bill a bad piece of legislation. However, his reasons were different from those of most members of the PAPT. He did not oppose Bill 25 because "that's what will happen if we're thrown into one system with them".[148] If Mr. Cohen's assessment of PAPT opinion was correct, there was a great deal of animosity on the part of English Protestants toward French Catholics. Mr. Cohen continued, holding that unity between these two groups was essential.

> What disturbs me is that well-meaning but misguided individuals anxious to hang on to personal autonomy have whipped up a scare.
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> I recognize that the English and French approach to many things is very different. . . . But the way to improve conditions

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[148] PAPT Sentinel, May 12, 1967.

> is not to build the wall higher, but to communicate, to make yourselves understood--not in anger or from an entrenched position, or sprouting a "we and they" philosophy--but with an understanding of and an appreciation for other points of view. . . . If you were to truly fulfill your respective roles and responsibilities, you would be concerned with improving the educational opportunities for every child in Quebec, and not see your main responsibility as the protection of the Protestant system.[149]

Cohen's article was certainly a scathing blow to traditional English Protestant attitudes. If his assessment was accurate, then, unfortunately, it shows the official writing of the PAPT as an inadequate representation of its members viewpoints. For while the PAPT writings had at times indicated such opinion, never had such strength of commitment, fear, and hatred been aired in public by the association.

The PAPT fight against Bill 25 ultimately showed again the importance of English-French relationships. Professor E. C. Murray McDonald described Bill 25 as "conservative and reactionary" because it attempted to enforce province-wide, central, and uniform control of salaries paid to teachers, with no provision made for the exercise of local pride in schools on the part of Boards disposed to pay more for better teachers, if they so chose. However, McDonald believed it "went along with French ideas". Apparently, the French had always preferred strong centralization in matters relating to education and culture while the British had traditionally preferred local autonomy

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[149] PAPT Sentinel, May 12, 1967.

with as few restrictions and regulations as possible.[150] The tone of McDonald's article, thus, suggested that the evils of Bill 25 be viewed as a result of a characteristic French flaw--love of centralization.

Later in 1967 the PAPT again formally stated its recommendation for a dual system of education based on the French and English languages.[151] This recommendation, which was found often in PAPT writings, would be viewed as an attempt to protect duality, the change in base being necessary to the continuance of any dual structure, such a change also being preferable to the total abandonment of the dual system. However, such a position could also be viewed as evidence of greater willingness on the part of English Protestants to be linked with other English speaking Catholics than to have to co-exist in the same system with the French.

A month later the PAPT added to that recommendation a list of rights it deemed essential and proper for the English side in education. Assuming that local education taxes would disappear, they suggested that there could be a guaranteed per capita grant to English education, that there should be an English speaking deputy Minister of

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[150] "Will the Real Nouvelle-Quebec Please Rise?", PAPT, Teachers Magazine, May, 1967, p. 7. Notably, Professor McDonald cited Cramer and Brown's work in comparative education as proof of these characteristic differences between British and French.

[151] PAPT, Teachers Magazine, August, 1967, p. 4.

Education of rank equal to that of the French speaking deputy, and that he should have a preponderant voice in how the English share of the money would be spent, as well as full control over the curriculum.[152]

Thus, by the end of 1967, the PAPT had become firmly committed to the notion of a dual school system based on language differences. Distinctions based upon religion were rapidly becoming subordinate to cultural and lingual differences. And, as a result, the English Protestant PAPT was drifting into harmony more closely with English Catholics than with French speaking peoples. The association had formally stated its concern over the rights of the English minority as well as those of the Protestant minority in education.

152"What Teachers Want" by T. H. G. Jackson, PAPT Sentinel, September 29, 1967, p. 2.

CHAPTER IV

LA CORPORATION DES INSTITUTEURS ET INSTITUTRICES CATHOLIQUES DU QUEBEC

The PAPT is the oldest association of teachers in the Province of Quebec, but La Corporation des Instituteurs et Institutrices catholiques du Québec, hereafter referred to as the CIC, is by far the largest. In 1965 its membership consisted of over 40,000 teachers in public and private institutions of both French and English language, making the CIC nearly ten times the size of its Protestant counterpart. Since 1946, any teacher hired by a Catholic School Commission under the provisions of the dual system has been an automatic member of the CIC.[1]

French Catholic teachers were much later than English Protestants to organize at the provincial level. Prior to 1946, three major associations spoke for French Catholic teachers: L'Alliance des Professeurs catholiques de Montréal, La Fédération catholique des Institutrices

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[1]Even English speaking Catholic teachers, who formed their own association, the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers, in 1956, were considered automatic members of the CIC by law. This situation, which is treated in Chapter V, has caused a great deal of friction between the two groups of Catholic teachers.

rurales de la Province de Québec, and La Fédération provinciale des Instituteurs ruraux de la Province de Québec. L'Alliance des Professeurs was supported by the majority of Catholic teachers in Montreal, but was a local organization, its prime concerns being situations endemic to Montreal and environs.[2] The two rural associations were extremely weak, membership in each numbering only in the hundreds.[3]

In 1943, the presidents of these three teacher groups began meeting to form what was then called La Corporation des Instituteurs du Québec, the first attempt at a province-wide arrangement. At that time the Conseil général of the new association discussed the definition of the word corporation. While it was agreed that all teachers across Canada and across the Province of Quebec would benefit from organizing, it was decided that teachers should organize "within their respective milieus". Thus, Protestants were not permitted membership in the Corporation.[4]

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[2]L'Alliance des Professeurs maintains a small library where most, although not all, of its early minutes and records are housed. Their contents have been examined, but they are not relevant to the main focus of this study. For the purpose here is to analyze the positions of provincial associations of teachers toward the dual school system and changes therein.

[3]Unfortunately, no pertinent documents related to these two associations have been saved. The rural fédérations continued to function as divisions of the CIC until 1956 when they were disbanded as separate entities.

[4]CIC, Procès-Verbal, Conseil général de la CIC. October 15, 1943, p. 1.

In 1945 the word catholique or catholic was officially added to the name of the association. Meetings among the three associations continued until April 17, 1946, when the CIC was chartered by law.[5]

At the time of incorporation, the CIC goals included the development of the professional interests of teachers and the maintenance of "honor, dignity, and discipline" in its members.[6] However, its objectives were more clearly laid out later, and they consisted of both professional and syndical concerns.

1. Contribute to educational progress.
2. Foster, protect, and defend the professional, economic, moral, and social interests of its members.
3. Provide for the maintenance of honor and dignity in the profession.
4. Develop the public interest in education.
5. Cooperate with other organizations having similar goals.[7]

While this list of objectives stressed both professional and economic concerns as did PAPT literature of a certain genre, the CIC consistently placed greater emphasis on

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[5]Provision for the charter was Bill 164, Loi 10, Georg vi, chapter 87. The original founders included Mlle. Laure Gaudreault, Mlle. Cecile Rouleau, Mlle. Marguerite Laroche, M. J.-Elai Perron, M. Roland Nadeau, M. Jean-Charles Bernatchez and M. Léo Guindon. This group petitioned the legislature for legal sanction in 1945 but were not successful in securing it until 1946, when Léo Guindon assumed the presidency.

[6]CIC, Mémoire à la Commission Royale d'Enquête sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme, 1965, pp. 3 and 4. Translations from French to English have been made throughout by the author with the assistance of the Larousse Dictionary.

[7]Ibid., p. 4.

their organization as a union or syndicat. "La vie syndicale" was of ongoing and crucial concern for the CIC, and eventually the association formulated a branch specifically to handle issues of that nature. In addition, from its inception the CIC engaged in collective negotiations with Catholic school commissions. The PAPT, on the other hand, was more inclined to leave salary negotiations up to the individual teacher, and shunned anything which smacked of unions or labor affiliations. The CIC also exhibited an early willingness to use strikes as weapons to stimulate productive negotiation. The CIC first used the strike tactic in 1949, remarkably early considering the stage education and teacher-organization had reached at that time. Strikes were used several times during the 1950s by local units of the CIC and again by the entire association in 1965. The PAPT not only failed to support CIC action in these instances, but openly deplored the use of such militant tactics.

While the emphasis placed by the CIC on syndical gains was quite evident, the association also expressed concern over professional issues. Indeed, the key to an understanding of the balance in the CIC between syndicalism and professionalism lies in the belief held by leaders of Catholic teachers that the two must go hand-in-hand. Nevertheless, from the vantage point of Protestant teachers in the PAPT, first and foremost a professional association, the CIC position was considered somewhat extreme.

One final point deserves mention in an introduction to

the French Catholic teachers' association, and, since it will be discussed again later, brief mention of it should suffice here. The name of the CIC was changed by law in 1965 to Corporation des Enseignants du Québec (CEQ). The word catholique, which limited the eligible membership to Catholic teachers, was purposefully omitted in an attempt by the CIC to unify all of the teachers in the Province of Quebec. Thus, references to both the CIC and the CEQ will be used in the following analysis.

The late origin of the organization of French Catholic teachers leaves the historian with a short period over which to analyze the attitude of the CIC toward the prevailing dual system of education. Because the PAPT's existence prior to the Parent Commission covered such a lengthy period, attempts to compare and contrast the positions of the two teacher associations must be somewhat limited.

There are surprisingly few references to the dual school system in CIC writings prior to 1961. One might have hypothesized earlier a more intense French interest in duality as an issue, especially considering the later recognition that duality was at the root of many French Catholic social problems. However, this hypothesis can most easily be rejected after a review of the CIC from its inception to 1961. For, not only was interest in the dual school issue lacking, but the few statements that were made were positive and accepting of the existing educational structure.

The first mention of Quebec's dual school system by the CIC occurred in March of 1951, five years after the corporation had been legally sanctioned by the Government of the province. This article employed a highly congratulatory tone when discussing the dual system, praising the structure for the justice it provided for minorities. The article about the school system was prompted by a report just submitted to the Secretary of the province by the Superintendent of Public Instruction.[8] Calling the dual school system "a lesson in justice and charity", the author of the article, Albert Gervais, noted that the Protestant population in the province also lauded the system as fair and equitable.

> The Protestants frankly admit the generosity that the majority continue to show toward them. . . . Such a school organization may appear to be complex. In practice it is quite workable because the spirit necessary to secure its smooth running is present. For the Protestant minority, the scheme is admirable.[9]

After lauding the response Quebec had made in providing educational rights for its minority, the author bemoaned the lack of effort other provinces had made in behalf of their French Catholic minorities. Unfortunately, other Canadian provinces had made the Catholic minorities "the object of government infected by sectarianism".[10]

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[8]The article by Albert Gervais was found in CIC, L'Enseignement, the major monthly publication of the CIC, March, 1951, pp. 2-3.

[9]Ibid., p. 3.

[10]Ibid., p. 2.

The concern expressed by Gervais here was clearly a religious concern; that is, the lack of educational rights for Catholics was more the issue than rights for French Canadians.

The second recorded mention of the dual school system by the CIC occurred later in 1951. M. Gérard Filteau organized a series of ten articles describing the development and operation of the educational duality in the Province of Quebec. These articles appeared in L'Enseignement from November, 1951, through April, 1954.[11] Although they were heavily descriptive, an attitude toward the school system was evident. In fact, the attitude exhibited was not so different from that of the PAPT during the same period.

Because this lengthy series by Filteau constituted the sole direct discussion of duality by the CIC during the decade of the 1950s, analysis of the position taken is important to this investigation of the attitude of the CIC toward the dual confessional system. The first three articles attempted to describe the current system of education as an outgrowth of unique convictions and traditions, Filteau wrote, "Our system is a part of our convictions, traditions, and our philosophy of life".[12] He spoke

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[11]Gérard Filteau, "Les constantes historiques de notre système scolaire", CIC, L'Enseignement, November, 1951, pp. 2-9; December, 1951, pp. 6-7; and February, 1952, p. 6. "Etapes de la formation de notre système scolaire", CIC, L'Enseignement, March, 1952, pp. 8-9; April, 1952, pp. 6-7; and May, 1952, pp. 6, 7, 11. "Comment notre système scolaire applique les principes et les constantes historiques", CIC, L'Enseignement, October, 1953, pp. 6-7; November, 1953, pp. 6-7; and April, 1954, pp. 8-9.

[12]CIC, L'Enseignement, November, 1951, p. 8.

positively of the need to understand "the spirit of our system". Implicit in such statements were, first, an acceptance of duality and confessionality as part of the make-up of education in a unique province, and, second, a sort of determinism which hinted that the present school system fitted most closely the destiny of the Province of Quebec. Filteau had no interest in basic educational reform; rather, his tone accepted, justified, and praised the dual confessional system then in operation.

Not surprisingly, the justification for the dual system used by Filteau was based almost exclusively on the theological position of the Catholic Church. The first point Filteau made in this vein was simply the importance of religion and its relationship to education. Quoting Pope Pius XI, the author noted that education must realize all the virtues of each child, that education must orient man to God.[13] Following this, Filteau discussed education as a work of collaboration between the Church, the State, and the home, ascendence granted to Church and home.[14] The role of the State, therefore, was simply to facilitate those purposes of Church and home. Moreover, Filteau mentioned in passing the differences between the Protestant and Catholic position on this issue. Protestants, he claimed, had since the Protestant Reformation disputed the rights

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[13] CIC, L'Enseignement, November, 1951, p. 8.

[14] CIC, L'Enseignement, December, 1951, p. 6.

of the Church and parents in education.[15] Thus, Filteau viewed the dual school system, which was founded upon confessionality, as most appropriate to the spirit of the Catholic theological position concerning the right of parents to choose the religious education of their children.

The second group in Filteau's series consisted of four articles dealing with the historical development of Quebec's dual system. Entitled "Stages in the Development of our School System", the tone of all four articles suggested the inevitability of the development of a dual system of schooling in the province, one which would allow for strong influence and involvement on the part of the Catholic Church. These articles, then, provided the author with historical justification for praising the current system of education in Quebec.

The first article in this part of the series dealt somewhat briefly with the role of the Catholic parish in the social milieu of French Canada and, more specifically, in the French Canadian system of education. Filteau suggested that the parish could not be ignored as a primitive social institution. Under the French regime, the parish had been a "rallying point for French Canadian survival".[16] The parish, then, was the center not only of religious life, but also of national life in all its aspects.[17] Filteau ended

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[15]CIC, L'Enseignement, November, 1951, p. 8.

[16]CIC, L'Enseignement, February, 1952, p. 6.

[17]CIC, Ibid., p. 6.

the article with the claim that education laws which recognized the parish unit were destined for greater success with the French Canadian community than were laws which ignored the parish as an important social entity.

The second article in the analysis of the stages in the development of Quebec education began with the English regime. Many of Filteau's comments were descriptive and in no way represented any new mode of looking at existing historical evidence. Some of his interpretations, however, deserve comment here.

Le régime anglais was viewed as a deterrent to the attempts of the French Catholic Church to establish various educational institutions. Filteau noted, for example, that the English halted efforts by Jesuit orders to provide education for some Catholic parishes.[18] Moreover, the English creation in 1801 of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning was unacceptable to French Canadians for two reasons. First, it involved excessive centralization which was not within the framework of the canadien tradition; and, second, its religious neutrality was not in keeping with the strong role the French wanted the Catholic Church to play in education.[19] Filteau therefore praised the development, beginning in 1845 and ending by 1875, of a confessional system of education which

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[18] CIC, L'Enseignement, March, 1952, p. 8.

[19] Ibid., p. 8.

delegated much authority to the parishes and allowed the Church to play her intended role in the education of canadien youth.

Criticism of the English was not surprising from a French Catholic association. In fact, Filteau's comments were less harsh than those of some other articles appearing in CIC publications.[20]

The last three articles in Filteau's series formed a current assessment of the operation of the dual school system in the Province of Quebec. His conclusions exhibited the same tone of acceptance, praise, and belief in the inevitability of a confessional dual system in the province.

> The structure and operation of our school system, concerning the principles of natural rights and our historical traditions, such as education and the Church, offer a complete and equitable solution to the educational question in the province. . . . Independent of its theoretical value, after three-quarters of a century of operation, our system has proved its practical value.[21]

Moreover, Filteau's final statement suggested that the greatest strength of the system was its affirmation of "la primauté du spirituel". Filteau praised the system for

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[20]For example, see "Rappel d'une triste page d'histoire", CIC, L'Enseignement, May, 1949, p. 11. This article suggests that education laws such as that passed by the English in Quebec in 1836 constituted a "plan de sabatage de la vie nationale canadienne-française". This act closed 1663 elementary schools to over forty thousand children and was termed "a day of bereavement". In addition, this article assessed the goal of the Royal Institution of 1801 to be "the anglicization of French youth".

[21]CIC, L'Enseignement, May, 1954, p. 9.

operating on the basis of Christian principles such as the rights of parents to select religious education for their children.

Thus, Filteau's series of articles, the most lengthy and direct statement on duality expressed by the CIC before the Parent Commission report and reforms, clearly showed an acceptance and praise of Quebec's system of education. Such a position stemmed primarily from the fact that the system fitted so well the position of the Catholic Church with respect to education and the role of the State in education.

Several other positions by the CIC regarding the dual system must be noted. First, a minor article. In November, 1953, L'Enseignement reported the results of a survey done in the United States to assess Catholic and Protestant viewpoints regarding certain educational matters. Catholics differed from Protestants in two ways. First, they wanted more religion taught in schools than did Protestants; and second, they were more likely to want the clergy to handle religous instruction than were Protestants, who more often felt that the classroom teacher was able to teach religion.[22] This minor study seemed to point to religious differences between Catholics and Protestants which might, in fact, make a dual system necessary.

In 1957 and 1958 the CIC again spoke out vigorously in favor of the dual system of education. Apparently, other elements within the province were beginning to attack and

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[22]CIC, L'Enseignement, November, 1953, p. 2.

question duality, and L'Enseignement published two articles in response to that attack. Notably, both articles were written by clergymen who were not members of the association. The first article, written by Abbé J.-B. Carignan, noted that the dual system of schooling "by the Grace of God" protected the rights of religious education in the schools.[23] Clearly, this was viewed by the author as a point in favor. In spite of this, however, the system was being attacked from within. The Canadian English provinces had, on occasion, questioned Quebec's educational structure, but Carignan dismissed this problem quite easily because "they never have understood us". In 1957, however, an additional attack came from UNESCO. Representatives of UNESCO visited the province early in 1957 and surveyed the state of education. On June 2, they presented a report of their findings. The position of UNESCO officials, briefly, was this: "La religion n'a pas sa place dans les écoles".[24] Dr. Alfred Nikel of Vienna, one of the UNESCO representatives, stated that he preferred to see classes in schools mixed with girls and boys, Catholics and Protestants. Dr. Amar Nath Mattoo of India supported Nikel's stance against confessional schools, although he noted that the quality of Quebec's education was among the best in the world.

In direct opposition to the UNESCO report, Abbé Carignan

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[23] CIC, L'Enseignement, August, 1957, p. 10.

[24] Ibid., p. 11.

praised the confessionality of Quebec's schools. Clearly, he likened the Quebec school system to a train. The train, being a simple, single machine, still ran on two separate tracks.[25] Moreover, he suggested that those who attacked Quebec's educational system were linked to movements of anti-clericalism, materialism, and atheism.[26] Finally, the author outlined a position statement in favor of religion in the schools. Using the ideas of Pope Pius XI, he stated that religion surpassed all other disciplines taught in schools.

> But religion must have a place in the schools, because religion surpasses all the other disciplines; religion is a spiritual force which can oppose the materialism we see around us.[27]

Two months later, another article defending the dual school system appeared in L'Enseignement, again written by a clergyman, S. E. Mgr. E. Frenette. Frenette, like Carignan, indicated that the dual system was being discussed in the province at that time, and was subject to some attack. Mgr. Frenette admitted to some imperfections in Quebec's sytem of education and stated that there was need for some reform. However, his belief was that the basic structure of the dual system was not in need of reform. In fact, in his opinion, the dual school system was the best

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[25] CIC, L'Enseignement, August, 1957, p. 11.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

possible system, given the uniqueness of the province's needs.[28]

In March, 1958, there occurred the only statement by the CIC which might be read as somewhat negative toward the dual system in Albert Gervais' report of the events of the recent "Conférence provinciale sur l'Education".[29] Since the CIC had sent delegates to a conference which was designed to discuss current problems in education, the association probably saw some, perhaps many, problems which they wished their delegates to lay before the meeting. And, of course, the CIC was not oblivious to the many problems confronting Quebec education at that time. It simply did not attribute these problems to the dual structure itself. The most significant result of the Provincial Conference was a recommendation for a royal inquiry into education, a recommendation upon which the CIC concurred. However, it is unclear whether the French Catholic association was suggesting an examination of the basic duality of the educational system as much as other less basic and superficial changes. Indeed, it is doubtful that the CIC would have supported any kind of an attack on the dual system of education, especially at a time when other articles suggested such a strong defense of it.

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[28]"Défense de notre système scolaire", CIC, L'Enseignement, October, 1957, p. 9.

[29]"La Conférence provinciale sur l'Education a rasé le succès", CIC, L'Enseignement, March 1958, p. 1.

There were only two other references to the school system in the Province of Quebec prior to the Parent Commission's establishment. Notably, they occurred just after the 1960 elections had returned the Liberal Government to power with a mandate to effect reforms in the sphere of education. The first article was, in fact, a reprint from Relations, a prominent French Canadian periodical, called "Les conditions de la gratuité scolaire".[30] This article spoke in favor of reform, but the reform it most fervently sought was that of amply increased funding for education in the province. Nothing was said about changing the dual structure of the system itself, an issue which was closely related to the financial problem.

The second article was similar in that it also failed to look at basic structural change in the educational system, and, in fact, praised the existing structure as effective and fair. Paul Gérin-Lajoie, Minister of Youth, noted current pressure toward the formation of a Ministry of Education for the province. His conclusion, however, was that a Ministry was unnecessary; the state of education without a Ministry was satisfactory.

> Need I report the wonderful objectives of our school system? We offer programs which conform to the demands of our milieu and our epoque, we render education available to the

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[30] In L'Enseignement, September, 1960, p. 16, the name of the article appeared, "'Relations' determine 'Les conditions de la gratuité de scolaire'".

masses, and we develop maximum talent in our youth.[31]

Thus, the statements by the CIC and its official publications prior to the Parent Commission reforms outlined several facets of their position regarding the dual school system in the Province of Quebec. First, the French Catholic teachers' association paid relatively little attention to duality as an issue during this period. Like the PAPT during some periods, the CIC may have taken the dual system for granted and spent much of its time and energy on issues seemingly closer to the teacher, issues such as salary and pension. The annual "mémoires" or briefs presented by the CIC to the Catholic Committee during the period prior to the Parent Commission never once mentioned the dual school system or dissatisfaction with it. Rather, they dealt with the importance of raising teacher salaries and pension, the right of arbitration, CIC representation on the Catholic Committee, and the need for modern educational materials and machinery.[32]

Second, it is clear that the CIC was not one of the first social organizations to call for major change. While UNESCO officials and other segments of the province were apparently attacking the dual school system, the CIC refrained from becoming involved in the attack. In fact,

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[31] CIC, L'Enseignement, November, 1960, p. 1.

[32] This list of issues is taken from a report in CIC, L'Enseignement, January, 1957, pp. 6, 7, and 11.

the association's stance was one of defense of existing structures.

Third, while the CIC apparently saw the need for some change in education, the association had only praise for the basic structure of duality. A good example of this sentiment was an article appearing in L'Enseignement, July, 1948. This article noted many problems in Quebec education. In fact, the conclusion stated that, of all the Canadian provinces, Quebec had the worst record in elementary education. However, the dual system was never mentioned. Rather, the problem was considered to be the result of poorly qualified teachers.[33] Reform, thus, might be necessary for incidentals within the system, the base of the system being the best possible.

Finally, the justification for the defense of the dual school system must be analyzed. There is no doubt that religion was the major factor in this defense. The dual school system was perceived as the necessary, inevitable, and praiseworthy response to Catholic educational ideas and to a unique situation which demanded fair treatment for a Catholic majority and a Protestant minority. Moreover, it must be noted that much of the defense was not only in keeping with the theology of the Roman Catholic Church, but was also articulated by clergymen.

Dissecting and explaining the CIC position regarding the dual school system demands an examination of their position

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[33] "Un record peu enviable", CIC, L'Enseignement, July, 1948, p. 5.

regarding two closely related matters--English-French and Protestant-Catholic relationships in the Province of Quebec prior to the Parent Commission.

Articles outlining the CIC view regarding French-English relationships in the province prior to the Parent Commission fall into four categories. First, there were articles dealing with French culture generally. These articles presented a composite picture which nearly always lauded French Canadian culture, sometimes looked at the development and protection of this culture historically, and often mentioned current or past threats to the continued existence of this culture by the English. Some authors praised French Canadian culture for its respect for the Catholic Church, some for the strength of the French Canadian family as an institution, and some for its heroes such as Dollard des Ormeaux, whose role in the historical development of the province seemed so important.[34] Another article suggested the need for diligent effort in order to surmount problems the French Canadian population had encountered since being conquered by the English. L'Enseignement

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[34]The reader is referred for examples to: "Le président de la Corporation vous souhaite . . . " by Léopold Garant, CIC, L'Enseignement, December, 1958, p. 1; "Qu' attend de l'instituteur la famille canadienne-française?" by Armand Alain, CIC, L'Enseignement, February, 1958, p. 3; "Jusqu'au bout" by Roger Sequin, CIC, L'Enseignement, June, 1957, p. 12; and "Les Canadiens-Français--peuple de l'avenir", CIC, L'Enseignement, June, 1950, p. 3.

suggested strong patriotic education for French Canadian youth.[35]

In addition, several articles, as stated before, spoke of English threats to French culture. Dr. O.-J. Desaulnier, for example, wrote that establishing educational programs was always a heavy task in any country. But, he continued, the task of the French Canadian population in Canada was even more difficult since French Canadians lived on a continent where the great majority was both Anglo-Saxon and Protestant.[36] Interestingly, the Desaulnier article pointed out another facet of the CIC view of French-English relationships. This was the tendency of the association to use the terms French and Catholic, or English and Protestant, together, to think of French as automatically meaning Catholic also.

Desaulnier was not the only CIC writer to note a threat to French custom and culture. Jacques Poisson outlined the "anglicisation" of French school books. Describing the situation in the Province of Ontario, Poisson explained that the texts used in the "separate" Catholic schools were simply translations of the English texts used in Protestant schools.[37]

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[35]"Votre réunion d'avril--Le Cercle d'étude de la CIC", CIC, L'Enseignement, March, 1957, p. 4.

[36]CIC, L'Enseignement, December, 1957, p. 10.

[37]The Province of Ontario does not operate a dual school system but does allow for dissentient formation of "separate" schools. Poisson's article, entitled "Les Livres scolaires traduits et l'anglicisation", appeared in CIC, L'Enseignement, May, 1957, p. 11.

He called this the most important "threat to the well-being of the French". Not only were young French students learning many English words in these texts, but also they were getting their information from an "English" viewpoint.[38] Unfortunately, said Poisson, Quebec's French schools also used some texts which were originally English. He hoped that this dangerous practice would discontinue soon.

Two other statements about threats to French Canadian culture must be mentioned briefly. Roger Sequin reported that the CIC had sent representatives to "le congrès de la réfrancisation" which discussed the origin of French Canadian rights in Canada and the need for the current generation of French Canadians to appreciate and protect these rights.[39] In addition, René Carbonneau noted a threat to French Canadian education from the United States. He attributed to deleterious American influence the fact that French education tended to give too much liberty to the student, a situation which had caused the teacher's authority to dwindle. Of course, Carbonneau viewed the more traditional educational practices as truer to the French Canadian heritage, and suggested that Quebec withstand this threat from the South.[40]

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[38]The author mentioned in particular the use of the American "hello" in place of the correct French "allô".

[39]"Jusqu' au bout", by Roger Sequin, CIC, L'Enseignement, June, 1957, p. 12.

[40]"Entre nous, professeurs . . . ", L'Enseignement, December, 1956, p. 8.

Another facet of the CIC's response to French-English relationships in the Province of Quebec prior to the Parent Commission reforms, consisted of a concern over language. Again, several aspects of this lingual interest must be studied. First, the CIC recurringly noted that the quality of spoken French in the province needed improvement. In 1956, for example, Le Conseil de la Vie Française announced a series of study days to be held in June of 1957. The purpose of these study days was to guard the French heritage intact and to halt the ignorance and negligent use of the French language which threatened the life of French culture in Canada.[41] Later, in the same year, the CIC again discussed "réfrancisation". They determined in this discussion that French language was the single greatest facet of French national education. Therefore, the quality of French used by school teachers, who, after all, were models for French youth, came under heavy attack. Teachers used anglicisms and incorrect French grammar in their speech and thus jeopardized the French atmosphere in their classes. The teacher, then, as "le vrai représentant de la culture française", needed much improvement in this area.[42] Again in 1960, the CIC in Congrès mentioned the poor quality of spoken French in a list of fifteen general issues with which the CIC would work during the following year. The Congrès

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[41] CIC, L'Enseignement, November, 1956, p. 14.

[42] "L'Educateur et la réfrancisation", CIC, L'Enseignement, December, 1956, p. 8.

decided that the CIC should petition the Catholic Committee to help restore the quality of spoken French.[43]

Certainly, the interest displayed in French language was an early indication of French nationalistic sentiment on the part of the French teachers' association. They viewed their language as an integral part of their cultural heritage, and, as such, sought to preserve it in as pure a form as possible. The quality of French spoken in Canada was under attack by the English, since PAPT publications had at the time drawn distinctions between Parisian French and Canadian French, the inference clearly being that the Parisian version was more pure than the Canadian. Thus, the French interest in their own language was not only a result of cultural pride but was also a function of an attack which the French hoped to prove unjustified. Never, however, in a CIC publication was there an admission that Canadian French was a "lower" form of French than that spoken in France.

Another important aspect of the CIC's concern over language was their position prior to 1961 regarding bilingualism. In each statement made, the CIC was heavily in favor of bilingualism. The CIC Congrès in 1960, for example, declared bilingualism important for national unity, and, for its part, vowed to improve the instruction of

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[43] CIC, Congrès de la CIC, Procès-Verbal, Vol. 4A, April 7, 1960, p. 36.

English in French schools.[44] They suggested, further, that all instruction in English be given by a specialists, in order to ensure that it be of the highest quality. Earlier in 1958, the CIC had participated in studies of instruction in a second language and had noted that such instruction should begin between the ages of four and ten. Unfortunately, the CIC noted, Canadian children were not given much of a chance to learn languages; the majority of them never mastered a second language.[45]

While the CIC supported bilingualism in every way, the association was not blind to the fact that it was far from accomplished. Indeed, it was usually the case that the French made a greater effort to learn and use English than did the English to learn French.[46] Several times the association spoke disparagingly of attempts at bilingualism which were either unsuccessful or undertaken hypocritically. So-called "Bilingual Normal Schools" were often under attack. In 1955 L'Ecole Normale de Chapeau was abolished with plans to open another school later in the year. Apparently this normal school had been bilingual in theory but never in practice. The CIC condemned the "supposed bilingualism" of the first school and hoped that in the new school, bilingualism would mean more than "saying 'bonjour'

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[44] CIC, Congrès de la CIC, Procès-Verbal, April 7, 1960, p. 36.

[45] CIC, L'Enseignement, December, 1958, p. 9.

[46] CIC, L'Enseignement, October, 1958, p. 19.

and 'merci' en français".[47] On the other hand, when a sincere attempt was made toward bilingualism by the Protestant community, the CIC praised it. In 1957 Protestant schools embarked on an improved method of teaching French to their English speaking students. Greater amounts of time were allotted to the teaching of French beginning in grade three, and the program was headed by a specialist, Cecil Teakle. Albert Gervais, officer of the CIC, interviewed Teakle and found his efforts praiseworthy. Gervais commended Teakle for trying to "break through the sound barrier between English and French Canadians".[48]

Another aspect of the CIC's attitude with respect to English-French relationships consisted of the association's assessment of the French position in the heart of an English continent. Generally, this assessment was somewhat bleak. Often the French Catholic association noted the many liberties given to English Protestant peoples in Quebec and the lack of rights accruing to French peoples elsewhere in Canada. In Ontario, for example, French Catholics had to pay double school taxes for "separate" education.[49] In Saskatchewan and British Columbia the situation was even worse, for, in those provinces, the French Canadians were

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[47] CIC, L'Enseignement, March, 1955, p. 1.

[48] CIC, L'Enseignement, June, 1957, p. 5.

[49] CIC, L'Enseignement, May, 1954, p. 4.

"despised and not given any rights".[50]

The formal affiliations of the CIC with other organizations and associations reflected, in part, its position with respect to French-English relationships. There were two organizations of international scope to which the CIC was related. The first, UNESCO, proved to be of great interest to the CIC. Each year, numerous reports about UNESCO activities appeared in CIC publications, generally exhibiting a favorable response to those activities.[51] In this respect, the CIC and PAPT were similar. However, the CIC was also affiliated with an international organization of French speaking Catholic teachers, Union mondiale des maîtres catholiques. This affiliation would be in keeping with what this study has found to be a strong emphasis on catholicism in the early years of the CIC. It would also support another contention of this study, namely that religious and cultural aspects of tension during this period were nearly indistinguishable. For the words French and Catholic were so often linked, as were English and Protestant.

Looking at organizations on the national level, the CIC's opposition toward affiliation with the Canadian Teachers' Federation, an organization which listed the

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[50]"Situation scolaire difficile des nôtres en Saskatchewan", CIC, L'Enseignement, February, 1954, p. 11.

[51]See, for example, CIC, L'Enseignement, July, 1950, p. 6; and October, 1960, p. 17.

PAPT and the older Federation of English speaking Catholic Teachers among its members, must be examined. The CIC's position regarding affiliation with the CTF appeared to soften somewhat during the period prior to the Parent Commission, but never enough to permit actual membership.

In 1947, the young French Catholic organization was approached about joining the CTF. The CIC noted with dismay that the CTF had led the Canadian public to believe that it spoke for all groups of teachers in Canada. The CIC recognized at that time that many French Catholic teachers in other provinces were obliged to belong to the CTF by vitue of membership in their respective provincial teacher associations. But, since the CIC had never taken part in this association, it was annoyed at the CTF's claim to be so widely representative.[52]

While the interests of the CIC sometimes coincided with those of the CTF such as in teachers' salaries and better teacher preparation, two facets of the CTF were of great concern to the French Catholic teachers.[53] First, the CTF was a neutral organization religiously, and the CIC, staunchly Catholic at that time, viewed that factor as an inhibition to affiliation. Second, the CTF had been a vocal supporter of centralization and federal aid to education.

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[52]"A chacun son dû", CIC, L'Enseignement, September, 1947, p. 1.

[53]The CTF's drive for better salaries for teachers, for example, was reviewed in "Au Congrès de la CTF", CIC, L'Enseignement, September, 1957, p. 5.

The CIC, on the other hand, was suspicious of federal aid, viewing provincial rights and responsibilities as higher priorities, necessary to the preservation of French Catholic culture in Canada.[54] From 1955 to 1960, the CTF again tried to woo the CIC into affiliation. Lawrence Patterson, president of the CTF, addressed the CIC in the French language. After praising French for being more precise than the English language, a compliment to be sure, Patterson turned to the heart of the matter. He stated that a strong and unified association of Canadian teachers was a necessity both for the good of the country and for the good of teachers.[55] He hoped to create an organization of teachers closely resembling the strong college of physicians. Again, the CTF invited the CIC to join the debate over salaries and educational programs, and to align themselves with the central organization. In 1959, the CTF took a giant step in the direction of unity for all Canadian teachers, by passing a resolution in which duality of language and culture was promised as an integral part of all activities. The CIC response to this step was one of applause, but not of affiliation.[56] Indeed, in 1960, the Conseil d'administration voted in favor of eventual affiliation with the CTF, but against it at present.

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[54]CIC, Conseil d'administration de la CIC, Procès Verbal, January, 1954, p. 322-323.

[55]CIC, L'Enseignement, July-August, 1955, p. 12.

[56]Ibid., November, 1959, p. 13.

Apparently the CTF rules allowed only six representatives for the Province of Quebec, and the PAPT and the Federation of English Speaking Catholic teachers already had three of them. Since three representatives was not sufficient for the CIC, affiliation was to be postponed until circumstances were more favorable. Thus, at the time of the creation of the Parent Commission, the CTF had not yet been able to woo the French Catholic contingent from Quebec into its ranks.

Another important affiliation of the CIC was a French language association entitled "L'Association Canadienne des Educateurs de Langue Française". In fact, the CIC helped to conceive this organization and was very active in its first convention in 1948. This association was the epitome of the close relationship during this period between French culture and the Catholic religion; for, in spite of the fact that the formal name of the association included only the designation "de langue française", its purpose, as stated in the minutes of the first convention, was "to play a major role in the survival of the French language and 'la foi catholique' in America".[57] The first vice president of the ACELF was M. Léo Guindon, then president of the CIC. The CIC continued to play an active role in this organization

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[57] CIC, L'Enseignement, September, 1948, p. 6. Most of the discussion at the first convention centered around the role of the Church in the education of French Catholic youth, education itself being referred to as "a sacred task".

throughout the period prior to the Parent Commission reforms. Predictably, the ACELF position with respect to dual schooling was similar to the position of the CIC on the same issue. That is, as minorities from all the Canadian provinces reported their educational situations, the dual school system in the Province of Quebec was held up as a model for other provinces to follow.[58] In addition, the ACELF instituted a movement for patriotic education at the secondary level designed to keep French Catholic youth proud of their cultural heritage. The CIC supported this action.[59] The ACELF also tended to see the role of the school as primarily religious and nationalistic, particularly by the end of the 1950s. In 1959, for example, the theme of the twelfth ACELF Congrès suggested that the duty of the school was fourfold: to illuminate the doctrine of the church, to serve individual French Canadians, to serve French Canadian families, and to serve French Canadian society.[60]

CIC writing regarding French and English languages also presents clues to their position on French-English relationships more generally. A review of CIC literature from 1946 to 1961 shows that French culture, and more especially French language, was an extremely important concern to the

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[58]CIC, L'Enseignement, September, 1948, p. 9.

[59]CIC, L'Enseignement, May, 1958, p. 3.

[60]CIC, L'Enseignement, April, 1959, p. 8.

association, more important than was English language to the PAPT during the same period. Articles dealing with French language averaged no less than one per issue in the major CIC publication, L'Enseignement.

Several aspects of the interest of French Catholic teachers in this issue must be outlined. First, many of these articles stressed the need for developing greater pride on the part of French Canadian youth for their own culture, and the single most important facet of this mission was deemed to be the French language. The association, as part of this effort, publicized statements on the beauty, nobility, and precision of French.[61] The CIC also noted famous English personages who respected the French language and spoke it well. Particular pride was taken, for example, in Prince Charles, Queen Elizabeth, and Winston Churchill.[62] Not only were French Canadians to have pride in their language, but also they were to manifest this pride by speaking French well. Indeed, the poor quality of spoken French was the major lingual concern of the CIC during this period. Clearly, the role of the French Catholic teacher, according to the association, was to set a fine example in his own use of French, and, thereby, instill the proper lingual habits in his students. Several reasons for the poor quality of spoken French were put forward by the CIC,

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[61] CIC, L'Enseignement, June, 1961, p. 9.

[62] CIC, L'Enseignement, March, 1955, p. 11.

and, interestingly, many of them pertained to the threat the English culture and language posed. At one point, the CIC wrote that because of the economic richness of the English speaking community, the English language was usurping more and more of the field, causing the French language to suffer.[63]

Another facet of this issue was French media, and, indeed, a lengthy series of articles dealing with the important role of the French media as perpetrators of correct French usage culminated in a CIC mémoire to the Fowler Commission blasting the lack of French television for many French Canadian youth and, in addition, deploring the "lamentable" condition of the French language used on French TV.[64]

Yet another facet of the CIC concern for pride in French culture centered around history as it was taught in French Catholic schools. Too often, stated the CIC, the textbooks for the Canadian History course were texts written by Englishmen and then translated into French. As a result, the texts did little to instill pride in the French Canadian heritage. French Canadian heroes such as Dollard des Ormeaux, Madeleine de Verchéres, and the Marquis de

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[63]René Guenette notes this fact in CIC, L'Enseignement, October, 1947, pp. 3-5.

[64]See CIC, L'Enseignement, July, 1955, p. 3; February, 1956, p. 7; November, 1956, p. 8-9; February, 1957, p. 8; and March, 1957, p. 8.

Montcalm were sadly neglected compared to English Canadian personages.[65] Thus, the CIC encouraged the introduction of new texts and suggested that teachers would have to compensate for the poor texts they used.

Several articles in CIC publications during this period also dealt with the need for more and better spoken French on the part of English Canadians. These articles, however, were small in number, and tended to occur just prior to the inception of the Parent Commission.[66] In addition, several articles spoke to the opposite problem--the need for improving the quality of English taught to French Canadians.[67] In both sets of articles, the primacy of usage and conversation over formal grammar was asserted.

The PAPT was very interested in the general Canadian educational scene, and this study has suggested that the English Protestant teachers' organization found it easy to identify with a Canadian confederation which was also predominantly English and Protestant. It is essential, therefore, to note that the CIC did not completely neglect the national educational situation. On the contrary, Canadian education as a whole was of continuing interest to the French Catholic association. But the nature of this

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[65] CIC, L'Enseignement, February, 1958, p. 5.

[66] The reader is referred to two articles. CIC, L'Enseignement, April, 1960, p. 8, and October, 1960, p. 12.

[67] Again, see two articles. CIC, L'Enseignement, October, 1947, p. 3, and November, 1959, p. 9.

interest was very different from that of the PAPT. Here, also, this difference may be interpreted as stemming from Protestant-Catholic, and English-French tensions. For the view of the CIC regarding the national educational scene was almost wholly negative. Clearly, this association felt that, in most provinces, English Protestants controlled education and refused to grant to French Catholics basic educational rights. Incidentally, comparisons were often made of the absence of fair play with which the French had to cope in other provinces, and the idyllic dual system in the Province of Quebec, which exemplified the magnanimity of French Catholics toward English Protestants in the only French Catholic province.[68]

Another facet of CIC interest in the national scene was religious in nature. Upset that Canadian education was devoid of religion, the CIC participated in "un conseil canadien de l'éducation catholique" in 1959 and affiliated with the "Association des Educateurs Chrétiens" in 1960.

Finally, as mentioned before, the CIC was suspicious of federal aid to education. The only occasions in which the CIC supported federal aid was with the stipulation

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[68] A good example of this tendency can be found in CIC, L'Enseignement, February, 1954, p. 11, where it was noted that a very difficult and dangerous situation existed in Saskatchewan. Twenty-two thousand French Canadians in Grangy were in danger of being assimilated and losing their French Canadian culture. CIC, L'Enseignement, January, 1951, p. 3, mentioned the situation in Alberta where more than forty-five hundred French students could have benefitted from French education but were not allowed to have it.

that federal aid not mean federal control, and such a situation was unlikely to occur. So, while the PAPT could strongly support federal aid, confident that such aid would be doled out fairly to the English community by an English government, the CIC always viewed the issue of federal aid with worry and concern that it would not benefit French Canada.

Thus, reviewing the whole of the CIC attitude toward the problems of English-French and Catholic-Protestant tensions, it seems possible to make the following observations. First, religion and religious issues were primary concerns for the CIC during the period of 1946-1961. It is clear that the CIC espoused a strongly Catholic viewpoint with respect to education, viewing education as primarily religious in purpose. Religion during this period was often linked to culture--that is, what was French was also Catholic, and what was English was also Protestant, and vice versa. Thus, it was almost impossible to separate religious from cultural concerns. A similar situation was found to be the case for the PAPT during the same period. The CIC's position with respect to religion could have been related to its favorable position regarding duality, for it was concern for the Catholic goals of education which spoke to a need for separation in education. Finally, when looking at the issue of culture, insofar as it can be distinguished from religion, it is clear that the CIC exhibited great interest in the preservation and elevation of French culture and language in Canada. At the same time, the CIC perceived

various threats to the well-being of French Canadian culture, many of them stemming from the English community. In spite of this, however, the dual school system was never once viewed as part of the problem. In fact, it appears to have been considered part of the solution. For the CIC believed that, if the educational situation in the Province of Quebec could be extended to all other provinces, the position of French Catholics would be improved. Like the PAPT, then, the CIC supported the dual system in the years prior to the establishment of the Parent Commission. The CIC's support for duality was vitally linked to the dominance of catholicism in the association during this period.

In March, 1961, the CIC first noted the study of education to be undertaken by the Parent Commission. The association was pleased to see such a study of educational problems because it viewed education as the "guarantee of our future".[69] Thus, in June of 1961, the Conseil général decided to submit a mémoire to the Royal Commission. Richard Joly was to head the committee in charge of drawing up the mémoire.[70] The committee completed its work and presented it to the Royal Commission in June, 1962. The mémoire

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[69]"L'Education, garantie de notre avenir", CIC, L'Enseignement, March, 1961, pp. 20-21.

[70]In September, 1961, the Conseil completed the naming of this committee. Members added were: Mlle. Thérèse Baron, M. Albert Gervais, Mlle. Madeleine Saint-Louis, M. Jean Lamy, and M. Léopold Garant.

began by stressing one major point--the notion that desired school reforms would be useless without the input of teachers and unless the condition of teachers was part of the reform.

While much of the two-hundred-fifty-nine page brief dealt with issues not of major concern to our emphasis on the dual, confessional school system--issues such as the role and status of teachers, salary scales and pensions, and the professional training of teachers--the brief also spoke to the dual character of the school system in the province. In fact, one chapter was devoted solely to this issue. The four questions which the association viewed as basic to the school system itself were: the confessionality of the school system, the creation of a Ministry of Education, the composition of various levels in the hierarchy of the school system, and related issues such as the education of English Catholics.[71] Two cautions, however, were mentioned by the association before they began their analysis of these issues. First, that teachers were integral parts of any school reform, but that educators could not be held wholly responsible for the problems current in the Province of Quebec. Second, that administrative weaknesses and ineptitudes were not to be mistaken for problems inherent

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[71]CIC, Mémoire de la Corporation des Instituteurs et Institutrices catholiques du Québec à la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement, June, 1962, p. 164. Chapter Five in this Mémoire, entitled "La Réforme de notre système scolaire", dealt with those questions of crucial concern to this study.

in the structure. The second caution became important when it was apparent that the CIC attributed few problems to the dual structure. At any rate, the CIC, having presented these ideas, moved to a discussion of the major issues.

The issue of confessionality rated much attention. Here, the strong Church bias of the association was clearly seen. The CIC believed that the issue of confessionality could not be viewed from sociological, demographic, or political bases. Rather, they deemed it essential to look at the issue from the doctrinal viewpoint of the Catholic Church. The Church's position was very important and its views on matters such as these were crucial to the French Canadian society in Quebec. The Church's position, therefore, could not be relegated to a second-rung status. Instead, solutions must be sought which would comfortably accommodate the realities of the present situation, and the Catholic Church was an important part of this reality. Therefore, the Royal Commission was beseeched by the CIC to ask the Episcopat to publish a Church paper on education.[72]

The French Catholic teachers' association also presented an itemized analysis of their viewpoint regarding the Church in Quebec, this viewpoint to serve as a backdrop from which they would look at the issue of confessionality in the province. Again, this list epitomized the close relationship

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[72]These ideas are well summarized in, Mémoire de la CIC à la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement, June, 1962, p. 179.

between the position of the Church and that of Catholic teachers on this issue.

The Church, the CIC stated, has a right to the free exercise of its operations.[73] It also has a moral obligation to Catholic parents to educate their children in the Catholic way. Thus, Catholic children must be able to attend schools under the direction and surveillance of the Church. Consequently, the CIC found it "sad and disquieting" to note the attitude of "certain Catholics" who desired a neutral education for their children. The CIC denounced any plan which held up an ideal of general neutrality for the school system in Quebec. The association believed that neutral education failed to take into account the "naturally religious character of man" and the necessary influence of the school in the development and affirmation of character. They also asserted, however, that education must also prepare students for democratic citizenship. Therefore, while the religious emphasis was great, it could not exist alone.

The CIC went on to suggest that neutral schools advocates were a minority in the Province of Quebec and, while their needs must be of concern, they ought not to impose their will upon the Catholic majority. The French Catholic association also repudiated the theory which

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[73] Part of this statement was a quote from the Pope in Divini Illius Magistri. Mémoire de la CIC à la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement, June, 1962, p. 180.

suggested that each child had a right not to know God. Children, they said, could not ignore the existence and revelation of God. In the same spirit, the CIC failed to see the great emphasis placed in the Province of Quebec upon religious pluralism. Indeed, the association stated that this pluralism affirmed one thing: the fact that the second coming of Christ and his reign was still not achieved. Thus, the CIC, moved by strong religious beliefs, supported the continued existence of a confessional school system; it rejected categorically any non-confessional system as a solution to Quebec's educational problems.[74]

Since these statements pointed to the continued confessional nature of the schools in Quebec, with the justification that such schools would prove in the best interests of the majority, how did the association cope with the reality of those who demanded neutrality for the schools? Even if their interests were in opposition to those of most Quebecers, they were still a minority whose needs and rights had to be taken into account. The association began its treatment of this problem with a traditional statement of the reason behind support for neutral education. Apparently, the mysteries of God were not known clearly by all people. Indeed, God had chosen not to reveal himself to all. So, the

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[74]These twelve concerns were spelled out in greater detail in, Mémoire de la CIC à la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement, June, 1962, pp. 180-182.

presence of "neutrals" in a society was to be expected and was even explained on the basis of religious tenets. The CIC statement here suggested that they had pre-empted the truth, tending to view those who differed as "not yet having seen the light". Certainly, the religious base of the CIC was much stronger, more unified, and more conservative than that of the PAPT.[75]

The CIC recommended that the Royal Commission not impose upon the province a school system conceived first to insure the rights and claims of partisans of neutral schools.[76] However, while deploring their vision of the world which imposed upon the CIC the necessity for dealing with this problem, the French Catholic group recognized that "neutrals" did, in fact, have the right to educate their children in institutions which corresponded to their convictions. The CIC cautioned that their recognition of this right was not to be confused with an endorsement of neutrality as an attitude toward life or as an ideal of education. Further, the association contended that education in religion was not sufficient to render a school "confessional"; likewise, one could not call a school neutral simply because it excused students from periods of religious education. Thus, the CIC claimed for neutrals the right to send their children to schools which were more than "just confessional schools with

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[75] Mémoire de la CIC à la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement, June, 1962, p. 182.

[76] Ibid., p. 183.

an hour of religious instruction amputated".

In addition, the association sought to clarify the definition of the term "neutral". The CIC refused to view a person as neutral simply by virtue of the fact that he did not espouse either the Protestant or Catholic faith.[77] The French Catholic group of teachers, then, did not think the number of neutrals was as great as others might suspect. Having spoken to the definition of neutral in a somewhat negative fashion, the CIC went on to assert that, in fundamental questions of education--such as the role of the teacher in the beliefs of the students or the general orientation of the school system--, dialogue between confessionals and neutrals would be impossible. And, while they admitted that religion might have little to do with geometry, the CIC still believed that a "confessional character" must permeate the school in more ways than just the formal instruction of religious principles.

In summary, then, the CIC adopted what must be viewed as an extremely conservative stance religiously. Using the tenets of their Catholic faith, they attacked Catholics who were desirous of neutral schools, and upheld the necessity of a strong confessional system. Such a system would, of course, best serve the needs of the traditional Catholic majority in the province. The CIC's position would allow for only minor changes within the structure of the existing

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[77]While the Jewish population in the province was not mentioned explicitly here, they were clearly implied.

system itself--some minor revisions could provide "misguided neutrals" with their democratic rights. If the PAPT position on confessionality was one of acceptance and assumption of continuation, the CIC position in its mémoire more staunchly defended confessionality and was suspicious of those who desired neutrality.

The second major concern of the CIC which reflected on the nature and structure of Quebec's dual school system was the creation of a Ministry of Education. The CIC strongly recommended creation of such a Ministry, and its analysis of the kind of ministry needed is of interest here. The association was not blind to the dangers posed by a Ministry of education, and, thus, its argument suggested that, in spite of the dangers, on the whole, the Ministry would be a beneficial influence on education.

What were the dangers posed by a Ministry as the CIC saw them? First, was the belief that it might be bad to politicize education, to confide its well-being to incompetent politicians. Closely related was a concern that the authority of the Minister as a representative of the State would compromise that of parents trying to exercise their legitimate role in education. The CIC, however, rejected this argument as a deterrent to the creation of the Ministry. Education, they noted, was already politicized to some degree through the provincial budget for education, and it would be possible to set up a Ministry which would ensure that the rights of parents would be maintained. Further, some legislators were incompetent, but incompetence was characteristic of others

as well. The second danger was implicit in the suggestion that a Minister might be hostile to religion, particularly to the Catholic Church. This was viewed as a more legitimate concern by the CIC, for the association recognized that the Catholic Committee would not exist as it had previously. While it was agreed that the power of the Minister might diminish the influence of religious authorities, it was thought that this need not occur to any great degree, especially since the schools would be predominantly confessional in nature.[78]

Why was a Ministry so needed in spite of its dangers? The CIC viewed the present situation in education as intolerable. At least three bodies in the provincial government bore some responsibility for education--the Ministry of Youth, the Department of Public Instruction, and the two confessional committees, Catholic and Protestant. Overlapping responsibility and lack of clarity with respect to roles was causing much confusion. Thus, a Ministry of Education, with carefully delineated tasks and a clearly outlined hierarchy of authority was a necessity if harmony was to be reached. A Ministry was also viewed as fitting in a democratic society, and therefore proper for the Province of Quebec. The CIC also noted that "because of unfavorable historical circumstances" the Council of Public Instruction

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[78]"Dangers et défense negative de la création d'un ministère", Mémoire de la CIC à la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement, June, 1962, pp. 190-194.

had not played the role it was meant to. Thus, Quebec was really two provinces, each clearly detached from the other educationally, "provinces whose limits were jealously defined and protected by the Protestant Committee and the Catholic Committee". Other departments at the provincial level were not so divided, departments such as Labour, Agriculture, or Forestries. A Ministry of Education, therefore, was to be a unifying force, one which would draw the "two solitudes" more closely together.[79]

The CIC carefully outlined the structure the new Ministry was to have. First, the Minister himself was to reflect the confessional character of the majority of the population he would serve. He was not to be a neutral, and by implication must be a Catholic. He should take into account the ethnic and religious pluralism in the province and should ensure the representation of all sectors of the population. He should also respect the historical and present influence the Church had exercised in the evolution of education in Quebec.[80]

Under the Minister was to be a Superior Council of Education.[81] The Council would be composed of the Minister

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[79] Ibid., pp. 194-197.

[80] A list of twelve requirements for the person of the Minister of Education is located in the Mémoire de la CIC à la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement, June, 1962, pp. 197-199.

[81] It should be noted that the CIC was not the only association to suggest a Conseil Supérieur de l'Education. Numerous briefs to the Royal Commission mentioned this organ. The CIC's conception of the Council, however, was unique.

himself, the superintendents of each of the three confessional committees suggested by the CIC, four members of the Catholic Committee, two of the Protestant Committee, and one of "le Comité des autres confessions". To these twelve educators would be added eighteen other persons chosen to represent principal institutions in Quebec society. The primary function of the Council would be to advise the Minister, and through him, the whole provincial government on major problems of education. The Council would evaluate administration measures and initiate research. In addition, because it would be strongly Catholic in majority, the Superior Council was to act as "un organisme de surveillance", to ensure that the Minister would not take action hostile to the interests of the Catholic majority.[82]

In addition to the Superior Council, a smaller "Conseil privé" was to be formed to advise the Minister in the day-to-day realities of education. This smaller council could be composed of the superintendents of each of the three confessional committees, the provincial director of administrative services, and the director-general of Catholic schools.

Under the Superior Council would be the three confessional committees. The CIC recommended the creation of the Catholic Committee, the Protestant Committee, and a Committee of Other Confessions. Each would be headed by its own

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[82] Mémoire de la CIC à la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement, June, 1962, p. 201.

superintendent. The superintendent should never be a political appointee. The CIC said very little about the composition or function of non-Catholic committees, but did look very closely at the Catholic Committee itself.

The CIC had been previously dissatisfied with the operation of the Catholic Committee. Thus, the Committee was to retain much of its original power, but its role in the system of education was to be somewhat modified. The composition of the Committee was to be more representative of all groups within the Catholic segment of Quebec society, and, predictably, the CIC wished greater representation on the Committee for itself. In fact, six of the thirty-two members on the newly formed Committee were to be teacher representatives, and, of these, four were to be designated by the CIC.[83] The Catholic Committee would still make many major decisions affecting the fruitful operation of Catholic schools. Not to be restricted to decisions having religious import alone, the Committee would also decide

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[83]The new membership of the Catholic Committee was to include, in addition to ex officio members such as the Minister of Education: four representatives of the Church designated by L'Assemblée des Evêques, three representatives of the Provincial Government designated by the Cabinet upon recommendation of the Minister, three representatives of families designated by the "union des familles", two representatives of la Fédération des Commissions scolaires, six representatives of educational personnel, two representatives of the Catholic universities of the Province of Quebec, two representatives of Colleges classiques, one representative of l'Association des Professeurs d'écoles normales, one representative of l'Association des Inspecteurs d'écoles, and four representatives of other institutions dealing with the preparation and training of teachers.

matters of program, texts, materials, rules and regulations.

What of the other two confessional committees? The CIC preferred to leave the composition of the Protestant Committee up to the Protestant population of the province. It only suggested that the Protestant Committee create some organism to deal with the education of French speaking Protestants. When dealing with the Committee of Other Confessions, again little was said. However, one major concern there was the connection this committee would have with neo-Canadians. Unfortunately, most new Canadians were affiliating with the English Canadian community rather than the French. Thus, the CIC expressed the hope that part of the education controlled by this Committee would, in fact, be French-language education, designed to help ensure that greater numbers of immigrants would identify with French culture.[84]

Because the traditional dual system had designated confessional committees which tended to go their separate ways with little unity, the CIC was anxious that the three new confessional committees they had proposed would not follow the same route. Thus, they suggested the creation of a Coordinating Council which would recognize cultural and religious pluralism but at the same time ensure some unity of action among the diverse groups within the Province of Quebec. This Council would be composed of the Minister of

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[84] Mémoire de la CIC à la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement, June, 1962, pp. 211-212.

Education, the Superintendents of each of the three confessional committees, the provincial director of administrative services, five members designated by the Catholic Committee, two by the Protestant Committee, and one by the Committee of Other Confessions. The function of the Committee would not be ensuring perfect uniformity, for that was not desirable. However, it should strive for open channels of communication and to achieve a measure of unity in educational development.[85]

One final issue in the CIC mémoire to the Parent Commission is of concern--the matter of the education of English speaking Catholics. The dual school system failed to deal adequately with this group. In fact, the dual system, based upon religious differences, lumped English and French speaking Catholics together for the purposes of education. Since the English speaking population was a minority, and since only their religious rights were provided for constitutionally, they had to depend on the good will of French speaking compatriots for English language education. Complicating the problem was the fact that many English speaking Catholics were immigrants, new Canadians who had chosen to identify with the English Canadian community rather than the French.

The CIC recognized the special needs of the English Catholic population in Quebec, but, at the same time, they

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[85] Mémoire de la CIC à la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement, June, 1962, p. 213.

were reluctant to see separate programs designed which would further fragment the system and jeopardize unity. Thus, they recommended that English Catholic education be handled, as was the case in the dual system, by the Catholic Committee. The new Catholic Committee would, therefore, have to concern itself with the special needs of this group, coordinating the education of all Catholics.[86] In addition, the CIC recommended the foundation of an English-language Catholic university in the province, which would begin to meet the need for higher education on the part of this group.

Thus the CIC advised the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec. Religiously, the association adopted a very conservative stance. Because of its staunch acceptance of the teachings of catholicism regarding education, French Catholic teachers viewed confessionality as an absolute necessity, a trait Quebec's school system must have to provide for the interests of the Catholic majority. Therefore, the CIC asked that the confessional aspect of the system not be changed. By virtue of other structural changes suggested by the CIC, the Catholic Committee would be somewhat limited in its power and hopefully more representative of the Catholic educational community. The plan for three confessional committees in fact amounted to tri-partite confessional education based upon a belief that the Quebec population could and should be

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[86] Mémoire de la CIC à la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement, June, 1962, pp. 228-229.

divided along religious lines. Certainly religion played a primary if not dominant role in the shaping of CIC proposals regarding education, and their proposals for the education of English Catholics further substantiated this primacy.[87]

When one looks, however, at the CIC recommendations for a Ministry of Education and a Superior Council, one must temper his assessment of the association's defense of duality. For, while the people of the province were to be divided along religious lines, the provincial educational structure would require a certain relationship and unity among the three parts of the whole. No longer would there be a Council of Public Instruction which never met. No longer could each committee run "its side" of education in a vacuum. However, the Ministry of Education was designed by the CIC so as not to be threatening to their Catholic viewpoint, and the Minister was himself to be a Catholic.

The CIC proposals moved toward somewhat greater unity for the two (or three) solitudes in Quebec education, unity which was especially apparent at the provincial level. However, this unity was still supposed to respect the diversity, especially religious, so obvious in the province, and to allow that each religious group have the right to education fitting with its conscience.

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[87]The CIC recommended that English Catholics be considered Catholics first for the purposes of education, and that they be educated under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Committee.

One could say, therefore, that the CIC's religious position was far more defensive of the dual system than that of the PAPT during the same period. The PAPT had assumed the continuation of a dual system which might possibly move toward lingual/cultural rather than religious division. The CIC definitely viewed religious concerns as paramount.

But the CIC's move toward greater unity through the Ministry of Education and the Superior Council indicated much greater change than any recommendations of the PAPT to the Parent Commission. In fact, the Protestant teachers' association had asked in its brief that the dual system be perpetuated with no major structural changes toward unification. Looking at what was to happen, the CIC recommendations most closely foreshadowed the coming reforms in Quebec education. However, their stress on the primacy of religious concerns over cultural concerns was soon to be out of step with the actuality of the reforms. In addition, the CIC's proposals for the education of English Catholics proved to be out of touch with later reality. The English Catholic group was later to identify more closely with English Protestants, a development which the CIC had either not foreseen or not wished to foresee.

Unification might well have had more appeal to the strong French Catholic majority than to a minority whose rights had allowed it to build up a viable and respected school system. Perhaps some of the fears expressed by the PAPT were already being born out as the CIC requested that

the Minister, the titular head of the entire educational structure, be Catholic, and, therefore, probably also French, and that various provincial councils of education be composed of greater numbers of French Catholics than English Protestants.

The proposals of the Royal Commission differed in substance from the recommendations made by the CIC. Thus, like the PAPT, the reaction of the CIC to the Parent Commission's report and reforms changed perceptibly during the period of 1961 to 1968. However, the change in the PAPT seemed to be away from a moderate position embodying a "wait and see" attitude toward a much more defensive position opposing the demise of the dual school system. In the case of the French Catholic association, the change occurred in the opposite direction. That is, the Parent Commission's recommendations--especially those regarding confessionality in the school system--were first viewed with some suspicion. Gradually, however, reservations were resolved and the reforms were not only accepted but praised as hailing the dawn of "modernity" in Quebec education. Symbolical of their acceptance of the new education was the change in the character of the CIC itself. For, in 1966, the French Catholic teachers' association de-confessionalized itself and changed its name to La Corporation des Enseignants du Québec, abbreviated CEQ. In addition, the new CEQ began to work for greater unity within the teaching profession to accompany greater unity within the school system itself. Thus, the development of the CIC position from 1961 to 1968

portrays a picture of somewhat reluctant reformism. The CIC was an organization which did not initiate change to the extent to which change occurred, but one which was able to adapt quickly and embrace the educational reforms, finally, themselves suggesting further change.

As was the case with the brief presented by the CIC to the Royal Commission, much of the response by the French Catholic teachers to the Commission's recommendations spoke to issues having little or nothing to do with the dual confessional school system. Most teacher groups tended to take for granted the dual system of education in the Province of Quebec. Indeed, while the CIC made mention of duality prior to the inception of the Parent Commission, change of the dual confessional system was never a major concern for the CIC at that time. The CIC mémoire to the Royal Commission embodied a shift to a more unified provincial structure of education headed by a Ministry, but this unity was far from complete. For directly under the Minister were the Catholic and Protestant Committees, committees with somewhat diminished but still significant powers. And, clearly, the CIC wished the confessional aspect of the dual system to continue unchanged.

The CIC noted that the inquiry made by the Royal Commission into education had caused the association to think more clearly about basic educational problems, and

that this effect had been beneficial.[88] The CIC even went so far as to devote the Education Week of 1962 to general issues touching at the heart of Quebec's school system. The role of family, State, Church, and school in the education of youth were discussed as was the neutral school question.[89] Later, however, the association seemed impatient with the Parent Commission for philosophizing about general issues such as a Ministry of Education when many specific and practical problems were in need of immediate attention. They noted, for example, in 1963 that the school commissions were operating with deficit budgets while the Parent Commission was suggesting the establishment of a Ministry of Education.[90]

The CIC response to the changes in the dual school system recommended by the Parent Commission must be examined in two phases. First, their response to the creation of the Ministry of Education and the accompanying Superior Council of Education, both of which spoke to the demise of complete duality. And second, their response to changes in the confessional nature of the dual system.

In almost immediate response to the publication of the first volume of the Parent Report, the Quebec government

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[88]This judgement was made in an article by the president of the CIC, M. Léopold Garant, "Rapport du président", CIC, L'Enseignement, August-September, 1962, pp. 16-18.

[89]Education Week was discussed in an article in CIC, L'Enseignement, February, 1962, pp. 14-15.

[90]"Où allons-nous?", CIC, L'Enseignement, May, 1963, p. 20.

prepared to pass Bill 60 to establish the Ministry of Education and the Superior Council of Education. By 1963, the CIC responded to these proposals. In spite of the fact that the CIC mémoire had recommended the creation of both the Ministry and the Council, the association did not immediately support Bill 60. In fact, the CIC was extremely cautious. In two separate discussions in June, 1963, the Conseil général of the CIC indicated basic support of the Ministry and Council, but also concern over the nature of the two creations. Specifically, the association found these weaknesses in Bill 60. The Bill was unclear about the relationship of the Ministry to independent schools and universities, the financing of these institutions, the situation of the intermediary administration with respect to the central Ministry, the respect for the confessionality of Quebec's school system, and the protection of the rights of non-Catholic and non-Protestant minorities.[91] The latter of these weaknesses was apparently paramount for the French Catholic group. For the threat to confessionality possibly posed in the person of the Minister of Education was of ongoing importance to the association. The CIC felt that the degree of responsibility granted to the Minister must not allow him to threaten the strength of confessionality, indeed, that Bill 60 must be changed to provide some

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[91] CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil Général, Volume 6, June 15, 1963, pp. 144-146, and Volume 6, June 29, 1963, p. 168.

guarantee of this.[92] Thus, the CIC proposed to make "une étude minutieuse", or a point-by-point study, of the Parent Report's recommendations and the impending Bill 60. Because this study and its ensuing report would take a great deal of time, the CIC requested that the government not pass Bill 60 until such time as the CIC could present its recommendations. Thus, the CIC's earliest stance with respect to the Ministry and Superior Council was one of general agreement in principle but much cautiousness regarding particular provisions and the speed of such basic change. Central in their stance was, of course, the desire that CIC thinking play an important role in the initiation, establishment, and implementation of educational reform. Also important was the CIC's fear that the Ministry might threaten the confessionality of Quebec's school system.

On March 19, 1964, Bill 60 passed into law. The CIC deplored the passage of the Bill in such rapid fashion and, although the association favored the Ministry, it did not agree with all the details of the Government plan. The CIC continued its discussion of Bill 60 that year, both before and after its passage, noting that it constituted a "radically new orientation" for education.[93] Further reservations were expressed concerning the provisions of the Bill. First, there was a fear that the Superior Council

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[92] CIC, L'Enseignement, August-September, 1963, p. 3.

[93] "Le système scolaire à l'heure de verité", CIC, L'Enseignement, November, 1964, p. 1.

would fail to represent parents' wishes regarding the education of their children. School Commissioners elected by parents were said to be the only true representatives of parents, and Bill 60 took much power out of their hands.[94] Second, the CIC regretted that the method of nominating members of the Superior Council accorded too little independence to that organ with respect to the Government. Third, the Superior Council, according to Bill 60, was not permitted to hold public meetings, and the CIC opposed this factor. Moreover, the only publicity that Bill 60 conceded to the activity of the Council was the annual report which the Minister would make to the legislature.[95] Because of these reservations, the CIC could declare itself on the eve of the passage of Bill 60 "more and more convinced as a Corporation that the constitution of the Ministry of Education is a direct challenge to the democracy of the province".[96] Following the passage of the Bill, the nature of the debate over the provisions therein changed. Understandably, discussion of the Bill occurred in light of the fact that it was now a fait accompli. The month after Bill 60 was passed, the CIC planned a supplement to L'Enseignement

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[94] CIC, L'Enseignement, January, 1964, p. 21. Notably, the Federation of Associations of Parents and Teachers of Quebec opposed Bill 60 on these same grounds.

[95] These three concerns were articulated in CIC, L'Enseignement, February, 1964, p. 2.

[96] CIC, L'Enseignement, January, 1964, p. 1.

in order to explain all of the provisions and implications to its members.[97] The supplement was more explanatory than critical. Perhaps the CIC had already decided to accept the inevitable, and to expend its energies dealing with reality rather than attempting to fight for ways of the past.

Volumes II and III of the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry appeared during 1964. These volumes dealt with more specific and less basic issues than did Volume I, and hence they are not crucial to this study of the dual confessional school system. Suffice it to say that Volumes II and III were followed closely by the CIC, but that the issues dealt with therein were less controversial for the association. The CIC found it easy to grant almost unremitting praise to the Parent Commission for its suggestions of a child-centered approach, for the education of exceptional children and the like. Apparently, the CIC could approve without hesitation the pedagogy of the Report, while changes in the dual confessional structure were items of more heated debate.[98]

By 1965, the creation of the Ministry and Superior

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[97] Ibid., p. 1.

[98] For examples of CIC approval of the contents of Volumes II and III of the Parent Report, see Léopold Garant's article in CIC, L'Enseignement, November, 1964, p. 2; see also CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil Général, Volume 9, December 19, 1964, p. 123; CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'Administration, December 11, 1964, pp. 214-215; and "Mettre à l'épreuve sans tarder la pédagogie du rapport Parent", CIC, L'Enseignement, November, 1964, p. 21.

Council were dead issues. Only one article appeared in CIC literature that year, and the article was purely descriptive, dealing with the functions of the Superior Council.[99] This did not mean that the CIC from this point always supported the Ministry. Indeed, by 1967, the CIC had opposed several administrational changes made by the Minister.[100] But never did the association again question the existence of the Ministry or the Superior Council of Education. These were now accepted by the organization and dealt with as viable parts of the current educational scene.

The second major aspect of the CIC's response to the Parent Commission's proposals and reforms had to do with the issue of confessionality. Indeed, this issue was of paramount importance to the CIC from the beginning of the Royal Commission proceedings until the end of 1966. It must be remembered that the CIC had suggested reforms similar to those recommended by the Parent Commission in the Ministry of Education and the Superior Council. Thus, the CIC could always support the general notion of those changes, though quibbling over specifics. But the CIC mémoire had taken a rather conservative stance on the confessionality issue. And the Parent reforms in this area were thus viewed with some suspicion and concern. Ultimately, however, the association radically changed its position on

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[99]CIC, L'Enseignement, February, 1965, p. 5.

[100]CIC, L'Enseignement, April, 1967, p. 6.

this issue, and not only accepted the Parent mandates, but pushed them somewhat further.

As early as 1961, the CIC began to voice its position on confessional education. Léopold Garant, president of the association, mentioned a "small number of our compatriots who seem to want to disown the educational structures which have rendered us great service in the past". He held that parents had the right to choose Christian education for their children.

> I believe that everyone recognizes the right of parents to have the education of their choice for their children. And in this perspective, evidently everyone should understand that those who desire a Christian and Catholic education should also continue to receive it. They have equally the right to demand the continuation of the school system which satisfies this end.[101]

Thus, the president of the CIC defended the confessional system of education on the basis of parental right to choose the desired education for their children. He finished with a comment which clearly showed the relationship of the confessional nature of the CIC itself to that of the school system of the province. Garant maintained that, in the face of attack on confessionality, "on our side, we will continue, as Catholic teachers, to give the religious education which the Church demands and we will continue to

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[101] CIC, L'Enseignement, December, 1961, p. 2.

proclaim our Corporation as an organization absolutely confessional".[102]

Throughout the early years of the Royal Commission inquiry, the CIC, led by Léopold Garant, continued to stress the value of the confessional school system, and the role of the CIC as a group of "éducateurs catholiques".[103] The Church was still of paramount importance to the French Catholic organization and its leadership. In 1963 the Conseil d'administration noted with regret that the role of the Church in education seemed a less important issue to the Parent Commission.[104] They believed that the report of the Commission failed to deal adequately with both the role of the Church and the family, stressing in their stead the strong role of the State. Thus, the Conseil d'administration stated that the Parent Report was only a partial solution and response to the problems pressing Quebec education. During this same period, one of the CIC's greatest worries about the new Ministry of Education and the Superior Council was precisely the question of the status of confessionality in the system.

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[102] Op. cit., CIC, L'Enseignement, p. 2. Earlier in the same year Garant had written another article defending the confessional school. In CIC, L'Enseignement, June, 1961, p. 9, he wrote, "We have confidence in the confessional school system and hope to see it continue."

[103] CIC, L'Enseignement, August-September, 1962, p. 17.

[104] CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'administration, April 19, 1963, p. 43.

During the year of 1964 nothing much was said about the confessional aspect of the school system. The CIC spent its time and energy discussing Bill 60 and the philosophy of education embodied in Volume II of the Parent Report, a volume which was treated as far less controversial than Volume I. When confessionality finally surfaced again as an issue in 1965, the association's attitude was far more open. Previous statements had upheld and defended confessionality as necessary for the majority, going so far as to state that the needs of the Catholic majority must not be undercut by the rash statements of a small minority. However, the position taken in 1965 was much more non-committal. The association began talking about the complexity of the confessional issue, and the outcome was a decision that the CIC could not take a simple stand "for" or "against".[105] Rather, teachers individually and in groups would have to study the problem carefully before reaching a decision.

The association's stress on teachers studying confessionality before making a decision fit closely with what proved to be the major concern of the CIC regarding educational reform in the province. For, late in 1964, Volume III of the Parent Report had been released, that volume dealing in the main with teacher quality and preparation. The CIC prepared a memorandum on the report

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[105] "La confessionalité", CIC, L'Enseignement, October, 1965, p. 3, noted a current debate over this issue.

and published another supplement to L'Enseignement, both stressing the importance of the role of teachers in those reforms.[106] Again, lauding the report for its great merit generally, the association still expressed a few reservations concerning the Parent Commission's recommendations. Thus, they stated, "Teachers are at the heart of the reforms; they are the ones who suffer their impact most directly, and without their active and spontaneous collaboration, the finest of projects for reform will never be anything but imperfect."[107]

The confessionality issue reached its peak the following year, 1966, under the direction of a new president, G.-Raymond Laliberté.[108] In February the Superior Council invited the CIC to present a mémoire on the Parent Report, especially concerning religious and cultural diversity, administrational structure, and the role of parents and teachers in education.[109] At this time the CIC formally

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[106] CIC, Supplement, L'Enseignement, January, 1965, and "Mémoire de la CIC au Ministre de l'Education du Québec sur certains aspects du rapport de la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement", CIC, L'Enseignement, January, 1965, pp. 1-8.

[107] "CIC Memorandum on Parent Report" English Tribune, CIC, L'Enseignement, January, 1965, p. 4.

[108] Léopold Garant served as president of the CIC from 1953 to 1965. G.-Raymond Laliberté assumed the presidency in 1965. The lengthy tenure of most CIC presidents has probably enabled each to maximize the impact of his own ideas upon the association.

[109] CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil exécutive, February 9, 1966, p. 21.

announced itself in favor of the Parent Report proposal.

> The Conseil d'administration of the CIC recognizes with the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, that confessionality in schools should be respected and that this principle should operate for the confessional and non-confessional minorities as well as for the Catholic majority.[110]

Clearly, the position of the CIC had changed perceptibly, although their statement was still one of support for a confessional system. For they now mentioned the right of non-confessionals or "neutrals" to special treatment within the system.

In April of 1966 the Parent Commission terminated its work, having published five volumes with numerous recommendations over the previous five-year period.[111] At the same time, the CIC president, Laliberté, embraced the new heterodoxy and religious tolerance embodied in the Parent recommendations. He suggested, therefore, that the CIC change its own confessional nature. Certainly much of the interest in CIC religious neutrality stemmed from a desire on the part of Laliberté and other leaders of the CIC to unify all of Quebec's teachers in a single association. Indeed the Parent Report had recommended unification, and the CIC leadership was quick to add its second. To this end, Laliberté suggested that the CIC "should ponder

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[110] CIC, L'Enseignement, June, 1966, p. 24.

[111] CIC, L'Enseignement, May, 1966, p. 17. The Quebec Government delayed the publication of the last volume of the Parent Report which caused the CIC to demand that the Government immediately make public Volume IV.

dismantling its confessional character because it is less and less in place with the reality of modern Quebec where diverse ethnic and religious elements coexist".[112] Laliberté was, in fact, de-emphasizing religious differences and elevating ethnic concerns. He mentioned, for example, the case of French Protestants who, because of the CIC's catholicism, held membership in the PAPT with English Protestants.[113]

In September, 1966, the Congrès of the CIC discussed the change of name, and by a weak majority, voted to take the word "catholique" out of the name of the teachers' association. The CIC was henceforth to be the Corporation des Enseignants du Québec, abbreviated CEQ. Even after the vote, it was clear that the membership and leadership held ambivalent feelings toward it. Michel Giroux, for example, a member of the executive, suggested several interpretations of the change of name. He thought, first, that it might be a "camouflage to hide the fact that we're still Catholic". Or, indeed, it might be "the first stage of real deconfessionalization".[114] Giroux believed the latter to be the case. He stated, "Confessionality of the CIC is necessarily bound to the confessional structure of all education in the Province of Quebec. It was justified when we had Catholic

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[112] CIC, L'Enseignement, April, 1966, p. 4.

[113] CIC, L'Enseignement, April, 1966, p. 4.

[114] "Cénacle ou forum", CIC, L'Enseignement, September, 1966, p. 2.

schools, Catholic school commissioners, the Catholic Committee, and the like." But the Parent Report had confirmed the right of neutrals to their schools along with the right of Catholics to theirs. The report even explained that, in cases where necessary, Catholics, Protestants, and neutrals should be accepted in the same schools.[115]

Giroux continued that the Parent Report also affirmed the principle of confessionality for the schools. Schools were to be Protestant, Catholic, neutral, or multi-confessional, according to the division of population. But confessionality was not to be maintained at the level of the local school commissions. School commissions, therefore, were to respect religious pluralism.

Thus, to stay in tune with the changing scene in Quebec, the CIC also changed as it removed the aspect of confessionality from its own organization.[116] The change was not without controversial overtones in the association, but it was defended as the only realistic way to respond to modern Quebec society. The year 1966, then, was what might be termed a turning point for the CIC. For after that year, the issue of confessionality appeared settled and closed.

Examining the position of the French Catholic association from the time of its inception until the enactment of the Parent Commission recommendations, it is

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[115]CIC, L'Enseignement, September, 1966, p. 2.

[116]The law chartering the CIC was modified to accommodate the name on July 21, 1967.

clear that the hypothesis predicting early disapproval of the dual school system on the part of the CIC has not been held up by the evidence. Though the dual system surely posed problems for the French Catholic majority in the province, and though the "two solitudes" in this case were definitely not equal educationally, the confessionality of the dual system was viewed as so crucial by the Catholics, that that system was not only tolerated but also praised. This statement is not to suggest, however, that the CIC saw no disadvantages in the dual system. Indeed they did. Disenchantment with the dual system was evident as early as 1948 when Léo Guindon made the comment that "the minorities in Quebec are better treated than the majority".[117] Nonetheless, the association spent its energies trying to effect change within the Catholic sector of the dual system. They were apparently optimistic that their problems could be solved within the confines of the existing structure of education. Thus, CIC statements about educational problems tended to ignore the role of the basic dual structure, and their conclusions suggested changes of a less sweeping nature.

It is true that the association was quick to recognize the need for a Ministry of Education, and, surely, a Ministry would begin to unify the two separate systems. But, under the Ministry, if the CIC recommendations prevailed, would be

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[117] This statement was made by Guindon, then president of the CIC, in CIC, L'Enseignement, September, 1948, p. 2.

the still-strong Catholic and Protestant Committees, and the confessionality of the system would be bolstered by requiring that the Minister be Catholic. Thus, although the CIC pressed for change, their major concerns lay outside the dual, confessional nature of Quebec's schools. Their overriding interest seemed to be protection of confessional education for the Catholic majority as well as increasing the importance of the role played by teachers in educational reform.

When the Parent Commission put forward its recommendations, the CIC could not support them without reservation. For they did, in fact, embody greater change than the CIC had envisioned in its mémoire. The association supported generally the notion of a Ministry and a Superior Council, but quibbled over the specifics involved.[118] Until 1966, then, the organization was reluctant to support the most basic structural changes recommended by the Royal Commission.

Perhaps it was the dynamic leadership of a new president, Raymond Laliberté. Perhaps it was the growing French nationalism being exhibited in the sentiments of the province. Perhaps it was the growing tendency in Quebec toward "modernity" and "secularism". Probably it was a combination of all of these factors. Whatever the

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[118]The reader is reminded that one of the major reservations the CIC put forward concerning a Ministry of Education was the desire that the Minister continue to ensure confessionality.

cause, the CIC as an organization rejected the primacy of catholicism in 1966. In the interests of future unity of all Quebec teachers, and in order to be in tune with current educational reality, the confessional character of the association was abandoned and the word "catholique" removed. At this point, then, the CIC/CEQ also abandoned its former reluctance on educational reform. It now welcomed these reforms. The fact that the CEQ was not at that point in time representative of all French Catholic teachers is a surety, for the vote over the change of name was very close.[119] But, apparently the slim majority of member teachers had adopted an important new stance with respect to educational change.

A subject closely related, indeed almost inseparable, to the CIC's position regarding the dual confessional school system is the issue of French-English and Catholic-Protestant tensions more generally. The CIC's statements with respect to these relationships should illuminate some underlying concerns which contributed to the formation of the association's stance on duality.

First, a brief examination must be made of the CIC's affiliations and connections with other organizations in the period after the establishment of the Royal Commission. CIC affiliations with the ACELF, l'Union mondiale des enseignants catholiques, and with UNESCO continued unchanged

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[119] In fact, in 1964, a similar motion had been voted down by the CIC membership.

through this period. The issue of CIC affiliation with the CTF, however, became a more important issue, and an issue which exhibited the growth of French nationalism within the association. The CIC continued to send representatives to Canadian Teachers' Federation meetings and negotiations regarding affiliation with CTF continued steadily, but it was clear that, as the CTF deferred to the CIC's demands, the CIC's demands became greater. Thus, affiliation with the CTF was not reached during this period.

The negotiations between the CIC and the CTF must be examined because they indicate the growth of French nationalistic sentiment within the CIC. In 1964, the Conseil d'administration of the CIC discussed affiliation with CTF, who had indicated a desire to "complete its cadre with the addition of the CIC".[120] The CIC, however, wanted groups of French teachers in other provinces to be able to name representatives to the CTF in order to make the teachers' federation "truly representative of French Canadian teachers". The CTF found it impossible to grant that request because French teachers in other provinces were already represented by their respective provincial associations, usually English. The CTF offered to accept "observers" of the French language to come to CTF meetings. The CIC did not accept this offer and asked that there be two sections of CTF, one French, the other English. The

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[120] CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'administration, January 18, 1964, p. 256.

CTF declined.[121]

Later in 1964, the CIC presented a mémoire to the CTF formalizing the demands which must be met before affiliation could be reached.[122] In this mémoire, the CIC declared itself in favor of the principle of solidarity of teachers. However, this solidarity could not be gotten at the expense of "une solidarité d'ordre ethnique". For French Canadian teachers had to be concerned with "conserving and propagating their cultural heritage". And French Canadian teachers in Canada could not be compared with a federation of teachers from one province. Thus, the CIC pressed for national representation of French Canadian teachers in the CTF, in addition to adequate representation for the CIC as one French teachers' provincial organization. Its specific demands included the representation of the CIC at the General Assembly in proportion to the number of its members, the possibility of affiliation of associations for French speaking teachers in other provinces, a just and equitable representation for the French Canadian element in all delegations and committees of the CTF, the establishment of true bilingualism in the CTF, and the formation of a French section in the CTF.[123] Clearly, the demands of the

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[121] CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'administration, January 18, 1964, pp. 256-257.

[122] "La C. I. C. expose ses conditions", CIC, L'Enseignement, May, 1964, pp. 16-17.

[123] These specific demands were also in "La C. I. C. expose ses conditions", CIC, L'Enseignement, May, 1964, pp. 16-17.

association on the rights of French Canadian teachers were closely akin to demands of French Canadian nationalists on the rights of the French Canadian population more generally.

In 1965, the CTF began to use the French language for all of its communication with the CIC. Obviously an attempt to placate French nationalistic sentiment, this effort was not sufficient.[124] For it was apparent that more than just bilingualism was needed. At times the interests of French and English teachers seemed diametrically opposed, and certain moves of the English were viewed with great suspicion by the French. In 1965 the issue was federal involvement in education, more specifically the creation of a Federal Office of Education. The CTF was entertaining a proposal that they campaign energetically for such an Office. The reaction of the CIC was caustic. The French Catholic association viewed a Federal Office as a threat to French cultural survival, and, as such, they bitterly opposed it.

> It looks suspiciously as if the anglicizers and centralizers are at work again, firing torpedos into the ship of Confederation. There is no evidence of support for such a federal office from French Canada. . . . CTF is <u>not</u> a "national" organization. There are no French in it. Anglo-Saxon superiority thinking was evident already two years ago when the CTF launched a campaign for federal action to remove inequalities in education. The secretary of the CIC rose to propose a consultation so as to avoid "two teachers organizations fighting each other all over

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[124] CIC, <u>L'Enseignement</u>, September, 1965, p. 11.

> the country", but a delegate from a part of the country which shall remain nameless, said he couldn't see why the campaign should be held up just for one province. To him, Quebec is a province like the others. He couldn't see that he was prying apart that relationship of two nations which is the heart of the Confederation. "Voting down the French" will vote them right out of Canada.[125]

In 1966, the CIC reiterated that affiliation with the CTF would only be possible with a plan providing for a true "bilingualisme et biculturalisme" and recognition of the existence of two cultural nations in Canada.[126]

Thus, affiliation had not been accomplished by the end of the period studied. While attempts were still being made by both sides, success was not imminent.

One other point regarding CIC affiliation needs mention. In 1961 La Fédération des Sociétés Saint-Jean Baptiste du Québec, an association which was to become quite militant in its French nationalism, announced its intention to convoke "Les Etats généraux du Canada français". In 1964 plans for this body were nearly complete, and the CIC was invited to send one representative. In February, 1964, the Conseil d'administration decided to send one person.[127] In March, the Conseil decided to affiliate formally with

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[125]This reaction was quoted from an article written, notably, in English. "A Federal Office?", CIC, L'Enseignement, October, 1965, p. 7.

[126]CIC, L'Enseignement, September, 1966, p. 4.

[127]CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'administration, February 14, 1964, p. 275.

the Etats généraux and to pay $100.00 as an entry fee.[128] From 1964 to 1967 the CIC remained a member of this organization and supported its actions with allocations of money.[129]

During the period of 1961 to 1968, the CIC continued to exhibit interest in the Canadian scene generally. Although some of this interest was similar to that occurring before the Parent Commission, there was also an increased incidence of French nationalistic sentiment in this area.

The CIC continued to send delegates to the Canadian Education Association, the Canadian Association for Adult Education, and the newly formed Canadian Council for Educational Research which held its first meeting in 1963.[130] The association also exhibited concern over educational issues affecting all teachers in Canada, issues such as teacher shortage, salary, and the like.[131] But increasingly their coverage of the Canadian educational scene was made from the standpoint of growing concern over the rights and

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[128] CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'administration, March 20, 1964, p. 16.

[129] For example, Les Etats généraux asked for donations of $300,000.00 from across Canada. The CIC donated $500.00. This donation was decided by the Conseil d'administration, and is recorded in the CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'administration, March 2, 1967, pp. 295-296.

[130] Discussions regarding affiliations can be found, for example, in CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil exécutive, November 25, 1966, p. 161.

[131] For an example of interest in these issues, see CIC, L'Enseignement, September, 1963, p. 12.

status of the French Canadian population. The year of the inception of the Parent Commission also was the Second Canadian Conference on Education which met in 1961 solely to discuss the tensions between the two cultures in Canadian education. The goal of the conference was to ameliorate relations between French and English. A First Canadian Conference on Education had been held in 1958, but Quebec had declined to send any delegates, thus compromising the national character of the meeting. Apparently many delegates came to the Conference in 1961 with a romantic notion that they could solve all educational problems. Yet a good many were disenchanted by the end of the meeting. As one English speaking CIC delegate put it:

> This week in Montreal, Canada's two main and official cultural groups--as represented by those who teach their children--approached each other with outstretched arms and benign smiles--and tripped on the rug.[132]

The CIC member placed the blame for the failure of the meetings on both English and French shoulders--perhaps more on the English. For the English, the writer noted, had come to Montreal "with a vague patronising air of romantic adventure". It seemed all sorts of fun to say "bonjour" to their French compatriots. The real trouble was that they thought that a poorly pronounced "bonjour", followed with the old "merci", would be enough. It simply was not. The French, for their part, fanned the flames of bitterness when

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[132]"An English Speaking Educator's Point of View on the C. C. E.", CIC, L'Enseignement, March, 1962, p. 3.

Quebec's Minister of Youth, Gérin-Lajoie, delivered a major address "in which he certainly minced no words". He said that French Canada was determined not only to survive but to progress in the enrichment and enlargement of their culture and that this could not really be done unless they retained their identity as a distinct and separate group of Canadians. For all its ills, the conference did succeed in adopting a number of resolutions geared to pave the way to better relations between French and English. One resolution recommended amending provincial law, where necessary, in order that instruction could take place in either of the two official languages of Canada. The decision as to which language should be offered was to be left to the majority in the school authority. Another resolution suggested that the courses in Canadian history be amended so that they gave the points of view of the two ethnic groups in the country. Yet a third recommended that interprovincial teacher and student exchanges be set up to provide for better understanding between the two official cultures and to hasten biculturalism. In recommendations such as these, the CIC strongly concurred.[133]

Other incidents from 1961 to 1968 also pointed to increased French and English tension in Canada. One set of incidents consisted of support from the CIC at various times for special French Canadian associations. For example,

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[133]Albert Gervais, a member of the CIC executive, discussed this issue in CIC, L'Enseignement, March, 1962, p. 5.

the CIC began to send delegates to l'Association des Enseignants Franco-Ontariens.[134] The CIC was also active in the Canadian Council on Radio and Television which, with the support of the ACELF, was divided into two sections--one for French language and the other for English.[135] The CIC donated money on occasion to a group called "Fraternité française d'Amerique".[136] The association also decided to study the possibility of creating a Fédération canadienne des enseignants de langue française.[137]

In addition, the CIC continued to take interest in French speaking groups in other provinces who were not allowed special educational rights. The CIC had noted these problems prior to the Parent Commission as well, but had usually coupled notation of the problem with a statement favoring the dual system in the Province of Quebec as a good solution. Now statements praising the dual system in Quebec were conspicuously missing as the French CIC described the situation in Manitoba with its "double taxation", a situation where French was not tolerated even though in some places the French Canadians formed a majority.[138]

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[134] CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'exécutive, April 28, 1967, p. 442.

[135] CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'administration, June 12 and 13, 1964, pp. 11-12.

[136] Ibid., April 27, 1963, p. 19.

[137] Répertoire, February, 1968, p. 92.

[138] CIC, L'Enseignement, January, 1963, p. 4.

The CIC stressed the problems of French culture in Canada due to federal discrimination. The CIC viewed federal aid to education and the creation of a federal office of education with suspicion. In fact, the issue of the role of the federal government in education had been a major bone of contention between the CIC and the CTF for many years. In 1962 the CIC vehemently protested federal discrimination against French Canadians and demanded an investigation into the situation. The federal government discriminated against the French both in terms of grants for research and work, and also for positions in federal offices. The government claimed the situation existed because there were not enough high quality French administrators and research scientists. Thus, the CIC demanded that norms be set up upon which candidates for offices would be judged. The association asked, "Are the current exams based on what English speaking students learn in Ontario schools? Then no wonder French people show up badly on them."[139]

Finally, the CIC's position regarding the Canadian Constitution and Confederation as it was studied by the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission in 1963 and 1964 must be examined. In order to present a mémoire to this commission which would adequately represent the attitudes of its members, the CIC executive sent questionnaires to each CIC member teacher. The results showed 2% of the respondents

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[139]CIC, L'Enseignement, December, 1962, p. 28.

to be pleased with the constitution as it was. Eighteen percent were for absolute independence for the Province of Quebec, and 78% demanded "significant" amendments to the constitution. Laliberté, soon to become president of the CIC, declared, "We have chosen the option of sovereignty for Quebec". Laliberté's attitudes and leadership were influential, but the vote on Quebec sovereignty by the CIC Conseil général was exactly split--fourteen in favor, fourteen opposed, with eight abstentions.[140] Thus, it was decided that the CIC brief to the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission would present not only one option, but all divergent options expressed in the vote. In protest, Laliberté resigned from the Comité du mémoire.[141]

Another issue closely associated with the dual confessional school system and changes within it was the study of French and English languages by students in Quebec's schools. French and English history courses were important concerns for the CIC during this period. During the years 1961 to 1968, French language continued to be an important issue for the CIC/CEQ, and, to some extent, growing French nationalism could be seen here also. For, during the period prior to the Parent Commission, there was significant interest in the better teaching of both the French and English languages, but, during the latter period, French

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[140] CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil général, October 25, 1964, p. 72.

[141] Ibid., p. 72.

language rights and quality became the dominant concern while English language was of much less importance.[142]

Concern with French language during this period appeared in several ways. First, there was the issue of a French language television station which occupied a prominent place in L'Enseignement and in meetings of various CIC councils. In 1962 the CIC joined other French groups in demanding a second French television channel.[143] This TV channel was to schedule programs heavily dominated by "la langue parlée" in order to increase exposure to properly spoken French. Because their request was not immediately granted, the association stressed the need for "solidarity of French groups" in this matter and for provincial autonomy in matters of education and television.[144]

Second, there were the expected articles dealing with the need to improve the quality of the French language used in Canada and of ways to approach this task. A new French course stressing spoken French and utilizing language laboratories was drawn up and used by the schools

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[142]Evidence of this change is suggested by the fact that there were only three articles in L'Enseignement during this eight-year period dealing with the betterment of spoken English. See, for example, "Une Association des coordonnateurs d'anglais" by Guy Goulet, CIC, L'Enseignement, June, 1966, p. 17. English language was mentioned along with French in "Echos de nos commissions", CIC, L'Enseignement, February, 1963, p. 6.

[143]CIC, L'Enseignement, June, 1962, p. 28.

[144]CIC, L'Enseignement, November, 1962, p. 16.

in Quebec. Entitled "Voix et Images de France", the course attempted to translate the latest theoretical work on language learning into practice. In addition, there were efforts to upgrade the quality of French in the text-books used in the province.[145] At long last it seemed that solutions for traditional problems were forthcoming.[146]

Third, there was a continued effort to rid French usage of the numerous "anglicisms" which had contaminated it. As one CIC writer stated, "the North American milieu exercises strong influence on all aspects of our language".[147] Anglicization was threatening syntax, morphology, vocabulary, and pronunciation. Thus, the CIC demanded a consultative commission to be formed to assure the integrity of French language and to establish for Quebec a norm of written and spoken French.

In addition, the CIC mentioned growing numbers of organizations whose primary goal concerned the quality and integrity of the French language. A Société des Poètes canadiens-français was mentioned along with a Colloque pour la fondation d'une fédération québecoise des services de

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[145] "Voix et Images" was explained in detail in CIC, L'Enseignement, August and September, 1964, p. 22. Language labs were explained thoroughly in CIC, L'Enseignement, March, 1963, pp. 17-25.

[146] While these programs of reform in the teaching of French did not solve the total problem, they were viewed by the CIC as a great step forward.

[147] CIC, L'Enseignement, April, 1965, p. 10.

langue française as well as *La Société du bon parler français*. Apparently the CIC was not dissimilar to the rest of French Canadian society in its concern over French language. The CIC also supported a demand made by the ACELF that the federal government prepare a law making French the national language of the Province of Quebec.[148]

It is possible to conjecture that part of the CIC's great interest over language was related to a belief that language and culture were inseparable, that is, that the preservation of French language was an integral part of the protection of French culture generally. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that the association did recognize language as an important part of culture. For example, a CIC member, J.-Ernest Rochette, suggested in 1966 that teachers of French should pay attention to French art and literature as well as language. He mentioned Racine as a French author students would enjoy. In addition, he suggested that attention be paid to French Canadian culture in all French language courses. His argument held that "We were French before we were Canadian and it is from the 'French spirit' that we must get our distinct character".[149] The CIC was also happy to hear of efforts to upgrade the quality of French taught in other provinces. In Ontario, for example, the CIC was pleased to note the

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[148] CIC, *L'Enseignement*, October, 1966, p. 10.

[149] Rochette's ideas were put forward in CIC, *L'Enseignement*, June, 1966, p. 4.

increased use of film and labs in teaching French. For these innovations would help to dispel the notion that French is an inferior language and help to give a "clearer image of the beauty of French culture".[150]

The next item related to CIC attitudes on the dual confessional school system was the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The investigation of the "B and B" commission struck at the very heart of French-English tensions in Canada. Certainly the creation of such a commission indicated a need to cope with growing dissatisfaction on the part of French Canadians with respect to their rights and status in the Canadian Confederation.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism had been established in 1963 under the co-chairmanship of A. Davidson Dunton and André Laurendeau. The commission held hearings across Canada and accepted four-hundred-four briefs, one of which was submitted by the CIC in 1964. The CIC's mémoire represented a year's work on the part of a committee headed by Jean-Noël Tremblay, an ad hoc committee especially initiated for this task.

In drawing up their mémoire, the CIC Conseil général discussed two major options for French Canada, both involving a radical departure from the current status of French Canada.

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[150]This action was discussed in CIC, Action pédagogique #4, May, 1967, pp. 57-58. It should be noted that only one article on French history appeared in CIC writings during this period, "La Civilisation française et catholique" by Gerard Houde, CIC, L'Enseignement, March, 1962, p. 5.

The first option was the plan of La Société St.-Jean Baptiste which proposed the association of two nations, "canadienne-anglais" and "canadienne-française", as a true confederation. The other option was the "separatiste" plan for an independent Quebec.[151]

Apparently, the less radical stance of the St.-Jean Baptiste society was more in keeping with the attitudes of CIC members. For the CIC mémoire presented the two alternatives, but spent most of its energies discussing the necessary conditions of the "deux nations" concept.

The divergence of opinion within the CIC and within French Canada generally was illustrated clearly at the beginning of the CIC's brief. The CIC noted that the fundamental question in the minds of the Québecois, and presumably in the minds of CIC members, was, "Should Quebec remain a part of the confederation, or should Quebec dissociate itself from the other provinces of Canada?"[152] Further, if Quebec remained in the confederation, it was clear that "it must redefine its constitutional statutes and amend the constitution in such a way that the rights of French Canadians, which have victimized the French with worry since 1867, will be precise and unquestioned".[153]

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[151]CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil général, June 27 and 28, 1964, pp. 5-7.

[152]CIC, Mémoire to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1963, p. 9.

[153]CIC, Mémoire to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1963, p. 9.

If Quebec were not to remain in the confederation, it must decide whether it would have complete political sovereignty or simply a new mode of association with other provinces.

The CIC, pondering the very idea of "nation", asserted that two cultures co-existing within one nation should abide by some formula which would be mutually beneficial, which would provide each an avenue for enrichment and expansion, neither at the expense of the other.[154] General quarrels had existed between French and English since 1867, and it was finally time for the English to realize that the French Canadian nation "represents a distinct entity". It was not to be considered a mere numerical fraction of all Canadians. In order to make confederation a success, the CIC recommended that the Canadian Constitution be amended to recognize the existence of two nations in Canada, that strict equality of rights and privileges for both nations be provided, and that the rule of the majority be put aside when it infringed on the linguistic or cultural rights of French Canada. In addition, the association asked that the provincial constitutions be amended where necessary to guarantee lingual and cultural rights of French Canadians, and that Labrador be given back to the Province of Quebec.[155]

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[154] Ibid., p. 13. On p. 35, the CIC stated that the confederation must be viewed thus far as a failure.

[155] CIC, Mémoire to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1963, pp. 45-46.

Of course, the CIC wanted official and practical recognition for bilingualism--especially in government service. In fact, the association went so far as to suggest that the salary scale for federal government employees be contingent upon their bilingual capabilities. In addition, the CIC asked that Article 93 of the British North America Act be amended so that minorities in all provinces would have religious and linguistic educational rights.[156] Interestingly, the CIC stuck to its position opposing great involvement of the federal level in education. They rejected the notion of a federal minister for minority rights, preferring to restore educational autonomy to the provinces. But, they suggested, the federal government might appoint a tribunal to supervise the acts of provincial governments.[157]

It is not necessary here to deal with the other CIC recommendations in detail. Briefly, the CIC asked for numerous services such as radio, cinema, and the like to be offered in the French language and increasingly by French personnel.[158] They also attempted to deal with a perceived menace to French Canadian cultural survival, that is, immigration policy. Since only 3.2% of all immigrants were French speaking, the CIC demanded that the Province of Quebec be allowed to establish its own immigration rules.

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[156] Ibid., p. 65.

[157] Ibid., p. 95.

[158] For a list of these items, see CIC, Mémoire to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1963, pp. 99-117.

The important factor, for the purposes of this study, is to stress the growing French nationalistic sentiment exhibited in the CIC position on the place of the Province of Quebec in the Canadian Confederation. For these factors were surely part of the general educational scene in which the CIC was suggesting similar changes within the Province of Quebec.

A final item of possible consequence in explaining the CIC position regarding the dual confessional system is their relations with the other two teacher organizations in the Province of Quebec--namely, the PAPT and the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers, the PACT. Clearly, as the Parent Commission realized and recommended, the growing unification in Quebec's schools should be accompanied by greater unity amongst her teachers.

A drive for the unity of all the province's teachers in one association was a major work for the CIC during the period following the Parent Commission Report. Previous to the Commission's inception, the association had begun to unify all Catholic teachers, lay and religious, in the CIC by means of automatic membership.[159] Following the work

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[159]As late as 1958 the CIC had been able to count only 39.1% of Quebec's teachers amongst its members. Religious teachers still resisted affiliation. Even after automatic membership was provided for by law in 1960, the association had to wait several more years before automatic membership was a practical reality for all religious teachers. CIC, L'Enseignement, January, 1965, p. 5., noted that integration of all religious teachers was a goal to be completed by July of 1967.

of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, the association turned its attention toward getting all teachers, English and French, Catholic and Protestant, into one organization. That that organization was to be the CIC/CEQ was never questioned by French Catholic teachers. Not surprisingly, the PAPT and the PACT resisted such moves toward unification, harboring the suspicion, perhaps justified, that their minorities would be "swallowed up" by the mass of French speaking teachers. In addition, the CIC drive toward unity pushed the two English associations closer together; they moved to unite as they perceived a threat from the same source.[160]

It is important to look more closely at this move toward unification. The three teachers' associations continued to meet in joint committees during this period to discuss items of general interest such as sick leave, pension, salary, and the like, but the CIC was increasingly hesitant to join with the "anglais".[161] The CIC, of course, no longer recognized the PACT officially, and, in addition, the CIC felt it lost much of its autonomy and authority when it joined other groups. Nevertheless,

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[160]The CIC/CEQ noted this tendency in Congrès, 1967, when they stated that little progress was being made toward the unity of the three groups of teachers. They noted that, "the two other associations are always very defensive toward the CIC". CIC, Procès-Verbaux, 1967, p. 8.

[161]CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'administration, December 14, 1962, pp. 232-235.

numerous occasions saw the CIC override these reservations and engage in formal dialogue with the other two associations over mutual problems.[162]

One of the events pushing the three teacher associations more closely together was the passage of Bill 25 which, among other things, provided for a provincial contract for all Quebec's teachers. Bill 25 named the PAPT, PACT and the CIC as the three legitimate teacher associations which would negotiate with the Quebec government a contract for all teachers. Article 13 of Bill 25 dictated that a joint committee be formed of representatives of all three teachers associations in order to negotiate the provincial contract which would bind all teachers. Indeed, opposition to Bill 25 put the teachers' groups on common ground at the outset. If lack of agreement was common on other fronts, they all agreed that Bill 25 was a "curse" for teachers and for education in general.[163]

The first problem confronting the three associations was the proportion in which each would be represented on the Bill 25 Committee. The CIC initially proposed three representatives for itself and one each for the PAPT and the PACT. However, both the PAPT and the PACT were united in a demand for two representatives apiece. In light of

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[162]CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'administration, March 26, 1965, p. 260. The three associations presented a joint mémoire to the government on mutually desired amendments to the school law.

[163]CIC/CEQ, L'Enseignement, February, 1967, p. 7.

this demand, the CIC requested six representatives.[164] This arrangement was agreed to later in the year.[165] Each association was to prepare a separate contract, and then these would be worked by the joint committee into a coherent whole.[166]

Thus, Bill 25 necessitated far greater contact and communications among the three teachers' groups. Clearly, the CEQ realized the implications of the situation, and took every opportunity to note the workability of the liaison of teachers. An article in L'Enseignement was indicative of such sentiment. Gaston Robitaille noted that the joint committee was "ecumenism in action". During the school crisis, he said, teacher's organizations had cooperated "solidly and fraternally". He described a meeting of the CEQ, also called the Quebec Teachers' Corporation, and the PAPT over an issue concerning the provincial contract. Robitaille suggested that the meeting

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[164] CIC/CEQ, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'administration, March 11, 1967, p. 341.

[165] Other provisions included: 1) that a majority vote should determine the position of the group so that the teachers could present a united front to the government, and 2) that representatives of each association must be present to constitute a quorum of the joint committee. CIC/CEQ, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'administration, May 12 and 13, 1967, p. 481-482.

[166] The following issues were to be considered: teacher preparation, teacher participation and consultation, regulation #1 and its application, teacher tenure, parity of school services in all regions of the Province of Quebec, and salary. CIC/CEQ, L'Enseignement, January, 1968, pp. 1-10.

had fostered goodwill and respect between the two groups of teachers.

> On March 23, 1967, a joint PAPT-QTC sub-committee met to discuss teacher education. The deliberations took place in French and in English, and they . . . left no stone unturned. The whole affair was one of genuine exploration and contact. All worked hard for an understanding and an approach to an apparatus of partnership.
>
> To sum up, the meetings proved to be very enriching. Fresh ideas dropped into open minds never fail to foster attitudes of mutual respect and admiration.[167]

Robitaille concluded with a suggestion that Hugh MacLennan's "Two Solitudes" did not apply to the joint sub-committee and negotiating committee because the delegates of both teachers' associations endeavored to put bilingualism and biculturalism into practice.

Another aspect of relations between the three teacher groups must be considered--that is, the closer relationship between the CEQ and PAPT as opposed to the CEQ with the PACT. Since the CEQ did not formally recognize the existance of the PACT until forced to by the provisions of Bill 25, CEQ literature noted both more communication with the PAPT and greater harmony with the Protestant organization. In spite of their different attitudes, especially toward changes in the dual confessional school system, and in spite of increasing French nationalism within the CEQ, apparently the desire for teacher unity led the CEQ to strive for somewhat greater harmony with the PAPT. The CEQ, for

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[167] CIC/CEQ, L'Enseignement, November 15, 1967, p. 13.

example, never met with the PACT save to discuss their opposition to the very existence of that association, and, of course, later, when Bill 25 placed representatives of the two associations within the same joint committee. The PAPT, however, was a different story. The CEQ continued to send representatives to PAPT conventions and take interest in events such as the PAPT centennial celebration in 1964.[168] The CIC also noted occasions on which the PAPT spoke out for the rights of French Canadians. For example, the text of a PAPT Sentinel editorial was published in L'Enseignement in which the PAPT president, Ann MacLeish, maintained that "the continuation of French Canadians' traditions and the increase of her potential were essential".[169] And finally, the CEQ met regularly with the PAPT alone to discuss matters of educational significance to both groups. In 1966, through joint meetings, for example, the PAPT approved and supported the use of strike tactics by French Catholic teachers. Of course, the passage of Bill 25 served only to heighten the communication between the two. And negotiations

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[168] See CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil d'administration, October 19, 1963, p. 14, where the CIC representatives described the speakers at the PAPT Convention as "tout simplement fantastique".

[169] The editorial went on to say that the leaders currently elected by French Canadians to run the government of the province were a danger to French Canadian well-being. The government was limiting salary increases to two or three percent, which would force good teachers away from the French province. Thus, future generations of French Canadians would suffer from inferior teaching. CIC/CEQ, L'Enseignement, January, 1967, p. 11.

continued into 1969 regarding eventual affiliation of the PAPT with the CEQ. Talk of affiliation was less pertinent to the PACT, since, in the CEQ's eyes, English Catholic teachers were already members of the CEQ.

Finally, the CEQ's stance on teacher unity in the province must be examined. Why was unity necessary, and how might it be achieved? "L'Unité de la profession" was one of the principal objectives of the CEQ following the Parent Report.[170] Several reasons were given as part of an argument in favor of unity. A union of all Quebec teachers would permit a better representation on the Superior Council of Education set up by Bill 60.[171] Also, it was clear that a "fragmented" organization would never become as powerful a voice for teachers as was necessary in modern society.[172] In addition, the new structure of education in Quebec with its Ministry of Education was mentioned, the notion being that greater unity in the system of education should militate for greater unity amongst the teachers in that system.

Within the general framework of desire for unity, it is no surprise to find that the CIC relations with the PACT were strained at best.[173] Indeed, during the period

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[170]CIC, L'Enseignement, June, 1966, p. 3 and September, 1966, p. 4. By June 29, 1967, the Conseil d'administration decided to intensify the efforts of the CIC in this direction.

[171]CIC, L'Enseignement, October, 1963, p. 3.

[172]CIC, L'Enseignement, November, 1963, p. 9.

[173]CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil général, December 18, 1965, pp. 31-34.

following the Parent Report, the CIC attempted to placate the English Catholic teachers, to make their automatic membership in CIC more valued. This feat was to be accomplished by having parts of L'Enseignement published in English for their benefit. At no time did the CIC recognize the PACT as a distinct and separate organization, and the CIC continued to exact dues from all PACT members.[174]

Another aspect of the CIC's push for unity was an enlarged concept of the phrase, "all teachers". While unity of teachers had been discussed during the 1950s, it usually referred to religious and lay Catholic teachers. By the 1960s it was obviously aimed at the PACT and the PAPT. By 1964, the CIC/CEQ approached the Association des Professeurs laïques des écoles normales catholiques and, in 1967, the syndicat of CEGEP professors about affiliation with the CIC/CEQ.[175]

How was unity of all these teachers to be brought about? Apparently in the form of a provincial confederation or corporation of teachers, at least at first, which would allow each individual group of teachers to maintain its own

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[174] Dues were deducted at the source as part of the provision of automatic membership.

[175] CIC/CEQ, L'Enseignement, November, 1967, p. 12, noted that affiliation with CEGEP professors was complete, and talks with other teacher groups were continuing.

identity and representatives.[176] Although the details were not yet worked out, it was clear that the unified teachers' group was to be both professional and syndical in nature.[177] In addition, the change of name from CIC to CEQ was part of a strategy to unify all teachers under one association. It was thought that the term "enseignant" or educator would prove more inclusive than the old "instituteur" or teacher.[178] Of course, dropping the word "catholique" would serve to make the organization multi-confessional, thereby attracting other groups to membership.[179]

Thus, the CIC leadership pursued a rather active policy during the 1960s to unify the teaching profession under the

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[176] Laliberté, as president, pressed for a regrouping of teachers along bilingual and multi-confessional lines. CIC/CEQ, L'Enseignement, April, 1966, p. 4. Apparently there was significant opposition to the drive for unity if it meant concessions to the minority groups of teachers. André Roy, for example, said, "Why should the CIC be bilingual and multi-confessional when French teachers in other provinces are forced to join a unilingual or English teachers' association?" CIC/CEQ, L'Enseignement, April, 1966, p. 16.

[177] We have already alluded to differences in the way the CIC and the PAPT viewed syndical operations, the CIC stressing their worth more than the PAPT. Disagreement on this issue certainly hampered efforts at unification, to some extent.

[178] CIC, Procès-Verbaux de le Conseil général, October 23, 1965, p. 278.

[179] Again, there was opposition to this notion. Mlle. Thérèse Baron believed a change of name to be premature without prior discussion of unity with the other teacher groups. Also, she said, a change of name would only be a "camouflage". The great majority of CIC members were still Catholic and they still desired to offer Christian education in Catholic schools. CIC/CEQ, L'Enseignement, September, 1966, p. 6.

CIC/CEQ banner. Clearly, this thrust was not without some opposition from members, and the end of the 1960s found the CIC still unsuccessful in achieving this goal. But, their continued pursuit of unity went hand-in-hand with the changes in Quebec's dual confessional school system. Evidence suggests that the leadership of the CIC, and especially Raymond Laliberté, saw the interrelationships clearly, and that they viewed unity as a top priority issue. For unity was necessary if teacher groups were to be kept in tune with other educational reforms.

Certainly, the evidence on these points related to the dual confessional school system is not conclusive. Nonetheless, it does appear that growing French nationalism in education on the part of the CIC was matched by growing French nationalism generally. Apparently, teachers were not the first to propose greater rights for the French Canadian population, especially in Quebec, nor were they the most radical of the French Canadian groups exhibiting nationalism. But their position regarding education and other matters exhibited increasingly radical dimensions. For Quebec education, this meant an end to total separateness through duality, a merging and de-confessionalizing, at least at the provincial level. And education was but one important segment of the total French Canadian problem in which the CIC was most interested. Education was only one of the crucial rights French Canadians had been deprived of and now must have. Clearly, this attitude of the CIC militated in favor of greater unity in education,

especially in the French Province of Quebec.

CHAPTER V

THE PROVINCIAL ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC TEACHERS OF QUEBEC

The treatment of the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers, hereafter abbreviated PACT, is brief, not only because they are the smallest association of teachers in the province, but also because their status as a separate organization is indeed in question.[1] The PACT is studied separately for two reasons: First, it is apparent that the CIC has not adequately represented the viewpoint of the English Catholic teachers in its membership. The very existence of the PACT as a separate association provides testimony to that fact. Second, the provincial government recognized PACT as one of the three legitimate negotiating spokesmen for teachers in the provisions of Bill 25.

The dual confessional system created a situation in which English and French Catholic teachers were lumped together. That is, all Catholic teachers, regardless of lingual factors, were automatically considered members of the CIC and were forced to pay dues to that association. Thus, English Catholic teachers who joined the PACT did so

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[1]The PACT spoke for 2200 English Catholic teachers in 1962 when they presented their brief to the Parent Commission.

voluntarily, paying double dues. Needless to say, this solution did not contribute to harmony between the two groups. Although the PACT has sought legislation guaranteeing that all English Catholic teachers automatically become members of their association, they have not yet been successful in procuring it.

The PACT is a very young organization compared with the other two. It was founded in 1958, but the act incorporating the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers of Quebec was not registered until December, 1964. The association holds both executive and annual general meetings.[2] In addition, it publishes a regular monthly magazine entitled PACT Magazine. It also publishes occasional newsletters and bulletins.

The PACT position regarding the dual confessional school system has been one of some puzzlement. While the other two groups of teachers supported duality prior to the Parent Commission inquiry, the PACT could not. The dual school system failed to provide English Catholic constituents with any legal guarantees for Catholic education in the English language. Under the dual system, English Catholics relied on the goodwill of the Quebec Catholic community as a whole, and this community was predominantly French. English Catholics, particularly in the Montreal

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[2]Minutes for the Annual General Conventions are lengthy and complete. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the Executive Minutes, which are extremely brief, incomplete, and tend to deal with only fiscal expenditure.

area, received English Catholic education, but it was controlled largely by French Catholic school commissions. The dual confessional system left the position of English Catholics tenuous, indeed.

When the Parent Commission recommended changes in the traditional system, the PACT was puzzled regarding its position on educational reform. On the one hand, they desired more adequate guarantees of their needs than the dual system had provided, and, thus, they were open to reform which might benefit English Catholics. On the other hand, however, they viewed reform with suspicion. For the dual system, despite its shortcomings, had provided English language Catholic education. The PACT could not be sure that reform would enhance, rather than detract from, their educational position. They could not give reform their unwavering support.

Because PACT publications and minutes were not begun until 1961, it is impossible to assess the PACT position regarding duality prior to the Parent Commission's inception. However, the association did present a brief to the Royal Commission, and this document provides a good source for the stance of the English Catholic teachers' group.[3]

The PACT began its brief with a section discussing Catholic educational philosophy. Quoting Pope Pius XI's

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[3]PACT, Brief Presented to the Royal Commission on Education, June, 1962.

encyclical on Christian education, the PACT concluded that the ultimate aim of education was to impart the Catholic doctrine regarding man.

> Our whole theory of education in Quebec depends on the Catholic doctrine regarding man, his nature, and supernatural destiny. From this concept of the nature of man follows the Catholic theory of values, the primary objective of Catholic education. Everything else is subordinate to this ultimate aim. Any educational system that loses sight of man's supernatural destiny cannot be acceptable for Catholics.[4]

Given this strong emphasis on Catholic educational principles, it was not surprising that the association affirmed its belief in the confessional nature of Quebec's school system.

The PACT also recognized, however, certain strains which were then impinging on the effectiveness of the dual system. They noted, for example, larger and larger numbers of English, Irish, Scot, and other European Catholics, all of whom desired English language Catholic education for their children. The PACT believed it to be a parent's right to choose the education of his children. Thus, it was no longer adequate to consider a system with just Protestant and Catholic sides. Increasingly, Catholic did not mean French, and English did not always mean Protestant.

In addition, the dual system had created a situation in which English Catholics had not received adequate representation on the Catholic side. The issue of teacher power and the importance of teacher participation in

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[4]PACT, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, June, 1962, p. 4.

educational decision-making was mentioned, but added was a new facet to the problem. The English Catholic teachers needed to speak for themselves on educational issues, rather than having to speak out through the CIC or the PAPT.[5] Their recommendations, therefore, pre-supposed the continuation of the dual confessional school system, but with a much stronger English Catholic contingent. While the PACT did not call it that, their recommendations could be viewed as suggesting tri-partite structure for education. They demanded better general representation for English Catholics on the Catholic Committee. More specifically, they asked for increased representation not only for the PACT, but also for the English Catholic Parent Teacher Associations, and for an English Catholic university. They insisted that added machinery on the Catholic side was needed to deal with the problems of Catholic education in the English language.[6]

The PACT also made some recommendations in the direction of greater unity. Like the CIC, they desired the establishment of a Ministry of Education. But there were to be three Deputy Ministers--one French Catholic, one English Catholic, and one English Protestant. In addition, the Catholic side of education was to make special provisions for their English speaking constituent. The Catholic side was to have two separate Divisions of

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[5] PACT, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, June, 1962, p. 11.

[6] Ibid., p. 20.

Administration and Instruction, one English and the other French.[7]

Greater unity, or perhaps a better term would be "uniformity", was also recommended by the PACT at local levels of operation. They asked, for example, that Protestant and Catholic districts where possible be co-terminous with uniform tax assessments and rates.[8]

The final issue mentioned by the PACT in their Brief to the Royal Commission was the education of neo-Canadians. In 1961 the Catholic Committee had designed and attempted to put into operation a program geared to encourage more new Canadians to identify with the French speaking Canadian community. Predictably, the PACT was severely critical of this program. The association found it "pedagogically unsound" and "unworkable".[9] English Catholic teachers were opposed to the restriction of the right of parents to choose the education of their children. While they recommended that studies of bilingual education continue with small experimental groups, they were doubtful that truly bilingual education was possible.

Basically, the PACT's recommendations to the Royal Commission supported a strongly confessional system of education with many safeguards for English Catholics as

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[7] PACT, Brief to the Royal Commission on Education, June, 1962, p. 19.

[8] Ibid., p. 20.

[9] Ibid., p. 28-30.

one of three major constituents. The Parent Commission's proposals differed in substance from the PACT's suggestions. Therefore, the reserved response of the PACT toward the Parent Report and Bill 60 was anticipated.

The Parent Report received a great deal of attention from the PACT. The association regularly reported to its membership the proceedings and recommendations of the Commission, and also published three special supplements to the PACT Magazine.[10] Much of their response was, of course, directed to issues other than the dual school system.[11] It was apparent that the major reservations expressed by the PACT were precisely over those issues which dealt with the basic dual structure of Quebec's system of education. An article in PACT Magazine in 1966 explained these reservations well. The whole province was at the "crossroads", awaiting the final volume of the Parent Report which was to treat the confessionality issue, an issue of great importance to English Catholics. The article entitled, "English Catholics--a generation of fence-sitters?", chided the English Catholic population for not taking clearer

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[10]Special supplements dealing with various items from the report of the Royal Commission appeared in February, September, and October of 1966.

[11]PACT strongly supported the Parent Commission's recommendations on science programs, colleges of general and vocational education, and the like. Indeed, they were upset that so many of these recommendations were ignored by the provincial government. See PACT, PACT Magazine, April-May, 1966, pp. 33-36; March, 1968, pp. 16-18; and pp. 20-22.

stands on the Parent proposals. Obviously, the writer said, the present educational situation was fraught with danger for English Catholics. Therefore, "our thinking must be re-ordered in such a manner as to present the issues clearly so that we, the English Catholic community, can make our own decisions".[12] The writer placed English Catholics in a category unto themselves and was suspicious of both other major religio-cultural groups in Quebec education, the French Catholics and English Protestants. He hinted that cooperation with another religio-cultural group might lead to gradual assimilation.

> Do we favor cooperation with the Protestants in areas where sparse student population would make it difficult to obtain the kind of comprehensive High Schools envisioned by the Ministry for either group? Yes, if cooperation means partnership when the School Boards responsible for these shared facilities are in fact and in law Protestant. Will cooperation mean gradual assimilation?
>
> The recent case in Chateauguay where an agreement was reached between the Catholic (French) and the Protestant School Boards for a joint English Catholic and Protestant Comprehensive High School, without a single English Catholic being present, should serve to warn us to the dangers inherent in such deals.[13]

The writer pictured the English Catholic population as distinct, separate, and afraid of losing its identity. The author used the words "one step away from total absorption". The dual school system did not provide adequately for their

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[12] PACT, PACT Magazine, April and May, 1966, pp. 4-5.

[13] Ibid., p. 4.

needs; yet it did permit them survival. Changes in that system, therefore, would be viewed with suspicion unless it were clear that they enhanced the position of the English Catholic contingent.

The PACT was so concerned about the Parent Commission reforms, that the association prepared a special brief on this matter for the Superior Council of Education.[14] The brief began by supporting the "basic goals set forth by the Parent Royal Commission". Yet, the PACT found that certain aspects of these recommendations did not adequately guarantee the preservation of religious and cultural diversity in the schools. Therefore, the PACT proposed several alterations designed to guarantee their minority needs. First, they suggested that regional school commissions need not be organized uniformly throughout the province. Regional commissions could be divided according to language alone, or according to language and confessionality, depending on the local situation. Second, the norms used to determine the number of students necessary to form a separate confessional and/or language school were to be flexible and "set in terms of the actual educational needs of a particular population in a particular region".[15] Finally, PACT was opposed to the demise of the

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[14]PACT, Brief to the Superior Council of Education on Volumes 4 and 5, Parent Royal Commission Report, 1965.

[15]PACT, Brief to the Superior Council of Education on Volumes 4 and 5, Parent Royal Commission Report, 1965, p. 1.

Catholic Committee's power which they saw as inherent in the Parent Commission's proposals. They desired a confessional committee at least as powerful as it had been under the dual system, a committee which would retain all authority, at least over the education dispensed in Catholic schools throughout the province. The PACT brief suggested that the Parent Commission had made a "fundamental error" in proposing "a uniform method of dealing with confessionality which fails to recognize the fundamental difference between Roman Catholic schools and non-Roman Catholic schools".[16] The PACT agreed that there was no such thing as a "Catholic mathematics", but there was a "Catholic total view" into which all sciences and intellectual disciplines fit. A Catholic parent, therefore, had the right to expect that a school designated as "Roman Catholic" would conform to the basic and universal norms of Roman Catholicism. The fear of the PACT was that the Parent recommendations, if implemented, would detract from this possibility.[17] The PACT issued several additional recommendations designed to insure that Catholic schools be Catholic. First, they recommended that in a school designated as Catholic, the number of students would be unable to participate fully in the confessional nature of the school because they belonged

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[16] PACT, Brief to the Superior Council of Education on Volumes 4 and 5, Parent Royal Commission Report, 1965, p. 3.

[17] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

to a different religious faith or to no religious faith be kept at a minimum. Second, they recommended that the principal of a Roman Catholic school not be obliged to accept a student who was unable to participate fully in the confessional nature of the school when equal non-confessional school facilities were available to this student. The PACT also recommended that the modifications required in a Roman Catholic school by the presence of students who were unable to participate fully in the confessional nature of the school be limited. A non-Catholic student in a school designated as Catholic should be excused from formal religious instruction and given a course in general ethics or reading assignments in related areas. He should not be forced to participate in prayers and devotional exercises, but the good order of the school might sometimes necessitate his presence at such exercises. Finally, the conscience of the student must always be shown respect. However, he must not object to the presence of Catholic symbols, ideas, and motivation throughout the entire school day.

The PACT was the only teachers' association to react to the Parent Commission's recommendations regarding neo-Canadians. The Royal Commission had concluded that "even though the state has a right to enact regulatory measures concerning languages, it would seem only just that no one

be forced to place his children in a French or an English school".[18] Since the English Catholic population was almost entirely composed of neo-Canadians, the PACT was strongly opposed to any effort to force new Canadians to become part of French Canadian culture. The PACT chided those French who attempted to do this, claiming, "If they persist in these ideas of making Quebec entirely French, a large majority of English will leave Quebec". Quebec would then be "in sad shape".[19]

PACT also had reservations regarding Bill 60, passed by the Quebec legislature to apply the recommendations of the Parent Commission. The primary concern was that the English Catholic population did not receive special attention in the Bill. English Catholics did not receive separate representation on the Superior Council, and it was clear to the PACT that those appointed to the Council were not concerned or conscious of English Catholic needs and problems.[20] While the absence of special concern for English Catholics was a problem with Bill 60, nonetheless the PACT reacted favorably to other aspects of the Bill. In a position statement, the association formally committed itself "in principle" to Bill 60 and the reforms of the

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[18] Province of Quebec, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, Volume IV, p. 196.

[19] "Two Cultures--One Citizenry" by Dennis Gibson, PACT, PACT Magazine, June, 1967, pp. 6-16.

[20] Canadian College of Teachers, June, 1964, p. 36.

current administration in education. They supported the establishment of a Ministry of Education, but they were also concerned that reforms make the existence of English Catholics more tenable.

Bill 60 was, of course, passed in 1964 despite the reservations of teacher associations such as the PACT. Faced with an accomplished fact, the English Catholic association adopted a "wait and see" attitude not unlike that of the PAPT during the same period. The president of the PACT, Patrick McKeefrey, stated that "no one, at this stage, is qualified to make definitive statements on the relative worth of the new legislation".[21] Mr. McKeefrey also hinted once that the PACT should not fear the reforms since things for English Catholics "could not be worse".[22]

During the ensuing years as the provisions of Bill 60 were applied, the English Catholic association took note of the effects on education generally and of their own position more specifically. They concluded that "remarkable progress" had been made generally in the Quebec educational scene.[23] "But, so long as PACT is without recognition in law in the Province of Quebec, we shall never be satisfied." Apparently they could support many of the reforms while their overriding concern was still with their own minority

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[21]PACT, PACT Magazine, April, 1964, p. 4.

[22]"Bill 60 . . . Wait and See", PACT, PACT Magazine, February, 1965, p. 4.

[23]PACT, PACT Magazine, December, 1965, pp. 7-8.

group needs and aspirations. Thus, the picture of the PACT during this period seemed to be one of a small but sturdy band fighting for its very existence, somewhat puzzled as to whether they should cling to the old, or try the new.

What was the association's response to Bill 25? Certainly an outgrowth of Bill 60 and provincial reforms of education, Bill 25 forced striking teachers back into their classrooms and provided that a provincial contract be negotiated by the three teacher associations, PACT included. While the other two teachers' associations were wholeheartedly opposed to Bill 25, the PACT's attitude was ambivalent. On the one hand, they opposed the limitation of the right of teachers to strike.[24] And, clearly, Bill 25 caused the association much expense and effort during the following years. Numerous times, the PACT publications mentioned the difficulty the three teachers' groups had in coming to agreement in negotiations with the government. But the fact that Bill 25 formally recognized the existence of PACT, and the English Catholic group of teachers, as a distinct and separate unit was cause for some elation on the part of the association.

> Bill 25 gives exclusive authority in provincial negotiations to CEQ, PACT, and PAPT. Two of these organizations have their membership defined as Acts of Incorporation; PACT does not yet enjoy this privilege. One of the important implications of Bill 25 will be, as

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[24] "Why Teachers Should Have the Right of Strike", by J. D. McFetridge, PACT, PACT Magazine, March, 1967, pp. 20, 21, and 31.

> far as English Catholic teachers are concerned, that it will likely result in forcing an end of the present confusing situation.[25]

The PACT, therefore, had a unique response to the Parent Commission reforms and their ensuing implications. Clearly, the association hoped for the continuation of a strongly confessional system. But the PACT wished duality extended to offer better provision for the English Catholic minority. Thus, the association was somewhat puzzled in its response to change. On the one hand, English Catholics sought reform which would better provide for their needs. On the other hand, however, they were afraid to abandon the small comforts the dual system had been able to provide.

Other aspects of the English Catholic teachers' association might serve, in part, to facilitate an understanding of their position regarding the dual school system and the Parent Commission's reforms. Confessionalism was a crucial issue for the PACT. Their defense of this aspect of the dual system becomes predictable when one looks at the strong role religion played generally in the association. Like the CIC, the impact of religious considerations on the policy of the PACT was heavy. But, the CIC saw the influence of religion diminish during the 1960s, culminating in the change of name from CIC to CEQ. The PACT seems to have remained a strongly confessional association throughout this period.

The influence of religion on the PACT appeared in a

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[25]PACT, Newsletter, January, 1968, p. 2.

variety of ways. The association publications often disseminated or reported items of a religious nature which were not inherently part of the sphere of education. Themes such as "Social Awareness in the Practice of Religion" and programs such as religious retreats where teachers would spend "two or more quiet days of close contact with their God and with their own soul" were prevalent during the 1960s in the English Catholic organization.[26] Moreover, PACT writings were at times testimonials to staunch and traditional religious beliefs held in common by good Catholics.

> Education is judged ultimately by the same standard as are all other truly human acts--the imparting of life. If only for this reason Christ, through his Incarnation and Resurrection, is of the greatest importance to all men. By his triumph over death He says in a language that all can understand: I have come that you may have life and have it more abundantly.[27]

The PACT followed with great interest the decrees and writings of the Pope. Numerous articles in PACT literature dealt with such items as Vatican II, Pope John XXIII's encyclical, Pacem in Terris, and the nature of the "Divine Mission to teach", which was discussed in Catholic theology.[28]

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[26]The theme mentioned above was reported in PACT, Newsletter, January, 1966, p. 2; the retreat was described in PACT, PACT Magazine, April, 1965, pp. 4 and 32.

[27]PACT, PACT Magazine, September, 1967, pp. 2 and 5.

[28]See PACT, Newsletter, September, 1964, p. 1 for more on the "Divine Mission"; PACT, PACT Magazine, February, 1964, pp. 2 and 4, and March, 1968, pp. 23-26 discuss Pacem in Terris and Vatican II respectively.

Clearly, the PACT was not oblivious to the applications of Catholic theology to problems of education. English Catholic teachers considered themselves to be "Christian educators". They expended great effort to see that religious classes in the school were reacted to favorably by Catholic youth. They were also concerned that Catholic students be taught religious principles by specialists who were dedicated to that task.[29] The PACT, in addition, deplored the lack of religious education in other countries such as the United States, suggesting that "it is generally acknowledged that the lack of religious education in the U.S. and other countries has produced a materialistic society, largely amoral in character".[30] Finally, the PACT engaged in several affiliations with other Catholic organizations, enhancing their organization as one which was Catholic in nature. English Catholic teachers in Quebec were also members of the Canadian Association of Catholic Educators (CACE), and, on an international scale, the World Catholic Organization of Teaching Professions (WCOTP).

While the PACT was definitely a Catholic association, it was also an English speaking one, and this factor affected the assessments of dual schooling made by the English Catholic teachers' association. The PACT was

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[29]"Vatican II and the Catholic High Schools", by Rev. John Baxter, PACT, PACT Magazine, April, 1965, pp. 16-18.

[30]"Views of the Association of Catholic Principals of Montreal Regarding the Importance of Confessionality", PACT, PACT Magazine, September, 1965, p. 15.

affiliated with a "foe" of their French Catholic confreres, the Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF). The PACT sent official delegates to CTF conventions and kept its membership informed on CTF operations and decisions.[31] The PACT agreed with the stance of the CIC regarding federal aid to education and the creation of the federal office of education. The CIC had strongly opposed such federal involvement, believing it inimical to the interests of the French minority in Canada. The PACT took the same position. PACT delegates to the CTF convention in 1966 opposed the motion for a Federal Office of Education. While there may have been numerous factors behind their decision, the only one stated in PACT literature was the suggestion that a Federal Office represented an infringement of provincial autonomy.[32]

The PACT was not so militant about English Catholic rights with the Canadian Teachers' Federation as was the CIC regarding French Catholic rights. While English Catholic teachers could have done so, they did not insist that the CTF ensure regular meetings of English speaking Catholic teachers from all over Canada, nor did they wish the CTF to guarantee that every provincial delegation should be composed of teachers of all religions. As president Patrick McKeefrey wrote, "The formation of a Catholic

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[31]See PACT, Newsletter, May and June, 1965, p. 2, and PACT, PACT Magazine, October, 1965, p. 50.

[32]PACT, PACT Magazine, September, 1966, p. 5.

Teachers' Section within CTF fills us with horror".[33] Possibly the PACT believed these arrangements to be unnecessary since the CTF was already meeting the needs of English Catholics as it was. Or McKeefrey's statement may have been an indication of the priority of PACT's needs as an English speaking group over the association's needs as a Catholic group, although this interpretation would be difficult to support in light of the importance religious issues held for PACT. It is likely that the PACT feared being combined with their foes, the French Catholic CIC, if any special consideration were given to the Catholics in CTF. Whatever the case, the PACT's relationship with the nation-wide organization of teachers was more harmonious than that of French Catholics, more like that of their English Protestant brothers.

Like its sister organization, the CIC, the PACT viewed language as an important issue. Articles in PACT publications proclaimed the need to teach both English and French in a more efficient and effective way. In several statements, the English Catholic association decided heavily in favor of bilingualism, especially for the Province of Quebec. Brother Jerome, president of the PACT in 1965, said, "We are of the opinion that all citizens of the province should be bilingual".[34] The PACT, he said, would welcome the efforts

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[33] PACT, PACT Magazine, March, 1968, pp. 13-14.

[34] "President's Address", PACT, PACT Magazine, December, 1965, pp. 7-8.

of the Department of Education to implement a course of studies in French which would enable English speaking students to communicate with others in a second language, rather than merely acquire a knowledge of French grammar. They would welcome the opportunity to work hand-in-hand with the CIC in the matter of teacher-exchanges so that French would be taught in the best possible manner. Likewise, they would be willing to provide competent instruction for French speaking students so that they would be well-instructed in their second language, English. However, the PACT was suspicious that so-called "bilingual schools" actually downgraded the English language, and this fact they found unacceptable.

> We cannot object to our English speaking students being bilingual. We do object to the downgrading of English in the so-called bilingual schools.[35]

Thus, the PACT supported what they considered to be bilingualism; at the same time they re-iterated their concern that "bilingualism" not mean priority of French over English.

The PACT was not militant about English Catholic rights within the CTF, nor was it opposed to efforts at bilingualism and harmony for the Province of Quebec. But, PACT was definitely concerned with the existence of English Catholic culture in Quebec and with provisions for the needs of the English Catholic population. On this issue, the association

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[35] Ibid., p. 8.

was adamant. Protestion for English Catholic culture was necessary because the PACT believed its existence to be seriously endangered. Indeed, the St.-Léonard decision of 1968 made it clear that many of the PACT's fears for survival were well-justified. For the English Catholic population was in a unique and vulnerable position educationally. The dual school system gave constitutional guarantees to English Protestants on a religious basis. Thus, because they were Protestants, not because they were English speaking, they had the legal right to dissent and form their own schools. But, under the provisions of the dual system, the English Catholic population was legally part of the Catholic side in education, dominated by French speaking peoples. Therefore, English language Catholic education was legally vulnerable. In 1968, the St. Léonard de-Port Maurice Catholic School Commission decided to end English language instruction in their Catholic schools and move toward a unilingual French program. English Catholics in St. Léonard had been served by one English Catholic elementary school, and the demand for English Catholic education was growing, not diminishing. Predictably, the PACT deplored this situation, stating that the decision of the St. Léonard School Commission amounted to dictating an official language.

The St. Leonard decision clearly constituted an attack on the English speaking Catholic population. Thus, it was not surprising to find the PACT attempting to ensure and enlarge the rights of this minority. Indeed, the

association stated in 1966 that

> "The PACT can with confidence make the claim that it has shouldered the obligation of preserving our cultural and religious heritage."[36]

How did the PACT set about this business of preserving English Catholic culture? First, they published several articles looking at the plight of English Catholics in Quebec from a historical standpoint. These articles were aimed at providing English Catholic teachers with evidence and knowledge of their unique past. English Catholic education, the PACT claimed, dated back to 1817 in Quebec, when Father Richard Jackson found a group of Irish immigrants congregating regularly on Sundays in Montreal and assumed some responsibility for their spiritual welfare. A Mrs. O'Keefe had opened a bilingual school for Catholics in Montreal as early as 1813.[37] English Catholics, then, had made distinctive contributions to Quebec education. Second, the PACT asserted that English Catholic culture was unique in the present Quebec scene and in need of protection. As Patrick McKeefrey stated, "There can be no question of a melting pot--we have a distinctive cultural heritage to preserve, both as English speaking peoples and as Catholics."[38] Therefore, the PACT insisted on provision for schools of

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[36] PACT, Newsletter, November, 1966, p. 2.

[37] "English-Speaking Catholics in Quebec Education", by Paul Gallagher, PACT, PACT Magazine, June, 1967, pp. 26-29.

[38] PACT, PACT Magazine, December, 1967, p. 11.

their "distinctive" cultural heritage. They heavily supported a unified central administration of all schools and "comparable" systems of education, only so long as these did not mean uniformity and conformity.[39]

Finally, the PACT positions regarding French nationalism and French minority needs affected their attitudes toward reforms of the dual school system. In fact, the PACT asserted that "the aspirations of the French Canadian minority in Canada on the federal level are identical with the aspirations of the English Catholic minority within the province".[40] Probably for the very reason that it was in a more vulnerable position, the PACT, far more than the PAPT, supported better provision for the needs of French Canadian culture.

> We who live in Quebec should not be surprised to find many French Canadians whose basic loyalty to their own culture is stronger than their loyalty to a country which does not ensure the development of this culture. . . . The obligation of Canadian loyalty on us all is to prevent the country of Canada from reaching such a condition that separation is necessary.
>
> What is the solution? The solution is that French Canada must survive. English Canadians and especially Quebecers must not only accept the fact of French Canada's survival, they must desire it and work for it.[41]

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[39] "Convention Highlights", by Martin Murphy, PACT, PACT Magazine, December, 1966, pp. 4-5.

[40] PACT, PACT Magazine, December, 1965, pp. 7-8.

[41] "Nous Sommes Chez Nous Aussi", by Dennis Gibson, PACT, PACT Magazine, April, 1965, p. 32.

While PACT was sympathetic to French Canadian needs and problems, it was not in sympathy with the "excesses" of French nationalism. The English Catholic association opposed the move by French nationalists to force new Canadian immigrants into French speaking schools and French culture.[42] The PACT held that French nationalism had caused "the disturbing gulf between French and English in this province".[43] The association noted a French newspaper's remarks that "the English in Quebec must learn to think like a minority". The PACT concluded that what the French really meant was, "Cringe, darn you, cringe". Of course, the PACT was opposed to talk of the English minority behaving as such, and their assessment of the "French-English" problem blamed the French for the situation.[44]

Within the framework of French nationalistic sentiment, the PACT was determined that the English Catholics would exist and prosper as a minority community. The French were not to be permitted to jeopardize the rights and needs of the English Catholic population. English Catholics, as we have said, constituted a distinctive Quebec culture which was not about to "melt into the pot". Members of the PACT viewed education as a major part in this concern. Norman

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[42] "Convention Highlights", by André Gagnon, PACT, PACT Magazine, December, 1967, pp. 6-9.

[43] "Are Our Attitudes Today Consistent with Survival of Our Society?", by Dr. W. H. Pugsley, PACT, PACT Magazine, December, 1967, p. 24.

[44] PACT, PACT Magazine, April-May, 1966, pp. 16-21, 24-25.

Henchy, for example, wrote an article to dispell ten myths about English Catholic education in Quebec. He dealt first with the suggestion that the English Catholic school system would be "swept away in the tide of French Catholic education". He believed this notion to be a myth. When English Catholic education was in its early stages of development, there had been, Henchy held, a very real danger that it would not endure. It could at that time have been absorbed either by French Catholic education or by English Protestant education. However, Henchy claimed that circumstances were now different. "The battle of yesterday was one of existence; the battle today is one of excellence."[45]

The PACT, then, proved itself remarkably attuned to the needs of the French Canadian community. Whether this sympathy stemmed from a sincere belief that the French Canadians deserved a better deal from the Canadian confederation, or whether the position was taken for more selfish reasons is difficult to determine. Probably a combination of these factors was in operation. Whatever the case, the PACT strongly supported closer cooperation between the French and the English as well as the need for work on the part of the English to provide for the needs of the French.

It is essential to examine the PACT's dealings with

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[45] "Ten Myths", by Norman Henchy, PACT, PACT Magazine, October, 1964, pp. 6-12.

the other two teachers' associations, the CIC and the PAPT. The dual school system and changes in the direction of its unification were directly related to the separateness of the three teachers' organizations. The PACT's willingness to move toward greater unity was in large part affected by its relationship with the other two associations of teachers. First, the CIC. The PACT-CIC relationship was dominated by an issue to which this study has already referred. The CIC believed all Catholic teachers to be under its purview and refused to recognize the right of English Catholic teachers to join a separate association. As a result, through the automatic membership law, the English Catholic teachers were forced to pay dues to the CIC. The rhetoric used by the PACT in treating this problem was uniformly strong in opposing forced membership of English Catholic teachers in the CIC.

> Our teachers are forced, through association in local syndicates, into paying dues to the CIC. This is an untenable position for, in effect, it means that a body outside PACT, and a body which makes no secret of its desire to see the end of PACT, is laying down conditions of service for our teachers. . . . The CIC claim to represent all Catholic teachers in the province is spurious . . .[46]

The picture presented here and in other such articles was one of English Catholic teachers "struggling to keep from being absorbed by the CIC".[47] Another example of the venom

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[46] "The Position of PACT" by P. M. McKeefrey, PACT, PACT Magazine, February, 1965, pp. 24-26.

[47] Canadian College of Teachers, 1964, p. 37.

found in the relationship between these two associations was an excerpt from a PACT newsletter which noted a CIC attack on the PACT and asked if this attack was a sample of CIC promises of professional services for English Catholics.

> It is significant that the very first acknowledgement of the existence of the English speaking Catholic teachers in the pages of L'Enseignement in English should be an attack on PACT. One wonders how an organization more than adequately staffed with highly-paid technical officers could palm off this type of journalism on its readers. May we regard this as a sample of that professional and pedagogical service promised for years by the much-vaunted technocrats of the CIC?[48]

An interesting facet of the inharmonious relationship between the PACT and the CIC was its apparent increase as French nationalism increased. Patrick McKeefrey noted a "turn for the worse" in PACT-CIC relations after the retirement of Léopold Garant as president of the CIC. The new president, Raymond Laliberté, has already been cited in this study as instrumental in the shift away from the dominance of Catholicism in the French Catholic association. Laliberté took advantage of a joint meeting with the three teachers' associations to announce that the CIC would not sign any joint briefs on which PACT had participated. The CIC took such action, he explained, because it did not recognize the existence of PACT. Laliberté further delivered an ultimatum, declaring that PACT would have to affiliate with the CIC and that it would have to be done within the coming year. The response by the PACT to such

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[48]PACT, Newsletter, April, 1966, p. 1.

statements was predictable. McKeefrey, speaking for the PACT, claimed that "the idea that the English teachers can be coerced by gunboat diplomacy into the ranks of the CIC could emanate only from one who wishes to substitute totalitarian concepts for the process of democracy".[49] PACT's dislike for Laliberté surfaced again in PACT Magazine in 1967. McKeefrey noted that the terms proposed by the CIC for PACT's affiliation had grown worse instead of better. The president of the CIC, stated McKeefrey, had pushed the issue to a point of no return. The terms demanded by the CIC read more and more like a "political document". McKeefrey concluded, "in truth, the CIC will not, for they cannot cross the Rubicon, for they are prisoners of a Québec Libre".[50] With the reference to Québec Libre, the PACT was placing blame for the lack of harmony at the door of French nationalism, with which Raymond Laliberté was associated.

Given the bitter sentiment in the PACT over this problem with the CIC, it is not surprising that efforts made by the CIC to facilitate affiliation were usually met with suspicion and disdain. In 1966, for example, the PACT noted in an article entitled, "Much Ado About Nothing", an advertisement placed by the president of the CIC offering

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[49]This disagreement between the CIC and PACT was recorded from the PACT's point of view in "From the Secretary's Desk", by Patrick McKeefrey, PACT, PACT Magazine, December, 1965, pp. 4-6.

[50]PACT, PACT Magazine, September, 1967, p. 7.

employment to a supervisor of English language pedagogical and professional study problems.[51] The idea of putting up a "front man to make a questionable business look legitimate" was not new, they claimed, and facetiously they suggested that the new director's salary be 30,000 dollars--"the figure 30, according to scripture and tradition, being the accepted price for an affair of this nature".[52] The CIC did, in fact, appoint a supervisory officer for the English teachers of the province. Again, the PACT spoke with sarcasm with respect to his apparent duties. The officer would, they said, " . . . talk to us, and, after pointing out to us the error of our ways, he will gently lead us into the ranks of the CIC".[53] The PACT remained unimpressed and highly suspicious of any CIC efforts to woo them. They were convinced that the CIC "uses what is known as Morton's fork: if you are not skewered on one CIC prong, you will be speared on the other".[54]

The PACT consistently embraced a policy of support for unity of Quebec's whole teaching profession. On numerous issues such as pension, salary, and later, Bill 25 negotiations, the English Catholic association pointed out

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[51] The CIC advertisement appeared in the Montreal Star, May 7, 1966, p. 12.

[52] PACT's response to this advertisement is recorded in PACT, Newsletter, May, 1966, p. 1.

[53] PACT, Newsletter, November, 1966, p. 1.

[54] PACT, Newsletter, June, 1967, pp. 1-2.

that the teachers of the province had common cause to safeguard their interests. English Catholic teachers, they said, wished to act in harmony with their French speaking colleagues in a spirit of cooperation. What were the obstacles to such harmony? Patrick McKeefrey explained the greatest drawback. He claimed that the dream of a Quebec Teachers' Federation would never be realized so long as one group had visions of domination over the others.

> But so long as one organization has, as one of its stated main aims, the 'elimination' of the PACT, then it will need a heart-searching and burning conversion to the principle of freedom of association and respect for the cultural heritage of others.[55]

Another drawback hinted at by the PACT was the lack of interest in professional development by the CIC. While the English Catholic teachers' association consistently advocated cooperation with French Catholic teachers at the syndicate level in bargaining for salary, they also believed this "protective element" to be only one of the major functions of a teachers' association. The other function was professional development. The PACT hinted that the CIC was too concerned with the former to the detriment of the latter. Therefore, the PACT, which attempted to achieve some balance between those two functions, was a necessary entity for its members. For the CIC would not adequately deal with both of those needs.[56]

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[55] PACT, PACT Magazine, September, 1966, pp. 5-6.

[56] See PACT, Newsletter, March, 1966, p. 3, "To the Teachers in Catholic Schools of the English Language"; and PACT, PACT Magazine, February, 1966, p. 5.

The PACT relations with the CIC were, then, singularly lacking in harmony and understanding. The PACT justifiably felt its very existence threatened by the CIC, and English Catholic teachers responded to this threat with a determination to survive. The growth of French nationalism heightened rather than alleviated this problem. Any attempts by the CIC at better relationships were perceived by English Catholics as deceitful tricks. While there were some areas of cooperation, the overwhelming picture was one of conflict. Given this situation, it was not surprising that the PACT feared the demise of the dual school system and fought for additional rights for their own separate schools.

Fortunately the bickering during this period between the CIC and PACT was partially offset by closer relations between the PACT and the PAPT. Perhaps this situation was representative of the shift away from thinking of duality based upon religion and toward greater recognition of differences in language and culture. The Parent Commission reforms pushed the school system in the province away from religiously based separation toward increased awareness of cultural variations, it was not surprising that the alliances of teachers' associations reflected that change.

Examples of the increasingly close relationship between the PACT and the PAPT included conventions held together, which was a significant achievement, publications exchanged, and representatives sent by one association

to the other.[57] These relatively minor items, when added together, indicated a certain goodwill and common interest between the two groups of teachers. In fact, this good will served as an interesting contrast to the bitter feelings between the PACT and the CIC. As one PACT member put it, "Our relationship with our colleagues of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers is most harmonious, and we are travelling along the path to yet other areas of cooperation". Referring quite obviously to the French Catholic teachers, he concluded: "We wish we could report similar cooperation with other teachers' organizations".[58]

So well had the rapport been developing between the PAPT and the PACT that English Protestant-English Catholic cooperation became the subject of a brief presented by the PACT to the provincial government. The Brief on Cooperation Between Catholics and Protestants for the Education of Children in the English Language was written as Bill 60 was about to be passed. Its first point was an insistence on the right of parents to have their children educated in classes of their own faith and in the official language of their choice, wherever local conditions indicated that such equality of opportunity could be

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[57] For descriptions of such exchanges, etc., see PACT, Newsletter, April, 1965, p. 1, which mentions Tom Jackson, member of PAPT, as honored guest at a PACT ceremony; and PACT, Newsletter, October, 1965, p. 1, which mentions the joint convention held by both PAPT and PACT.

[58] "Convention Highlights", by Martin Murphy, PACT, PACT Magazine, December, 1966, pp. 4-5.

provided. Thus, English Catholics had the incontestable right to have their children educated in Catholic classes where the primary language of instruction was English. However, the PACT was quick to recognize that it might be impracticable to provide for this in regions where there were small numbers of English Catholic children. In such cases, the PACT recommended practical cooperation between the Catholic and Protestant authorities "with a view to providing schools and/or classes which, within the framework of confessionality, would give the children of both groups a sound and comparable education".[59]

Therefore, when pressed to choose a partner for the purposes of educating English Catholic children where they existed in small numbers, the PACT suggested the English Protestant community rather than the French Catholic. Perhaps this suggestion was predictable when one remembers the long-standing feud between the PACT and their "parent" association, the French Catholic CIC. Certainly, the PACT thought of itself as an injured party in its dealings with the CIC. Also influential in this case, however, may have been the whole tenor of the Parent Commission Report which diminished the basis of religion for duality and elevated cultural and lingual concerns. Whatever the case, the PACT was not about to link English Protestants and Catholics without certain guidelines ensuring the educational needs of the Catholic side. At that time, Catholic children in

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[59]PACT, PACT Magazine, April, 1965, p. 40.

Protestant schools were following the curriculum, excluding religion, of the school attended. This situation was regarded by the PACT as "a measure which will possibly lead to friction".[60] They suggested that a permanent solution would have to be reached by the Catholic and Protestant Committees of the Superior Council of Education.[61]

Seven principles were set forth as a basis for the solution of this problem. First, the preservation of the confessional nature of education for Catholic children was a necessary base for any cooperation. Full provision was to be made for Catholic and Protestant religious education, which, in its manner and spirit, must be comparable to that which was then provided in Catholic and Protestant schools. Second, the common curriculum and textbooks in use in English language schools must be agreed upon by the appropriate Catholic and Protestant authorities within the framework of the Directorate of Curriculum and Examinations. Third, particular care was to be taken to select a principal who would ensure the harmonious operation of the school in a spirit of cooperation. Should the principal appointed be a Catholic, a Protestant teacher should be appointed as vice-principal with a special responsibility for the spiritual welfare of Protestant

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[60] PACT, Brief on Cooperation Between Catholics and Protestants, 1965, p. 17.

[61] This suggestion could be viewed as one favoring enlargement of the powers of the respective confessional committees, which would be in keeping with the PACT's recommendations to the Parent Commission.

children, and vice versa. Fourth, teachers, lay or religious, must be selected so as to ensure the successful operation of the school. More specifically, Protestant and Catholic teachers were to be appointed in proportion to the number of children of their faith. Fifth, the importance of religious symbols for Catholic children was to be acknowledged and appropriate measures for their provision taken. Sixth, library materials had to be selected "with due recognition to the composition of the student body". And finally, co-education as a practical measure should be introduced in such schools as circumstances would dictate.[62]

It is clear, then, that by the end of the 1960s the alliances in Quebec's educational scene were changing significantly. Nowhere could this change be seen better than in the situation of the PACT and the English Catholic community of the Province of Quebec. For, both the Catholic religion and the English culture and language were important to this group of teachers. The dual school system had sometimes provided informally for their needs, had other times forced them into alliances with French Catholics which they bitterly opposed. Carefully, then, they shifted from their grouping with French Catholics toward a coupling with English Protestants.[63] Given their great concern over

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[62] These details from the Brief on Cooperation were reported in PACT, PACT Magazine, April, 1965, p. 40. In the Brief, itself, they are found on p. 2.

[63] A formal merger of the PAPT and PACT was accomplished in 1972.

Catholic educational principles, it seems unlikely that they now considered cultural or lingual differences more important, although cultural concerns certainly had grown in importance. Rather it seems reasonable to assume that the English Catholics and English Protestants had more in common than language and culture. They were both minorities in Quebec, minorities which felt increasingly threatened by a somewhat nationalistic French majority. Therefore, Catholic education, which was still crucial, dispensed in the English language, was viewed as more likely achievable through work with English Protestants than with French Catholics.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROLE OF RELIGIO-CULTURAL CONFLICT IN THE GROWTH OF TEACHER DISAGREEMENT

The dual confessional school system, which had long been Quebec's response to religio-cultural diversity in education, was subject to increasing pressures during the late 1950s. In response to these pressures, the system was substantially reformed following the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education. The dual system and its reforms were of much concern to Quebec's teachers, and, therefore, to the provincial teachers' associations. The positions taken by teacher organizations on duality varied over time. Indeed, this study has documented a growth in disagreement among teachers over the duality issue. Teacher groups agreed in their acceptance and praise for the dual system prior to the Parent Commission reforms. But, following the reforms, disagreement increased to a point where the Corporation des Instituteurs et Institutrices Catholiques (CIC) and the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers (PAPT) were in complete opposition in their attitudes toward duality. Why did teachers initially agree in their support of the dual system, and what was the cause for their growing disagreement?

The support expressed by both the CIC and the PAPT for the dual system before the establishment of the Royal Commission was in part due to the perception of both teachers' associations of the nature of diversity in the Province of Quebec. Religion was a more prominent factor in both associations before 1961 than it was following the Parent Commission investigation. Thus, both groups of teachers tended to see the Province of Quebec divided on the basis of religion into two sides, Catholic and Protestant. They also tended to see themselves as Catholic or Protestant teachers' organizations. While French-English diversity was of some importance, emphasis was placed on religious differences. The dual school system, then, paralleled the teachers' associations' view of the prominence of confessional separation for the purposes of education. Besides, the dual system provided the added benefit of de facto cultural separation. The ability of the dual system to effect both religious and cultural separation simultaneously prolonged its existence, for, even when French-English tensions began to mount, the system of education could absorb much of it in its present state.

Since the dual system was a factor in the inequality and hardship which the French Canadian population experienced, then it is curious that the CIC so long supported that system. However, when one remembers the strength of the Catholic Church in the CIC during this early period, CIC support for duality seems less curious.

Indeed, Catholic theology and Catholic clergy played major roles in CIC policy-making during the period before the establishment of the Parent Commission. The Catholic Church had much to protect in the dual school system, for the confessional arrangements, particularly the Catholic and Protestant Committees, insured control by the Church on all levels and all types of education. The Catholic Church was to become one of the strongest opponents of reform of the dual structure. Thus, the strength of the Church within the CIC during the period prior to 1961 was one which militated for protection of Church rights in a dual confessional system.

While religion may have been less an issue to the Protestant PAPT than to the CIC, the issue was still crucial to the PAPT during this period. The PAPT perceived itself as part of the Protestant community of Quebec. Even if the PAPT might have supported separation on a cultural or lingual basis, the dual system provided for that too, and there was no need to spoil a good thing. The Protestant community and, in effect, the English speaking community had the desired autonomy in the present system. There was little motivation to change.

Another factor in the support of both Protestant and Catholic teachers for the dual system was the lack of concerted opposition to duality and the inertia of the established arrangement. The fact that Protestants felt secure in their educational rights in Quebec permitted a magnanimity and harmony on the part of Protestants which

was to change later. The dual school system, which provided for Protestant superiority in education, was not under attack at this time, so there was little need for Protestant teachers to react defensively. Security and separateness during this period provided for a surface of harmony and politeness. This is not to suggest the absence of tension, but, while duality was accepted by all parties, little occasion for tension over the dual structure seemed to arise. The Protestant teachers concentrated on working within existing educational structures on improvements for the Protestant minority.

Neither the CIC nor the PAPT was ever called upon for a staunch defense of the dual system prior to the Parent Commission reforms. Thus, both tended to accept the confessional system more than they actually supported it. The dual structure, therefore, was not a crucial issue to teachers until attempts to reform it were made. Teacher agreement was most easily reached and maintained while the dual school system was of minor concern.

A third factor in the analysis of early agreement on the part of the two groups of teachers must lie in their failure to see a link between the dual system of schooling and their most pressing educational problems. The PAPT, and even more the CIC, expressed much concern prior to 1961 over issues such as salary, pension, and teacher participation in educational decision-making. Yet neither association perceived duality as the root or partial root of these problems, and the problems were then faced by each

association alone. Protestant English teachers as well as French Catholic teachers fought for educational reforms which could be effected within the confines of the existing dual structure.

A fourth cause for early agreement among teachers was the lack of substantial conflict between Quebec's various religio-cultural groups generally. The CIC was influenced later by growing French nationalism, and the PAPT came to follow other English Protestant groups in their opposition to reform of the dual school system. Thus, a partial explanation for early teacher agreement lies in the acceptance of the dual system by other portions of the English, French, Catholic, and Protestant segments of the population. Teacher organizations prior to the Parent Commission reforms were not pressed to act on duality by their respective religio-cultural communities.

Since teachers did initially agree to accept and support the dual system, why did disagreement among teachers' groups eventually develop? The recommendations of each teachers' association to the Royal Commission foreshadowed some disagreement. For, although the briefs from each association were remarkably similar in that they all accepted or suggested the continuation of a dual confessional system, they did so to different extents and in differing ways. The PAPT assumed that the dual school system would continue, and, therefore, recommended only change which could be made within existing structures. They mentioned the need for somewhat greater unity in educational matters

in Quebec, but the degree of unity suggested was by no means equal to that later recommended by the Parent Commission.

The CIC's recommendations to the Parent Commission were dominated by a Catholic concern to see confessionalism continue unabated. In this sense, they were in agreement with the PAPT, although confessionality was of even more importance to them than to the Protestant teachers. Thus, the continued prominence of Catholicism in the CIC was a factor instrumental in perpetuating agreement among teachers on duality. The CIC's mémoire also recommended the creation of a Ministry of Education, while the PAPT's did not. But, since the CIC's conception of the proposed Ministry included heavy concentration of powers to separate confessional committees, that sort of reform would have been more acceptable to the PAPT than were later Royal Commission proposals.

While the PAPT and the CIC were not far apart in their recommendations to the Parent Commission, the PACT is more difficult to include in this picture of consensus. The PACT could not recommend the continuation of existing structures to the Commission, because existing structures had not proved viable for the English Catholic community. Yet, the strength of Catholicism in this association provided for a staunch defense of confessional education, and for the educational separation of students on a religious basis. On this issue, the PACT was close to its sister organization, the CIC. They also recommended the

creation of a Ministry of Education, similar to the proposal of the CIC. Thus, on the issues of confessionality and the establishment of a Ministry, the PACT and CIC were agreed. However, the PACT wished a separate provision for Catholic education in the English language. And on this most important point concerning their own existence as a distinct religio-cultural entity, the PACT could not reach agreement with the CIC, which had proposed that the education of English Catholics continue to be cared for by the French Catholic side.

By 1962, then, there were indications of disharmony between the PACT and the CIC over the structure of the dual school system. The PACT's desire for greater provision for English Catholics, which was opposed by the CIC, was in no way threatening to the PAPT. In fact, the PAPT may have felt a certain kinship with the English Catholic minority in the Province of Quebec. Therefore, on the basis of recommendations of each teachers' association to the Parent Commission, one could have predicted growing disagreement between the PACT and the CIC, as well as a stage for possible harmony between the two English teachers' associations.

Before the formation of the Royal Commission, there was substantial agreement among teachers on the dual school system. The prominence of religion and concern for religious diversity were key factors in this agreement. Teacher recommendations to the Parent Commission were also similar enough to permit substantial agreement on duality. The

Parent proposals, however, went far beyond the recommendations of any teachers' association. Thus, the PAPT, CIC, and PACT were forced to respond to extensive proposals for reform of the dual system. The PAPT's assumption that the dual system would continue was shown to be incorrect. One factor in earlier teacher agreement, namely, the maintenance of existing arrangements, was now withdrawn. The Parent Commission had made the possibility of reform a reality.

The first responses of teachers' associations to the Parent proposals differed, but were not in complete opposition to one another. The initial position of the PAPT was somewhat open. Protestant teachers knew not what the reforms would mean for the English Protestant community, and they believed it necessary to wait and study possible effects before launching any attacks. The PAPT was not able immediately to assess the import of the Royal Commission reforms on Protestant autonomy, and was caught off-guard by the extent of basic change recommended. By 1966, however, the PAPT firmly believed that Protestant autonomy was both essential and that educational reform constituted a major threat to the English Protestant community. From that point, the PAPT turned its efforts to assist other Protestant groups in their fight against unification. While the PAPT claimed leadership in this attack, the opposite was probably true. The opposition to the Parent reforms on the part of other major English Protestant groups seems to have influenced the PAPT, which eventually joined them. A major factor, then, in the ultimate disagreement between the CIC

and the PAPT was the close relationship of Protestant teachers to the rest of the English Protestant community in Quebec, and that community's decision to fight reform.

The CIC's initial analysis of the Parent proposals differed from that of the PAPT. While the PAPT adopted a moderate wait-and-see policy, the CIC at first opposed reform. The major concern of the CIC was religious in nature and was much like that the PAPT exhibited a little later. Again the dominance of Catholicism in the CIC militated in favor of possible eventual agreement over the dual schooling issue. Had religion continued to be of major importance to the CIC, growth of teacher disagreement might have been halted.

By 1965 the dominance of Catholicism in the CIC was in question. Under the presidency of Raymond Laliberté, the CIC first reviewed its stance on the issue of confessionality, then supported the Parent Commission's proposals on confessionality, and, by 1966, de-confessionalized itself. From that point, disagreement among teacher groups grew exponentially.

If the diminishing importance of religion in the CIC and in Quebec society generally was a factor in the growth of disagreement, so was the corresponding rise of French nationalistic sentiment. Indeed, Laliberté, instrumental in de-confessionalizing the CIC, also elevated the role of French nationalism in the association. With his leadership, the CIC gave up its Catholic nature in the interests of furthering unity of Quebec's teachers under the umbrella

of the new Corporation des Enseignants du Québec. Solidarity on the French side of education was more important in Laliberté's view than was religious cohesion.

By 1966 the CIC had not only accepted the Parent Commission reforms, but had also sought to further the spirit of those reforms in the direction of unifying all of Quebec's teachers. English Protestants by that time had cemented a position of opposition to unification. In 1966, then, the two major groups of teachers stood on opposite poles with respect to the dual confessional school system. Disagreement had reached its height.

Where did the English Catholic teachers fit into this disagreement? The PACT as an organization is far more difficult to analyze than the other two teacher associations. Not only is the primary source material scarce, but also the association has existed over a relatively brief period of time. The PACT was, from the outset and throughout, overwhelmingly concerned with the educational rights of the English speaking Catholic population. English Catholic teachers proposed extending duality so that not only French Catholic and English Protestant, but also English Catholic rights would be better guaranteed. Since the dual school system was not adequately meeting English Catholic needs, the PACT was almost indiscriminately in favor of any change or any system which would do so. They thought that "anything would be better than what we have now". They were not convinced, however, that the Parent reforms of the dual school system would answer their needs. They were offended

first, that confessionalism so important to them in the system would dwindle as a result of the Royal Commission's recommendations, and second, that English Catholics as a group did not merit separate and distinct treatment by the Commission. The PACT edged toward an increasingly close relationship with the other minority teachers' group, the PAPT, and, as mentioned before, the PACT-PAPT entente illustrated the dominance of cultural rather than religious alliances by the end of the 1960s. For, when forced to choose a partner for the purposes of education, PACT chose English Protestants rather than French Catholics, feeling more comfortable with the common bond of culture than with that of religious belief. The fact that both English Protestants and Catholics were minorities probably influenced this alliance as well as the traditionally bitter relationship between the PACT and the CIC.

Having analyzed the causes behind the growth of teacher disagreement over the dual confessional system, several implications must be examined. First, while both the CIC and the PAPT tended to take the dual system for granted, it was apparent that, of all the Parent reforms, changes in duality elicited the strongest response from teachers' associations. While the dual system was not an issue for teachers before the naming of the Royal Commission, the Commission's report elevated the issue of duality to one of foremost concern for teachers. Parent reforms suggesting more progressive teaching techniques or better educational facilities for handicapped children received

instant approval and little coverage from the three teachers associations. The reforms creating the Ministry of Education and the Superior Council of Education were far more problematic and controversial. For the PAPT the controversy over structural reforms persisted until the end of the present study, in 1968; for the CIC, interest in structural reform was of shorter duration. Such responses were not surprising, since the PAPT built up a negative stance toward the reforms, and an unwillingness to submit weakly to them. The CIC, of course after much discussion and study, not only accepted the Parent reforms but moved toward further change along the same vein.

The English Catholic PACT was far less responsive to structural changes than the other two associations, particularly the PAPT, with whom it was to develop such a close relationship. Surely, the PACT was concerned that it receive proper treatment in any new educational scheme, but it had far less to conserve in the old one. For the dual school system did not adequately meet the needs of English Catholics, who were then willing to try changes which might do so. The PAPT, of course, had far more to conserve in the dual system, far more to lose, and this fact stimulated its more aggressive response.

Two facets of the CIC's background may have conditioned its response to reform. While the French Catholic association had accepted the dual system traditionally, its attitudes concerning teacher organization were, from the outset, more progressive. The CIC called a strike for its

teachers at the early date of 1949, and the association was treated as a labor union affiliated with the Quebec Labour Commission. It is possible that the more militant attitude of the CIC toward these other issues provided a backdrop for greater militancy about French Canadian rights at the later date. In addition, one cannot underestimate the influence of the change in leadership of the CIC in 1965. Raymond Laliberté, president of the CIC, seems to have played a crucial role in leading the French Catholic association away from its position of support for the dual confessional system.

A second consideration should be examined. The dual school system and its resulting separation of teachers into two and then three organizations blurred the common interests of teachers in the Province of Quebec. In addition, it obscured at times possible controversy between teachers and their usual opponents--school commissioners and administrators. Duality, then, encouraged each teacher group to become a solitude, a unit perceiving themselves to be more closely linked with their respective religio-cultural communities than with their confreres in the teaching profession. This factor was even more pronounced in the PAPT and the PACT, whose membership included school administrators and whose publications carried articles written by school commissioners and administrators. Growing disagreement over the reform of the dual system did not bring teacher groups any closer together.

If, in fact, the dual system weakened teachers by

encouraging them to remain divided, then the government's Bill 25 had some interesting and ironic results. On the one hand, the Bill weakened teachers by taking away their right to strike and by forcing them to return to work under unfavorable conditions. As a result of Bill 25, teachers were also faced with a more powerful opponent across the negotiating table--the provincial government of Quebec. On the other hand, in the long run, Bill 25 may have promoted unity amongst previously separate teacher groups. Three groups of teachers were forced to attempt to present a united front in provincial negotiations, and, although, such a front often proved difficult or impossible to achieve, the very act of attempting it may have augured for somewhat greater unity for the province's teachers.

Third, all three teachers' associations were preoccupied with the role teachers, and especially their own teachers, would play in the operation and the reform of education. Each, of course, argued that the role of the teacher should be significant. Yet, each association failed to see the dual school system as a related issue until quite late. And, if duality were responsible for a division of teachers and, hence, for their lack of power, it had much to do with the low status of teachers in matters of educational decision-making.

Indeed, all three teachers' associations enjoyed perceiving themselves as leaders in their respective communities. All three employed varying degrees of the rhetoric of influence and importance. Yet, it is clear, even from a

cursory glance at these affairs, that the prestige of teacher groups was not nearly so high as they thought or hoped. The teacher associations were strongly influenced by their religio-cultural communities, rather than vice versa. One must recall the inactivity of the PAPT while Protestant School Administrators fought changes in duality. Later, of course, the PAPT rallied to the side of this and other Protestant groups in decrying reforms in the dual system and lost minority rights. In addition, the CIC did not lead the French Catholic community in requesting changes in the dual school system, which posed so many problems for the French majority. Nor was the CIC a leader in developing French nationalistic sentiment. It was later that French Catholic teachers lent their support and backing for these changes.

Other evidence of lack of teacher influence and the low status of teachers in educational decision-making came from teachers' demands of the Quebec provincial government. Seldom did teachers' demands work. The CIC, for example, requested that the government not pass Bill 60 until a complete study of its implications could be made. This request was denied and the government passed Bill 60 in spite of the reservations of the CIC. It is difficult to estimate the weight the CIC demands carried with the provincial government, but it is clear that they did not carry sufficient weight to achieve the desired result--blockage of Bill 60.

In fact, the interest of teacher groups in their

influence and power tended to complicate the interpretation of their positions regarding dual confessional schooling. It was often difficult, when noting the position of an association, to assess how much opposition to an issue was rooted in the intrinsic merits or demerits of the proposal itself, and how much was based on frustration at the lack of influence teachers had on that issue. Any teachers' association may have opposed or supported reform in part because of the principle that teachers have a right to be consulted about educational decisions which affect them.

Another observation is in order, given the lack of teacher unity in Quebec and the CIC's thrust to change that situation. This research has revealed much hostility and lack of understanding among the three teacher associations. This hostility was best illustrated in the relationship between the CIC and the PACT. But lack of understanding was also apparent between the CIC and the PAPT. There were several issues lying at the base of these unsatisfactory relationships. Surely the automatic membership issue was a crucial component of the CIC-PACT feud, and one can point, in addition, to issues such as the pension one over which the CIC and the PAPT traditionally disagreed. But it is also likely that part of the explanation for poor relations between groups of teachers in the Province of Quebec lay in the climate of suspicion with which the teachers' groups viewed their colleagues. Each teachers' group was, in reality, a religio-cultural entity.

The PAPT's dealings with the CIC, for example, were invariably linked, at least in part, to general English Protestant views of the Quebec French Catholic community. Likewise, CIC interactions with the PAPT were undertaken against a backdrop of French-English relations more generally in the province, a backdrop made tense by the growth of French nationalism.

Given the climate of suspicion among teachers' organizations in Quebec, it is probable that teacher groups did not know and do not now know how their colleagues stood on certain issues. It is doubtful that the leadership or membership of the PAPT during the 1960s were aware of the previous positions of the CIC regarding the dual system. Indeed, the English speaking Protestant teachers might have been surprised to find that the CIC/CEQ had not been traditionally reformist with respect to French unity and the rights of French Canadians. Whatever action they took in this area was late in unfolding and bitterly opposed by as many as half of the CIC membership.

It is probable that the CIC/CEQ perceived the PAPT as an English Protestant organization staunchly protective of its minority rights, one which must be dissolved or fought in order to attain better rights for the French Quebecer. While there was some truth in that perception it was inadequate, unclear, and stereotypic. The PAPT was not initially protective in its response to educational reforms, as were some other English Protestant groups. The PAPT's first statements on reform were moderate, only later becoming

more defensive. Therefore, the arena of relationships among teacher organizations was studded with the inability of any group of teachers to see another group as distinct from its general religio-cultural community. French Catholic teachers, thus, have ascribed to their Protestant confreres, somewhat misleadingly, attributes which they think they see in the general English Protestant population in Quebec. English Protestants and Catholics have been guilty of the same tendency.

Finally, several issues related to religio-cultural conflict and Quebec's teachers' associations are in need of further research and investigation. Most important, there is the matter of the relationship of teachers' positions regarding the dual school system to the more general notion of English-French and Protestant-Catholic tensions. This study attempted to treat teachers' positions on duality within the wider context of religio-cultural tension in the Province of Quebec. Thus, this investigation included some interpretations of the relationship between attitudes toward differing religious and cultural groups and attitudes toward the dual confessional school system. But, a far more definitive study of just this aspect should be undertaken, beginning with an in-depth investigation of the nature of religio-cultural conflict in the province. While this research asserts that there was a relationship between positions teachers took on dual schooling and their attitudes toward Protestant-Catholic, English-French relationships in Quebec, further

study should attempt to clarify the nature of this relationship.

The dual school system in Quebec, therefore, continues to provide a fruitful field for research in education, both historical and comparative. That system has seen substantial reform, reform which attempted to make education more closely meet the needs of the modern Province of Quebec. The reforms grew out of religio-cultural conflict in the province, and, ironically, the reforms were also the cause of further conflict. For the traditional question of how to provide as equitably as possible for the needs of the majority and minorities in Quebec has not been answered fully. The dual system, long defended as the best possible answer, no longer seems so. Strains on that system made changes inevitable. But it is not yet clear whether the reformed system will provide the needed solution to the traditional problem.

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