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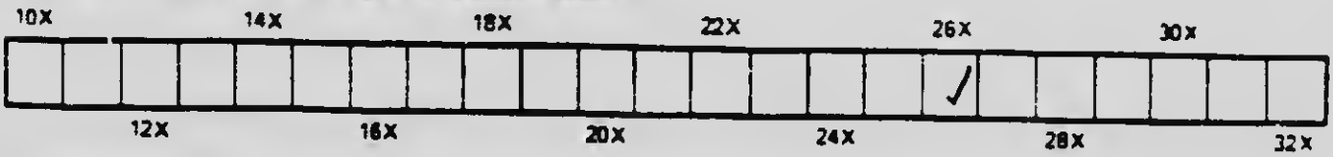

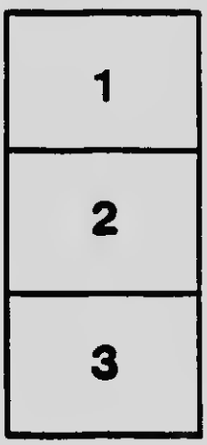

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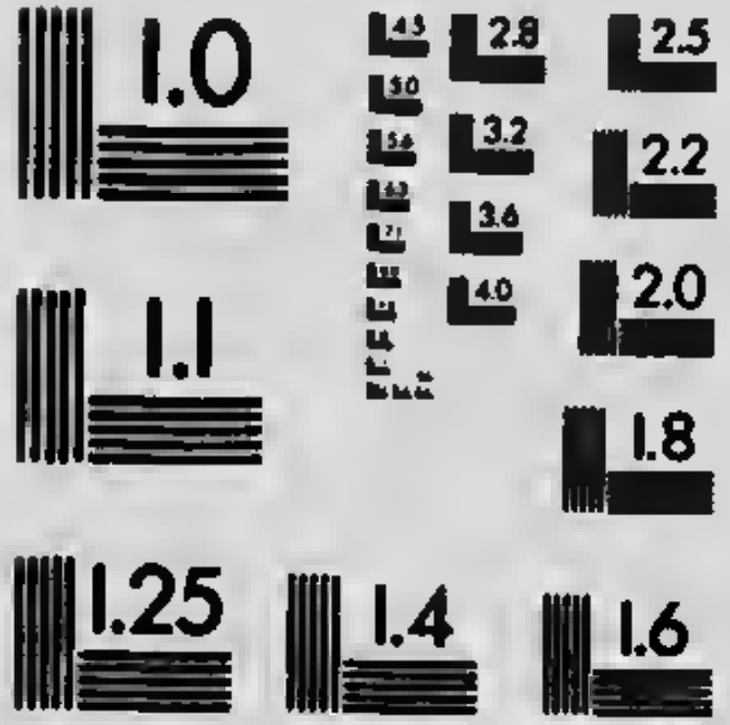

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ENGLISH EDUCATION IN QUEBEC

BY

G. W. PARMELEE

REPRINTED FROM

CANADA AND ITS PROVINCES

A HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE
AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS
BY ONE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES

EDITED BY

ADAM SHORTT AND A. G. DOUGHTY

ENGLISH EDUCATION IN QUEBEC

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GEORGE W. PARMELEE

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This Volume consists of a Reprint, for private circulation only, of the One Hundred and First Signed Contribution contained in CANADA AND ITS PROVINCES, a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions by One Hundred Associates.

Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty,
General Editors

ENGLISH EDUCATION

In the Eighteenth Century

IT is not intended that this article should deal in any exhaustive and critical way with the laws or movements that have affected the whole population of the Province of Quebec, for this could not be done without repeating much that is said in the contribution in this section concerning Roman Catholic education since 1763. On the other hand, it should be recognized that references to general questions and to the relations between the majority and the minority must be made in order to secure a consecutive narrative, and that in consequence repetitions will be unavoidable, especially in regard to the various education acts that have been passed from time to time. It is hoped that it will be of advantage to the reader to notice the different phases of the same subject as exhibited by men who endeavour to represent the thoughts and ideals of their respective co-religionists.

The Protestants of the Province of Quebec one hundred and fifty years after the Cession of Canada to England number only some 280,000 souls in a population of over two millions. Yet their achievements in industrial, commercial, professional and educational life have made them a considerable factor in the progress of their province and of the nation. The fact that they have been a minority among a people of another race, religion and language, of different social customs, and at first of different political training and aspirations, has not handicapped them in the struggle for wealth and position, but it has put a heavy drag on their efforts to secure adequate educational advantages for themselves and their children.

In all the activities of life in which co-operation is essential, minorities suffer relatively even when accorded the fullest

liberty to work out their own problems. While, therefore, the Protestants of Quebec are few, the history of their educational struggles and achievements in peculiar circumstances excites an interest out of all proportion to their numbers.

The first English residents in Canada were functionaries for civil administration and officers and men of the army. They were soon succeeded by traders and speculators, who were attracted to Canada by its vast natural resources, and by the new opportunities for gaining wealth. Governor Murray in 1765, when there were only nineteen Protestant families in Quebec and Montreal, described them, as is well known, in very unflattering terms, which perhaps were not wholly deserved. It is in any case safe to assume that the later arrivals represented in education the average of their classes in England. They undoubtedly had, too, the educational ideals and policies of their homeland. There two ancient universities and many public schools existed for the benefit of the higher classes who could afford the cost. These institutions were heavily endowed.

The schools of the common people, on the other hand, were provided by the church or maintained by voluntary and associated effort. Of state intervention or support there was none. In fact, it was not until seventy years after the cession of Canada that the first state subsidy was granted in England for elementary education. In the new country endowments could not be expected, nor could much be looked for among the small English-speaking population in the way of religious and philanthropic provision for education. The social and political outlook of England gave no hint of direction in the conditions prevailing in Canada. As was natural, families were few in Canada in proportion to the adult population. For the few children elementary schools were provided in the cities at an early date. It seems that the first English teacher in Quebec was a sergeant in the regular army who was detailed to perform the duty of instructing the youth in the arts of peace, and that he acted not only as the regimental schoolmaster but as the teacher of all who wished to come to him. This act involved the principle of state supervision and state aid—a principle soon to be invoked by the English colonists.

Not satisfied with the means of procuring an education for their children, especially education of an advanced character, they agitated for the establishment of some sort of governmental system. Seeing the need among the French for assistance to their institutions, which had suffered during the distressful time preceding and during the war, the proposal was for a system broad enough to include all.

On May 31, 1787, a committee of the council of the province was appointed and charged with the duty of reporting 'with all convenient speed, the best mode of remedying the defects of education, and an estimate of the expense and by what means it may be defrayed.' Of this committee five were English Protestants and four French-Canadian Roman Catholics. Considering the scope of the proposed inquiry, this was not a promising beginning.

After deliberating two years and a half, a unanimous report was presented. This report recommended (1) the erection without delay of parish or village free schools throughout the province in which the tuition should be limited to reading, writing and ciphering; (2) the establishment in the central or county town of each district of a free school in which the instruction should extend to all the rules of arithmetic, the languages, grammar, book-keeping, gauging, navigation, surveying, and the practical branches of the mathematics; (3) the erection of a 'collegiate institution for cultivating the liberal arts and sciences usually taught in the European Universities, the Theology of Christians excepted.' The final expression of opinion in the report was to the effect that the charter of the proposed college should wisely provide against the perversion of the institution to any sectarian peculiarities.

The only other feature of this report that need be noticed here was the declaration that for the village free schools an act of the legislature would be required 'rating each parish in assessments for the free schools of its own district.'

Considering the date of this report and the state of the most enlightened public opinion of the time, one must admit that it was broad and progressive in its spirit, but considering the attitude taken, even then, by the Roman hierarchy, it is

evident that it was far too sanguine. In short, with due respect to the four Roman Catholic members of the committee, it was a document conceived and developed from the Protestant point of view. Monseigneur Hubert, Bishop of Quebec, to whom questions had been submitted, and whose opinions had been sought by the committee, thanked the Almighty for having inspired the design of a university for his native country, and offered prayers for the execution of it. This appears in the first paragraph of his letter of November 18, 1789. In the rest of his letter he brings forward facts and considerations that show him to have been opposed to the establishment of the proposed university. For this he was held up to ridicule by his coadjutor, Monseigneur Bailly, after the letter was made public. The latter bishop gave strong support to the recommendations of the committee in a letter that would have been worthy of respect had it not been so lacking in that quality in regard to his colleague, Monseigneur Hubert. An unprejudiced observer cannot, to-day at any rate, fail to see that Hubert really wanted a university, but not the kind that was proposed. The term 'Godless school' was not in use in 1789, but the thing was as obnoxious then to the Bishop of Quebec as it is to his successor to-day.

No guarantees such as he considered to be essential for the protection of the faith of his flock were offered, and in consequence the first well-meant but badly conceived effort on the part of the government of the province to promote education passed away, leaving as a result only a few pages of history.

It would not be a full statement of the fact to declare that the opposition of Bishop Hubert was the sole cause of the inaction that succeeded the report. Future efforts and agitation for state aid to education were barren of results for another twelve years, when an act was passed, which was first put into operation after the lapse of another seventeen years.

In fact, the governments of the time have been charged with being indifferent to the education of the people of French-Canadian origin, and even with being antagonistic to any scheme of education that would apply to the whole population. This alleged attitude has been construed as

being particularly hostile to the French Canadians. Such a view is unjust. Well into the first half of the nineteenth century there was no general feeling in England that all the people should receive an education. The toilers of the land and sea should be moral and Christian, of course, but education would only serve the bad purpose of making them dissatisfied with the estate into which it had pleased Providence that they should be born. The upper classes needed the culture and the many other advantages of a classical education. It does not appear that these views were so pronounced in the old-country element of Canada as in England. Still, they existed in a modified form and they account in a large measure for the apathy that was shown by those to whom alone the people could look at that time for effective financial aid to education.

In 1793 the first English bishop, the Right Rev. Jacob Mountain, arrived in Quebec. He immediately began to concern himself with questions of national as well as with those of ecclesiastical import. In October 1799 he wrote in the following terms to the lieutenant-governor, Sir Robert Shore Milnes:

> I trust that I shall not be thought to deviate from the duties more particularly assigned to me if I presume to solicit Your Excellency's attention to the disadvantages under which the Province has laboured for the want of proper schools for the education of children both of higher and lower orders. . . . Let me be permitted to suggest, then, the danger which may result to the political principles and the future character, as subjects, of such of our young men, among the higher ranks, as the exigency of the case obliges their parents to send to the colleges of the United States, in which, most assuredly, they are not likely to imbibe that attachment to our Constitution, that veneration for the Government of their country, and that loyalty to the King, to which it is so peculiarly necessary to give all the advantages of early prediiection. . . . To obviate this danger it would be expedient to found at least one good Grammar School in this Province, and to invite from England able masters by the liberality of the endowment. . . .

In April 1800 a copy of the letter from which this extract is taken was sent to the Duke of Portland with a recommendation that the plan suggested by the bishop should be adopted, and that waste lands should be appropriated for the purpose of making a fund for the establishment of government schools.

Further correspondence followed until Lord Hobart, colonial secretary, informed Sir Robert Milnes in 1803 that His Majesty had 'been graciously pleased to consent that appropriations of land to the extent that may be necessary for the foundation and endowment of one Seminary to be established at Quebec, and of one Seminary at Montreal, should be made, and that the necessary measures may immediately be taken for carrying the plan into execution.'

Owing to the European wars at the time, the British ministers were too much occupied with their home affairs to give further thought to education in Canada, and owing, probably, to the dissensions in the province, the executive council did not reopen communication on the subject of public education until 1812.

War with the United States being almost immediately declared, the promise to establish a seminary in Quebec and one in Montreal was not made effective till 1816, and the agreement to appropriate lands for the endowment of these institutions was never fulfilled.

In order to make a convenient compromise between a chronological and a topical narrative it is best to leave the history of these two institutions, afterwards known as the Royal Grammar Schools, until we have dealt with the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, which in virtue of its charter exercised a supervision over them.

The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning

The first house of assembly that was ever convened in Lower Canada (1793) presented an address to the governor upon the subject of education. The crown was urged to relinquish its claim upon the forfeited estates of the Jesuits in favour of the legislature, which would devote the revenue

from them to the purposes of education. No reply came until the subject was similarly brought forward in 1801.

On this occasion the governor, in his reply to the address, used the following words :

> With great satisfaction I have to inform you that His Majesty from his paternal regard for the welfare and prosperity of his subjects in this colony, has been graciously pleased to give directions for the establishing of a competent number of free schools for the instruction of their children in the first rudiments of useful learning and in the English tongue, and also as occasion may require for foundations of a more enlarged and comprehensive nature, and His Majesty has been further pleased to signify his royal intention that a suitable proportion of the lands of the Crown should be set apart and the revenue thereof applied to such purposes.

Although this was an unsatisfactory reply to the petition for the Jesuits' estates, the promise of crown lands for educational endowment gave entire satisfaction. During the session of 1801, on the strength of this promise, an act was passed which brought into existence the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. The preamble recited again the royal intention to endow free schools and higher educational institutions with crown lands.

By this act the governor was empowered to appoint a board of trustees with corporate powers, a president and other officers. These were required to supervise all schools in the province and to administer all the property of the corporation. The governor was further empowered to erect free parish schools through the agency of two or more commissioners resident in the county where the school was to be.

The administrative machinery was very complicated. In short, the governor appointed commissioners, the commissioners chose sites, purchased them and conveyed them to the Royal Institution ; the commissioners required the churchwardens of the parish, or any two of them, to estimate the cost of the schoolhouse and apartments for teachers and to assess the inhabitants ; the churchwardens were to enforce payment of the assessments, and in case of default distress

warrants were to be issued and the goods of the defaulter were to be sold to the full satisfaction of his obligation. The schoolmasters were appointed under commission from the governor, who fixed their salaries and dismissed them or removed them at pleasure. This Royal Institution failed to meet the large expectations that its creation excited. In the first place, the act was inoperative until 1818. Notwithstanding the fact that the executive council conceded sixteen townships in 1803 for education, and that the king sanctioned the gift of twenty thousand acres to each of the Royal Grammar Schools to be established in Montreal and Quebec, no practical effect was given to the several definite official promises of land endowments, nor was any provision made for financial support. However, in the year 1818 the Royal Institution was duly organized under letters patent.

Eighteen trustees were nominated by the crown, of whom fourteen were Protestants, and of these Protestants three were officials in Upper Canada. The president was the Anglican bishop and the secretary was a teacher who was preparing to take, and did subsequently take, orders in the Anglican Church. Most of the masters appointed by the Institution came from England and could neither speak the French language nor readily adapt themselves to the ways of the country. And yet this was to be a provincial institution, supported by the people as a whole, and serving the French Roman Catholics as well as the English Protestants. How intelligent, educated men could be so unreasonable as to expect success under such management is understood only by those who know the political history and ambitions of the period preceding the troublous times of 1837. Certain it is that the confidence of the Roman Catholics was never given to the Institution. Monseigneur Plessis even went so far as to order his clergy to oppose the establishment of these schools in their parishes. The feeling of resentment on the part of the French Canadians can best be judged by a passage in Meilleur's *Mémorial de l'Éducation*. Looking back over a period of nearly forty years since he retired from political life to become a zealous and fair-minded superintendent of Education, Meilleur declares that the teachers were, in the

majority of cases, young clergymen, or young men intending to become such, in the Church of England, who practised school teaching as a means of subsistence or as a means of proselytism. The latter part of this charge is not susceptible of proof, but it represented the belief and the feelings of the French Canadians in regard to the objects of the government and the Royal Institution. The present writer has examined the original lists of teachers authorized by the Institution, and has compared them with the early clergy lists. The examination shows that it was only a minority that became members of the clergy, in this province at any rate. It must be remembered that seventy-five years ago and even much later, most of the English professional men who came from the farm or village had been teachers for a few terms—lawyers, doctors and notaries not less than clergymen—but in such cases no ulterior religious motives were likely to be imputed even by a sensitive population.

The charge of an attempt or a desire to proselytize cannot be supported against the Royal Institution, as its records and correspondence amply show. A letter written by the Rev. R. Q. Short of Three Rivers in 1822 showed his anxiety to secure the co-operation of the curé, whom he suspected of being unsympathetic and unwilling to act as school visitor. The trustees of the Institution, whose advice was sought, replied in a friendly way, their letter finishing with the philosophic observation that if the curé will not co-operate, Short must endeavour to do as well as he can without the curé's assistance. Moreover, one of the rules of the Institution declares that each school shall be 'under the immediate inspection of the Clergy of that Religion which is possessed by the inhabitants of the spot—or where the inhabitants are of a mixed description the clergy of each church shall have the superintendence over the children of their respective communions.'

While it must be insisted that the Royal Institution was correct in its attitude towards the religious convictions of the French Canadians, it must also be admitted that there was a well-known and a general belief on the part of the English that their language should and would be eventually adopted

by all. This gave offence to the French Roman Catholic element, which even then had at least a feeling that their language, their religion and their customs were inseparable. In consequence they had a threefold reason for suspicion, aloofness and hostility.

Another charge echoed by Meilleur is that young Anglican missionaries were sent as teachers into the French parishes where there were hardly ten Protestant families of British origin and not all of these Anglicans. The records of the Royal Institution show that there was ground for complaint in this respect, but, when it is remembered that these teachers were sent only on petition from the parents concerned, the reproach to the Institution becomes attenuated.

The records of the Institution disclose the fact that the class of masters left much to be desired. In one year, 1820, a master was dismissed from Point Levy for cause; one in Douglastown was admonished to be more diligent and circumspect; a third was dismissed for incompetence as shown by a letter 'shockingly written'; still another, in Eaton, was dismissed for having his school closed for a considerable time; and, finally, the master in New Carlisle was retired because he was too old to keep his school open in winter.

It is clear that it was quite impossible to expect co-operation on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy and people when so little was done to meet their conscientious scruples by supplying schools that they could accept.

It has been said that even if the Institution failed in its duty to the religious majority, yet it did much to diffuse education among the minority during its short life of activity.

Let us examine this side of the question. Operations were begun in 1818. Four years later a circular letter was sent to thirty-one schoolmasters, of whom twenty-three were English. Apparently there were then thirty-one schools under the control of the Institution. A list of all the masters authorized to teach at any time, by the Institution, contains only seventy-one names. Only eighty-four schools were ever conducted by it, and nearly all of these had disappeared before 1841. In 1838 it had thirty-seven schools in operation, very few of them in the Eastern Townships or in the other parts

of the province where there was a solid English population. It surely cannot be said that this indicates anything like creditable work. The fact is that the schools of royal foundation were never popular with the English people. Several attempts were made, as shown by the minutes of the board of trustees, to enforce the legal provision that all schoolhouses should, after being erected and paid for by the inhabitants, be vested in the Institution. In some cases much pressure had to be made in order to ensure compliance with this unpopular feature of the law. Moreover, schools could be established in any parish or township only on the petition of the majority of the inhabitants thereof, or on the request of a certain number of them who would bind themselves to pay for it. In many places where there were flourishing schools during the period from 1818 to 1840 the inhabitants preferred local ownership of property, voluntary contributions and local control to anything the Institution could offer under its act of incorporation. In fact, it had never enough money for expansion during its troubled existence as an active educational agency, and finally, after the school acts of 1841 and 1846 came into operation, it was left without resources.

General Story of Early English Education

It is now necessary to retrace our steps in order to pick up the threads of the tangled story of English education in the early days apart from the Royal Institution. Until 1846 there was no permanent general system of education, and no uniformity of progress among the English who were scattered throughout the province. Brief regional treatment is therefore necessary.

In the year 1792 Lower Canada was subdivided into districts, counties and townships, and surveys were begun in what is now called the Eastern Townships. These surveys were pretty well completed by the end of the century, and the lands were thrown open to settlers. Up to this time an unbroken forest covered the whole of the territory now occupied by prosperous farmers or by no less prosperous dwellers in beautiful towns and villages. But when it became

known that large grants of land would be made by the crown to settlers, a movement set in from Vermont and New Hampshire, where the soil was inferior. In an appendix to Lord Durham's Report the assistant commissioners of municipal inquiry say: 'The bulk of the population of the townships is composed of old American loyalists and more recent settlers from the United States; the remainder are emigrants from Britain.' Popular histories have constantly repeated the error contained in the first phrase just quoted, until, apparently, every one but natives of the Townships has accepted the fable. It is often said, even to-day, that the early settlers of the Eastern Townships were United Empire Loyalists who, harassed at home, desired to leave uncongenial surroundings to find again an abiding-place under the crown. This is true only to a very limited extent. They were, for the most part, plain New England men who had fought the British, yet had no prejudice against British land grants. They were a stern and hardy race of men who brought character as well as brain and sinew into their new country. Of the old Puritan stock, they were animated by high ideals in regard to education and had been trained to self-government. They left fairly good schools behind them, and coming into the forest they adhered to the principles so well illustrated by the Massachusetts law of 1647, which in quaint language ordered that every township 'after the Lord has increased them to the number of fifty householders' should provide a schoolmaster 'to teach all such children as resort to him to write and read,' and the wages of the schoolmaster were to be paid by the parents and masters of the children 'or by the inhabitants in generai, by way of supply, as a major part of those who order the prudentials of the town shall appoint.' The same law provides for grammar schools, to fit pupils for the university, in townships having one hundred families or householders.

Beginning about the year 1793, these people penetrated into Canada, forming small settlements in the present counties of Stanstead, Brome, Shefford, Compton and Richmond. This immigration continued for some twenty-five years, when it became irregular and finally ceased.

An outstanding feature of the struggles of these men to

hew out homes for themselves was the sacrifice they made for education. Probably few of them could have given economic reasons for the faith that was in them, but they undoubtedly had the conviction that education was a necessity of life. It is significant, too, that the school preceded the church—in fact that the schoolhouse was the meeting-place for worship long before any church building was erected.

Between 1793 and the close of the century small settlements were made at Stanstead Plain, Rock Island, Barnston, East Hatley, Bolton, Potton, Brome Corners and a few other places. It is difficult to get the dates upon which individual schools were first opened, yet it is known that in 1800 Stanstead and Hatley had three or four schools each, Barnston one or two, and the other places had their schoolhouses as soon as fifteen or twenty children could be brought together. Shipton had its first schoolhouse in 1807, Sutton in 1808, Shefford in 1812, but even before these dates it is likely that some education was provided. It is certain that in the smaller settlements teachers occupied rooms of the rude dwellings in which to hold their classes, and frequently passed from one house to another that the inconvenience they caused should be equitably distributed. In many instances where schools were distant, the mothers taught their younger children the alphabet and reading. During the summer months they were sometimes taught on a barn floor, and in one case in the loft of a brewery. As the settlements increased in population the log schoolhouse or, less frequently, the stone schoolhouse was built. The procedure was simple. Some leading man would convene a meeting of his neighbours, who would choose a site for a schoolhouse, subscribe to the cost of it in money or labour, and proceed to construct it. It is strange that so few difficulties arose. The general opinion prevailed. Every man knew that among so few any obstinate opposition would be fatal to the project that was so valued by all.

The school was organized and carried on with equal simplicity. Some one was asked to find a teacher, to whom the customary salary, varying from five to nine dollars a month,

would be paid. The teacher had the privilege of free board under a system of 'boarding around,' which continued as a custom in the rural parts of the Eastern Townships until about the year 1885. By this system the teacher received board and lodging from the various parents in proportion to the number of children in each family. Fuel was provided for the school by the parents in turn upon the same principle. The interior of the schoolhouse was rude and comfortless. Seats were at first made of hewn logs and had neither desk nor back. Pupils learned to write by going in turn to a rough table. Of what we call school equipment there was none. The qualifications of the teachers were not tested in any way, but they were judged by common sense and reputation. If the teacher stood the supreme test of the classroom, well and good; if he did not, the place was given to another. The course of study was simple; until higher schools were provided it consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic. The school year was divided into two terms of four months each. The teacher of the summer school was usually a young woman, who, being engaged for only one term, gave place to a male teacher, who was considered necessary for the winter term, when the young men were free to attend. The attendance was always large, generally fifty or more, and the school age was limited only by the wishes of the pupil and his parents. In consequence, there were not infrequently scenes of disorder and violence from which the male teacher emerged either victorious or ready to resign his charge.

Undoubtedly much can be explained by saying that the country had the roughness characteristic of pioneer days everywhere, and that the young men displayed it in the school as their elders did in the ordinary relations of life. But this does not fairly represent the case. All the teachers were untrained, nearly all were inexperienced, and in consequence of their own limited education they were frequently unable to keep in advance of the brightest pupils. This all made for inefficiency and disorder.

Moreover, the 'district' school was ungraded and the attendance was large. The ages of pupils not infrequently

ranged from six to twenty years in the same school. The present writer remembers a village elementary school, presided over by one female teacher, which forty-five years ago was attended by several young men twenty years of age or more, along with thirty or forty younger pupils. Under such circumstances it was only a strong personality that could control the pupils and teach effectively.

It would appear that the schools increased with the population and that they were within reach of nearly all the children from the date of the first settlements. Stanstead and Shefford Counties may be used as perhaps the most favourable illustrations. In 1821 the former had an estimated population of 8272 and the latter 4467. They had respectively thirty-two and seventeen schools, which would give one school for every fifty pupils.

Until the year 1829 the only schools of a higher grade in the Eastern Townships were kept by clergymen who took a few pupils for private tuition in the higher branches of learning. In this year an elementary school act was passed under which an impetus was given to education throughout the province. It provided a grant of eighty dollars a year for three years to each school teacher, not under control of the Royal Institution, who taught not less than twenty pupils. An additional payment of two dollars per pupil was to be made for a limited number of free pupils. This act was general in its application; that is, it assumed the common school principle, and notwithstanding the previous difficulty of getting the Roman Catholics and the Protestants to work together in educational matters, it made no provision for separation. However, as the two populations were pretty well segregated everywhere except in the cities of Quebec and Montreal, that was not a very serious matter. Five trustees were to be elected by the landowners of each parish, section or township to control the school and to receive and account for public moneys. Assistance was offered towards the erection of schoolhouses, two hundred dollars being the maximum grant for this purpose.

The relief afforded by this act of 1829 to those who were voluntarily supporting their schools without government

assistance determined the inhabitants of two places not far distant to undertake the erection of schoolhouses for higher education. The honour of priority can be given neither to Stanstead nor to East Hatley. In the same year Stanstead Seminary and Charleston Academy[1] (Hatley) were erected at a cost of $3200 and $3000 respectively. The land for the site of Stanstead Seminary was given by J. Langdon of Montpelier, Vermont, and William Grannis of Stanstead. The cost of the building was provided by private subscription, under the form of the purchase of shares. In 1830 a grant of $800 was made by the provincial legislature towards the maintenance of the institution, which was reduced later to $400 per annum. Charleston Academy was founded under similar circumstances and received equal government aid. The Stanstead people proposed that for five years their seminary should receive only young women if the Charleston Academy would be restricted to the education of young men during the same period. This proposal, although it would have inured to the material advantage of both institutions, and more particularly to that of Charleston, was not accepted. For many years these two institutions were practically the only classical schools in the Eastern Townships, and enjoyed a high reputation. In them were educated many young men who afterwards in their professions and in politics were the leaders of English thought in the province.

The early teachers in these schools were a superior class of men, many being graduates of Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, or of the University of Vermont. Although the prestige of these schools drew students from all parts of the Eastern Townships, and even from Northern Vermont, they did not have the field entirely to themselves. Small classical schools of a semi-private nature existed in many centres but passed away with the removal of their founders, leaving no record of their existence behind them.

[1] The term 'seminary' and the word 'academy,' the latter of which is still in common and legal use in the province, were both borrowed from the New England States, and conveyed the same meaning as the words 'high school' or 'collegiate institute' now convey in the other provinces of Canada.

The early Anglican bishops saw that it was necessary for many reasons to train native Canadians for missionary and clerical work instead of relying continuously and entirely on the homeland. The difficulty in the way of training suitable young men was of a twofold character. It was that of providing both secular and theological education at a time when there was no university, no divinity school, and no classical school other than the two just mentioned and the grammar schools and private schools of Quebec and Montreal. The bishop therefore hit upon the plan of bringing from England and Ireland a few young men who had distinguished themselves in their universities and who seemed qualified for the work of teaching. Parishes were assigned to them, and candidates for holy orders were directed to read under their supervision. Inasmuch as it was necessary to teach these readers, always few in number, the clergymen conceived the idea of receiving other young men into their secular classes for a reasonable consideration. This they could do without materially increasing their work or encroaching upon their time. In this way Shefford Academy[1] was founded by the Rev. Andrew Balfour in 1838, and from that date it seems to have had an uninterrupted existence. A similar school was carried on in Three Rivers by the Rev. S. S. Wood for some years. In fact, it was the first intention of the Bishop of Quebec to make Three Rivers the seat of a theological college when in 184[illegible] three students were entrusted to Wood by the bishop for education and training. The mistake of planting an Anglican theological college in a distinctly Roman Catholic and French centre was so plain that in 1843 the school was transferred to Lennoxville, where it became the nucleus of Bishop's College. Other schools of this character, as well as schools organized by local clergymen as private or as church schools, had a brief, uncertain, but useful existence in various parts of the province.

Although the Eastern Townships furnish a good example of educational zeal under the repressing influence of pioneer

[1] In early reports 1834 is given as the date of the foundation of this institution. This date may be correct, but the writer has failed to verify it. Balfour certainly was not master until 1838.

life, other parts of the province were working out their problems at the same time and under somewhat similar conditions. Let us now turn to that part of the province which lies at the west of the Richelieu River on the New York border, to Argenteuil County on the Ottawa, and to what are now the counties of Ottawa and Pontiac. What is now Huntingdon County was settled by English-speaking people even earlier than the Eastern Townships. The first settlers were a few United Empire Loyalists and a few stragglers from the stream of migration that set in at the close of the eighteenth century from the New England States towards the richer lands as far west as the Genesee valley. These were followed by old-country immigrants in such numbers before 1820 as to give to the Huntingdon district the character that it has maintained to the present day. The English-speaking people of this district, which includes parts of Beauharnois and Chateauguay Counties, differ even now from the Eastern Townships people in speech and manner, their Scottish and Irish characteristics being predominant. The early schools in these counties, unlike those in the Eastern Townships, were invariably taught by a master. In fact, for the first quarter of the nineteenth century the propriety or the possibility of engaging women as teachers seems never to have occurred to these people. Much that has been said of the schools in the Eastern Townships can be said of those now under consideration. For many years the schools of these counties have been inferior to none in the province and superior to most, but in the early years they were in a sad condition, not only on account of the wretched accommodation the schoolhouses afforded, but because of the character of the masters. Sellar, in his *History of Huntingdon, Chateaugay and Beauharnois*, a valuable contribution to the early history of the province, gives a vivid picture of the institutions in the following words:

> The schools of these early days were uniformly bad. When a man was too lazy or too weak to wield an axe, he took to teaching without the slightest regard to his qualifications for the position. Men who could not read words of many syllables and whose writing was atrocious,

> were installed as masters of schools. Worse than their ignorance were the bad habits that characterized the majority, for drunkenness was common, and a teacher seen without a quid of tobacco in his mouth or smoking while setting a copy was exceptional.

In the same graphic fashion Sellar continues his description of the teacher, of the meagre course of study, of the lack of text-books, of the cold log schoolhouses and of the long weary tramp of the pupils through snow and mud to the district school.

The front part of Argenteuil County was settled principally by Scottish people, although these had been preceded by some United States immigrants before the beginning of the nineteenth century, while Hull Township was settled by one Philemon Wright, who with nine others came from Massachusetts to take up the land for which he received a patent in 1806.

Here, too, schools preceded churches, but were used for religious services. Philemon Wright testified before a committee of the house of assembly in 1821 that there were three schools in Hull, with an attendance of one hundred and fifty pupils, who were taught reading, writing and arithmetic. The cities of Quebec and Montreal and the Gaspe coast were the only other places in the province having any considerable English population before the year 1841.

In the two cities, private schools of various grades supplied all the demands made upon them for accommodation. In Quebec a good classical school was established about the year 1804 by the Rev. Daniel Wilkie, a Scottish schoolmaster of much ability, and other similar schools contemporaneous with his were kept by masters of good repute in Quebec and Montreal.

The two Royal Grammar Schools of Montreal and Quebec were opened in 1816 and came under the control of the Royal Institution two years later. The British government appointed the Rev. Mr Burrage and Dr Skakel as masters in Quebec and Montreal respectively, and paid them out of funds derived from the Jesuits' estates. These schools were carried on without a change until 1839, when

the governor-general, Lord Sydenham, suspended the Quebec school and assigned a pension to Burrage.

The school in Montreal continued under Dr Skakel until his death in 1846. A year or two previous to this the High School of Montreal had been established by public-spirited citizens. It was housed in a commodious building, had ample playgrounds and boasted a staff of six masters. The directors of the High School petitioned the government for the grants that had been previously given to the Royal Grammar School or rather to its master, Dr Skakel. After consideration, the government concluded that 'the object sought by the Government thirty years ago in establishing a Grammar School in Montreal, may be most satisfactorily effected by conferring the appointment of Master of the Grammar School upon the Head Master of the High School.' Accordingly the Royal Grammar School, hitherto under the tuition of one master, whose class was held in an inconvenient schoolroom without the advantage of playgrounds, disappeared as a separate institution and became one with the High School, whose 'headmaster for the time being' became the master of the Grammar School. Later in the same year (1846) a petition of the directors of the High School of Quebec, which came into existence in 1843, was similarly dealt with. In both cases the high schools were obliged to educate not less than twenty free pupils yearly and to report to the government semi-annually. The grant which had been made almost continuously since 1832 by the government in lieu of payment on the Jesuits' estates funds was continued, that of Quebec being reduced for some years by £100, which was paid to Burrage as a pension. To the present day the sum of $2470 is voted annually by the legislature as a continuation of the original salaries of Burrage and Skakel, and is paid for the education of the free scholars that are appointed by the lieutenant-governor of the province, while the rectors of the High Schools of Quebec and Montreal are, in virtue of orders-in-council passed in 1846, masters of the Royal Grammar Schools.

Reference will be made later to these high schools, but it seems best to pass the chronological limits of this part of

the history of English education in order to connect the old institutions with the more recent.

In Montreal as well as in Quebec private schools were carried on, some of them having a good reputation and others an indifferent one. In both cities schools were organized by voluntary associations such as those known as the British and Colonial Church Schools, British and Canadian Schools, and National Schools. These were largely attended and efficiently conducted. In fact, Mr Mills, the secretary of the Royal Institution, advised in 1824, when giving evidence before a legislative committee, that 'each master, certainly for a parish that is English or principally so, should be obliged before he goes to his destination to attend at the National School at Quebec as long as is necessary for him to gain a correct idea of the system of education pursued there, and that he be directed to practise it so far as he is able in his own school.'

Space will not permit a further description or discussion of the various temporary acts that were passed or bills that were introduced in the legislature before the act of 1841. They were generally tentative, ineffective, and are of no interest except as they show the growth and development of the ideas that found expression in later years. But it seems necessary to express a definite opinion as to the state of English education, say in 1838, when the famous Report of Lord Durham was made, along with the more extensive and gloomy Report of Arthur Buller, brother of Charles Buller, on the state of education. What has already been written leads to conclusions that are somewhat at variance with the general tenor of the views expressed in both reports.

Lord Durham, after describing the 'general ignorance of the people,' by which he meant the general ignorance of the French Canadians, says: 'It only remains that I should add, that though the adults that had come from the Old Country are generally more or less educated, the English are hardly better off than the French for the means of education for their children, and indeed possess scarcely any, except in the cities.' Buller says: 'Go where you will, nevertheless, you will scarcely find a trace of education amongst the peasantry.' Many quotations might be given to show that

Lord Durham and Buller both believed French elementary education to be worthless except in the cities, and even in these 'many of the masters and mistresses are incompetent.' They admitted 'a singular abundance of a somewhat defective education which exists for the higher classes and which is solely in the hands of the Catholic priesthood.'

Undoubtedly the facilities for higher education, which were entirely due to the zeal and devotion of the Roman Catholic Church and which had been amply provided from the earliest days of the colony, were far superior to those within the reach of the Protestant population until long after the period which ends with the year 1841. Yet on the other hand the diffusion of elementary education among the English-speaking population was far wider than would be gathered from the quotations just made. It would take the writer far beyond his proper limits were he to consider the justice of the views held by Lord Durham and Buller in regard to education among the French Canadians, but no controversial point should be raised by the statement that the English-speaking population had through its own exertions provided an elementary education which was far more widely diffused and efficient than that ascribed to the French people, the peasantry in particular, in the brilliant but uneven and unpractical reports just cited. It is regrettable that the Report of Buller was made upon insufficient evidence as to fact. He set out to make extensive inquiries by means of circular letters, but receiving only a few replies, he relied chiefly for his facts upon the evidence he gathered from official documents and from people whom he was able to interview in the cities, or in their vicinity. In fact, he plainly states that he was unable for lack of time to carry out his intention of visiting the rural districts of the province.

Comparisons between the French and the English in their attitude towards education cannot be made in terms of blame or praise. On the one hand, there was a people who for over a century and a half had been neglected, exploited, and finally abandoned in time of distress by the mother country and left to the tender mercy of an aggressive race, different in

language, religion, customs and form of government. Until an adjustment could be made to new conditions, and until an understanding, if not a feeling of sympathy, could be established, educational progress was not to be expected without the impetus that should have come, but did not come, from a liberal and enlightened policy of state aid and direction. On the other hand, the English-speaking population had a different history behind it. The settlers from the United States came to Canada with a good education, considering their condition in life, and a great enthusiasm for learning. The Scottish people had passed through their parish schools at any rate, and were inferior to the United States element neither in education nor in their desire to have schools for their children. The English and the Irish brought their share of the advantages of education, and the latter, even when Roman Catholic in faith, united at this time with the Protestants, because of their language, and made the most of whatever school facilities their new country offered.

It is the writer's conviction, based upon original documents, upon reports, evidence given before legislative committees, interviews with old inhabitants, contemporaneous literature and letters, that from the earliest times the charge of illiteracy could not be laid against any considerable part of the adult English-speaking population of the Province of Quebec. An estimate of the percentage of illiteracy would be rash, and a denial of its existence under the trying conditions of pioneer life would be worse. Yet justice demands the explanation that by 'illiteracy' is here meant the inability to read and write. The education given in the English ungraded rural schools, as judged by the standards of to-day, was poor, while that provided in the many English proprietary schools of Quebec and Montreal was not much better. Judged by the standards of a cultured man like Lord Durham, it would in both cases deserve severe censure. The strictures made by Buller upon the inadequacy of schools for higher, classical or commercial education, both as to their quality and as to their number, were quite justified. There was in fact nothing in the province like university education or professional training for the English-speaking

student except that provided in McGill College by its only faculty, that of medicine.

Few could afford to send their sons to England, but, notwithstanding the frequently expressed fear that young men would imbibe republican principles in the universities and colleges of the United States, many felt obliged to take the risk involved in sending them across the border for the sake of advantages that were denied them at home.

While, therefore, education was widely diffused among the English-speaking population, the average of attainment was low. Yet evidence is not wanting of considerable intellectual activity at this time. The attention of the people was not distracted by many subjects or rendered desultory by the reading of column after column of trivialities gathered daily from the four corners of the earth. Consequently what they read they remembered and discussed. Newspapers with a high standard of literary and educational excellence were established. The principal among these were the Quebec *Gazette*, founded in 1764, being the second newspaper in Canada, the Montreal *Gazette*, which was established in 1785, the Quebec *Mercury*, which first appeared in 1805, the Montreal *Herald* in 1811, the *British Colonist*, Stanstead, in 1823, the *Farmers' and Mechanics' Journal*, afterwards the Sherbrooke *Gazette*, in 1833. Other periodicals published before this last date were the Quebec *Star*, the *New Montreal Gazette*, the *Canadian Spectator*, the *Christian Sentinel* and the *Canadian Miscellany*, the last four being published in Montreal.

Libraries were established in several places. In fact, the books of any neighbourhood in the rural parts formed a small circulating library. Although they were subject to individual ownership, they passed freely from hand to hand and were eagerly read.

Of libraries in the proper sense the first was established in Quebec in the year 1785, and existed for many years. It was followed in 1824 by that of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, which has had an uninterrupted existence to the present day both as a society and as a library. The early transactions of this society, which is chiefly but not

exclusively English, are highly creditable to the scholarship and learning of the members. The papers and addresses delivered before it from time to time in the earlier days are equal in every way to those of more recent years and were more widely appreciated. In 1829 the Montreal Library, founded in 1797, and the Eclectic Library of the same place, were in existence. The Advocates' Library, naturally, was professional and not exclusively English, although it is significant that the list of officers in 1829 contained only one French name in six. This library was established in Montreal in 1828.

Perhaps the most interesting library, because the most significant, is one which was founded in 1815 in the wilderness at Shipton. Some thirty-five men scattered through six townships formed an association for the establishment of a library called, in honour of the late governor-in-chief of Canada, Craig's Union Library. The members were settlers from the United States, as their names show, twelve being original grantees. The act of association was made by a notary in good legal phraseology and in a neat hand. Twenty of the signatures that are found in the records are such as would indicate a careful training in penmanship. Only about one hundred and fifty books were purchased at first, but they were of a substantial and serious character, as a few of the titles will prove—*Works of Josephus*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, Cook's *Voyages*, *Sorrows of Werther*, Wilson's *Sermons*, *Life of Washington*, *Awful Beacon*, Buffon's *Natural History*, *Life of Wallace*, and the *Spectator*.

The Educational System

The educational system as it is to-day originated in the inexperiences and discussions that followed the ineffectual attempts from 1801 to 1841 to provide education for all the people. That experience had not been happy. The two Royal Grammar Schools were inadequate to the needs even of the two cities in which they were situated. The schools under the Royal Institution had been few, unpopular and inefficient. The act of 1829, amended and continued in

1832, expired in 1836 by its own provisions. As to the voluntary attempts in city and country to educate the youth, we have already seen how unsuccessful they were.

The state aid afforded by the acts of 1829 and 1832 gave an impulse to education in some places, while it became merely a substitute for, instead of an addition to, voluntary local effort in others. This fact was noticed and deplored in a report of the legislative committee on Education in 1831, which declared 'that they cannot but regret that they have had evidence that in several instances too much dependence has been placed on legislative aids, and in some cases to a degree which seems to have had the effect of relaxing the exertions which were formerly made,' and in 1836 the same committee went even further and said that 'the liberality of the legislature, far from having stimulated the efforts of the members of the institutions connected with education, appears on the contrary to have paralyzed them.' Of similar significance are the following extracts from the report of 1831: 'Your committee cannot too strongly impress upon the House the mischiefs which would result from such a dependence [on legislative grants], and placing the public money in the hands of societies or individuals practically liable to no sufficient responsibility, or regular or strict accountability, unless they at the same time have to apply a considerable portion of their own money along with that of the public. . . . To draw the money from the people by taxes, to be restored to them for these purposes, after undergoing all the diminution of the expenses of collection, management and waste, would soon impoverish them without effecting the object in view'; and in the following year the committee 'cannot conceive that it will ever be expedient to draw money from the industry of the people, by an expensive process, to be returned to them in greatly diminished amount, for objects for which they can apply it more certainly, more equitably, and with greater economy, under their own immediate control'; and still again in 1834 the committee hopes 'that the time is not far distant when the whole country will be persuaded that it is much better to trust to themselves for the discharge of the duty of affording

useful instruction to their offspring, rather than depend upon legislative appropriations.'

These are only a few striking quotations from among many that might be made from the various reports of the committee of Education to show that even the members of the legislature were really averse to placing education under central control. They had enjoyed complete control over the distribution of moneys voted for education and had not been obliged to render an account for them. In fact, they had in general exercised in an unworthy manner the great powers committed to them, and had made education a means of political corruption. All this gave a trend towards decentralization and towards local self-control and self-support. Before the experiences following the act of 1829, the sentiment of the public generally was not distinctly in favour of state aid to education. This may be seen in the current literature of the time. The Rev. Mr Burrage, master of the Royal Grammar School in Quebec, when giving evidence before a commission of Education in 1823, illustrated the general feeling of doubt as to the efficiency of government assistance. After pointing out what grave difficulties the English people of the Townships had to endure in order to educate their children, and after declaring that they could spare but little for the education of them, he admits that the 'anxiety which the Eastern Townships people express for education, and the sacrifices they make to procure it for their children are among the most marked characteristics of that population.' Arriving at this point, he says with the reserve so characteristic of the official mind, 'Under these circumstances, the legislature perhaps might extend them some relief, but of that it must be left alone to their wisdom to decide.'

However, the conviction that something must be done had become general among all leaders of thought. The Report of Lord Durham and that of Buller had their good effect. Indeed, some of the suggestions for the organization of a system given at the end of the Report of the latter were admirable, and were afterwards adopted. In the years 1840 and 1841 a series of letters was printed and widely circulated. These letters did much not only to stimulate

thought and discussion but to point the way for legislative action. The author was Charles Mondelet, afterwards a judge. It is significant that, although a Frenchman, he wrote his letters in English and had them translated. They were thus circulated among both populations. His suggestions and those of Buller show that they had studied many systems of education among democratic peoples, and that they were most impressed by the system of the State of New York. This system served as a model, which was followed with some deviations.

In 1841, after the union of the two provinces, the united legislature passed an important educational act. It was a great advance on what had already been done, and deserves to be called the beginning of the educational system in the province. That distinction is generally given, however, to the act of 1846, which corrected the serious mistakes of the original, became operative, and laid the foundation for the system as it is to-day. In fact, all the main features of that act are still retained, although the progress of time and the teachings of experience have brought many amendments that have made for better administration, and for the removal of causes of friction between the two populations.

The first act, that of 1841, needs to be considered only in regard to the elements that made for failure. At this time there was no municipal organization, but it was supplied in 1841 by a concurrent act. The municipal councillors were under this act appointed by the crown, and to them was given the power of taxation both for municipal and school purposes. School boards were elective, but their powers were limited and their members were little more than school visitors. Thus when the power of taxation for school purposes was placed in the hands of a body irresponsible to the people, and at a time when taxation for any purpose was unpopular and the democratic principles of local self-government were strongly held, nothing but failure could be expected. Dr Meilleur, the first superintendent of Education of the province, who had done much in the legislature in previous years for the promotion of education, laboured enthusi-

astically and incessantly amidst discouragement from all sides without being able to accomplish much beyond keeping the question under constant discussion in the press and among the people until the passage of the act of 1846.

The province was now divided into school municipalities, each township, city or town being a unit for educational administration. The qualified voters in each were required to elect a board of five school commissioners in the month of July, and it was the duty of this board to divide the municipality into a convenient number of school districts, to provide a schoolhouse and a teacher for each, to levy upon real estate a sufficient sum to meet the necessary expenses, and generally to manage the interior economy and the finances of their schools. It was provided, however, that they should in each case levy at least as large a sum in taxes as that granted by the government.

The principle of compulsion was a feature of this act. The ratepayers were required to elect their school commissioners. Should they fail to do so, the lieutenant-governor in council would, through the superintendent, appoint them. They had to levy taxes, to provide schools, and to enforce payment of school fees. Whether elected or appointed, any person who refused or neglected to perform his duties as school commissioner was liable to a fine for each offence. The people had to pay their taxes or be haled before the courts; fees had to be paid for all children of school age whether they attended or not.

A superintendent of Education for the province, already appointed, was continued in office and his duties were defined. Boards of examiners were provided for, to which teachers had to apply for certificates of qualification. This was all in striking and happy contrast to the previous attempts to establish a system of education.

This brief statement of the chief features of the act would be incomplete without a reference to the provision that was made for the protection of the religious convictions and scruples that had heretofore stood in the way of united educational endeavour in the province.

This school law of 1846 is based upon, or at any rate

tacitly accepts, the common school principle, a most admirable and most patriotic one when applied to a people having the same religion, or no religion at all, but absolutely impracticable with such fundamental differences as prevail in Quebec. Inasmuch as the French were Roman Catholics and the English were practically all Protestants, a separation on the lines of either language or religion followed the same course. The legislature in 1846 assumed the common school principle very distinctly by enacting that the commissioners might be of either religious faith; at the same time provision was made for special cases in an article that may be summarized as follows: when in any municipality the regulations and arrangements made by the commissioners in the conduct of any school shall not be agreeable to any number whatever of the inhabitants professing a faith different from that of the majority of the inhabitants of such municipality, these persons so dissentient may collectively withdraw from the control of the school commissioners and elect three trustees, who shall provide schools for their children, have their share of school property, their proper proportion of government grants, receive from the commissioners the taxes levied upon the dissentients, and in other respects have the same powers and duties in regard to their own adherents as the school commissioners have in regard to theirs. This is not a provision to allow Protestants to establish separate schools, but to allow the religious minority in any municipality to do so. However, inasmuch as the Protestants are and always have been a minority in the province as a whole, they have become dissentient more frequently than the Roman Catholics.

From this clear recognition of the necessity, in the interests both of harmony and of efficiency, to give the right of separate action, the freedom of control has gradually extended until the Protestant population finds itself in an enviable position in this regard.

Although the British North America Act guaranteed only what the minority had in 1867, yet its rights and privileges have grown more since that date than previously. An appeal to the sense of justice and fair play of the majority has pro-

duced results which merit praise. The reader will have a clearer idea of the position which the Protestants occupy educationally before the law if the various extensions of their rights since 1846 are enumerated here than he could secure if the different points were taken up separately as they occurred during the past sixty-seven years. Amendments and additions to the school law of 1846 have resulted in giving the following advantages to the Protestants:

(1) When dissentient they determine their own rate of taxation, collect their taxes, divide their municipality into districts, and generally are independent of the commissioners except in the levying of taxes on incorporated companies, but of these taxes they receive a share in proportion to school attendance. Through their board of trustees they have absolute control of their schools under regulations made by an independent provincial board of education called the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction.

(2) This committee makes rules regarding the organization of Protestant schools, prescribes text-books and courses of study, determines under what conditions certificates may be given to Protestant teachers, makes rules for the government of the Protestant Normal School, prescribes the duties of school inspectors, and recommends the distribution of certain legislative appropriations. In short, it acts as a minor legislative body, and as such deals for Protestants with all educational questions not determined by the legislature. In 1859 there was formed a Council of Public Instruction in which there were eleven Roman Catholics and four Protestants. Ten years later this council was organized as two committees, but the action of each had to be approved by the whole council. In 1875 each committee received the right of independent action and was given a much wider scope.

(3) The lieutenant-governor in council may now establish school municipalities, or alter their limits for Protestants only or for Roman Catholics only, so that the minority is not affected by changes in the limits of school municipalities unless it wishes to be.

(4) A school for the professional training of Protestant

teachers established in 1857 is controlled by the regulations of the Protestant committee.

(5) The secretary and the assistant secretary of the department of Public Instruction were made deputy ministers under the Civil Service Act of 1868, and in 1875 the law provided for the appointment of two secretaries, both deputy ministers. Until this time the assistant secretary was an English Protestant and was subordinate to the French secretary, but since then he has had independent rights in the administration of the department that are a guarantee to the Protestant minority that could not be given if he occupied an inferior position.

(6) The Protestant schools are under the supervision of a staff of Protestant inspectors who can be appointed only after receiving a certificate of qualification from the Protestant committee.

(7) An educational journal is distributed free to all the Protestant schools of the province and to all the Protestant secretaries of the school boards.

(8) There is a Protestant Central Board of Examiners for determining whether the qualification of any teacher is sufficient to warrant the issue of a diploma. This board, and the superintendent of Public Instruction on the recommendation of the principal of the Protestant School for Teachers, have the exclusive right to give certificates valid in Protestant schools.

It will be seen from this summary of privileges given to religious minorities by the act of 1846 and subsequently, that the Protestants have schools which are state schools, and still are separate in management from those of the majority.

The Protestants themselves were in 1846, as now, made up of three main bodies, the Anglicans, the Presbyterians and the Methodists, while the Baptists, the Congregationalists and a few other denominations completed the number. Yet for the purpose of education they were treated as one body, and the word Protestant included all except Roman Catholics. While logically any Protestant body might claim the right to have schools of its own in which its own

religious tenets should be inculcated and in which there should be its peculiar atmosphere, the law recognized no such right. Moreover, no serious plea was ever put forth for the legal establishment of church schools as part of the Protestant school system.

Although this act of 1846 gave the people everywhere the right to establish schools and to support them by taxation, full advantage was not taken of that right. Taxation was unpopular, and especially among the Irish, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, it was obnoxious. Some of them declared that they had left Ireland to escape it, and they did not intend to submit to it in Canada. In many townships school commissioners were not elected, while the old schools continued to be supported by voluntary contributions.

Although there was machinery for appointing school boards and compelling them to levy a tax, it was not practically possible to exercise compulsion at first. After three years an effort was made to meet such cases by a means that would establish an organized body for the control of schools and at the same time make a concession to those who professed a willingness to support schools while objecting to taxation. Accordingly in 1849 an act was passed which provided that in any school municipality in which a rate of taxation had been declared, it would be lawful for any one of those who had been assessed to pay into the hands of the secretary-treasurer of the school board in the month of July as a voluntary contribution a sum of money to equal that granted from the government school fund for that year to the municipality concerned. This having been done, and the fact having been attested under oath and communicated to the superintendent, the municipality was relieved from taxation for that year. In virtue of this act school boards were elected where they could not have been elected before, and voluntary contributions continued for a few years. After some ten years, practically all boards operating under this law had succeeded in imposing taxes, which they promptly did whenever ratepayers defaulted in the tender of the voluntary contribution at the proper time. Although the advantages of the system of taxation became apparent

to all, this law, long obsolete in practice, disappeared from the statutes only in the year 1899.

The good effect of a practicable, even if an imperfect system of state schools was quickly seen after the passage of the act of 1846 in the establishment of academies among the English population. The High Schools of Quebec and Montreal were already in existence, as were academies in Stanstead, Hatley, Shefford, Clarenceville and Lennoxville, but within a decade these were followed by similar institutions in Barnston, Clarendon, Cassville, Compton, Cookshire, Coaticook, Danville, Dunham, Philipsburg, Sherbrooke, Stanbridge, Sorel, Sutton, Richmond and Lachute. Cowansville, Melbourne and Waterloo had at the same time academies for girls. These schools, with a few church schools, were scattered through the province, and served not only their own localities, but the smaller places as well.

It is worthy of notice that this surprising activity in the erection of good buildings for higher education, especially in the fifties, and the engagement of good teachers, was not altogether the result of legislative action. In fact, nearly all these institutions owed their origin to private initiative outside the membership of the school boards. A few, like St Francis College (Richmond) and Lachute College, were controlled by duly incorporated boards of trustees, but in most instances it was a committee of citizens that subscribed to the cost and launched the enterprise at no small sacrifice of their time and means. At first the annual cost of maintenance came from a government grant, from contributions made by the citizens, and from the tuition fees of the pupils, this last being the main source of income. One by one these institutions passed under control of the school boards, and with taxation behind them their permanency was ensured.

It was in these academies that the rural teachers were prepared, that young men were educated to the point of entering the learned professions, and that farmers' sons completed their education. These schools were not organized as now from the elementary grades up. They received only such pupils as had received a good elementary education. In consequence, the classes were made up of pupils whose ages

would probably run from fourteen to twenty years. Taking one year, 1864, as a test, it is found that almost exactly half of the pupils attending the Protestant academies were over sixteen years of age. The principals of all but the girls' academies were men, many of those whose names are still gratefully remembered having been born and educated in the United States.

As might have been expected, education under such teachers failed entirely to inspire a feeling of loyalty to British institutions. They were certainly not republican propagandists, but their bias in matters of history and the use of American text-books in nearly all subjects had, negatively at any rate, a bad effect upon their pupils.

City Schools after 1846

Although an impulse was given to rural education in all its branches by the enactments of 1846, the cities of Montreal and Quebec were not well treated. Whereas they possessed 'educational institutions which do not and cannot exist in the country parts,' it was enacted that Montreal should be entitled to receive out of the common school fund only one-fourth and Quebec only two-thirds of the sums to which they would have been entitled according to their population. It was enacted, too, that the school boards of these two cities should not have the taxing power like other boards, and should not be elective. They were to be appointed by the city council, and were to receive from the council a sum equal to this reduced share from the common school fund. If these commissioners were to be appointed rather than elected, it might be proper to withhold from them the right of levying taxes, but one may question the propriety of saying, even in legal phraseology, that since these cities were so well supplied with private schools they might get along without public schools. Such was the practical effect of this enactment. In 1847 the school commissioners of Montreal received altogether the sum of $558.05 from the city council. The government share not coming until the next year, the

board invested its first receipts at interest, 'having no use to which to apply them.'

In the following year the board expended $340 in grants to four private schools, and in 1850 it engaged two male teachers who were to receive a salary of $300 each along with the school fees as perquisites. The annual reports of the commissioners make pitiful reading, but cannot be taken up separately.

In 1861 the total income of the board from all sources was $1215.71, while the census showed that there were five thousand Protestant children in Montreal from five to fifteen years of age. For years the commissioners strove with the government and with the city council for increased grants. The success of their importunities may be judged by the following comparative statements. From 1846 to 1861 the annual receipts of the board from the city council and from the government together scarcely averaged $1200. From 1861 to 1867 its average income was $1810.

In the year 1868 a new era was opened in the history of Protestant education in Montreal. Under an amendment to the law three of the school commissioners were appointed by the government and an equal number by the city council. Taxation was imposed to the extent of $8284.80—or, more correctly, this was the share of the Protestant board. The board, however, conceived that the basis of division of school taxes in Montreal was unjust. The tax was levied upon all rateable property in Montreal and divided between the two boards in proportion to population. In other parts of the province where there were two school boards, each levied upon the property of its own supporters. It was urged that similarly the tax on all property in Montreal owned by Protestants should go to Protestant education. To the credit of the Roman Catholic board of Montreal, which would lose by the adoption of this principle of division of the taxes, it joined in the demand upon the legislature for an amendment to the law. This amendment was not made until the year 1869. The change resulted in an immediate and a substantial increase in the revenues of the Protestant board. In 1871 the tax yielded $22,816.95, and in 1875 $59,077.94.

In 1872 a strong effort was made to increase the tax from one mill to two mills on the dollar. The commissioners pointed out to the legislature that with their resources they were able to accommodate only 2500 children in their schools, while an equal number excluded from the public schools were obliged to pay for their education in private institutions. In this and in subsequent efforts for increased taxation the commissioners have been successful until the rate is now five mills on the dollar, and the annual receipts from this source alone are over half a million dollars.

With its growing prosperity the board felt its increasing responsibility to educate all the Protestant youth of Montreal. It therefore, when approached in 1870 by the Royal Institution, took over the Montreal High School for Boys, and five years later opened a High School for Girls. From this time on the history of education in Montreal has been uneventful, but the results achieved there have been the envy of the rest of the province. Able to offer relatively large salaries, the Protestant board has for the past forty years drafted into its service the best graduates of the Normal School, and has attracted eminently successful teachers from the county academies and recently from the Maritime Provinces.

In 1871 it appointed a superintendent for its own schools in the person of Sampson P. Robins, who performed a lasting service in the days of organization, until he became principal of the McGill Normal School. His successors have been men of high qualifications and have continued his good work.

With the great increase in the wealth of Montreal, the proceeds of taxes on Protestant property have enabled the board to provide schoolhouses that perhaps cannot be excelled in Canada. Without being carried away by fads, the board has been progressive. Kindergarten, manual training, cookery, music and calisthenic classes have long been organized and placed under the instruction of specialists. French has been successfully taught by the oral method with great success for many years under H. H. Curtis, as supervisor, and a competent staff of specialists. Night schools subsidized by the government have been carried on

since about 1889 by the board for the instruction of foreigners especially.

A technical and commercial high school has been established for day and evening work. Four attempts have been made in the legislature to make the board elective, but at a time when the press was inveighing against the alleged corruption, or at any rate the mismanagement, of the popularly elected city council, not many were willing to make a change. In consequence the bills never passed the lower house, in which they were introduced.

The Protestant commissioners of Quebec are similarly appointed, and suffered similarly in the early days until amendments to the school law provided for an adequate contribution from taxation. Here the Boys' High School, although placed under the control of the school commissioners for a few years, soon reverted to the original board of trustees and is carried on by them. Their chief source of revenue arises from endowments and from generous annual contributions from the governors of Morrin College. A brief reference to this institution will be made later.

The Girls' High School, however, and the common school, which in its various classes accommodates the diminishing Protestant population of the city, are carried on by the school board.

Pre-Confederation Questions

Although the act of 1846 had made provision for the protection of the minority that was giving satisfactory results in this regard, the proposal to confederate the provinces and to commit education entirely to the local legislatures caused some uneasiness among the Protestants of Lower Canada, and also among the Roman Catholic minority in Upper Canada. The clause of the proposed British North America Act that fixed denominational schools upon the two old provinces was regarded by the Protestants of Upper Canada as an undesirable but expedient concession, while the Protestants of Lower Canada regarded it as an uncertain and imperfect safeguard of the rights and privileges they were enjoying.

The whole debate, so far as the Lower Canada members of the house were concerned, centred in this one question as to the sufficiency or insufficiency of the clause to provide against adverse legislation in the provincial legislature.

Those who doubted the sufficiency of the clause, and who demanded more specific legislation to precede Confederation, do not appear to have suspected the good faith of the French-Canadian majority so much as they doubted whether the political experience of the country had been long enough to give reasonable assurance of the course of political action in the future. A French-Canadian member, Letellier de St Just, who was afterwards lieutenant-governor of the province, gave forcible expression to this point of view :

> I have heard it said that the Protestants of Lower Canada ought to be satisfied with their prospects for the future because we have always acted with liberality towards them. But that is no guarantee for them, for we would not content ourselves with a mere promise to act liberally, if we considered that our interest or our institutions were threatened by a majority differing in race and religion from ourselves ; and in any case that is not the way to ensure the peace of the country. . . . When we observe a man like the honorable member [Sir N. F. Belleau] acknowledge that we do not agree with the Irish, despite the identity of our religious belief, it may be easily foreseen that difficulties will arise with populations differing from us in origin and belief.

The Finance minister, A. T. Galt, had declared at a public meeting in Sherbrooke that amendments to the school law would be made, in the interest of the Protestant minority, before Confederation was adopted. In reply to a question by Luther H. Holton, the promise was repeated by J. A. Macdonald (attorney-general, West) that such amendments would be brought down. However, it would appear that the ultimate form of the clause in question in the British North America Act was so comprehensive as to cover the whole matter.

In September 1864 a meeting was held in the Mechanics' Hall, Montreal, for the formation of an ' Association for the

Promotion and Protection of the Educational Interests of Protestants in Lower Canada.' Some months before a printed circular had been sent to Protestant clergymen, school commissioners and others interested in education asking them three questions:

> (1) In what respects are legislative enactments, in your opinion, adverse to the interests of Protestants in Lower Canada?
>
> (2) What facts can you furnish to show that the carrying out of the educational laws is prejudicial to Protestant interests in your locality?
>
> (3) What amendments would you suggest for the promotion of the educational interests of Protestant families?

A considerable number of answers were returned to these suggestive questions and a long discussion took place regarding them. Most of the complaints that were made were founded on misapprehensions as to law and fact. A dignified reply was made in the *Journal of Education* by P. J. O. Chauveau, superintendent of Education. Chauveau conclusively showed that no discrimination was made against the Protestant minority either in the law or in his administration of it. On the contrary, he proved by official documents that the Protestants received more than their share of educational grants in proportion either to population or school attendance; that Roman Catholic dissentients were nearly half as numerous as Protestant dissentients and were subject to the same grievances, if there were any; that French and English inspectors equally visited all the schools in their respective districts regardless of the language spoken by the pupils. Other similar complaints were dealt with in the same manner. Although the meeting seemed to forget that the formation of the association was for the 'promotion' as well as for the 'protection' of the educational interests of the Protestants of Lower Canada, it served a good purpose.

The reply of Chauveau and the comments of the press served to allay the suspicion held by many Protestants that they were unjustly treated by the majority. The single

feature of Chauveau's reply that was not convincing was his attitude towards the complaint that there was no English Protestant officer in the department over which he presided. However, in 1868, Dr H. H. Miles, a professor in Bishop's College, was made assistant secretary with the rank of deputy minister.

Training of Teachers

In 1836 it was arranged that normal schools for English-speaking as well as for French-speaking people should be established. Experience had shown how ineffective was the work of the untrained and frequently uneducated teacher, especially in the rural schools. Accordingly in this connection two men were brought to the province, one from France, and one, Mr Findlater, from Scotland. The political crisis of 1837 intervened and Findlater returned to Scotland a few months after his arrival.

The examining boards that were appointed under the act of 1846 were examining boards only, and were simply empowered to issue certificates of qualification, which they did after rather superficial oral examinations in which the art of teaching and school management had no place.

In 1851 an act was passed which provided for the foundation of normal schools. They did not, however, begin operations until 1857. At this time the general principle of dividing school appropriations on a population basis was recognized, and it was proposed to apply it to the votes for normal schools. Two Roman Catholic normal schools were to be established, and one Protestant normal school was considered sufficient for the minority. Applying the principle of division of money according to population, six to one, the Protestant normal school would have received two-twelfths of the normal school vote, while each Roman Catholic normal school would have received five-twelfths. Chauveau recognized that such an arrangement would mean that the Protestant normal school would be entirely inferior in point of staff and equipment to the others, and in consequence recommended to the government that the vote should be divided

equally among the three proposed institutions. This was done and the proportion was maintained for nearly half a century, until the rapid development of normal school training and the foundation of nearly a dozen new Roman Catholic institutions brought about an expenditure on the population basis. The Protestant Normal School was opened in Montreal in 1857 with Dr John W. Dawson, the head of McGill University, as principal. Associated with him were William H. Hicks, an English-trained teacher who had carried on a training-school in Bonaventure Street under the Colonial Church Society since 1853, and Sampson P. Robins, who had been trained in the Toronto Normal School. Dawson's tenure of office extended over thirteen years, but his principalship became merely nominal and supervisory, his time being fully occupied in the making of McGill University. Hicks became principal in 1870 and continued as such until 1884, when he was succeeded by Dr S. P. Robins.

During exactly fifty years the McGill Normal School did a noble work for the province, and trained no less than 2989 teachers, many of whom occupy places of distinction in the educational and professional world. At the inception of the institution the sources of supply, the country academies, were of varying degrees of excellence. Pupils coming up for training as teachers lacked in many instances the literary training necessary as a foundation upon which to build the professional structure. In consequence the Normal School undertook from the first to combine professional training and a general education. Three courses were provided, requiring an attendance of ten months each, or thirty months if a pupil entered the lowest class and proceeded through all in order to take the highest diploma. The diplomas given were of three grades—the elementary, the model school and the academy. At various times proposals were made to reduce the length of the terms and to restrict the work to professional subjects. It was alleged, and admitted, that the academies in more recent years were efficient, and that pupils left them with a good sound education, much superior, indeed, to anything that could be expected during the first twenty-five years of the Normal School's existence. Still,

the effect of the severe and prolonged discipline in the Normal School was so apparent in the increased power and earnestness of the graduates of that institution that no serious support was ever given to these proposals until the year 1896, when an optional course of four months was offered to teachers in rural schools as a concession to the demand for a shorter course. This concession was coincident with a regulation by which no diplomas could be obtained thereafter without professional training. This change, however, met no real need. The applications never exceeded thirty, and gradually dwindled until in 1908 they had fallen to two or three, and the course was withdrawn. The fact was that young women who wanted professional training at all preferred the higher diploma, because the school boards gave the preference to teachers who had the longer training.

Until 1885 the third year, or that leading to the academy diploma, was continued, although naturally the attendance was small and the course of study covered in some subjects the work done in the arts course in the university in the sophomore and junior years. The waste of energy in duplicating this work, and the feeling that still more could then be reasonably demanded of those who aspired to the highest diploma, led to the suppression of the academy class. The diploma, however, was given to graduates in arts who took a professional and practical course in the Normal School. In the year 1907 McGill Normal School closed its doors after an existence of fifty years, during all of which time Dr S. P. Robins, the principal, had been upon the staff of the school. In fact, he made an address at the opening of the school in 1857 and said the last word in 1907. The Province of Quebec will long remember him as one of her most distinguished and talented educators, and his pupils will always feel the effect of his vigorous character.

Although McGill Normal School ceased to exist under this title, it still lives on under happier conditions as the School for Teachers of Macdonald College. For many years Sir William Macdonald had been a lavish and wise benefactor of educational institutions in the Province of Quebec and elsewhere. To McGill University in particular he had

given millions, but while not withdrawing his interest in that great institution, he planned during the few years preceding 1907 to endow the province with a college for the training of young men who are to follow agricultural pursuits. Accordingly he acquired at Ste Anne-de-Bellevue, some twenty miles from Montreal, several farms aggregating 561 acres in extent, and erected there a fine group of buildings, which, with the farms, cost over two million dollars. Sir William duplicated this expenditure by an endowment of two million dollars. In order most effectually to reach the rural population and to better the conditions of rural life, he associated with the Agricultural College a School of Domestic Science and a School for Teachers. Under an act of the legislature the McGill Normal School was closed and the School for Teachers replaced it with practically the same staff and subject to the same regulations of the Protestant Committee as to terms of admission, continuance of pupils, and the issue of diplomas.

The whole expense of this school was to be a charge on the Macdonald College funds, but the act of the legislature provided that the government contributions to McGill Normal School should not be released for the benefit of the general funds of the province, but should thereafter be employed exclusively for Protestant education. The advantages of the residential system in the School for Teachers and the greater demand for trained teachers has resulted in an increased attendance, until one hundred and seventy pupils are annually trained in this institution. This number, under ordinary conditions, should meet the demands of the Protestant schools.

Subsidiary Training of Teachers

Up to the year 1896 the needs of the small rural schools seemed to require the licensing of teachers who were unable to attend McGill Normal School. The boards of examiners in each judicial district were authorized to license teachers after examination. Although a syllabus was laid down for each diploma, there was a great diversity in the standards

of the different boards. Some, indeed, were popular for their easy ways, while others, like that of Montreal, were carefully avoided by the timid candidates because of their reasonable severity. In 1877 a step was taken towards uniformity by the printing of examination papers in the department of Public Instruction. But still the valuation of the answers was left to the members of the individual boards, all excellent and well-educated citizens, but most of them, in the rural parts, entirely inexperienced in the practical work of education. An important change was made in 1889. The local boards were all disbanded and a central board consisting of experienced and highly educated teachers, inspectors and examiners replaced them. These educationists drew up the papers, which were sent to the various centres, and examined and valued the answers. Diplomas were granted on recommendation of this central board. The effect of the high standard set by this board was felt in all the schools that prepared candidates for diplomas. This central board still continues, but is no longer an examining board. It controls the admissions to the School for Teachers and determines what diplomas shall be granted to the pupils in attendance after considering the reports supplied by the staff. An important function of this board is the granting of diplomas to British subjects desiring to teach in the province, who have had professional training and have received certificates from competent authorities elsewhere.

But with all this provision for training and testing the teachers, many schools in the rural parts have always been supplied with unqualified teachers, unqualified in law and in fact. Various expedients have been applied in order to reach these persons. In 1884 teachers' institutes were organized and for some fifteen years were held in the summer in four centres. The attendance frequently exceeded one hundred, and seldom fell below fifty, in each place. The normal school term was shortened to nine months, and the professors were required to take part in these institutes along with the inspectors. Although the sessions lasted only one week, they were productive of much good. Finally the inspectors were, and are, required to hold conferences with all

their teachers assembled in convenient groups at least once a year for the discussion of professional subjects. In 1913 the Protestant committee instituted as an experiment a summer school in Lachute extending over four weeks, during which teachers without professional training follow a course of lectures by competent men, and take practical work as well.

Special Teachers

The cities, especially Montreal, have always, on account of their large school populations, endeavoured to commit the teaching of certain subjects to specialists. In doing so they have met with great success in such subjects as French, drawing, music, cookery, manual training and calisthenics. French has long been a compulsory subject in the model schools and academies, and an optional subject in the elementary schools. The work laid down is extensive; more so than appears on paper. The object has long been that of teaching French as a living or spoken language. In Montreal, Quebec and Sherbrooke conspicuous success has followed the employment of special teachers, while in the country academies the work done by ordinary class teachers in French has been uneven and generally unsatisfactory. The department of French in McGill University having for several years carried on a summer school in French for those already having a fair conversational ability, the Protestant committee arranged in 1911 for engrafting upon it a school of methods. Specially selected and qualified teachers were encouraged by small bonuses to attend this school of methods and to abandon ordinary teaching in order to teach French in all the grades of the country academies. The boards of these institutions receive bonuses of $150 or $200 a year provided they employ these special teachers and pay them a salary equal to the minimum fixed from time to time for this purpose. The experience of three years has amply justified this departure. McGill also holds summer schools of art and physical culture, public school teachers being encouraged to attend them.

Administration

In the years 1876 and 1883 two very important steps were taken for the better administration of Protestant schools. In 1876 the act of the previous year by which the Protestant committee of the Council of Public Instruction was organized as a separate body came into effect. In 1869 the council was divided into a Roman Catholic and a Protestant committee, but the rights of individual action were restricted, and final action was reserved for the whole council. With this cumbrous machinery the Protestant section of the committee failed to accomplish anything worthy of notice. But with great and exclusive powers in regard to the organization of the Protestant school system, so far as consistent with the general law, the reorganized committee entered upon its work with zeal. Frequent meetings were held and the work of all classes of schools was passed under review.

The members of this committee appointed by the lieutenant-governor in council were: James Williams, D.D., Lord Bishop of Quebec, Charles D. Day, Christopher Dunkin, John Cook, D.D., George Irvine, Archdeacon Leach, M.A., James Ferrier and Principal J. W. Dawson. Under the provisions of the law this committee elected as associate members Judge Sanborn, R. W. Heneker, W. W. Lynch, Dr Alex. Cameron and Henry Fry. According to the provisions of the law the committee appointed its own secretary, who was the Rev. Dr George Weir.

To the old powers of the council in relation to Protestant schools, now transferred to the committee, were added the right of selection and nomination of all educational officers appointed by the government, such as school inspectors, professors of the normal school, and members and secretaries of boards of examiners. The word 'secretaries' in the act was intended to apply to officers of the boards of examiners, but both committees at first interpreted it as referring to the secretaries of the department.

As the secretaries of the department were deputy ministers, and as such were appointed under the Civil Service Act, the

government never accepted this pretension, and to remove it the legislature, in 1899, revised the article upon which it rested. At the same time the right to nominate school inspectors was taken from the committee, but the government was restricted in its choice to such persons as should have taken a certificate of qualification from the committee.

The reorganized committee set about its work of creating a system for Protestant schools. It found that the law provided ample machinery for the organization of school boards and for the conduct of the administrative part of school work, but it found, too, that there were no regulations for the guidance of school inspectors, teachers, pupils or parents, that there were no written examinations for pupils, no courses of study for either elementary or superior schools, no special inspection of superior schools whose grants the committee determined, no list of authorized text-books, no separate statistics in regard to Protestant schools—in short, no signs of a real system of education.

Several sub-committees were appointed to study various phases of educational work. The committee on superior schools reported that out of fifty-six institutions only fourteen could be said to meet the requirements of their class, and of these only five were really efficient. These five were Granby, Huntingdon, Knowlton, Lacolle and Sherbrooke academies. In the course of a few years all these deficiencies were corrected through the efforts of the committee. However, as the grants to elementary schools were paid on a population basis as between school boards, and as there were over a thousand of these schools in the rural parts of the province, it soon became evident that the committee could do little more for them than it had done by way of regulations, and that they must be left to the care of the department. Gradually the attention of the committee became absorbed in the administration of the superior schools, and for this it was the subject of severe criticism in the country press.

In fact, it became the fashion to blame the committee for not doing the impossible, while its many services, freely given, were ignored. Such an attitude, of course, did not

last many years; and after about 1890 no attacks on the committee came from any responsible source.

In its early days the committee performed important services in the settlement of several questions that had been before the public in irritating forms. Entrance to the study of the several professions was to be had through examinations conducted by different boards upon courses of study differing widely from one another and from that required in the arts courses of M°Gill College and Bishop's College. The various professional interests finally harmonized their requirements, and in 1890 the 'B.A. bill' was passed, which gave university graduates the right of exemption from examination before entrance to the study of any learned profession.

After Confederation the Dominion government collected for six years the fees charged for the celebration of marriages in the Province of Quebec without the p ıblication of banns, but for obvious reasons abandoned the collection in favour of the province, to which the fees clearly belonged. However, it was not until the year 1883 that the committee succeeded in recovering the sum of $28,000 which had been collected in the meantime by the federal government. This sum was deposited with the provincial government, the proceeds at five per cent interest being devoted to Protestant superior education as well as the yearly proceeds of the sale of marriage licences. The members of the committee who were most active in securing settlement of this case were Principal Dawson, Dr Cook and Bishop Williams. It was their intention to have the marriage licence fees earmarked for the support of university education, but the act of the legislature disposing of the funds devoted them simply to superior schools without the restriction that these men always contended for.

The question resolved itself into one of book-keeping, and, although warmly debated at times, was of no practical significance. In 1899 an act of the legislature empowered the committee to divide the marriage licence fees, now producing some ten thousand dollars annually, at its discretion between superior schools and poor rural schools.

In 1882 the English secretaryship of the department was filled by the appointment of the Rev. Elson I. Rexford, a trained and experienced teacher, an honours graduate of McGill and an active educational reformer. He brought to his work a first-hand knowledge of educational conditions, unusual ability as an organizer and administrator, and untiring energy. No appointment could better have met the requirements of the time. Rexford completed the work of the committee and made it effective. Courses of study were projected, printed, circulated and enforced. Regulations concerning all phases of school work were drawn up and made public. The 'boarding around' system was abolished. The department was brought into close touch with the school boards, the ratepayers and the Protestant committee. An inspector of superior schools was appointed, uniform written examinations were imposed upon model schools and academies, and teachers' normal institutes were organized for untrained teachers.

The secretary held meetings in all parts of the province to discuss with the people the question of better schools, better methods, and better business arrangements. Notwithstanding the fact that the committee had a secretary of its own, the business of this body naturally gravitated to the department and was done by the English secretary to such an extent that in 1886 Rexford was made secretary of the committee. This dual position has been occupied by his successor as well, and although it has sometimes been a delicate matter to act loyally towards the government and the committee at the same time, administration has been more direct, consistent and harmonious because of this arrangement.

Rexford's reputation is not impaired by the reflection that he had great opportunities for making it, for during his nine years of office he was always equal to his opportunities, and when he resigned to accept another post, he had accomplished much that is of permanent value.

No statement regarding the administration of the laws and regulations in respect to Protestant schools would be complete without reference to the relation the English

secretary of the department bears to the superintendent. The latter officer has always been French, Roman Catholic, and chief officer of the department, with full powers of administration conferred upon him by the law. The English secretary is therefore his deputy and his subordinate in every departmental act. Yet the superintendents, particularly the Hon. Gedeon Ouimet and the Hon. Boucher de la Bruère, have given the English secretaries a perfectly free hand in everything relating to Protestant education and have supported them with their authority on all occasions. In fact, without evasion of their legal responsibilities, they have, so far as that is possible, treated their English secretaries as though they were of equal rank with themselves. This generous attitude has done much to increase the efficiency of the work of administration on the Protestant side.

Universities

From the year 1787 onward the need of a Canadian university was never really forgotten, yet for years nothing was done beyond the legislation of 1801 and the making of unfulfilled promises of land grants.

In 1813 James McGill, a public-spirited merchant of Montreal, died, leaving by will his property, consisting of forty-six acres of land with buildings on the outskirts of Montreal, and the sum of £10,000 in money, to found a college in a provincial university. He evidently had not lost faith in the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, to which by his direction the property was to be conveyed on condition that this body would within ten years of his decease erect and establish on his estate a university or college for the purposes of education and the advancement of learning in the province. The will further stipulated that the college or one of the colleges in the university, if established, 'should be named and perpetually be known and distinguished by the appellation of McGill College.'

The Royal Institution, powerless for want of funds and the promised grants, had abandoned the idea of establishing a university, but it became incorporated in 1818, princi-

pally for the purpose of establishing M°Gill College. It applied for a royal charter, obtained it in 1821, and prepared to take possession of the estate. The will being contested by the residuary legatees, protracted litigation ensued until 1829, when judgment by the Privy Council enabled the Royal Institution to discharge its duties.

The college was opened with great ceremony in June 1829, and teaching in medicine began. The first act of the governors of M°Gill after the inaugural meeting was to resolve 'that the members of the Medical Institute (Dr Caldwell, Dr Stephenson, Dr Robertson and Dr Holmes) be engrafted on the College as its medical faculty and that they should immediately enter upon the duties of their offices.'

This Montreal Medical Institute had been a medical school for five years, and the reputation of the professors just mentioned was so high that the certificates issued by them were accepted by Edinburgh University.

Teaching in the faculty of arts was carried on only in a desultory way by professors who depended on fees until the faculty was properly organized in 1843.

Although the first principal was Archdeacon Mountain and M°Gill himself had been an Anglican, the desire to give a church bias to the new institution had no general support. The organizers had wider and wiser views in regard to a university that was apparently intended by the founder to serve all the people of the province.

In 1838 the Royal Institution, which regarded itself as still responsible for education generally in virtue of the act by which it was created, sent a long memorandum to the governors of M°Gill as a statement of policy. It declared, among other things, that it was not expedient to have a professor of divinity under the charter, and that the Bishop of Montreal and the Presbyterian Synod of Canada should be informed that lecture-rooms would be provided for them in which to give lectures in divinity to their respective students. This policy was accepted, and M°Gill from that time till now has been a non-sectarian institution. It has thus been able to gratify its ambition to be not merely a

provincial but a national institution, and to welcome to its halls all those who desire sound learning.

The early history of M°Gill covers some thirty years of financial stress and administrative difficulties. The faculty of medicine flourished through the devotion and sacrifice of the staff, while the faculty of arts declined. In 1852 a few citizens of Montreal determined to rescue the institution. A new charter was secured, and three years later J. W. Dawson became principal. For nearly forty years the university prospered and grew under his able administration. New faculties were added, new buildings were erected, and large endowments were received. However, notwithstanding the generosity of a few public-spirited citizens, the expansion always kept in advance of the finances.

In 1895, after the retirement of Sir William Dawson, the university was fortunate in the appointment of Dr William Peterson to the principalship, and during his tenure of office he has seen a marvellous development in the work of the university, in the raising of standards, and in the university spirit. Faculties no longer think of themselves as separate professional schools but as a part of the University of M°Gill. Great endowments, notably those of Sir William Macdonald, have been made from time to time, and the citizens of Montreal have realized the value of M°Gill as a national asset. Until 1911 M°Gill had received its millions from a few, but in that year, in response to a general appeal, the sum of $1,550,000 was raised in five days, chiefly in Montreal. In the following year the legislature voted the sum of $25,000 towards current expenses, with the tacit understanding that this sum, at least, should continue as an annual appropriation; and the city of Montreal voted a sum of $10,000 soon after.

Up to this time the government assistance had been insignificant, the first grant being made in 1854. For years the contribution of the province was only $3000 or $4000 annually. At practically no cost to the government, but through the munificence of private donors, the Province of Quebec has a university that ranks in public estimation with the greatest on the American continent.

Notwithstanding the part that McGill has played in raising the standard of education in the province, and in providing education and training in arts, medicine, law, applied science, agriculture and teaching, it has extended its activities to the training of physical instructors, military officers and specialists in French. It has also established a conservatorium of music, a department granting a diploma of Commerce, and through its officers has developed into University Settlement work a society formed by its women graduates in 1889.

In short, the progressive and energetic administration of the past twenty years has been marked by such rapid strides towards the highest ideals of university service as to cause the slower growth of previous years under harder conditions to be almost forgotten.

The University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, had its origin in the religious impulse. In 1843 three divinity students were transferred from Three Rivers to Lennoxville. They had been under the instruction of the Rev. S. S. Wood, M.A., for two years in the Rectory House, formerly a monastery. Wood declined an invitation to go with his divinity students to Lennoxville, the centre of a growing English population, where a site for a school and material support were offered by public-spirited citizens.

The Rev. Lucius Doolittle, a native of Vermont, was the moving organizing spirit in the founding of this college. In 1842 Doolittle had, in fact, already opened a school in his own house. With the removal to Lennoxville came a change of plan. It was decided to establish not merely a theological college but a residential university, with a faculty of divinity and a faculty of arts, religious in character, but suitable to lay students of any denomination. The college was incorporated in 1843 and became a university by royal charter in 1853.

The first principal was the Rev. Jasper Hume Nicolls, who in the earlier days of his principalship, from 1845 to 1877, did the greater part of the teaching in the institution.

The old grammar school in the village had a precarious existence, was closed in 1853 and reopened four years later,

when, under the energetic direction of the Rev. J. W. Williams, it entered upon its career as a residential school on the plan of English public schools. Its buildings are now on the campus with the arts and the divinity halls, but it has been separated as to finances and control from the university.

As in the case of McGill, the endowments of Bishop's have come from private benevolence and have never overtaken the plans of the governors. The piety of the early founders provided funds sufficient for the support of chairs in mathematics, classics, and the other time-honoured subjects of a university education, but in recent years efforts have been made to give the full variety of options in arts offered by modern universities.

Although a law faculty was in existence, and a medical school was carried on in Montreal for years until its absorption by McGill in 1905, the university now restricts its work entirely to arts and divinity courses. Like McGill it has had but little government recognition, but in 1911 its annual legislative grant was increased to $2500, and, in anticipation of its diamond jubilee, it now has a new endowment of $100,000 well under way.

Special Schools

In 1854 St Francis College was founded in Richmond, and a few years later Morrin College was established in Quebec. They were both in affiliation with McGill, the first for two years' work and the latter for the full course in arts. During the era of small things in McGill these institutions could prepare their students in the ordinary course for the McGill examinations, but conditions were made so severe that St Francis abandoned arts work entirely, and in 1900 Morrin College closed its doors as a teaching institution. The revenues of Morrin are now expended in support of education in Quebec in accordance with the will of Dr Morrin.

Although these institutions did a good work in their time, their disappearance came about through lack of sufficient funds to enable them either to keep pace with the rising standards of McGill or to compete with her for students.

As training for all the learned professions so far as English-speaking students are concerned centres in McGill, so McGill has four of the five theological colleges grouped about her campus. They teach divinity, but their students follow the arts course of McGill. These four colleges are the Congregational, founded in 1839 in Dundas, Ont.; the Presbyterian, founded in 1867; the Wesleyan, in 1872, and the Diocesan, in 1873.

In 1912 these four colleges, with a desire for economy of effort and for greater efficiency, consolidated their work in all subjects excepting the few that they regard as distinctive. The students of all colleges thus follow practically the same courses in divinity, while the professors have an opportunity for closer specialization.

For technical education the Protestants have only one institution entirely their own. Certain citizens of Montreal founded the Technical Institute and made arrangements in 1908 with the Protestant School Board of Montreal by which they use the Commercial and Technical High School for their evening classes, while the board carries on the work there in the day classes.

The technical training given by the School of Arts and Manufactures and the magnificent Technical Schools of Montreal and Quebec is open to Protestants as well as to Roman Catholics.

General Remarks

The Protestant elementary schools in the rural parts have suffered during the past thirty years from a diminishing school attendance. Schoolhouses which were once attended by thirty or forty pupils now accommodate perhaps a quarter of that number. Efforts for consolidation have not been successful, but the public feeling is now favourable to such a plan. Public meetings organized by the Protestant committee and the department were held in the summers of 1906, 1912, and 1913 in all parts of the province in the interest of the rural school.

Model schools and academies in the villages and towns

are in a high state of efficiency and bear comparison with similar schools anywhere. The city schools of all grades, having wealth and public spirit behind them, have been brought to the highest efficiency in every respect. In fact, the only serious problem in regard to Protestant education in Quebec is that of the rural school.

In 1904 the Protestant board of Montreal was required by law to make its common schools free. In 1912 a bill to make education in Protestant schools compulsory was introduced by Dr Finnie in the house of assembly. It did not come to the second reading, but in the following session he reintroduced it, only to have it meet defeat. In the same year school boards were authorized by law to abolish the school fee and to provide free text-books for pupils.

In 1903 a general act provided that for all purposes of education Jews should be considered as Protestants. They had always preferred to ally themselves with the English-speaking people for purposes of education, and by this act their status was made definite for the future.

From this sketch it will be seen that Protestant education has been free to develop along its own lines in the Province of Quebec and to-day suffers only from those disabilities which naturally fall to the lot of all minorities.