Stanley Frost and Sheila Rosenberg

The McGill Student Body

Past and future enrolment

In this survey of the statistics of student registrations at McGill from its earliest days, Frost and Rosenberg trace fluctuations in the constituent elements of the student body while wars, depressions, and social and political changes succeeded each other. The student body clearly has changed character along with its constitution in slow response to these events, and has done so in ways not always accountable. In terms of total numbers, however, the future of enrolment in certain faculties is reasonably predictable, given the latest contingency of absolute shrinkage in the supply of people at the appropriate ages. Beyond that, the number of questions that can be asked about the future remains far greater than the number of answers available from the past.

However lofty are the ideals of academic theorists, most universities have traditionally nursed a very pragmatic concern with student numbers. In the hard world of reality the business of attracting students has always been a very competitive one. At McGill the size of the student body has been a constant preoccupation throughout the University's one hundred and fifty years.

The University began teaching officially in 1829, when it incorporated the Montreal Medical Institution as its Faculty of Medicine. That year there were twenty-eight students registered. Medicine remained McGill's only Faculty until 1843 when Arts was inaugurated. Whereas Medicine relied solely on students' fees for income, the Arts Faculty, since it constituted "McGill College," had access to James McGill's benefactions of land and endowment. However, extravagance and mis-management had drastically reduced this source of income, so that from the beginning students' fees were as important for Arts as they were for Medicine. In both faculties every attempt was made throughout the 19th century to attract greater numbers.

In the mid-twentieth century provincial grants took over from fees and endowments as the main source of university financing, but the fact that the

grants took the form of *per capita* allotments made the importance of student numbers even more evident. Consequently, when one looks at the University registration records, it is surprising to note how much of McGill history is summarized in these data and how many of its major problems originate from these same vital statistics.

Some of the features of the growth of the student body were the subject of comment in the Principal's Report of 1975-76. However, the student body has never to our knowledge been studied in depth. The main purpose of this paper is to set out the major facts and to identify the events that influenced the growth of the student body from 1829 to 1979. In the process, some observations will be made about the changing social and ethnic backgrounds of the students and how these have reflected the changing face of Montreal and have modified the character of the University. Some features of registrations in the five older faculties of Medicine, Arts, Law, Engineering and Education will be observed individually, since they each have their own history and each history has its own implications. Some of these are important not only for the Faculty in question, but also for the University as a whole. This paper can only present preliminary studies. Graduate students looking for thesis topics might consider exploring particular aspects of the subject in the greater detail it undoubtedly deserves.

Problems of data collection

However, anyone intending to embark upon such a project should perhaps be warned that the evidence is not always easy to come by. The researchers preparing this paper quickly discovered that no one source of statistics is wholly dependable and that note must be taken of all the sources available, particularly for the early years when records were compiled only irregularly and often inconsistently. The University's Register of Matriculation, the Faculty of Medicine Students' Register, the McGill Calendar and the McGill Annual Report have all provided statistics for this study. The major difficulty arose from the discrepant and sometimes contradictory information contained in different sources purporting to use the same categories, and that none of them could be accepted as uniformly more correct than the others. Frequently the Annual Report and the Calendar present different figures for the same year, and not infrequently a single source can present conflicting information; for example, in some reports the faculty totals do not add up to the university total.

Further problems arose from the frequent change of the pattern of the breakdown of statistics from year to year. For example, prior to 1911 dental students are included with medical students in the Annual Report but no mention is made of them in the Calendar. Occasionally departments or even entire schools have been omitted from particular sources; beginning in 1915 the School for Teachers is frequently not included in the Calendar and is sometimes missing from the Annual Report as well. Sometimes faculties lose departments by their becoming new faculties; at other times, departments give birth to centres or in-

stitutes, the statistics of which may be included in their own totals for a number of years, but later are transferred to the Faculty of Graduate Studies.

The most difficult instance is that of the Faculty of Arts. Until 1970 this faculty included the "pure" sciences, other than the "basic medical" sciences, and for many years was called Arts and Science. The "applied" sciences were hived off as early as 1878 to form the faculty which in 1931 changed its name to Engineering. Music departed in 1920, and the School of Commerce left in 1968 to become part of the new Faculty of Management. Education and Social Work joined the Faculty for a while and then departed again. Generally we have not tried to compensate for such developments but have taken the figures as given, except that for the years 1970-79 we have continued to regard the Faculty of Arts and Science as one unit. We have uniformly used the term the Faculty of Arts. For such reasons as these the data represented in the graphs cannot be considered more than approximately correct. However, we have taken great pains to be as accurate as possible, and we believe that the figures used in this paper may be accepted as conveying a generally correct impression.

The history to World War I and its aftermath

Figure 1 shows that the growth of the student body has been neither regular nor constant. The first significant climb begins in the middle 1880's and continues to the middle 1890's. This was due to the opening of the Arts Faculty to women in 1884. The first women's class numbered thirty students, but ten years later the "Donaldas," as they were called, had grown in number to 115 and represented a third of the student body in the Faculty of Arts. The student body at this time constituted a very homogeneous group. The only significant minority were the French-Canadians, most of whom were registered in the Law Faculty. Figure 2 shows that until the early 20th century people of British stock constituted a sizeable element of the population of Montreal, and it was from the Protestants of this group that McGill drew most of its students.

This was reflected in many areas of campus life during the early years of the University. For example, the Young Men's Christian Association in the last decade of the 19th century served to all intents and purposes as the McGill Students' Union; Strathcona Hall, built in 1905 for the Y.M.C.A., served as the first McGill men's residence; the first women's society, Delta Sigma, had a Missionary Wing called Theo Dora ("Gifts to God"); the four Theological Colleges, Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Anglican, supplied a large proportion of the male students in Arts up to the beginning of the First World War.

However, to understand the evolution of McGill, the term Protestant must be interpreted within the historical context of 19th century Lower Canada. The members of the Board of Governors were originally appointed by the Crown, and at first by deliberate design included some Catholic members. But they were always only a token minority, the last resigning in 1846. Since 1850 or so the

Figure 1

TOTAL STUDENT AND FEMALE ENROLMENT

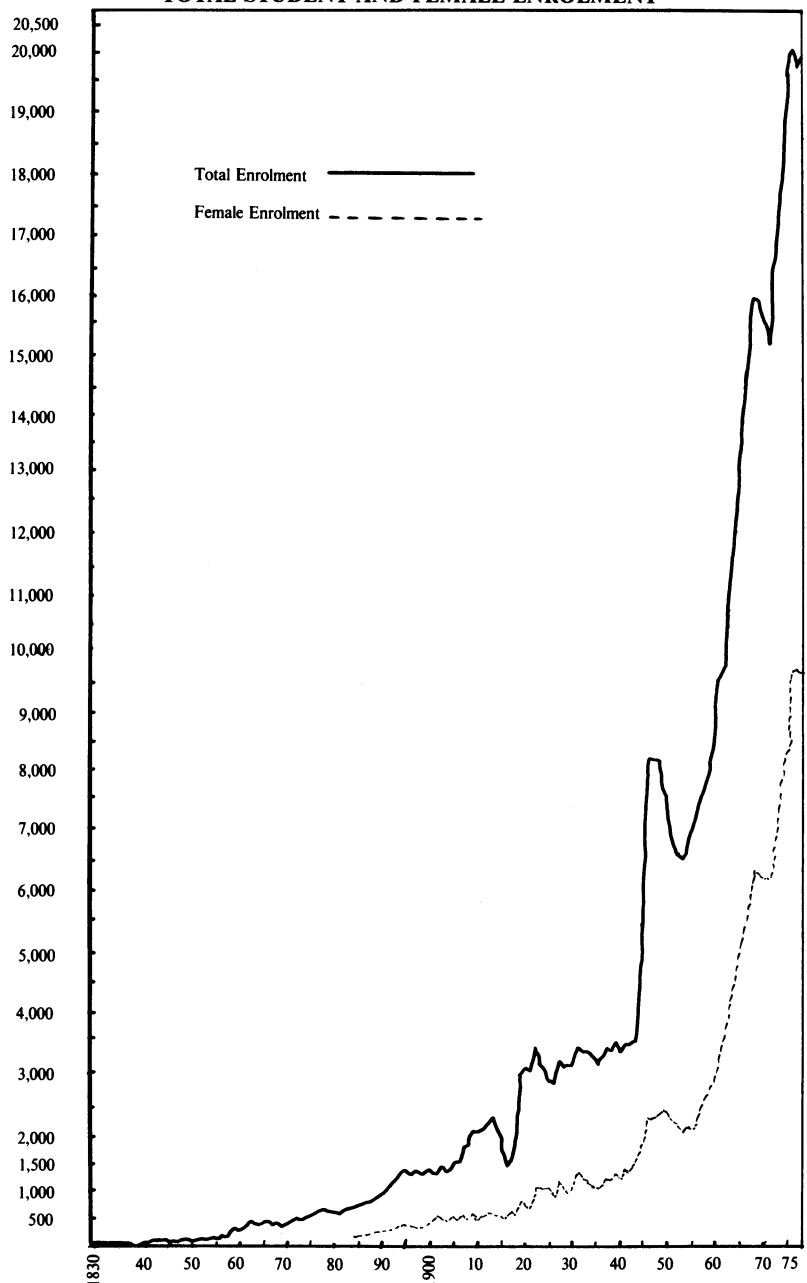
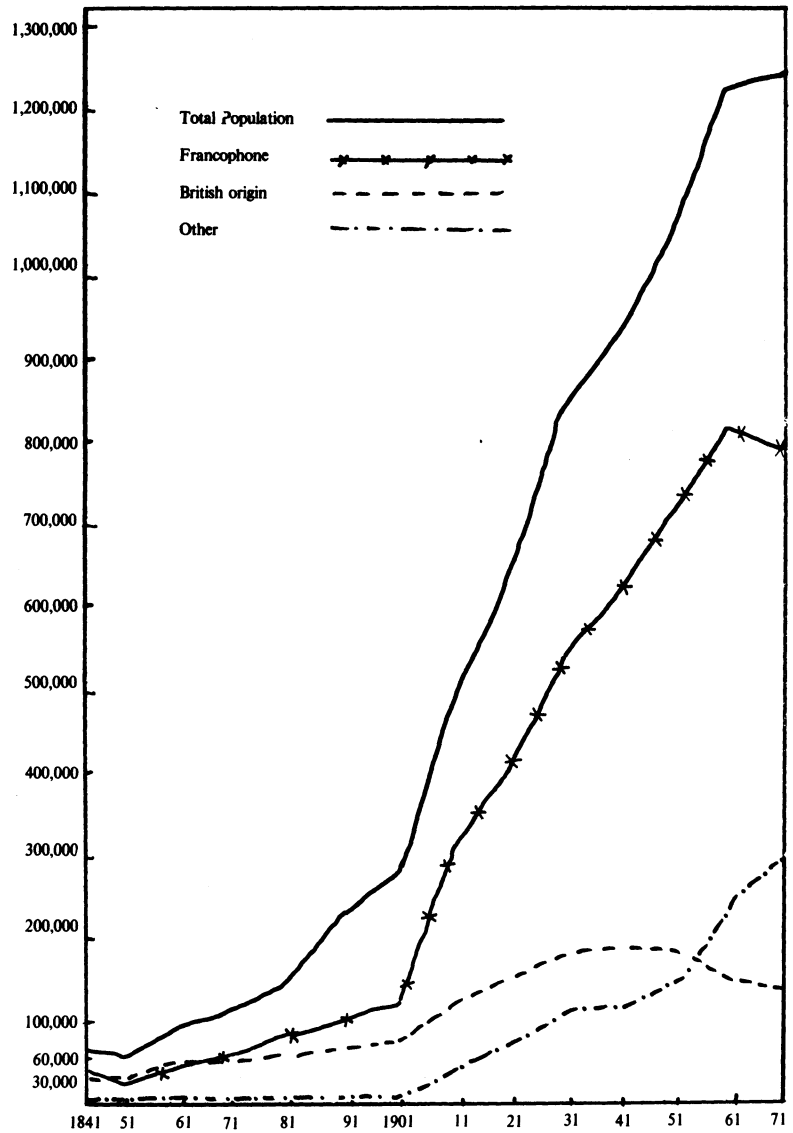


Figure 2

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF MONTREAL



anglophone community had sought to have the word Protestant inserted into the McGill Charter; but this the Crown refused to do. It was only when the Crown in 1864 surrendered its right to name the members of the Board, and the Governors were free to nominate their own members, that they were able to enact a Statute, ordaining that members of the Board were to be "Laymen of some Protestant denomination, selected with a view to the representation at the Board . . . of the several Protestant denominations in Lower Canada."

Protestantism's political significance

This sounds very segregationist, but it has to be remembered that in the 19th century, the term "Protestant" had in Lower Canada not merely a religious but also a cultural and indeed a political connotation. It stood vis-à-vis "Roman Catholic," and the catholicism of the time was that of Bishop Bourget and the Ultramontanists. "Catholic" stood for ecclesiastical control of education. It also stood for a political majority in the Legislature and a persistent attempt to control the cultural development of French Canada. The long struggle of the Institut Canadien with the power of the Church is testimony that when "Protestants" feared "Rome," and believed that only "Protestantism" would be able to defend liberality in politics and education, they were not tilting at windmills or inventing bogeys that did not exist. We may find it strange in these years following the Second Vatican Council that nineteenth and early twentieth century spokesmen should claim, as they frequently did, that McGill was both Protestant and non-sectarian, but it made good sense in the context of the day. It was the liberality of McGill's Protestantism which permitted the initial diversification of the student body, and even more rapidly that of the teaching staff. The same phenomena can of course be seen in Montreal's Protestant school system.

To return to Figure 1, we may note that student numbers maintained themselves fairly well from the early 1880's until the First World War. At that time they suffered a temporary decline, since military service drew many young men away from the University. With demobilization came returning veterans, and numbers rose from a war-time low of 1,240 to 3,230 in the early twenties. This suggests a high university participation rate among the veterans, a phenomenon which was due in large part to the poor economic outlook which awaited them. As we shall have reason to note again later, a decline in the economy tends to raise university enrolments rather than to depress them.

In highly intelligent anticipation of this new influx of students, the "Khaki University," as it was called, had been organized in the Canadian Forces stationed overseas during the late months of the war and the first year of peace. The leaders in this ambitious endeavour were Henry Marshall Tory, a McGill man who had become the President of the University of Alberta, and Frank Dawson Adams, McGill's Professor of Geology, later first Dean of Graduate Studies, and Vice-Principal. The Khaki University gave many men in the forces

opportunities to prepare for studies they otherwise could not have undertaken, or indeed would not have contemplated. The scheme favourably influenced registration statistics in all Canadian universities.

The years between the wars

As the veterans graduated, numbers began to fall somewhat until 1926 when a new climb began. These increases in McGill's numbers during the later 1920's were recorded in spite of new developments in higher education elsewhere in the city. In 1916, the English Catholic college Loyola had moved from its crowded Drummond Street quarters to a spacious campus on Sherbrooke Street West. The initial numbers were small, but there were great expectations for the future. In 1919 "Laval à Montréal," Montréal's French Catholic college, had been accorded independent status from its parent institution in Québec and became the Université de Montréal. Registration figures soon began to climb. Sir George Williams College, which grew out of an evening high school inaugurated by the Y.M.C.A. in 1920, had been established in 1926. By 1930 the enrolment in that institution was up to 1,206; 4,556 students were registered at the Université de Montréal and 169 were studying at Loyola. These developments seriously affected McGill's enrolment potential, but were offset by two factors. The first was the increase in the size of the college-age population. The city's economic recovery, which followed the slump after the First World War, had resulted in the expansion of a middle class which could afford and desired a university education for its children. Secondly, there was an increase of registrations by students from other provinces; educational facilities were not very far advanced in many parts of Canada, and because of McGill's reputation many students came to Montreal from other provinces. In 1925-26, for example, close to 30 per cent of the student body came from outside Quebec.

Nevertheless, almost two-thirds of the McGill students still came from the island of Montreal and during the 1920's the ethnic character of that area began to change rapidly. As Figure 2 shows, although the British element continued to hold its own and even to increase in actual numbers until the late 1930's, the "other ethnic" element in the anglophone population was fast catching up, as immigrants from eastern and central Europe poured in.[1] By the middle of the 1920's the increasingly diversified ethnic character of Montreal began to be reflected in the student body of McGill. In the year 1924-25, for example, those registering their religious affiliation as Jewish accounted for approximately 24% of the Arts Faculty, almost 15% of Medicine, and 40% of Law. In the same year Catholics represented 13% of the student body in Arts, over 25% in Medicine and Law, and 20% in Engineering.

Women students

Another group which was increasing its numbers during the inter-war years was that of the women students. Figure 1 shows that since 1919 they had made

some modest (albeit erratic) gains. The twenties were a decade of new freedom for women in Montreal and elsewhere in Canada. Their participation in the war effort had led to their employment in offices, shops and factories, and now many were choosing to remain in the labour force. The suffragist movement was agitating for greater political rights for women. Their "emancipation" was reflected in the shorter skirts and bobbed hair styles that came into vogue at this time, and by the growing number of women who wished to pursue a university education.

Within the University, however, they still had a long way to go towards achieving equity despite their increased numbers. Although by 1924-25 they comprised approximately one-third of the McGill student body, they were largely confined to such traditionally female areas as the humanities and education. In that same year there were only 19 women in Medicine out of a total of 491 students, 2 women in Law out of a total of 66 students, and there were none in Engineering.[2]

As the twenties drew to a close, ushering in the Great Depression, student numbers remained fairly stable. There was some faltering during the early years of the thirties but on the whole registration held up very well during those stressful times — again evidence that mild economic depression tends to increase student enrolments, and that even severe depression is muted in its adverse effects. The scarcity of employment encourages an increased respect for higher qualifications, which tends to be lacking in more prosperous times. Also, it is preferable to be at the university than frankly unemployed on the streets or in the home.

A decline in enrolment among minorities

Despite a stable enrolment as regards over-all figures, it appears however that the ethnic diversity of the student body, which had been growing steadily, began to recede during the late twenties and continued to do so through the thirties. By 1939 Jewish representation had diminished to 8% in Arts, less than 5% in Medicine, and 15% in Law.[3] The proportions of Catholics also suffered some modest decreases in these same Faculties. Although the non-British anglophone element had indeed slowed its rate of increase in Montreal considerably, it maintained its numbers and its proportional relationships. One would logically expect, therefore, that the proportion of non-Protestant students at McGill would at least have remained the same, but as we have seen they suffered a considerable decline.

One explanation for this decrease is that by now some of these groups were being enrolled in larger numbers in the other institutions in the city; Loyola College and the Université de Montréal attracted some Catholic students who might otherwise have come to McGill, and some Jewish students were similarly enrolled in Sir George Williams College. However, there can be no doubt that

some of those in authority in the University had become alarmed by the rapid rate of change in its character and that measures were taken in the late 1920's and 1930's to limit the number of Jewish students admitted to McGill. One of those measures was to require a higher percentage in high school leaving examinations from Jewish candidates than from others. The inevitable result was that the Jewish students were on the whole more intelligent, more hardworking, and won more prizes. In response to protests from the Jewish community the measures were abandoned during the Second World War, and the percentage began to rise again. By 1964, the last year statistics concerning religion were gathered, it stood at over 28%.[4]

The Second World War and its aftermath

Student numbers were surprisingly well maintained during the early war years. McGill Principal Cyril James was a prominent member of the National Conference of Canadian Universities, with which the Government worked very closely to ensure that all the resources of Canada's major educational institutions were placed at the service of the war effort, and that those same institutions would be prepared for the major role they must play in rehabilitation for peace.[5] In response, the universities undertook to retain only the upper-half students of classes in the humanities and other areas not directly related to the war effort; and to quicken the educational pace in those areas which were so related. Consequently attendance at a university conferred deferment under the National Selective Service Act. Thus the folly of World War One, whereby the brighter and most intelligent young men of the nation were allowed to volunteer patriotically as privates in infantry regiments and be slaughtered in their thousands, was not repeated. Young men and women were encouraged to enrol in university courses in the sciences, technologies, and in medicine, and were permitted to do so in Arts if they were of good standing.[6] During the early years of the war these measures kept registration figures up fairly well to their previous levels.

With regard to the second responsibility, the universities' careful planning was called into operation when the veterans came flooding back. It was well that the planning had been so thorough. From 1943 to 1946, registration at McGill rose from 3,600 to 8,300, a growth of 230%. In order to cope with this huge increase, McGill took over in 1945 the Number 9 Air Observer School at St. Jean, Québec, and set up there a subsidiary campus. Many members of the staff made the journey out to Dawson College, as it was called, several times a week. It was a period when a great many people on the McGill staff assumed extra responsibilities in a most unselfish manner.

The war years and the ensuing peace brought great changes in the character of the student population. The "other ethnic" immigration into Canada again began to increase very rapidly, and the student body again began to reflect an increasingly wide range of ethnic diversity. At the same time, the

socio-economic profile was considerably altered by the influx of returning veterans. The Annual Report for 1945 commented that while many student veterans were "... McGill men and women who interrupted their courses to enlist for active service ... the heavy increase in the First Year classes indicates that the great majority had not previously entered any university ..." Undoubtedly a significant proportion among them would not have been able to pursue their studies had it not been for the financial security afforded them by the educational allowances awarded by the Department of Veterans' Affairs.

Female enrolment did not make any important gains at the outset of hostilities. However, there was a significant shift in the areas of study undertaken by women, due in large measure to the technical demands of the War. Thus, in 1942, while women's enrolment in Arts decreased, the number registered in science courses rose from 63 to 172. By 1945 the total number of women in the University had risen from the 1,175 registered in 1942 to 1,818. But out of this increase of nearly 650 or 55%, only 160 were veterans, which indicates an increase of interest in higher education among college-age women generally, and not merely amongst those who had served in the forces.

One interesting feature of the total registration graph around the 1955 mark (Fig. 1) is that as the veterans' wave passed through, the numbers did indeed decline, but only to 6,600. An increase of almost 3,000 upon the 1943 figure, or over 80%, remained as a permanent gain. The most important result of the influx of the veterans was, however, the beginning of federal support for university-level education in all the provinces. Cyril James played a leading role in securing this great advance, yet because of constitutional wrangling the Quebec universities were at first precluded from taking advantage of the new funding. In 1960, after much negotiation, Quebec institutions began to receive the grants, not directly from the Federal Government but through the agency of the Provincial Government. Because of the ultimate source of the funds, McGill had to be eligible on the same basis as other Quebec institutions. For the first time in its history, the University began to receive statutory grants. This eventually resulted in the University evolving during the 1960's from a private to a quasi-provincial institution.

The sixties and the seventies

The steep climb in student numbers which began in the middle 1950's persisted until 1968 without a pause. By that year enrolment had risen to 15,953, an increase of over 200% since 1955. This was of course due to the famous post-war "baby-boom," a phenomenon that similarly affected enrolments in the universities throughout North America. But again it is noticeable that after it had subsided, the decline was relatively small and short-lived; by 1975 enrolment had risen to 19,630. These increases may be attributed to the continued growth of the "other ethnic" population of Montreal and to the offer of student loans and bursaries by the Quebec government. These became available in the

mid-sixties, and so post-secondary education became possible for a larger number of young people. Moreover, there was a world-wide increase in the demand for higher education. For example, the "foreign student" percentage rose to a high in 1963 of 15.6% despite the great increase in the total registration.

Notice must also be taken of an event which occurred in 1967. The introduction of a two-year college-level program of the Collèges d'Enseignement Général et Professionnel (commonly referred to as CEGEP) was to greatly alter the pattern of education in the Province. A CEGEP diploma, obtained after successful completion of a two-year course of studies, became the pre-requisite for university entrance. The bachelor's degrees were to be awarded after three further years of coursework. Thus a total of five years of post Grade XI study would be required instead of four, but of these only three would be spent in university. In September 1969 McGill began its own college-level program, which was in operation until 1973-74. By that time the number of English language colleges was sufficient to allow the University to phase out its college-equivalent program.

Many of the changes in the character of the student body which we have previously noted appear to have been further encouraged by the introduction of the CEGEP system. These include variations in the ethnic background and socio-economic status of registrants, and the readiness of students to cross the anglophone-francophone boundaries.[7] While the college-equivalent program was in operation at McGill, however, the number of students did not immediately increase, even though the University was ostensibly offering five years of undergraduate study instead of four. During the first three years of the program, that is from 1969-70 until 1971-72, enrolment actually declined.

In 1971-72 that trend was reversed, and in the following year numbers rose sharply, partly because this was the only session during which students were enrolled in all five levels of undergraduate study. (During the previous four years, because of the logistics of discontinuing the old four-year course of study and introducing the new three-year one, students were never enrolled in more than four levels.) Yet as the college-equivalent program was being phased out, enrolment continued to rise and reached over 19,000 by 1975-76, even though by that year the University had settled into its new three-year pattern. We conclude that the introduction of the CEGEP system had had little impact in the short term on over-all numbers at McGill. Subsequent enrolment figures may be thought to lend support to the claim that the long-term effect has been to encourage attendance at university, but the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* argument is always open to challenge.

The University changing

Looking back on the story as a whole, we can see that as Montreal has grown in population, so McGill has grown also. But the relationship is not a sim-

ple one. In the early decades of the century McGill increasingly drew its students from further afield, both in Canada and beyond. In 1911, for example, the University drew the attention of the Provincial Government to the fact that of its two thousand or so students, no less than 150 came from west of Winnipeg and from 60 to 70 each year from overseas.[8] It has previously been mentioned that in 1925 close to 30% of the student body came from other provinces of Canada.

However in recent years these characteristics have not been maintained. Although the percentage of students from other countries rose briefly in 1965 to nearly 16%, it has since declined to around 10%, and now that an increased fee-scale has been introduced by the Provincial Government to discriminate against non-Canadians, the number of foreign students is likely to decline still further. The registration of students from other Canadian provinces declined to a mere 6% of the total in 1975, while the proportion from Quebec grew to over 80%. It is one more sign that regionalism, rightly termed provincialism, is on the increase in Canada. Historically McGill has prided itself on being provincial, national, and international, but it is now in very real danger of becoming provincial *simpliciter*. A compensating factor is that within the Quebec contingent, in 1978, the francophone element had climbed to 18% of the total enrolment.

Figure 1 also demonstrates that the enrolment of women students has made impressive gains numerically over the past twenty years, but no significant increase proportionally. In Arts women have achieved and have maintained a fairly steady 50% rating. Elsewhere, however, they remain a minority except in the traditionally female areas, such as Library Science, Social Work, and Education. It appears that women are still remarkably conservative in their career choices, and that the view that men and women are interchangeable elements in the workforce has not yet gained wide acceptance among the young people and their career advisors.

The future years

In the year in which this paper is being written, 1979, the University is faced, as it has been more than once in the past, with the prospect of declining registrations. How great that decline may prove no one can foresee. The conclusions drawn by Thomas Blacklock[9] from a study of Montreal's elementary and secondary English-language enrolments are that by 1986 these enrolments will have decreased to approximately one-half of their present size. The further conclusion offers itself that within ten years English-language university enrolments in Montreal will have suffered a similar fate. The McGill experience has been that in every generation dire decreases have been prophesied, but in fact increases have taken place; however, one must observe that the historical profile of Lower Canada had been fairly uniform from 1763 to 1963, but that a decisive development began in the latter year which has rendered all previous experiences of little value as a pointer for the future.

It is instructive at this point to look at Figure 3, presenting data for the five major Faculties. The question as to what factors contribute to registrations in the different faculties is not easy to answer. It is mainly determined by a combination of economic, historical and technological variables. It is, however, also affected by the intimate relationships between university and society, and these are by no means static. Given a particular intellectual or social climate of opinion, disciplines may develop and flourish or they may decline, in defiance of the variables just named. The experiences of the "hard" sciences in the post-sputnik period, or of the pedagogical sciences in "the post-pill, post-quiet-revolution" years, are illustrations readily at hand.

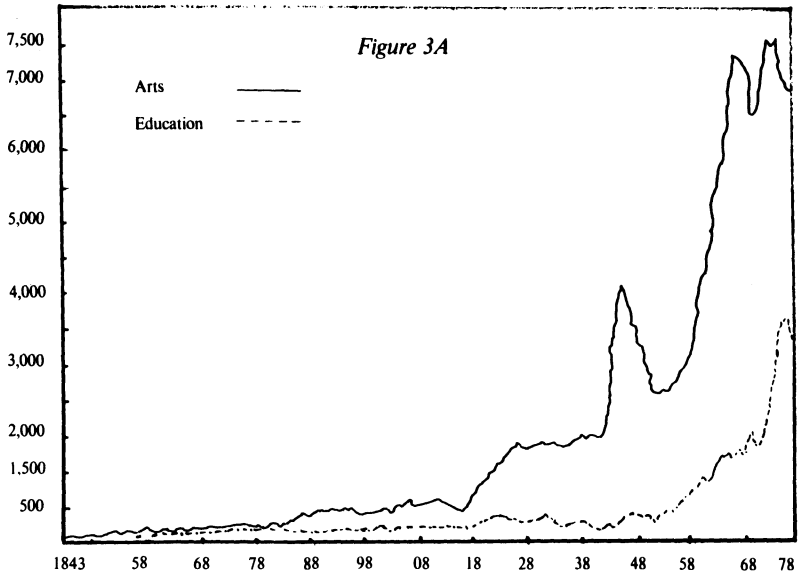
The Faculty of Arts

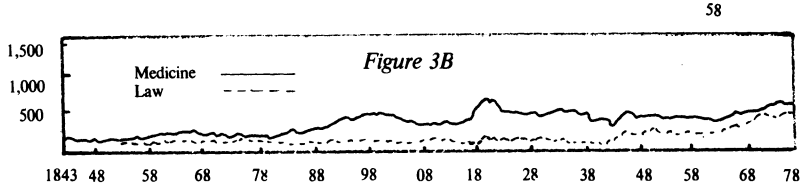
The graph in Figure 3A shows that the University's great growth in the 1960's and 1970's has taken place almost wholly within the Faculty of Arts and this has occurred despite its transfer of students to new Faculties and Schools. Its exceptional development during the sixties was part of a larger North American trend. It was the result of a rising interest in the Humanities and Social Sciences, and in a re-evaluation of society. It was the departments that were concerned with these things that were the ones that expanded most quickly. It is not surprising that such concerns flourished during the sixties, a time of economic optimism and affluence, a time when students were less concerned with pragmatic matters than they are today.

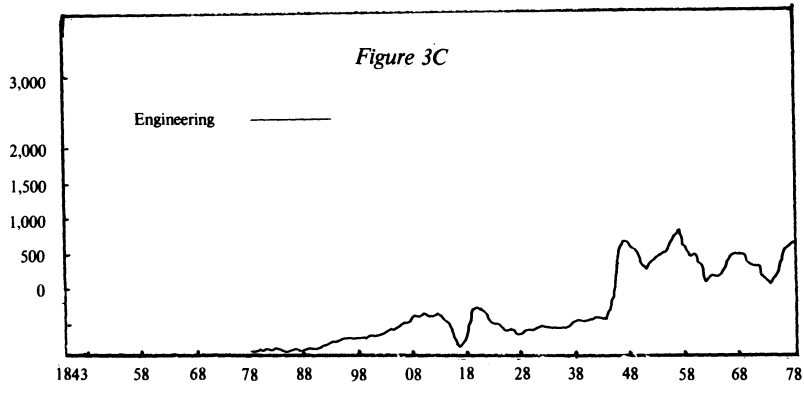
As the area of greatest expansion, it is likely that the Faculty of Arts will also be the one to suffer most serious decline. In any attempt to forecast its future, one should take into account developments in Management and Music, faculties that are not represented separately in the graphs. In 1968 the Faculty of Management was formed out of the School of Commerce and the Graduate School of Business. With approximately 1,400 students, it is in 1979 one of the larger faculties in the University. Since the mid-sixties there has been a notable development in the Faculty of Music, which in 1960 had 22 students and currently registers approximately 450. The significance of these two sets of data is that both these Faculties draw upon a class of student which in earlier days would probably have registered in Arts. Furthermore, as far as one can judge from the temper of our times, they are two areas which seem unlikely to suffer from declining interest.

To separate Management and Music in this way from the rest of the Faculty of Arts helps to identify the problem areas more clearly. The reason for their buoyancy is the professional content of their programs. We suggest that the science areas, whether physical or biological, will similarly, because of their clearer professional and employment prospects, be less liable to suffer the full force of the decline. We conclude that it will be the non-professional departments among the humanities and social sciences which will experience the

Figure 3
FACULTY ENROLMENTS







greater problems. A study of the departmental registrations over the past two decades would be needed to test this conclusion, and these are not easy to come by.[10]

The Faculties of Medicine and Law

The foregoing reading of the data pertaining to Arts is, we suggest, confirmed by a consideration of registrations in the areas of Medicine and Law. Both these faculties have limited their enrolments for many years. As the graph in Figure 3B shows, registration in both areas has increased somewhat since the late 1960's, but the gains have been modest. What is more revealing, however, is not the number of students enrolled in these Faculties, but the increase in the number that seek admission to them. There are currently some 13 applicants for each place available in Medicine, and in Law the number of applicants has risen from 3 for each available position in 1965 to 7 in 1976. However great the dearth of students may become generally, it is most unlikely that in the foreseeable future these areas will lack sufficient candidates.

The increases in applications underlines the tendency among the current college-age generation to make career choices more pragmatically and to re-appraise the value of a university education. Such trends are not surprising in a time of economic recession and high unemployment; if on the other hand more employment becomes readily available to highly-qualified candidates in the mid-1980's, as has been forecast, this appreciation of professional skills will not diminish. Thus the Faculty of Medicine and Law are not likely to influence the University's enrolment statistics either way.

The Faculty of Engineering

Of the five Faculties studied, the enrolment pattern in Engineering is the most enigmatic. Its numbers jumped considerably after World War One, from a low of little over 100 in 1918 to 700 students in 1920. This increase is repeated on a much larger scale at the close of World War Two; from 500 in 1944 to almost 1,600 students only two years later. Undoubtedly this rise was stimulated by new technologies developed during the war years. Enrolment declined somewhat during the early fifties as the veterans graduated, but soon rose again and by 1957 it had reached an all time high of 1,823. Shortly thereafter enrolment began to decrease and the 1957 figure has never been achieved a second time, even during the 'baby-boom' years of the sixties.

This has not been a phenomenon peculiar to McGill, but one of continent-wide North American experience. Yet there has never been a limitation on engineering enrolments; indeed of recent years there have been vigorous recruitment activities, but they have met with only modest success. Moreover, the reasons for the decline from the 1957 high-point are still unclear. The social prestige and the economic rewards of the profession have remained high

throughout the whole period. The fact remains that Engineering, a high growth area up to the mid-fifties, faltered at that time and has never fully recovered its impetus.

The Faculty of Education

The Faculty of Education has its own history and therefore its own problems. The McGill Normal School was the first and has always remained the largest of the traditionally female areas. Later it became the Macdonald School for Teachers and then the Institute of Education, and lastly the Faculty of Education. It has changed not only its name but also its philosophy many times, but in a continuing line of theoretical development. Most of its students have been trained for service with the Protestant school system of the Province of Quebec, and much of its history is bound up with the history of English-language education in the Province. Although the female students have always outnumbered the males, nevertheless as the standing of the profession has risen so the balance of the sexes has improved.

One might assume that historically registrations would have risen commensurably with the need for teachers in the Quebec schools, but this has not always been the case. In 1866, nine years after the founding of the Normal School, there were 700 pupils enrolled in schools under the jurisdiction of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal. Thirty years later, this had increased to 8,600, but this steep rise in pupil enrolment is not reflected in the graph of the student enrolment in Figure 3A. By 1896 enrolment in the McGill Normal School was still only 140 students as opposed to the 100 in 1866. Indeed until 1947 the registration figures total had made few gains since 1862. The only exception was during the years 1920-1933. Otherwise increases were slight, and by 1935 registration had again fallen to a little more than 100 students, despite the fact that the English-language school-age population of Montreal was increasing steadily. There is no simple explanation for the decline, but one reason was undoubtedly the poor working conditions and low salaries accorded to members of the teaching profession until the end of the Second World War.

In 1967, however, a sharp rise began which was augmented when in 1970 St. Joseph's Teachers' College merged with the Faculty of Education and McGill became responsible for preparing teachers for the English Catholic as well as the Protestant system of education. This rise persisted, with little exception, until 1975, when a registration figure of 3,801 was recorded. It comprised 1,437 first-qualification registrants and 1,364 registrants in various part-time programs. It is the former group which represents new entrants into the profession and by 1978-79 this figure had decreased to just under 1,000, a loss of more than 30%. Mr. Blacklock has pointed out that the current sharp decline in school registrations in the anglophone system must cause a decline in the required number of teachers and administrators, and, we may add, an inevitable decline in the number of student registrations in the Faculty. An increased ac-

tivity in post-diploma and graduate up-grading of teaching qualifications, and in the acquisition of specialist qualifications, such as those for teachers of retarded children or for second-language instruction, has done much to counter the decrease in normal student registrations, but the situation can only be temporarily influenced by such measures. Over the next decade a major decrease in the size of the Faculty of Education appears inevitable.

Conclusion

The implications of the Blacklock study are not important for the Faculties of Arts and Education alone. The most disturbing sentences in the whole report are those that read:

> The projected PSBGM (Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal) English enrolment decline for the next five year period was slightly greater than sixty percent at the elementary level and approximately fifty percent at the secondary level. There were no indications found that would lead to the conclusion that the decline will stop or even decline in intensity at the end of the five year period.

These are grave words which the whole McGill community must ponder and take seriously into its planning. In 1972 the College and School Liaison Office was established to actively promote recruitment and its responsibilities must now be recognized as greater than ever. The number of students registering in the university is a statistic as vital today as ever in the past.

Many questions about the motivating forces of student enrolment need to be explored and answered. Are they the same in all areas of the campus, or do they differ markedly from faculty to faculty? Why does the proportion of women students enrolled in the University still represent something noticeably less than half the total number? What are the factors which determine the differences in educational choices of male and female students? What are the ethnic and cultural factors operative in student choices? How differently do times of economic affluence and depression affect students from the various ethnic and social backgrounds? Are political situations going to prove more determinative in the future than in the past? Are moral issues going to be more influential in career choices during the 1980's, or less? It is obvious that the questions are easy to pose; finding meaningful answers will prove a much more difficult matter.

One question which obtrudes itself is, however, of another order. If students are presently taking a more sober and responsible attitude towards university-style education, should not the university be likewise taking an equally responsible view of recruitment? Students are vital to a university, but it would be immoral for an institution to try to lure students into its program merely in order to maintain its own vitality. There is, we suggest, inherent in the present situation an increased obligation on the university's part to re-examine its

programs and consider how far they prepare students for lifestyles and careers truly suited to the last decades of the twentieth century and the opening decades of the twenty-first.

In this matter of registration statistics, implications of great moment confront administrators, professors and students alike.

NOTES

1. Figure 2 consistently uses census figures for the City of Montreal only. For the later years, use of the Montreal Island figures would have modified the percentages to show a less sharp decline in the proportion of British-origin residents. In 1961, for example, only 12.4% of the City population was of that group, but for Montreal Island the figure was 18%. The "other-ethnic" figures varied little, 19.9% becoming 21.9%. The francophone percentage exhibited the corresponding decrease. But because of variations in the earlier data presentations it was decided to stay with the Montreal City figures.

2. Women were admitted to Architecture in 1939.

3. These figures, and those given previously, are based on a study by Ruth Cameron in 1978, and were checked by a follow-up study by Sheila Rosenberg in 1979. In both studies, data was obtained by a random sampling of student matriculation cards, upon which, in the 1920's, religious affiliation was one of the items recorded. The studies examined the Faculties of Arts, Medicine, Law and Engineering for the years 1855-70, 1890-91, 1909-10, 1924-25, 1929-30, 1934-35, and 1939-40. Ethnicity and religion are not interchangeable terms, but "Protestant," "Catholic," and "Jewish" do give broad indications of ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

4. See the Table, p. 17A, in S. B. Frost, "The History of McGill in Relation to the Social, Economic and Cultural Aspects of Montreal and Quebec," Commission d'étude sur les universités, 1978. For McGill efforts to restrict the number of Jews entering the University, see Currie Papers, Accession 641/272, file "Jewish Matriculation," McGill Archives. McGill was not alone in these practices. For the different measures taken by Columbia and Harvard to discourage Jewish enrolment in the 1920's, see Harold Wechsler, *The Qualified Student,* New York, 1977, pp. 131-185.

5. See Gwendoline Pilkington, "A History of the National Conference of Canadian Universities, 1911-1961," Ph.D. thesis, Toronto, 1974, p. 305ff.

6. Dr. Pilkington also reveals (p. 324ff) that in the fall of 1942 Principals James and Wallace (Queen's) recommended that Canada should follow the example of Britain and the U.S. and close off registration in Arts, Law, Commerce and Education for the duration of the war, a drastic step which fortunately proved unnecessary.

7. The evidence is set out in a study by Professor Donald Burgess entitled "Changing Enrolment Patterns at McGill University." This paper is as yet unpublished but was kindly made available by the author.

8. It is noteworthy that McGill could not only state these facts boldly and with pride, but urge them as the grounds of an appeal for financial aid from the Province. It did not meet with success.

9. See Thomas Blacklock, "Enrolment Changes and the Implication for English Language Education." A Report to the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, January 1979. Writing in 1977, Donald Burgess had offered a more optimistic view of teacher-employment statistics for future years. See "Future Prospects for Education Graduates," *McGill Journal of Education,* Vol. XII, No. 1 (Spring 1977), pp. 147-152. But in the Spring 1979 number his article "The Past Went That-a-Way" (pp. 163-172), fully shares Mr. Blacklock's conclusions with regard to prospective enrolments.

10. It is largely a problem of classification. "Honours" and "Majors" students are easily identified, but many departments teach other students who are taking their courses as electives. It is these latter statistics which are difficult to determine and evaluate, especially before the reform of budgeting processes in the early 1970's.

Résumé

Dans cette étude des statistiques sur les inscriptions à McGill depuis le tout début de son histoire, Frost et Rosenberg retracent les fluctuations intervenues dans les éléments constructifs du corps étudiant, comme les guerres, les crises économiques et les changements socio-politiques qui se sont succédés. Ces effectifs ont manifestement changé tant dans leur caractère que leur composition à la suite de ces événements et il n'est pas toujours facile de rendre compte de ces changements. Il est toutefois possible de prévoir l'orientation future des inscriptions dans certaines facultés, compte tenu de la dernière éventualité d'une diminution absolue du nombre de gens d'âges appropriés. Au-delà de ce point, la quantité de questions que l'on peut se poser sur l'avenir dépasse de loin le nombre de réponses que l'on peut tirer du passé.