Historical Background of the English-Language CEGEPs of Quebec

Abstract

This article presents a detailed background of the political and social changes that existed before and during the time that Quebec's CEGEP system came into existence. The objective of the article is to provide both a general history of the educational changes in Quebec in the 1960s (and the subsequent opening of the French-language CEGEPs) and the eventual opening of Dawson College, the first English-language CEGEP, in September 1969. Commentary on political, social, and economic conditions add additional insights into Quebec's present college and university education.

Résumé

Cet article décrit de façon détaillée le contexte des modifications politiques et sociales survenues avant et pendant la mise en place du réseau de cégeps au Québec. L'article vise à retracer de façon générale les changements survenus dans le domaine de l'éducation au Québec au cours des années 60 (qui ont mené à la création des cégeps francophones) ainsi que la création du Collège Dawson, premier cégep anglophone, en september 1969. L'examen de la conjoncture politique, sociale et économique de cette période nous permet de mieux comprendre l'enseignement collégial et universitaire actuellement dispensé au Québec.

"Great Oaks from Little Acorns Grow" is a statement redolent of Horatio Alger or Samuel Smiles, a phrase once beloved of entrepreneurs, business schools, and commercial interests; it was seldom applied to educational matters, nor to changes within educational systems. Nevertheless two Orders in Council, devices used by governments to proceed without public

discussion, and two Royal Commisssions, devices often used to preclude subsequent action, set in motion changes which in one case rescued the universities of Canada and set them upon their modern development, and in the other changed the whole face of education in the Province of Quebec. These unheralded political devices were the Federal Order in Council PC 7633 of October 1, 1941, and the other was the Quebec Order in Council (Arrêt en conseil) 1052 of July 6, 1960. The former was followed by a further Order in Council which set up the Massey Commission (in Quebec known as the Massey-Lévesque Commission) and the latter by a second Order in Council 1031 of April 21, 1961, which set up the Parent Commission. The connecting links between these events were provided by a former Baccalauréat ès Arts from the Collège Jean Brébeuf, Rhodes scholar at Oxford, constitutional lawyer, and Liberal politician who was to become Minister of Education in Quebec, Paul Gérin-Lajoie, and Arthur Tremblay, Professor of Education, Assistant Director of the School of Pedagogy and Orientation at Laval University, a one-man commission of enquiry into technical and vocational education in the Province of Ouebec, technical advisor to the Ministry of Youth, associate member of the Parent Commission, Deputy Minister of Education, and latterly Senator Tremblay, appointed, during the Prime Ministership of Joe Clarke, to the Senate in Ottawa. Amongst the effects of some of these Orders in Council would be the creation of a new institution in Ouebec, in each case known as Dawson College; in its first incarnation it was Sir William Dawson College and catered to returning service men, and in the second case it was officially Dawson College and was a postsecondary. preuniversity institution, the first English-language member of a network of Collèges d'enseignement général et professionel (CEGEPs).

In order to follow a path through the political-educational labyrinth of the past half-century certain guide posts are essential, the first of which must be the constitutional arrangement of 1867 which placed education firmly under provincial control. However, there have been semantic variations on the word "education" which have proved useful to federal politicians seeking to enter into educational arrangements, and which on one famous occasion proved useful to a Quebec Premier (Lesage). One must also acknowledge that it was only in 1943 that compuslory school attendance was required in Quebec, and then only to age 14, from which exemptions could be granted at age 12 on the word of the parish priest, if family income needed to be augmented by the wages of a child's labour. Quebec had a Superintendent of the *Département d'instruction publique* (DIP) who answered directly to the Provincial Secretary, and operated through two committees, the Catholic and Protestant Committees. Primary schooling was provided by a myriad of school commissisons.

From Confederation until the late 1960s Quebec had a bicameral legislature, with an Assembly and a Council (Senate). The Assembly and Council were for a long period under the control of Premier Duplessis and the Union Nationale, who boasted that they had the best educational system in the world, and gloried as late as 1939 that, "Nous, Canadiens français, nous sommes issus d'une longue tradition d'ignorance et de pauvreté, tradition que nous devons de conserver." For entrance to teacher training a Grade 7 education was required by the Catholic Committee, unless the applicant was a member of a religious order (which incidentally could designate any of its members as a "qualified teacher"). On the Protestant side a Grade 11 education was required, and admission to a university from a Protestant school was also available after grade 11, where the general undergraduate course was of four-years duration. On the Catholic side, attendance at a university was generally only possible after an eight-year course at a collège classique, though from 1954 onwards a limited number of other students were admitted. those who had followed the science option in a public school, or were fortunate enough to attend a public school where teaching brothers had been permitted to offer the requisite program. Prior to 1852, when the Privy Council in England granted a university charter to Laval, a small number of private collèges classiques existed, operating largely on a Jesuit model of instruction. The Laval charter gave it the right to affiliate colleges in different parts of Quebec, gave it a council with degree-granting powers, established a "phantom" Faculty of Arts (an alien concept) which created the degree of Baccalauréat ès Arts, awarded to those who had followed the eight-year course in a collège classique. In 1935 "immatriculation" was required to pass from the first four years into belles lettres, rhétorique, and then philosophie I and philosophie II. By 1960, when they were members of the Fédération des collèges classiques, there were 75 colleges in all plus certain seminaries offering these courses, but only 7% of the potential university population was attending university. As part of the Liberal party electoral campaign of 1956 there were posters which read: "93% de nos enfants n'iront jamais à l'université." But change was on its way. Premier Duplessis died in September 1959, and his successor, Paul Sauvé, formerly Minister of Youth and of Social Welfare, died in February 1960, and at the election in June 1960 the Liberal Party was elected to office, controlling the Assembly but not the Legislative Council, most of whose members had been appointed by Duplessis.

Memories of the distress among returned military personnel after World War I and the dire prospects that faced Allied Forces in WWII, produced, by way of boosting morale, a promise of reconstruction and a hope of a better world to follow. To avoid the threat of creating a Ministry of

Reconstruction, the federal government passed Order in Council PC 7031 which initiated a scheme of weekly payments to ex-service persons who entered full-time education, as well as direct payments by the government of university fees, and, later, a subsidy to the university, provided that fees and subsidy not exceed \$500.00 per person per year. Other Allied Governments produced similar schemes for veterans at later dates. For some in Quebec it opened the prospect of free university education where even secondary education was not completely free, and public secondary Catholic education, where it existed, did not necessarily give access to university education. The Commonwealth Air Training Scheme, which saw Canada as the major training area for Commonwealth air crews, was so successful and casualties so many less than anticipated that demobilization of air crews began in late 1944. The first of these enrolled at McGill in January 1945. The major demobilization which began in September 1945 made the operation of a second campus imperative. The saga of Sir William Dawson College, set up in former air force buildings at St. John, has been well told elsewhere (see Frost, 1980, 1984; McLennan, 1980); the realization that McGill had passed from a purely private to a partly regularly-subsidized institution had still not been fully appreciated in some quarters of Quebec, though the financial drain imposed upon McGill by the six years of the operation of Dawson College soon became apparent. (The name Dawson was in honor of Sir William Dawson, Principal of McGill, 1855-1893.) When Cyril James, on behalf of all universities, approached the federal government for further regular, but increased, support he received instead the promise of a Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences. This was the Massey (or Massey-Lévesque) Commisssion. (Fr. Henri Lévesque was the Dean of Social Sciences at Laval and accepted nomination to the commission against the expressed opposition of Premier Duplessis, who then proceeded to first cut and then abolish provincial grants to the School.) The commission's report, presented in 1951, suggested, inter alia, that "a Federal Government make annual contributions to support the work of universities on the basis of the population of each province of Canada," and that the Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Letters, Humanities, and Sciences be set up with the appropriate funds. In 1952, the first year of operation, McGill received over \$615,000, but the division of the remainder of the Ouebec fund between universities and collèges classiques was a more difficult matter. Of more immediate concern was the action of Premier Duplessis who forbade any Quebec university to accept further funds, on pain of unspecified penalties, as an intrusion of a federal presence on a provincial preserve. (Duplessis always said that he knew how to get his share of the booty from Ottawa.) It was only after the death of Duplessis in September 1959 that his successor, Paul Sauvé, former Minister of Youth and Social Services, made the appropriate financial arrangement with Ottawa which released the retained funds

of the previous six years. The untimely death of Sauvé in February 1960 and the election of June 1960 broke the power of the Union Nationale in the Assembly, but not the Council, and set the stage for six years of Liberal government and the reforms of the Quiet Revolution.

In this historical account one must now desert prosopography for ethopea and as well as turning to the major educational figures of the Quiet Revolution, Paul Gérin-Lajoie and Arthur Tremblay, invoke the Freudian notion of overdetermination in the social-political-educational milieu as in the sphere of human character formation. In 1939 Gérin-Lajoie, recently graduated from Philosophie II at Collège Jean Brebeuf with a Baccalauréat ès Arts, was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford (one of the two awarded in Quebec that year), but which he only took up at the end of the war in 1945. In the meantime he had graduated in law from the University of Montreal, then located on St. Denis Street, and entered a law firm, seeking to practice in commercial law. Oxford, where he expected to specialize in this branch of law, did not offer such opportunities and instead he was guided through the intricacies of constitutional law. On his return to Ouebec his commercial law contacts saw him working with the Chamber of Commerce as chairman of its permanent Committee on Federal-Provincial Relations, and his educational interests kept him occupied as the legal advisor to collèges classiques which in 1952 he advised to join together in a Fédération the better to secure federal grants. As one of the four organizers of the Chamber's 1952 annual meeting, held in Ottawa, he helped secure a resolution favouring a provincial enquiry into federal-provincial relations. He hoped that the spinoff for Quebec universities would parallel that to the anglophone universities by the Rowell-Sirois Federal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations. By using as many as possible of Union Nationale supporters in the Chambers of Commerce in a démarche on Duplessis, he secured the setting up of the Tremblay Commission - all of whose members from Judge Tremblay himself to the English member, the Hon. J. P. Rowat, were known to be supporters of Premier Duplessis. Its four remits paralleled somewhat the four of the Rowell-Sirois enquiry, but its fourth section, "to enquire and make recommendations generally on problems of a legislative or fiscal nature," opened wide the door of what could be presented. Then came the task, undertaken by Gérin-Lajoie, of ensuring that sufficient interested organizations would wish to make submissions that the Commisssion would have to proceed, and report, which it did in 1956; Duplessis then refused to either discuss or distribute the report. Its secret circulation did little to detract from its effect.

Meanwhile, Arthur Tremblay, Director of the School of Pedagogy and Counselling at Laval, had been for two years a member of the Sub-Committee

of the Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction which had been studying the coordination at all levels of Catholic education in Ouebec. He had, in 1954, published his reflections on the problems posed for the public secondary schools, where these existed, and for the collèges classiques by the actions of the universities of Laval and Montreal in accepting a Latin-Science option as well as the Latin-Greek option in the Baccalauréat ès Arts for admission to their universities. The Fédération des collèges classiques invited him to help prepare their brief to the Tremblay Commission, which in turn, overwhelmed by the 60% of briefs relating to education, asked him to collate and analyze these in two appendices to their report. The report itself recommended a further, separate commission of enquiry bearing specifically on education. It was the preparation of this brief for the Federation which brought Tremblay into contact with the Federation's legal advisor. From that time on, their careers were closely linked, eventually as Minister and Deputy Minister, first of Youth, then of Education. They were so closely linked that Daniel Johnson, leader of the Union Nationale opposition would demand the resignation of both of them at the same time. The exact relationship between the two is not easily discernible - whether Gérin-Lajoie was the political man of action, for whom the nonpolitical Tremblay prepared and submitted the facts which bolstered the political will and action of his Minister, or whether Tremblay prepared the "bullets" and Gérin-Lajoie fired them is far from clear. Which perception was accepted seemed to depend on whether contact was at the political or the administrative/organizational level. But undoubtedly they were the architects and builders of the educational aspects of the Ouiet Revolution, and without these educational aspects there would have been no Quiet Revolution and the subsequent emergence of large numbers of Quebec entrepreneurs and skilled professionals.

The momentum continued with the Provincial Conference on Education in Montreal in February 1958, brought about by the combined efforts of the St. Jean Baptiste Society, the Fédération des collèges classiques, the school commissions, and the Chamber of Commerce, with some 55 organizations participating. The heads of the six universities, the Provincial Secretary, and the Minister of Youth were honorary presidents, while the active president was the director of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Montréal. His opening speech was a claim for a Christian, i.e., Catholic and French system of education, uninfluenced by the Anglo-Protestant system which operated in a totally different milieu. Such a system was, and would be, superior to any Communist system. (Duplessis tended to categorize his opponents as Communists.) The major speech was provided by Tremblay who later edited the whole proceedings. In his address Tremblay urged compulsory education to age 16 or even 18, the abolition of school fees, the provision of free textbooks, and the payment of an allowance to parents with

children above age 14 in full-time attendance. He knew that the greatest opposition to such a scheme would come from those who wished to keep the state out of education. He recalled for them that in 1942 (when the Bill providing family allowances for children in attendance at school was being debated in Ottawa), Cardinal Villeneuve cited the Papal Encyclical, Quadragesimo Anno, which suggested that "public interest," when it was allied to the best interests of the family, had a place in the debate, and in the "public interest" the state could require some compulsory attendance. The workshops of the conference recommended that there should be a royal commission on education, that steps should be taken to secure the release of the federal funds provided for universities and collèges classiques (held back by Duplessis' pressure on the universities), that the influence of the clergy should be reduced, and that research and the collection of statistics relating to education, should be a task for the universities. There was discussion about a possible minister of public instruction, or ministry of education. In securing appropriate wording for the various conference resolutions, Jean Marchand and Arthur Tremblay played prominent roles. Marchand, later a federal minister and then senator, proposed that free education be provided at all levels, that the school commissions and the Council of Public Instruction should be reformed to reduce the role of the clergy. The Protestant group sought better financial treatment for the Institute of Education at McGill and funds for buildings and extensions. (Duplessis actually promised such funds and they were later used for the extension of the library at Macdonald College and for structural changes to the Main Building there.) The final speech from Cardinal Léger stressed the role of the Catholic church in education but foresaw a greater role for its lay members - a collaboration which would evolve "in our time" - and that the bishops would accept such ideas and transformations coming from the efforts of honest, competent, and nonpartisan men. Alarmed by the talk of a ministry of education, Duplessis had a law passed in the following February 1959 which would require the assent of both chambers of the Assembly before the Superintendent of Public Instruction could be removed from office.

In the same year André Laurendau, editor of *Le Devoir*, wrote an editorial deploring the level of spoken French in the province. He characterized it as *joual*. An "anonymous brother" replied with three suggestions of how to conquer *joual*. The three suggestions were: (1) Absolute control of radio and television; death penalty for using *joual*; (2) Destruction by the Provincial Police of all business signs in English or *joual*; (3) For two years, the right to shoot at sight any official, any cabinet minister, any professor, any priest, who uttered a word of *joual*. He continued in a series of letters, collected under the title of *Les Insolences du Frère Untel*, with an attack on various institutions in Quebec, especially the Council of Public Instruction,

and suggested that teaching brothers and sisters had lived too long under the patron saint of Notre Dame de la Trouille (Our Lady of Extreme Fear). They should follow the lead of Abbé Dion and Abbé O'Neill, reject the Jansenist nature of Quebec society, join with their lay brethren, join unions if necessary, and seek to become real professionals, setting up and attending meetings which would discuss the affairs of their schools and professional questions. They should join the little revolution already in progress.

Meanwhile Gérin-Lajoie had been involved in the reorganization of the Liberal party in Quebec, which in 1954 had become a Quebec Liberal Party, and was an active member of its policy committee. He was responsible for making education a prime topic in Liberal campaigns, beginning in 1956 with the placard, "93% of our children will never go to university." After losing in that election and in a subsequent byelection, in 1960 he was a member of *l'équipe du tonnere*, whose leading members, the three Ls – Lesage, Lapalme, and Lévesque, were the finest orators of their day, and he was duly elected for Vaudreuil-Soulanges. The campaign, *C'est le temps que ça change*, was based upon a six-point programme, which, *inter alia*, promised to create new Ministries of Cultural Affairs, Natural Resources, Social Welfare, and Federal-Provincial Relations, a Civil Service Commission, and a Royal Commission on Education. Lesage throughout maintained that as long as he was Premier there would be no Ministry of Public Instruction.

The next move by Gérin-Lajoie was the crucial one. Lesage dithered about his cabinet appointments, finally offering Gérin-Lajoie the Ministry of Youth. Previous Ministers of Youth (the last two had been Bertrand and Sauvé) had also been Ministers of Social Welfare, so to be head of a single ministry would be something of a demotion. Gérin-Lajoie proposed that the Superintendent of Public Instruction, who controlled public primary and secondary education, should be required to report, not to the Provincial Secretary but to the Minister of Youth, who already controlled technical education and trade training. Thus by Order in Council 1052, "Concerning the Distribution of Duties," all funds for public education, beaux arts, music, and adult education would be transferred from the Provincial Secretary to the Minister of Youth, and some other duties and funds would be transferred to the Provincial Secretary. In all but title, Gérin-Lajoie was a minister of education. Accession to the offical title was to take a little longer.

Among his first actions as Minister of Youth was the setting up of a planning bureau in August (1960), under the direction of Tremblay, who in July had been made executive assistant and special advisor to the Minister of Youth. The bureau was to plan the general development of educational affairs, to provide the informational background for ministerial and govern-

mental policy, to conduct the necessary research for, and to offer help to, any governmental committee or commission of enquiry, as well as collecting statistics relevant to education. In January 1961 Tremblay was made the chairman of a committee enquiring into technical and professional training. In April, Gérin-Lajoie set up the Royal Commisssion of Enquiry into Education, subsequently known as the Parent Commission, after its chairman, Monseigneur Alphonse Parent, formerly Rector but then Vice-Rector of Laval University, who had worked closely with Tremblay in the past. Its Vice-Chairman was Gérard Filion, publisher of Le Devoir, a newspaper which supported educational change, and a man known for his gros bon sens. The appointment to the Commission of Sister Marie de Rome was at the direct suggestion of Premier Lesage, who had been impressed by her in a recent television appearance in discussion with André Laurendau. Another member was Guy Rocher, Professor of Sociology at the University of Montreal and graduate of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Laval, who had met Gérin-Lajoie in 1946 when they, along with Gérard Pelletier, were Quebec delegates to an International Youth Conference in Prague. John McIlhone, representing English-Catholic interests, had been a leading speaker, his second public address in French, at the Montreal Provincial Conference in February 1958, while David Munroe, representing Protestant interests, had been Gérin-Lajoie's host when, in September 1960, he had addressed staff and students of McGill's Institute of Education at Macdonald College. Professsor Jeanne Lapointe, of the Laval Faculty of Letters, and Paul Laroque, from Alcan, were the other members. The official position now held by Tremblay made it impossible for him to be a member of the Commission, so that he was made an associate member, without voting rights. Later, the report which he submitted to the Minister of Youth on technical education was sent to the Commission, whose members were directed to pay particular regard to its contents and recommendations. In the summer of 1961 all the members of the Commission were the guests of the Institute of Education and informal discussions initiated. The first public meetings of the Commission to receive briefs were held in Redpath Hall, McGill University, with the first presentation being made on behalf of the Governors and Senate of the university.

This brief, and this session, was the first of many briefs publicly presented, and the first of many sessions held in various sections of the province over the next twelve months. In 114 pages it took a conservative view of affairs, that is, the province would be best served by having twelve years of compuslory education, followed by the traditional North American four-year university programme. It stressed the need for research subsidized by the government but compatible with university interests; urged universities to establish summer schools in English and French; that Catholic teachers be allowed employment as language teachers in Protestant schools; that at

least grade 5 or grade 6 should be taught entirely in the second language, with some subjects in the upper grades also taught in the second language. Two interesting observations related to help for underdeveloped countries in the form of special admission of students from those countries together with the release of staff of Quebec universities to work overseas, and the admission of students to proposed McGill collegiate institutions which might emerge as university colleges or institutes of advanced technology. It advocated the setting up of a University Grants Commission or similar body which would help in university planning, and which might look at institutions that aspired to receive university charters. In Senate discussions, prior to submission, the Dean of Agriculture advocated a compulsory grade 12 followed by a three-year course, thus permitting the university to expand its student numbers, whilst the Dean of Engineering wanted to press for separate technical colleges. Neither suggestion was accepted, and was not part of the brief.

The professors of the University of Montreal deplored the results of the Charter of 1852 which produced, eventually, three French universities with 125 affiliated institutions which were trying to be both secondary schools and universities, often with only a handful of students. Attempts to ape Anglo-Saxon universites would merely add to the hybrid nature of those institutions, so the professors preferred a clearly delineated system under a Provincial Council of Education, with three Commissions, according to the level of education each controlled - primary, secondary, and university. There should be a primary school of six years, followed by a secondary school of seven years, or six in the Protestant system, and four years of university. Successful students from the secondary system would receive a Baccalauréat d'enseignement secondaire, at the level of the traditional baccalauréat of France. French terminology would be used in naming the faculties and the degrees awarded - licence, diplôme (or maîtrise), and doctorat. Normal schools would be retained for the training of primary school teachers; secondary school teachers would be university trained in Faculties of Culture, with several parallel courses in pedagogy. In other briefs submitted in Montreal, Loyola contented itself with asking for a university charter; a private submission from a political science professor at the University of Montreal asked for a coeducational school system divided on linguistic lines, with grants to English schools dependent upon their ability to teach French. He also wanted to make illegal the sale of any product not clearly marked in French. One brief asked for a written constitution for Ouebec, with a Bill of Rights, and a police academy to train cadets to replace the federal troops on Ouebec soil. University women deplored the poor quality of textbooks then available, saying these were badly written, cliché ridden, and full of colloqualisms and anglicisms. In Quebec there were calls for the rejection of federal funds, for French as the only language in the elementary schools, with English permitted in high schools only. The St. Jean Baptiste Society wanted Englishlanguage elementary schools to be bilingual, and French as the only legal (official) language. In a later submission it requested that all new Canadians should be educated in French, and argued against free education for all.

In July 1964, the McGill Association of University Teachers (MAUT) rejected the idea of a grade 12 in the Protestant schools. It suggested instead a system of bilingual regional colleges which would give a grade 11 education followed by the first two years of a university education. One such college would be on the McGill campus. Universities would concentrate on the upper university years. Laval University made its submission in late July 1962, concentrating upon teacher education. It suggested many fewer teacher colleges, reducing their numbers from some 120 to about 15 or 20 with the remaining ones placed under university control. All secondary school teachers should possess a university degree, and there should be 13 years of schooling before university entrance. No new universities should be created, the money could be better used to fund research and provide scholarships. Good secondary schools had to be developed, and some form of counselling should be offered to children entering secondary school, as to the academic courses or to those related to technical/vocational education which they should follow. Finally it called for the establishment of a consultative committee for the six universities.

Whilst all this work was in progress Gérin-Lajoie had gone ahead with his educational reforms - La Grande Charte - which involved raising the school leaving age to 16, monthly allowances to those of 16 and 17 years still in full-time attendance, free textbooks, and bursaries available to students in the upper years of the collèges classiques, all demands made at the 1958 Provincial Conference. All teachers would be trained in universities, parents could vote in school elections, school commissions should provide secondary education up to grade 11, with financial assistance for kindergarten or special classes which employed suitably qualified teachers. Private schools would be eligible for government grants, and university financing would be on a fiveyear basis. Nor did he forget some political promises – a start was made on making Highway 2 into a four-lane Highway 20, and the route of the Trans-Canada Highway was altered so that it did not pass through land acquired by supporters of the Union Nationale. In his own riding of Vaudreuil-Soulanges he commenced his own educational reform by starting to build La Cité des Jeunes. To keep up the excitement of the reforms, he asked the Parent Commission to make available an early report on its deliberations. Eventually, the Report was published in several sections, deposited at different dates. The first one, written by Gérard Filion, whilst the other members were assessing education in other countries, was made public in May 1963. Of its 33 recommendations, the two most important ones called for the establishment of a Ministry of Education, dealt with in the first 15 recommendations, and for a Superior Council of Education, with separate funding and separate staff, and with a Protestant as either the Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Council.

From recommendation to accomplishment was to be no easy task. On the one hand the government, encouraged by its success in an election in November 1962, fought under the slogan Maître Chez Nous, called, at the suggestion of René Lévesque, for the nationalization of private producers and distributors of electricity, but taken also as a measure of public satisfaction with their educational reforms. On the other hand there were memories of events in 1898 when the government of that day tried to create a Ministry of Education. The clergy, in opposition to the proposed move, enlisted some support from within the Vatican but not the Pope himself. The Legislative Assembly passed the bill, but the clergy swayed the Council to defeat it. So, once again, if the bishops could not be induced to support Bill 60 (the term Projet de Loi was not then in vogue), then their opposition would have to be contained or neutralized. Before the Bill was given first reading, Archbishop Roy was consulted and the changes he proposed were included. Opposition to the Bill was loud, and appeared to come from the Bishop's Palace in Montreal, but not from Cardinal Léger who was in Rome at Vatican II. The Cabinet waited his return to set things straight. Whilst in favour of a ministry (after all he was to name the first lay rector of the University of Montreal and had created a new collège classique under lay control), he asked for time to consult with his fellow bishops. There was apprehension in the Cabinet. In public René Lévesque joked that Bill 60 was the name of the Pope to follow John XXIII, or so the Jesuits believed, but in private he offered to produce a TV presentation, after the summer recess. Lesage hesitated and asked for written submissions during the summer, as he wished to re-introduce an amended bill in early 1964. Gérin-Lajoie, the politician, assembled a team of advisers and made a punishing tour of all regions of Quebec in the months of August, September, and October, and published a defence of his position in Pourquoi Le Bill 60? In each region he saw the clergy, the business leaders, the members of the school commissions, and held public meetings to answer questions on the subject. The strategy was successful, a "wind of change" swept the province in his favour. Written submissions were also generally favourable, though the Fédération des collèges classiques thought that the Minister should be subservient to the Superior Council (i.e., revert to the superintendent and the provincial secretary relationship). The reply of the Assembly of Bishops clinched matters. They sought a declaration of the rights of children to receive an education, for the rights of parents to choose

a school according to confessionality, and of individuals or groups of individuals to set up "autonomous", i.e., private schools. Then, in line with the thinking of Vatican II, they recognized that a pluralist society existed, that they would henceforth stress the pastoral duties of the church, and that schools should be under the control of the state. When Lesage, in introducing second reading, read out this declaration, opposition collapsed, the amended bill incorporating the bishops' declaration in the preamble became law on May 13, 1964. Under the law the Minister now had power to make regulations for the conduct of schools and institutions under his control. Gérin-Lajoie was sworn in as Minister, Tremblay as Deputy Minister with Joseph Pagé and Howard Billings as Associate Deputy Ministers. Jean-Marie Martin, who had been one of Gérin-Lajoie's team on the Grand Tour, became the first chairman of the Superior Council with David Munroe as Vice-Chairman. A few days later, steps were taken to recall Jean-Paul Désbiens, "Brother Anonymous." from his "exile" in Switzerland and establish him as Director-General of Curriculum and Examinations. For a number of years he functioned as a "trouble shooter" for the Ministry of Education before returning to teaching and administrative control of a succession of CEGEPs.

Three major factors now determined the pace and fate of educational reform under a ministry of education: the future reports and recommendations of the Parent Commission (which were acquiring some of the characteristics of Biblical prophecy), the consequences of the reforms already undertaken (La Grande Charte) with the imposition of the sales tax on a province-wide basis to pay for them, and the efforts of the Planning Division (planification) which had already foreseen some of them. June (1964) saw the issue of a White Paper on the financing of school building and school equipment, July spelled out the new duties of school commissions, and September through October were devoted to the conclusion of Operation 55, another tour de force for Gérin-Lajoie. The existing 1830 school commissions which might be involved in secondary education were to be reduced to 55 regional school commissions, plus 9 for the Protestant sector, each being responsible for secondary education in what were to be comprehensive, polyvalent high schools with some 1000 to 1500 pupils in each school. This would require new schools, more teachers, more transport, more equipment, and more school personnel. Efforts under the Ministry of Youth had already secured in the majority of areas of the province regional committees for school planning (COREPS - Comités regionaux de planification scolaire) made up of individuals in the area who could give advice both to the Ministry and to the regional school boards. Some 42 agreements had already been secured; media attention to the efforts behind Operation 55 brought the recalcitrant areas into line.

The next two volumes of the Parent Commission were delivered in October and November 1964. The tactic of having the report presented in sections, as the deliberations of the Commission proceeded, maintained and heightened interest in current and future reforms whilst the contents showed a Jesuitical attention to the organization of their discussions and recommendations. Within the Commission and the Ministry, two key words appeared, democratization and access. The former referred to the democratization of the system of education (there were strong pressures within and upon the Commission to respect the élite and preserve some aspects of élitism), the latter referred to the individual student's right to go as far as possible in the system, irrrespective of geographical place of residence within the province, and the financial resources of the family. The role of Tremblay as Director of Planning, and until May 1964 as Associate Commissioner, could only have facilitated the preparations for reform within the Ministry of Youth.

The two reports, Volumes 2 and 3, dealt with the structures of the system and the programmes of study, the very core of education and its organization. An elementary education of six years was to be followed by a secondary one of five years, with university admission after thirteen years. This format required the creation of some new kind of education for adolescents at a postsecondary, preuniversity level. As a preuniversity level, should it cater merely for an educational elite? As a postsecondary level, should it be a future terminal level for everyone not seeking to go to university, or a present level for only some of those seeking to enter the work force? If individuals could enter the work force directly after secondary education, for what proportion of the student population should it cater? What would be the role of existing institutions, some of which were preuniversity institutions, as the collèges classiques, and some of which provided some form of technical or work-related training in a hodge-podge (une vraie macédoine) of institutions. The clarity, simplicity, and financing of the structure the Commission proposed could only have been helped by an earlier agreement between the Ministry and Ottawa, whereby Quebec claimed its share of the money provided under a Diefenbaker initiative to reduce unemployment, i.e., Technical Training Act – money which Duplessis refused to take, and for which only Ontario under the administration of Premier Frost was fully ready to profit. Although Quebec now claimed its share, its inability to fully profit from it at the time required subsequent "adjustments" to the federal-provincial agreement to extend the duration of the Federal Act.

Under the heading of Preuniversity and Vocational Education, the second volume of the Parent Report had some twenty-eight recommendations for the Minister. It suggested that the new level of education should be provided in publicly controlled, autonomous institutes created for the pur-

pose, that universities should cease to provide general or vocational training at that level, and that all institutions at present (1964) providing education beyond the eleventh year be asked to collaborate in the creation of the institutes, through the consolidation of their teaching staffs, their buildings, and their educational equipment. After making suggestions for the internal operation of an institute, which should provide for some 1000 to 1500 students, it recommended that pedagogical responsibility for the institutes should rest with the Department of Curriculum and Planning of the Ministry of Education, with the advice and collaboration of university professors and specialists. Having virtually recommended the abolition of first-year university courses and the collèges classiques, in its next volume the Commission considered the programmes of study, and showed the continuing influence of the curriculum of the collèges classiques by suggesting that philosophy should be taught in the institutes for four hours per week in the first year and on an optional basis in the second year. Philosophie I and Philosophie II still had a place in the education of adolescents. There would, of course, be some difficulty for any institutes in an English-language milieu. In the institutes there should be a balance between basic compulsory subjects and courses in other fields, with even the teaching of compulsory subjects being adapted to future educational and occupational requirements. It recommended that each institute include eight departments corresponding to the basic disciplines and at least ten technological and vocational departments.

The effects of the foreign visits made by members of the Commission showed up clearly in their recommendations for the establishment of a Continuing Education Service. Even the People's Universities in the Soviet Union, visited by Guy Rocher, came in for a positive mention, as well as the Paris Conservancy for Arts and Trades, and the Colleges of Further Education in the United Kingdom. Undoubtedly a recent economic finding that the "quantity" of education provided was a significant factor in forecasting the national wealth and the gross national product of the United States, a finding quickly appreciated by Gérin-Lajoie, entered into their thinking, as well as the low average level of scolarité in the Quebec population, something which had to be remedied if Quebec were to make economic progress. It advocated that the counselling and guidance services of the school commissions and institutes should be made freely available to adults, and that the regional school commissions be responsible for Continuing Education at the elementary and secondary levels, with the institutes and universities responsible at levels above that. In one sense, also, in its declared aim of democratizing the educational process, it would integrate adults, including parents, into the educational enterprise. In the end, education at the elementary and secondary levels was provided free, as was full-time adult education provided in institutes, but part-time education above the secondary level was to be paid, in part

at least, by the adults concerned. This, fortuitously, was to become of great value to the institutes.

In its final report the Commission had some eighteen recommendations on the financing of institutes and universities. There should be development plans for each, which should take cognizance of the regional milieu, and rules concerning government grants. The corporations of the institutes should be able to enter into negotiations for contracts with existing institutions for buildings, staff, and facilities generally, and unions representing these staffs should have access to the corporations. In making their building plans, consideration should be given to the provision of residential accommodation. Both institutes and universities should be prepared to allocate from 6% to 8% of the annual budget to the provision of adult education, and in the case of universities at least 12% for libraries. Research money should become available, and appeals be made to the local community, industrial enterprises, financial institutions, and to alumni for financial contributions and support.

Finally, it suggested that free education be extended to all students at the level of elementary, secondary, and preuniversity and vocational education; that student loans be provided at the institute level to "assist all those whose families cannot meet the many expenses involved in continuing their children's studies," and that bursaries be awarded to those requiring the largest loans. At the university level, a higher value of loans would be justified, but in all cases there would be arrangements for repayment over a period of ten years from completion of studies. Loans would be interest free for the duration of studies and for two years thereafter; that in the case of women students, the debt could not be transferred to the husband after marriage; repayments could be postponed after the birth of the first child and cancelled after the birth of a second child.

There were busy times at the Ministry in the years from 1962-1966. Democratization also meant, at that time, the involvement of a great many people in decision-making, so there were committees considering this and that, with the members of one committee knowing little, if anything, of the work of another committee, unless there were some membership in common. The picture conveyed by members at that time was of waiting around for Arthur Tremblay to arrive. If he did not exactly shuttle from one committee to another, at least he appeared to be directly involved in the proceedings of all of them. There had to be agreement on terminology, on the remit of the committee, on the production of "organograms," and charts of lines of communication and lines of responsibility. The Tremblay report on technical education of 1962 clearly set the pattern. In May 1965 the cabinet approved Regulation No. 1, which set up elementary education of six years, followed

by a polyvalent secondary education of five years. March 1966 saw similar cabinet-approval for six major items of reform, beginning with Regulation No. 3 which was to set up the "institutes" or rather Collèges d'enseignement général et professionel (Colleges of General and Professional Education), promptly known by its acronym CEGEP, and continuing with Regulation No. 4 on teacher training, an agreed policy on the status and financing of private education, of continuing education (éducation permanente), on loans and bursaries for students, and for the budgets of school commissions for 1966-67. Work was begun on fleshing out the details and preparing the necessary legislation when Lesage called an election for June 5, 1966, even though his mandate extended to 1967.

The result was a complete surprise. The Liberals retained 51 seats to the 55 of the Union Nationale, even though in popular vote they had 47%, compared to 40% received by their opponents. Daniel Johnson, leader of the Union Nationale, had fought the election riding-by-riding, with promises tailored to the local electorate, and a general attack upon Jean (Ti-Jean la taxe) Lesage who was accused of taxing everything save the bed springs of the mattress on which they slept. He prophesied a flight of capital from Quebec, schools without God, and everything controlled by the state. In Montreal, on radio, he acknowledged that McGill had been badly treated in the matter of provincial grants; the ministry had found a way to alter the proposal of the Grants Commission and awarded a mere \$55,000 instead of the millions anticipated. Subsequently he promised the chancellor and principal that he would make good the deficiency over the next few years, but died before his promise could be completed. By then, rattrapage was invoked to ensure special additional grants to the French universities to enable them to "catch up". Johnson's campaign was helped by a leaked report printed in La Presse that the next volume of the Parent Report would advocate neutral schools as well as confessional schools. He attacked the consequences of the regional high schools by talking of the "yellow peril" (the long school-bus journeys to and from school for students in rural areas), of lunch pails, and of tuberculosis from the confined atmosphere. He was helped also by strikes among public service personnel, some teachers, and some Hydro-Quebec engineers, and the unionization and possible strike of the Quebec Provincial Police, to which Lesage had replied by asking the federal government to place the Royal 22nd Regiment (the Vandoos) on stand-by. Lesage's personal problems and his decision to make it his own campaign, even though organized by Claude Morin (later a Parti Québecois minister), did not help.

Would the defeat of the Liberals bring to an end the progress of educational reform, or had the reforms generated their own momentum? What would happen to all those students now attending high school? Would

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the CEGEPs come into existence, or would the Union Nationale turn back the clock? Would Tremblay stay as Deputy Minister? What about all the civil servants engaged by Lesage and Gérin-Lajoie? Many of them considered resigning, and in fact Jacques Parizeau did, but had his resignation rejected, and later had his advice accepted on setting up central bargaining tables for salary negotiations in the public service and with teachers. (Later, in another role, he was to negate teacher contracts and unilaterally impose upon them a drastic reduction in salaries.) The Civil Service Commission, established under Lesage, became the protector of those who staffed it, so that Tremblay continued and Johnson was forced to placate those Union Nationale members who had wanted to fire Tremblay. Under Jean-Jacques Bertrand, Minister of Education, was passed the General Vocational College Act. Chapter 71, of the laws of 1966-67, coming into force in June of 1967. In the fall of that year twelve French-language CEGEPs were opened, and in the following year a further eleven. But what of the CEGEPs for an English-language population? To study that question it is necessary to return to McGill, regarded by some as the centre of English-language education, by others as the bastion of English educational privileges, if not even of English rights.

The years 1964-1972 were hectic years for McGill as much as for other institutions. After working directly with the universities' financial planning group and having, for the first time, seen the detailed financial requests of their sister universities, they had been signatories to an agreed plan of financing for the coming years. Yet within the Ministry of Education means had been found to reject only McGill's share of the allocations. They had heard the campaign promises of Daniel Johnson, and his efforts to make good a promise to McGill aborted by his death; they were to face the effects of Bill 63 of Bertrand and, later, of Bill 22 of Bourassa, the wrath and turmoil of their own and other students, the incident of the McGill Daily (the first use, by Fekete, of the word f-k in a McGill publication), the "occupation" of some of their buildings, the movement and march of "McGill Français." In the midst of all this they were faced with the planning for the consequences of the recommendations of the Parent Report. The suggestions dealing with the institutes, later to be CEGEPs, became the topic of at least 30 Senate meetings, some called especially to debate and arrange for English-language CEGEPs, and the transitional arrangements for all potential CEGEP students for whom no buildings existed, no CEGEPs chartered, and no teachers engaged. The confusion was not decreased by the results of the 1966 election of a government which had campaigned on the promise of retarding educational change nor by the fractured nature of committee discussions in Quebec City, which left information in the hands of individuals from McGill, but with no overall mechanism for either making it public or for determining the ultimate policy of the Ministry of Education. Senate meetings were even

delayed to await the arrival of a telegram from a deputy minister enabling McGill to admit students for the next academic year. Added to that was the differences in faculty viewpoints, between professors, deans, and student members elected to Senate, which made progress difficult if not, at times, impossible.

As early as December 1964 McGill had established a committee to study the Parent Report which had been presented to the Minister of Education. At three subsequent meetings some discussion took place, usually with one person presenting and commenting upon one section. In March 1965 a second special meeting was called at which six aspects were discussed - its effect upon university government, on undergraduate curricula, on general admission policies, on admission to the professional schools and faculties of the university, on graduate studies, and upon teacher education. By April statements were being requested from the deans, who would presumably consult their faculties, and it was announced that Education would no longer be an institute but a Faculty of Education. It was suggested to the Minister that he set up a small group to consider university budgets and their planning, to which he agreed. A reply to the Superior Council of Education request for observations on Regulation No. 2 was considered in November and again in December when Vice-Principal Fieldhouse stated that McGill had informed the Superior Council that it supported the decision for a six-year elementary, five-year secondary school, and two years of preuniversity and technical education. McGill believed that such institutions should be nonconfessional. where possible should be bilingual, and should be placed under the authority of a public corporation. He felt that it would be an easier transition for the French system to make than for the English system. In the French system there would be a regrouping and readaptation of existing institutions, for whom the staff might well exist, but for the English system there would be difficulties in financing, staffing, and determining the curriculum of the institutes which would be formidable. There should be discussions with the Protestant school system to secure their cooperation also. His statement on the difficulties was something of an understatement as future developments showed, for even at that date there was some opposition to the idea of the institutes and some would have preferred to see, for the Protestant population, the kind of system envisaged when the Senate and Board read its brief to the Parent Commission in 1961. In April 1965 Senate confirmed in a formal resolution their acceptance of a three-stage preuniversity education, and suggested that the Ministry set up a curriculum-planning group which would parallel one already existing on the French side. The first interim report of the Planning Committee on Institutes was presented on February 14, 1967, dealing with the transitional stages in the setting up of what the Committee preferred to call regional colleges (shades of the MAUT brief to the Parent Commission), and the general types of curricula which they should offer. As it noted, "six to ten regional colleges will eventually be established to deal with the preuniversity and vocational education of English-speaking youths. The large amount of capital expenditure needed and the difficulty of recruiting adequate staff suggest that this will be a lengthy task, extending over a decade or more. Furthermore a change in the number of years of scolarity is involved." It was also foreseen that the length of the university course would be reduced to three years. In the statements above lie the nub of the subsequent discussions: how could these arrangements be made, who would make them, what degree of flexibility would be possible, what guarantees could be extracted from the Ministry that plans once approved would not be cancelled or vetoed, what examinations or certificates would the graduates of the regional colleges obtain, and who would control university admissions for these students.

In the following month a draft resolution on general and vocational education colleges was presented to Senate. It reiterated McGill's support for the establishment of such colleges, dealt with entrance standards, the pattern of courses to be followed (profils), the university course offerings, and the transition period, awaiting the building of sufficient regional colleges to meet enrolment requirements. In the debate which followed, the question of the continued use of SACU (Service for admission to college and university) or other objective tests was raised, to which Medicine would add the interview. Perhaps there could be a centrally-set examination for all colleges, graded at the provincial level. Undue specialization at the college level was decried, as in the Parent Report, but students should expect not to repeat in the university what they had studied in the colleges. But, in the meantime, various committees set up by the Committee of Rectors and Principals had already been looking at curricula. One meeting had been held in Pierrefonds and others at St. Hyacinthe. It was even suggested that McGill representatives at these meetings were not faculty representatives, and yet had submitted or agreed to course proposals. It later transpired, that on the French side, some were less than impressed to find that the proposals were first made by Jean-Marie Beauchemin, formerly Secretary-General of the Fédération des collèges classiques who was now, under the Union Nationale, both Director-General of Collegial Education and Associate Deputy Minister charged with establishing public free institutions to replace the said collèges classiques. Along with Jean-Paul Desbiens he arrived with copies of Regulation No. 3 to start the proceedings. Two facets seemed to emerge: there was a proliferation of courses to be offered in any discipline - an average of 31 for each science subject – and a paucity of course manuals written in French – in physics only one, and that a translation. One month later each member of McGill's Senate was presented with a set of directives from the Ministry concerning the organization of the courses of study at the college level, and an interpretation of the certificate which marked the completion of college-level programmes. A course was now defined as 45 hours of instruction, six courses per session plus two hours of physical education being required. There would be three sessions, two forming the major teaching sessions, and the third term being used for recyclage (repeating failed courses) or taking a make-up course if academic inclinations were changed. Eight courses would be compulsory, four in language and literature, either French or English, four in philosophy for French-speaking students, and four equivalent (undefined) courses for English-speaking students. By May 24, there was a note that a committee of undisclosed identity had been established to consider setting up the first English-language college, perhaps in 1968.

Professor Whitelaw, from Sir George Williams University, had agreed to act as special counsellor to the Department of Education and in October 1967 had initiated, on behalf of the Ministry, a project for handling the transition period during the establishment of the first English-language CEGEP. Following a meeting at Loyola, of as wide a representation as possible of the English-speaking community, called by C.W.Dickson, Associate Deputy Minister, a committee was established as the first step towards an application for a charter and the forming of a board of directors who would be responsible for the administration of a CEGEP. The High School of Montreal was considered as a possible site nucleus. If a college were set up, then all postsecondary institutions in the Montreal area would be involved in offering college programmes – there would be a five-year programme, the last three of which would lead to a university degree.

Each student would have to be registered separately for a college programme and the university programme, and since the college course was to be free, new financial arrangements would have to be made with the Ministry. The college programme, of six courses per year instead of the usual five, and the university-degree programme would need to be reconsidered. McGill thought that firm guarantees would have to be given that there would be a CEGEP building programme, and it was pointed out that McGill could not provide athletic facilities, that universities operated on a two-semester system, that new staff would be required, and there would be some special problems for the Faculty of Education, including the building of new facilities for it at Macdonald College which had been agreed by the Ministry. A special meeting was called for October to agree on a formal reply to Professor Whitelaw.

The use of a transitional year had some attractions; the students, for example, should receive good teaching, but there were problems. Not all

courses listed in L'annuaire de l'enseignement collègial could be given. (Reference has been made above to over thirty courses in science alone.) Nor was it clear which courses would have to be taken by those who wished to proceed later to a particular degree programme. The university should not be placed at a financial disadvantage, and if extra staff were to be hired, in fairness to them and to the university, it was necessary to know the duration of the transitional stage. Finally, a Joint Admissions Board would have to be set up to do justice to all applicants. In discussion it was felt that the reply began positively but that in enumerating possible difficulties, it might give too much of a negative appearance. Whatever reply was given to Professor Whitelaw did not prevent an independent CEGEP being established, if that were desirable. The courses would be the same on the English as the French side, save for the courses labelled philosophy. Other English-language postsecondary institutions were sending replies of a similar nature, i.e., that the total intake should be equal to the old freshman intake at all institutions plus the numbers which Dawson College would take. This was the first mention of the name Dawson College at a Senate meeting, which must presumably have come from the committee which was to seek a charter. As we shall see later, the name was not known to all who were to become directors of the college. It also became clear that Dawson College would open in 1969, by which time it was anticipated that all French-language CEGEPs would be in operation, and later, the Comité Mixte had indicated that all English-language universities would be responsible for college instruction.

It was perceived in some quarters that McGill was wholly opposed to the notion of CEGEPs. Jean-Paul Désbiens made this assertion in a recent interview (Les CEGEPs vingt ans après - J'y étais), and Paul Gallagher and Gertrude Macfarlane, in their private publication in 1975, even attributed the opposition to a Vice-Principal. Some individuals probably were antipathetic to the idea. But the issue at McGill was much wider than that of CEGEPs; it was the process of democratization at work within what had been a private university containing private fieldoms. Until the early 1960s the power of the Board of Governors was supreme; they raised the money, they called the tune. At one time in the 1950s the Chairman of the Finance Committee and the Bursar controlled all matters financial, with the Principal excluded from all nonacademic matters, and even there he was subject to interference from the Board. By comparison, the power of the Senate was very limited, restrained by arbitrary decisions of a principal (Cyril James), until he too had to bow to the power of the Board and resign. MAUT took the opportunity offered with the appointment of a new principal and demanded to be consulted on the appointment. Then special procedures were instituted in the selection of deans, after it was alleged that the new principal had failed to consult

adequately with the university community in his first such appointment. These procedures were later extended to the selection of department chairmen. At the same time the authority of the principal was shared by, or devolved upon, the Committee of Deans, and the administrative hierarchy grew heavier and heavier. Within faculties, the Faculty of Arts and Science, the largest faculty in both staff and students, and the one whose income compensated for the heavier financial burdens due to Engineering and Medicine, sought a monopoly voice in university affairs. Student power, in turn, became obvious when students were elected to serve on Senate and won the power to be consulted on academic appointments and by law were created members of the Board of Directors of the CEGEPs. Their reports on the teaching abilities of professors could have an effect upon the tenure and career prospects of the professors themselves. The issue of the CEGEPs, and especially the conduct of the "transitional" period in which college-equivalent courses were to be provided by the English-language institutions, including McGill, became the battle ground for the working out of democratization and the creation of new fiefdoms and the protection of old ones. Alliances. either overt or covert, existed between students and individual professors sometimes even between students and whole departments or subject disciplines.

First, there were the details of the transitional period and curriculum control. The pattern of university teaching within the Faculty of Arts and Sciences included two terms of teaching and examining with a summer term of alternative activity, either reading or research. Summer schools only existed at McGill for French, at Macdonald College for Education, and at Stanstead for Geography. The three-term system proposed for college-equivalent courses, or E1 and E2, as they were designated, would destroy this pattern, and would have to be resisted; six courses instead of five would not fit into timetable arrangements which, by now, had eliminated Saturday teaching. Professors who heretofore had taught freshmen students now would find it humiliating to teach E1 and E2, whilst others were prepared to argue that a freshman year with some summer reading courses (unsupervised) was the equivalent of two years of CEGEP instruction. The change to a three-year university, with larger enrolment, could only mean larger classes and newer courses, the organization and approval of which had become a tedious process – but one which provided opportunities for power to be gained and new fiefdoms to be established.

The first real challenge was made when the Faculty of Arts and Science, after a relatively poorly attended Faculty meeting in February 1968, recommended to Senate that McGill should cooperate as fully as possible, by

advice and other means, in the founding of "true" CEGEPs off-campus, and withdraw from the teaching of the freshman year when CEGEP graduates presented themselves in sufficient numbers. Some twelve months later Senate debated whether or not to ask the Faculty of Arts and Science to reconsider its rejection of college-equivalent programmes. The Physical Science Division of the Faculty, which had found itself increasingly at odds with what was regarded as the antics of some members of the Arts Division, had, in a private poll, shown a majority of 62-25 in favour of accepting some "generations" of college-equivalent students. In the end, Senate passed a resolution, on behalf of the university, to accept some "generations" of E1 and E2 students - the Ministry thought that three generations might be possible, but in the event five such generations were admitted. Rather than providing free education for students, and compensating the universities directly, fees of \$375 and student services fees of \$70 were levied. No vocational courses were provided and no physical education facilities were available. Plans were revealed at that time for a possible move of Agriculture and Education from Macdonald College to the downtown campus, thus freeing Macdonald College campus for a CEGEP. By November 1968, it was clear that Education would move and that space at Macdonald College could be rented for a three-year period for a CEGEP until a permanent site could be found and buildings erected.

By October 1968, other important events had occurred. Premier Daniel Johnson had died and been succeeded by the Minister of Education, Jean-Jacques Bertrand, who appointed Jean-Guy Cardinal as Minister of Education. Cardinal had opposed Bertrand in a caucus vote to succeed Daniel Johnson and had been defeated. He had been accused of devoting more time to his intrigues against Bertrand than in the care of his Ministry. Many of the delays which English-speaking institutions experienced in dealing with the Ministry at this time could be attributed in part to this feuding. So little progress was being made that it was even believed that only a special enquiry or independent commission might be able to resolve the problems of English post-secondary education. On the one hand the Union Nationale government found itself reluctant to spend money, but, on the other, Cardinal began the politicization of the Ministry, or changing the politicization of his predecessor, and altering the political climate within the Ministry by the appointment of a great many technical advisors, and then by-passing the usual channels of communication. (The final act of the Bertrand government was to pass an Order in Council conferring civil service status upon those who wished to remain. Bourassa in his turn by-passed these same appointees, who became known as les maudites tablettes. He found use for them only at election times to ask prepared questions on "hot line" radio talk shows.) More importantly for McGill was the appearance of student senators whose proposals increasingly frustrated and occupied the time of Senate, especially the tactics of

leaving the meeting when Senate set out to debate those proposals. The prime example of this tactic was the use of their "Statement of Position on the Current Crisis in Quebec," arising from motions passed by the Students' Council on October 9, 1968, and the Students' Society on October 18, 1968.

One element of democratization at that time was a notion of student unity, crossing language and provincial boundaries, almost in the Tkachev mode of "Who is not for us is against us." On October 15, 1968, fifteen of the French CEGEPs were under student occupation, and seven more were on strike. Students at the University of Montreal were boycotting classes and McGill students were moving resolutions in support. Thus, the Statement, trying to commit Senate to take a position of support, was part of the student unity movement, and perceived by some members of Senate as a part of the democratization process under way at McGill. The very fact of having these issues debated was an achievement of no mean importance.

Four areas of grievance were listed, the first of which was the lack of progress in opening a second French university in Montreal to cater to the large number of students who would graduate from CEGEPs in 1969. The Ministry's only plan, which it put into operation, was to group several teacher-training institutions and Collège Ste. Marie into a Université du Québec à Montréal. Other institutions being renamed were at Rimouski, Chicoutimi, and Trois-Rivières. The change would be largely cosmetic, except for the fact that the new universities would operate according to modalities and not with faculties. It would not accommodate all the Montreal students seeking university admission. A second grievance was the administrative arrangements within CEGEPs, those set up by Bill 21, which legalized student membership on the Board of Directors (but in practice ignored their opinions), the terms of Regulation No. 3, and the curriculum imposed upon them which required early specialization (in spite of the declarations of the Parent Commission), attendance requirements, uniform evaluations, and little attention to the vocational aspects of the CEGEP. (Collège Ahuntsic, for example, which presumed to cater to students from Laval, and consisted of Collège St. Ignace on one side of the river and L'Institut de Technologie Laval, five miles away and on the other side of the river, admitted 1600 students in the first year and attempted to give all the courses on the "menu," which meant much travelling for many students in science since the major laboratories were in Laval. Timetable problems often had a student at a 9.00 a.m. class and the next at 5.00 p.m. There was duplication of administrative staff and no clear chain of organization.) Student appeals had been made to the Superior Council and through the press, but to no avail. At CEGEP Lionel Groulx the staff agreed that student occupation was the only way to dramatize the issue. Universal accessibility as promised by Bertrand in 1967 when he

was Minister was seen as a sham: Minister Cardinal increased the maximum size of loans, which were a precondition of bursaries, but reduced the value of bursaries and entered a notional amount of summer income, whether or not the student found employment, in calculating income eligibility for loans and bursaries. Employment prospects were poor; only 40% of recent graduates from technical schools had found employment in the summer of 1968. What prospects were there for the future? This was the crisis, a crisis of expectations being frustrated, of promises not being met, and blame was being bestowed on any accessible part of the system, and having no effect upon the Ministry in Quebec City, which saw a "production model" with boards of directors and students being spoken of as "clients" and student populations as "clientele" waiting to be served. The student senators asked that McGill should accept its social responsibility as a leading educational institution. while on other days it decried McGill as a parasitic attachment on the body politic of Quebec. It should support the rights of students everywhere to have access to education, and should urge the government to take active steps to bring about universal accessibility, to provide the facilities necessary, and to urge that CEGEPs should implement their own internal democratic procedures. The student senators then left the meeting called to discuss their Statement, and it was left to two professors from the Faculty of Arts to move resolutions incorporating the students' proposals. They added one which expressed "the hope that the democratization of university government which is now underway at McGill will prove successful and therefore serve as an example for other educational institutions in Ouebec and elsewhere." Several meetings of Senate attempted to deal with this topic, including a special one devoted solely to it in March 1979.

Several other events relating to CEGEPs involved the move of the Faculty of Education from Macdonald College to Montreal, its amalgamation with St. Joseph's Teachers College to provide virtually all the teachertraining facilities for the English-speaking population, the renewed offer of rented space for three years at Macdonald College, and the final acceptance by McGill of five generations of E1 and E2 (i.e., college equivalent) students from 1969 onwards. The plans for the Faculty of Education building on the McGill campus were severely curtailed with the result that lecture space had to be provided for Education classes in many different locations with corresponding difficulties for students. To make matters worse a team of experts sent by the Ministry then declared that McGill had sufficient space and that no further building would be required. Among longer term changes were the withdrawal of degree-granting privileges (*Baccalauréat ès Arts*) formerly accorded to Loyola and Marianopolis by the University of Montreal. Marianopolis broke off negotiations for incorporation by McGill, sold its premises,

and located elsewhere as an independent, academic-stream CEGEP, while Loyola fused with Sir George Williams to establish Concordia University. As far as students are concerned, there are perceptions that following the science options at CEGEP leads directly into the science program for the B.Sc. at McGill, but that in the Arts much of what has been studied at CEGEP is repeated at university or is treated as irrelevant.

Whilst all this was happening, progress, both official and unofficial, was being made by the committee formed to make application for a CEGEP charter. Charles Southmayd, a prominent, retired business man from Westmount, became the chairman and obtained the services of Arnold McArthur. a highly competent school administrator who had had much experience in dealing with the Ministry and its predecessor. Thus, he and an architect were sent out to examine premises which might be suitable for a CEGEP. One premise was that of the pharmaceutical chemists Frosst, then about to move to a new location in Kirkland. It was rejected out of hand, while the two advised the Committee to acquire premises downtown, near to Sir George Williams, and premises once used by them. After many delays the Ministry refused to sanction the purchase because the group had no charter, and hence no legal status, when in fact the Ministry would arrange the financing by means of bank credits and bond issues. Application was accordingly made for a charter. After months of waiting for the Mission des collèges to reply, all 22 members of the Committee tendered their resignation on August 24, 1968. The Mission explained the delay by stating that the application was for a General and Vocational College and that no name for the college had been specified. It was only then that someone - apparently unknown - remembered the former Dawson College, and so the charter was given for Dawson College of General and Vocational Education by Order in Council on September 3. 1968. One year was left to opening time. The Ministry then compelled them to "purchase" the Frosst premises on Selby Street, but were aghast when tenders were received for the alterations necessary. As usual the Ministry reduced the amount and some alterations were never made or were made in a less satisfactory way. A Director-General was appointed – the Board of Directors would have preferred the title of Principal but every previous CEGEP had a Director-General, so Director-General it was. And Paul Gallagher, then Director-General at the Baldwin Cartier (Lakeshore) School Board was appointed. The first appointments in which he was involved were for a Head of Science and a Head of Humanities, who then proceeded to recruit staff, who in turn collaborated in the selection of other new staff members. In late September 1969, Dawson College opened its doors to students. But to tell the whole story of Dawson College would be another story.

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Reginald Edwards, now Professor Emeritus in the Department of Educational Psychology and Counselling, McGill University, has taught at universities in England, the United States, and Canada. He was a one-time president of the Comparative and International Education Society, and has been a contributor to several journals and to the World Year Books of Education. He was the first elected McGill Senator from the Faculty of Education.

Reginald Edwards, professeur émérite au département de psychopédagogie et counselling de l'université McGill a enseigné dans plusieurs universités en Grande-Bretagne, aux États-Unis et au Canada. Il a été président de la Société canadienne d'éducation comparée et internationale et a publié de nombreux articles dans des revues savantes ainsi que dans les World Year Books of Education. Il a éte le premier membre de la faculté des sciences de l'éducation à être élu au Sénat de l'Université McGill.