

THE ASSERTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AND INTEGRATION INTO THE MODERN WORLD IN SECONDARY EDUCATION IN QUEBEC (1920-1990)

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ABSTRACT. In the period between the world wars the teaching congregations of men working in the Quebec Catholic public schools launched a post-primary program called the upper primary theoretical (*primaire supérieur théorique*) or public secondary (*secondaire public*). The aim of this program was to give children from families unable to assume the costs of private schools access to university studies. The initiators of this program also hoped that it would give French-Canadians the means to triumph economically while redefining their cultural identity in terms of the urban and industrial modern world. In order to accomplish this the teaching congregations undertook a curriculum reform that remained controversial right into the sixties. Since then elements that continue this program stand adjacent to elements that depart from it.

RÉSUMÉ. Dans l'entre-deux-guerres, les congrégations masculines oeuvrant dans les écoles publiques catholiques québécoises mettent sur pied un enseignement post-primaire dénommé le "primaire supérieur théorique" ou "secondaire public". Cet enseignement vise à promouvoir l'accès aux études supérieures à l'intention des enfants issus des familles financièrement incapables d'honorer les charges des établissements privés d'enseignement. Du même coup on espère que les Québécois francophones disposeront d'un moyen leur permettant la conquête économique tout en redéfinissant leur identité culturelle en fonction de la modernité urbaine et industrielle. Ce faisant, les congrégations enseignantes entreprennent une réforme scolaire au parcours hautement conflictuel, et ce jusqu'aux années 1960. Depuis cette date, les continuités voisinent avec les discontinuités.

For decades now in the western world the amalgamation of the humanities and the sciences has preoccupied the people who determine school curricula. This was a core concern of an education project undertaken by the religious congregations of men in Quebec just after the Second World War. Working with their lay collaborators,¹ these congregations set up a course at the secondary level for use in the public schools combining the standard humanities with techno-scientific knowledge. They saw this as a way of consolidating the identity of

French-Canadians which was being challenged by an urban, industrial, scientific modernity. Some arrangements of this kind had already been in place since the second half of the nineteenth century but, after the turning point of 1920, changes in society simply rendered them obsolete.²

ELEMENTS OF THE PROBLEM

Indicators of the accelerated modernization are not hard to find. For example, the urban population went from 29.2% in 1891 to 48% in 1911 and to 56% in 1921. Moreover, the volume of manufactured goods rose 76% between 1900 and 1910 (population increase: 21%) and continued to grow because of large investments of American and English capital. In 1920, agriculture accounted for 37% of what Quebec produced, manufacturing 38%, forestry for 11%, and mining for 9% (Hamelin & Provencher, 1981). In addition, following Old Louisiana's adoption of English like the other American states, the legal restrictions on the use of French outside Quebec and the emigration of half a million French-Canadians to New England, the runaway anglicisation of francophones came to light. It has been estimated that in the 1920s, even in Quebec, English was the language half of them usually spoke (Ross, 1920; see AS, 1921; Groulx, 1931). This observation obviously upset the defenders of the French language.

Some of these wanted to shelter behind what tradition had acquired and others wanted modernization. Although it was more a matter of emphasis than exclusive positions, it launched the debate which would spring to life periodically right up to the present time.

In this particularly explosive context, the educational project of the religious congregations of men did not restrict itself to the programs remodeled in 1905 and 1921 under the direction of the Department of Public Education. In a highly decentralized school system the congregations adopted the official pedagogical changes, which they, in any case, considered minimal and thanks to some agreements with school boards they built their own educational programs. This way of proceeding was nothing new. Local initiatives customarily took precedence over official programs which simultaneously enriched them and provided them with a frame of reference. In carrying this out, each congregation cultivated its own particular characteristics.

However, rarely did these initiatives manage to put together a whole level of education and have it put into practice in a good number of schools. Actually, in terms of their very content, the pedagogical inno-

vations sought to shape the course of society as a whole and, for this reason, they tried to go beyond the contradictions of the present while criticizing the maneuvers of the various social participants.

In regard to the question that we are particularly interested in, it was a matter of bringing cultural identity into harmony with integration into the modern world and of basing this harmony on the positive interrelationship between the traditional classical humanities and technological and scientific knowledge, and the relationship between a cultural or general training and specialization. In the 1950s people talked about an integral education as opposed to the acquisition of applied or practical know-how and, more recently, of a fundamental or "liberal" education as against early specialization.

Yesterday as today, the cognitive relationships were based on social relationships. Consequently, the conflicts reflected the concerns of particular groups. Everyone drew the material for the ideological positions he assumed and the action he eventually took out of his own interpretation of the current situation and the history of the nation as well. In the case of the teaching brothers – the term covers the lay and clerical teaching congregations working in the public system³ – they put forward a complete educational project which worked at thoroughly reversing the current situation in the name of a past updated to meet current needs.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SECONDARY PUBLIC PROGRAMS 1921-1923

The Preparatory Commission for the reform of the public school system from 1916 to 1921 made the structural problems of teaching French-Canadian Catholics clear (Filteau, 1954; Audet, 1971). For nearly three-quarters of a century the classical colleges, private institutions under clerical control, had offered an education which extended over eight years and was certified by a Bachelor of Arts degree which gave access to the full range of graduate studies. This education traces its ancestry back to the days of New France. As far as the public schools were concerned, the education which extended primary school (*primaire élémentaire*) was oriented first and foremost to practical, specialized training. Moreover, only the faculties of science, engineering, and business were accessible to those students who possessed graduation certificates in certain courses which extended over three or four years and were offered in some public and private institutions. It was because

of this situation that the teaching congregations set to work in 1921 and 1923 to establish a public secondary school system.

The post-primary education involved was not the commercial course with which historians usually associate the teaching congregations of men. Actually, the upper primary theoretical (*primaire supérieur théorique*) or public secondary (*secondaire public*)⁴ was a three-year course after the two years of complementary courses which extended the elementary program of six years. It gave access to graduate studies, especially in commerce, the sciences, and various technical subjects. It was similar to the English-Protestant program in a number of ways. It differed from it by virtue of its desire to establish a symbiosis between technoscientific knowledge and a tradition marked by the Latin and Catholic genius. Since it was free, it was aimed primarily at gifted working-class students from 12 to 18 years of age as a way of assuring their economic emancipation. It required a pedagogy that linked the acquisition of knowledge and training in methodical, personal work to a lifestyle impregnated with social decorum. At the same time it sought to make a cultural statement right in the midst of the business world dominated by English-speaking Canadians. In short, those who started this program wanted to form a manufacturing and business class, cultivated in the things of the mind as well as in management, capable of taking its place in the economic sector and defending the interests of the French-Canadian people.

The innovations of the 1920s reformulated the objectives put forward in 1850 and debated repeatedly thereafter. In the opinion of the teaching brothers and those who supported them, the future of French-Canadians in English North America depended on their inserting their particular culture in the very heart of the modernization taking place. In order to do that they would have to reactivate the daring spirit shown by the discoverers of New France who typically welcomed the challenge of new experiences. After all, they settled here before the English and explored the continent from one end to the other. They intermarried with the first inhabitants and created an original cultural composite. This is how they implanted themselves in the soil of North America. Patriotism, in the sense of belonging to a land of mythical origins which they considered theirs, made the affirmation of historical uniqueness socially credible.

This desire took root in the confrontation between two types of cultural affirmation which were continually at odds with one another. Thus, the defence of the historical singularity of the French-Canadian was vigor-

ously opposed in favour of movements throughout the world and in the Church during the second half of the nineteenth century. On the one side, the professionals and a good part of the clergy argued for a cultural identity with clearly designated characteristics: the need to line up behind the elite, the interpenetration of cultural identity, and adhesion to the Catholic Church. On the other side, in 1840, the younger members of the middle class and their supporters, in league with some of the clergy and members of the teaching congregations, would periodically denounce the exclusivity of the professions and the exaggerated role they played in politics and underline the economic inferiority of francophones. They looked toward the day when they would reconquer economics and politics. This pragmatic vision was subordinated to the preceding one with its cultural emphasis once those who promoted it gave up trying to carry on an open battle against the Church which they considered the only social force strong enough to guarantee the survival of the ethnic group. Nonetheless, the opening to urban and industrial modern life continued.

This pragmatic point of view was the matrix for the 1921 launching of the secondary public school (*secondaire public*) in St. Louis's School at Mile-End in a working class district of Montreal (Perrier, 1921; Fandrich, 1934; Bernard, 1951). Those who instigated the new program would not have spoken of the historical singularity in terms of a strictly cultural survival. It was meant to introduce students into the fenced off terrain of the economy by giving them the tools the English occupants possessed and, in this way, put an end to the subordination of francophones. Wealth could be sought for the individual and the group, and competence should increase so that French-Canadians would stop being a cheap work force and assume the direction of business on their own territory, a remnant of an empire, where they still constituted the numerical majority.

The cultural insularity had a quite special resonance for the initiators who came from old Grande Louisiana. Actually, Wilfrid Coderre was born at Vulcan, Michigan, on February 5, 1884 and Edouard-Charles Piédalue at Mead, Nebraska, on January 17, 1885 (see ACSVM). The two Clerics of St. Viator wanted to push back the anglicisation of Quebec which, in their opinion was moving rapidly but was still reversible, contrary to the situation of their native land where the battle was lost forever. They were looking for a homeland fortified from within against the invader, even if it meant assimilating him. With one stroke they intended to raise the prestige of the education given in the public

school to the height of the classical colleges by establishing a public secondary school (*secondaire public*) that would socially be the equivalent to the classical humanities. The members of the teaching congregations made their cause the cause of the people from whom they claimed to come.

Some way had to be found quickly to reverse the collective dependency which produced poverty and anglicisation, especially at Montreal. That is why the project was rooted in the heart of the French-Canadian metropolis. The choice of place guaranteed the support of two influential individuals, Fr. Philippe Perrier, the pastor of St. Louis's Church at Mile-End, and the superintendent of the school district of North-East Montreal, Joseph-Pierre Labarre.⁵

The promoters of this vision we have briefly outlined saw it as the means to reverse the way things were and also as the means to introduce a new order within the limits of a strategy that was non-provocative and legal. This vision would determine the program laid out in 1921 and remodeled many times until the sixties. Furthermore, if we look back to the teaching congregations between the world wars, we see that they developed in a society with a high degree of socio-religious and cognitive cohesion and that they also enjoyed a great deal of autonomy in arranging school subjects to suit their own view of things. At the same time, these religious were confronted by contradictions which spurred them on to push their demands. They discovered elements that would eventually provoke a socio-cultural explosion.

FUNCTION OF CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND PRACTICAL SUBJECTS BETWEEN THE WARS

Against this backdrop the original curriculum for upper primary (*primaire superieur*) distinguishes groups of subjects one from the other according to the flexibility and purpose of their content. In first place were the "invariable" subjects with a fixed content common to all the schools. These subjects guaranteed cultural continuity. Complementing these were "variable" subjects which secured access to the modern world. Their content could vary according to regional or professional expectations and the cognitive contribution made by disciplines in full-scale evolution. The invariable subjects included religious instruction, French, history, and geography and the variable subjects, mathematics, sciences, and English. The teaching was divided into two blocks: general culture, focused on French, and, right next to it in almost equal propor-

tions, scientific studies which included English. These were rounded off by an introduction to the subjects specific to each group of students.⁶

This internal arrangement of content shows its unitary purpose: the main lines of the educational plan strictly focus and interrelate the otherwise autonomous elements. This is particularly evident in the arrangement of subjects. French, history, religion, and social decorum form the nucleus for the socialization of the cultural identity. Since French is the privileged vehicle of historical uniqueness, it must be known as well as possible and, for this reason, it takes up eight of the 26-hour weekly schedule. As far as history is concerned, it recalls the accomplishments and virtues of the ancestors who discovered the land and fought for it, and it incites their descendants to carry on the work of civilization so that the nation may prosper on all fronts. It is linked with religion which has a threefold goal: to avoid superstition or ignorance in regard to supernatural realities; to highlight the providential meaning of human history, especially the history of the nation; and to normatively define and legitimate Catholic attitudes and conduct. Hence its relationship to social conduct in the sense of "civics."

In confronting the challenge of accommodating French Canada to the modernization coming from outside, it was of primary importance to give the cultural socialization a multidimensional foundation and, most of all, to base it on a collective identity that was solid because it was shared and creative. More especially, the public secondary schools of the teaching congregations broke away from the exclusively literary humanist culture which they considered socially limiting and paralyzing. Even religious instruction was touched by the effort to reorient the traditional images.⁷ In fact, the transmission of a doctrinal knowledge systematized and defined by divine authority which had to be accepted in its entirety was left to the parish clergy in 1923. It was replaced by knowledge of the Gospels and the history of the Catholic Church in order to offer a religion that was compatible with the inventiveness, experimentation, and objectivity of the scientific way of knowing. This might also have been a way to get rid of the curates who, in order to supplement their income, claimed the exclusive right to give doctrinal instruction in the school.

Religion did not, however, disappear from the secondary public schools controlled by the teaching congregations. Besides the usual daily prayers, the history of the Church was sometimes integrated into world or national history and, in the final year, the courses of scholastic philoso-

phy touched on the foundations of morals and apologetics. We should make it clear that even before the cutbacks in 1923 catechetical instruction, in the strict sense of the word, alongside the Gospels, was restricted to a two- or three-year complementary course in the first cycle of the secondary school. In the second cycle, which lasted three years in the period between the wars, the history of the Church went with scholastic philosophy. The time given to the latter would also subsequently be shortened. The absence of catechetical instruction at the end of the secondary public program and its replacement by a course on religious culture do not, then, date from the sixties. Actually, in the nineteenth century there was no religion course in some official programs in the Catholic public school.

Part and parcel of the objective and dynamic presentation of Catholicism is the witness of the teacher. The virtues of the religious educator do, after all, bear a certain resemblance to those of the industrialist or business man. The virtues of a methodological and individually responsible way of working, a disciplined life permeated with a social sense, the domination of instincts by reason, and the efficacious channeling of energies in one direction constituted a model to be imitated.

An existential rationalization with a puritan bent characterizes the ethics of the French-Canadian who has entered the modern world. This quality links the ethno-cultural group to modern day North America and guarantees that it will be integrated into the capitalist economy and master it. A good sense of business and progress, combined with a methodical rationalization of work would enrich the individual and the group in a way that corresponded to the views of God's providential care of the nation.

As far as the variable subjects were concerned, the importance, quantitatively, was given to mathematics which occupied one-fifth of the school schedule. It was a point of honour to integrate American contributions into this teaching. Students, parents, pastors, school commissioners, and professional associations approved of this. The same was true for the English language training which was aimed principally at conversation and the acquisition of a business vocabulary. Bilingualism allowed students to penetrate industry and business and reinforced their psycho-social identity by making them conscious of their cultural distinctiveness through their day to day interaction with others. This was an option for openness to the stranger and a refusal to shelter behind an ethnic barricade.

An effort to strengthen the culture was firmly undertaken with the introduction of the Latin of the classical humanities in the program of 1923. The idea was that the basic and unique character of Latin touches even business. The study of Latin, an invariable subject, opened the doors to the whole range of university studies. This appropriation of a discipline that had, until then, been reserved to the clerical and middle class gave the lower class and therefore the whole ethnic group, an unprecedented socio-economic boost (see AFFE, 1922; Grandpré, 1954; see ACSVM; Bélanger, private communication, 1924). From then on, thanks to sometimes convoluted arrangements, the primary secondary program extended over seven years. Although it meant to stand apart from the high schools and the classical colleges, its effectiveness and prestige earned it the right to claim to be their equal. The first graduates of Saint-Louis took university degrees in engineering, the exact sciences, business, pharmacology, and arts. A free secondary program giving direct access to higher studies had become a historical reality.

Because of the desire to respond to the particular needs of each region, town, or urban district, specialization was determined locally in the period between the wars. It is more significant that specialization had a minor place in the student's program (about 10% of the weekly schedule). Attention focused primarily and above all on the basic content and training. The interrelationship of the essential and scientific elements was meant to guarantee the continuance of the historical singularity of French Canada in the midst of modern day North America (foundational aspect). This intention required the redefinition of a tradition which was permeated with religion. This decisive reorientation could only be achieved by simultaneously appropriating Anglo-Saxon methods. However, it was never a question of putting all elements of the plan on the same level and certainly there was no intention of blending them together. Therefore, because English did not promote French-Canadian culture, it was placed among the variable subjects even though it had a fixed content.

Nonetheless, the religious foundation of the world view is brought into alignment with the scientific mindset without sacrificing, in principle, its role of defining the meaning of existence and showing how this fits into the life of the individual and the group. This alignment sought to guarantee that the social potential of Catholicism would continue to stimulate French-Canadian culture in union, notably, with the knowledge of Latin and history. In this way, the integration of the scientific mindset and the acceptance of the conditions necessary for capitalism

to function did not pose a threat. It became, in fact, something that had to be done for the sake of the ethno-cultural advancement. This compatibility, however, indicated tension rather than fusion. Moreover, most French-Canadians hoped that their economic development would allow them to reject assimilation into the English group and give them the means to escape from their dependent condition. For that reason, knowledge of the classical humanities had to stop being something reserved to those in the liberal professions, the clergy included. This would promote social mobility.

CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION OF THE CLASSICAL HUMANITIES AND ITS POLITICAL CONNOTATIONS

In regard to the classical humanities, what made the secondary public program we have described different from the secondary private program with which it shared certain goals? The cultural identity of the humanities with the ruling classes was reminiscent of New France as a Catholic and French North American empire, and according quite entirely to the main clerical ideology of the nineteenth century as said before. It was seen as the agricultural vocation of a people attached to the soil who have a providential mission to spread French culture and the Roman Catholic faith on an English and Protestant continent. The focus on culture made economics a secondary consideration. Religious and cultural expansion made up for the lack of success in the impossible task of reconquering the political and economic areas. This was transposed to a compensatory, symbolic level. The fact that the economy in this society was controlled by the anglophones reduced the social mobility of francophones to the spheres of religion and politics and helped produce a social hierarchy topped by the clergy and professionals.

Generations of young French-Canadians absorbed the distinctive identity we have described at all levels of their education. In this process of socialization, the teaching of history and French came first. In fact, the teaching manuals of the twenties (Ross, 1924; Ross, 1969) say that this teaching creates the sense of being a nation and protects ethnic and religious values from outside seductions. The Church is described as an institution which, in continuity with the apostles and the discoverers of the land, has the mission of conveying Christian civilization made up of sacrifice, dedication, heroism, a religious attitude, perseverance, attachment to the soil, and the *esprit française* – that is, high ideals, good manners, open-hearted cheerfulness, and, finally, hospitality. Following the Conquest the Church safeguarded the faith, language, ideals,

and tradition. The destiny of the French-Canadian people was to colonize and evangelize, and to uphold humanistic culture and the flame of the apostolate in fidelity to tradition and in accord with the mission it had received from God. To be a French-Canadian was to be Catholic.

The humanities, which were supposed to form an intellectual elite under the control of the clergy, had a special role to play in impregnating students with the norms and values of their cultural distinctiveness. The goal of classical culture, according to the contributors to *L'enseignement secondaire* which was published from 1915 to 1960, is the unification of an individual through a disciplined ordering of his or her faculties under the control of the intellect (Gagnon, 1975). The first principle of this unity was found in religion: all education was seen as a preamble to faith or as a subsidiary confirmation of Christian doctrine. Thus, Latin authors were read as the heralds of Christianity. In addition, a humanist education cultivated the Latin and French genius, the only one suited to the nature of the French-Canadian people. It ensured their survival because knowledge of the ancient languages enabled them to reimmerge French in its source in order to maintain its soundness and to immunize it against the encroachment of anglicisms. Clearly, humanist culture developed a national spirit based on a religious attitude which the Church regulated and inspired. The attitudes that characterize the nation, the Church, and the humanities all came together in the definition of cultural specificity, in the affirmation of the superiority of the Latin-French genius over the genius of the English. That is what makes French-Canadians different from the English-Protestant population.

Nonetheless, the supporters of a distinctive nationalism could not ignore the economic question which arose in the twenties. Even the nationalist leader, Lionel Groulx, realized that the establishment of industrial enterprises would help him fulfill his plan for self-sufficiency (Gaboury, 1970; Trofimenkoff, 1983). In the field of education, the experts had admitted that scientific, commercial, and industrial programs were needed. They also insisted that although French-Canadians should be well prepared to supplant the English in the economic area, their ethnic superiority could only be assured by an intellectual elite formed by classical literature and familiar with the masterpieces of human thought.⁸

The cultural bourgeoisie used this attitude to consolidate its preeminence over middle class businessmen. These latter were suspected of having

strictly material interests which, since they were not spiritual, were foreign to the official Catholic outlook. According to eyewitnesses of the period, in the parish church francophone manufacturers and business people sat across from the religious and church ushers and behind these worthies who occupied the first pews in the centre aisle. These eyewitnesses also recall that parish priests did not know what to do with these parishioners who were an embarrassment because they were seeking financial profit. The sermons ignored them completely, all the more so because most of them came from a public or private school run by a religious congregation.⁹ However, the francophone cultural bourgeoisie, including the higher clergy, rubbed shoulders with members of the large English-speaking business community in the reception rooms of Quebec and Montreal. There class interests, especially financial interests, held first place without prejudice to social prestige because of a long-standing monopolistic collusion.

At the same time, the linkage of issues connected with identity and economic goals changed the arrangement on the social chessboard. In this sense the plan for the economic reconquest was not accomplished merely by "colonization" but through the marriage of bilingual francophone young men with a good background in French to the daughters of rich English families. The bourgeois monopoly allowed French-Canadian capital to increase but it declined from 1890 on when investors shied away from the industrialization the English brought into place. A class of francophone businessmen hung on nonetheless in tension with the cultural bourgeoisie. This class, which proved to be both weakened by and preoccupied with business, worked in liaison with the teaching congregations in selecting subjects useful to business and manufacturing.

Against this background, a society stratified primarily on the basis of social prestige, economically as well as culturally, faced the changes introduced by something alien to Catholic tradition despite the affinities the teaching congregations tried to establish for unbridled competition. The confrontation reached a decisive turning point with the progress made by francophones after the Second World War. In that war middle class English-Quebeckers suffered an unprecedented blood-letting through the loss of a multitude of young men (often only sons) on the battlefields of Europe. This would prove to be one of the major causes for the decline of the ascendancy of English-Quebeckers. It should be pointed out that among the francophones, large or medium

size families were found at all social levels. It was perhaps more significant that the war shook the traditional points of view in favour of an opening to the outside world and economic development.

INTEGRAL TRAINING AND SCIENTIFIC HUMANISM IN THE EXPANSION OF THE SECONDARY PUBLIC PROGRAM

The upper primary program was repeatedly rejected by higher educational, ecclesiastical, or civil authorities. In 1929, especially, after many negotiations, the Catholic Committee refused to approve the upper primary program that had been taught at Saint-Louis's School and expanded to one hundred and fifty-six schools of the teaching congregations, mainly in the metropolitan area (see AMEQ, 1929; Croteau, 1996). The Committee preferred the four-year post-elementary program – a commercial program enriched with cultural additions – given at Le Plateau School. Why was this decision made? The highest authority in educational matters was in the hands of a conservative bishop and men from the liberal professions who looked askance at an emphasis on science and technology rather than on literature and philosophy. They viewed the advanced learning of English and a religious formation (which they regarded as insufficiently dogmatic) as nothing more than an excessive French-Canadian assimilation of English-Protestant education. Above all, they feared the competition that public education would give the private, classical colleges, seen as privileged places for integration into the ethno-religious and cultural distinctiveness. The two sections of the secondary level clashed until the reform of the curriculum achieved in 1965 (see AMEQ, 1965).

Despite the repeated imposition of restrictions by the Catholic Committee, the primary secondary program spread throughout the province and consolidated its position due mainly to the pedagogical and administrative skills of the religious who had the support of the people, the parish clergy, university administrators, and various associations. In 1961 the teaching congregations had charge of 206 of the 300 secondary schools for boys in Quebec with a total of 25,632 students. At the same period the *Fédération des Collèges classiques* was made up of 73 male and 18 female institutions with a total of 35,213 students, 22,282 of whom were at the secondary level (see AFFE, 1961). The student population had increased enormously in the preceding decade. From 1924 to 1964 the educational plan of the teaching congregations had its ups and downs, detours and returns to the main road, periods when

it was winked at and others when it was openly opposed, and there were dreams that compensated for the contradictions endured in the field and reformulations yet one more time in writing or practice. In the flood of reformulations after the Second World War the terms "integrality" and "scientific humanism" appeared for the first time.

The integrating character of this educational plan with its scientific humanistic perspective became a reality as soon as subjects that were supposed to reinterpret traditional culture took on a techno-scientific puritanical ethics and rationality. But, at the end of the forties, currents which affected secular social unity passed through Quebec. The argument about national survival was harshly challenged as well as the methods of post-primary education and the role of the Church in society, especially in the area of culture. In the same years, the increased demand for competent professionals caused by the second great industrialization activated nationalist and university circles, both of which were aware of the need to push technological and scientific preparation further than before. Francophones had to get involved in the unprecedented development.

The upper primary schools were thought to contribute to the advance of the whole group. Separated as they were from the parish and in close battle with the classical colleges, the secondary schools of the teaching congregations constituted a mainly autonomous space for physical, intellectual, social, and religious training. This was so both because of the multitude of extracurricular activities they offered and because the education they gave was continually improving. In this undertaking, the experience of the career religious guaranteed the coordination of the programs and their application. This coordination formed the young brothers in a process of personalized exemplification. Since they had been initiated into the whole project, they could serve as real identity models for youth. The Catholic French-Canadian had to translate his potential into professional competence and Christian humanism.

Courses in gymnastics, public speaking, natural science, and an initiation to the Church's social teaching were added to the training program for new teachers. The range of subjects to be taught increased between the wars because of the addition of new material to the programs. An effort was made first and foremost to update both the content of the courses that had already been approved and the way they were taught. In the fifties, for example, two of the ways the teaching brothers attacked the corruption of French was by "Frenchifying" the American

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school texts and giving lessons in phonetics and diction (see AFFE, 1958) in their training centres and their schools. After 1960 the attraction the English and especially American media exerted on teachers and students made the European French-speaking world seem out-of-date and second rate. The fad seemed to be encouraged by the primacy given to mathematics and the trademarked "English" sciences which were essential to the twelfth and thirteenth year which opened the doors to the university.

As the situation got worse and worse it became a real challenge to link American techno-scientific advancement and the French-Canadian identity. This is why an effort was made to make the content of the religion and history course more appealing and more in line with daily life and what was being discussed in the public forum. Moreover the instructor was to impregnate his teaching with the Christian social attitude and thus bear witness to the fact that scientific reason and a commitment inspired by the Catholic faith could be harmonized. This last point was to be demonstrated not by actions at a distance but on the scene. Clergy, religious, and laity active in Catholic Action were, after all, at work in many organizations of the local church, including the schools.

The social dimension was combined with a concern for physical well-being and development. In this instance, recently acquired knowledge and skills went hand in hand with a pedagogy of existential rationalization. Physical well-being certainly did not mean unbridled enjoyment of consumer goods. It was rather a matter of regularly restoring energies and channeling them for the sake of socio-economic progress. It was an investment in the whole individual charged with making the uniqueness of the French-Canadian fact prevail in North America. Ascetical training through the acquisition of working habits and a demanding lifestyle was supposed to enable the student to master the rise of mass consumerism and the preoccupation with mental and physical health.

Both before and after the Second World War the plan of the teaching brothers covered the interlinkage of subjects and their relationship to extracurricular activities; the relationship of the school to society and the Church, especially insofar as these affected the immediate environment; and, finally, the interaction of those involved in the socialization process in the schools. It was a matter of taking hold of the new, integrating diversity and coordinating all this within a whole determined by the reconstruction of a culture melded to Catholicism in the

midst of contemporary North America. This effort gave birth, especially after 1950, to a network of institutions that wanted to respond to the demands created by demographic growth and scientific and cultural developments. The teaching brothers worked to establish concrete, efficacious conditions for an integration of a pluralistic curriculum in order to bring skills and resources in line with local needs for competent workers.

PEDAGOGICAL INNOVATION, SCIENTIFIC HUMANISM, AND CATHOLIC RECTIFICATION IN THE FIFTIES

The educational plan of the teaching congregations drew, in part, on the integral Christian humanism of the classical colleges whose monopoly they had challenged. Because of the increasing resistance of the classical colleges after 1950, the teaching congregations had to resort to administrative maneuvers to maintain a secondary public program opening up to the full range of university studies. When the classical humanities became the only long secondary course even in the public schools with their classical sections,¹⁰ the lay religious took this as a sign of their decisive subordination to the clergy and pretty well their exclusion from the secondary level since, with all other roads closed to them, the students from the public sector were limited to subsidiary posts.

The reduction of the secondary program to the classical humanities led lay and religious teachers to make scientific training the particular focus of the secondary public program. It also led them to argue that there was a place for a humanism that was open to techno-scientific advances. For this reason they maintained that one of the values of studying science was that it developed certain intellectual abilities, particularly a critical judgement that fits a specific conception of man. Culture, authors argued, is not limited to Greco-Latin literature in this day and age when science has become a component of the cultural evolution. The superiority to which the classical courses lay claim can no longer be upheld any more than the superiority of the clergy. For example, how can theology alone guarantee scientific competence? The worse thing is that the creation of a univocal system of thought and the so-called eternal theological truths had rendered the French-Canadian mentality incapable of taking hold of the historical situation and assuming responsibility for its future. Obviously raising Christian humanism to the level of a system had paralyzed French-Canadian thought.¹¹ The criticism was all inclusive and the confrontation hardened the positions the

two sides had assumed. The conformist mentality of traditional humanism had to be rejected for the sake of a critical and progressive scientific humanism supported by modern philosophy.¹²

The public schools of the teaching congregations gave their priority to scientific subjects and emphasized innovative teaching, updating instructors, and the use of learning tools. All of this contributed to the renewal of education. At the same time the public schools got in line with what the Church wanted. This had been forcefully stated since the thirties. Because of the economic crisis, urbanization stagnated, the business class lost ground to the prestige of the professionals, the agricultural ideology reawakened, the clergy defended the classical humanities, and the Jesuits spread the Roman anti-Communist social teaching. The primary goal was to construct a Catholic society under the control of the clergy. A movement centered in Montreal got underway. There was an urgent need to halt the decline of tradition by consolidating the Catholic Church's control even if this meant using modern technology to block further inroads of the critical mentality already at work in society (Roy, 1935; Hamelin, 1984).

The criticism in support of modernization was as extensive as the desire to restore Catholic tradition was total. From 1950 onwards some lay people and religious along with some priests charged Roman Catholicism with being intransigent and attached to the past. They probed the Catholic model handed down by tradition. They questioned its internal elements and its relationship to society, its control of conscience, its monopolization of power, the anonymity of urban parishes, and the economic ideas of a clergy attached to a rural tradition. According to these protesters, justice and freedom demanded that a new order take the place of the old. This would require rebalancing the powers of Church and State, pulling religious organizations out of institutions, integrating a free economy, allowing the free expression of opinions of all kinds, and, in social-religious affairs, by encouraging lay people to actively participate on the basis of the priestly character of their baptism and the autonomy of the things of this earth.¹³

As far as morality was concerned, it has been said that two ethical systems openly confronted one another in Quebec from the Second World War until the end of the Council. On the one side the social classes on the rise put forward an ethical system that aimed at the transformation of this world by the human mastery of techno-scientific means and a political renewal of social interrelations determined by

urban and industrial needs in a strictly secular state with a neo-liberal economy. This this-worldly ethic confronted an unworldly ethic which was turned toward salvation acquired through the Church. Since this ethic called for mutual help, it was suspicious of the accumulation of material things and their enjoyment, and still more of the free circulation of ideas and the "opt for whatever pleases you most" mentality. This position perfectly fitted French-Canada's historical singularity because it emphasized the cultural and religious features that made it different from the surrounding Anglo-Saxon culture: the preeminence of Catholic and Latin values over those of English Protestantism. Religion provided a dividing line for claims to social prestige.

In the whirlwind of change that was destabilizing traditional practices, the schools of the teaching congregations combined updating of teaching methods and the unchangeableness of doctrine and discipline. They did not reject the development of society but they thought it should rest on a proven and well-considered foundation such as tradition. Otherwise chaos and its parade of devastating consequences would follow. Religion alone was able to guarantee socio-religious unity. Therefore, the examples offered in class were taken from religion, even in mathematics or science. The prayers spread over the school day scanned the secular training. Moreover, they did their best to rectify their students' consciences by means of a solid doctrine whose internal validity was not inferior to that of the secular sciences. The codification of dogmatic truths and the rigor with which their philosophical or "scientific" basis was established had to be put in first place. Some went so far as to suggest that doctrinal formulations should be analyzed grammatically so that the study of language would be linked to the enunciation of faith (Fr. Hébert, 1950-52). From now on invariability meant immutability in the re-entrenchment of the only subject which could guarantee ethno-cultural permanence because of its fixed content. On the discipline side, the frequent campaigns against the loosening of morals, especially in regards to sexuality, completely equated proper behaviour with the dictates from Rome (see AFFE, 1947, 1951; Hamelin, 1984). This combination of doctrinal and disciplinary fundamentalism and intransigence was born out of the desire to defend a system that was being severely attacked, remember, by people within the Church.

THE SYMBOLIC DISLOCATION OF SCHOOL SUBJECTS

The refusal to surrender to the deleterious effects of the modern world meant that the breaches in the process of socialization were sealed off

in order to establish a cognitive fundamentalism based on religion. But the gap between what was commanded and what was actually received in regards to doctrine and discipline continued to grow until the rupture of the sixties. Moreover we can see at a distance that the effort to give the body of Catholic doctrine a scientific status in the advanced classes had the inverse effect of separating it even further from scientific reason. As a synonym of creative intelligence, newness and progress, techno-scientific knowledge downgraded religious conviction to the level of a fixation on the past or a subjective opinion or feeling. In addition, this scientific knowledge stood apart from courses with a strictly cultural content and especially from religion. The variable subjects stood apart because they had no choice but to develop in the positivistic line of the American manuals that students used. The disruptions that were taking place fed the intransigence which in turn contributed to the splintering of the elements of the curriculum.¹⁴

Process of desupernaturalization before state reform of curriculum

The process we are concerned with was well underway before the sixties. For example, religious allusions to commercial and industrial subjects were gone by the 1920s and to science by the 1950s. In both instances the officials setting up these courses saw them as purely secular subjects. This attitude was not necessarily shared by the teachers in class. According to some lay and religious witnesses, some teachers still occasionally expressed the relationship between their personal faith and scientific knowledge (Turcotte, 1990). They were trying to witness to their religious faith and, on a broader level, to open the dimensions of the human mind to more than just modern rationality. It was not, however, done in order to deny the scientific approach or to restore the Catholic fundamentalism of the post-war period. They did it rather to move humanism in a direction which, as we have seen, originally implied a protest against Catholic intransigency and, consequently, a protest against the kind of rationality that shaped education and society.

The process seems to have taken place later in regard to cultural subjects. It was just as decisive, however. Latin, which was at the centre of the socio-cognitive struggle of the secondary public program, is especially revelatory of the changes in the daily working out of the curriculum. Here, as in the case of the sciences and mathematics, the aim and symbolic reference were at issue, not what was taught.

In 1939 when the provincial superiors of the teaching congregations discussed introducing Latin into the training program of non-clerical

religious, they invoked the cultural and religious value of the Latin language as the vehicle of the classical culture of antiquity, the etymological source of French, and a more direct and intimate link with the universal Catholic Church (see AFFE, 1939). Reaching beyond these spiritual benefits, they maintained that the knowledge of Latin would make lay religious who assist the parish clergy promoters of a feeling for the liturgy because they would be better able to say the prayers and sing the hymns. These arguments are an almost word for word repetition of those that were put forward in the twenties about teaching Latin at the secondary level. From the practical point of view which took second place to the preceding arguments, reintroducing Latin into the teacher certificate program made it possible for candidates to acquire a university degree at the same time. This degree had become a necessity when the teaching congregations adopted a policy of advanced graduate studies. The non-priest teaching religious declared their right to access to a "reserved" knowledge that had been the stumbling block at the time of the official recognition of the upper primary program in 1929.

The professional objective resurfaced in 1949 (see AFFE, 1949, 1958; AMEQ, 1947). That year the provincial superiors decided to teach Latin and Greek in the juniorates and scholasticate-normal schools. Some put this into practice the next year. The point was to avoid the tortuous delays caused by taking the baccalaureate examinations after the teaching courses, especially since there was strong pressure to move on to graduate studies. The strictly practical consideration about teaching Latin in the public sector came back, this time as a complement to scientific training. In 1944 at the request of the local ordinary, Bishop Mélançon, the Brothers of Christian Instruction took charge of a public classical program in Chicoutimi (see AMEQ, 1947). In regard to the Christian Brothers School, in 1952 Laval University had authorized the Academy of Quebec to offer a Latin and science baccalaureate (see AFFE, 1958). The authorization went into effect the following year. From 1956 on, the Latin and sciences program, with no Greek, resolutely established itself in public schools. The non-clerical teachers had appropriated Latin even though many members of the clergy continued to claim it as their exclusive possession. It certainly looked as though Latin no longer displayed the traditional values but, nonetheless, its practical goal continued to be the focus of a socio-cultural and structural dichotomy. This remained the case until the reform of the curriculum in the sixties. With the abolition of the classical colleges in 1967, Latin, which had become an optional subject in the last three years of

the secondary program, was confined mainly to private schools (Audet, 1969).

On the eve of the reform of the curriculum by the State in the sixties the arrangement of subjects no longer was based on a commonly held perception. The disenchantment and loss of Catholic symbolism meant that subjects in the curriculum were looked at pragmatically, that is, their inclusion depended solely on their economic utility, their demonstrated ability to prepare students for the work world. This orientation went hand in hand with the retreat of the religious institution from the public sphere (secularization), the opening up of subjects traditionally reserved to a few, and the transformation of teaching from a vocation to a profession focused primarily on the transmission of the knowledge of subjects which, in fact, are quite separate one from another.

Reordering of school subjects following curriculum reform of the state

Since the state reform of the curriculum, concerns about scientific subjects have focused on coordinating them so as to guarantee a progressive and thorough training for the benefit of a severely restricted clientele. Moreover, the need to perform at a high level throughout their studies purges classes of weak students. These are oriented toward literature and, if they cannot make it in this broad path, they are shunted to dead-end job training. Proof that they have yielded a continuous and methodical result is shown by a diploma attesting to their advanced knowledge in science and especially in mathematics. This knowledge constitutes the prerequisite for graduate studies which bring social prestige and financial advantages. They have taken the place of Latin as the vehicle of socio-cognitive structuring and, consequently, as the cause of the separations that come into play at the very beginning of the secondary program. This is linked to the fact that the elements making up the subject matter of science and mathematics are very specific and are coordinated among themselves so as to be reproductions of the rationality dominant worldwide. Given these characteristics, it constitutes a block of unchanging subjects. The same could be said of the specialization in the upper secondary program. This specialization is centred on professional training to give access to well-paying positions.

Scientific education reduced the so-called "literary" subjects to the rank of auxiliary or related issues. The possibility of a cultural concentration still existed but it had a motley clientele that was made up, in part, of students who could not make it in the exact sciences. This

concentration led to graduate studies which had less social prestige because the jobs they opened up paid less money. But social prestige does not depend solely on economic advantages. It is also related to criteria determined by cognitive minorities or regional or social classes. This is the case, for example, for the arts, especially music. It, like painting and writing, acquires the social distinction attached to the promotion of the gratuitous in a society where money plays a large role in deciding occupations and lifestyles. In this context, the material conditions of life and the fact that he or she belongs to such and such a network distinguishes artists who have been culturally integrated into the dominant middle class culture from artists who are socially marginalized.

Compared with the exact sciences, French, history, and geography are particularly apt to convey an obvious religious content. Consequently the disenchantment of these subjects could not be played out in the same way as in the case of the scientific and commercial subjects which were qualified as variable. In any case, variability had become the lot of cultural subjects whose program context had been changing continually since 1970. There had even been an effort to cut down on French grammar and a new kind of pedagogy based on linguistic research and the psychology of learning had been tried. As far as knowledge of literature proper was concerned, there was a switch from European to Canadian works. Sometimes these were limited to those produced after 1960. Usually the history of French literature was condensed and the same was true of Canadian and world history. The study of texts and multidimensional presentation of an era survived with variations depending on the school and shifts in the regulations from the Ministry of Education. In general religion still received attention provided that history was not restricted to purely political and economic matters; that French, if not open to directly religious texts, was at least open to authors with a spiritual tone; and that physical geography was supplemented by human geography. The space given to religion depended, therefore, in great part on the perspectives of the subjects just mentioned. Most students at the end of the secondary program had a truncated knowledge of literature and history compared to what students would have had before the reform of the curriculum. Their knowledge would have been centered, however, no longer on Europe but on North America and Quebec.

In addition, the introduction of the religious element depended greatly on who taught the subject. Even though the programs were clear and

even if the manuals, particularly in history, alluded to religious events, the teacher had the latitude to treat a subject as he wished. He could insist on one aspect and ignore another according to his personal convictions. Clearly, religion was neither excluded nor pushed to the forefront within subjects taught for their own sake by various teachers. At one extreme were the adherents of the Lay Movement for the French Language who, for example, harassed teachers using a Christmas story in a French class in December and, at the other, teachers in some schools who banded together to use literary studies to offer a religious culture. In both cases, cultural subjects were generally separated from scientific subjects and the positive prestige of the first, religion included, was transferred to the second.

These divisions were rooted in a long history of disagreement. Disagreements about the goal of education and how to achieve it had appeared even in the teaching congregations from the middle of the fifties. The educational plan no longer rested on a vision of the world with a religious basis. This had been the knot providing both intellectual and social cohesion in the transmission of the basic content and related training. It had completely determined the Brothers' plans in conjunction with a sense of history, rootedness in a land, and a linguistic singularity which was the vehicle of a special culture. These axes remained in place at least nominally but usually without any reference to the transcendental or its structuring into daily life. The religious reference was returned, in the main, to the confessional sphere. It really looks as though the centralized bureaucratic rationalization¹⁵ and the market economy did more to produce startling effects in the reorganization of the secondary public program than techno-scientific reason.

CONCLUSION

In addition, teachers at all levels were more and more obliged to fit in with the plurality of world views, the mass media, the short TV clip, and computer programming. In reaction, some teachers and administrators have tried, in the last few years, to anchor the social integration of students in a tradition which affirms the historical uniqueness of French-Canada or Quebec. This anchoring goes hand in hand with the concern to solidify the teaching of French and history – in short, general culture – before specialization. This is probably not unrelated to the reappearance in public schools of a Latin course normally lasting two years instead of six as in the classical humanities program. In the same way training in methodology and logic and the linkage of this methodology

to the students' insertion into society has been added to procure a so-called basic training at the secondary and college levels as well as in the first cycle of university studies.

This position depends on a number of observations, experiments, and arguments that circulated freely at the end of the seventies. The argument for the defence is that mobility in our highly specialized world is facilitated by training which allows the student to browse precisely because this training rests on a general and non-specialized foundation with an ordered progression of multidimensional elements. Meanwhile a critical conception of science has appeared as well as an involved consideration of the historical continuity of a culture. There is a problem with transmitting this through education. We can discern, however, the persistence of the ground swell which has been present for a century and a half. Its actual implementation continues to be in line with a variety of currents of thought. Thus we have mentioned that in the context of advanced specialization and the fragmentation of knowledge, some teachers and even some institutions have managed to show to some extent how the subjects go together to make a whole and the relationship of the knowledge to the human and social development of the students.

This concern to give students a basic training has at least a veiled connection with what the teaching congregations had done before the state reform of the curriculum. The axes of this way of proceeding can schematically be reduced to the following elements: basic subject matter (the distinction between what is essential and what is incidental), training that establishes a lifestyle and insertion in a certain place in society (the connections between the social and educational plan centred on those involved), and the relationship of both content and training to the individual and environment determined by a new reality (bringing about a change in the actual conditions). There is a difference not only in practical, measurable terms but also on the symbolic level in relation to meaning. These vectors call for compromise, that is, for selective compromises to achieve its dynamic realization. It is the opposite to a predefined techno-bureaucratic or ideological position based on a one-dimensional interpretation of reality that resists any accommodation. Yesterday as today, compartmentalization sat cheek by jowl with openness to the different, the unexpected. Both sides, however, were trying to introduce a change that would have roots and last a long time.

ENDNOTES

1. Lay people have cooperated with the religious since the teaching congregations arrived in the middle of the nineteenth century. It was, for example, the support of some members of the middle class who were completely oriented toward business and manufacturing that made it possible for the Clerics of Saint-Viator from France to surmount the hostility of the French-Canadian clergy who opposed the "intruders" and claimed to have the exclusive right to understand and define the cultural destiny of the French-speaking population. (Leo-Paul Hébert, *Le Québec de 1850 en lettres détachées*. Québec: Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1985.)
2. This account is drawn from this author's book (Turcotte) which endeavours to bring the work done by the teaching congregations of men in the public schools from the end of the First World War to the beginning of the 1970s out of the shadows. (See *L'enseignement secondaire public des frères éducateurs [1920-1970]*. Montréal: Bellarmin, 1988, 220 pp.) The reader will find there details concerning the events mentioned, some supplementary bibliography, and the major archival references. See also, especially for the last three sections, *Intransigence ou compromis. Sociologie et histoire du catholicisme actuel* (Turcotte, 1994).
3. What is at issue is the activity of these congregations united in the Federation of Teaching Brothers. This association, founded in 1919, includes the teaching congregations working in the public school sector. Most of the members were lay religious and a minority were priests belonging to religious congregations. From 1919 to 1971 the number of congregations participating varied from six to 23. On the Federation see Turcotte's article: "Les Frères éducateurs et l'enseignement secondaire public québécoise," S.C.H.E.C. Session d'étude 50, 1983, p. 231-253.
4. According to the designations in the curriculum of the public programs in Quebec from 1921 to 1956 the first two-year complementary course (*cours primaire complémentaire*) immediately followed the first six-year elementary program. After 1929 the four or five years of the upper primary course (*cours primaire supérieur*) was added to the secondary primary. In 1956 the two programs became the secondary program (*cours secondaire*). Until then the term had been reserved by the classical colleges to designate secondary education. However, the teaching brothers had appropriated the term from 1923 on and added the word "public".
5. Only the Christian Brothers refused to actually participate in the plan of the other teaching congregations. These brothers had been given the privilege upon their arrival from France, in 1837, of settling in the large parish of Montreal Island. The Sulpicians, who had brought in the Christian Brothers, forced other teaching congregations of men to establish themselves outside the parish.
6. Subjects in the 1921 program were proportioned as follows: (1) **Subjects with Invariable Content, Grade 9**, Religion 7% - French 25% - History and Geography 11.5%; (2) **Subjects with Invariable Content, Grade 10**, Religion 7% - French 25% - History and Geography 11.5%; (3) **Subjects with Variable Content, Grade 9**, English 15.4% - Mathematics 15.4% - Science 19.2% - Various Subjects 7.7%; and (4) **Subjects with Variable Content, Grade 10**, English 15.4% - Mathematics 19.2% - Science 19.2% - Various Subjects 3.8%.
7. René Fandrich. (1934). *L'école primaire supérieure*. Montréal: Albert Lévesque, pp. 42-43.
8. Keep in mind that the teaching brothers never stopped referring to the right to emphasize a particular pedagogy founded on religion. Actually, the law of 1861, which was still in force, stipulated that school superintendents should "regulate the course of study in each school". This power was always subordinate to the Council of Public Instruction's

right to choose the books of "scholars" with the exception of the books for religious education. The choice of these books was reserved to the parish priests and ministers. But the teaching congregations took advantage of a particular religious tradition in the Catholic Church, and recognized as such by the Roman authorities, to pursue their own programs, especially in religion, while using the books approved by the Council of Public Instruction. As a consequence, the Catholic hierarchy had to come to terms with an internal or even sectorial dissidence supported by civil law. The right to differ characterizes the confessionality of the French school system. (See P.-A. Turcotte, "La religion à l'école publique québécoise. Structures, pratiques et enjeux", in J.-P. Willaime (Ed.), *Univers scolaires et religions*, Paris: Cerf, pp. 31-64.)

9. For the development of aspects of humanism conveyed by the classics course, see: N. Gagnon, "L'idéologie humaniste dans le revue *L'enseignement secondaire*", in P. W. Bélanger and G. Rocher (Eds.), *École et société*, Montreal: Hurtubise HMH, 1975, pp. 59-91.

10. Horace Mitchell Miner. (1963). *St. Denis: A French-Canadian parish*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. xix-299.

11. We merely emphasize the existence of these sections. For a fuller treatment, see *L'enseignement secondaire public*, pp. 94-103.

12. This protest is carefully set forth in *Mémoire présenté à la Commission de la Faculté des Arts de Laval*, p. 7. This memoir was submitted by Clément Lockquell, a brother of the Christian Schools, on May 2, 1958.

13. Between the two World Wars, philosophy followed religion in the last year of classes, if by chance these were ever held. The content bore certain similarities to the humanities: logic, morals, theodicy, etc. After 1940 modern philosophy was introduced. This was done quietly at first and in various ways, depending on the institution. Some of their religious education courses or the sciences encroached on philosophy which had already lost ground in the 1939 official programs of the Department of Education.

14. For a good illustration of criticism from the point of view of a believer, see the August-September 1952 issue of *Esprit*, consecrated to French Canada. The sketch of the disenchantment and reordering is based on the author's studies of secondary public education (see references), observations as a participant, and frequent conversations with teachers as well as researchers in education.

15. This aspect is relatively neglected in studies of curriculum reform. The author has already suggested, as other authors have, that bureaucratic centralization is a major characteristic of the Quiet Revolution. The effect that this centralization and other related factors have on the basic formation at school deserves to be closely examined. One fact is evident: teachers are reduced to civil servants and lose the pedagogical freedom to use their initiative at the local level of the school.

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